

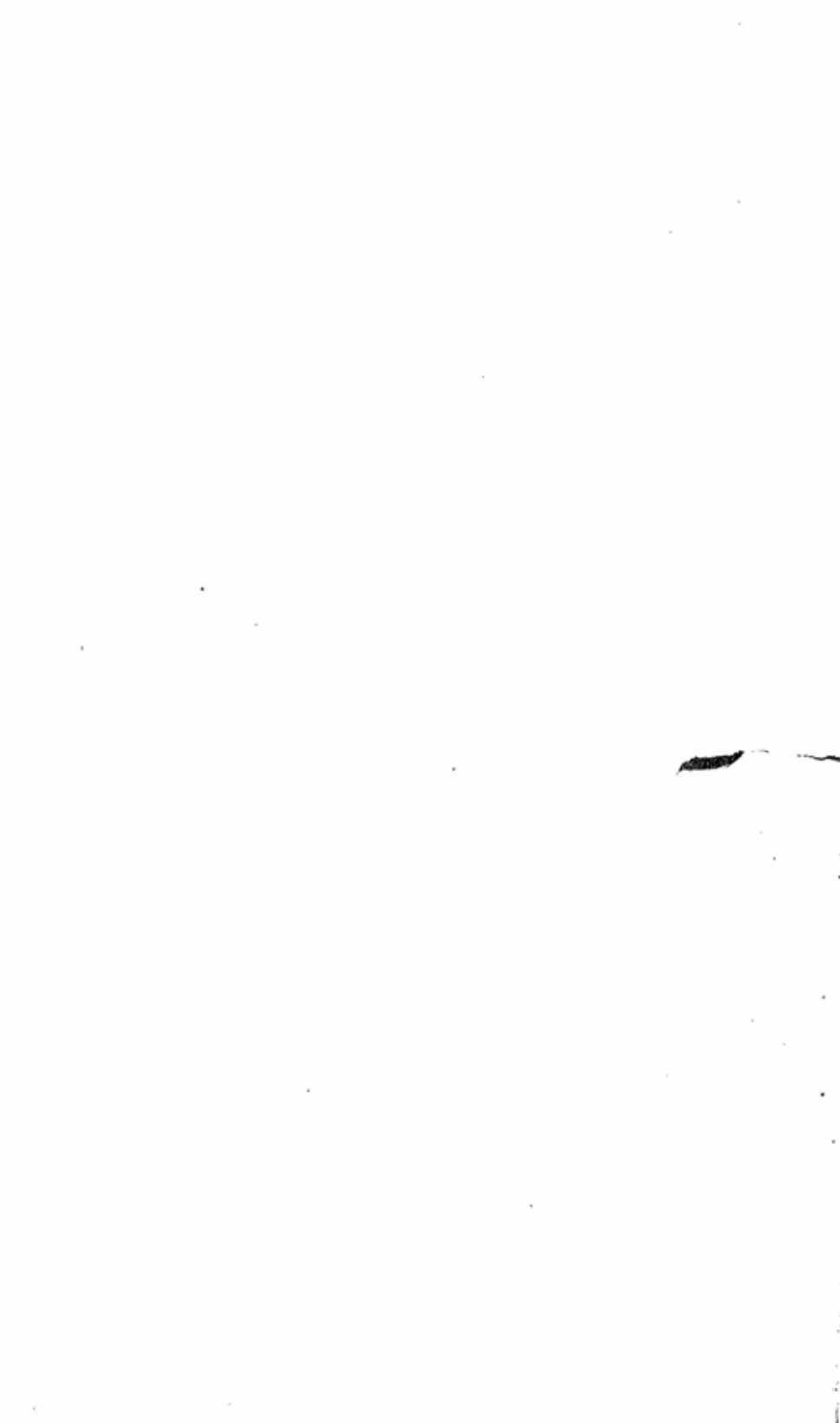
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VOL. IV. No. 1

April, 1883

THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES

THE JOURNAL
OF
HELLENIC STUDIES

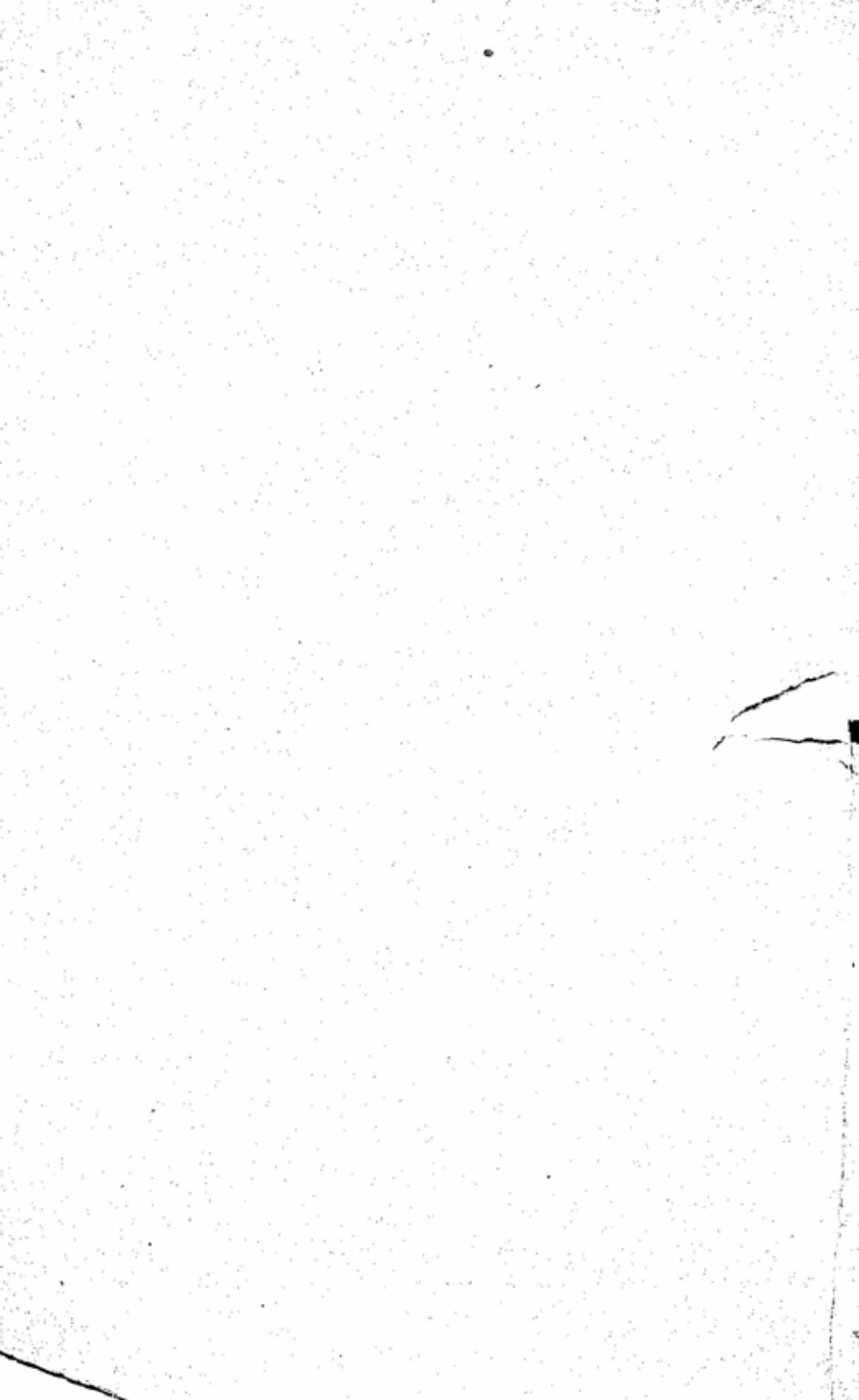
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OF
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RULES AND LIST OF MEMBERS

RULES

OF THE

SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES.

I. THE objects of this Society shall be as follows :—

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

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

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

2. The Society shall consist of a President, Vice-Presidents, a Council, a Treasurer, one or more Secretaries, and Ordinary Members. All officers of

the Society shall be chosen from among its Members, and shall be *ex officio* members of the Council.

3. The President shall preside at all General, Ordinary, or Special Meetings of the Society, and of the Council or of any Committee at which he is present. In case of the absence of the President, one of the Vice-Presidents shall preside in his stead, and in the absence of the Vice-Presidents the Treasurer. In the absence of the Treasurer, the Council or Committee shall appoint one of their Members to preside.

4. The funds and other property of the Society shall be administered and applied by the Council in such manner as they shall consider most conducive to the objects of the Society: in the Council shall also be vested the control of all publications issued by the Society, and the general management of all its affairs and concerns. The number of the Council shall not exceed fifty.

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

6. No money shall be drawn out of the hands of the Treasurer or dealt with otherwise than by an order of Council, and a cheque signed by two members of Council and countersigned by a Secretary.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

24. The names of all candidates wishing to become Members of the Society shall be submitted to a Meeting of the Council, and at their next Meeting the Council shall proceed to the election of candidates so proposed : no such election to be valid unless the candidate receives the votes of the majority of those present.

25. The Annual Subscription of Members shall be one guinea, payable and due on the 1st of January each year ; this annual subscription may be compounded for by a payment of £10 10s., entitling compounders to be Members of the Society for life, without further payment.

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

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

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

29. If at any time there may appear cause for the expulsion of a Member of the Society, a Special Meeting of the Council shall be held to consider the case, and if at such Meeting at least two-thirds of

the Members present shall concur in a resolution for the expulsion of such Member of the Society, the President shall submit the same for confirmation at a General Meeting of the Society specially summoned for this purpose, and if the decision of the Council be confirmed by a majority at the General Meeting, notice shall be given to that effect to the Member in question, who shall thereupon cease to be a Member of the Society.

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

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

32. No change shall be made in the Rules of the Society unless at least a fortnight before the Annual Meeting specific notice be given to every Member of the Society of the changes proposed.

THE
SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES.

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- *†Tuckett, F. F., *Frenchay, near Bristol.*
- *Tuckerman, Hon. C. K., 18, *Avenue Kléber, Paris.*
- Tudeer, Dr. Emil, *Helsingfors, Sweden.*
- Turnbull, Mrs. Peverill, *Wyaston Grove, Ashbourne.*
- Tylden, H., *Exeter College, Oxford.*
- Tylor, E. B. (Council), *Linden, Wellington, Somerset.*
- Tyrrell, Prof. R. Y. (V.P.), *Trinity College, Dublin.*
- *Tyrwhitt, Rev. R. St. J., *Ketilby, Oxford.*
- Upcott, E. A., *Wellington College, Wokingham.*
- Upcott, L. E., *The College, Marlborough.*
- Urquhart, Miss Margaret, 5, *St. Colme Street, Edinburgh.**
- *Valetta, J. N., *Principal of Hellenic College, 84, Kensington Gardens Square, W.*
- †Valieri, Octavius, 2, *Kensington Park Gardens, W*
- Vardy, Rev. A. R., *King Edward's School, Birmingham*
- Vaughan, the Very Rev. C. J., Dean of Llandaff, *The Temple, E.C.*
- †Vaughan, E. L., *Eton College, Windsor.*
- Verrall, A. W., *Trinity College, Cambridge.*
- Vince, C. A., *Repton, Burton-on-Trent.*
- *Vincent, Edgar, *Cairo, Egypt.*
- †Wagner, Henry, 13, *Half Moon Street, W.*
- Waldstein, Charles, Ph.D., *King's College, Cambridge.*
- Walford, Edward, 2, *Hyde Park Mansions, N.W.*
- *Ward, Prof. A. W., *The Owens College, Manchester.*
- Ward, W. W., *Cliffe Court, Frenchay, Bristol.*
- Ward, T. H., 61, *Russell Square, W.C.*
- Warr, Prof. G. C., *King's College, London.*
- †Warre, Rev. Edmond, *Eton College, Windsor.*
- Warren, T. H., *Magdalen College, Oxford.*
- Washbourn, Rev. J. R., *Cathedral School, Gloucester.*

- Watson, A. G., *Harrow, N.W.*
 Watson, Robert, *North Seaton, Morpeth, Northumberland.*
 *Way, Rev. J. P., *The College, Marlborough.*
 Wayte, Rev. W. (Council), 6, *Onslow Square, S.W.*
 †Welldon, Rev. J. E. C. (Council), *Dulwich College, S.E.*
 Wells, J., *Wadham College, Oxford.*
 Weymouth, Dr. R. F., *Mill Hill, N.W.*
 Wheeler, Prof. J. H., *University of Virginia, Albemarle Co., Virginia.*
 Whibley, C., *Jesus College, Cambridge.*
 †White, A. Cromwell, 3, *Harcourt Buildings, Temple.*
 White, John Forbes, 107, *King Street, Aberdeen.*
 White, Prof. J. W., *Cambridge, Massachusetts, U.S.A.*
 Whitehead, R. R., *Borden Wood, Milland, Liphook, Hants.*
 Whitehouse, F. Cope, 15, *Fifth Avenue, New York, U.S.A.*
 Wickham, Rev. E. C., *Wellington College, Wokingham.*
 *Wilde, Oscar, 116, *Park Street, Grosvenor Square, W.*
 Wilkins, Prof. A. S., *The Owens College, Manchester.*
 Willert, P. F., *Exeter College, Oxford.*
 *Winwood, Rev. H. H., 11, *Cavendish Crescent, Bath.*
 Wood, G., *Pembroke College, Oxford.*
 *Wood, J. T., 9, *Clanricarde Gardens, W.*
 Wood, Rev. W. S., *Ufford Rectory, Stamford.*
 †Woods, Rev. H. G., *Trinity College, Oxford.*
 Woodward, Rev. W. H., 13, *St. Domingo Grove, Everton, Liverpool.*
 Woolner, Thomas, R.A., 29, *Welbeck Street, W.*
 †Wren, Walter, 2, *Powis Square, W.*
 Wright, R. S., 1, *Paper Buildings, Temple, E.C.*
 Wright, W. Aldis, *Trinity College, Cambridge.*
 Wroth, Warwick W., *British Museum, W.C.*
 Wyndham, Rev. Francis M., *St. Charles' College, St. Charles Square, W.*
 Yates, Rev. S. A. Thompson, 396, *Commercial Road, E.*
 *Young, Rev. E. M., *The School, Sherborne.*
 Yule, Miss Amy, *care of Messrs. Grindlay & Co., 55, Parliament Street, S.W.*

The Society for the Promotion of Greek Literature in Athens.²

² This Society has agreed to contribute £5 5s. annually to the funds of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies.

LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS TO THE JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES.

- The National University, *Athens*.
 The American School, *Athens*.
 The Public Library, *Winterthur*.
 The Astor Library, *New York*.
 The Royal Museum Library, *Berlin*.
 The Buffalo Young Men's Library, *Buffalo, U.S.A.*
 The Boston Athenaeum Library, *Boston, U.S.A.*
 The Dartmouth College Library, *Hanover, U.S.A.*
 The Durham Cathedral Library, *Durham*.
 The Harvard College Library, *Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.*
 The Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, *British Museum, W.C.*
 The Library of King's College, *Cambridge*.
 The London Library, *St. James's Square, S.W.*
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 The Library of New College, *Oxford*.
 The Library of University College, *Oxford*.
 The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *New York*.
 The Public Library, *Leeds*.
 The Library of Yale College, *Newhaven*.
 The University Library, *Erlangen*.
 The Burlington Fine Arts Club, 17, *Savile Row, W.*
 The School Reading Room, *Rugby*.
 The Royal and University Library, *Königsberg*.
 The Fitzwilliam Archaeological Museum, *Cambridge*.
 The Royal Library, *Munich*.

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

- The Athenaion, *Athens*.
 The Parnassos Philological Journal, *Athens*.
 The Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique (published by the French School at *Athens*).
 The Mittheilungen of the German Institute at *Athens*.
 Bursian's Jahresbericht für classische Alterthumswissenschaft.
 The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
 The Archäologische Zeitung, *Berlin*.
 The Revue Archéologique, *Paris*.
 The Numismatic Chronicle.
 The Journal of the Smithsonian Institute, *Washington, U.S.A.*
 The Publications of the Evangelical School, *Smyrna*.
 The Annuaire de l'Association pour l'Encouragement des Études Grecques en France, *Paris*.
 The Publications of the German Imperial Archaeological Institute, *Rome*.
 The Journal of the American Archaeological Institute, *Boston, U.S.A.*
 The Publications of the Imperial Archaeological Commission, *St. Petersburg*.
 The Transactions of the Cambridge Philological Society.
 The Journal of Philology.
 The Publications of the Russian Imperial Archaeological Society, *St. Petersburg*.

THE SESSION OF 1883.

The First General Meeting of the year was held at 22, Albemarle Street, on *Thursday, February 15*, at 5 P.M., when the chair was taken by PROFESSOR C. T. NEWTON, C.B., Vice-President.

After some introductory remarks by the chairman, Mr. Cecil Smith read a paper on the remarkable frieze recently brought to light at Djölbaschi, in Lycia, by an Austrian expedition under Professor Benndorf. After reference to the Lycian discoveries of Fellowes, Mr. Smith said that the monument now in question had been seen forty years ago by Schönborn, but again lost sight of till now that the Austrians had followed Schönborn's clue, and succeeded not only in finding three hundred feet of sculptured frieze belonging to the best age of Greek art, but in transporting it safely to Vienna. Prof. Benndorf's opinion, discussed by Mr. Smith in detail, was that the work was decidedly Athenian in character, and might, therefore, with probability be attributed to Athenian artists working under Eastern influences. A comparison was drawn between the Djölbaschi frieze and those of the Harpy Tomb at Xanthus and the Mausoleum at Halikarnassus. The Chairman, after thanking Mr. Smith for his timely contribution, stated that casts of some parts of the frieze had been secured for the museum now being formed at South Kensington, so that it would soon

be possible to judge of the work itself. He had himself never been able to attribute the Lycian friezes to real Greek art, but rather to Athenian design and native workmanship. He was inclined to place them between 400 and 300 B.C. It must be remembered that Lycia was subject to Mausolus, so that the monument now in question might be the tomb of his Viceroy, or of some native prince.

MR. WARWICK WROTH read a paper on a statue found at Cyrene (*Journal*, Vol. IV. p. 46), hitherto called Aristaeos, but which the writer preferred to call Asklepios. It was of beardless type, and might possibly be the work of Scopas imitated in Roman times. Mr. Newton thought Mr. Wroth had made out a good case, but the paper was not conclusive. He was disposed to think that the statue might be Apollo, whose worship was predominant at Cyrene, but no final decision could be made without further evidence. The discussion was continued by Mr. Wayte and by Mr. Elton, who stated the existence of a similar figure, with snakes in the hand, at Bath, where the worship of Apollo was certainly known.

The Second General Meeting was held at 22, Albemarle Street, on *Thursday, April 19*, at 5 P.M., PROFESSOR NEWTON, V.P., in the chair. Mr. Walter Leaf read a paper on "Some Questions concerning the Armour of Homeric Heroes" (*Journal*, Vol. IV. p. 73). His main contentions were that the word ζῶμα, usually rendered "apron," actually means the lower edge of the θώρηξ, where it is fastened down by the ζωστήρ; and that the πετέρυγιον, or mailed apron, was added to Greek armour in post-Homeric times. The meaning was also discussed of διπλός θώρηξ, and στρεπτός χιτών. Lastly, reference was made to a vase in the British Museum inscribed with the name of Amasis, on which is a figure of Memnon wearing a white, and therefore presumably a linen, corslet.

The Chairman read a paper by MR. GEORGE DENNIS, on "Two Archaic Greek Sarcophagi" found at Clazomenae. (*Journal*, Vol. IV. p. 1.) These possessed peculiar interest as presenting the only specimens of local pictorial art of an early period as yet discovered on the coast of Asia Minor. Mr. Dennis also indicated many points of resemblance between them and the paintings found in Etruscan tombs. Mr. Leaf discussed certain details in the armour of the warriors portrayed. The horn on the helmet had already been pointed out by Milchhöfer as a link between the art of Etruria and of Mycenae. The crest of one of the helmets was of a new type, but it was hardly safe to draw inferences from this, for there was reason to believe that artists sometimes gave rein to their fancy in this particular, instead of reproducing actual types. The occurrence of the eight-spoked chariot wheel in such early work was rare.

DR. WALDSTEIN communicated his recent discovery, in the library of Sir Thomas Phillipps at Cheltenham, of a MS. book bearing the date 1687, and containing two views of Athens with the Acropolis, and the Parthenon still entire. The accompanying description in Italian was of little value, but it seemed just possible from the date that the book might have been written by a companion of Morosini (See *Journal*, Vol. IV. p. 86).

Lord Guildford's name having been mentioned, the Chairman urged members of the Society to use their best endeavours to discover the whereabouts of the famous *puteal*, which was removed from Lord Guildford's house in St. James's Square when it was pulled down, and has never been heard of since. The *puteal* is engraved in Dodwell's *Tour in Greece*.

THE ANNUAL MEETING

Was held at 22, Albemarle Street, on *Thursday, June 14*, PROFESSOR C. T. NEWTON, C.B., Vice-President, in the Chair. The following Report was read by the HON. SEC. on behalf of the Council :—

Though no very striking event is to be recorded in the history of the Society during the past year, its general level of prosperity has been fairly maintained. In the Report of last year two projects were mentioned which the Council were anxious to encourage, though it was not possible to do so out of the present resources of the Society. One was the establishment of a fund to enable Mr. W. M. Ramsay to carry on the work of exploration in Asia Minor which he has so ably begun. The other was the reproduction by photography of the Laurentian Codex of Sophocles. In regard to the first, an Asia Minor Exploration Fund has been established and the £500 considered immediately necessary for the purpose have been raised without difficulty. The management of the Fund has been entrusted to a Committee appointed by the subscribers to it, consisting of Mr. James Fergusson, Mr. D. B. Monro, Provost of Oriel College, Oxford, and Mr. H. F. Pelham, with Mr. George Macmillan as Secretary and Treasurer. The necessary firman has, through the kind offices of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, been obtained from the Porte, and Mr. Ramsay is on the point of starting into Phrygia to pursue further those interesting researches of which the results up to this date have been recorded in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*.

As to the MS. of Sophocles, enough subscribers were soon obtained to allow of the reproduction being taken in hand, but unforeseen delay occurred in arranging matters with the Florentine photographer. It was only in April that Mr. Thompson, who has kindly taken charge of the reproduction, was at length able to give instructions for it to proceed. But

no time will now be lost, and it is hoped that copies may be ready before the end of the year. A literary and critical introduction by Professor Jebb, and observations on the palæographical interest of the MS. by Mr. E. M. Thompson, will be issued with each copy. Should this undertaking prove successful, other important MSS. will be reproduced in the same way.

The Council take this opportunity of inviting the attention of the Society to a project for instituting at Athens a British School of Archæological and Classical Studies. Such a School would form a central and permanent agency in the Levant for the promotion of all those objects which are proposed to the Society by the terms of its constitution. As the movement must rely on a national subscription, it appeared desirable that it should from the first possess a national character. While feeling therefore that the matter is one which must have a special interest for the members of the Society, both individually and in their corporate capacity, the Council are of opinion that the project may best be introduced to the public by a Committee not restricted to the Society, but representative, as far as possible, of the United Kingdom. In prospect of such a Committee being formed arrangements are contemplated under which a certain number of places upon it shall always be filled by members elected by the Society. It is hoped that at an early date a more detailed account of the project may be placed in the hands of members.

It was announced last year that the books and periodicals acquired by the Society were now available to members wishing to make use of them, but very little advantage has been taken of the privilege. It may be as well, therefore, to say that a catalogue of the Library may be seen on application to Mr. Vaux, at 22, Albemarle Street, W., and that a list of the periodicals available, including most of the leading foreign archæological journals, is printed with the Rules, under the head of "Journals received in exchange for the Journal of Hellenic Studies." The whole question of the Library has recently been under consideration

by the Council and the Library Committee, and it is probable that steps will be taken to make from time to time such additions to it as will ultimately result in a really valuable reference library for the subjects with which the Society is principally concerned. As not much can be spared at present for the purchase of books, contributions of suitable books are invited from all members of the Society.

Turning to the financial position of the Society it appears, from the Balance Sheet now submitted, that the total income of the year amounted, with the balance in hand, to £1,413 7s. 7d., and the expenditure to £420 6s. 8d., leaving a balance of £993 0s. 11d. in hand over and above the £388 10s., of Life Subscriptions invested in 3 per cent. Consols. There are, moreover, £150 still due in unpaid subscriptions. Against this balance should be set liabilities in unpaid accounts probably to the amount of £250, the heaviest item being for the printing of Volume III., Part 2, of the Journal which properly belongs to the expenditure of last year, but the account for which, owing to the late appearance of the number, has not yet been rendered by the printers. This would reduce the balance to about £750, £100 of which consists of Life Subscriptions which have been invested in 3 per cent. Consols since May 31. The working balance should thus be estimated as not exceeding £650. The average annual cost of the Journal hitherto has not been much less than £500, and the working expenses of the Society, including rent of rooms, stationery, postage, etc., can hardly be estimated at less than £75. It will be seen therefore, that a comparatively small surplus is free to be devoted to other objects in which the Society is interested. This point should be borne in mind in considering the general position and prospects of the Society. At the same time the Council feel that the success achieved hitherto has been highly creditable, and such as should encourage members to further efforts. During the past year forty-nine new members have been elected, against which must be set the loss of ten by death and resignation. A very satisfactory increase has taken place also in the number of Libraries

subscribing to the Journal, so that the total number of members and subscribers at the present date is 568. It is satisfactory to note that the Rule which provides for the admission of ladies to all the privileges of membership has been freely taken advantage of. The number of lady members at the present time is no less than twenty-four, and new candidates are constantly presenting themselves.

But while readily admitting that much has been done on which the Society may fairly congratulate itself the Council wish to point out that much more might be done if the number of members were considerably larger than it is. With its present income, as has been shown, the margin left after the publication of the Journal and the payment of working expenses is not large enough to allow of any other of the Society's stated objects being effectively carried out. It is only possible to afford occasional small grants, which cannot be expected to yield much fruit. Whereas, if the numbers were raised, as they easily might be, to 1,000 or more, a surplus would remain that could be applied with real effect to purposes of exploration or excavation, to the formation of a Library, or to the furtherance of Hellenic Studies in whatever other form might seem desirable. The Journal of Hellenic Studies has taken a recognised position among periodicals of its class and may be regarded as highly creditable to the Society and to English scholarship. The same spirit and energy devoted to other fields of enterprise would yield results of equal or even greater value. In conclusion, therefore, the Council once more appeal to members to do all they can to enlist fresh support for a cause the importance of which is becoming daily more recognised in this country.

THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES.

BALANCE SHEET FOR THE YEAR ENDING MAY 31, 1883.

THE JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES ACCOUNT.

1882.		£	s.	d.
July 17.	To Dujardin, for Plates	50	4	0
Aug. 11.	" Blunt, for Drawing	30	0	0
" 12.	" Dickinson & Co., Paper Account	19	18	8
Sept. 13.	" Typo. Etching Company	7	7	6
" 18.	" Cooper & Co., Engraving	13	10	0
" 19.	" Mrs. Bellot, for Drawing	3	3	0
1883.				
Feb. 13.	" Typo. Etching Company	19	2	11
" "	" Clay & Co., for Printing 1,000 copies Vol. iii. Part I	160	6	3
" "	" Carriage of Journal to Members	3	8	0
" 14.	" Century Company, for Plates	3	9	9
" 15.	" Autotype Company Account	16	4	6
" 27.	" Dujardin, for Plates	16	0	0
Mar. 1.	" Nicholls, for Negative and Print	1	1	0
" 16.	" Frisch, for Negative	1	6	0
" 29.	" Webb, for Drawing	1	5	0
April 27.	" Fleming, for Drawing	1	5	0
		£347 11 7		

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The adoption of the Report was moved by Mr. THURSFIELD, seconded by Mr. PERCIVAL and carried.

The CHAIRMAN then read out the names of the Officers and Council proposed for the ensuing year. The following Members of Council retired in rotation: Mr. Capes, Mr. Chenery, Mr. Gardner, Dr. Hort, Mr. Monro, Mr. Myers, Mr. Mark Pattison, Mr. Pelham, Mr. Perry, Mr. Sidgwick and Dr. William Smith. All of these gentlemen, except Mr. Sidgwick and Dr. William Smith, offered themselves for re-election. The Rev. H. A. Holden, LL.D., Mr. J. R. Thursfield, and Mr. J. E. C. Welldon, were nominated to fill the vacancies. The President and Vice-Presidents remained unchanged.

The List as submitted by the Council was confirmed by the meeting on the motion of Mr. Elton, seconded by Prof. G. F. Armstrong.

After some preliminary remarks by the Chairman, Prof. Jebb made a statement of the position and prospects of the scheme for the establishment of a British School at Athens, which he had introduced to the public in a recent article in the *Fortnightly Review*. The Editor of that magazine, Mr. T. H. S. Escott, had taken up the idea warmly, and through his help adherents of the highest eminence had been gained for the project. The Prince of Wales and the Duke of Albany had promised support, and so had the Chancellors of the two Universities, the President of the Royal Academy, the President of the Society of Antiquaries, the Bishop of Durham, and others. A circular would shortly be issued defining the lines on which the scheme would be based, and inviting not pecuniary aid, but adhesion. After this had had time to take effect, a meeting would be held in London, probably in July, which would be made as representative as possible. At this meeting a General Committee would be appointed, and also an Executive Committee, which would be charged with the duty of drawing up a scheme in detail. On this Committee it was proposed that the Hellenic Society, the Dilettanti Society, the Society of Antiquaries, the Uni-

versities of Oxford and Cambridge, and other important bodies should be represented by delegates. The following would be main features in the scheme:—(1) The School would be not exclusively of archaeological science, but more widely of Greek studies in Greek lands. Professor Jebb's own views upon this point had been emphatically confirmed by Mr. W. M. Ramsay and Professor W. W. Goodwin; (2) there must be a director with a salary of not less than £500; (3) a library of which the director would take charge, and a house—it had been estimated that a good house could be built for £3,000—a site on Mount Lycabettus would probably be granted by the Greek Government; (4) membership would be open to all persons accredited by the Universities or other responsible bodies, and, possibly, on payment of a small fee, to travellers residing in Athens only for a few weeks; (5) it was proposed that the director should give guidance and advice to students, and possibly encourage the occasional reading of papers, but it was desirable to leave him as free as possible. In conclusion, Professor Jebb stated that he had received a letter, warmly approving the scheme, from Mr. Gladstone, with a promise to contribute £50. He thought that on the whole there was a decidedly hopeful prospect of raising the £20,000 considered necessary to establish the school.

A vote of thanks to the Auditors was moved by Mr. Tylor seconded by Mr. Skinner, and carried.

In conclusion, a vote of thanks to the Chairman was moved by the Warden of Keble College, who paid an eloquent tribute to Professor Newton's eminent services to the cause of classical study in England. The vote was seconded by Professor Mahaffy, and carried unanimously. In returning thanks, Professor Newton expressed particular regret at the absence of the President of the Society, the Bishop of Durham, on the present occasion, because he was known to take a warm interest in the School of Athens scheme, and the advice of so eminent a scholar and so weighty a counsellor would have been of the greatest value. The Chairman confirmed the views expressed in the Council's report by a

special appeal to members to do more than had been done hitherto in the way of proselytising. Very little persuasion, he said, was needed to induce those interested in Greek studies to join the Society, and if only 1,000 members could be secured he was convinced that the Society could carry out work of the utmost importance to science and to scholarship.

The Fourth General Meeting was held at 22, Albemarle Street, on *Thursday, October 18*, at 5 P.M., PROFESSOR NEWTON, and afterwards PROFESSOR JEBB, in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN reported progress in a favourable sense on the School of Athens scheme, stating that the amount of subscriptions promised or paid up was decidedly encouraging, and that the Greek Government had offered a site for the School building.

Professor Jebb stated that the following Resolution had been passed at the first meeting of the General Committee of the School:—

“That the Hellenic Society be invited to nominate two of its members to represent the Society on the Executive Committee.”

The indirect representation of the Society was already large, but it was desired by the Committee that there should also be formal and direct representation.

It was proposed by Mr. Myers, seconded by Mr. Fergusson, and carried: That Mr. Newton and Mr. Macmillan be appointed as representatives of the Society on the Executive Committee for the establishment of an English School at Athens.

The Chairman stated that he had recently seen in Berlin Dr. Hirschfeld, who had just returned from exploring the course of the Halys in Paphlagonia. Some of the photographs taken by Dr. Hirschfeld were, through his courtesy, submitted to the meeting. The systematic account of his journey was not yet published, but he had told the Chairman

that the monuments he had found would remarkably illustrate Mr. Ramsay's discoveries in Phrygia. These two travellers, said Mr. Newton, were together filling up a large blank in the map of Asia Minor, and their results were being incorporated by Dr. Kiepert in the new Map he was preparing. It was probable that Dr. Hirschfeld would contribute a paper to the Journal.

MR. TOZER read a paper on the Franks in the Peloponnesus, sketching the history of their domination, and describing the remains of certain castles which he had visited in the autumn of 1882. (*Journal*, Vol. IV. p. 165.)

MR. MONRO read a paper on the Epic Cycle as illustrated by the contents of the Codex Venetus of the *Iliad*. (*Journal*, Vol. IV. p. 305.) The text is preceded by a life of Homer and abstracts of the Trojan portion of the Cycle, but several folios are missing, and the question is what these contained, and in what order the remaining folios should stand. Many arrangements had been proposed. The new one now submitted by Mr. Monro was to some extent based on the way in which the lines were ruled on the parchment. The question bore only indirectly on Greek literature, but it was in any case important to ascertain what the Epic Cycle really was.

MR. E. M. THOMPSON and PROFESSOR JEBB expressed their general agreement with Mr. Monro's conclusions.

Meetings for 1884 will be held at 22, Albemarle Street, at 5 P.M. on each of the following days:—

Thursday, March 13.

Thursday, May 8.

Thursday, June 26. (Annual.)

THE CAMBRIDGE BRANCH

OF

THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES.

SESSION of 1883.

The First Meeting was held in Professor Colvin's rooms in Trinity College, on *Thursday, March 8, 1883*, at 4.15, the Master of Trinity in the Chair.

The Hon. Secretary read a letter from Mr. G. Macmillan urging that College Libraries should subscribe to the Journal.

Professor Colvin made a communication upon an incised bronze thorax found in the Alpheius. He brought it into connection with the François vase, suggesting that early Attic pottery borrowed its designs from such work in bronze.

Dr. Waldstein made a communication (1) upon a so-called 'Heroic Head' in the British Museum which seemed to him to recall the workmanship of Lysippos, especially when compared with the Apoxyomenos of the Vatican and other works attributed to that artist. The special characteristics of the head were iconic and pointed to some distinct features in the individual of whom the head was probably a portrait. From an examination of the passages referring to the portraits of Alexander the Great by Lysippos, and also of the extant busts of that monarch, Dr. Waldstein thought it probable that this 'heroic head' was a portrait of Alexander in his youth, as an Ephebos, while the extant busts, which showed traces of Eastern influence, belonged rather to the period of Alexander's Eastern conquests.

(2) Upon a so-called 'Head of Diomedes' in the British Museum which had a Lysippean character and might belong to a group by Lysippos of generals surrounding Alexander

at the battle of Granikos. On the other hand, in the character of the marble work and in some details of style there were strong indications of the Pergamene School under Attalos. He would at any rate place the head within these limits; drawing attention finally to the fact that the artists executing the large battle-scenes of Attalos would be strongly influenced by Lysippos, who had first introduced that class of subject into sculpture in the round, who himself worked for Pergamon, and one of whose pupils, Chares of Lindos, became a leading sculptor at Rhodes.

Mr. Verrall read a paper upon 'The Libation-Ritual of the Eumenides.'

Each paper was followed by a discussion. The meeting being somewhat protracted Mr. Chambers's communication was postponed.

The Annual Meeting was held in Professor Colvin's rooms, Trinity College, on *Wednesday, December 5*, Professor Colvin in the Chair.

Professor Colvin was elected Vice-Chairman, and Mr. Browning, Secretary for the coming year. Messrs. Burn, Lewis, Roberts, and Tilley were elected Members of Council.

Mr. Ridgeway read a paper on the traces to be found in Homer of the common field system.

Dr. Waldstein read a paper on the arrangement of the figures in the Eastern Pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia. Two views have been taken, of which that upheld by Curtius is artistically superior to that of Dr. Treu, which, though good for the central group, is monotonous and unrhythmical for the sides. The evidence of Pausanias practically goes for nothing, as far as the central figures are concerned. At the extremities of groups personifications of nature are 'schematically' frequent, *e.g.* in groups of cosmical character Helios and Selênê on E. pediment of the Parthenon; in groups of local character, Ilyssos and Kephissos on W. pediment of the Parthenon, and Kladeos and Alpheios here. Such personifications are not, however, found earlier than this work and the Parthenon: not for instance on the Aegina pediments which lack centralisation of interest. Here we have Zeus in the centre and two figures on each side of him. These five

form the central group, and then the line is broken; next come the charioteers and horses. After these there is a great break. At this point the group has a certain completeness, such as we also find in the W. pediment of the Parthenon in the group terminated by the chariots of Athênê and Poseidon. By the gradual receding of the horses a frame is formed which throws up the central group as if into higher relief. As to the remaining figures we can learn nothing from Pausanias' account. They belong to quite a different class. For their interpretation a hint is given by the corner figures: they are all local personifications. They present a remarkable analogy to the corresponding figures in the W. pediment of the Parthenon. A figure leaning on the ground with one hand, or on a staff, is quite a 'schematic' representation of a river or mountain god. The corner figures are river gods, and those next to and turned towards them are evidently so closely associated with them that they must belong to the same class of personifications. Nor can we well separate from these the third figure on each side. We may therefore conclude that they are all natural and local personifications.

Professor Colvin read a paper on a relief in the possession of M. Destombes at the Hague and rescued by him from destruction. A cast of it had been presented to the Fitzwilliam Museum. It is evidently a work of Attic art and belongs to the numerous class of Athenian funeral monuments. It is somewhat singular in design and composition, representing a lady seated, to whom a nurse brings an infant child, which holds out its hands to the mother. Whether this is a monument to the child or to the mother is uncertain. Apparently it represents merely a scene of domestic life. It is on a smaller scale than is usual and is journeyman's work, somewhat rough and rude in execution, but showing the immediate impress of the greatest time. The relief is much higher than that of the Parthenon frieze and of some other stelae, but seems distinctly referable to the style of the immediate followers of Pheidias, and to a time not much later than that master. The type of the head of the seated figure closely resembles that of Athênê on Dr. Waldstein's plaque, which restores that goddess on the frieze of the Parthenon.

TWO ARCHAIC GREEK SARCOPHAGI,

RECENTLY DISCOVERED IN THE NECROPOLIS OF CLAZOMENAE.

THESE sarcophagi were brought to light by accident in the summer of 1882, by peasants digging in the fields. Hearing of the discovery I made an attempt to purchase them, but before my negotiations were completed, the Ottoman authorities stepped in and appropriated the monuments, which are now lying in a porch of the Governor General's palace, much injured by the rough handling they have received in their transport to Smyrna.

These sarcophagi possess a peculiar interest as presenting to us the only specimens of local pictorial art of an early Greek period as yet discovered on the coast of Asia Minor. It is a singular fact that no figured vases, so far as I can learn, have been disinterred on this coast, save a few of small size and insignificant character found in the Troad, and two *amphorae* of a late period discovered by Mr. Newton in the necropolis of Halicarnassus (*Discoveries in the Levant*, vol. ii. p. 63).¹ The scarcity of such vases seems to suggest that these exceptions had probably been imported, as we know that Greek vases were articles of commerce in ancient times (Plin. *H. N.* xxxv. 46); but these sarcophagi from their size, weight, and material cannot have been other than of local manufacture and adornment, and

¹ I should also perhaps except two archaic vases purchased by Mr. Ramsay in Smyrna, as coming from the ancient Phocaea, though not authenticated as having been found on that site, one of them illustrated in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. II. p. 304. I have passed nearly five years in Asia Minor,

and have visited not a few ancient sites, chiefly on the coast, but have never had the fortune to see a single figured vase ascertained to have been disinterred in any Greek necropolis, or even to pick up a fragment of one in my wanderings in such localities.

are the only monuments which afford us a knowledge of Ionian pictorial art at a period before Herodotus wrote or Pindar sung, and, it may be, before Anacreon fled from the neighbouring city of Teos to sing the praises of love and wine at the court of Polycrates. The painted sarcophagus in the British Museum is similar in character, and of not less archaic art, but that was discovered in Rhodes, and is the only monument of this description that the extensive excavations in that island have brought to light. I state this on the authority of Mr. Alfred Biliotti.

Both these sarcophagi are of terra cotta. The larger and more pretentious one measures 7 feet 4 inches in length, 3 feet $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches in width above, 2 feet $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches below, and 2 feet $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height. It is coloured inside and out a dull grey, which may have been originally black, except where it is decorated with broad bands of white painted with figures or ornamental designs in black. The lower part of the monument, for two-thirds of its height, is decorated on each of its sides with such bands, two horizontal, one above and one below, and two vertical at the angles; each band displaying a double row of elaborate maeander pattern, with stars in alternate spaces. (Fig. 9.) Above this rises what may be called the cornice of the sarcophagus, the sides here swelling out, as seen in profile, into something like the outline of a Doric capital, with a necking or *torus*, painted in squares, black and white alternately, in imitation of a dentil-moulding, which is carried round the sarcophagus. Above this is a broad band of the egg and tongue pattern, and another band of double maeander crowns the whole. So much for the exterior of the monument, the rich effect of which is shown in Fig. 1, taken from a photograph made by Mr. Carl Humann,

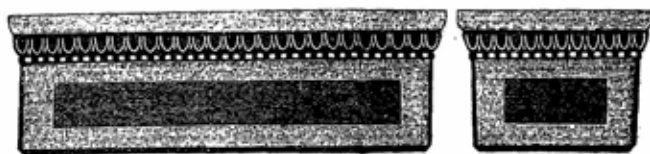


FIG. 1.—EXTERIOR OF SARCOPHAGUS, No. 1.

of Pergamos celebrity, from his tracings of the designs on the sarcophagus, and kindly placed by him at my disposal to illustrate this article.

The interior is ornamented in a similar manner, save that the maeander decoration is confined to the two horizontal bands, above and below the astragalus and dentil-mouldings. (See Fig. 2.)



FIG. 2.—INTERIOR OF SARCOPHAGUS, No. 1.

The great attraction of the sarcophagus, however, lies not in these external decorations, but in those on the broad level rim of the monument, which was widened out to receive the lid. (See Fig. 3.) Here are seen figures of men, horses, dogs,

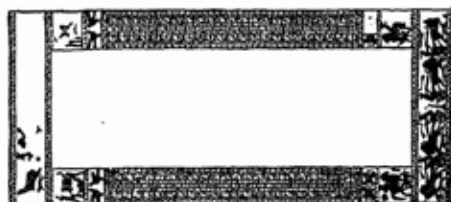


FIG. 3.—PAINTED RIM OF SARCOPHAGUS, No. 1.

&c., painted black on a creamy white ground, not only covering the broader portions of the rim at the head and foot of the sarcophagus, but extending some distance also along the rim on each side, the intervening space being ornamented with a double row of elegant *helices*, separated by a narrow band of maeander. The figures at the head of the sarcophagus are almost obliterated, but a chariot, probably a *biga*, with its *hýlochos*, or *auriga*, followed by a man on horseback, and with a dog beneath the chariot, can be distinguished by their fragments. Below this scene, on each side-rim, in a square compartment, is represented a pair of warriors, contending over the body of a third, possibly intended to portray the combat over the body of Patroclus, or some similar contest in the war of Troy. Mount Ida, be it observed, which "looks o'er Troy," is

visible from the heights above Clazomenae. The warriors in these combats are armed with long spears and circular shields, the ἀσπίδες εὐκυκλοι of Homer, which have a broad rim, or ἄντυξ, left white to represent the brass with which the shield was bound. In one instance only is the helmet distinguishable, and it is very large and cumbersome with an enormous crest; and as the fallen warrior appears to wear a similar helmet, it is probable that all these figures were depicted with helmets of the same description, as are most of the warriors represented on the other sarcophagus. Beneath these scenes, and still on the side-rims, are two compartments, each showing a pair of harpies, or woman-headed birds, with wings upraised, confronting each other. (See Fig. 4.)



FIG. 4.—PAINTING ON SARCOPHAGUS, No. 1.

The broad rim at the foot of the sarcophagus, as regards the position of the corpse when laid within it, presents a chariot-race, or rather four *bigae*, or δίδυμοι, two galloping to the right, and two to the left, with a *meta* in the shape of a Doric column between them. The artist appears to have intended to represent the chariots as having already rounded the *meta*, and as in the act of returning to the starting-point. This end of the monument has fortunately suffered little injury, and the figures are well preserved. The horses are drawn with much spirit, one carrying his head aloft, the other low, an action repeated in each instance to distinguish one animal from the other, for as their forms are not indicated by distinct outlines, nor depicted of different colours, as in Etruscan painted tombs, the two would otherwise be blended into one. The charioteers are naked, save

that their heads appear to be covered with close-fitting skull-caps, precisely like the fezes worn nowadays by Turks, Greeks, and Armenians in the East, the long tassels streaming in the wind as they stoop forward in their eagerness to urge their horses to the top of their speed; or it may be that their hair is tied in a mass behind their heads. If the former view be correct we may infer perhaps from this scene that the fez has been the headdress of civilians in Asia Minor from very early times. The *aurigae* hold the reins with both hands, but have no whip or goad. The chariots are of the usual Greek and Etruscan form, with a high *ἀντιξ* or front-piece, and a curved handle behind on each side, to assist the warrior in regaining his chariot, after encountering his adversary on foot. The wheels are heavy and clumsy, but the spokes are so disproportionately slight as to suggest metal in their construction.



FIGS. 5, 6.—PAINTINGS ON SARCOPHAGUS, No. 1.

The pole of the chariot terminates in an *acrostolion*, which, as it is drawn, appears to spring from the withers of the horses. A remarkable feature in this scene is an object which at first sight suggests the idea of a huge bell, with a clapper projecting from its mouth, suspended from above and swinging with a loose cord, one over the horses in each chariot; but which may

be nothing more than the lotus, so often introduced as a floral ornament to fill the vacant spaces in the field of Archaic Greek vases. It is represented in Fig. 5, which gives one half of this scene including the *meta*. A dog runs beneath the horses of each chariot.

The *τέμμα* or *meta* is a simple column with a sort of Doric capital, resting on a base formed of a single huge *torus*, with a broad square plinth beneath it, exactly like the bases of the columns of the Heraeum at Samos, about which, I believe, it is still disputed whether they were of the Doric or Ionic order. On the column rests a large *stamnos*, or oil-jar, intended as the prize for the victor. The capital and vase are not shown in Fig. 5, having been inadvertently omitted by Mr. Humann.

Above this scene, on each side-rim, is a compartment in which is represented a man on horseback, naked like the charioteers in the scene below, and like them wearing a long-tasselled fez. His horse is in a sharp walk, the head carried high, like the *ἐπιδάχνης ἵπποι* of Homer, the 'flag' well set on and carried like an Arab's. The form is drawn with much truth, save that the forehead is extravagantly thick and heavy, a fault which seems to have characterised the Greek horse in ancient times, if we may judge from the friezes of the Parthenon, as it certainly does the Roman horse at the present day. A dog beneath the horse testifies by his attitude his delight at accompanying his master in his ride. Behind the horseman's head is a bird on the wing, and suspended from the wall in front of him is a wine-jug. In a small compartment above each of these scenes, also on the side-rim, is a pair of sphinxes with wings upraised, confronting each other in an attitude like that of conversation. (See Fig. 6.)

These figures are so similar in many respects to those in the Etruscan painted tombs of Tarquinii and Clusium, that any one who has visited those tombs cannot fail to be struck with the resemblance, and to be reminded of the oft-asserted Lydian origin of the Etruscans, asserted almost unanimously by the ancients, but in our day disputed by certain archaeologists of the German school. The subjects represented are identical as sepulchral decorations, the designs also are so similar that any one conversant with the tomb-paintings of Etruria might take a representation of the *biga*-race on this sarcophagus to be

copied from the walls of some newly-opened 'Deposito' at Chiusi. Yet the design is undoubtedly archaic Greek. The drawing is inferior to the later vases of the archaic Greek or Attic style, and might therefore be ascribed to the middle of the sixth century B.C., were it not for a freedom and vigour about the chariot-race, and an ease about the horsemen, which seem to mark them as not much earlier than 500 B.C. The figures are in no instance carefully drawn, yet they display so much life and spirit as to lead one to the conclusion from their manifest defects that they show the hand of an unskilful artist in a somewhat advanced period of art, rather than that of a skilful draughtsman in the epoch of its infancy.

The second sarcophagus is considerably smaller than the other, measuring only 6 feet 10½ inches in length, 2 feet 6 inches wide at the head, and 2 feet at the foot, the height being



FIG. 7.—EXTERIOR OF SARCOPHAGUS, NO. 2.

scarcely 18 inches. Nor is it so richly ornamented as the other with painted mouldings, its only external decoration being a simple egg and tongue moulding, red on a white ground, which encircles the monument at its highest part. With this exception the exterior is quite plain, of the natural brick-red colour of the burnt clay. But inside the sarcophagus, to the same depth as the



FIG. 8.—INTERIOR OF SARCOPHAGUS, NO. 2.

outer moulding, runs a delicate band of double maeander, alternating with stars, marked out with dark lines, as in the other monument. A small piece is engraved in Fig. 9 (over leaf).

The great interest of this sarcophagus also lies in the figures and other decorations painted on the broad level rim in which



FIG. 9.

the monument terminates above. (See Fig. 10.) The figures are for the most part bright red on a white ground, but this is owing to the imperfect baking of the clay, as is often the case

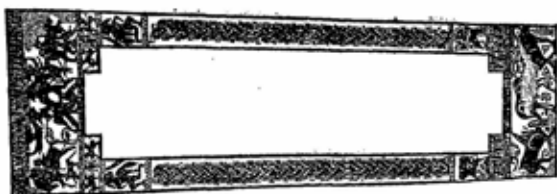


FIG. 10.—PAINTED RIM OF SARCOPHAGUS.

with Greek vases. It is evident that they were intended to be black, for in some parts the figures are black, or a reddish brown, showing that there the furnace was hottest. The head of this sarcophagus is wider by one-fifth than the foot, and on it is painted the principal scene. (Fig. 11.) In the centre is represented a combat between two warriors contending over the body of a third who has fallen to the ground, and on each side stands a *biga*, the horses' heads turned away from the centre, as if each chariot belonged to the warrior nearest to it; the *auriga* awaiting the issue of the combat. A servant on foot, accompanied by a dog, assists in restraining the horses which seem impatient of the delay. The servants wear simple *πέτασοι*, but the warriors, those on foot as well as those in the chariots, for the *aurigae* in this scene are also *ὀπλῖται*, wear huge helmets, with enormous crests of horsehair—the *κόρυς ἵπποδάσεια* of Homer—such as is represented as terrifying the infant Astyanax. Their necks are delineated of unnatural thickness, as if they were incased in their helmets, which have the appearance as here delineated of resting on their shoulders like the tilting helmets of the middle ages. But the apparent thickness

of the necks in the skiagraphs is explained by other painted scenes presently to be described. There are no inner lines to distinguish the flesh from the armour, or even to indicate the features. One arm of each *ἡνίοχος* also is represented of unnatural thickness as if it were wrapped in a *chlamys*, and the hand of the same arm, with which he holds the reins, is disproportionately large, as if he were wearing a boxing-glove. The combatants, besides their shields, have each a *chlamys* hanging in heavy masses from the shield arm. It is strange that not one of the warriors depicted on this sarcophagus has sword, spear, or javelin; either the weapons with which they were combating were omitted by inadvertence, or more probably they have become indistinguishable in the course of ages. The horses are represented in the same manner as in the other sarcophagus, one with his head aloft, the other with his head depressed, and the pair thus massed together, with no distinguishing outline, have a strange unnatural appearance. (See Fig. 11, which is copied from the tracing taken by Mr. Humann.)

Below this scene, on the rim on each side of the monument, is depicted a pair of sphinxes, facing each other, but separated by a floral ornament in form like a *krater*. Below each pair again, a warrior, accoutred like those in the scene above, with heavy crested helmet, shield, and *chlamys*, but no offensive weapon, is represented in the act of running, apparently to escape from some strange object raised against him, which, as it is fringed with hair, may be intended for the paw of some huge monster. Fig. 11 gives a faithful transcript of this strange scene.

For the length of about four feet towards the foot of the sarcophagus the rim on each side is decorated with a beautiful guilloche pattern, in red and white, enriched with a double fringe of small *helices*. Beyond this, nearer the foot, but still on the side rims, are two heads of warriors, one on each side, in a very archaic style; the eye in full though the head is drawn in profile, the nose long and sharp, and slightly *retroussé*. The helmet worn by these warriors differs altogether from those represented on the figures already described. It is a simple Attic casque, with deep cheek-pieces (*παραγναθίδες*, or *χαλκοπάρητοι*) which conceal the mouth and chin, but the hair

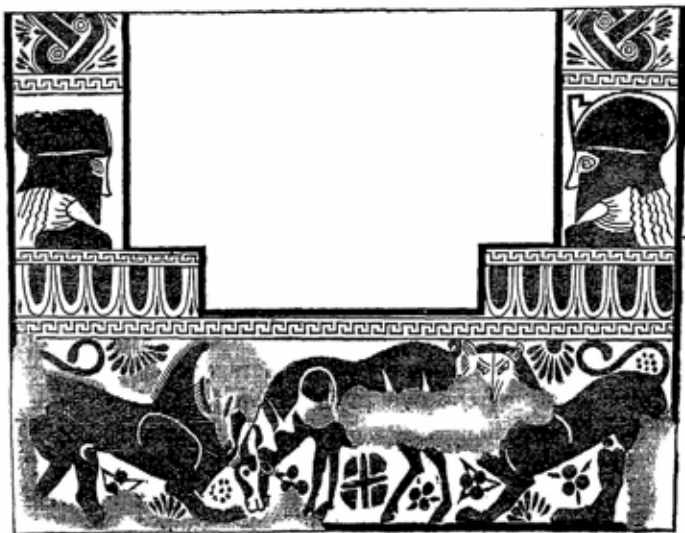
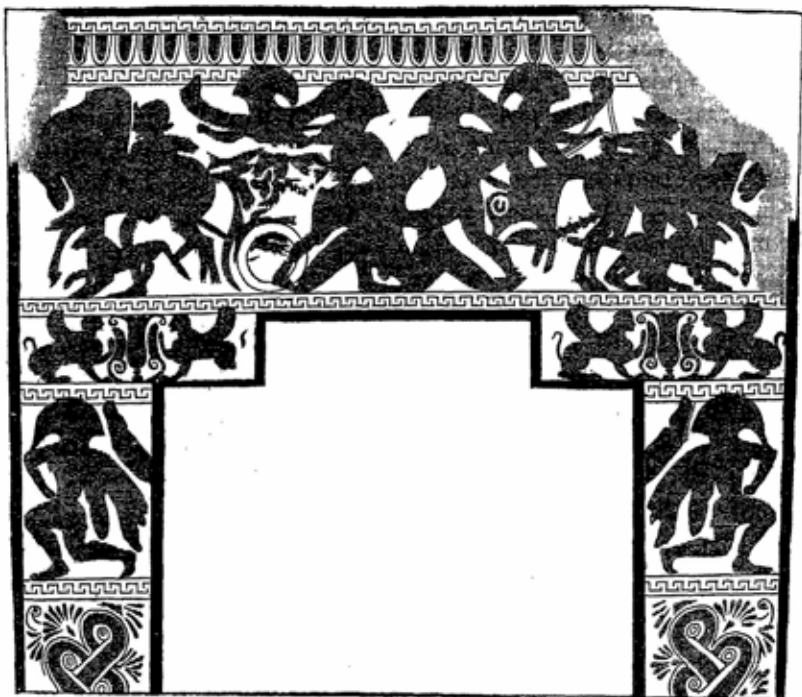


FIG. 11.—PAINTINGS ON THE RIM OF SARCOPHAGUS, No. 2.

struggles from beneath the helmet down the neck in long thin wavy curls. This helmet has no crest, 'bushy with horse-hair,' as have the Corinthian helmets depicted in the scenes above, but from the forehead rises perpendicularly a strange square



FIG. 12.—WARRIOR'S HEAD ON SARCOPHAGUS, No. 2.

projection, like a handle, which fits on to the broad ridge that crowns the casque from the brow to the nape of the neck, as shown in Fig. 12, which is copied from a tracing made by myself.

The strange handle-like projection is seen in the helmet of only one of these heads; the other having been injured does not now show it. It may have been intended to hold the long upright feathers which sometimes adorned the fronts of Greek helmets in early times, and are represented on bronzes and other

works of art of the archaic period. It seems to me very probable that in this we have an instance of the *φάλος*, so often mentioned by Homer, and the meaning of which has been much disputed; but it was evidently a projection of some description in the front of Greek helmets in Homer's time, for when Antilochos is represented as killing Echebolos the Trojan, he struck the *φάλος* of his adversary's helmet with his spear, and the point penetrated his forehead—

Τὸν ῥ' ἔβαλε πρῶτος κόρυθος φάλον ἵπποδασείης
 Ἐν δὲ μετώπῳ πῆξε, πέρησε δ' ἄρ' ὀστέον εἴσω
 Αἰχμὴ χαλκείῃ.—*Il.* iv. 459.

A similar projection or upright bar is sometimes represented on Greek helmets, and also on Etruscan helmets, as in one of the archaic bronze reliefs in the Museum of Perugia, where Hercules is represented with bow and club contending with two warriors.—Micali, *Ant. Populi Italiani*, pl. xxx.

The helmet depicted in this scene can hardly be supposed to have a detached bar of metal extending over it from brow to nape. It is more reasonable to regard the white space between what appears to be a bar and the casque itself as part of the helmet left white to represent some bright metal, probably brass, which Homer describes as a common decoration of helmets in the Trojan war. The narrow streak of white also, which crosses the helmet above the level of the eye, was probably intended to represent a band of brass, perhaps furnished with hinges by which the cheek-pieces were raised or lowered at pleasure.

The wide difference between this casque and the heavy crested helmets in the scenes above may perhaps not be without meaning. If so, I would suggest that the figures in those scenes may represent conventionally the heroes of a former and mythical age, not improbably those whose deeds are celebrated by Homer, and that in the two separate heads, with their details so carefully depicted, we see the actual fashion in helmets at Clazomenae at the period when this sarcophagus was constructed. And it is not unlikely, if the analogy of Etruscan sepulchral customs holds good in this particular as it does in others, that one of these heads was

intended as a portrait of the hero who was interred in this monument.

On the wide rim at the foot of the sarcophagus, which corresponds with the combat and chariots at the head, are depicted two lions, or rather a lion and lioness, with a doe between them, which they seem preparing to attack, while the doe fearlessly crops the herbage, regardless of the proximity of her formidable foes. This animal is drawn with much truth to nature; the lions also show considerable spirit, though less accurately drawn. (See Fig. 11.) Their bodies are almost black, this end of the sarcophagus having been better baked than the other. The lion's head is gone, but it appears to have been white, and to have faced the spectator, as his mate's does, and a most quaint cat-like face is hers, the eyes, nose, and ears being pencilled with dark lines. Her face bears a close resemblance to the full face of a panther in a scene on the walls of that wonderful archaic tomb, called Grotta Campana, at Veii, where the face is left white, although the body is party-coloured. The doe in this scene is also party-coloured, brown and white, and in all three beasts the outlines of the shoulders and hips are indicated by broad white lines. A counterpart to the white heads of the lions may be seen in very early Attic art. An archaic *lebes* from Athens, now in the British Museum, presents two lions, or it may be wolves, snarling at each other; their bodies are of a deep red or maroon colour, while their heads are left white, and the features, as in this case, are marked out by dark lines. The flowers, balls, triangles, &c., with which the ground in this scene is studded, have probably no more meaning than the '*suastikas*' to which Dr. Schliemann attaches some mystic interpretation, but are introduced merely to fill up the vacant spaces in the field—a characteristic of archaic vases of the Doric style.

The long lank hair of the two warriors' heads has its counterpart not only on early Greek vases, but also in Etruscan monuments. While the hair of the women hung behind in dense masses, or in long stiff curls over the bosom, or was concealed beneath a close-fitting skull-cap, the men sometimes wore theirs hanging in thin, wavy, snake-like locks, exactly like that of these two warriors; a good instance of which is to

be seen in the head of the *citharoedus* in the Grotta del Citaredo at Tarquinii.

This sarcophagus evidently belongs to an earlier period of art than its fellow. If I am correct in ascribing the latter to the end of the sixth century B.C., this must date considerably nearer the middle of that century. The notices of Clazomenae we have received from ancient writers, together with the positions in which these monuments were discovered, may assist us in arriving at something like the true dates.

The original founders of Clazomenae were Ionians, largely mixed with refugees from Cleonae and Phlius in Argolis, who crossed to Asia Minor on the Dorian invasion of the Peloponnesus (Pausan. vii. 3, 9). The city they founded was on the mainland, on a site afterwards called Chytrium (Strab. xiv. 1, 36). In the early part of the sixth century B.C., it was attacked by the Lydians under Alyattes, father of Croesus, who, though he captured Smyrna, was ignominiously defeated by the Clazomenians (Herod. i. 16). Yet when the Persians, after their conquest of Sardis, invaded Ionia in 540 B.C., the inhabitants of Clazomenae took alarm, and deserting the site from which they had signally repulsed the Lydians, removed their residence to the island a few furlongs from the shore, which in Greek and Roman times was known as the site of Clazomenae, and which Alexander the Great contemplated uniting to the mainland by a causeway (Paus. viii. 3, 8), an enterprise accomplished at a later period. The removal to the island, however, did not save the Clazomenians from conquest, for their new city was subsequently taken by the Persians under Artaphernes and Otanes (Herod. v. 123). Now as the earlier of the two sarcophagi was found close to the shore, immediately opposite the island, it was in all probability the tomb of one of the first settlers on the new site, who died soon after its occupation. This can hardly have been the burial-place of an inhabitant of the earlier city, which stood some few miles away to the south-west, among the range of rugged precipitous hills, which divided the territory of Clazomenae from that of Erythrae (Strab. xiv. 1, 31), and in the neighbourhood of which fragments of other archaic sarcophagi of the same material and similar decorations have been found. The larger of the sarcophagi I have described was found a mile or more to the south of the island, in the plain between Vourlah

and the sea, and its position alone, apart from the art it displays, indicates a later date than that of the smaller monument, as the ancients naturally buried their earliest dead near the city gates, and gradually extended their cemeteries further and further from their walls.

On recent visits to Clazomenae I have inquired for the lids of these sarcophagi, which I expected to find similar in material and decoration, and possibly bearing inscriptions, but I was assured that they were found covered with simple stone slabs, which were pointed out to me. The smaller and earlier monument contained nothing but a little circular pot of lead with a lid, and an *alabastron* of variegated glass, so commonly found in all very early old-world tombs—Greek and Etruscan, as well as Phoenician, Assyrian, and Egyptian. These articles are now in my possession.

These interesting sarcophagi are now about to be transferred to the Museum of Antiquities at Stamboul.

Besides these two monuments, I have made tracings of the figures on several fragments of other sarcophagi from the same necropolis. Copies of these tracings are given in the following woodcuts.

The figures are mostly black on a white ground. One of the earlier fragments (Fig. 13) represents a roebuck attacked

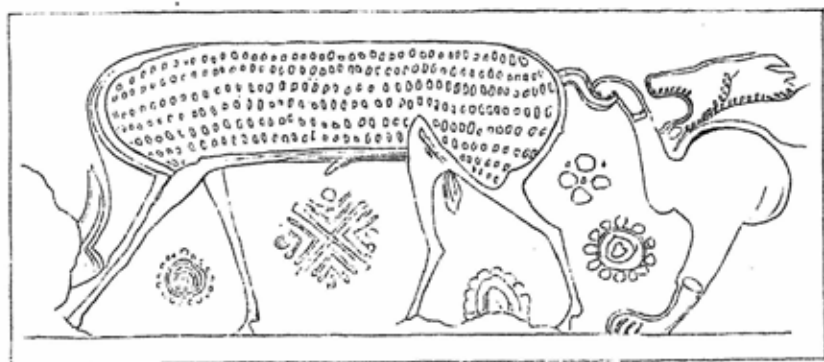


FIG. 13.

from behind by a lion. The buck is depicted grazing; his head is broken away but two very long ears, or more probably horns, are visible; the lion, whose open jaws indicate his intentions,

which from his deliberate action might otherwise be misunderstood, lays tentatively his paw on the buck's tail. The scene bears a striking resemblance in this respect to one on the walls of the Grotta Campana at Veii, the earliest painted tomb in Etruria, where a panther deliberately places one paw on the tail of a sphinx, and the other on her rump. The buck on this fragment is white, but his body, like those of all the animals depicted in that tomb, is studded with dark spots. In point of drawing it shows a much less skilful hand, and more nearly resembles the uncouth representations of animal life depicted on the most archaic Greek pottery, of the style commonly called Babylonian, or Doric, but which would more correctly be designated Asiatic. It is unnaturally long, shapeless, and disproportionately ponderous for his slender limbs. His neck also is so strangely delineated as not easily to be recognised. The lion is no less quaintly depicted, his head being sunk between his shoulders, which show an extravagant development, and his lower limbs being drawn in a conventional manner, to indicate his immense muscular power. In this respect he reminds one of the colossal rock-cut lion recently discovered by Mr. W. M. Ramsay at Ayazeen in Phrygia. His body is black, but his head and legs are white. The field of this scene is studded with floral and other ornaments in the style of the earliest Asiatic vases.

Another fragment is of less archaic character, but of far more interest, as it presents a specimen, and the only specimen hitherto known, of a polychrome Ionic painting. It represents two pairs of warriors, meeting in combat, armed with helmets, shields, and greaves, each levelling a long yellow lance against his foe. It is represented on Plate XXXI.

These figures, which are 13 inches in height, are clad in tunics, with ornamented borders at the neck, sleeves, and skirts. Three of these tunics are close fitting, and may perhaps represent armour, but one is looser, and its folds are marked out with white lines. Three are coloured black and one red.

There are some singular features in this painting, but the most striking are the helmets and shields. The two foremost figures on each side wear Corinthian helmets with deep cheek and back pieces, which explain the unnatural thickness of the warrior's necks, as depicted on the earlier of the two sarcophagi.

The hindmost warrior on each side wears a helmet in the shape of a Phrygian cap, to the very summit of which is affixed the crest. Both helmets of this form have the same singular handle-like bar, rising vertically above the brow, as distinguished the Attic casque on the earlier of the two sarcophagi, to which I have ventured to assign the name of *φάλος*, but there is this difference between them, that while in one instance this bar is single, in the other it is double, a feature which strengthens my conjecture that this projection may have served in some cases to support the two long upright feathers, often represented as decorating archaic Greek and Etruscan helmets. This helmet with its double bar may answer to the *ἀμφίφαλος κυνέη*, with which Homer represents Pallas as arming herself—

Κρατὶ δ' ἐπ' ἀμφίφαλον κυνέην θέτο τετραφάλῃρον
Il. v. 743.

In the Perugian bronze relief, before referred to, the position of this bar on one side of the ridge to which the crest was affixed, clearly indicates a corresponding bar on the other side of the ridge. In some instances the archaic Greek helmet is described with as many as four *φάλοι* attached to it.—Hom. *Il. xii. 384.*

All the helmets in this scene have crimson crests, but while in the group to the left the crests are of the usual Corinthian form, they are double in the right-hand group, a peculiarity I do not remember to have seen elsewhere represented on ancient monuments, although we know that the Greek helmet bore sometimes a double and even a triple crest, that of Tydeus, for instance, described by Aeschylus,

τρεῖς κατασκίους λόφους
σελεί, κράνους χαίτωμα
Sept. c. Theb. 384-5,

and it had even four crests, if the epithet *τετραφάλῃρον*, applied to it (*Il. v. 743; xi. 41*), will bear that interpretation.

The shields are all of the large circular Argolic form, the two to the right which present the outer side to the eye, are decorated with devices, the foremost with a monstrous Gorgoneion, bristling with tusks and snakes—*κεφαλὴ δεινοῖο πελώρου*—the other with the head and forequarters of a lion. The

shields borne by the other two warriors do not present the device to the eye, but show how the arm fitted into the *ἄχανον* or cross-strap and supported the shield. The comet-like tufts which stud the foremost shield are tassels (*θύσανοι*) which probably served no purpose but that of ornament. Such decorations to shields are sometimes depicted on Greek vases. Each shield in this scene has a broad sheet depending from it as low as the warrior's knees, painted red or brown to represent leather, and terminating in an ornamental border or fringe. This was a rare appendage to the Greek shield; though it is occasionally seen on vases even of the Perfect Style, as on a vase in the Louvre, which represents the Departure of Achilles for Troy, where the sheet attached to the hero's shield is depicted with a single monstrous eye, probably a *fascinum* against the evil eye. I am not aware if the ancient name for this appendage to a shield is known. I have heard it designated *λαισήϊον*, and the line of Homer

'Ασπίδας εὐκύκλους, λαισήϊά τε πτερύοντα,
Il. v. 453; xii. 426,

quoted in support of that designation, but the context in both instances proves that the word alludes to the light bucklers of the Trojans, in contradistinction to the heavy circular shields of the Greeks.

The scene is closed at each end by a horse, following the combatants of his side; but the forehand of each beast is alone preserved, the remainder being broken away. The steed to the left is mounted by a naked youth who takes no part in the combat, and the other horse probably carried a similar figure, though no traces of it are now visible. The horses are decorated with strings of beads, an Oriental fashion maintained to this day. Their bodies are black, but their manes red, and they have a curious patch of crimson on the side of their necks, which are strangely streaked with yellow.

Above the combatants in the middle of the scene, a large brown bird, probably intended for an eagle, and the symbol of victory, is flying in advance of the right-hand group.

Another fragment on a much smaller scale represents a horse-race, two naked youths contending for the prize; or it may be a mere procession of horsemen. The horses are drawn with



FIG. 14.

much truth and spirit, and the riders display in their seat the ease and grace of Greek art of a good period. In truth this scene shows less of the archaic than the other fragments I have seen. The steeds are decorated as usual, the ornaments of the hindmost being of elegant design. The foremost horseman appears to wear shoes, to the toes of which nails are attached probably to act as a spur. A dog accompanies each horse. Fig. 14 is taken from a tracing.

A very archaic and singular fragment displays a Satyr running, or rather a Centaur of a novel description, for this uncouth hybrid has the crest, mane, and ears, the rump, tail, and hoofs of a horse, with the body, limbs, and beard of a man, yet with a very brute-like nose of a yellow hue, although the rest of his body is black, save a large patch of red between the eye and the ear. Fig. 15, taken from my tracing, shows the strange form of this monster, who is about eleven inches in height.

Another fragment of the same sarcophagus bears a curious scene, representing a naked woman standing with a small cock in each hand, which she appears to be holding out of the reach of two dogs, which are leaping at them, or it may be fawning upon her to claim a share of her attention. She wears her hair in a tuft over her forehead, and a plaited tail behind, much in the fashion of the Greek women at the present day. A Brobdingnag chanticleer, as tall as herself, twelve inches in height, flanks her on each side. The drawing is very rude and archaic, and is probably by the same hand as the Satyr or Centaur, as the fragment evidently formed part of the same sarcophagus.

The last fragment I have traced represents a winged sphinx sitting on her hind quarters. Above her, in a separate compartment, is part of a human figure, apparently a woman, on all fours, probably representing a female tumbler. The head and greater portion of the body have disappeared. The band which separates these two figures shows a chain-like ornament novel to me as a Greek decoration.

The site of the ancient necropolis of Clazomenae is now occupied by vineyards, which produce the choicest raisins for the export market of Smyrna. In many parts a white, argillaceous rock comes to the surface, which being moderately soft and very compact was often hewn into sarcophagi, several of which are now lying among the vines. They measure about 7 ft. 4 in. long,

about 3 ft. wide, and 2 ft. 3 in. deep, bear no decoration or inscription, and were covered with slabs of the same stone.

I have made several attempts to discover the site of the earlier city of Clazomenae, but hitherto without success. It must have stood among the rocky heights which rise to the west of the vine-clad plain, and break in many places into precipices. Strabo



FIG. 15.

(xiv. i. 36) tells us that it occupied a site afterwards called Chytrium, a name evidently derived from *χύτρα*, and indicative of the clayey soil of the locality. There is but one spot among these heights which has this clayey soil, and that spot in all probability is the Chytrium of Strabo, which he speaks of as a locality—τόπος—not as a town or village. It answers to its

appellation, not only as regards the yellow clay in which it abounds, so well adapted to the manufacture of pottery, and which explains the general use of terra cotta for sepulchral monuments in this necropolis, but also as regards its position in a hollow nearly surrounded by steep and lofty heights, a sort of Devil's Punch-bowl on an extensive scale. But as Strabo tells that at Chytrium *πρότερον ἱδρυντο Κλαζομεναί*, the identity of this site with that of the earlier city must be called in question, because the spot retains no trace of habitation in ancient times, and because the earlier city of Clazomenae, which successfully resisted the power of Alyattes, fresh from his conquest of Smyrna, must have enjoyed some natural advantages of position, such as were always selected for their cities by Greek colonists in early times. Nor can any of the lofty and precipitous heights which hem in this tract of yellow clay have been the site of the first Clazomenae, for I have scaled them all without finding traces of the existence of a city in ancient times, such traces as no lapse of time can entirely obliterate. I hope in a future search to be more successful.

The locality in question well deserves the name of Hypocremnos, but Strabo applies that designation to another τόπος, distinct from Chytrium, situated to the south of it, and at the commencement of the isthmus coming from Teos (xiv. i. 31, 36).

GEORGE DENNIS.

SMYRNA.

THE GRAECO-ROMAN CIVILISATION IN PISIDIA.

1. ON June 3, 1882, while travelling from Apollonia to Antioch of Pisidia, we observed a long inscription in a cemetery by the roadside, about eleven or twelve miles west of the latter town, and close to the village of Gondáne. It was engraved on a pillar of peculiar shape, commonly used in Roman and Byzantine times: a horizontal section of the column would give the annexed figure.



A short inspection showed that the inscription was important, and Sir C. Wilson delayed the march for a day to allow me to copy it. I was exceedingly anxious to get an impression, but a strong and bitterly cold north wind, accompanied by frequent heavy showers, frustrated our attempts. At last, by laying my coat over the impression-paper on the stone, I got a squeeze of a small part. The inscription has been engraved by an unskilful workman: the lines are very uneven, the letters are unequal in size and various in form, sometimes deeply and clearly cut, sometimes merely scratched, ligatures are frequent, and often three, or even four, letters are united. In some cases it was impossible to tell, except from the meaning, whether a group of letters belonged to one line or another. In the heavy rain the only way of copying the inscription was to learn half a line by heart, and get into some shelter where I could write it out in my notebook. In this way I made a complete copy during the day: at night I wrote out lists of the proper names,

compared the different forms together, and made a note of the places where difficulties struck me. Next morning the rest of the party went on to Antioch: I waited behind, revised the whole of the inscription, and carefully observed every difficulty that I had noted. A few other difficulties have occurred to me in subsequent study of the inscription; but in the great majority of cases where I remark on an uncertainty, the difficulty was distinctly present in my mind when comparing the copy with the stone. I have therefore confidence in believing that the following text is pretty accurate, though all who have tried to read on a MS. or a stone names of a strange language will understand how difficult (I might almost say impossible) it is to attain perfect certainty when the characters are faint and blurred. Had I found this inscription a year sooner on my first journey in Asia Minor, I could not in the circumstances have made a text at all trustworthy.

The column on which the inscription was engraved was 11 ft. 7 in. high: the writing began at the very top and extended to within 1 ft. 2 in. from the bottom. A piece a foot long was broken off the top of the column: this fragment had been split in two, and the right-hand half was lying near, but we could not find the other. The letters on the small fragment that remained were so worn that only half of them could be read. The inscription consists almost entirely of a list of persons, with the place to which they belonged, and a sum of money estimated in denarii appended to each name. The short superscription describing the object of these contributions is so mutilated as to be almost unintelligible. Of the places mentioned, I hope to prove that one is spoken of by Strabo. None of the others are mentioned, so far as I know, by any author older than the Byzantine lists of the sixth and following centuries. This does not seem a promising account, yet I believe that a minute examination of the inscription will yield a considerable amount of information about a district of Pisidia which was hitherto unknown even in name. I shall give first as accurate an edition of the text as possible, then a philological and geographical commentary, and finally the historical inferences that seem to result from the inscription. In the text a square bracket denotes that the inclosed letter or letters are inserted to fill a lacuna on the stone: a round bracket denotes that the

inclosed letter either was doubtful on the stone or was wrongly engraved and depends on a correction of the reading. I have tried to distinguish between actual variations of spelling and mere faults of the engraver's hand, correcting the latter and leaving the former. The dots in each lacuna indicate approximately the number of letters lost: a line indicates that I could form no opinion as to the number of letters wanting. Where neither dots nor a line is given in the text, it is to be understood that no letter has been lost. With more time I could have deciphered more personal names, but as time was so short I gave most attention to the geographical names.

2. Text of the Inscription.

I shall not give the uncial text, as it is impossible to represent by type the irregular characters of the inscription. I may quote M. Foucart's words in a similar case (*Assoc. Relig.*, p. 221): 'J'ai renoncé à publier le text épigraphique, parce que les caractères ordinaires rendraient inexactement une inscription qui rappelle parfois les graffiti de Pompeii.' The Greek symbols for 1,000, 2,000, etc., are rendered thus, α, β.

_____ους (ι)ς μεγάλη Ἄρτεμις
 _____ρειο(ν) ἐποίησαν φιάλην _____
 _____ρ (ε) (λ). ντα καὶ χαλκώματα καὶ πατέλλ[ας
 4 & 5 _____ΞΔΙΠΥ καὶ λιβανωτρίδα
 _____ἐκ τῶν ιδίων ἀναλωμάτων
 7 _____ΕΩC
 8 _____ΑΥΡ
 _____CΙΜΟΥ
 10 _____ΙFΝ ΕΙΙΙ ΤΑ _____
 του Αὐρ Παπ[ά]ς (Μεν)[ν]έου Τ(υ)[ιτηνοῦ] ✕ . . .

1-3. The first letters of these lines are very uncertain: (ι) perhaps η: Ἄρτεμις is quite certain, not Ἀρτέμιδι.

2. (ν) first half of the N alone remains: it is doubtful.

4. [τ]φ διου[λφ]† On the relation of 1-3, 5, 6 to 4, 7-9, see below § 9.

7-10. [Ἐπὶ ἱερ]έως Αὐρ. [Ὀνη]σίμου (Μ)ε[ν]νέου Ὁ(ν)ει(ν)ιατου κατὰ† The position of ΑΥΡ is remarkable: it is doubtful whether it is in a separate

line or in the same line as ΕΩC.

10-11. Very few letters have been lost at the beginning of these lines.

11. Only the lower part of the letters ΜΕΝ remains, but the reading seems certain. If the syntax is correct, which is doubtful in this inscription, it is impossible to read anything like [ἐπὶ κρή]του; possibly [κατὰ] [ἐπιταγή]ν αὐτοῦ, referring to the priest.

- Φ[ρ]ονίμου Καρ. Μεν[νέ]ου δ[όντ] *——
 κ[ε] [ἐ]πὶ βραβευτῶν Α(ύ)ρ. Ἀλεξάνδρου (β)——
 καὶ Αὐρ. Ζωτι(κ)οῦ Μενελάου Μαρσιανοῦ δόντ[ος] *(ιυ).
 15 Αὐρ. Ζωτικὸς Μ(ε)λ(δ)ας Πτ[α]γιανός
 Αὐρ. Τιμόθεος Δημητρίου Καρβοκαμήτ[η]ς δόντος *, δά
 Γάιος Κατώνιος Μορδιανὸς Μάρκου Ἰστρ(α)-
 τιώτου Πειδρηνός * , ερ'
 Οὐέσσμιος Μάξιμος Γισζηνός
 20 Αὐρ. Ἀρτέμων β' Συναδεὺς οἰκῶν ἐν Κανδρουκώμ[η]—]
 Αὐρ. Σκύμνος Ἀσκλᾶ Ναζουλεύς *, δσα'
 Αὐρ. Ἀρτέμων Μεννέου Κελοςσιάτης
 Αὐρ. Ἀσκληπιάδης Ἑρμογένου Λυκιοκ(ω)μήτης
 Α[ύ]ρ. Ἀσκληπιάδης Τειμοθέου Ψερκιοκαμήτης
 25 [Α]ύρ. Γάιος Ρωμύλου Γαρδιβιανός
 Λουκρήτιος Κόυντος Κύντου Ὀλυμποκαμήτης, *, δα'
 Αὐρ. (Κο)ρνήλιος Ἴσ[κ]ύμνου Ναζουλεύς, *, γω'δ
 Αὐρ. Καρικὸς Ἀντ[ί]λεος Ἐξαρεύς
 Λουκρήτιος Λούκιος Πειδρηνὸς Λουκίου υἱός, *, γ(ψ)α'
 30 Α(ύ)ρ. Μακ(ε)δῶν Ἀ(θ)ηνέου Ἀσκαρηνός *, γχα'
 Αὐρ. Γάιος Βόρας Ὀλυνποκαμήτης *, γχ'
 Αὐρ. Ποσιδώνιος Ἀρτέμωνος Κινναβορήνιος
 Αὐρ. Καρικὸς Ἀπ(π)ᾶδος Κίναβοριάτης *, γφα'
 Αὐρ. Λούκιος Καρικοῦ Νειδη(ν)ός *, γφα'
 35 Αὐρ. Διοπάνης Παπᾶ Τελεσφόρου Πταγιανός
 Αὐρ. Μάμα Ἰμενο[ς] Μονοκληρείτης

12. (οντ) only the lower part of the letters remains. A slight gap with no letter was left between Δ and Ο. No space between T and *.

13. ΚΕΠΙ, the reading seemed quite certain; probably κὲ ἐπὶ. (β) only the lower half remains.

14. No trace of [ος] visible, [ιδ] the lower half of the letters alone remains.

15. (ε) C on copy. (δ) Δ on copy. [α] omitted by the engraver. A space left between Π and Τ, thus, Π . Τ.

16. [η] N on the stone.

22. A slight gap on the stone, with no trace of letters between κελο and σν.

23. (ω) P engraved by mistake on

the stone.

28. [ι], on the stone, remains, the beginning of N or H, or T, or I; Ἀντ(ή)λεος is perhaps the name, or Ἀντίλεος for Ἀντίλεως, a name not known, but quite in accordance with analogy, cf. Ἀντίδημος.

33. Probably Ἀπᾶδος is the correct reading, I in place of the second Π on the stone.

34. (ν) on the copy I, but it should certainly be connected with the leg of H; the little cross-strokes are often very faint on the stone.

36. [ς] on the analogy of line 40; on Ἰμενος see § 5, probably read Μάμας. See below.

- Αὐρ. Μεννέας Ζωτικο(ῦ) Προυρειστρε(ῦ)ς ✕, γρρ[ά]
 [Α]ὐρ. Ἰμαν Ζωτικοῦ Σοφοῦ Δα(β)ην(ε)ύς, ✕, γρρ[ά]
 [Α]ὐρ. (Γ)ειμότεος Ἀττας Κοῖντου Τυτηνός ✕, γρρ[ά]
 40 [Α]ὐρ. Διοφάνης Ἰμενος Παταμιανός ✕, γρρ[ά]
 [Αὐρ.] Καρικός Ἑρμογένου Ταταεύς ✕, βων
 Αὐρ. Γάιος β' Πύρρου Μικκωνειάτης ✕, βων
 Αὐρ. Παπᾶς Μεννέου Μικκωνειάτης [δόντο]ς ✕, βψνα'
 [Αὐρ.] Ζωτικός Δ[ημ]ητρίου Τωτωνιάτης(ς).
 45 Αὐρ. Παπύλος β' Συνναδεύς, οἰκῶν ἐν Ἀλιζέις
 Αὐρ. Ἀσκληπιάδης Ἑκατησίλου Κινναβοριάτης
 Αὐρ. Καρικός Ἀλεξάνδρου Γανζαηνός ✕, βψα'
 Μάρκος Σεπτο(ῦ)[μιο]ς β... ωνιαετης ✕, βφα'
 Αὐρ. Ἀλέξαν[δρο]ς Κυ[ρικοῦ] οἰκῶν ἐν Νείδω ✕, βφα'
 50 Αὐρ. Δούκ[ιος Μενν]έο(υ)... ρου Γλεττεύς
 Αὐρ. Ἀρτέμων [Ἀττ]άλου Ἀνπελαδηνός ✕, βυα'
 [Αὐρ. Μ]άξιμος... υ Καρσει(η)δηνός ✕, βυα'
 [Αὐρ. Ζω]τικός β' Ι(μ)[άη](ν)ος Ὀεινιάτ[η]ς ✕, βυά
 ————ος Παπίου Ἀρχελ(α)[ε]ύς ✕, βτα'
 55 Αὐρ. Ἑρμῆς β' Ἰμάηνος ✕, βτα'
 — Σευῆρος Καρ[ικ]οῦ Ἀνπελαδηνός ✕, βτα'
 Αὐρ. Ἀρτέμω[υ] β' (Μ)αην(ο)[ς] δίντος ✕, βτα'
 [Αὐρ.] Ἀλέξαν[δρο]ς Ἀππᾶ Π[εισ]διανός ✕, βτα'
 [Αὐρ.] Ζωτικός [Μενν]έου Κνουτεινέος ✕, βτα'
 60 Αὐρ. Σούριος Μ[ηνο]φίλου Ἀσκαρηιός ✕, βσα'
 Αὐρ. Καρικό(ς) Ζωτικοῦ Ὀεινιάτης ✕, βσα'
 Αὐρ. Ἀρτεμίδωτος β' Λανκηνός δόντος ✕, βρα'
 — Ἀρτέμων Ἀσκληπιάδου Κνουτεινέος ✕, βρα'
 [——]ος Ἀπᾶς Μαρσ[ε]ανός ✕, βα'
 65 [———]ς Μεννέου Μην[οδ]ώρου Τ(ε)υιτηνός ✕, βα'
 ——— Παπᾶ Ἀρτεμωνος Κερα(σ)ιανός ✕, α[ων'].

37. (υ) N on the stone.

38. (β) the stone is broken, P certain, B probable, (ε) O on the stone.

44. Inserted in small letters between 43 and 45.

45. ιζέις is engraved on line 44, immediately after τ(η)ς, but in larger letters.

52. (η) letter very faint on stone, perhaps EI-ΠΔ or EIPΔ, or EIHΔ.

56. Probably no gap before Σευῆρος.

57. (Μ) very doubtful on the stone, which seems to have AI. But Zoticus,

line 53, Hermes, line 55, and Artemon, line 57, are three brothers, whose father and grandfather are named Maēn or Imaēn; with the variation in spelling cf. Σκόμνος 21, and Ἰσκόμνος 71, Ἰσπρατιάτης. No persons want the ethnic except the two in 55, 57.

61. (ς) E on the stone.

62. The termination -δωτος is unknown in Greek.

65. (ε) C on the stone.

66. (σ) E on the stone.

- 'Ασκληπιάδου Τυ(ρ)σηνός ✕,αων'
 ——— Μακεδό(ν)ος Τυρση[ν]ός δοντος ἐπ[ι]δο[σ]ιν ✕,αω'
 Α[ῖ]ρ. Μάρκος Μενέου Τα . . λωεττηνός
 70 ——— Ζωτικῷ (Κ)ουνδοζαίης ✕, αω' ἐπίδοσι[ν]✕
 [Αῦρ. Ζω]τικὸς Ἰσχύ(μ)νον Μαμουτηνός ✕,αψν'
 ——— Β]οιτωνιάτ[η]ς Παπαδὸς ✕,αψν'
 ———]ος Μνηστέ(ο)υ Μαμουτηνός ✕,αψν'
 ———]ος Αὐξάνοντος Ἀνπελαδηνός ✕,αψν'
 75 ———]ας Ἀλεξάνδρου Γιλ[σ]ζηνός ✕,αψα'
 ———]ος Μενέου Μαμοττην(ό)ς ✕,αψα'
 ——— Ἀλ]έξανδρου Τιτηνός ✕,αψα
 ———]ιας Ἀρκαστηνός ✕,αχνα'
 ———]ος β' Λανκεηνός ✕,αχα'
 79(2) Λουκρήτιο[ς] Τίτος Ραιτηνός ✕,βφ'
 80 Αῦρ. [Α]πᾶς Μάρκου Οὐεινιάτου
 Αῦρ. Παπᾶς Ζωτικῷ Πτα(γι)ανό(ς) ✕,αχα(α')
 [Αῦρ.] Ἀρ]τέμων Δημητρίου Τενιανό(ς) ✕,αφν[α]
 [Αῦρ.] Ζωτικὸς Ἱμενος Δημητρίου Τυιτηνός ✕,αφνα'
 Ἥλιος Διο[φ]ά(ν)ης Μαξίμου Ταλιμε(τ)ε[ύ] [ς] ✕,αφνα'
 85 ———]ος Κοῖντου Ταλιμε(τε)ύς
 ——— Ζωτικῷ Κακοζηνός ✕,(αφ)α'
 Αῦρ. [—υκ]ρανος Ἀγηνὸς δόντος ἐπίδοσιν ✕,αφα'
 Αῦρ. Αὐξάνων [—]υκρα[ν]ος Ἀγηνὸς δόντος [ἐπίδοσιν ✕,αφα']
 Αῦρ. Λούκιος [. . .]ου (Ω)υνιάτης
 90 ——— μετηνος δό(ν)τος ἐπίδοσιν ✕,αφα'
 ——— Ζω]τικῷ Ὀεινιάτης ✕,αυνα'
 ——— Ὀεινιάτης ✕,ατπα'
 [Αῦρ. Μενν]έας Ἀσκληπίου Ὀεινιάτης ✕,ατπα'

69. Inserted in small letters between 68 and 70. Between α and λ there is a gap with no trace of letters; the adjective is therefore most probably *ταλωεττηνός*. *ττ* are exceedingly faint and doubtful on the stone. *Μενέου* with one N is on the stone.

70. *ἐπίδοσιν* probably belongs to line 69, in which we must supply {δόντος} *ἐπίδοσιν ✕ [αῶ]*: κ in 70 is probable.

75. *ΠΖ*, or *ΠΖ*, or *ΓΙΖ* on the stone; it is always very difficult to distinguish between Π and ΓΙ in this inscription.

76. (ο) E on the stone.

79 (2). This line is added at the end of 78–80, in three lines strongly and distinctly engraved.

81. (s) NE in monogram on the stone, (γι) Π quite certain on the stone.

82. (σ) Γ on the stone.

84. (τ) Τ seemed the reading of the stone, I believe *Ταλιμενός* is correct.

85. (τε) both letters faint but probable; in 99 a certain case occurs of τ for ν.

88. Seems a mere repetition of 87, no certain trace of [N].

89. (ν) very doubtful.

- [Αὐρ. Με]ννέας [Ζω]τικοῦ Μαραλιτηνός ✕,ατκέ'
 95 [Αὐρ.] Ἀλέξανδρος Καρικοῦ Ἀμπελαδηνός ✕,ατκέ'
 [Αὐρ.] Μεννέας Ἀππᾶδος Κερασιανός
 ————— Ζωτικοῦ Μ(ασ)υλιάτης
 ————— Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἀνπελαδηνός ✕,ασνα'
 ————— Διοπάνους Π(τ)αγιανός
 100 ————— Ζωτικοῦ Κνου(τ)εινεύς
 ————— Ξένωνος Πε(ι)σδηνός ✕,ασα
 [Αὐρ.] Ἀσκληπιάδης Ἀππᾶς [Τ]υρσηνός ✕,ασα'
 Αὐρ. Ἀππᾶς Ζωτικοῦ Λαπειστρεύς ✕,αρά'
 [Αὐρ.] Μάξιμος Ζωτικοῦ Ὠεινιάτης ✕,α(α')
 105 [Αὐρ.] Μενέας Λουκίου (Π)εσε(μ)νιάτης ✕,αα'
 [Αὐρ.] Μένανδρος Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἀνπε(λ)αδηνός
 ————— μος Ἡλίου Μεργνιάτης ✕,αα'
 [Αὐρ.] Μενέδημος Ἀλεκᾶς Κτιμενηνός ✕(φ)κέ'
 Αὐρ. Διογένης Μεννέου Στρ(ευων)ός ✕ωα'
 110 Αὐρ. Χαρίδημος Γιλίωνος Ἀμπε(λ)[αδηνός
 Αὐρ. Ἀτταλος Μενάνδρου Ἀμπελα(δ)[ηνός] ✕φα'
 Αὐρ. Καρικός β' Χθιμενηνός
 Αὐρ. Κούειντος Αὐξάνοντος Οὐεινιάτης ✕ων[α]
 Αὐρ. Ἰσκύμνος Μα(μ)ας Χθιμ(ε)[υηνός] ✕ωνα'
 115 ————— Ζωτικός Μενέου Πεσκενια(ν)ις
 Αὐρ. Μενέας Ἀππᾶδος Πολυμαργηνός
 Αὐρ. Ξένων Βουβάλου Πεισδιανός
 Αὐρ. Δάμας Βοιτινιάτης ✕ωα
 Αὐρ. Ζωτικός Ἐρμῆδος Εἰρευμενιάτης ✕,ακε

3. *Order*.—The contributors are arranged according to the amount of their subscription: the largest sum mentioned is probably 10,400 denarii, though the reading is uncertain. The other possible reading is ΓΥ, 3,400, which would disturb the

90. (ν) T clear and distinct on the stone.

97. (ασ) probably so, letters faint.

99. (τ) P apparently on the stone.

100. (τ) doubtful on the stone.

101. (ι) a dot on the stone.

102. [Τ] entirely omitted on the stone.

104. (α) A on the copy.

105. Μενέας as in 115, 116; single for double ν is common in late inscriptions in all parts of Asia Minor, (π)

and (μ) very doubtful, perhaps Πεσ-
 [κ]ενιατης, see 115.

106. (λ) A on the stone.

108. (φ) perhaps a mistake for ω.

109. (ευων) doubtful on the stone.

114. (μ) almost wholly obliterated.

115. Μενέου on the stone, cp. 105, 116; single for double letter is, as I have already remarked, common in late inscriptions of Asia Minor. Perhaps we should read Πεσκενιάτης, cp. 105.

order, but this contributor perhaps owes his place to his official position as *βραβευτής*. The largest certain sum is 6,001 denarii. There is a tendency throughout to numbers like 4,001, 3,601, &c., as if it was an object to pass a round number by one. The proper order is broken in ll. 37, 66, and 82, where the correction is obvious, in ll. 108-118 where 113 *ff.* have probably been added to the original enumeration, and in l. 79 (2) which has been added at the side of 78-80 a little below its proper position.

4. *Date*.—The date of the inscription is fixed about 225 A.D. by the nomenclature, and this date agrees well with the form of the letters.

(1) It is later than Pescennius Niger (193 A.D.) l. 113.

(2) It is later than Septimius Severus, l. 56, 48: Lucius is the commonest Roman name in the inscription.

(3) The ethnic *Μαρσιανός* is probably derived from Marcia, first wife of Severus, honoured by him with statues after his accession: I believe it not improbable that the name was given to a station on the Roman road, half-way between Antioch and Apollonia, when the road was repaired under his government.¹

(4) The praenomen Aurelius, which is borne by almost every contributor, was probably assumed when the emperor Caracalla extended the right of citizenship to the whole empire: it is sometimes, but not very often, borne by the fathers of contributors, so that the generation which contributed is on the whole that which was living in 211-17 A.D.

5. *Language*.—The large number of faults in engraving the text might be due only to the want of skill in a village workman: but this will not account for all the peculiarities of the text.

(1) Various forms of the adjective derived from the name of a place:

Κινναβορήνιος and *Κινναβοριάτης*.

Πεισδηνός and *Πεισδιανός*.

Λανκηνός and *Λανκενός*.

¹ Severus seems to have repaired the roads in Phrygia and Pisidia; see *Mithteil. Inst. Ath.* 1882, p. 130.

(2) Variations in spelling probably due to variations or indistinctness in pronunciation.

Τυτηνός, Τευτηνός, Τιτηνός, Τυιτηνός.

Χθιμενηνός, Κτιμενηνός.

Ῥεινιάτης, Ῥυνιάτης, Οὔρεινιάτης, Ὀρεινιάτης.

Ὀλυμποκωμήτης, Ὀλυνποκωμήτης.

Ἰσκύμνος, Σκύμνος (so Ἰμάνης and Μάνης, Ἰστρατιώτης).

Μαμουτηνός, Μαμοττηνός, probably a fault of the engraver.

Ἀνπελαδηνός, Ἀμπελαδηνός.

Κούειντος 112, Κόιντος 25, 85, Κύντος 25.

Διοπάνης 35, Διοφάνης 40.

Βοιτωνιάτης, Βοιτινιάθης.

(3) Grammatical faults: δόντος is used after names in the nominative, apparently in imitation of the formula at the beginning, where the names are in the genitive and δόντος is correct.

In addition to these peculiarities we must remember that though the personal names are in general Graeco-Roman, a provincial, half-educated tone characterises the inscription. The non-Greek combination -αη- which occurs in the words Ἰμάνης, Γανζαηνός, is Phrygo-Pisidian, as in Ἀσκαηνός, Ἀκρόνης. The personal name Imaên, Maên, Iman, Imenos, is a very remarkable one: I believe that Iman, genitive Imenos, and Imaên or Maên, genitive Imaênos or Maênos, are merely varieties of one name. That name is the name of the god Mên, which was assumed by the Greeks to be their word μῆν, but which is undoubtedly a native non-Greek word. Greek personal names compounded with Mên begin to occur about the third century B.C., but they are at first confined to, and always more common in, Asia Minor. The worship of Mên spread into Greece in the Roman period, but is distinctly characteristic of Pisidia and southern Phrygia. The Manês of Lydo-Phrygian mythology is doubtless the same word which is Graecised as Mên: I find the personal name Manês Ourammoês on an unedited inscription of Anaboura, a Pisidian town quite close to the district of our inscription. The prefixed *i* in Imaên and Iman may be compared with that in Iskymnos and Istratiôtês.

It appears to me that these facts can be explained only in one

way. Greek was not the language most familiar to the persons who drew up this inscription: it was the language of writing and of education, but the ancient language of the district, Pisidian or Phrygian, was still spoken by the people. It is an interesting point to observe at what time Greek supplanted the native languages of Asia Minor.¹ In the time of Strabo it is probable that Phrygian was generally spoken in at least the central and eastern parts of Phrygia; even in a rich and important city like Cibyra, situated on the western side of Phrygia towards the Greek country, four languages were spoken in his time, Lydian, Pisidian, Greek, and the tongue of the Solymi: on the other hand, Lydian had died out in Lydia, and probably Phrygian had, in the cities of Phrygia most exposed to Greek influence, given place to Greek.² Nine examples are known to me of a formula invoking a curse on the violator of the tomb, presumably written in the Phrygian language. These belong to the Roman period, and they are found in the heart of Phrygia, not down on the western side. Lycaonian was the common language at Lystra when St. Paul visited the city, though it probably lay on the great high road to the Cilician Gates³ and was an important commercial town, as we may argue from the existence of a considerable Jewish colony in the district. It is therefore not extraordinary that the native tongue should have persisted till the third century in a district removed from the direct influence of the Graeco-Roman civilisation, and having no large city as a centre.

6. A list of the names of places is of interest, as our knowledge of Pisidian names is so scanty—

Ἀγηνός, 87, 88: the village name Age or Aga.

Ἀλλίχοι, 45.

Ἀμπελαδηνός or Ἀνπελ-, 51, 56, 74, 98, 106, 110, 111: Am-
pelada: see below § 8.

Ἀρκαστηνός, 78: Arcasta.

Ἀρχελαεύς, 54: Archelais: perhaps the person is a stranger from Archelais of Cappadocia, cp. 20, 45.

¹ Strab. p. 631.

² My opinion on this point has been completely altered by a study of this inscription.

³ Assuming that Lystra is identical with *Maden Sheher*, or *Bin Bir Kisseh*.

Ἀσκαρηνός, 30, 60 : Askara : cp. Askrai of Boeotia.

[Β]οιτωνιάτης, Βοιτινιάθης, 72, 118 : Boitinia.

Γανζαηνός, 47 : Ganzaêna, the modern village is Gondâne.

Γαρδιβιανός, 25 : Gardibia.

Γισζηνός, 19, 75 : Gisza : γίσσα in the Carian town name Monogisssa is explained as 'stone,' v. Steph. Byz., s.v.

Γλεττεύς, 50 : Glettia.

Δα(β)ηνεύς, 38 : Dabênai : perhaps cp. Tabai of Pisidia, Taba of Caria ; the word ταβα is explained 'rock' (Keretapa, 'Rock of the Carians' ?).

Εἰρευμενιάτης, 119 : Eireumenia.

Ἐζαρεύς, 28 : Ezaria or Aizaria (is P a mistake for N ? cp. Aizani of Phrygia and Phrygian Ἄζην = beard).

Κακοζηνός, 86 : Kakoza.

Κανδρουκώμη, 20.

Καρβοκομήτης, 16 : Karbokômê : (village of Carbo, after some Roman governor ?)

Καρσειηδηνός, 52 : Karseia, or Karseiêda.

(Κελοσ)νιάτης, 22 : Kelosnia ? ΟΕ[Ι]ΝΙΑΤΗC ? a very doubtful name.

Κερασιανός, 67, 96 : Kerasia : cp. Kerasous.

Κινναβοριάτης and Κινναβορήυος, 32, 33, 46 : Kinnaborion : cp. Kannadêloi.

Κνουτεινεύς, 59, 62, 100 : Knoutenia : cp. Tenia.

(Κ)ουνδοζα(ί)ης, 70 : doubtful name.

Λανκηνός and Λανκεηνός, 61, 79 : Lanka.

Λαπειστρεύς, 103 : Lapeistria.

Λυκιοκαμήτης, 23 : there was a Lycian colony in Apollonia ; this village therefore was probably on the north-western edge of the lake at the edge of the plain of Apollonia.

Μαμουτηνός, 71, 73, 76 : Mamouta : cp. Adramytta. The name is probably connected with the epithet of Cybele and personal name Mamas.

Μαραλιτηνός, 94 : Maralita or Maralis : Stephanus mentions a town Narmalis in Pisidia, ethnic Narmaleus.

Μαρσιανός, 14, 64 : probably a half-way station on the road from Apollonia to Antioch, established or improved when the roads were repaired under the emperor Severus, and named after his first wife Marcia.

Μ(ασ)υλιάτης, 97 : Masylia : doubtful name.

Μεργνιάτης, 107: Mergnia.

Μικκωνειάτης, 42, 43: Mikkônia.

Μονοκληρεΐτης, 36: Monoklêros: cp. Klêros Oreines and Klêros Politikes in Phrygia Salutaris, and a bishop of Klêroi in the same province. The Greek term κλήρος was therefore applied to these small townships. Cp. Monogissa.

Ναζουλεύς, 21, 27: Nazoulia.

Νειδη(ν)ός, 34, 49: Neidos or Nidos.

Ὀλυμποκωμήτης, 26, 31: Olympos was as common a name for mountains in Asia Minor as in Greece.

Πειδρηνός, 18, 29: Peidra or Pidra.

Πεσε(μ)νιάτης, 105: (Peskeniates from Peskenia? see below).

Πεσκενιανίς, 113: Peskenia, the village named after Pescenius Niger, perhaps read Πεσκενιά(τη)ς: single for double ν as in 105, 115, 116.

Πολυμαργήνός, 116: Polymarga.

Προυρειστρεύς, 37: Proureistria.

Πταγιανός, 15, 35, 40, 81, 99: Ptagia: cp. Patara or Ptara of Lycia.

Ῥαιτηνός, 79 (2): Rhaita.

Στρ(ουων)ος, 109: doubtful name.

Ταλιμε(ν)εύς, 84, 85: Τὰ Λιμένα or Λιμναΐα, see below § 8.

Ταλωεττηνός, 69: very doubtful.

Ταταεύς, 41: Tataia, the village of Tatas, a common and ancient Phrygian personal name: cp. Dorylaion from Dorylas, Akkilaion from Akylas, Attaia from Attes or Atys.

Τενιανός, 82: Tenia.

Τυρσηνός, 67, 68, 102: it is interesting to find this name, remembering the traditional connection of the Τυρσηνοί with Asia Minor: Τυρῆα was a town in Lydia. Stephanus mentions a town Tyros of Pisidia.

Τυιτηνός, Τευιτηνός, Τυτηνός, Τιτηνός, 39, 65, 77, 83: Tyita: cp. Tityassos of Pamphylia, Titoupolis of Isauria.

Τωτωνιάτης, 44: Totonia.

Χθιμεννός and Κτιμεννός, 108, 112, 114: Ktimenos: ἔκ-
τίμενον πολλέθρον.

Ψερκιοκωμήτης, 25: Pserkio-kômê

Ὀεινιάτης, Ὀεινιάτης, Οὐεινιάτης, Ὠ(ν)ιάτης, 53, 80, 89, 91,

92, 93, 104, 118: Oinia: cp. Oinoanda, see below. [Name omitted, 55, 57].

-μετηνος, 90.

-ωνιανετης, 48.

I add here a few Pisidian names for the sake of completeness. 'Houήιος occurs four times in an unedited inscription of Anaboura, Μάνης Ούραμμύνης is another from the same town. Διὶ Πότει occurs in an inscription of Pisidia or northern Pamphylia, and is explained by Deëcke as Zeus the Lord: Πότις occurs also in Cyprus as an epithet of Zeus.¹ 'Ιμάην or Μάνη has been mentioned above: it is doubtful whether any other personal name in this inscription can be reckoned as native Pisidian; perhaps Sourios, Ouessmios, Giliôn, and even Boubalos.

The names as a whole are not unlike those which are common in western Asia Minor, especially Phrygia and Caria, and the Pisidian language was therefore perhaps akin to the Phrygian. Oinoanda in the Cibyratis bears a name differing only in the termination from Oinia. The termination -anda, -onda, -inda is very common in Phrygo-Carian town names: Alinda, 'Horse-town,' Sibidonda, Isinda, Kyinda, Dalisandos: the same ending appears in Alouda, 'Horse-town,' Attouda, 'Attys-town' (cp. Alia, Attaia), Clannouda (cp. Kelenai or Kelainai).

7. *Personal Names*.—There is a great monotony in the personal names: at the present day a list of the inhabitants of a Pisidian village would repeat over and over again a small stock of names, Suleiman, Mehmet, &c., and so in this inscription Zoticus occurs 19 times, Menneas 17, Karikos 11, Alexandros 9, Artemon 8, Appas or Apas 8.

(1) The most common class of names is derived from gods characteristic of Asia Minor worship: Menophilos, Menodoros, Menneas,² Iman, Imaên, Maên, refer to the god Mên, whose worship is almost universal in Pisidia and Southern Phrygia: Mamas and Demetrios refer to Cybele-Demeter: Papas, Papias,

¹ See *Bull. Corr. Hell.* iii. 335; Deetke in *Burs. Jahresh.*, 1882, p. 221, and in *Bezenb. Beitr.* vi.

² Fick, *Griech. Personenn.* p. 194, makes Menneas a 'pet name,' derived

from such a word as Menedêmos, or Menandros. As the name is exceedingly common in Asia Minor and rare in Greece, I find his explanation untenable.

Papylos, Appas, refer to Papas, and Attas to Attes or Atys, both characteristic Phrygian gods: Asclepiades, Asclepios, Asclas, Telesphoros, refer to Asclepios worship: Artemon, Artemidotos, and Hecatesios refer to Artemis: Helios, Hermes, Posidonius, which are rare, may belong to this class, or to class (4).

(2) Greek names of good omen, Phronimos, Sophos, Stratiotes, Auxanon, Zotikos, Mnêsteos.

(3) Names adopted either as borne by emperors, Septoumios, Severos, Aurelius, or as characteristic Roman names, Lucius, Marcus, Quintus, Gaius: Lucius and Marcus are rather commoner than Gaius and Quintus, which is perhaps due to their being the names of Severus and Caracalla: Lucius occurs 6 times, Marcus 5, Gaius 4, Quintus 4.

(4) 'Fancy names,' derived from education and reading: historical are Catonius, Cornelius, Maximus, Romulus, Meidas, Menelaos, Pyrrhos, Attalos, Alexandros, and Alekas the diminutive, Makedon, Atheneos: literary (?) are Lucretius, Lucretius Titus, Menandros, Diogenes:¹ of no special character are Diophanes, Timotheos, Charidemos, Menedemos, Ant[i]leas, Xenon, Hermogenes, Skymnos.

(5) Various: Mordianos from Mordiaion, the old name of Apollonia; Karikos, an exceedingly common name in later Phrygian inscriptions; ² Sourios, Ouessmios, Gilion, Boubalos, are perhaps Pisidian names, though the last is known in Greece.

The names derived from religion, and those which are distinctly native in character, Menneas, Imaên, &c., are more numerous among the fathers of the contributors, than among the contributors themselves: so are the Greek names of good omen. The 'fancy names' are decidedly more numerous among the sons, and rarer among the fathers. This suggests that education was advancing, the provincial native character and the power of religion growing fainter, in this and the preceding generation. The whole tone of the inscription points to this conclusion. The names are such as Graeco-Roman civilisation

¹ Menandros is a favourite name in Asia Minor.

² It is the only case of a common name in Asia Minor derived from the

name of a race, the stem is common also in names of places, Keretapa, Krya, Keressos, and occurs in a divine name, Men Karou.

made common all over Asia Minor: with the single exception of Iman or Imaên, they contain nothing distinctive of this particular district.

8. *Topography*.—The inscription was found near the north-eastern corner of the large double lake, Egerdir Göl and Hoiran Göl, the only lake of any size in Asia Minor whose ancient name is unknown: the stone is so large that it is not likely to have been carried far, and the cemetery of Gondâne is so full of old fragments that there must have existed some ancient town in the neighbourhood. This district formed part of the Roman province of Galatia, as is expressly recorded by Ptolemy. After the redistribution of the provinces about 297 A.D., the district formed part of the province of Pisidia.

Already while copying the inscription, the form Ἀμπελαδηνός delighted me very much. It is obvious that the village Ampe-lada is a Graecised form of the Graeco-Pisidian Amblada, so that we have a clear example of the process on which I have already insisted in this *Journal*¹ as often taking place where local or religious names in Asia Minor were Graecised: an attempt was made to give the word a meaning in Greek. The concurrence of three consonants was avoided by inserting a vowel, and the word was assimilated to the Greek ἄμπελος or ἀμπέλιον, which survives in modern Greek with the pronunciation ambeli.² Now Strabo remarks that Amblada of Pisidia lay near the Phrygian frontier, and that it produced a wine useful for medicinal purposes; and Ptolemy places Amblada in western Pisidia: the description corresponds exactly with the Ampe-lada of the inscription, and the two must be identical. The wine explains why the little town was mentioned by Strabo, and why the name became Ampelada.

Amblada was an older form of the town name, as is seen on coins.³ So we find in Phrygia the name Blaundos is sometimes spelt Mlaundos. In both cases the B was developed as in the Greek βροτός or βλώσσω; and the true old form is Mlada or Mlandos, which are clearly the same name. Blados, mentioned

¹ 1882, p. 59.

² The form Amplada was actually used in the Byzantine period, see Le Quien, *Oriens. Christ.* vol. i. under

Amblada of Lycaonia.

³ See Waddington, *Voyage Numism.*, or in *Rev. Numism.* 1851.

by Hierocles in the province Hellespontus, is another form of the same name.¹ Balandos mentioned in Lydia by the *Notitiae*, is probably the same town as Blaundos, which lies near the frontier. The difficult form Mlada was avoided in two ways: (1) Amlada Amblada (becoming Ampelada), and Blandos or Blados or Blaundos; (2) Malandos becoming Amilanda and Balandos, perhaps even the modern Galandos.

Ampelada, Amplada, Amblada, or Amilanda,² must have been somewhere on the east side of the lake, where a good southern exposure, sheltered from the north wind, would favour the growing of vines. The modern town Galandos lies near the lake on the east and probably retains the ancient name. It is said that at Egerdir on the south side of the lake, not many miles from Galandos, and just beyond the limits of the district embraced in this inscription, twenty-five different species of grapes are found.³ Neither Hierocles nor the lists of bishoprics mention a town named Amblada in Pisidia, but they all give an Amblada in Lycaonia. The Byzantine province of Lycaonia did not extend further west than Serki Serai, east of lake Caralis; so that it is quite impossible to suppose that any part of the district embraced in this inscription was included in Lycaonia. It is also impossible to suppose that a town situated at, or east of, Serki Serai furnished seven contributors to our inscription, or that it could be called by Strabo τοῖς Φρυγῶν ὄμιλος, or that Ptolemy could have placed it in western Pisidia. There are therefore only two alternatives: either there was an Amblada in Lycaonia, and another Amblada in Pisidia, and the latter town disappeared before the Byzantine period, or Hierocles must, as Forbiger suggests,⁴ have made a mistake in assigning Amblada to Lycaonia. The lists of bishoprics are generally according to the political divisions of the country, e.g. all the bishops of Pisidia are under the metropolitan see of Antioch, but in some few cases a bishopric is connected with a distant metropolis. I can only suppose that for some reason or other Amblada was placed under the see of Iconium, and that

¹ M. Waddington thinks it is actually Blaundos, mentioned here by mistake; probably he is right. See Lebas, *Inscr. As. Min.* No. 1011.

² The form Amilanda or Amalanda is

used for Amblada in *Act. Concil.*

³ Ritter, *Kleinasien*, ii.; as the book is not in any Athenian library I cannot give the exact reference.

⁴ *Alle Geogr.* ii. p. 335.

Hierocles, whose list has been much influenced by the enumeration of bishoprics,¹ has assigned it to the wrong province. Two reasons are in favour of the latter alternative: first it is exceedingly rare for a town which coined money under the Roman Empire to disappear in the Byzantine period, and a comparative list of towns in the two periods proves that prosperity increased steadily, and that the old towns all remain; secondly, the language of Philostorgius,² when he mentions the Byzantine Amblada, applies very well to the Ampelada of our inscription. He says that it lay in an unhealthy and unpleasant situation, that the soil was barren, and that the inhabitants were very rude and uneducated: this last trait is quite in accordance with our inscription.

Ampelada and Oinia furnish more contributors than any other towns. Has the name Oinia any connection, either true or according to popular etymology, with *οἶνος*? We might look for the town in the vine-growing district near Amblada, and trace its prosperity to the same source.

Kinnaborion, which is three times mentioned in our inscription, was a bishopric in the Byzantine period. It is mentioned in *Not. Episcop.* i. vii. viii. ix.; and one of its bishops attended the sixth general council, while another was absent from the council of Chalcedon. Although it is in the heart of Pisidia, it is always placed under the metropolis of Synnada in Phrygia Salutaris. This is one of the geographical irregularities that sometimes occur in the lists of bishoprics. Kinnaborion is not mentioned by Hierocles nor in the very full list *Not. Episcop.* iii. x., xiii. In so exhaustive an enumeration of the towns as Hierocles gives, it can hardly be doubted that some of the fifty-five places mentioned in the inscription must occur. In making a comparison we must remember what gross errors often occur in the Byzantine lists³ of Hierocles and the *Notitiae*. Hierocles

¹ He sometimes uses such expressions as *ὁ Τιμβριαδίων [ἐπίσκοπος]*.

² *H. Eccles.* v. 2.

³ I may here give a few examples that have hitherto puzzled the commentators, Konioupolis for Dionysopolis, Sitoupolis for Anastasiopolis, Thampsioupolis for Themisionion. Many of these varieties are not mere clerical

errors: they are actual variations of spelling due to the indistinct pronunciation and provincial dialect of a half-educated people. How poorly educated even the bishops of the Byzantine period were may be judged from the fact that one of those present at the council of Chalcedon could not write his own name.

begins his list of Pisidian towns thus, Antiochia, Neapolis, Limenai, Sabinai, Atmenia. The first two, now called Yalowatch and Karaghatch, lie east of Gondâne, a little north of lake Caralis (lake of Beisheher). Instead of Atmenia we find in *Notitiae* vii. viii. ix., the forms Atenia, Atenoa, and it is hardly doubtful that *Τενιανός* in the inscription refers to the same place. But further, there is equally little doubt that *Δαβηνεύς* of the inscription and Sabinai of Hierocles are the same place, and that Sabinai ought to be corrected Dabinai.¹ It now becomes clear that his enumeration follows a well-defined geographical order. First he takes the country between Antioch and the two lakes, then the country bordering on Lycaonia, then the northern part of Pisidia, then the south-western round Baris (Isbarta), then the southern frontier.

Finally, it is probable that the form *Ταλιμενεύς* occurs in the inscription, though the reading is doubtful on the stone (see critical note l. 84-5). This form would be derived from *ταλιμνία*, *Τὰ Λιμνία*, i.e. *Λιμναία*, a name, perhaps, for the small islands in the lake.² *Τὰ Λιμνία* is the *Λιμνέαι*, or *Λυμνέαι*, or *Λυμναία*, or *Λίμνη*, of Hierocles and the *Notitiae*: *Λιμενεύς* occurs as the adjective. This identification enables us to recognise three consecutive towns of Hierocles in the district embraced by the inscription.

If my interpretation of *Ταλιμενεύς* is admitted, it tends to confirm Prof. Hirschfeld's view that the double lake along which these towns or villages were situated was called in ancient times *Λίμναι*. It appears, therefore, that some of the contributors mentioned in our inscription come from the extreme southern corner of the lake: and it has already been shown that Marsia and Lykiokome were probably on the northern shore towards Apollonia. The subscription was therefore common to a large country, all the northern and eastern shores of the lake. Let us now turn to the mutilated superscription to see what object brought together such widely separated villages.

9. *Historical*.—The only fact that can be gathered with certainty from the mutilated beginning of the inscription is that

¹ The town is not mentioned in any other place.

² Prof. Hirschfeld places Limenai at Egerdir, the promontory beside the

islands. This position would not suit the inscription, as it is divided by mountains from the district where the other towns are found.

the money subscribed was devoted to buying certain articles employed in the worship of the great goddess Artemis: but the subscription is on such a large scale that it must have been intended for a greater purpose. The word *δίπυ(λον)* makes it probable that the object was either to build, or to improve and beautify a temple of the goddess. Now the arrangement of the opening lines is remarkable.¹ The inscription was evidently intended at first to begin with line 4; we will conjecture that it defined the object of the subscription *τῷ διπύ[λῳ]*, the date [*ἐπὶ ἱερ]* *ἕως 7, ἐπὶ βραβευτῶν 12*, and the list of those who had subscribed more than 850 denarii. Afterwards some addition was made at the beginning in the blank space above the first line of the original inscription. There was not room to insert all that was needed in the space above and six words were added at the right hand of the old inscription: this addition records that some persons 'made at their own expense a phiale and some other articles, and chalkomata and patellai and a libanotris.' This addition is engraved in smaller letters and less deeply than the rest: it is therefore much more difficult to decipher. The phiale and the libanotris often occur in inventories of temple property; in the *Corpus Aἰβανωτῆς* is twice given where the sense certainly demands *Αἰβανωτῆς* (1570 *b* and 2855). Patellae are not mentioned in any other Greek inscription known to me: the occurrence shows the mixture of Greek and Latin terms characteristic of the later Roman and Byzantine times. Festus explains patellae as dishes in which food was set before the gods, especially the Lares and Penates. Chalkoma occurs often in the sense of a bronze plate to engrave an inscription on: it is mentioned in inscriptions of Corcyra and Sicily.

The subscription appears to have embraced the villages and small towns near the lake from the extreme southern extremity² to the north-western corner. A glance at the map will show that this includes all the lake country except two well-defined districts marked out by the mountain-system, the plain of Apollonia and the district in which lie Baris, Seleuceia Sidera, Agrae, and Conana: these two districts centre round points away from the lake, while the district embraced by the inscrip-

¹ An attempt is made to indicate it in the text.

² Even if the proposed interpretation

Ταλιμε[ν]εύς is rejected, the boundary is extended far south by other considerations.

tion is the lake country proper. The people of this lake country subscribe towards a temple of Artemis, situated near the lake and about the middle of the district. Now in the social system which is known to have existed in Cappadocia, in Phrygia, also in Smyrna and Ephesus, in the non-Greek period, different districts had their centre in a *hieron*; the priests of the *hieron* interpreted the will of the god, and the people around were the servants of the *hieron*, *ιερόδουλοι*. Greek civilisation was always hostile to this system, and the history of Asia Minor, wherever we know anything of it, shows always the same conflict between the *polis* system of the Greeks, and the *hieron* system of the natives. The Greeks developed a *πολιτεία*, while the native system is technically described by the phrase *ῥκεῖτο κομηδόν*—the people, living in towns or villages, had not a definite political system, but depended on the *hieron*. The worship of Artemis, as Curtius has remarked,¹ was peculiarly associated with low-lying land and reed-covered marshes. The reeds shared with men in the worship of the goddess, and moved to the sound of the music in her festivals, or, as Strabo says, the baskets danced, or in Laconia maidens crowned with reeds danced.

This description enables us to form some conception of the worship of Artemis beside the Pisidian lake; and the remarkable suitability to this particular case proves the truth of our application. Every detail, so far as the details are known in other cases from our scanty information, suits here admirably. *Limnatis* was a favourite epithet of the goddess, used sometimes as her actual name: so we find a Laconian dedication *ἀνέθηκε Λιμνάτι*.² We have, a few pages back, seen reason to accept Prof. Hirschfeld's conjecture that the lake near which this *hieron* stood bore no more definite name than *Limnai*.

It cannot be supposed that the *hieron* system survived in its purity through the Roman period: the *hieron* was now only a social centre with no political power. But it appears that the whole district still looked to it as the religious sanctuary. All over Asia Minor we observe that as a rule the sanctuary is outside the city: so at Ephesus, at Smyrna, and many other places. A political centre grows up, but it is always apart from

¹ Curtius in *Arch. Ztg.* 1853, p. 150; ² See Fränkel, *Arch. Ztg.* 1876, p. E. Müller in *Philol.* vii. on *Gygæa*; 28, on Artemis *Limnatis*.
K. O. Müller, *Dorier*, i. p. 382

and in opposition to the religious centre. In this case the Roman domination prevented the development of political power: the administration of the imperial province of Galatia, in which the district was embraced, gave apparently less freedom to the inhabitants and allowed less local government than the senatorial province of Asia: in the latter the towns had the right to put the names of their own magistrates on their coins. Hence it would appear that the Graeco-Roman civilisation was far better established in the valley of Metropolis than in this district, as is evident from the contemporary inscriptions of Metropolis published in this number of the *Journal*. Development came with the spread of education and knowledge of Greek; the use of fine classical names began to be common at the end of the second century. The inscription bears witness to a prosperity and contentment remarkable to any one that knows the modern country. I doubt if any man in the district is now rich enough to subscribe twenty denarii to any purpose.

It is difficult to gather what relations existed between the *hieron* and the different towns, and what were the duties and powers of the officers, apparently two in number, called *ῥπα-ῥευραί*. But the fact that coins of Amblada are known under Commodus and Caracalla proves that that town had its own magistracy and separate government. It is, however, quite possible that the *hieron* of Artemis was at the town of Amblada, and that the surrounding villages were dependent on it as the centre of authority.

Note on Amblada.—Although the point is of little importance, I am unwilling to leave it without stating distinctly the reasons which lead me to think that all the different towns named Amblada, Amplada, Ampelada, Amilanda, Amalanda, Amlada, are really only one town, situated beside the lake of Egerdir, possibly at Galandos. The occurrence of *n* before *d* in some cases, and its absence in others, show that the nasal sound was very slight; probably the *n* only marks a nasalised vowel, which was generally disregarded when the word was written in Greek letters. This weakness of the *n* before *d* has long been known as characteristic of the Pamphylian and Cyprian dialects, so that it is not strange to find it also in Pisidia.

If we set aside for the moment the evidence of our inscription,

it is evident that, after the identification of Anaboura,¹ &c., there are only two positions in which it is possible to place Amblada, the eastern shore of the Egerdir lake, say at Galandos, and the neighbourhood of Serki Serai. Now an examination shows that the evidence of Strabo and of Ptolemy is accurate and clear if they are referring to Galandos, but if they are referring to Serki Serai their language is exceedingly loose and inaccurate.

Strabo describes lake Caralis in connection with Lycaonia and its *ὁροπέδια*: he evidently conceives that the lake lies between Lycaonia and Pisidia. It is not consistent with this to place a Pisidian town east of the lake at Serki Serai. Again he says Amblada is one of the towns *τοῖς Φρυξίν ὁμοροὶ καὶ τῇ Καρία*. He considers the boundary between Phrygia and Pisidia to be a line running east and west a little south of Antioch and Apollonia. Galandos is then most clearly *Φρυξίν ὁμορος*, but Serki Serai is not. In the first place it is a long way south of the frontier-line: in the second place the town of Anaboura, which Strabo mentions, is right between Serki Serai and the frontier.

Ptolemy² places Neapolis due south of Antioch, Amblada south-west of Antioch and west of Neapolis.³ This agrees exactly with Galandos, but is quite wrong if we think of Serki Serai. I am aware that Ptolemy is not always to be trusted implicitly, but I could quote several cases where he is absolutely accurate while modern geographers are quite wrong.

Again there is plenty of evidence to show that the neighbourhood of the lake of Egerdir is rich in grapes and in wine. I have already given one quotation to this effect: compare the following sentence translated from the *Djihannuma* of the Arab geographer Hadji Khalfa with the passage of Strabo about the medicinal wine of Amblada,⁴ 'Bavlo est le nom d'une montagne auprès du lac d'Egerdir. Cette montagne abonde en raisins et en mûres blanches, dont on fait une espèce de vin cuit qui est fort estimé.' I know no evidence that grapes abounded on the east side of lake Caralis; the Isaurian mountains far to the south-east are the only other grape-growing district mentioned.

¹ See my paper, *Mittheil.* 1883, 'Notes and Inscriptions from Asir Minor.'

² I use the text of the Tauchnitz edition of Ptolemy.

³ Neapolis is the same as Anaboura, see *Mittheil.*, l.c.

⁴ See Vivien St. Martin, *Asie Mineure*, ii. 699.

The case would be too clear to need discussion were it not for the evidence of Hierocles, which is undoubtedly of the highest value. But M. Waddington has proved that his list of towns in Hellespontus is inaccurate,¹ and I feel compelled by the evidence quoted to believe that in this case he has been misled by the arrangement of the bishoprics, in which for some reason or other Amblada was attached to the metropolitan see of Iconium. This arrangement perhaps arose during the time when no province of Lycaonia existed, and when Iconium was a part of Pisidia.²

It is easy to give examples of such geographical irregularities in the arrangement of the bishoprics: I need here mention only Parlais, which I think I have proved to be a town in the south of Lycaonia, but which is always placed under Antioch of Pisidia.³

W. M. RAMSAY.

¹ Waddington on Lebas, *Inscr. As. Min.* No. 1011.

² The province of Lycaonia was formed later than the Concil. Sardicense, 347 A.D., perhaps later than Conc. Alexandr.

362 A.D., but was already in existence in 373 A.D.

³ See 'Uned. Inscr. of As. Min.' No. 48 in *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1883.

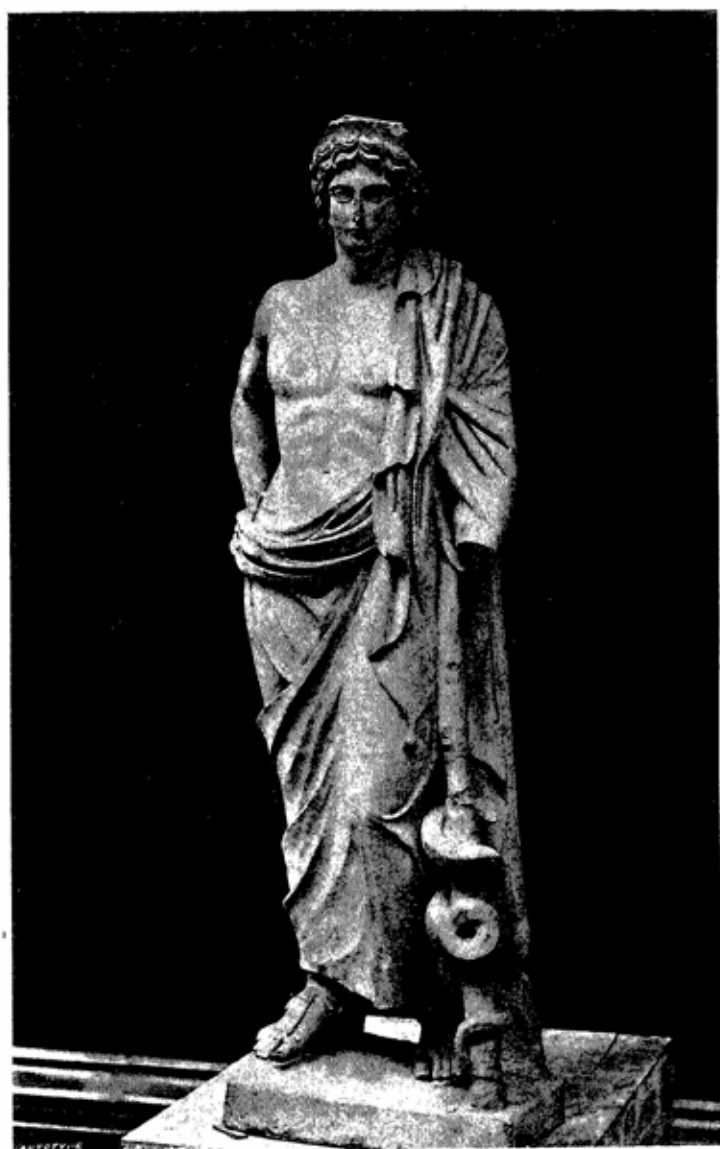
A STATUE OF THE YOUTHFUL ASKLEPIOS.

THE marble statue of a youthful male figure holding in his left hand a snake-encircled staff, which is reproduced in the accompanying plate, was found by Smith and Porcher at Cyrene,¹ and is now in the collection of the British Museum. By its original discoverers this figure was named Aristaeus: an attribution which has been adopted, though with some hesitation, in the *Museum Guide* to the Graeco-Roman Sculptures.² As, however, this attribution seems more than doubtful, it may be well to lay before the readers of the *Hellenic Journal* some additional remarks upon the subject, and to direct special attention to a statue which is not among those photographed in the *History of Discoveries at Cyrene*, and which has not, hitherto, been figured elsewhere.

The statue now to be described is four feet five and a half inches in height, and represents a young and beardless male figure standing facing. His right hand rests upon his hip, and under his left arm is a staff round which is coiled a serpent. The lower half of the body is wrapt in a *himation*, the end of which falls over the left shoulder, leaving the chest and the right arm uncovered. The hair is wavy and carefully composed, but does not fall lower than the neck: around the head is a plain band, above which has been some kind of crown or upright head-dress: the top of the head has been worked flat. On the feet are sandals, and at the side of the left foot is a conical object which has been called a rude representation of the *omphalos*, but which is, in all probability, a mere support. The head of

¹ *History of Discoveries at Cyrene*, by Capt. Smith and Commander Porcher. London, 1864, p. 103, No. 74.

² Part ii. (1876), p. 48, No. 114. The statue is at present in the Graeco-Roman Basement.





the serpent, and the left hand, which has rested on the staff, are wanting.

This statue was found in a Cyrenian temple which has been called the Temple of Venus on account of several statuettes of that goddess having been there discovered together.¹ Besides the images of Aphrodite, there were also found a Demeter, a pilaster in form of Pan, a representation of Apollo, a relief of the nymph Cyrene crowned by Libya, and other objects.² The divinities found in company with our statue being so miscellaneous, it is obvious that its find-spot cannot be considered much guide in determining its attribution. Fortunately, however, the figure itself holds an object which is sufficiently familiar and distinctive—that snake-encircled staff which is the almost invariable accompaniment of the god Asklepios. The pose, moreover, and the arrangement of the drapery are those which must be recognised as preeminently Asklepian, though of course they are not appropriated to the God of Medicine exclusively. There would, in fact, be no difficulty in naming this figure Asklepios, were it not for the feminine appearance and the extremely youthful forms which it presents. The staff is, indeed, the staff of Asklepios, but the face is the face of Apollo. It is no doubt this divergence from the familiar bearded type of the God of Healing which has rendered previous writers, in spite of the presence of the snake-encircled staff, averse from denominating this statue Asklepios. The attribution to Aristaeus has not, however, much to recommend it. When we have said that this statue was discovered at Cyrene, and that Aristaeus was the mythic founder of Cyrene; when we have urged that Aristaeus would probably resemble Apollo in his features, and that he had a subordinate rôle as a medical divinity, we have exhausted the stock of arguments in favour of this attribution. And even if those arguments were far more convincing than they are, this representation would still entirely fail to accord with any of the artistic representations of Aristaeus, so far as they have been made out by archaeologists: for, in accordance with his character as a beneficent patron of country life in general, this divinity seems to have been portrayed as a bearded figure holding in his right hand the Horn of

¹ Smith and Porcher, *op. cit.*, p.

² Smith and Porcher, p. 102, f.

Plenty,¹ or perhaps as a shepherd bearing upon his shoulders a ram.²

But if we are willing to discard Aristaeus and to fix on Asklepios as the personage here intended, our difficulties will be much lessened by recalling the fact that certain ancient statuaries portrayed the God of Medicine not under the image of a man of mature age, but as a youth. Though I have no right to make the publication of this statue an excuse for a dissertation on the presentment of Asklepios in art, I shall, perhaps, be justified in saying a few words as to this youthful type of the God of Medicine.

There can, I think, be little doubt, especially if we look to the numismatic evidence, that the bearded type of Asklepios is the one which early became generally prevalent. The creation of the Zeus-like ideal of the God of Healing has, with much probability, been referred by Overbeck³ to Alkamenes, or to some one or other of those pupils of Pheidias who made images of Asklepios. The portrayal of Asklepios as a youth must, probably, be regarded as something quite exceptional—just as the representation (by Boëthos) of Asklepios as a *child* was clearly exceptional.⁴ Even the genius of Skopas, who delighted so much in the beauty of youth and who was perhaps almost the first to display the God of Healing as young, could not win for this conception a place in the affections of the multitude:—Νέος δὲ γυῖας δαίμονας καθιππᾶσω, men said of this young Asklepios; and, as we know from innumerable effigies, from coins and from gems, from statue and from votive relief, it was the *bearded* Asklepios who did in the end prevail. It is unfortunate that of this remarkable type we should know so little; but there are, I believe, only three undoubted references to statues of Asklepios as a youth.⁵

¹ Eckhel, *Num. Vet. Anecd.*, p. 107; G. C. Müller, *De Corcyraeorum Republica*, p. 55.

² See the article 'Aristaeus' in Daremberg and Saglio, *Dict. des Ant.* A bronze statue found in Sardinia representing a young and nude male figure, on whose body are bees, has been explained as Aristaeus; see Spano, *Bull. Sardo*, 1855.

³ *Griech. Plastik* (3rd edition), vol. i. p. 274.

⁴ Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, No. 1599.

⁵ Overbeck (*Griech. Plast.* i. 274, 3rd ed.) incidentally remarks that Praxiteles represented Asklepios youthful, but I cannot find any authority for this statement. No doubt it is a slip of the pen for Skopas.

Perhaps the earliest of which we hear is the *agalma* which stood at the entrance of the Temple of Asklepios at Sikyon, and which was made in gold and ivory by the sculptor Kalamis (circ. B.C. 500-460). Pausanias,¹ who describes it as that of a beardless figure, distinctly calls it Asklepios; and there is no reason to suppose him mistaken, though this representation of the God of Healing is apparently unique—the god holding in one hand a sceptre and in the other a pine cone.² A beardless statue of Asklepios is also mentioned³ as existing at Phlius, but Pausanias gives us no particulars respecting it. Lastly, we learn from the same authority that the great Skopas made for the Temple of Asklepios at Gortys in Arcadia an *agalma* of the god in which he was represented as youthful.⁴ We should have been grateful to Pausanias for any details concerning this work, for in all probability it was no mere repetition of an older idea, but itself an original Asklepios type. But the indefatigable traveller to whom all archaeologists owe so much had no room in his notebook for long descriptions, and he merely describes this youthful Asklepios as he describes that of Sikyon and of Phlius, by saying that it is an Asklepios who has not yet grown a beard—*οὐκ ἔχων πω γένεια*.⁵ On extant monuments, representations of the youthful God of Medicine are extremely rare. A coin (see woodcut) in the French Collection, issued in the reign of Caracalla at Phlius, seems certainly to portray Asklepios as beardless; though the specimen is, unfortunately, not in a very satisfactory state⁶ of preservation. In addition to this

¹ Paus. ii. 10, 3. Cp. Overbeck, *Griech. Plast.* (3rd ed.), i. 217-222.

² Πίλριος καρπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας. Cp. the relief in the *Ἀθήναιον*, vol. v., p. 318, No. 39, and Lenormant, *Les Origines de l'Hist. d'après la Bible* (2nd ed.), p. 84 (note).

³ Paus. ii. 13, 5.

⁴ Paus. viii. 28, 1. Cp. Urlichs, *Skopas*, p. 15 f., and p. 39 f.; Overbeck (on Skopas), *Griech. Plast.* (3rd ed.), vol. ii. p. 11 f.

⁵ Skopas also made a statue of Asklepios for the Temple of Athene Alea in Tegea (Paus. viii. 47, 1). It is not stated by Pausanias whether or not it was beardless. At Titane there

was a marble statue of Asklepios called *Γορτύριος* (Paus. ii. 11, 8), and because the Asklepios of Gortys in Arcadia was beardless, it is supposed by Curtius (*Peloponnesos*, i. p. 35) and by Panofka (*Asklepios*) that this statue was likewise beardless.

⁶ Panofka, in his *Asklepios* (Taf. v. n. 6), engraves the reverse type of a similar coin of Phlius (*obv.* head of Sept. Severus; = *Mion. Suppl.* iv. 1044, p. 159), but from an extremely bad specimen. The coin here reproduced is taken from a cast kindly sent me by M. Babelon of the Bibliothèque Nationale. In the case of the youthful seated figure feeding a serpent

there should be mentioned two marble statues, engravings of which may be consulted in Clarac¹ or Wieseler-Müller. Both these statues (Nos. 775 and 776 in Plate lx. of the *Denkmäler*) represent a youthful male figure who stands facing,



leaning on a snake-encircled staff. On the left of one figure (No. 775) stands a netted *omphalos*, on the left of the other (No. 776), a globe. The head of the figure No. 775 somewhat resembles that of a young Herakles, and his hair is short and curly: the hair of the other figure (No. 776) is long, and hangs down on each side of the head. It is extremely unsatisfactory to note that in the case of both these marbles the serpent and staff are restorations. The head of No. 775 certainly belongs to the statue, and the head of No. 776 is stated by Clarac to be antique, 'et seulement rattachée,' but I am much inclined to doubt whether it belongs of right to its present body.

To these examples of the youthful Asklepios—such as they are—we may now add the statue which forms the subject of the present paper. However little that statue may reproduce the work of Skopas, it is, archaeologically, of some importance as another instance of a very rare and interesting class of representations; while it has the merit of being absolutely untampered with by modern restorers. It evidently belongs to Roman times, but is, perhaps, not later than the reign of Hadrian. The treatment of the drapery is hard and the face rather expressionless. The vacant look which the eyes now wear may, indeed, have been obviated originally by the use of

represented on a silver coin of Zacynthus, it is hazardous to determine whether Apollo or the young Asklepios be intended. (See Mionnet, t. ii. p. 206, n. 8; *Planches*, Pl. lxxiii. n. 3;

cp. Prof. P. Gardner's *Types of Greek Coins*, Pl. viii. No. 33.)

¹ *Mus. de Sculpt.* Pl. 549, N. 1139; (tom. iv. text, p. 10): Pl. 545, No. 1145 (tom. iv. text, p. 3, No. 1145).

colour; and though there is little to praise in the general execution of this work, I think we may see in it the traces of better things, and may even believe that its sculptor had in mind the production of some older and more famous artist whose powers exceeded his own.

The worship of Asklepios was certainly flourishing at Cyrene in the first century A.D.;¹ and it is, indeed, extremely probable that this cultus was known to the Cyrenians at a time long anterior to the Roman rule. Herodotus,² it will be remembered, speaks of the noted physicians of Cyrene, and a school of medicine at that epoch almost implies a sanctuary of the God of Medicine.³ At the neighbouring town of Balagrae, Asklepios was revered (though we know not how early) as *Ἱατρός*. This worship is said by Pausanias⁴ to have been derived from Epidaurus, and to have been handed on by the Cyrenians to the Cretan Lebene.

Before taking leave of this subject, I ought to mention certain representations of an undraped beardless youth holding a snake-encircled staff. These representations occur on Roman coins and medallions of the Imperial age, and special attention has been lately directed to them by Dr. Von Sallet in a short notice published in the *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* (vol. ix. (1881) pp. 139-141). The German numismatist is doubtful whether we ought to consider the figures in question to be those of the young Asklepios or of an Apollo holding the Asklepiian staff. In a paper recently published in the *Numismatic Chronicle* (vol. ii., 3rd ser., pp. 301-305) I have myself endeavoured, whilst bringing forward other representations of the same class, to show that these figures are those of Apollo, who in his character of medical divinity has borrowed the peculiar attribute of his son Asklepios.

¹ Tacit., *Ann.* xiv. 18. L. Müller, *Numismatique de l'ancienne Afrique*, vol. i. (Coins of the Cyrenaica), pp. 163-164. A figure probably of Hygeia ('art very late and coarse') was found at Cyrene in the Temple of Apollo (Smith and Porcher, p. 100, No. 12), as well as a statuette ('sculpture late and bad') probably of Asklepios. (Cyrene, find-spot not noted. Smith and Porcher, p. 107, No. 127.) 'Le serpent d'Esculape est' aussi placé

comme type sur les monnaies [of the Cyrenaica] de l'époque romaine.' Müller, *op. cit.* p. 111.

² iii. 131.

³ On autonomous coins of the Cyrenaica the serpent occurs as an accessory symbol. Müller (*op. cit.* p. 110; Cp. *Suppl.*, p. 3) would refer it to the cultus of Asklepios.

⁴ ii. 26, 7. Cp. Barth, *Wanderungen durch die Küstenländer des Mittelmeeres*, vol. i. pp. 415-416 and p. 432.

My chief grounds for this contention are that (in two, at any rate, of the instances) the arrangement of the hair in long tresses is unmistakably Apolline, and that the figures are introduced completely undraped, while we have no evidence that such was the case with Asklepios even when represented as a youth. While therefore it may be well in searching for examples of the youthful God of Medicine to beware how we mistake an Apollo for a genuine young Asklepios, yet in our Cyrenian statue both the style of the hair and the presence of drapery lead us to see an example of the youthful Asklepios rather than an Apollo holding the Asklepiian staff.

WARWICK WROTH.

METROPOLITANUS CAMPUS.

It may not be unsuitable to the purpose of this *Journal* to depart for once from the strictly scientific method, and describe shortly the problem of a 'Lost Phrygian City,' as it presents itself to the explorer both in its relation to ancient literature and in its actual modern features. I take the example of a city which played no part in ancient history, which is mentioned only twice or thrice incidentally in classical literature, where no known event took place and no person known to fame was born, which, in short, is about as insignificant as a city could well be, and I hope to show that the discovery even of such a little city may have interest and value for classical scholars.

The passage in which Livy describes the march of the consul Manlius on his piratical raid through Asia Minor is one of peculiar interest on many grounds, apart from its value for students of geography. There is no passage in the whole of Livy which is more obviously translated from a Greek original: it is therefore of great importance in the question of his relation to his authorities and of his trustworthiness in using them. Beyond the mere resolution of the true scholar to understand his author, there is the further incentive to study this particular passage that the author's historical character is to some extent dependent on it. Now the third recorded stage beyond Sagalassos in Manlius's march is the *Metropolitanus Campus*. Where in wide Phrygia was the Metropolitanus Campus?

When Alcibiades found that the game was lost among the Greek cities, he took to a roving life in Asia Minor, and at last was slain at a village between Metropolis and Synnada. The closing scene in the life of a man who was for a time the central figure in Greek history, however much of a scoundrel he may (like several other distinguished old Greeks) have been, is not wholly devoid of interest to Greek scholars.

Strabo quotes a sentence from Artemidorus describing the road that was formed under the Diadochi between Ephesus and Mazaca of Cappadocia, afterwards called Caesareia; the first station mentioned east of Apameia on this road is Metropolis. I shall not here dwell on the fact that viewed as a whole the history of Asia Minor for many centuries depends on this great artery of communication; I merely appeal to the desire, which every true scholar has, to understand thoroughly the author he reads.

To numismatists Metropolis has the interest that it presents to him the problem of unclassified coins. There is a Metropolis in Ionia, and there are two cities Metropolis in Phrygia; of the latter one was included in the province of Pisidia after 297 A.D., and may be distinguished as 'the southern Metropolis.' The coins of Metropolis may be divided into classes:—

(1) Coins with the legend ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝΤΩΝΕΝΙΩΝΙΑ: Metropolis of Ionia.

(2) Coins with the legend ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝΦΡΥ: one of the two cities Metropolis in Phrygia, and, as I shall prove here, the southern Metropolis.¹ The magistrate is the *πρώτος ἄρχων*.

(3) Coins with the legend ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ, mentioning a *στρατηγός* as eponymous magistrate; these cannot have been coined by the southern Metropolis. They begin in the third century,² and the list of magistrates known to me includes eleven names.

(4) Coins with the legend ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ, mentioning the games *ΣΕΒΑΣΤΑΚΑΙCΑΡΗΑ* (*sic*); one of this class mentions a *strategos*, so that these coins are struck by the same city that coined class (3). The choice is limited therefore to Metropolis of Ionia and the northern Metropolis. This class also belongs to the third century.

(5) Coins with the legend ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ, and

(6) Coins with the legend ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩC. Some of the coins in these two classes are certainly Phrygian. M. Wadding-

¹ I proposed this assignation on insufficient grounds in *Mittheil. Inst. Ath.* 1882, p. 145.

² Mionnet quotes from Sestini a coin of Antoninus Pius with the legend, ΕΠΙ.....ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ.

ton bought one in the country (see his *Voyage Numismatique*), and I have seen several there, but unfortunately before I began to make a note of such coins. Others certainly belong to Metropolis of Ionia. I have not the opportunity of studying the coins belonging to these classes.

On October 25, 1881, our little party left Apameia, now called Dineir, the capital of Phrygia in the Graeco-Roman period. Our object was to trace the course of the important Roman road which led to Synnada, the modern town Tchifout Cassaba, 'Jews' Market,' and, as far as we could learn, the only direct route between the two towns crossed a valley called the Tchyl Ova. We climbed the steep ascent behind—*i.e.* east of—Apameia, crossed obliquely the plain of Aulocrene, now called Dombai Ova, 'Buffalo Valley,' and entered a ravine among the hills on the opposite side.¹ Our course was nearly north-east. Among the hills we several times observed cuttings in the rock; they marked the course of the Roman road, along which, as early as the time of Strabo, the huge monolithic columns of Phrygian marble were conveyed to the Aegean coast on their way to Rome. About sixteen or seventeen miles² from Apameia we reached the Tchyl Ova, a fertile valley about eleven miles long and four broad, completely surrounded by hills. The road goes straight along the valley which extends towards the north-east. In such a fertile valley on the great Roman high road some city must have stood, and it was at once resolved that we must find its remains. There are at least a dozen villages in the valley, and we began to search them one by one. The following day we found three inscriptions, a number of marbles, and traces of buildings at the village of Horrou on the north side of the valley, and above it on a hill there was said to be a *kale*, 'castle.' The *kale* showed evident traces of fortification, but little except fragments of glass and pottery to prove that a Roman city had occupied the site.³ On the third day we came in the afternoon to Tatarly, near the other end of the valley;

¹ I have since regretted that we did not spend a day among the villages on the northern side of this valley, along the road to Sandukli, the ancient Hieropolis. I should now look for some Phrygian city on this road; but circumstances confined our whole journey within very narrow limits of time.

² I use the word mile always in the Roman sense.

³ No coins, except a few Byzantine and autonomous coins of Apameia, could be found in the valley. A Greek emissary had recently crossed the valley, and bought every coin.

here we soon discovered that there were several inscriptions on stones half-buried in the cemetery, and the natives said that at the *kale* on a little hill over the village there were 'old stones' and 'old houses.' At the same time we made another less pleasant discovery: I had in the morning sent on the baggage and servants to a village which was said to be at an hour's distance, but in Tatarly the natives declared this village was four long hours' ride away, and already it was within three hours of sunset. It is injudicious to be far from camp after sunset in a half-populated country where no roads exist, but it was hard to desert the inscriptions. Especially tempting was one very large marble basis, on the under side of which we could see an inscription in big letters. We got out all the able-bodied men of the village, armed with the clumsy native picks and small trees to serve as levers, and proposed the magnificent reward of tenpence if they succeeded in turning round the big stone. I may say that I have dug up many Turkish cemeteries in Asia Minor, and never met with the slightest disapproval except once at Tyana in Cappadocia, where some veiled ladies came up, hot and angry, luckily just too late to hinder the men from uncovering an inscription for my benefit: in fact, so far as my experience goes, Turks are never so jovial and ready to lend a helping hand as when digging up the graves of their ancestors. After an hour's toil the stone was still unmoved, and the workmen began to relax their efforts. We raised our reward, and encouraged them by promising one shilling and fourpence; the judicious munificence produced good effect, and the stone was moved sufficiently for me to copy the inscription. The others were easily copied: we hurried off without visiting the *kale*, and luckily reached the camp without any misadventure except a long ride in the dark.

None of the inscriptions found in the valley contained the name of the town, and for the time it seemed that we had failed to discover our city. But in May 1882 I had the opportunity, during a journey in company with Sir Charles Wilson, of acquiring a wider knowledge of the country. It then became clear that the Metropolis where Manlius halted, and which lay on the road from Ephesus to Caesareia Mazaca, must have been in the Tchyl Ova, and that the valley is the Metropolitanus Campus. Passing through Paris in December 1882, it occurred to me that M. Waddington's wide knowledge of Phrygian

antiquities might enable him to identify some of the names mentioned on my inscriptions, and at the first glance he recognised that the person honoured in one of them was a magistrate mentioned on unedited coins bearing the legend ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝΦΡΥ.

Professor Hirschfeld has placed this southern Metropolis in the valley of Apollonia, and when writing on the topography of this district in the *Mittheilungen des deutschen Instituts zu Athen* for 1882, I could only follow his authority. Several of the arguments in my paper, therefore, cease to have any value; but the proposal made in it to assign the coins of class (2) to the southern Metropolis has since proved correct. As in the present paper I shall have occasion to differ from Professor Hirschfeld on several other points, I must here say that in the great majority of cases the sites which he assigns to Pisidian and Phrygian cities seem to me certainly correct, and that my divergence from his views is on points which he had not the opportunity of seeing so thoroughly. His journey made Pisidia, previously a *terra incognita*, one of the best known parts of Asia Minor.

No. 1.

The place of honour is given, as is but fair, to the inscription on the large marble basis.

	ΗΒΟΥΛΗΚΑΙ
	ΟΔΗΜΟΣ
	ΕΤΕΙΜΗCΕΑΥΡ
	ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΝ
5	ΚΑΡΙΚΟΥΜΕΝΝΕ
	ΟΥΕΝΔΟΞΩC
	ΝΕΙΚΗCΑΝΤΑ
	ΘΙΚΩΝΠΑΝΚΡΑΤΙ
	ΟΝΑΓΩΝΑΘΕΜΕ
10	ΩCΜΕΝΝΕΑΝ-C
	ΠΡΩΤΗCΔΟΘΕ
	CΙ-CΤ-ΓΛΥΚΥΤΑ
	Τ-ΙΠΑΤΡΙΔΙΥΠΟ
	ΤΟΥΠΑΠΠΟΥ
15	ΑΥΤΟΥ

Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησε Αὐρ. Ἀλέξανδρον Κάρικου Μενέου ἐνδόξως νεικήσαντα [Πυ]θικῶν πανκράτιον ἀγῶνα Θέμεως Μενεανῆς πρώτης δοθε[ί]σης τῇ γλυκυτάτῃ πατρίδι ὑπὸ τοῦ πάππου αὐτοῦ.

In a Themis or ἀγὼν θεματικὸς the prizes given to the victors in the sports were not mere garlands, but objects of value, sums of money, or even an honorary statue.¹ Such games were common in Lycia, Pamphylia, Pisidia, and we may from this inscription add southern Phrygia. The genitive of θέμις in this sense is usually θέμιδος, but in this and another inscription of Metropolis it is θέμεως. It was a feature of the Graecising civilisation of these countries that some wealthy citizen paid the expenses of the festival and was rewarded by having his name given to it; the custom recalls the choragic and similar liturgies in Athens, but it is quite contrary to the democratic pride of Athens that the name of any citizen should be given to the festival. If the donor was still living, it was usual that he should be *agonothetes*; if the games were celebrated with money bequeathed for the purpose, a relative of the donor often filled the office. So we find

(1) At Oinoanda a Θέμις ἀγῶνων Εὐαρεστέων, in which the giver of the games, Julius Lucius Meidias Euarestos is ἀγωνοθέτης (C. I. G. 4380 m.).

(2) At Balboura a Θέμις, the gift of Meleagros Castor, whose grandson Thoantios is ἀγωνοθέτης διὰ βίου, and holds the games at least eleven times (C. I. G. 4380).

(3) At Sagalassos an Ἀγὼν Καλλιππιανεῖος, celebrated with money bequeathed by M. Ulpius Kallippianos, in which Q. Aurelius Diomedianus Alexander is ἀγωνοθέτης (C. I. G. 4369).

(4) At Side a Θέμις Παμφυλιακὴ Τουησιανεῖος, in which Aurelius Paioueinos Touesianos the donor is ἀγωνοθέτης διὰ βίου (C. I. G. 4352).

(5) At Telmessos a Θέμις τετάρτη ἀγῶνων Προκλημανῶν, in which M. Domitius Philippus is ἀγωνοθέτης διὰ βίου (C. I. G. 4198).

¹ See Longperier in *Rev. Numism.* *As. Min.* No. 1209; *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1869-70; Waddington on Lebas, *Inscr.* iii. p. 340.

(6) Unknown city. The first Themis Theodoreios in which the donor Aur. Theodoros is ἀγωνοθέτης διὰ βίου (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* iii. p. 340).¹

In the First Menneanic Themis the pancration was won by Aurelius Alexander, grandson of the donor, whose name, therefore, must have been Menneas, and who, in the regular course, was doubtless agonothetes. The senate and the people of Metropolis placed an inscription in honour of the victory on the very large marble basis which gave us so much trouble to move, and on which there perhaps stood originally a statue of the victor in the character of an athlete. It must have been some unusual circumstance that prompted the state to do so, inasmuch as the cost of the Menneanic Themis was defrayed by Menneas. Moreover the expression *πρώτης* might be taken as a proof that the inscription was not composed till later Menneanic Themides had been celebrated. The general language of the inscription is peculiar, and suggests that at some later time the state commemorated the victory of Alexander in the pancration, 'when the First Menneanic Themis was given by his grandfather to his sweetest fatherland.' This supposition becomes a certainty when the following two inscriptions are compared:—

No. 2.

At Horrou, six or seven miles away across the valley, engraved on a marble basis.

	ΕΤΕΙΜΗCΕ
	ΑΥΡΜΕΝΝΕΑC
	ΔΕΜΕΩCΑΓΩ
	ΝΟΔCΤΗCΑΥΡ
5	ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΝ
	ΤΙCΙΟΥΠΡΟΤΡΕ
	ΨΑΜΕΝ-CΤ-CΠΟ
	ΩCΕΝΔΟ
	ΩCΑΓΩΝΙCΑ
10	ΕΝΟΝΤΥΔΙ
	ΩΝΤΑΝΚΡΑΤΙ
	ΔΟΝ

¹ See also Lebas, Nos. 1209, 1210, 1223, 1257, &c.

Ἐτέλμησε Αὐρ. Μεννέας, [Θ]έμεως [ἀ]γωνοθ[έ]της, Αὐρ.
Ἀλέξανδρον Τι[ε]ίου, προτρεψαμένης τῆς πόλεως, ἐνδόξως
[ἀ]γωνισά[μ]ενον Πυθι[κ]ῶν πανκράτιον.

This is the honorary inscription, probably forming part of the prize (θέμα), put up by the agonothetes under the direction of the state,¹ in honour of the victor in the pancration. Aurelius Menneas, the agonothetes, places the inscription and therefore pays its cost. He is no doubt the same Menneas who, as we have seen, was donor and agonothetes of the Menneanic Themides. This Themis, in which Aurelius Alexander Tieiou won the pancration, must certainly be the first, otherwise the expression δευτέρας or τρίτης would be added, as in the following inscription and in many other cases. But we have just seen that the victor at the first Themis was grandson of the donor, and we can now restore the pedigree of the family as follows:—

Aurelius Menneas
|
[Aurelius] Karikos Menneas
|
Aurelius Alexandros Tieiou.

The peculiar indeclinable name Tieiou is quite in accordance with Phrygian analogy: we find Μῆν Τιάμου, Μῆν Φαρνάκου, Μῆν Κάρου. It is one of the last lingering traces of the pre-Greek languages of Asia Minor.

When I showed this inscription to M. Waddington, he recognised that Alexandros Tieiou was mentioned on two inedited coins of Metropolis of Phrygia in his collection. By his permission I here describe them:—

(1) *Obv.*—Radiated head of Decius, right:

ΑΥΤ.Κ.Γ.Μ.Κ.ΤΡΑΔΕΚΙΝCΕ (*sic.*)

Rev.—Within a tetrastyle temple of Corinthian order, Cybele seated two-thirds turned to the left, holding a patera in the right hand, and having the left resting on a tympanum. On the ground on each side of her a lion. The pediment of the temple is quaintly ornamented with tracery and with four

¹ Compare τοῦ συλλόγου προτρεψα-
μένου in an inscription from Teira of

Lydia, Μουσ. Σμυρν. Σχολ. Νο. σλα.

objects like disks or phialai mesomphaloi, a large one in the centre and a smaller one in each corner.

ΠΑΡ.ΑΛΕΞΤΙΕΙΟΥΑΡΧΗΡ
ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΙ
ΤΩΝΦΡΥ

Size, 10 of Mionnet.

(2) *Obv.*—Bust of the empress to right.

ΕΡΕΝΝΙΑΝΕΤΡΟΥΣΚΙΛΛΑΝ.

Rev.—Fortune standing, with cornucopia and rudder.

ΠΑΡ.ΑΛΕΞ.ΤΙΕΙΟΥ.ΠΡΩ.ΑΡ
ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝΦ

Size, 8 of Mionnet.

To these I add two other inedited coins from the collection of Mr. Lawson, mentioning the same magistrate,¹ which he has permitted me to publish.

(3) *Obv.*—Bust of Decius.

Rev.—Simulacrum resembling that of the Ephesian Artemis.

ΠΑ.ΑΛΕ.ΤΙΕΙΟΥΠΡΑΡ
ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝΦΡΥ

Size, 6 of Mionnet. A and P in monogram.

(4) *Obv.*—Bust of Decius.

Rev.—The god Mên standing slightly turned to the right hand, wearing the high Phrygian cap and a short tunic, with the crescent on his shoulders, holding a spear in the right and a patera in the left hand.

[Π]Α.ΑΛΕ.ΤΙΕΙΟΥΠΡ.ΑΡ.
ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝΦΡΥ

Size, 6 of Mionnet.

¹ One of them I described in *Mithteil.*
Inst. Ath. 1882, p. 144, but with the
inscription incomplete, and (through

a misprint which would have been cor-
rected if I had seen the proof sheets),
incorrect.

Alexander Tieiou was First Archon in the reign of Trajanus Decius, 249-51 A.D. We may therefore place the first Themis some time between 220 and 230. The family was evidently the richest in the valley of Metropolis, and is mentioned below in inscription (5). When Alexander was head of the family, the state perhaps recalled his victory as a young man in the pancration, and commemorated it by a statue and inscription.

The second Menneanic Themis, which is presupposed in our argument, is mentioned in the next inscription.

No. 3.

On a small basis, buried upside down, in the cemetery at Tatarly: I could not uncover the first lines of the inscription.

5

ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΝΒΙΑ
ΝΟΡΟ ΠΟΥΔΕΝ
ΤΟΤΤΟΝΚΑΙΖΩ
ΤΙΚΟΝΝΕΙΚΗCΑΝ
ΤΑΕΝΔΟ W C
ΑΝΔΡΩΝΤΑΝ
ΚΡΑΤΙΟΝΘΕΜ
ΜΕΝΝΕΑΝΗΝ
ΔΕ ΤΕΡΑΝ

[ὁ· δεῖνα ἀγωνοθέτης] ἐτείμησε Σέλευκον Βιάνορο[ς] Πού-
δεντος τὸν καὶ Ζωτικὸν νεικήσαντα ἐνδο[ξ]ως ἀνδρῶν πανκράτιον
Θέμ[ιν] Μεννεανὴν δε[ν]τέραν.

No. 4.

ΟΔΗΜΟΣ
ΕΤΕΙΜΗCΕΑΥΡ
ΑΡΤΕΜΩΝΑΒ

ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησε Αὐρ. Ἀρτέμωνα β' κ.τ.λ.

This inscription also must belong to the third century, as both father and name are called Aur. Artemon. The custom

of making Aurelius an almost universal praenomen belongs to the third century, and probably began when Caracalla, whose name was Aurelius, extended the rights of citizenship over the whole empire.

No. 5.

In a house at Tatarly on a slab of marble, quite complete, but the letters so worn as to be hardly legible.

ΑΥΡΑΛΕΞΑ

◇ΥΔΙΓ

ΑΥΡ ΛΕΞΑΝ

ΡΟCΜΕΝΝΕ

◇ΥΤΟΝΕΑΥ

Τ◇ΥΕΓΓ◇

Ν◇Ν

This inscription evidently belongs to the same rich family that we have learned about. Aurelius Alexander, son of Menneas, places it in honour of his grandson Aurelius Alexander. The word *δῖς* seems to occur in line 3, indicating that the father and grandfather of the person bore a name whose genitive ends in ◇Υ. But we have the name of the grandfather, and therefore assuming the reading *δῖς*, we can restore the inscription as follows. *Αὐρ. Ἀλέξα[νδρον Ἀλεξάνδρ]ου δῖς Αὐρ. [Α]λέξαν[δ]ρος Μεννέου τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἔγγονον.* It is highly probable that Aur. Alexander, son of Menneas, is identical with Aur. Alexander, son of Karikos Menneas in No. 1. Then the whole pedigree of the family during the third century is

Aur. Menneas

|
[Aur.] Karikos Menneas|
Aur. Alexandros Tieiou, magistrate 250.|
Aur. Alexandros|
Aur. Alexandros.

No. 6.

The text of the inscription has been already published by Prof. Hirschfeld in his paper on Kelainai-*Apameia*. My copy is more complete than his, and gives the following reading with perfect certainty :—

ὁ δῆμος ἐτέλεμυσεν Ἀπφίαν θυγατέρα Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἀττ[α]λο[υ]
Λουκίσκου ἱερασαμένην ἐπιφανῶς θεᾶς [Ἀρτέ]μιδος Τ[α]υρ[ο]-
πόλου.

The Artemis Tauropolos of Metropolis is represented on a coin, described above, after the fashion of the Ephesian Artemis. The name Metropolis points to the worship of the Mother goddess as the chief cultus of the city.¹ It is not necessary to think that Artemis was a distinct goddess from the Mêtêr, with a separate temple. There was a tendency to give Greek names to the gods of Phrygia,² and their native names are not often preserved. As the same deity presented analogies with several Greek deities, it was easy to give several different Greek names to one god. So at Iconium³ we find a goddess called Achaia and identified with Demeter, but immediately afterwards styled *δεκάμαχος*, which indicates a goddess of the type of the Ephesian Artemis. The same double identification took place at Metropolis.

Pausanias gives a remarkable example of the way in which Greek legend supplanted native Phrygian legend under the influence of Graeco-Roman civilisation. A coffin with human bones of immense size had been found at Temenothyrai on the river Hyllós, and the people in general called them the bones of Geryones; but Pausanias argued that this was impossible, and found that those who were skilled in the antiquities of the district (οἱ τῶν Λυδῶν ἐξηγηταί)⁴ assigned the bones to Hyllós,

¹ It is very extraordinary that Forbiger, *Alto Geogr.* on Metropolis of Phrygia, should pronounce this derivation *lächerlich*.

² The same tendency has operated in Greece itself in many cases, see Foucart on Lebas, *Inscrip. Pelop.* No. 326a, p. 165.

³ *C. I. G.* No. 4,000.

⁴ The word *ἐξηγητής*, besides its technical sense in religious law, often denotes in Pausanias the persons who showed him over the sights of the district and expounded to him its antiquarian lore, hardly distinguishable from his *περιηγητής*, or 'guide.'

the son of Ge. Here we see that as early as 150 A.D. ordinary people had quite forgot their country legends and learned Greek mythology; and I have elsewhere proved that the people of Magnesia *ad Sipylum* had by this time substituted the Greek literary form of the Niobe and Tantalus legends for the native tales.¹

No. 7.

At Horrou, on a marble basis broken down the middle. The left half of the stone remained. Letters very much worn.

	ΤΟΝΓΗΚΑΙΟ
	ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗ
	ΤΟΙΑΚΑΙΣΑΡΑ
	ΟΝΣΕΥΗΡΟΝΠΕΡΤ
5	ΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΟΝ
	ΕΥΣΕΒΗ
	ΝΙΚΟΝ
	ΥΟΥΤΟΝΣΩΤΗΡΑ
	ΤΗΓΟΙΚΟ
10	ΩΝΑΝΑΛΩΜΑ
	ΛΩΓΑΥΡΖΩ

The letters in line 11 are very doubtful.

Τὸν γῆς καὶ θ[αλάσσης] δεσπότη[ν αὐτοκρά]το[ρ]α Καίσαρα
[Λ. Σεπτίμι]ον Σευῆρον Περτ[ίνακα] Αὐγουστον [μέγιστον?]
Εὐσεβῇ [Αδιαβη]νικὸν [Παρθικόν? ?] οὐ τὸν σωτήρα [πάσης]
τῆς οἰκο[υμένης ἐκ τ]ῶν ἀναλωμά[των . . .]ω Γ. Αὐρ.
Ζωσ[ίμου].

The formulas in this inscription show great ignorance of the proper official titles of the emperor. It is almost doubtful if it should not be restored as referring to M. Aurelius, *i.e.* Caracalla, who is sometimes styled Severus. The Roman V is borrowed to denote the non-Greek sound in this word.

I copied four other fragmentary inscriptions at Horrou,

¹ *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1882, 'Sipylos and Cybele.'

Tatarly, and Oktchilar,¹ but they are so imperfect that it is unnecessary to publish them. Two were in Latin, one certainly sepulchral: Latin inscriptions are rarely found away from the Roman roads in Asia Minor.

These inscriptions do not give us much information about Metropolis: but they prove clearly that the city took a sudden start in prosperity during the third century, when the Roman Empire was growing so weak and rotten at its centre. This was confirmed by its coinage, which suddenly appears in considerable abundance during the reigns of Philip, Decius, and Gallienus. I will add another unedited coin from the collection of Mr. Whittall.²

Obv.—Bust of the empress Otacilia to right.

ΜΑΡΚΙΑΝΩΤΑΚΙΑΙΣΕΒ

Rev.—Fortune standing with rudder and cornucopia.

ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝΦΡΥΓ

We recognise the same style of religion and of civilisation and of nomenclature that is characteristic of southern Phrygia and Pisidia at this period. Otrous, a town near Sandukli, strikes a number of coins at the beginning of the third century, generally bearing the name of Alexandros the Asiarch. So we find all over this district of Asia Minor, that one uniform Graeco-Roman type establishes itself firmly about 200 A.D. I believe that this civilisation and prosperity indicate the triumph of western manners and language in the district. Greek civilisation did not definitely supersede the native customs on the plateau till this period; the fortresses and cities on the great roads, by which the Greek kings maintained and consolidated their rule, were Greek, but the mass of the country was Phrygian or Pisidian in character. The mountainous districts of the Taurus were hardly thoroughly subdued by foreign manners even in the Byzantine period. The coinage of the small cities of upper Phrygia belongs to this late time, whereas the coinage of the

¹ A village two miles from Tatarly; perhaps Akchilar, 'the cooks.'

² I have published another struck

under Decius, in *Mithteil. Inst. Ath.* as cited above.

small cities of western Phrygia and Lydia begins in general a century or more earlier.

In May 1882 we traversed the district between Sagalassos, Apameia, and Apollonia, and directed our attention especially to the march of Manlius. Finally we came to the conclusion that there was nothing more to be said on the subject than any muleteer along the road could have told us. Manlius travelled with native guides (*ducibus itinerum acceptis*) along the direct and well defined road from Sagalassos to Synnada, the only road that is used by traders between the two places, past the village of Paradis, through the Dombai Ova and the Tchyl Ova. The subsequent discovery from inscriptions that Metropolis was in the Tchyl Ova makes this view quite certain. It is therefore not necessary to argue that Prof. Hirschfeld is wrong in thinking that Manlius traversed the valley of Apollonia.¹ On the other hand he is probably right in supposing that *Aporidos Come* is the village of Paradis, close to which the road does actually pass.

The words of Livy, describing the march from the plain of Sagalassos to Synnada, are as follows: *Progressus inde ad Rhotrinos fontes, ad vicum, quem Aporidos comen vocant, posuit castra. Eo Seleucus ab Apamea postero die venit. Aegros inde et inutilia impedimenta cum Apameam dimisisset, ducibus itinerum ab Seleuco acceptis, profectus eo die in Metropolitanum campum, postero die (Dinias, Dynias, Dymas?) Phrygiae processit. Inde Synnada venit.*

The valley of Sagalassos, Mamak Ovassi, is a beautiful and fertile little plain among the mountains: the modern village of Aghlasan, *i.e.* [Σ]αγαλασσόν, lies at the northern end of the valley. High above it on the slope of the Aghlasan Dagħ lie the ruins of the ancient city; a long climb of thirty stadia² is needed to take the traveller from the modern village to the ancient city. The difference of level is from 1,000 to 1,200 feet.³ The northward march encountered one serious obstacle—the lofty and precipitous mountain range extending east and

¹ *Gratulationschrift der Königsb. Univ. für d. Arch. Inst. in Rom*, 1879, and *Reisebericht in Monatsb. Berlin*, 1879. Previously Prof. Hirschfeld took the correct view that Metropolis was in the Tchyl Ova.

² *κατάβασις τριάντα σταδίων*, Strab. p. 569. He says that it is a day's journey from Apameia: the distance is now reckoned fourteen hours by the most direct path.

³ 300 to 380 metres, Hirschfeld.

west, on whose southern slope Sagalassos was built. Two paths across the mountains were open to Manlius. One leads close beside the walls of Sagalassos, and crosses the mountains by a very steep and difficult pass, 2,000 feet above the plain, to Isbarta, the ancient Baris. The other leads westward by a longer route towards Buldur, and then goes along the salt lake Ascania. The two roads join near the village of Paradis, and henceforth the way to Synnada is direct and unmistakable. There is one very marked natural feature on its course through the Dombai Ova, viz. the fine springs of Bounarbashi, which rise from the foot of the rocks on the east side of the valley and flow down into the marshy lake, once called Aulocrene, in the hollow. Any native in describing the road would be sure to mention the springs.

Manlius took the road to Buldur, as Prof. Hirschfeld rightly says: so Alexander the Great did before him. Perhaps on the third day he might reach the springs of Bounarbashi: he could hardly do so sooner owing to the difficulty of marching across the mountains. Alexander took five days to reach Apameia, which is only a few miles further. Livy must mean Bounarbashi, when he speaks of *Rhotrinos Fontes*. There are no other fountains along the road; we inquired very carefully from many people in the neighbourhood. These springs are a landmark by the way, and any muleteer of the country would at once understand what place was meant if he were told about a fountain on the road from Cassaba to Aghlasan. I have therefore no doubt that *Rhotrini Fontes* were here in the Dombai Ova, just behind Apameia, at a distance of seven or eight miles. Here it was natural that Seleucus should come from Apameia to meet Manlius and take charge of the sick.

There is one difficulty in the text: Livy implies that *Rhotrini Fontes* and *Aporidos Come* were close together, but Paradis is at least twelve miles from the fountain in the Dombai Ova. It appears to me that, if we admit the identification of Paradis with *Aporidos Come*,¹ as I think we must, either there is a fault in Livy's account, i.e. a slight misrepresentation of the Greek original,² or the name Paradis has been transferred from its

¹ It must however be remembered that *Acoridos* or *Acaridos* may be the true reading.

² The original statement might have

been that Manlius passed near *Aporidos Come*, and encamped beside *Rhotrinos Fontes*.

ancient site to another at some distance, a phenomenon not unexampled in Asia Minor. The former supposition seems to me more probable, as Paradis is certainly an old site.

The name *Rhotrinus*, unknown elsewhere, is perhaps a corruption. On a coin of Apameia the name Callirhoe is given to this fountain: Mionnet describes the coin thus: 'Minerve casquée et vêtue d'une tunique, assise sur le mont Ida,¹ à gauche, et tournée vers la droite, jouant de la double flûte; derrière, un bouclier et la fontaine Callirhoée vomissant des eaux sur un cygne nageant; devant Marsyas sur le sommet d'une montagne, avec le *pallium*, les mains levées et se retournant.'

ΠΑ.ΒΑΚΧΙΟΥ.ΚΑΛΛΙΡΟΗ.ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ (*Suppl.* VII. p. 514).

On this coin we have the whole myth of Athene and Marsyas with the locality, the fountain and lake, clearly represented. The fountain is named Callirhoe.

It is obvious that *Rhotrinus* cannot be a corruption of Callirhoe, which is probably a mere fashionable name given to the fountain under the influence of Graecising civilisation. It has, however, been suggested that the true reading is *Obrimae*, and this reading has been almost universally adopted. It would give a clear and easy solution to the difficulty about the course of the Obrimas. The Obrimas is mentioned by Pliny (v. 106) as one of the rivers of Apameia falling into the Maeander. Now the natives have always believed that the water of Lake Aulocrene passes under the mountain and emerges in Apameia as the Maeander and Marsyas. Hence Maximus Tyrius says: Φρύγες οἱ περὶ Κελαινὰς νεμόμενοι τιμῶσι ποταμούς δύο, Μαρσύαν καὶ Μαίανδρον. εἶδον τοὺς ποταμούς· ἀφήσιν αὐτοὺς πηγὴ μία, ἣ προελθοῦσα ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος ἀφανίζεται κατὰ νότον τῆς πόλεως καὶ θύβις ἐκδιδοῖ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος διελούσα τοῖς ποταμοῖς καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα.² We might then understand that the Obrimas is the water of Bounarbashi, and Professor Hirschfeld has made a similar suggestion, though not connecting the name with Bounarbashi. But I incline to another view. A reference to the plan of Apameia in Professor Hirschfeld's paper³ shows that the Marsyas and the Maeander rise near each other, while the Orgas rises several miles away and flows down through the plain to the city. Before reaching the city it is

¹ Cp. Strab. xiii. p. 616.

² Dissert. viii. 8.

³ Apameia-Celaenae in *Berl. Abhand.* 1876.

joined by a stream which rises in two large springs, and flows for a hundred yards or more with a considerable body of water to join the Orgas. This stream, Indjerly Su, is not well represented in Professor Hirschfeld's map: it may be the Obrimas.¹ The four names of the rivers of Apameia are thus apportioned to the only four distinct streams; and the Obrimas is so small a stream that it is omitted by every writer except Pliny. I must add that, in all points except this one, Professor Hirschfeld seems to me quite correct in his discussion of the topography of Apameia.

Whether the reading *Rhotrinos* is correct or not, I believe that until further evidence is brought forward it must be retained in the text, and the reading *Obrimae* must be given up. One feels loath to quit this beautiful fountain, as loath as the traveller does to quit the shade of its trees and the murmur of the springs, and go on across the shelterless plain on a hot day in July. Hardly in Greece itself is there a place more sacred with legend. Here Athene threw aside her flute, and Marsyas picked it up; here Marsyas contended with Apollo, and on the plane beside the fountain he was hung up to be flayed. In the plain below, Lityerses was slain in the harvest-field by the sickles of the reapers.² The physical features of the plain are so striking that we need not wonder to find so many legends attached to it.

From Bounarbashi a long day's march of sixteen miles brought the Roman army into the Tchyl Ova, *Metropolitanus Campus*. Two days more, or perhaps three, were needed before they reached Synnada; unfortunately I travelled a great part of the road in the darkness of night, and am for the present unable to form any opinion as to the stage called *Divias* or *Dynias* in the text of Livy. For the same reason I have nothing to say about the tomb of Alcibiades, erected by Hadrian, which Athenaeus saw on the road between Metropolis and Synnada. In the paper on the topography of this district already referred to, I brought forward some arguments to show that the northern

¹ It has such a short course that Strabo, giving a very accurate and distinct account of Apameia, mentions Marsyas, Maeander, and Orgas, but omits Obrimas.

² Michaelis, *Annali*, 1858; Ruhl, *Zft. f. Oesterr. Gymnas.* 1882. This last paper is not accessible to me. Pliny (xvi. 89) mentions the plane-tree on which Marsyas was fastened.

Metropolis was on the road between Synnada and Prymnessos at the modern village of Surmeneh. Several of these arguments were founded on the mistaken idea that the southern Metropolis was in the plain of Apollonia. I still think it highly probable that the northern Metropolis was at Surmeneh, but I should now look for Melissa, where Alcibiades was buried, on the south and not on the north of Synnada.¹

Note on Aulocrene.—The myth of Marsyas and Apollo implies as its scene a place where reeds abounded. The basis of the legend is undoubtedly the contrast between the music of the lyre employed in the worship of the Ionian Apollo Citharoedos and of the flute used in the religion of southern Phrygia. The Ionian Greeks were in direct communication with southern Phrygia by the Lycus valley route,² and Celainai was therefore a natural place in which to localise the mythical contest. The myth must be placed where the reeds from which the earliest simplest kind of flute was made abounded.³ The actual course of the little river Marsyas does not and could not in ancient time have afforded such a scene, but the lake from which it was believed to rise is not much more than a reedy marsh. Here therefore the scene was laid.

The name Aulocrene was certainly understood by the Greeks to mean 'the flute-spring,' but this is not the kind of name that we should expect to find in the heart of Phrygia. It seems however to be, not a name coined by writers and learned persons, but a genuine popular name, for Pliny mentions that the whole valley was named Aulocrene. The Byzantine lists, a storehouse of information not yet properly used, come to our aid in this difficulty. We find at *Conc. Chalced.* 451 A.D., *Conc. Rom.* 503, in Hierocles, and in *Not. Episc.* i., vii., viii., ix., a bishopric, Aurocra, Aulocra, or Abrocla. The commonest form of the local adjective in Asia Minor ends in -ηνός, fem. -ηνή: in this case we have Αὐλοκρηνός, Αὐλοκρηνή, from which it was easy for Greek literature to make Αὐλοκρήνη by a mere change of accent.

¹ I need not here repeat the remarks about the assignation of classes (3) and (4) of the coins of Metropolis to the northern Metropolis, as given in the above-mentioned article, and in the

additional remarks in the same Journal 1883.

² Compare Hipponax, *Fragm.* 46 [30].

³ See Flach, *Gesch. d. griech. Lyrik*, p. 77 f.

Aulocra was a mere village, which is not likely to have left any remains: Hierocles calls it *dêmos Auracleia*. The boundary between the Byzantine provinces, Phrygia Salutaris and Pisidia, must have crossed the valley, and Aulocra is always attached to the former province. This is remarkable, as Aulocra must under the Roman empire, when the power of the Asian cities was not discouraged, have been one of the many villages subject to *Apameia*: *πολλὰς εὐδαίμονας κάμας ὑπηκόους ἔχετε*, Dio Chrys. *Or.* xxxv.

Probably the same Graecising tendency has affected the name of the fountain on coins of Ceretapa, Aulindenos. This name also is an adjective derived from Aulinda, which is probably altered from the native form Alinda to give a connection with *αὐλός*, flute. Alinda is a Carian name, probably derived from *ala*, the Carian word meaning 'horse,' an exceedingly common element in local names of Asia Minor.

W. M. RAMSAY.

SOME QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE ARMOUR OF
HOMERIC HEROES.

WHEN Pandaros treacherously shoots at Menelaos (Δ 132 sq.), the arrow lights—

ὄθι ζωστήρος ὀχῆες
 χρύσειοι σύνεχον καὶ διπλὸς ἦν τετο θώρηξ.
 ἐν δ' ἔπεσε ζωσιγῇ ἀρηρότι πικρὸς διστός·
 διὰ μὲν ἄρ' ζωστήρος ἐλήλατο δαιδαλέοιο,
 καὶ διὰ θώρηκος πολυδαιδάλου ἡρήρειστο
 μίτρης θ' ἦν ἐφόρει ἔρυμα χροός, ἔρκος ἀκόντων,
 ἦ οἱ πλείστον ἔρυτο· διαπρὸ δὲ εἴσατο καὶ τῆς.

A little later, Menelaos says of the same wound (Δ 185-187):

οὐκ ἐν καιρίῳ ὅξ' ἄγῃ βέλος, ἀλλὰ πάροιθεν
 εἰρύσατο ζωστήρ τε παναίολος, ἥδ' ὑπένερθεν
 ζῶμά τε καὶ μίτρη τὴν χαλκῆς κάμον ἄνδρες.

And Machaon, after drawing the arrow out (Δ 215-6),

λῦσε δέ οἱ ζωστήρα παναίολον, ἥδ' ὑπένερθεν
 ζῶμά τε καὶ μίτρη τὴν χαλκῆς κάμον ἄνδρες.

The word ζῶμα occurs again only in ξ 482, a passage which we will postpone for the moment, and in Ψ 683 of the boxer's girdle, which does not require further consideration.

Comparing the second and third of the passages quoted with the first, it seems perfectly clear that the ζῶμα was a part of the θώρηξ, and not an appendage to it. The word, in fact, stands as

a passive to the active correlative ζωστήρ, and means the part of the θώρηξ which was fastened down by the girdle. It is quite clear from the oldest vase paintings that the lower part of the θώρηξ was bent outwards into a sort of ridge all round, in order to make a hollow which should be capable of holding the ζωστήρ in its place. This is very well shown in the woodcut, which is taken from Conze's *Melische Thongefässe*, Leipzig, 1877. The ζωστήρ παναίολος is expressed by the parallel lines at the bottom of the thorax; this is clear from the Kameiros pinax, where the lines are diagonal, and therefore do not indicate anything in the nature of such a πτερίγιον as we shall presently have to discuss.



I take it then that ζῶμα means the waist of the cuirass which is covered by the ζωστήρ, and has the upper edge of the μέγρη or plated apron beneath it fastened round the warrior's body; an arrow lighting on this spot has to pierce all three before it can reach the flesh. It is obviously indifferent whether the middle obstacle was called θώρηξ or ζῶμα, the more so because the ridge at the bottom of the cuirass was so marked a feature as to require a special name, and thus ζῶμα, itself a term of

general significance, would naturally pass into a technical word, and not require any further explanation in a context such as the present.

This view is strongly supported by all the archaic vase-paintings I have been able to find. In the earliest vases the projecting rim round the bottom of the thorax is practically invariable; it is very prominent in the well-known pinax from Kameiros in the British Museum, representing the fight of Menelaos and Hector over the body of Euphorbos, and continues to be the normal type almost to the end of the black-figure vases. Of the garment beneath it there are two kinds. One is the closely-fitting apron or *mitra*; this is generally crimson in vases where that colour is employed, and as a rule has a broad band round the lower edge, sometimes very elaborately ornamented, as in the B. M. amphora, No. 472 (390) (room 2, wall-case 53), in which the whole surface of the *mitra* is also adorned with circles of white dots. Quite different from this, and very often employed in the same scene with it, obviously for the sake of variety, is a loose flowing garment reaching down almost to the knees. This of course is merely the lower portion of the *χιτών*, and those who wear it are *ἀμιτροχίτωνες* (like the Lykians in *Il.* xvi. 419); an epithet by the way, which, to judge from Schol. B. *ad loc.*, seems to have caused the ancient commentators a great deal of trouble.

In the red-figure vases the armour is in this respect quite different. Instead of a projecting rim, the thorax invariably ends in a *πτερύγιον* or mailed apron composed of strips of leather, apparently some three inches broad, and covered with metal. This type is found, it is true, on black-figure vases, but as far as my experience goes it is extremely rare. As a *πτερύγιον* continuous with the curve of the thorax would have been at least as easy for the archaic artist to draw as a thorax independent of the *mitra* below, and rather more difficult for the armourer to make, I think that we have good right to consider these indications as proof of a change in Greek armour, and to conclude that the Archaic vases have really preserved to us the Homeric type of armour.

In stone sculpture I have come across a single but interesting instance of the rimmed thorax, particularly welcome as corroborating the somewhat suspicious evidence of vases. It is worn

by a fallen giant in a Selinus metope of which there is a cast in the archaic sculpture room in the British Museum. This is life-size, and shows something of the nature of the undergarment; there is the flowing border of the chiton, and between that and the thorax there appears to be a short thick band, which may be quilted, but has no resemblance in any way to a *πεπέρυγιον*, as it shows no sign at all of any metal plating. But this is the only instance in which I have been able to support my theory by reference to archaic sculpture in the round; the Harpy tomb and the stele of Aristion show the *πεπέρυγιον* at a date when the conservative vase-painters still adhered to the archaic type.

In the bronze room at the British Museum, on the top row of wall-case 4, there is a well-executed statuette of a warrior in the act of casting a spear, which shows the rimmed thorax and the mitra as well as any of the vases; but close by there are three others which have an unmistakable *πεπέρυγιον*. All these however are in the later archaic style. In the table-case in the middle of the room on the same side is a very archaic figure (Mars?), in which the apron continues the line of the thorax; but little stress can be laid on this, for the workmanship is so rude that the greaves are indicated only by incised lines down the legs. In gems from Crete (*B. M.* 81 and 73) and on some of the gold ornaments from Mykenai (Schliemann, Nos. 253, 254, 313?, 335), warriors wear something round the waist, which projects almost too much for a belt, and has an apron of some sort plainly shown below it; the scale is too small for any positive deductions to be drawn from this, but it may very well be the rim of a thorax.¹

The position which I have attempted to establish is then this: that the archaic armour as represented in early vases included a thorax with a projecting rim, meant to hold the belt, and called the *ζῶμα*; that there was nothing attached to the lower edge of the thorax, but that the hips and upper part of the thighs were protected either by a belt of leather, sometimes

¹ See however Milchhoefer, *Anf. der Kunst in Griech.*, p. 93, "Es ist nicht deutlich ob derselbe bisweilen den untern Rand eines Panzers bezeichnet. Auffallend ist, dass sich dieser Ring noch in altgriechischen Bronzen bei

sonstiger Nacktheit der Figuren vorfindet." He mentions also four gems in the Berlin Museum which show the same ring, and a finger-ring from Salonichi in which "Bänder mit (Metall-?) Verzierungen herabhängen."

plated, called the *mitra*, or else only by the lower portion of the *χιτών*; and that this corresponds exactly with Homer's description; while in later times it was changed by the addition to the thorax of a mailed apron called the *πεπρωγίον*, which in no way tallies with any passage in the Homeric poems. Neglect of this distinction seems to have led all commentators into a great mistake.

The modern critics, so far as I can see, all make *ζῶμα* an *apron*, differing only as to whether it was larger than the *μίτρη* and reached down to the knees, or was shorter, and extended only from the flank to the upper part of the thighs. One view or the other—they are essentially the same—is taken by Rüstow and Köchly (*Gesch. des griech. Kriegswesens*, p. 12, where a most elaborate but purely imaginary description is given), Buchholz (*Hom. Realien*, vol. ii. 372), Ebeling, Autenrieth and Seiler in their lexicons, Heyne, Ameis and Hentze, Fäsi and Franke (Δ 133), Pierron, La Roche (on Δ 132), and Paley in their commentaries. Düntzer is peculiar and perverse in explaining *ζῶμα* as the metal plating of the apron, *μίτρη* of the woollen backing, in face of the explicit description *τὴν χαλκῆς κάμον ἄνδρες* which belongs only to the latter. Finally Lehrs (*de Ar. St. Hom.*, p. 121) accepts the same view and attributes it to Aristarchos. Except in Liddell and Scott, I have found no trace of the explanation which I have given above.

The following objections appear to me decisive even against this *consensus*. (1) I can find no archaic representation of such a double belt as is implied, viz. both *μίτρη* and *ζῶμα*. (2) If the *ζῶμα* is an apron it is distinct from the *θώραξ*, an appendage and not a part of it, and the two words cannot be used interchangeably, as they clearly are in the passages quoted. It is quite obvious, from the nature of things, that the *ζωστήρ* must have gone over the actual plates of the cuirass, and an arrow must have met these if it pierced the belt. Thus in the enumeration of Δ 185-7, we could see that an essential element in the description was left out, did *ζῶμα* not mean part of the plates, even if we had not Δ 136 to clinch the point. In other words, if *ζῶμα* means an apron, then there must have been four layers of armour round the waist, of which three only, and not the same three, are named in two careful descriptions of the

obstacles the arrow passed through. (3) Against the general opinion that the *μίτρη* was a narrow band only under the 'apron,' and therefore hidden from sight, I would urge the epithet *αἰολομίτρης* (E 707). However we explain the first part of the word, it is absurd to suppose that any warrior would be described by an adjective taken from an invisible portion of his garments. What poet would describe his hero as 'of supple flannel waistcoat'?¹ It follows that the *μίτρη* must have been at least in great part visible, and therefore that the *ζῶμα*, if an apron at all, must have been a short one; and then the authority of certain scholiasts, on which alone the current opinion is founded, falls to the ground.²

Schol. B on Δ 133 gives this ancient view most clearly, quoting it from Telephos. The scholion is mainly occupied with the question of the *διπλός θώραξ* to which we shall come presently; but he begins *Τήλεφος γάρ φησι τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐχένος ἄχρι ὀμφαλοῦ θώρακα καλεῖσθαι, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ λαγόνων ἄχρι κνημῶν ζῶμα, περὶ δὲ τὸ ἥτρον ἡ μίτρα... ἔστιν οὖν ἐν μὲν τῷ χρωτὶ ἡ μίτρα, μεθ' ἣν τὸ ζῶμα τὸ ἀπὸ κνημῶν ἀνὶὼν ἄχρι λαγόνων μεθ' ὃ ὁ θώραξ, ὡς εἴρηται, περὶ τὰς λαγόνas διπλούμενος· ἄνωθεν δὲ ὁ ζωστήρ.* This is precisely the view which I have been combating, and several traces of it are found in other places. The name of Telephos, who lived as late as the time of Hadrian, adds no weight to the theory, but Lehrs attributes it to Aristarchos; and although the authority of Aristarchos is not great in matters of archaeology, it is always worth while trying to find out what he really thought. The authorities are as follows: the first three scholia from A being of course ostensibly by Aristonikos—

(1) K 77 (*ἡ διπλῇ*) ὅτι δοκοῦσί τινες ταῦτόν εἶναι ζῶμα καὶ ζωστήρα· οὐκ ἔστι δέ, ἀλλὰ ζῶμα καλεῖ τὸ συναπτόμενον τῇ μίτρᾳ ὑπὸ τὸν στατὸν θώρακα, τὸ δὲ ἔξωθεν συνδέον πάντα ζωστήρα.

(2) Δ 133 (*ἡ διπλῇ*) ὅτι καθ' ὃν τόπον ἐζώννυντο, διπλοῦς ἦν

¹ Yet so virtually Buttmann, *Lex.* p. 66 (Eng. tr.), where *αἰολομίτρης* is derived from the 'suppleness and flexibility essential' to the waist.

² It also follows that there is no

difficulty in explaining *αἰδός*, wherever it refers to armour, as indicating the 'glancing' of light on the metal surfaces.

ὁ θώραξ, καθὼς ὑποβέβλητο τῷ στατῷ θώρακι τὸ λεγόμενον ζῶμα, καθήκον μέχρι τῶν γονάτων ἀπὸ τῶν λαγόνων.

(3) Δ 187 (ἡ διπλῇ) ὅτι τοῦ ζώματος μνησθεὶς παραλέλοιπε τὸν θώρακα, ὥστε ἀπὸ μέρους τὸ ὅλον δεδηλώσθαι· ἡ δὲ μίτρα τούτῳ προσήπται τῷ θώρακι καὶ 'ζῶμα φαεινόν' (i.e. ξ 482) διὰ τὸν χαλκόν· ἡ μίτρα οὖν ἔσωθεν ἐριώδης ἐστι, περὶ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν χαλκῇ ὑπάρχουσα.

(4) *Apoll. Lex.* p. 382, ζωστήρ ὁ ἐπάνω τοῦ θώρακος ᾧ χρώνται...ζῶμα δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ θώραξ κατ' Ἀριστάρχον.

The second scholion is certainly inconsistent with the first and the third, which I believe represent the real view of Aristarchos. I understand τὸ συναπτόμενον τῇ μίτρᾳ to mean 'the part, i.e. the projecting ridge which is fastened to and supports the μίτρα at the base of the στατὸς (i.e. solid) θώραξ.' This is my own view, except that I should almost suppose that the μίτρα was rather girt round the waist than attached by its upper edge to the θώραξ. This, however, is possible; (3) then becomes perfectly intelligible and consistent. But (2) simply contains the view which we are in so many words told is that of Telephos, and therefore *primâ facie* not that of Aristarchos; and I have no hesitation therefore in saying that this scholion is not Aristarchean, as the evidence of the two others is against it.

Lehrs felt the inconsistency, and remedied it by violent means, saying that the words τῇ μίτρᾳ in (1) must be expunged, and that the whole of (3) after the word δεδηλώσθαι 'et corrupta et supposititia est.' For such an assumption I see no grounds. There clearly was a view that the ζῶμα was something attached to the μίτρα; but Lehrs arbitrarily chooses to ignore it by altering two scholia without explaining how the corruption can have arisen. But by simply assuming a wrong attribution of one scholion we restore to Aristarchos a reasonable and consistent opinion, while we can actually point to the very source from which the mistaken view was foisted upon him.

Another question is suggested in this connection, viz. the sense of διπλῶς θώρηξ. The words previously omitted in the passage quoted from Telephos are as follows: περὶ δὲ τὸ ἦτρον ἡ μίτρα ἔσωθεν ἐριώδης, περὶ δὲ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν χαλκῇ οὔσα, πρὸς τὸ μὴ θλίβειν τὴν γαστέρα (these six words should

evidently come after ἐριώδης)· διὰ τὴν συμβολὴν διπλόου θώρακά φησιν· ἄνωθεν δὲ τῆς μίτρας καὶ τῆς συνδέσεως τοῦ ζώματος καὶ τοῦ θώρακος ζώνη ἐπέκειτο συσφίγγουσα πάντα, ἣν ζωστήρα καλεῖ. ἢ οὕτως· τὰ πρὸς ταῖς λαγόσι μέρη τοῦ θώρακος διὰ τὸ μὴ συνδεῖσθαι ἀλλήλοις πτερύγια καλεῖται. ταῦτα δὲ ἐπιτιθέμενα μόνον ἀλλήλοις καὶ συσφιγγόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ ζωστήρος, διπλοῦν τὸν θώρακα ἐκείσε ἀπεργάζονται. The first of these two explanations appears tenable, namely that the θώρηξ was called διπλός all round its lower edge, because it was there ‘doubled’ by the upper part of the μίτρη. The second is excluded if the πτερύγιον had no place in Homer’s armour. I prefer a third, namely, that the thorax was διπλός all the way up both sides, where the two plates for breast and back met and overlapped. This gives an especially appropriate sense in γ 413-6:—

τὸν βάλε μέσσον ἄκοντι ποδάρκης διὸς Ἀχιλλεύς
νῶτα παρασσοντος, ὅθι ζωστήρος ὀχῆες
χρύσειοι σύνεχον καὶ διπλός ἦν τετο θώρηξ·
ἀντικρὺ δὲ διέσχε παρ’ ὀμφαλὸν ἔγχεος αἰχμῇ.

A spear thrown from rather behind at the side of a man running past would inevitably be guided straight into the joint where the breastplate overlapped the backplate, and would so follow exactly the course described above.

There remains one disputed passage in which the word ζῶμα occurs, ξ 482 (Odysseus speaking in a feigned character):—

ἀλλ’ ἐπόμεν σάκος οἶον ἔχων καὶ ζῶμα φαινόν.

A few lines on he relates his own words:—

οὐ τοι ἔτι ζωῶσι μετέσσομαι, ἀλλὰ με χεῖμα
δάμναται· οὐ γὰρ ἔχω χλαῖναν· παρὰ μ’ ἦπαφε δαίμων
οἰοχίτων’ ἔμεναι.

From this it would appear that the ζῶμα and χιτάν were the same thing, viz. a mailed corslet or θώρηξ (hence φαινόν); and this falls in with Aristarchos’ doctrine (see *Apoll. Lex.* above), ζῶμα καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ θώραξ. ζῶμα is a word of such general significance that there is no difficulty in supposing it here to

mean 'the thing girt on,' in the sense of the *θώραξ* as a whole; indeed, this sense would properly suit the two passages in Δ discussed above, and if we put the opinions of the ancient commentators out of sight, it would perhaps even be thought the most natural. That *χιτών* sometimes means a mailed outer garment is clear, not only from the common epithet *χαλκο-χίτωνες* by the side of *χαλκεοθώρηκες*, but from passages such as N 439:—

ῥῆξεν δέ οἱ ἀμφὶ χιτῶνα
χάλκεον, ὅς οἱ προσθεν ἀπὸ χροὸς ἤρκει ὀλεθρον.

Compare also B 416, and the difficult P 31:—

ἱμάσι
τοὺς αὐτοὶ φορέεσκον ἐπὶ στρεπτοῖσι χιτῶσι.

and E 113—

αἶμα δ' ἀνηκόντιζε διὰ στρεπτοῖο χιτῶνος.

The only question is whether the *χιτών* in these passages is the ordinary *στατὸς θώραξ*, or something in the nature of a leathern jacket only partially covered with metal plates. The latter was the view of Aristarchos according to Apoll. *Lex. s.v. στρεπτοῖο χιτῶνος*. ὁ Ἀρίσταρχος τοῦ λεπιδωτοῦ, διὰ τὸ τὴν πλοκὴν τῶν κρίκων ἀνεστραμμένην εἶναι, which implies scale or chain armour. But it happens that the identical wound which causes the gush of blood in E 113 is described in E 99 as being inflicted through the *θώρηκος γύαλον*. It follows that the *στρεπτός χιτῶν* was either the *στατὸς θώραξ* itself, or a non-metallic under garment. On P 31 the note of Aristonikos is (ἡ διπλῇ) ὅτι στρεπτοὺς χιτῶνας τοὺς νηστούς· ὑποδύτους γὰρ εἶχον ὑπὸ τοὺς στατοὺς μαλάγματος ἔνεκα (quoting E 113). Here again, therefore, we have two contradictory accounts of the opinion of Aristarchos: the lexicon of Apoll. being probably mistaken in the name. *στρεπτός χιτῶν* should indeed, on Homeric analogy, mean 'flexible' rather than 'woven'; it is used metaphorically in this sense in the other passages in which it occurs (I 497, O 203, T 248). In no passage of Homer, and so far as I know, in no archaic representation, does chain or scale armour occur; nor is there any explicit phrase which

would indicate that the Homeric hero had a choice of two sorts of armour for his body.

Taking all these considerations together, I would with diffidence suggest the following conclusions. (1) That στρεπτός means 'quilted' or 'pleated,' *μαλάγματος ἔνεκα*. (2) That such a quilted garment was worn under the στατὸς θώραξ as appears to be the case in the Selinus metopes, and that the lower portion of it below the cuirass was plated, forming the *μίτρα*. (3) That it was called *χάλκεος* partly for this reason, partly because it was only used in association with the στατὸς θώραξ. (4) That both the θώραξ and στρεπτός χιτῶν are included under the term ζῶμα in *Od.* ξ 482, and that *οἰοχίτωνα* implies both.

I may add, that apart from any aesthetic ground, the above reasons appear to justify the translation of χιτῶν in Homer by some such word as 'doublet'; for in many cases, at least, it was a more substantial garment than what we understand by 'shirt,' the word by which Prof. Gardner would wish to see it always rendered (*Journ. Hell. Stud.*, iii. 265, note 4).

ON A VASE IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM INSCRIBED WITH THE NAME OF AMASIS.

While looking through the evidence as to the armour on black-figured vases, I was particularly surprised by a figure of Memnon on the amphora, No. 554—No. 70 in the guide-book. It represents Memnon standing between two Ethiopian soldiers, both of whom wear the normal rimmed corslets and the tight *mitra*. On the obverse is Achilles slaying Penthesileia; these also wear the same corslet and the flowing end of the *chiton*. There are the usual white and crimson accessories; but it is remarkable that the corslet of Memnon, which has a very short *πτερύγιον*, is entirely white. There is no other instance of this in the Museum, nor, I think, in Gerhard or Millingen's vases. Mr. Cecil Smith, who kindly helped me to look the matter up, found only one other instance in vases of this class,¹ and that worn by a warrior who is also considered to be Memnon by De Witte.

¹ Duc de Luynes, *Vases peints*, pl. XII. Others call the warrior Hector, but there is little to determine the

question. The style appears to be the same as in our vase. There is an inscription, but it is meaningless.

Now I would suggest that the colour has, at all events in our amphora, a special significance; it represents, that is, a corslet not of metal but of linen. Such linen corslets are alluded to by Homer,¹ and Xenophon mentions them as being worn by the Chalybes.² But there is a special reason why one should be found upon an Egyptian hero. For there were two linen corslets which were famous in Greek history, and both of them came from Egypt. They were sent by king Amasis, one as a present to Sparta, one to be dedicated to Athene in her temple at Lindos. The former was intercepted by Polykrates and thus became one cause of the war which Sparta waged against the tyrant of Samos; the other was for many centuries one of the curiosities of the Island of Rhodes. Herodotos³ says that it was of linen embroidered in cotton and gold with many figures of living creatures, and well worthy of admiration, each thread being made up of 360 fibres all quite distinct. From Pliny⁴ we hear the end of the history; a Roman governor, in the true spirit of Philistia, determined to test this last statement, and "but small remains survived the experiment."

We have therefore good grounds for supposing that an artist, wishing to mark the Egyptian origin of Memnon, might clothe him in such a famous product of Egyptian handiwork. But it is, to say the least, a very curious coincidence that we find in the immediate neighbourhood of this white corslet the name of Amasis. It is written obliquely on the right side of Memnon's head, running upwards from left to right. On the other side, running obliquely downwards, is the word which is supposed to be ΕΠΟΙΗΣΕΝ. It contains however only six letters instead of eight. The first letter is either Α or Δ. The next three are ΟΙΗ; the fifth is slightly blurred, but no doubt is Σ; the last is Ν.

Now there are four strange points about this word; first, the loss of at least one letter between Σ and Ν; secondly, the fact that the first letter is not Π nor anything like it; thirdly, the use of Η for Ε, and lastly the position of the verb in relation to the name. These two last peculiarities are certainly not found in any other extant work of the potter Amasis, nor, so far as Mr. Smith at least is aware, in any other work of the same

λινόθωρηξ, *Il.* ii. 529, 830.

² *Anab.* iv. 7, 15.

³ ii. 182, iii. 47.

⁴ *Hist. Nat.* xix. 2.

kind. The other vases of Amasis have always AMAΣΙΣ ΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ or ΜΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ very clearly written, and in one straight line, vertical or horizontal. There is therefore grave reason for doubting if the first word be ΕΠΟΙΗΣΕΝ at all.

But there is at least as good reason for doubting if this amphora is the work of the same hand which executed the other Amasis vases. I have only been able to compare one other original, an oinochoe in the British Museum, but this certainly shows a marked difference of style; both in drawing and ornament the amphora is far more advanced. The same may be said of the drawings given by Panofka,¹ so far as it is possible to judge of their character from a mere outline on a small scale. On the other hand there is an extraordinary resemblance between our amphora and the work of Exekias. A vase in the next table-case in the British Museum, bearing his name, has the same subject, the death of Penthesileia, on the obverse, and the two figures of Achilles are identical except in some small details of dress; both vases exactly correspond in shape and ornament.

The temptation therefore to explain the name Amasis in this case as referring to the King of Egypt and not to the potter is not without some apparent justification. It would of course be satisfactory if we could give any explanation of the mysterious word to the left of Memnon's head. It is no doubt a copy by an ignorant artist of some significant word. No attempt to conjecture what the original was can be more than a mere exercise of ingenuity; so that I merely offer for what it may be worth the suggestion that the word which it was sought to twist into some semblance of the familiar ΕΠΟΙΗΣΕΝ may have been ΑΘΕΝΕΣ, the name of the goddess to whom the linen corslet was dedicated in Lindos by Amasis. The change to the word as we have it was very slight. The Α is untouched; the Θ is virtually identical with the Ο which we have. The fourth and sixth letters, Ν and Σ, require very little alteration to make them into Η and Ν, so that only the third and fifth needed any substantial change.

Without laying any stress on such possibilities I shall be

¹ *Archäol. Zeitung*, 1846, pl. 39.

satisfied if I have made out a reasonable ground for supposing that Memnon wears a linen corslet in direct reference to his Egyptian origin, and that there is a problem in connexion with the Amasis vase which still awaits solution.¹

WALTER LEAF.

¹ It ought perhaps to be mentioned as an instance of the caution needed in studying vase-paintings from any source except the originals, that Gerhard in his drawing of the amphora (*Auserl. Vasenbilder*, pl. 207) gives a black in-

stead of a white corslet, and that Brunn (*Gesch. der Gr. Künstler*, II. 656) and Panofka both make the first letter of the doubtful word Π, without any hint of uncertainty.

[A not dissimilar view as to the vase discussed by Mr. Leaf has been set forth by Dr. Löschke in the *Archäologische Zeitung* for 1881 (p. 33). Dr. Löschke remarks that he doubts whether the vase be the work of Amasis; for in place of ΕΠΘΙΕΣΕΝ is a group of letters without meaning; and the position of the inscription in relation to the figures on the vase seems to indicate that the name Amasis may be that of one of the Aethiopians portrayed. The technique of the vase is rather that of the works of Exekias than that of Amasis.

Mr. Leaf had not seen Dr. Löschke's paper; the partial confirmation of his view by so competent an authority must needs give it greater weight.—ED.]

VIEWS OF ATHENS IN THE YEAR 1687.

SINCE such works as Beulé's *L'Acropole d'Athènes*, the Count De Laborde's *Athènes au xv.^e, xvi.^e, et xvii.^e Siècles*, and Michaelis's *Parthenon* have appeared, the history of the Acropolis and its buildings has been made widely known, or at least the ascertainment of exact information has been made easy for all interested in these subjects. The more complete the list of records, the more importance do we attach to any new document referring directly to the Acropolis or the Parthenon. The two drawings in the library of the late Sir Thomas Phillipps at Thirlstane House, Cheltenham, here published, give views of the Acropolis in 1687.

The main points in the history of the Parthenon (for this ever remains the centre of interest on the Acropolis of Athens), are the following: After its completion in 438 B.C. it appears to have remained in its original condition until it was turned into a Christian church about the middle of the fifth century or the middle of the sixth, and by peculiar persistency of its original dedication to the virgin goddess of wisdom, it appears to have been at first converted into a church of St. Sophia and then of the Virgin Mary. The alterations made chiefly affected the interior of the temple. The entrance was transplanted from the east to the west, and an apse was built at the east end, the roof was vaulted in the interior, and two niches were placed in the tympanum of the western pediment. Other modifications were made, though on the whole they did not much alter the outer appearance of the building. At the beginning of the thirteenth century it was converted from a Greek Catholic into a Roman Catholic church, and in 1458 it was turned into a Turkish mosque. The alterations in this case were again chiefly in the interior, while in the exterior

a minaret was built on the western portion of the southern wall, and a door was broken through the wall of the Tamieion. It remained in this condition until the 26th of September 1687, and was seen and sketched by many travellers.

It is well known that various Christian nationalities combined to destroy this great monument of antiquity which had withstood so many centuries of change and violent disturbances.¹ During the war between the Republic of Venice and Turkey, the Venetian General, subsequently Doge, Francesco Morosini, conquered the whole of Morea, advanced towards Attica, took Corinth in August 1687, in September Aegina, and after a council of war, resolved to invest Athens. His army consisted chiefly of mercenary troops, among whom were many Germans and Swedes; while the Field-Marshal, Count Koenigsmark, a native of Westphalia in the Swedish service, was next to him in command. On the night of the 21st of September Koenigsmark embarked with 10,000 men, and landed safely at Porto Leone, the ancient Piraeus. The Turks were seized with consternation and retreated to the Acropolis, their fortress. The Archbishop and several Greek delegates of the town invited Morosini to enter, and the same evening the troops marched into the town. They erected their batteries and began the bombardment, which however, produced little effect; and as there was some fear of a Turkish reinforcement arriving, the Venetians thought of abandoning their plan, when a traitor informed them that the enemy had stored powder in the Parthenon, which from that moment became the target of the bomb-shells. The firing was even then without much effect, until Friday the 26th of September 1687, at seven o'clock in the evening, a German Lieutenant under the command of De Vannis succeeded in sending a shell through the roof, igniting the powder, and the great temple was rent asunder, fragments being heaped up on either side. The demoralised Turks still held out for two days and then capitulated. Among the Venetian and German officers there were many who had some taste for antique art and ancient mythology, and even the lady companion of the Countess Koenigsmark writes a naïve and touching letter home in which she describes the destruction of

¹ See Laborde, *Athènes*, &c., Vol. *thenon* pp. 61, *seq.* and *Anhang* III, II. pp. 65, *seq.*; Michaelis, *Der Par-* pp. 345, *seq.*

this wonderful temple, "which in this world can never again be built up."¹ It is well known how Morosini coveted the beautiful horses from the chariot of Athene in the western pediment, and how the ropes by which they were being lowered snapped and the marbles dashed into a thousand splinters. The other officers too found pleasure in these works, and whatever was handy and portable was carried off, and so fragments of the Parthenon have been found at Copenhagen, at Karlsruhe, at Paris, &c. But what bears most upon the drawings here published is the fact that among the Italian officers there were many of an antiquarian bent who wrote letters regretting the destruction of the great works of antiquity, and took notes at the time. Some, like Francesco Muazzo, the Anonymous in the library of St. Marc's, Ant. Bulifone, and Franc. Fanellis, wrote and published accounts with drawings and plans.

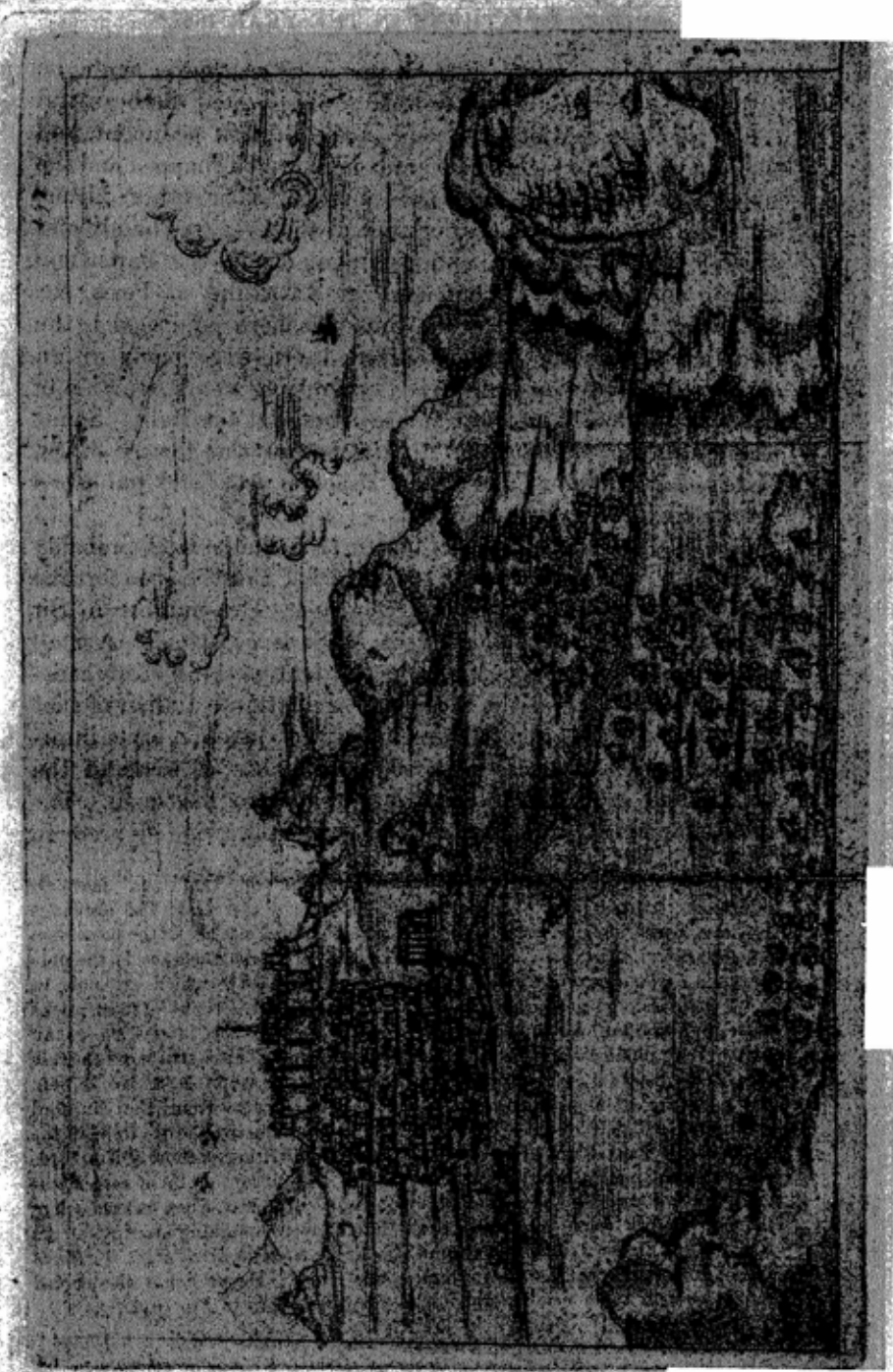
One of these Italian officers under Morosini is most probably the author of the manuscript book which I had the good fortune of seeing in the library at Cheltenham. The number in Sir Thomas Phillipps's catalogue² of MSS. is 5719.³ This small 8vo manuscript book contains in the text nothing of archaeological interest. It is the account of a dilettante Italian of that age of the mythology of Greece in a very juvenile style interspersed here and there with rough sketches of some of the remains he saw, and those that appealed to his taste. The most important of these is the folded drawing figured in

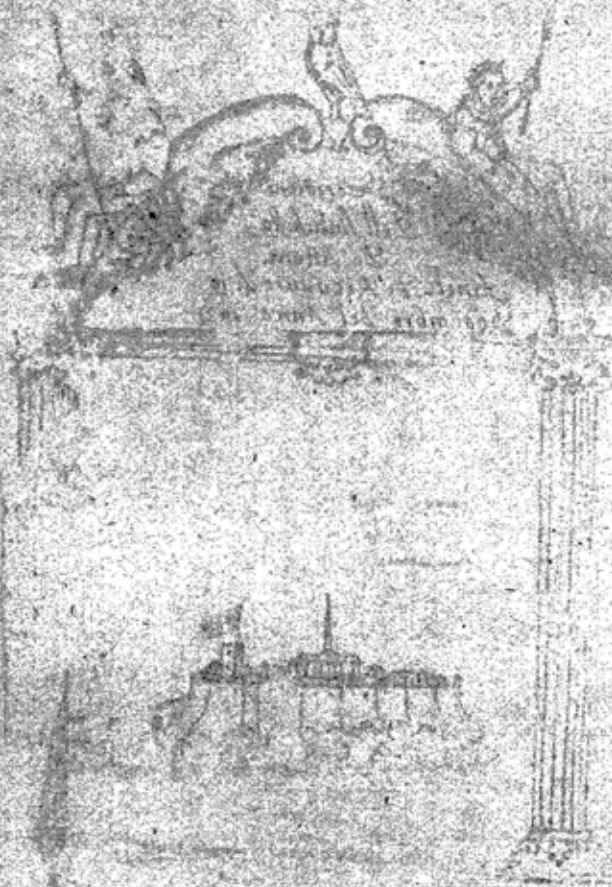
¹ See the *Diary and Letters of Anna Akerhjelm*, Laborde, *ibid.* II. p. 256-349, also Michaelis, *ibid.* p. 63.

² *Catalogus Librorum Manuscriptorum in Bibliotheca Phillippica.*

³ I was led to go to Cheltenham because my attention was drawn to No. 7010 in the printed catalogue: "Drawings of Greek statues and inscriptions in the possession of M. Fauvel, at Constantinople, 8° ch. S. xviii. Ex Bibl. Guilford." Fauvel was consul at Athens in the time of Choiseul-Gouffier's embassy and was, as far as the Parthenon marbles were concerned, the rival of Lord Elgin. I therefore thought it not impossible that these drawings might contain some new information

concerning the Parthenon marbles. This was not the case. The drawings were chiefly of marbles in the possession of Fauvel (*ex του φαυβελου* is the note generally added), which are now in the Louvre. The copies of inscriptions would perhaps be interesting to an epigraphist. This is still more the case with another set of MSS. No. 17369. These also came from the Guilford library and appeared to me to be in the same handwriting as those of No. 7019. Who the author of these copies was became quite clear, when on the back of letter paper containing inscriptions the address *Alla Sua Eccel. Sign. W. North* was found. He no doubt also copied the inscriptions in No. 7019.







[illegible]

fac-simile and in its original size here. It is a plan of Athens with the Piræus, the town crouching at the side of the Acropolis, the Acropolis itself, with the Parthenon and the Turkish minaret not quite accurately placed. The clearness with which the position of the town, its dimensions at that time, and the extent of the walls are represented, make the drawing of real value. Otherwise there is nothing new which is not given in other drawings, especially those of the Venetian captain of the engineers under Morosini, Verneda, published by Laborde in his *Athènes*, or even the drawing published by Papayannakis, and F. Lenormant in the *Gazette Archéologique*,¹ or the one published by von Duhn in the *Mittheilungen*,² the latter of which far surpasses ours with regard to artistic finish, though ours would come next in this respect. Still the Cheltenham drawing yields no such additional information as we gain from the view of the roof of the Parthenon as given in the drawings of the *Mittheilungen* and the *Gazette Archéologique*. Mr. Fergusson's theory³ of the lighting of the Parthenon which has just been published, may have some interesting bearing upon the elevation in the centre of the roof in von Duhn's drawing where three small "opaia" are noticeable. Apart from the fact mentioned above, that every document referring to the Parthenon before its destruction is of importance, our drawing receives additional interest from the title-page of the small book reproduced in fac-simile in the original scale. This contains another view of the Acropolis as a vignette with a flag flying from the "Franconian tower," and the title written in the hand of the author of the book: *Descrittione Dell' Antichitta De Attene finite Di Ricauara Li 10 Dedembre Del Anno 1687*. According to this then, the book with the drawings was completed on the 10th of December 1687, while the bombardment took place on the 26th of September of the same year; the author must therefore have finished his plates of the Acropolis immediately before the destruction of the Parthenon, and was thus almost certainly one of the followers of Morosini.

CHARLES WALDSTEIN.

¹ *Gaz. Arch.* 1875, p. 26, seq. Pl. 8.

² *Mittheilungen des deutschen Arch. Inst. in Athen* 1877, p. 38, Taf. 2.

³ *The Parthenon*; an essay on the

mode by which light was introduced into Greek and Roman Temples. By James Fergusson. 4to London, 1883.

ATHENE AND ENCELADUS.

A BRONZE IN THE MUSEO KIRCHERIANO.

UPON the discovery of any great monument of ancient art, a series of objects of minor importance which had hitherto been awaiting identification are immediately seen to connect themselves more or less closely with the newly discovered work. Whence it comes that the course of historical development of ancient art is continually being exhibited with a nearer approach to completeness. The present article is an attempt to add another minor work to the list of statues and reliefs which group themselves round the frieze of the Great Altar of Pergamon.

The plate represents a somewhat mutilated work, No. 679 in the gallery of bronzes in the Museo Kircheriano at Rome. The subject is Athene engaged in no uncertain combat with her constant antagonist the giant Enceladus. The goddess has drawn back a little from her enemy: and whilst herself protected by the shield with its gorgoneion which she carries on her left arm, she is on the point of delivering the final thrust with the weapon she holds in her right hand. Enceladus, on his part, is at the same time recoiling somewhat from Athene, and collecting all his force for a blow.

The bronze is a fragment of an embossed Mirror-case. The only parts of the flat field remaining, viz. between Athene's arm and head, and between her feet and the monster's coils are *pointillés*—decorated with dots or minute indentations. The bronze is of a brown colour, with a delicate patina, and very thin, especially in the figures. These, of course, have been



beaten out from behind (*repoussés*) and then chased on the front. The execution, though in a later style, is comparable for fineness to that of the Siris bronzes at the British Museum.

In the further description of this bronze, since I am able to refer to Mr. Farnell's articles¹ in the past and present numbers of this journal, for a general account of the Pergamene frieze in its relation to older literature and art, I will only consider (1) the restoration of the missing portions of the bronze, (2) its connection with the Pergamene frieze, and (3) its place in the evolution of the artistic representation of this subject.

1. The figure of Athene is complete with the exception of the weapon held in the right hand. The position of the hand restricts our choice to the spear or the thunderbolt. A spear is her more usual weapon: but whilst for mechanical and other reasons it may be doubted whether in this case the goddess carried a spear, completely detached from the background of the relief, it is neither *a priori* improbable that Athene should be armed with the weapon of her father, nor is such an arrangement without parallel. As far as can be judged, for example, the thunderbolt is the weapon of Athene in a composition, which has much in common with this bronze, and to which I shall refer again, viz. a Townley paste² now in the British Museum.

With respect to Enceladus, the loss of his face is to be regretted. Little can be made out from the bronze, except that he is represented as young and beardless. Round the left arm is wrapped some drapery, useless in the present position of the combatants, but used as a defence, for example, in the case of the giant opposed to Zeus on the frieze. The right hand certainly held some weapon with which to strike, for the alternative of a stone is precluded by the position of the arm. Whilst it is difficult to decide with certainty whether the weapon was a sword,³ or a jagged stick,⁴ or even, as in the case of the Townley gem, a lagobolon, a sword would seem to be most

¹ *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. iii., p. 301, vol. iv. For a discussion of the Athene group in particular, vol. iii. p. 333, ff. For an illustration of the group see the Plate facing vol. iii. p. 331. For an especially admirable illustration, see O. Rayet, *Monuments*

de l'Art Antique, pt. iv, pl. v.

² Tassie-Raspe, 1753, Pl. xxvi.

³ Cf. the giant from the Offering of Attalos at Naples. Overbeck, *Gr. Plast.* ii., fig. 124.

⁴ Cf. Vatican Sarcophagos. Overbeck, *Kunstmyth.* *Atlas* v. 9.

consistent with the dignity of the composition. A considerable portion of the giant's right wing still remains, forming the background of the relief. The left wing has entirely disappeared.

2. In considering the relation of the bronze to the frieze, it is at once evident that the connection does not consist in similarity of incident. Whilst in the bronze, Athene is drawing back towards her right, to launch her final stroke, in the frieze she is striding towards her left, dragging by the hair the already conquered Enceladus. The resemblance of the two works consists rather in similarity of style, and in treatment of detail. The goddess is in each case dressed in a long chiton and diploidion, which is included under a close-fitting girdle. She has an aegis worn transversely, a helmet and shield. In each case the drapery clings closely to the limbs, falling in long parallel folds between the legs. The skirt of the diploidion itself seems agitated with great violence, its outline in each case, to borrow a term from heraldry, being more or less distinctly *nebulée*,¹ i.e., it conforms to the curve thus named.

Remarkably close is the connection in style of the giant of the bronze and of the frieze. There is the same powerful but exaggerated treatment of the muscles. In the bronze is seen that remarkable contortion of the trunk with the consequent tension of the right side and compression of the left, which is of constant occurrence in the frieze, and also it may be added in the Laocoon. Conspicuous also are the wings and snakes, additions of a later art, which first make their appearance in the frieze of the temple of Athene Polias, at Priene,² and are seen in their full development in the Pergamene frieze. The manner in which the scales and feathers are executed is not identical in the two groups: but the difference is a difference of technique due to the fact, that one group is in stone and the other in bronze. As in the frieze, so also in the bronze there is a marked difference in the treatment of the muscles of the goddess and her foe. A comparison between the delicate though powerful right arm of Athene, and the tremendous

¹ Compare the drapery of the Fallen Amazon at Naples from the Offering of Attalos. It is more finely and carefully worked, but has the same *nebulée* outline.

² Compare with the bronze the winged and snake-footed giant on the reliefs of Priene. *Antiquities of Ionia*, pt. iv., p. 33, pl. xix. Overbeck, *Gr. Plast.* ii. fig. 116c.

biceps of Enceladus will show that it is not by brute force alone that the battle is won. Regarding the composition of the group as a whole, we see displayed in the bronze the same wild energy that appears in the frieze, tempered indeed in the goddess by her divinity, but contorting the limbs of Enceladus and straining every muscle of his body.

In this bronze therefore we have a work that, amongst all the known schools of ancient art, seems to attach itself most closely to that of Pergamon. It is impossible that it should be much earlier, since the winged and snake-footed giants were a creation of comparatively late art. On the other hand the bronze, or the work from which the bronze is copied, is probably not very much later than the Pergamene frieze: for it may be questioned whether an eclectic artist assuming the manner of the school, would at the same time successfully reproduce its spirit, and abandon its treatment of the subject.

3. The duel between Athene and Enceladus constantly occurs in ancient art, and in general it adheres with minor variations to one traditional scheme. The goddess is seen on the left with a spear in her uplifted right hand. She holds out at full length against the giant the left arm, protected by the aegis, or by a shield, the gorgoneion being frequently attached. In the combat between this pair of antagonists, as in most of those between gods and giants, the giant is either fallen on one knee, or already lying prostrate. The left hand is by the side, either with or without a shield, whilst the right hand either brandishes some weapon, or attempts to avert the blow of the goddess.¹

Such being the hereditary form under which the combat uniformly presents itself, with minor variations, in earlier works of art, we are met by the noteworthy fact that whilst the artist of the frieze has given a rendering which is nearly unique, the artist of the bronze (or of the original from which the bronze is copied) working in the same spirit, and employing the same

¹ Amongst the numerous representations of this subject, compare for the sake of example:—

Metopes of the later temples at Selinus. Serradifalco, *Antichità di Sicilia*, II. xxix. and xxxi. Overbeck, *Gr. Plast.* i. fig. 30.

Gerhard, *Aus. Vas.* i. Pl. vi. =

Durand Cat., 28.

De Witte, *Durand Cat.*, 29, 30, 31, 32.

Heydemann, *Vasensammlungen zu Neapel*, 2427, 2728, R. C. 132, 189, 216.

Overbeck, *Kunstmyth.* i. p. 346 ff *Atlas*, iv. v.

embellishments of a later art, has carefully preserved a traditional rendering of the group. If Athene was armed with a spear, the resemblance to certain members of the traditional group is complete. If, as has been above suggested, she held a thunderbolt, considerations of mechanical convenience are sufficient to account for the change.

There is a further noteworthy fact in connection with the composition of the bronze. The Athene of the frieze is by a consensus of opinion¹ referred to that Attic type which occurs on the Madrid Puteal,² and which is derived by Schneider from the east pediment of the Parthenon. The Athene of the bronze can with at least an equal degree of confidence be referred to another Attic type, that of the west pediment of the Parthenon. The resemblance of attitude,—for as to a resemblance in motive we are at present hardly able to pronounce—will be seen if we compare this figure (a) with Carrey's drawings (b) with the vase published by Stephani,³ (c) with the lists of works cited by Wieseler and by Stephani,⁴ (d) especially with an Attic relief published by Schöne.⁵ The fragment of the torso of Athene⁶ now in the British Museum is a further corroboration of the view. For there is a remarkable agreement in the unusual form of the aegis, which is little more than a snake-fringed belt passing over one shoulder, the drapery being seen both above and below.

Here then we have a bronze, worked in the spirit of the Pergamene school, but adhering to a traditional type, and reproducing, as it seems, a celebrated Athenian statue. Nor are indications entirely absent that the original of the group was of equal dignity with the group on the frieze.⁷ Were it

¹ Petersen, *Fleckeisens Jahrb. Philol.* 1881, p. 486.

Overbeck, *Gr. Plast.* ii. p. 347.

Farnell, *J. H. S.* iii. p. 333.

² Schneider, *Die Geburt der Athena*, Wien, 1880. Benndorf, *Vorlegeblätter*, Serie viii. xi.

³ *Compte Rendu, de la Comm. Imp. Arch.* 1872. *Atlas*, taf. ii. *J. H. S.* iii. p. 245.

Even if the figure of Athene be immediately derived from the group on the Acropolis (Paus. I. xxiv. 3), (so

Mr. E. A. Gardner, *J.H.S.* iii. p. 251), yet that group may very well have borrowed its chief figure from the pediment.

⁴ Wieseler, *Denkmäler*, ii. p. 303.

Stephani, *Compte Rendu*, 1872, p. 85.

⁵ Schöne, *Griech. Reliefs*, xxii. No. 95.

⁶ Michaelis, *Parthenon*, taf. viii. 13.

⁷ The two reliefs on the handles of the Ruvo Amphora (*Monumenti dell. Inst. Arch.* v. 12. Overbeck, *Kunstmyth. Atlas*, v. 7), might be copied from two parallel works, i.e. the frieze,

admissible to occupy space with mere conjecture, unsupported by any solid basis of fact, it would be an interesting exercise to attempt to connect this group with the Offering of Attalos upon the Athenian Acropolis. It might be argued that we have here the work of a Pergamene artist, which is not copied from the frieze: that besides the frieze there was another work of importance, by the same school, in which this Athene group almost certainly occurred: that an artist engaged on a work destined for exhibition on the Athenian Acropolis might be expected to adhere to the traditional scheme: and that hitherto at least no group has been pointed out which more nearly fulfils the required conditions. But grave objections can be brought against this theory, and since at best it rests on a series of assumptions, it is unnecessary to occupy further space in its discussion.

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and the original of the bronze. Compare the series of instances collected by Heydemann, in which these two types of Athene Gigantomachos are represented, side by side. *Erstes Hall.*

Winckelmannsprog., p. 11.

The Townley paste (Tassie-Raspe, 1753), may also be derived from the original of the bronze.

VASE WITH REPRESENTATION OF HERAKLES AND GERAS. (Pl. XXX.)

IN the Catalogue of Vases in the British Museum a red-figured *amphora* is described in the following terms:—

Cat. 864.—*Amphora*. Height 1 ft. $2\frac{3}{16}$ in., red figures on black ground, outlines in black, inner markings faintly traced in red.

"1. Herakles pursuing the robber Cacus: the hero is bearded, the lion's skin covers his head and hangs down his back behind: in his left hand he holds his club: he stretches out his right hand towards the robber, who flies, looking back and stretching out both his hands towards him: the beard and hair of Cacus are white and squalid, drapery¹ is twisted round his loins, but the figure has been retouched in these places, as has also the figure of Herakles: between them [Ch]armides Kalos; 2. *rev.* a youthful beardless figure clad in a mantle which envelops his head and arms: he leans on his staff."—H.

This vase, which is given on plate XXX., is the subject of the present memoir, in which I shall hope to show: (1) that the interpretation of the scene as above described is not exactly feasible; (2) the position which my interpretation would take in the cycle of Heraklean legends; and (3) its connection with certain other legends of a similar form.

First, I would offer one or two remarks about the style and period of our vase. We have seen that one side bears the inscription *Charmides Kalos*; now of all the numerous names mentioned in a similar connection on vases that of Charmides is perhaps the one of most frequent occurrence, and it may be worth while to consider what results may be obtained from a

¹ These were modern restorations which have since been cleaned away.

comparison of the vases which bear this name; the following are all which I know:—

The largest collection seems to be that in Böckh's *Corpus Inscriptionum*, where the following are noted:—

1. *C. I.* 7616, *b*, *amphora* in British Museum.
2. „ 7831, *amphora*: see Gerhard, *Berlins Antike Bildw.*, I. no. 847.
3. „ 7883, *amphora* in British Museum.
4. „ 7888, *amphora*.
5. „ 7789, *amphora*.
6. „ 7890, *amphora*.
7. „ 7891, *amphora*.
8. „ 8017, *amphora* in British Museum.
9. *Amphora* in British Museum, unpublished: on one side two Seileni running, on the other a Maenad. *Charmides Kalos. Timochsenos Kalos*.
10. *Lelekythos* in British Museum, from Sicily. Eros holding a hare flying beside an altar.

The first point to be noted is that the palaeography and the form of the letters in all these Charmides inscriptions are identical throughout: secondly, that all the instances of this inscription, with one exception, occur upon the same form of vase: this is in itself significant, because a study of Greek vases shows us clearly that certain forms (of which our *amphora* is a case in point), obtained only during a given definitive period: this period, for the form to which I refer, would probably include about a quarter of a century (say from B.C. 400 to 380) and no more. These two points seem to suggest at any rate that all these vases are of the same period: I believe there is sufficient evidence of individuality in the style of the decorations to show further, that they are all by the same hand.

If we examine the style of the paintings, we shall see that all these Charmides vases are red-figured, picked out with inner markings of two kinds; the strong black lines to indicate the main divisions of the body and generally distinctions of surfaces, and the faint reddish-brown lines to suggest the more delicate portions of anatomy, the play of the muscles, and the position of the ribs. While the body and limbs are thus carefully handled, the extremities are for the most part slurred, not so much from ignorance as obviously from

sheer carelessness on the artist's part. Thus in our vase the hands and feet of both figures are the only portions of the design which betray an actual want of finish, and contrast strangely with the refinement of the modelling power displayed throughout the rest of the design.

There is a peculiar treatment of the eye which is common to all these Charmides vases, and which I have not found elsewhere: it is observable in the eye of the Herakles of our vase, the pupil of which is of an exaggerated size, so much so that it nearly fills in the entire space of the white. In the inscription we always have the + thus, and a peculiar treatment of the P (more like a Δ turned sideways), and of the A in which the crossbar is almost without exception omitted. The fact that these peculiar mannerisms recur on so many vases of the same style is, I think, strong evidence in favour of the vases being the work of an individual artist. I am aware that an attempt¹ has been made to refer this inscription to that Charmides who was the father of Pheidias: presuming that the personage named on so many different vases would necessarily have been a personage somewhat celebrated, the writers on this subject have thought themselves justified in jumping at once to this conclusion. But there need be no difficulty in the matter if we assume for the reasons I have given, that all the Charmides vases are from the same hand; the name was not an uncommon one; and just as our modern artists in many cases put their private mark on their works, our vase painter put the name of his favourite, as a 'posy' which would be for him a pleasant way of recognising his own handiwork.

In examining this vase closely, I had been struck by certain faint indications of an inscription beside the head of the so-called Cacus, and a careful cleaning of the entire scene confirmed my original reading, for the word $\Sigma\Lambda\Phi\epsilon\lambda$, which had escaped notice hitherto, now stands out as clearly as it is shown in Plate XXX. Two other alterations also came about from this process: the drapery with which the waist of both figures was smeared, and the white paint on the head of 'Cacus,' both the work of some modern restorer, disappeared wholly. The inscription then leaves us no room for doubt as to the real scene represented

¹ See Longpérier in the *Rev. Arch.* 1845, p. 80, and Panofka, *Eigennamen* 1851, p. 621-30, cf. Jahn. *Arch. Aufs.* mit καλός.

here: the figure pursued by Herakles is certainly Geras, the personification of Old Age, and it must be allowed that in the lank form, the lean shrunken limbs, and pinched expression of the wrinkled face, the artist has succeeded in producing a sufficiently characteristic, if repulsive, conception of his subject. It will be well presently to see how far this pictorial Geras corresponds with any similar conception in literature.

Allegorical personifications in Greek art though rare, are by no means unknown; indeed, when we read the lists of them in Hesiod's *Theogonia*, and other writers, we are rather struck by their comparative scarcity from the earlier monuments. It is true, such forms as Strife, *Ἔρις*, Fear, *Φόβος*, and Terror, *Δεῖμος*, are found on certain of the early vase scenes, but in these personifications the artists are content as a rule to present something obviously repulsive, without going any deeper into details which would be characteristic.¹ When we come to the chest of Kypselos as described by Pausanias we meet a further development; on one side, he says, was depicted Dike and Adikia, in a contest between Eteokles and Polyneikes Fate is present: a third scene represented Night holding Sleep and Death in her arms. It seems probable that with the introduction of writing this method of introducing abstract conceptions in a haphazard way obtained probably to a great extent before the necessity was felt for assigning a definite and distinct clothing to the one abstract ideal: and in fact we see this point further brought out in the earlier vase scenes, where the same motive regularly does duty for a plurality of incidents, which are severally identified only by their inscriptions.² Later on, an increased facility in representation would naturally bring with it an ambition to lay aside these props, and to allow the art to tell its story in its own way; the result, which we should *a priori* expect, naturally follows. From this time onward personifications are of rarer occurrence, and a distinct ideal is gradually forming itself for such conceptions as still survived. With Polygnotos and the varied resources of colours and skilful drawing at his disposal, comes in again a striving after ingenious

¹ For these types see Gerhard, *Ges. Akad. Abh.* Taff. x., xii.

² Especially the early Corinthian Aryballi, cf. *Annali dell' Inst.* 1866,

Tav. Q., and see Murray, *Greek Sculpture*, p. 61, and Luckenbach in the *Jahrb. für cl. Phil.* Suppl. band 11, p. 504.

personifications, and this time with more success in the result. His well-known picture of Oknos in the Lesche at Delphi will suffice to illustrate my meaning: Oknos, says Pausanias, is represented as a figure who plaits a rope of straw, which a she-ass is for ever eating.

I think we shall be able to trace a somewhat corresponding development taking place in Greek literature; I mean, first, the strong feeling for personification which obtained in earlier times, and which, almost disappearing before the robust period of the lyric poets,¹ came in again in later literature as it had done in art. The gods of Homer were far too human to allow of their embodying any distinct abstract qualities of virtue and vice, good or evil; these were in consequence relegated wherever it was necessary, to vague personifications which were *vox et praeterea nihil*. The endowment of separate divinities with separate superhuman qualities followed naturally as the result of the higher and purer conception of the gods of the time of Pheidias, and the introduction of new creations in the spiritual world was rendered necessary by the Pantheistic tendencies of later Greece.

There is one curious detail in our vase which seems to point to its having been copied from some other representation of the same scene: Herakles holds the club in his *left* hand, which however is drawn as if it were a *right* hand. Supposing that in the original design the figures had been moving in the contrary direction, with the chest of Herakles still towards the spectator, the position of the club and the hand would be nearly correct: it is conceivable that in transferring the action from right to left, the artist may have committed this mistake.²

This possibility is further strengthened by the fact that the same scene occurs on a black-figured vase which I shall describe more fully later on: from the description of it in *Arch. Zeit.* xxxix. p. 40, the action, details and the inscription ΣΑΦΕΛΛΑ seem to be identical with those of our vase.

¹ Cf. Luckenbach, *loc. cit.*, p. 564.

² It may be that the original composition was in the round, in which case this conjecture becomes more probable. A sculptor would not feel the same

difficulty in turning the back of his figure to the spectator which painters until quite a late period felt; cf. Engelmann in the *Annali dell' Inst.* 1879, p. 242.

We may therefore conjecture that these scenes were copied by the artists from some work of art extant in their time, or at any rate from some fixed type: and that they were tolerably accurate copies is shown by the close similarity of detail which exists between the two. Now Athenaeus says that the attributive weapon of Herakles, the club, was not assigned to him in art before about 600 B.C.: if we may take this point as a *terminus ante quem*, we obtain a date somewhere between the fifth and sixth centuries for the original of our vase.

The scene before us, as well as certain others of a similar type, have been referred to the contest of Herakles with Cacus: but I cannot find that there is any valid ground for supposing the existence of an Hellenic Cacus: it is true, the Latin myth of Cacus¹ or Cacus has an essentially Greek character: but I think it remains to be proved what special form the Roman robber may have previously taken in Greek mythology; and meanwhile, I see no particular reason for assigning the figure on our vase to any such type, especially in the face of our two inscriptions.

Turning now to the consideration of this somewhat remarkable type of old age, it will perhaps be worth while, inasmuch as I know of no definite instance of this personification previously noted in Greek art or literature, to consider how far we can trace the existence of a sentiment in Greek literature and social life upon which the artist may have built such a conception as that before us. For there are two points which appear to me specially remarkable in this scene: first, that Geras is here represented as repulsive, nay almost grotesque: and secondly, that Herakles offers him actual violence. And if these points should appear strange to those who remember the various passages in the classics where the theory of respect for old age is laid down, I think we shall nevertheless find abundant authority for the converse treatment of the subject, as we find it handled here. That which we are accustomed to look on from the Roman point of view as the *cani capitis reverentia*, was often regarded by the Greeks as typified by the 'lean pantaloons',²

¹ Cf. Daremberg, *Dict. des Ant.* s.v. and Preller, *Röm. Myth.* p. 432.

² Cf. Mimnermus fr. 5 ('wretched and hideous, old age hateful and dis-

honoured, which changes the fashion of a man's countenance, injuring his sight and clouding his mind').

sans teeth, sans eyes, sans taste, sans everything.' It is true that Homer speaks occasionally of old men as useful in counsel, but his most usual view of *λυγρόν γῆρας*, as well as that of all Greek times, is expressed in Hesiod's well-known dictum, *ἔργα νέων, βουλαὶ δὲ μέσων, εὐχαὶ δὲ γερόντων*. We see this all through Greek literature and history; in Homer, if a man in his age chances to have children who are willing and able to protect him, or if, like Nestor, he were exceptionally useful, his declining years might command a certain amount of respect; if not, his lot was a wretched one, for there seems to have been little sense of respect for age *per se*.

The same sentiment also pervades the Lyric poets: Pindar and Theognis are for ever harping on this refrain, that old age is a period of unnecessary discomfort for those 'who must of necessity meet the common fate of death,' and they cannot find words in which to paint it in a sufficiently repulsive picture.

Lastly, in the Periklean age and downwards, wherever the typical old man is touched upon, it is quite as often from the point of view of his *weakness and querulousness*, as of his experience and sagacity. Aristophanes frequently takes the opportunity of holding up old men to opprobrium, while the climax of this animus is perhaps reached in the chorus in *Hercules Furens* (l. 637),¹ where the miseries of age are deprecated with an intensity of feeling which we, with our modern opinions, can hardly appreciate. Even Plutarch,² in pleading the cause of Old Age, speaks of *ἡ γελωμένη πολιὰ καὶ βυτὶς*. The Greeks, with their keen appreciation of the beautiful and love of enjoyment, would have felt the less scruple in ridiculing a personification which typified for them a condition of life signifying destruction of beauty and loss of the power of enjoyment.

Whence, therefore, comes this curious personification of Geras into Greek mythology? I have looked in vain through the mythographers without finding so much as a trace of him in this form; but in default of better evidence, I think a study of some of the typical old men of mythology will throw light upon his history.

¹ See the admirable translation of this chorus in Mahaffy, *Social life in Greece*, p. 235, and cf. Mahaffy on

this subject.

² *Εἰ πρεσβυτέρῳ πολιτευτέον*, X. 4.

It is remarkable that in all Greek literature we should find not only no trace of a Geras in the connection here given, but scarcely a mention which can be positively referred to a personification of Age at all. Let us examine in order such instances as I have been able to collect.

(1) Actual mentions of Geras or similar forms. As we might expect, we find in the *Theogonia* of Hesiod (l. 225) a Geras mentioned, who is the offspring of Night:—

Νύξ ὀλοή . . . Ἀπάτην τέκε καὶ Φιλότητα,
Γῆρας τ' οὐλόμενον, καὶ Ἔριν τέκε καρτερόθυμον.

But this is a bare mention, and fruitless as far as concerns our point: and henceforward he disappears as a really Greek personality from Greek literature.

(2) Roman mythology recognizes Senectus as a personification, but this is no more than an empty name, borrowed probably, in common with much of their Theogony, direct from Hesiod. This Senectus was, then, the child of Erebus and Night,¹ who is by Vergil (*Æn.* vi. 273) made a spirit of hell, and given a position in the entrance of Tartarus beside Luctus and Morbi.²

Neither of these passages helps us much; there are certain other direct mentions of Γέρον as an impersonation which should find a place here, though I shall return to their consideration presently.

(3) Pausanias, III. xxi. 8, says as follows: 'The people of Gytheion affirm that their city was founded by none among mortals, but jointly by Herakles and Apollo when they had made up their quarrel for the tripod . . . And him whom the Gytheatae call Geron, saying that he lives in the sea, I found to be Nereus, and that he got his name after the lines of the *Iliad*:—

Ἕμεῖς μὲν νῦν εἴτε θαλάσσης εὐρέα κόλπον
ὀψόμεναί τε γέρονθ' ἄλιον καὶ δώματα πατρός.'

This passage brings us to the question of the (4) Halios Geron, which I will for convenience sake discuss later on. Suffice it to note here that Homer does not make use of the name Nereus

¹ See Cic. *de Nat. D.* III. 17.

² Pauly, *Real-Encyclop.* s. v.

but knows the god only under the name Ἄλιος Γέρων,¹ while Hesiod, *Theog.* 233, says:—

Νηρέα δ' ἀψευδέα καὶ ἀληθέα γέλαιτο Πόντος
πρεσβύτατον παίδων· αὐτὰρ καλέουσι Γέροντα.

(5) According to Philostratos the Gaditanians dedicated a temple to him; he says (*Vit. Apoll.* V. iv.): 'Γήρως οὖν βωμὸν ἔδρυνται καὶ τὸν Θάνατον μόνοι ἀνθρώπων παιωνίζονται, βωμοὶ δ' ἐκεῖ καὶ πενίας καὶ τέχνης καὶ Ἡρακλέους Αἰγυπτίου καὶ ἑτεροὶ τοῦ Θηβαίου; for they say that he (Herakles) penetrated even to Erytheia, when he captured Geryon and the cattle.'² Philostratos then goes on to say, καὶ μὴν καὶ Ἑλληνικοὺς εἶναι φασὶ τὰ Γάδειρα...

(6) According to Apollodoros ii. 767, the Iberians worshipped Glaukos under the name Γέρων.

These,³ then, are the sole instances of definite impersonations of old age which I have been able to discover in Greek and Roman literature. But there are certain personages who recur in Greek mythology in whose personifications the characteristic of old age forms an important element. Now there is one point wherein our exploit of Herakles is specially noticeable, and which forms another connecting link between these myths of old age. In every other case of a contest between the hero and a human or divine figure, his antagonist does not, as here, shun the conflict, but as Ares, Geryon, Eryx, Kyknos, and the Giants, advances boldly to meet him. The only cases, so far as I know, where Herakles actually pursues a fleeing figure, are in the scenes with (A) Geras, (B) Nereus, (or Triton, or Proteus, for each of these names is applied to the human form of the sea-god in this connection,⁴) and (C) Hades.

(A) *Geras*: the representations of this personification with which I am acquainted are these:—

(a) The British Museum vase, the subject of this paper.

(β) A black-figured *pelikè* which Löschke mentions in the

¹ Cf. *Od.* 3, 384,
πωλεῖται τις δεῦρο γέρων Ἄλιος νημερτὴς
δθάνατος Πρωτεύς Αἰγύπτιος.

² Cf. Paus. VI. xxv. 2, Ἀνθρώπων
δὲ...μόνοι τιμῶσιν Ἀἰθρὴν Ἥλειοι.

³ Cf. also Pind. *Isthm.* V. (VI.) 1.

14, τοῖαισιν ὁργαῖς εἴχεται ἀντιάσαις
αἰδαν γῆρας τε δέξασθαι πολὺν δ
Κλεονίκου παῖς..

⁴ See *Arch. Zeit.* 1859, p. 102*, Nos.
26, 28, 61, 204, and Furtwängler,
Bronzef. zu Olymp. p. 96.

Arch. Zeitung, xxxix. p. 40, note 32 as in the possession of Signor Doria at Capua, and describes in the following terms:¹ 'Herakles wearing the lion skin over his head, quiver at back, and sword at his side, has seized by the neck a naked male figure, and threatens him with uplifted club. This figure, over whom is inscribed his name, $\varsigma\Lambda\varrho\Xi\Lambda$, raises his right hand with a gesture of supplication to Herakles, carrying in his left hand a staff. This personification of old age is, unlike the hero, represented as of a diminutive and repulsive figure, with a large hooked nose and a long pointed chin.'

(γ) (?) Heydemann, *Catalogue of Vases in Naples Museum*, 2777. Herakles wearing short *chiton* and lion skin, his bow and quiver at his back, a sword in his right hand and sheath in his left, pursues a naked bearded man who flies, looking back and raising both hands; on his arms he has a *chlamys* like a shawl.

The main idea of the motive of this vase seems, from Heydemann's description, to coincide fairly with the general type which I should attribute to Geras scenes; we have in the victim of Herakles, whoever he may be, these points: nudity, flight without resistance, supplication.

(δ) (?) I am disposed to think that the fragment of bronze relief from Olympia (published, *Ausgrab.* iv. p. 18) is to be classed under representations of this myth. This is how Curtius describes it:² 'Bärtiger Herakles mit dem Köcher auf dem Rücken, die Keule schwingend gegen einen Unhold von hässlichem Gesicht mit borstigem Haar der nach rechts entflieht (ein Cacus in hellenischer Form?).' Now, on the analogy of the above cases, this fleeing figure should be either a sea deity, or Hades, or Geras; it can hardly be the first or the second of these, because there is an obvious attempt to make the figure repulsive,³ which point seems unsuitable to Hades or the sea deities, but strongly in favour of an attribution to Geras. That he might be repulsive we see from our vase; Furtwängler⁴ says: 'Sie erscheint unbärtig und durfte demnach eher weiblich als männlich sein,' but the vase described by

¹ I have tried in vain to discover where this vase has gone since the death of Sig. Doria, in whose possession it was when Löschcke saw it.

² *Abhandl. d. K. Akad. d. W.* 1879,

p. 14.

³ Besides which, the similar scene with a sea deity occurs in the adjoining relief.

⁴ *Abhandl.* 1879, p. 94.

Löscheke at least gives us authority for a beardless, sharp-pointed chin such as this.

(ε) (?) Early vase with black figures in *Mus. Greg.* II. xvi. 2a. Herakles holding bow in left, and brandishing club in right hand, springs on a nude bearded figure who has fallen on the ground and offers no resistance; this figure is represented as partially bald, with a hooked nose and repulsive, grotesque face.

(ζ) (?) Etruscan intaglio in British Museum. A figure with a club (Herakles?) crouches on the left beside a winged aged figure, who moves away from him looking back.¹

(B) *The various Divinities of the Sea.* These seem naturally to divide themselves into three types, viz. :—

(a) Pisciform, i.e. a human body (usually with white hair) terminating in a fish's tail, of which type, as the instances of it are very numerous, it is sufficient to give here the general motive. Herakles has thrown himself upon the body of his victim so as to bestride it, while with both arms he clasps it round the waist.

(β) Human forms;² here the hero advances towards a human figure who has white hair, is draped, and carries usually a fish.

(γ) *Halios Geron.* 1. Vase-painting (black figured) published in Gerhard *Aus. Vas.* No. cxxii.; a closely draped figure holding a *palmette* stands looking on at a group of Herakles fighting with Kyknos.

2. Bronze tablet, with relief, from Olympia (see *Ausgr.* iv. p. 19); contest of Herakles with a pisciform figure inscribed Ἄλιος Γέρων.

3. Intaglio in Brit. Mus. publ. *Rev. Arch.* N.S. xxviii., Pl. 12, 1.

¹ (η) (?). In the *Annali*, 1871, Tav. F., a red-figured vase is published with, on one side, Iphikles learning the lyre from Linos; on the other, Herakles, behind whom stands an old man, wrinkled and squalid; beside this latter figure is inscribed $\wedge \epsilon \rho \epsilon \odot \varsigma \circ$: the inscription, as well as the type, would seem to suit some form of the personification of Geras.

² See e.g. vase in *B. M. Catal.* No. 716,

Herakles seizes white-haired figure who holds a sceptre and fish and is closely draped; and Gerhard, *Verzeichniss der V.*, 1753, 'Herakles hält den Bogen gespannt gegen Poseidon (Fisch und Dreizack) der...ruhig zuschaut.' In *Annali*, 1878, Tav. E. is published a vase picture which may perhaps be assigned to this group: Herakles, amidst a number of upset vases, attacks with a trident an aged figure who supplicates him.

(C) *Hades*. 1. 'Early Argos vase with scene of Herakles in the house of Hades,' *Arch. Zeit.* 1859, Taf. cxxv. p. 34. Herakles carrying bow and quiver throws a stone at Hades, who has risen from his throne, and flees, sceptre in hand, looking back: between them is Persephone. Hades is represented as an old bearded figure, closely draped.

2. Black-figured vase in Mus. Greg. II. Tav. lii. 2 *a*. Herakles with club and quiver moves towards a draped aged figure (Hades) who flees, looking back: in the scene are also Athenè, Persephone, and Cerberus.

3. Red-figured vase mentioned in *Bullettino dell' Inst. Arch.* 1842, p. 30, 'On one side is Herakles chaining Cerberus, who has only one head: on the other, an old man (Hades) covered with an ample mantle and carrying a staff, seems to accord to the hero the power of carrying off the dog of hell.'

I think we should bear in mind that the personifications of Hades and Pluto, though coincident up to a certain point, are really separable, at any rate in point of time. Hades seems to be the earlier type in general use, of which the place with certain modifications was filled in later mythology by Pluto. All the above scenes bear traces of the influence of an early treatment, and though (3) is a red-figured vase, it may well have been copied from a very much earlier work of art.¹ In early mentions of this god, as in early representations, scant courtesy is accorded to him, as if he were an evil spirit, a *böser Geist*, who is at enmity with mankind, and even with the other gods: thus in Homer (*Il.* v. 395) Herakles wounds him with an arrow, and in Pindar (*Ol.* ix. 29) threatens him with a club.² Very different is this to the *keras*-bearing god of earlier art, or to the conception of the later Pluto, the powerful god of Eleusis: it is possible that a more refined conception of the underworld may have come in simultaneously with a more reverent handling of the gods in art and literature, and this tendency may have been still further influenced by the Platonic philosophy: an inscription published in the *Rev. Arch. N. S.* xiv. p. 62 seems to reflect this distinctly: *οὐ κακὸς ἐστ' Ἀΐδας, παρίθι, ξέβε*: for Plato³ (*Kratyl.* xx.) protests

¹ The single-headed Cerberus is evidence in favour of this.

² He is sometimes in antagonism

with other deities: see Jahn, *Arch. Aufs.* p. 52.

³ Cf. Maury, *Hist. des Rel.* iii. 436.

against this conception of the god of the underworld as a formidable deity.¹

We should moreover naturally expect that contests of a hero with gods would, *per se*, show internal evidence of an early period; we find these contests in early art and literature, which disappear amidst maturer ethical conditions; thus Pindar *Ol.* ix. 30:

πῶς ἂν τριόδοντος Ἡρακλῆς σκύταλον τίναξε χερσὶν
ἄνικ' ἀμφὶ Πύλον σταθεὶς ἤρειδε Ποσειδᾶν
ἤρειδέν τέ μιν ἀργυρέῳ τόξῳ πολέμιζων
Φοῖβος, οὐδ' Ἀἴδης ἀκινήταν ἔχε ῥάβδον.²

Here the hero contends with three gods, Poseidon, Apollo, and Hades; in the Kyknos legend he is only stopped by Zeus from engaging with Ares: these and similar contests are quite in the spirit of the worldly conception of the gods of Homer who mix in the quarrels, and are wounded with the weapons, of mortals. It seems probable that when these myths, which a later art would deem irreverent, disappear, some modification of the details adapted and coloured to suit contemporary ideas would take their place: and so it comes, that later art puts Cerberus, or Thanatos, or Charon³ into the place of Hades, and Triton or a similar form into that of Poseidon: it may be that our Geras myth is also affected by some such process of development, to which Tithonos and similar forms would owe their existence.

Returning to our three main types, of Geras, Nereus, and Hades, we shall see that in certain points they bear a remarkable similarity to one another: that these figures are all pursued by Herakles, we have seen: they are all represented at one time or another as having white hair and of great age. The latter idea would perhaps result from the former: assuming the attribution of white hair as suitable to the conception of the 'hoary' sea, a white-haired personification of the sea would naturally lead to a suggestion of age. Old age and death are naturally near

¹ Cf. Robert, *Thanatos*, p. 32, etc., and see Böckh, *C. I.* 1067, *Σοὶ δὲ χάρις, Πλουτέῳ, ἀκάκη θεῷ*, and see *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* 1883, p. 403.

² See on this question *Arch. Zeit.* 1859, p. 34, Brunn, *Gr. Künstl.* I. p.

16; and the contest of Herakles and Apollo for a stag in *Annali d. Inst.* 1880, p. 216.

³ Cf. Milchhöfer, *Anfänge der Kunst*, p. 235.

akin (see Pindar *Isthm.* v. (vi.) 14): between Geras and Hades there is a further connecting link in the personification of the Homeric Nestor; he is the son of Neleus (who has been thought to be¹ another form of Hades) who dwells in the mythical Pylos, the door of the underworld (see *Il.* v. 397, ἐν Πύλῳ ἐν νεκύεσσιν): he is represented as of extreme old age and has himself suffered at the hands of the hero, the only one of the Neleides who escaped, flying from Herakles to Gerenia. Like the sea-god Glaukos, he is a λιγὺς ἀγορητής, εὖβουλος; and like Hades κλυτόπωλος, Nestor is himself called ἱππότας. I think moreover we are justified in laying stress upon the introduction of Nestor in Homer when we recollect that he is the only trace of old age being respected for its own sake at a period when, as I have tried to show, the tendency of thought was if anything rather in the opposite direction.²

I think we may assume that in primitive times culture and outside influence came to Greece in a direction inland from the sea: we may therefore expect that some inland myths would bear some trace of their marine origin; Löschcke³ in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1876, p. 108, has clearly pointed out that the Attic painters in early times show distinct traces of some such process of development being at work, with the result that in copying external ideas they frequently did so without understanding, and so lost the original motive of the design. In the same way we see that in Sparta⁴ the sea-myth of Herakles seizing Triton undergoes a change, where the dramatis personae are Menelaos and Proteus. Is it not possible that our two developments of the sea-myth of Nereus may have been owed to some such process? ⁵ Milchhöfer *loc. cit.* p. 84, contends that the Greek conception of Ἄλιος Γέρων is borrowed direct from an oriental type, and I think that, although it may be at present little more than a mere conjecture, this theory is worthy of consideration.

The connection of our Geras myth with others which would

¹ See Hartung, *Rel. der Gr.* ii. 221, 223: but cf. Welcker, *Gr. Gött.* i. 424.

² See *Il.* v. 623, where Achilles gives him a prize, though he had not contended in the games... ἤδη γὰρ χαλεπὸν κατὰ γῆρας ἐπέλγει.

³ Cf. Lückenbach *loc. cit.* p. 504.

⁴ Pausanias (3, 17, 3) says that Gittiades represented this scene in the Temple of Athene Chalkioikos at Sparta.

⁵ This point has been argued in Milchhöfer's *Anfänge der Kunst*, p. 196.

be eschewed by mature art and literature would help to account for its almost total disappearance in later times. A suggestion of it however seems to reappear in the assignment of Hebe,¹ the personification of youth, as the bride of the Hero of whom Hesiod says, *Theog.* 950 :

ἔς Ἡρακλῆος
ναίει ἀπήμαντος καὶ ἀγήραος ἥματα πάντα.

CECIL SMITH.

¹ Cf. Kekule, *Hebe*, p. 9, etc. There is a passage in Lucian (LV. Ἡρακλῆς, 1) which is a curious comment upon our vase : the author there describes a Keltic divinity who is called Ὅγμιος, but who is a strange mixture of the Greek type of Herakles with that of a personification of Old Age : Γέρων ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον ἀναφαιαντίας, πολὺς ἀκριβῶς ὅσαι λοιπαὶ τῶν τριχῶν, βυσὺς τὸ δέρμα καὶ διακεκαυμένος ἐς τὸ μελάντατον οἷοί εἰσιν οἱ θαλαττοῦργοι γέροντες· μᾶλλον δὲ Χάρωνα ἢ Ἰαπετόν τινα τῶν ὑποταρταρίων, καὶ πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ Ἡρακλέα εἶναι ἂν εἰκόσκειας . . . Ἀλλὰ καὶ τοιοῦτος ὢν ἔχει ὅμως τὴν σκευὴν

τὴν Ἡρακλέους. This strange figure leads by the ears a great company of people, by golden chains which issue from his mouth. The explanation given is this : the Kelts attribute the power of eloquence, *logos*, not to Hermes, but to Herakles ; and since μῶνος ὁ λόγος ἐν γῆρᾳ φιλεῖ ἐντελῇ ἐπιδείκνυσθαι τὴν ἀκμὴν, it is natural that this type of Herakles should include a conception of Geras as well. See Longpérier in the *Rev. Arch.* 1849-50, p. 388, for the derivation of Ὅγμιος as a Keltic word : but I should almost be tempted to look upon it as a Greek form connected with the ὕγμος κακοῦ γῆραος of Archil. 91.

THE following paper owes nothing to my hand but its English dress.

Its author, a young German gentleman, has been engaged for nearly three years past in conducting under my direction, with funds supplied by the kindness of Mr. C. T. Newton and his friends, excavations at different points in Cyprus. His enthusiastic and intelligent work has yielded many interesting, and I hope some valuable results.

He describes here a pre-historic monument, commonly called the Tomb of St. Catherine, at Salamis, near Famagusta.

The building near Larnaca known as the Hagia Phaneromene was fully laid bare last year, and described in the *Archäol. Zeitung*, Berlin, 1882, p. 313. In the mosque on the western edge of the Salt Lake at Larnaca, known as the Um-ul-Harem, or Halité Sultan Teké, is yet another like structure, composed of two stones which support a third gigantic block, hollowed out on the under side. These three stones, so runs the legend, transported themselves from Ramleh to Jaffa, and thence floated across to their present site to form a worthy tomb for the foster-mother of the Prophet, who died on this spot. I am quite sure the building would be found of the same age and construction as the two already mentioned, but the sanctity of the shrine, and the hangings which adorn it, prevent examination or measurement.

CLAUDE DELAVAL COBHAM.

LARNACA, April 16, 1883.

A PRE-HISTORIC BUILDING AT SALAMIS.

THE ancient building which I propose to describe, one of the most interesting of its kind in Cyprus and the East, has been casually mentioned by A. P. di Cesnola (*Salaminia*, p. 2, 1882) as a wall; 'perhaps a part of the ancient wall bounding the interior area of the harbour: an architectural, topographical, and geological impossibility. By R. H. Lang (*Cyprus* 1875, p. 25) as 'a Cyclopean ruin.' By Unger and Kotschky, who add to an insufficient account an indifferent drawing (*Die Insel Cypern*, Wien, 1865, p. 533), but, with greater judgment, describe it as a Cyclopean well temple. L. Ross (*Denkmäler u. Forschungen, Arch. Zeitung*, April 1851, p. 328) calls it a Phœnician tomb, cp. L. P. di Cesnola, *Cyprus*, p. 171, German edit. R. Pocock (1745, II. 217) speaks of it as 'a chapel built of three stones, the four sides consisting only of two stones, and it is covered with a third, which is angular at the top. If I mistake not, I may say, this Saint (*Catherine*) was buried in this chapel, and there seems to have been a tomb in it.' I begin by explaining my drawings, made with great care on the spot; every stone was measured, and reduced to scale. *R* denotes rock, *M* masonry. See Pl. XXXIII.

The walls of the larger chamber are built up of stones, the smaller chamber is cut out of the living rock, one immense stone *E* is visible both within and without both chambers, forming in the larger a part of the cornice, in the smaller a part of the entrance-wall. *E* lies on the rock *R*¹, out of which the round arch door *D*² between the two chambers, and the niche *N* are cut. As the whole building is now looked on by Christian Cypriots as the church of St. Catherine, of which the rock-room *H*¹, *H*⁵ is the sanctuary, worshippers put money and candles in both the inner chamber and the niche. The custom may have been of Pagan origin, or perhaps the niche, in which a man can sit comfortably, was the post of the guard who watched the inner room.

The dimensions are as follows, nearly: outer chamber, length 36 feet, breadth 18 feet, height 19½ feet; inner chamber, length 14 feet, breadth 7 feet, height 8 feet.

In the larger room I found, covered with earth, a well *W* of square form, built round with well cut stones of different sizes. When Unger and Kotschky visited the place in 1861, the well was open, and they found the temperature of the water 10° Réaumur, at an elevation of about fifty feet above the sea level. Elsewhere in Cyprus a similar elevation would give a temperature of 16° R. These writers are correct in believing that the building was purposely erected over the spring. I pointed out the same fact concerning the ancient well-tomb 'Hagia Phaneromene' near Larnaca (*Arch. Z.* Berlin, 1882, p. 314).

*D*¹ is the principal door. It is not in the middle of the building, nor are its frames and borders equal on both sides. The building, like others of its class—and these are certainly the oldest architectural remains in Cyprus—is nearly or altogether subterranean. The present depth of this monument, as indicated in my drawings, is probably what it was at the date of its construction.

The dotted lines \S *S*² (Fig. 4) give an idea of the step or pyramidal construction suggested by the existing remains *S*¹.

The principal entrance is now all but filled up with earth and stones, among them a large one *P* which once decorated the portal. Its size, in breadth and depth, being equal to the gap in the step construction of the exterior, allows me to restore it to its place in the reconstruction attempted in Fig. 7. *P* bears an ornament of semilunar shape on a square ground. It is broader than the doorway, and rested on the side walls.

The lintel of the door is evidently hollowed out with reference to some mechanism for closing the door from within. What this mechanism was I do not pretend to have discovered. A stone groove cut to receive a stone lowered like a portcullis from above, is visible in the doorway between the two chambers of the H. Phaneromene.

The stone *P*, as well as the step-construction outside, were less solidly joined to the main building, and so were the first to become detached and to fall.

The holes *H*¹⁻⁵ were probably made later, when doors of wood or iron were introduced; those at *H*⁶ may be coeval with the building.

Round all the four walls of the outer room runs a cornice, upon which the vault rests. We have noticed already certain

irregularities in the details of the work. The well is not in the middle of the room, its edges are not equal—no more is the door frame. Here too the cornice is lower by five to six inches at C^1 , and lower too at C^2 than at C^3 . By M^1 and M^2 (see the ground plan, and Fig. 6 line $\eta - \theta$) one might think that the builder first proposed to add two other rooms, but abandoned the idea, and after having cut the large stones filled up the intervals M^1 and M^2 with smaller stones, and perhaps for the same reason cornices C^1 and C^2 are not equal to cornice C^3 .

The huge stones are admirably fitted together without cement, which is only used at the doorway and the step-construction, and in the walls, evidently repaired or rebuilt, which project above the ground at P . The joints are scarcely visible. The barrel vault too is constructed with wonderful exactness; each course, except the middle one, has two keystones. The enormous blocks of stone must have been first hewn and fitted together, the joints running as nearly as possible in the lines of the four walls, the intervals being filled in with smaller stones. The stones of the vault were left rough outside, within they were most carefully dressed, so as to show in section a perfect semi-circle. Section $\alpha - \beta$, Fig. 4, shows that only three stones immediately above the cornice give a length of 36 feet inside, and over 37 feet outside.

Fig. 8 shows a single block reaching to the single keystone; here a diameter of 16 ft. 8 in. is vaulted across by three stones.

The walls projecting above ground on the shorter sides Pr , are clearly of a later, perhaps Christian epoch, built up of smaller stones, at Pr' irregular, at Pr'' more regular; at Pr'' is the present entrance, through a hole made in the wall above ground. A rough stairway, omitted in the plans, conducted down into the building. See Pl. XXXIV-1. The smaller rock chamber is covered by an enormous monolith. The builders first brought the block into its place, squaring only those parts of the monolith and the live rock where these touched each other. Then from within they hewed and hollowed both block and rock till from the two they had given the chamber a pointed roof. The upper surface of all these stones was left rough. The spot was no doubt chosen as well for the excellent spring, as for the natural

sandstone rock which crops up here like an island, and out of which the inner chamber was hewn.

The sketches 1 to 7, Pl. XXXIV., show a most interesting series of the earliest Cypriot buildings, erected by the same race which built the hypogaea of Mycenae. The most perfect in development is this building at Salamis.

The step- or pyramid construction reminds us of Babylonian work. The architect may have wished to imitate in its exterior appearance the tombs of Xylotymbo (Nos. 4 and 5). The spectator who wondered to see the same step formation without the covering of earth which preserved the equilibrium in those of Xylotymbo, was still more astonished to find the imposing pyramidal roof upborne by a vault of gigantic stone blocks.

I believe the building to belong to a 'Temenos,' which was in communication with one of the principal gates in the western wall of Salamis through a line of ruins, strewn with fragments of columns, and blocks of granite and marble. On this road I found in 1880 two fragments of inscriptions of the Ptolemaic era. Westwards of the 'Temenos' lies a high tumulus, which L. P. di Cesnola professes to have excavated to its base. Southwards I found pieces of statuettes, pointing to a sanctuary there of Aphrodite-Cybele. Between the tumulus and our Cyclopean building is a clump of trees, *Zizyphus Spina Christi*, easily confounded with the sacred Lotus tree, *Zizyphus Lotus*. These are still held in reverence both by Moslem and Christians, who are restrained from injuring them by fear of St. Catherine's wrath; only once a year branches are cut from them for the Easter bonfire.

In the sketch Plate XXXIV. are seen traces of other walls running southwards, and a smaller Cyclopean structure not yet excavated.

In a few words I will say what I believe to have been the purpose and use of the building.

1. A spring or well-house.
2. A temple or sanctuary, perhaps also a tomb.
3. A treasure house, and place of refuge in times of war or trouble.

The doors (the principal door certainly) could be closed only from within. The inmates then must have been watching a

treasure,—I found near the building a fragmentary inscription bearing the letters TAMEI . . —or barricading themselves from an enemy. Many a mosque and church in the East has served in its day for some or all of these uses.

I need not dwell on the obvious relations of the building at Salamis to the hypogaea of Greece. Adler may see in them only kingly tombs: but the lively tradition which calls them treasuries, together with the natural fitness for such a purpose of the small rock-hewn inner rooms which occur in the so-called treasury of Atreus, and in this so-called tomb of St. Catherine, must be allowed its weight.

To me it is easier to believe them treasuries; certainly the building at Salamis was not a tomb only. Dead men cannot close a door.

MAX OHNEFALSCH RICHTER.

LARNACA, CYPRUS, *April* 1883.

BUILDINGS FIGURED ON PL. XXXIV.

1. Section of the inner chamber of the so-called chapel of the Hagia Phaneromene, near Larnaca. The domed vault a monolith, roughly hollowed.
2. Section of the outer chamber of the H. Phaneromene, the vault a monolith, rudely hewn.
3. Smaller chamber of the so-called Hagia Catharina, near Salamis. Part of the wall is formed by the live rock: the vault a monolith.
4. Section of a tomb near Xylotymbo.
5. Section of another tomb near Xylotymbo.
6. Tomb (now destroyed) in a garden at Old Larnaca. Ten stones, five and five, formed the roof.
 - (a) Section of breadth.
 - (b) A part of the roof, as seen from within, showing the junctions of the slabs.
 - (c) Stones of roof.
7. Section of the larger chamber of the so-called H. Catharina.

ANTEFIXES FROM TARENTUM.

THE four antefixes from Tarentum, shown in Plate XXXII., where they are reduced in size to about half the actual diameter, are only specimens selected from the not inconsiderable number of types found in recent excavations. All that I have seen are marked by great breadth and freedom of execution. Even those which seem to have been originally cast, in the rough, in the same mould have undergone such subsequent touching up and remodelling as makes them distinct works of art. Identical types sometimes occur in slightly varying sizes which implies successive moulds imitative of some established original. The faces when found are covered with a hard and rough lime-deposit, but the removal of this often reveals traces of colour laid as usual on a white priming. The Medusa head in the plate appears to have been coloured to the life—cheeks pink, lips red, and not only the pupil, but even the iris of the eye painted. The colour of eyebrows and lashes is dark, that of the hair now a dirty brownish-yellow—like the tint of the common yellow lichen—probably modified by time or by the action of the acid used to remove the lime accretion. The modelling of the lips shows that fleshy and life-like firmness which is peculiar to the best time of Greek art. Under the chin of this, or a similar head I notice the marks of the moulder's finger, but instruments seem to have been used also. The lines of the hair, though fine in the plate, lose considerably by the absence of the part by the cheeks, where over each ear there rises a snake curved like a flattened *S*. The specimens which show these do not come up in features to the one figured. The colour on the snakes is blue-green. The small button above the centre of the brow is a curious feature.

This Medusa type has more breadth and grandeur than any other of these antefixes known to me. It is the culminating point of a series of this subject. I obtained at Tarentum complete specimens of two historically previous stages, and a fragment of a third. The first—the well known, earliest, grotesque, tongue-protruding type of Gorgon, is on a thin, flat tile, rounded at the top, but without the ordinary antefixal projection behind. Though barbarous it is very decorative in general effect. To it succeeds the type of which I know only a fragment, but the severely modelled and magnificent snakes of this fragment and the corner remaining of the mouth show that the whole must have been very fine, and, more than any of the others, illustrative of the Aeschylean ‘*δρακοντόμαλλοι Γοργόνες*,’ and of the ‘*ὀδόντας μεγάλους ὡς συνῶν*,’ of Apollodorus. Another gentler type—similar to that on vases of the finest time, with quietly massed hair, follows; then that shown in the plate.

The beardless head of Pan in the plate seems somewhat later in style. It is wirier and more emotional. The incised pupils and iris of the eye are remarkable, but not singular in Tarentine art. Much in this head is curiously reminiscent of the Medusa; the mouth, the pointed ears incredibly set on, replacing the recurved snakes, the hair repeating the same curves and groupings on thinner lines, and the strangely placed horns which succeed to what I have called the ‘button.’ The shape of these horns also is unlike that of the horns of the ordinary Pan or Panisk. One has seen horns on vases to some extent similar, but I think I have met an exact parallel only in Egypt. Here the strange antelope curve appears to follow the lines of the hair and suggests not indistinctly the Gorgon’s snakes. In the British Museum shield, supposed to be a copy of the work of Pheidias, the knotted snakes on Medusa’s head spring from the same point as these horns. No traces of colour are preserved on this head.

There are several points worthy of notice in the head of Herakles. Professor Gardner informs me that there is in the British Museum a Tarentine coin of the fourth century ‘most strikingly like’ this terra-cotta. There exists a similar type on a coin of Metapontum. I saw at Tarentum various other examples of this head of somewhat smaller size than the one figured, and of distinctly inferior execution. All this seems to

imply a well known original. The information we possess about the famous Colossus by Lysippus, removed from Tarentum to Rome, shows that we cannot seek that original in it. Indeed by the time of Lysippus the conception of Herakles seems to have been generally of a figure squarer and more brawny than could agree with this head. I am not aware of any other work of art in the town on record which might have been the source of our examples but there may well have been one in the 'city of Hercules.' The arrangement of the lion's skin is interesting in its elaborateness and perhaps illustrative of that war attire of Kallias to which Aristophanes alludes in the *Frogs*. The mane seems to be brought round with decorative purpose and fastened under the upper jaw of the animal while the skin of the under jaw, which, in all coin heads of Herakles known to me, hangs under the hero's chin, is raised so, as with the ear, to fill the place of the double pair of plumes sometimes seen on Greek helmets.¹ It is just possible that the flowing locks, though so fell-like, are those of Herakles himself and have reference to his solar character, as might also that feature I suppose to be the skin of the lion's lower jaw, but which is so strangely like a ram's horn. It certainly is on record that the Tarentine hero was the 'Libyan Herakles,' and also that the latter in his home in Egypt had, on certain solemn occasions, a ram's skin put on him. But, in spite of the opinions on the personal appearance of the hero, of Hieronymus of Rhodes and Dicaearchus as quoted by Clemens Alexandrinus, a long and loose-haired Herakles would be almost as remarkable in Hellenic Art as a ram's horned one. At any rate it is worth notice that all these heads are winged, as it were—have flanking projections, whether in the form of serpents, pointed ears, horns, or skin of jaw. I have a gold ear-ring from Tarentum in which the lion's mane is worked out in a way much more liberal, much more resembling the locks on this Herakles' head than is usual in that common type of jewel. The decorative use of the row of small teeth (like some architectural moulding) in place of the more common large tusks, and the masterly rendering of the lion's lip and whiskers are well shown in the plate.

There remains to be considered the horned head in which a

¹ A long series of smaller terra-cottas Tarentines to head gear. proves the luxurious care given by

THE PERGAMENE FRIEZE.

(Continued from Vol. III., p. 338.)

THE description of the larger frieze cannot at present be completely methodical, as the task of arrangement and reconstruction is not yet near its end, and skill or accident may discover the relative position in the whole work of many fragments and slabs that are at present isolated, and through their isolation lose much of their significance. It is certain at least that the artists have been guided in their grouping of the figures by a higher principle than that of mere decoration. The natural affinity of personages has been to some extent respected: thus there is reason to believe, as has been shown, that Heracles stands near to Zeus; and we see engaged in one common action a family of deities that belong to the nether world; we see a group of sea-divinities, and around Cybele the nymphs that are attached to the Magna Dea, while before the Sungod the goddess of the dawn is riding. Yet such connections as one might suggest will not give a certain clue in the arrangement of the slabs. Thus the fragment upon which the figure of Dionysos is preserved might be supposed to belong to the part of the frieze containing Hekate, to whom, because of his Chthonian character, his affinity in myth is close. The tradition and probably also the art of the sixth century B.C. had taken notice of this aspect of the many-natured god, for in many of the black-figured vases published by Gerhard we see Dionysos in close connection with Persephone, prominent in the representations of her return to the upper world: and an allusion is conveyed of their mysterious marriage: while according to more than one authority Hades and Dionysos had been identified by Heraclitus.¹ Indeed there is some evidence to show that this peculiar

¹ Heracliti Reliquiae: ed. Bywater, fragm. cxxvii.

character of the latter god has had an influence upon the myth which has assigned him a part in the gigantomachy.

In the account of Apollodorus¹ we find him ranged by the side of Hekate, and as the natural weapon which the goddesses of the nether world use against the giants is a torch, so on the vase of Altamura, and on the amphora from the Louvre, a torch is seen in the hand of Dionysos. As in the Thracian worship his nature seems to have been merged in the Sungod's,² here too his element is fire, not the fire of the celestial deities, but rather the earth's fructifying warmth, upon which the mysterious cult of Demeter and Persephone was based. Now it would seem that the legend of his giant-battles is comparatively late;³ on the vases with black figures that contain this theme he is rarely seen at all and is never conspicuous, while on vases that belong to the more perfected style, and those also of the Alexandrine era, his presence is to be expected and the part that he plays is important. That is to say, he enters into this myth at a time when the influences of the North-Greek religion had diffused an enlarged conception of Dionysos as the deity of the sky and of the nether region, and also at a time when the human characters that had attached to the group of giants was fading, and their physical import as deadly forces of nature was more clearly emerging.

His participation in a gigantomachy that had become symbolical in the sense before⁴ described is thus natural enough, and would win credit with the popular fancy which cherished the older legends of Pentheus and Lycurgus, and the tale of the contest between Dionysos and Triton⁵ (Paus. ix. 20, 4). The artists of Pergamon, therefore, where a Bacchic cult probably

¹ Apoll. i. 6.

² Scholia to Aristophanes, *Lys.* 388, Macrobius, *Sat.* i. 18, Welcker, *Griechische Götterlehre*, i, 429, 430.

³ So also the legend of Dionysos-Zagreus and the Titans which is in many respects parallel, cannot, according to Lobeck, *Aglaophamos*, pp. 615-616, be regarded as much earlier than the time of Onomacritus.

⁴ *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, October 1882, p. 303-5.

⁵ The likeness between these legends

and the gigantomachy has been suggested by Wieseler; and in these former the god appears as Dionysos-Lycurgus, as beneficent and destructive; yet this gives no support to Müller's theory, already stated, that the expression of this old religious conception is found in the gigantomachy itself: since the thought, if ever entertained at all, that the giants were the malevolent nature of the gods, was certainly lost before Dionysos was brought into the action.

existed,¹ were obliged to find a place for him in their work. Is there any proof or indication that this place was in or near the following of Hekate, as we should be led to expect in accordance with the association of ideas above described? The internal evidence, which the artistic work or context might supply, fails us here: for the attributes of the god and his method of attack, which might help to decide the question, are not sufficiently shown on the fragment of the slab. But from external evidence, from certain signs on the outer left edge of the stone and on the back, it appears to have formed one of the corners of the altar, and therefore, as the figures show, was on the right side of the corner. As this is the case, we can reject a hypothesis which might recommend itself, if our principle of reconstruction were merely the affinity of myths²: the hypothesis that Dionysos should follow or precede the mother of the gods, whose figure has been preserved for us. The legend of their close connection, so rife in Phrygia, may have indeed existed in Pergamon: yet the two deities were probably separated by a wide interval on the frieze. For the slab on which Cybele appears is probably itself also a corner-slab, and on the right side of the corner. This, therefore, and the slab of Dionysos cannot come into any juxtaposition, unless we assign the group of Cybele to the south-east corner of the side which was interrupted by the staircase, or to the corner at the beginning of the left wing of the staircase; but the latter position was certainly occupied by a group of sea-deities and their antagonists,³ the former probably by Hekate and the goddesses of the nether world. The chances are thus against the supposition that Dionysos and Cybele were brought together upon the frieze.

To place him near Apollo would be another arrangement which would coincide with a mythological belief,⁴ but this is once more to bring him into connection with Hekate: for there are some indications that Apollo himself was engaged in the same part of the action as the goddess, and to place Dionysos near to both would accord well with two groups of myth. If

¹ Paus. x. 18, 5.

² Apoll. 3, 5, 8.

³ Vide Conze. *Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen zu Pergamon*, p. 54, 1880.

⁴ On the cylix from Volci, published

by Overbeck, *Atlas zu Kunstmyth.* (1 taf. v. 1 a), the figure fighting behind Dionysos is proved, by the arrangement of the hair, by the cord of the quiver, and by the torch which he holds, to be Apollo and not Hermes: cf. Strabo, 463.

this were the original disposition of the figures, and this hypothesis has more in its favour than any other that has yet been advanced, then the form of Dionysos must have appeared on the south side at the corner immediately on one's right as one passed up the staircase.

Some such considerations as these were necessary before one could approach the question, how have the Pergamene artists represented the god Dionysos in the gigantomachy? The warrior-god, connected or identified by ancient theory with Ares,¹ and sometimes armed with the corslet, as on the archaistic relief published in *Monumenti Antichi inediti* (1, 6), is seen neither in this nor in any other representation of the same theme. There is something feminine in the costume, as it is here arranged, in the short chiton which reaches only to the knees, in the high girdle that lies across the rounded breast, and loops up the garment so that a deep fold falls almost to the thighs. The ivy-crown in spite of disfigurement can be seen about the luxuriant hair, while the fawn-skin is drawn obliquely across his breast leaving his left shoulder free.² Here then are illustrated the feminine traits that enter into the ancient conception of the god.³ But the delicacy or effeminateness that appears in his action on the Louvre amphora, is altogether absent here; on the contrary the movement and form are full of seriousness and dramatic life. He is near his enemy, and his feet seem firmly planted on the ground; his body is slightly swung back, his left arm extended, and his right raised behind for a cast or a thrust. What weapon of offence or defence we are to assign to either hand is doubtful; his right was probably levelling his thyrsos or brandishing his torch, for his hand comes so near to the edge of the slab that there was certainly no room for a sword: but a spear or a spear-headed thyrsos, or a torch, held near the end, would not project too far, and these are the weapons that an earlier tradition of literature and art had assigned to him in this contest. The torch is seen in his hands on the vase of Altamura, the thyrsos on a vase published by Millingen, both representations belonging to the fifth century, to the period of ripe archaism. When we

¹ Macr. Sat., 1, 19.

Orphic books.

² Cf. the curious description quoted by Macrobius (*Saturn.* 1, 18) from the

³ Aristides, *Or.* iv., t. 1, p. 49, Dind.

look at the stone before us, we may conclude that he is holding a weapon in each hand. Now there was certainly no shield on the outstretched left arm—for this never forms part of his equipment—one might rather suggest that the same spirit of redundancy, which appears in the painting of the Louvre amphora, where Dionysos is holding both thyrsos and torch, has prompted the Pergamene artist to put into the hands of the god both these emblems of his divine nature. The latter of the two could hardly have been wanting, if the theory is correct that he belonged to the following of Hekate: and few attributes are more suitable in the present case than the thyrsos. On the vase of Altamura, his left hand is holding a large and spreading vine-branch; on the cylix from Volci¹ a fallen giant is entangled in the meshes of his ivy-branches, which he has cast over the enemy almost as a Roman retiarius casts his net. But in attempting a reconstruction in the present case, we can scarcely appeal to these instances, or to the vase in the British Museum, where he holds a cantharos in his left hand as he advances against a giant²: for neither the one attribute nor the other would be in place here: the vine-branches would be difficult to represent in sculpture—and such a representation as that on the Volci cylix would be still more difficult, and its quaintness would be altogether unfitting the earnestness and reality of the action on the slab. Neither is it probable that he was holding a cylix, the weapons of the gods in the Pergamene work being hardly ever mere attributes of an idle symbolism. But the thyrsos was a warlike arm enough,³ and was borne by Dionysos in the battle which Euripides describes as wrought on the temple at Delphi. The person of Dionysos, armed in this fashion and carrying the torch, though distinct from that of any other Olympian, would nevertheless be that of a god: for there is no reference discoverable here to the legend⁴ that he was one of the two human combatants summoned by Zeus to save the cause of heaven. In this and in all other representations of the gigantomachy he appears as he had

¹ Overbeck's *Kunst-Mythologie*, I. p. 362. No. 15.

² Gerhard, *Auserlesene Vasenbilder*, I. 64.

³ Macrobius, *Sat.* I. xix, notices its

military character.

⁴ Schol. Pind. N. 1, 100. It is doubtful whether this is part of a genuine early tradition.

appeared in the Bacchae, as a god peculiar in character yet in power not inferior to the other gods.

And like other deities he has his subordinate ministers, his helpers in the battle: behind him in faint relief on the slab are two slim satyrs, marching side by side, and so placed that the presence of the one more remote is only shown allusively by the arm that appears with the fragment of a staff or spear from behind the body of the foremost. The form of the one who is more fully presented, whose only garment is an apron of some beast's skin round his loins, and whose motions are exactly those of his master, has some *naïveté* and some touch of realism, but the ordinary burlesque character of the satyrs appears neither in his body nor his face. It was probably the presence of Dionysos and Silenus in the action that tempted comedians and parodists to handle the theme for their purposes, but it was by no means inevitable that such figures should interfere with the earnest treatment of a poet or artist whose aim was serious. They appear on early representations, where the style is sufficiently austere: as on a vase from Southern Italy in the British Museum that shows a bearded Bacchus with an ivy crown, advancing behind Athene and Zeus to do battle with the giants; and on an amphora with black figures, described by Gerhard,¹ Silenus is found engaged in the action in company with the same deities.

Some of the examples to which I have already referred will help to answer the question as to the originality of this part of the Pergamene work. The details with which the group is completed are borrowed from an earlier tradition; even the panther that appears between the legs had been seen already on vases of the fifth century, giving vigorous aid. Yet the artist has skilfully combined such elements as he found ready to his hand, and while the attributes of Dionysos, and the minor figures that enter into the scene belong in all probability to an inherited mode of description, so to speak, yet the form and action of the god, at once sculpturesque and vigorous, the unity and compactness of the whole group, impress upon the work the character of an original creation.²

¹ *Auserlesene Vasenbilder*, i. p. 25, Note 23, c.

² On a coin of Seleucia, quoted by

Mionnet, of the time of Septimius Severus, Bacchus is seen in a form which reminds one of the Pergamene type.

Near to the slab of Dionysos, in the rotunda of the museum, there is placed a fragment where a goddess is carved, who is riding with her back to the spectator, but with her head turned forwards in the direction of her course so that the profile of her face is displayed. There is much liveliness in the forms, and variety in the lines, and here, as in most parts of the frieze,



the detail is very profuse. She is clothed with a finely-marked chiton, which is secured with a high girdle and falls away negligently from her left shoulder, displaying flesh that is rendered with a rare freshness. Around her lower limbs and beneath her is drawn the himation, one end of which seems to have been filled with the wind, and is fluttering behind her. This arrangement of the drapery is perfectly dramatic, and variety has been attained without any excess or bravura; the tendency to

realism which directed all Pergamene work is very visible in the execution of the saddle-cloth—a wild beast's fell—rendered with great softness and naturalism. The countenance, somewhat defaced as it is, is full and noble, and the expression is strikingly earnest and personal, not intensified by any sharp outlines, but softened with shadows that rest in the deep eye-sockets and the depressions about the mouth. Fully to describe the action of the deity is to decide the question of her personality. Her left arm seems occupied with the rein, and her right is raised behind her; at a glance we can see that she is not one of the goddesses who are energetically engaged in the action, for, even if she is holding a weapon in her free hand, she cannot at the present moment be threatening, or at least endangering, an enemy. One must explain her, then, as a divinity who may be properly found in the combat and yet not playing the part of an active combatant, and a single consideration will dispel the difficulty. The animal which bears her is certainly no horse, for, though the fore-parts of the legs are wanting, yet the body and hind-quarters remain, and one is struck with their slight and mean proportions, if one compares them with those of the horses that have been preserved on an isolated slab which has also been placed in the rotunda. There can be little doubt that she is riding on a mule, and is, therefore, none other than Selene—whose figure, similarly placed, had been seen by Pausanias amidst the Pheidian work upon the basis which supported the throne of the Zeus Olympios: he appears to hint a connection, which he is shy to explain, between the mule and the goddess of the moon.¹ It is highly improbable that the Pheidian forms or motives survive at all in the Pergamene figure, which in expression, in drapery, and in the treatment of the flesh, shows the mobility and softness of the later style. Neither is it easy to point to any tradition which has guided the artist in his choice of attributes and detail, and in arrangement of the whole. The personality of the statue which Pausanias saw at Elis was made clear by the horns that were carved on the forehead, and which proclaimed the moon-goddess; and on a vase published by Gerhard,² where Selene is found in a car with Helios, she wears the same symbol. But such an attribute might well have been considered out of place on the altar of Pergamon, for the aim of the artists is

¹ Paus. 5, 11.

² *Lichtgottheiten*, Taf. iii. 3.

obvious throughout—to show the contrast between the motley forms of the giants, which are in many cases overcharged with symbolism, and the completely human types of the divinities.

The above-given interpretation is not invalidated by the absence of the veil, or of the bow-wise arrangement of the himation above her head, which is so often the characteristic of Selene. Such arrangement may well have been avoided by the Pergamene sculptor as a piece of symbolism interfering with the dramatic effect of the drapery. To make the meaning clear he probably trusted rather to the expression given in the countenance, to the action of her right hand, and perhaps also to her place on the frieze.

What this action is, and to what place we are to assign her, are two questions of importance. It is quite clear that her right arm is not uplifted in order to hold a part of her himation in the fashion above described, for the slab is preserved sufficiently to disprove this; and in her present unwarlike attitude she could not have been lifting any weapon for attack. But if a small torch were in her hand, as we see it in more than one representation¹ of the moon-goddess, her person would instantly be recognised. Thus equipped as Selene, she would naturally come into connection with a group which has been well preserved, wherein the sun-god appears driving his chariot. We might also ask whether these two contrasted forms are not brought into the frieze to mark the time and the compass of the whole conflict, which breaks forth at daybreak and rages through the whole expanse of the sky from east to west. It was to serve such a function as living boundary-marks of the scene that the figures of Helios, and Night or Selene, were carved in the corners of the east pediment of the Parthenon, and appeared also on the basis of Zeus's throne at Olympia, and on Roman reliefs such as that published by Gerhard.² We have a more special illustration of their presence and meaning in the gigantomachy, afforded by the drawing on the fragment of the ewer from Ruvo, where the chariot of the sun is seen mounting on the right, and the horse of Selene departing to the left. But on the Pergamene altar they could not have been placed so as to serve as limits. For

¹ Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler*, ii. 173, 176.

² *Lichtgottheiten*, Taf. iii.

on a frieze that runs round a four-square building, no two figures can be so arranged as to include the whole, unless they are in juxtaposition, and each turned in an opposite direction from the other. Apart from the awkwardness of such a scheme, there could have been no such intention here, since the god and the goddess are passing in the same direction. And when we look at the slab itself, which contains Selene, we see at once that, though possibly inactive, she is no mere external witness of the action. For close to her shoulder on the right is a fragment which can be nothing else but the coarse and powerful plumes of a giant's right wing, who may thus be threatening her from behind.

Now if we might take as our guide the numerous vase-representations where Selene is seen preceding the chariot of the Sun, we should bring the slab I have been considering into the immediate neighbourhood of the group of Helios. Clothed as a charioteer in long flowing garments, he is guiding his four-horsed car to battle, and is levelling his torch against a giant that seems suddenly to have crossed his path, and with a panther's fell wrapt round his left arm is confronting the startled horses. On the extreme left of this series of slabs, so far as the reconstruction has at present proceeded, is a mounted goddess, whose horse seems swerving in fear at the sudden appearance of an enemy, turning his head round in the middle of his gallop. The goddess can be none other but Eos, whose proper place is here. She is generally represented driving a car, but the *μονόπωλος Ἀώς* is known to Euripides,¹ and her position on the frieze, as well as the soft and delicate chiton proper to the goddess of the dawn, would sufficiently interpret the figure to the spectator. Of her function in the action one may say the same as has been said of Selene's: her appearance is made to serve a dramatic purpose, for while the lower limbs are on the whole arranged so as to show us the goddess in her natural movement, riding at ease before the rising sun, her upper limbs are obeying a different impulse, a dramatic impulse. As she is striving with great effort to control the terrified flight of her horse, her right shoulder and arm are distorted from their natural posture, in order as it seems to drag his head back to the forward direction. This contrast between two movements united in the body had

¹ *Orestes*, 1004.

of course long been part of the traditional skill of the sculptor; it appears with something of the same effect as here in one of the seated goddesses in the Parthenon frieze; it appears in one of the flying nereids of the British Museum, who turns in her flight. But the reconciliation of the two is far less happy in the last-mentioned figure than here, where the artist has been able to pose the lower limbs so as to slightly allude to the contrary impulse of the upper. And the drapery is arranged so as to assist the dramatic expression, being in many places rolled over into folds that illustrate the complicated action. It is in this that the originality of the artist's work consists, for if she were merely riding at ease, her form would resemble that of Selene on the fragment of the Ruvo vase, and still more strikingly the form of a Selene that appears on a crater of the British Museum; and would be a reproduction of a much used type. In that case all that might be noticed as peculiar in the present figure might be the rich treatment of the drapery, a maze of broad surfaces interchanged with deep and narrow; and the rhetorical spirit, or spirit of redundancy, which has led the artist to show on her knee the end of her woollen girdle, carved so as to resemble a bell-shaped flower.

But what is it that explains the motion of Eos, and the terror of her horse? A fragment has been discovered and has been now set up in the rotunda of the Berlin Museum, which contains a horse's hoof and the remnant of a right arm holding a spear: it is a probable conjecture that the hoof belongs to the horse of Eos, and the arm to a giant who will be standing between her and Selene, if Selene belongs to this group. Of the enemies whom these deities of light are confronting, little save a few doubtful hints can be discovered, except in the case of the opponent of Helios. This giant stands facing outwards, his head turned towards his enemy, his right hand raised with some weapon. Though his face is somewhat mutilated, some wild locks of hair can be seen, which speak clearly of his character; but his form is completely human, and his anatomy is rendered with less violence than usual. We might indeed have naturally expected to see confronting the Sun-god a figure which would by some clear symbolism have expressed the violent eruptive forces of nature which darkened the lights of heaven, but the artist has preferred the human and dramatic interest to that of

symbolic expression, and has presented the giant simply as a hunter, arming him perhaps with a torch, a weapon appropriate enough to this particular conflict.

The Sun-god is the figure which predominates in the whole group. His features are rich and high, yet not so full and round as in the Rhodian type that appears on coins, nor so expressive of radiant exultation; the characteristic is earnestness: the lips are pouting forwards, and the protuberance over the eyes, the deep eye-sockets, the clusters of hair that falls slightly over his forehead, are used here for the purpose of an emotional expression quite different from that which belongs to similar traits on the faces of the more beautiful among the giants. His drapery is ample and full of dignity, being drawn without violence about his limbs: and the whole form is statuesque, not differing in any essential feature from the type that can be frequently seen elsewhere. But in certain details of the whole scene, the picturesque quality which has been noticed as a mark of Pergamene work,¹ comes prominently into view; a dead giant is rather faintly shown beneath the chariot, and the path of the rising sun is conceived to be over the mountains which are indicated as a rocky terrain on the lower part of the frieze. This hint of the scenic circumstances reminds of a similar trait on the fragment of the Ruvo vase, when the rocks are represented, which the giants are piling up as a vantage-ground against Olympus. But, in one point, the great technical skill and the study of perspective which are conspicuous in most part of the frieze have failed the artist here. He has shown us the three inner horses of the sun's chariot allusively by marking in faint outline the profile of their heads and backs, while Helios is standing immediately behind the front horse. The difficulty of representing in relief a four-horsed chariot, and of placing the driver so as to face the interval between the two pairs of horses, has been felt and more skilfully solved by other sculptors.² Yet in spite of minor defects, the whole work of the slab fascinates us with its happy mingling of the picturesque and dramatic, with the variety of the figures, the freshness and richness of the forms, and the rapid movement of the action.

¹ Vide Helbig, *Campanische Wandmalerei*, p. 152-156.

quadriga discovered by Schliemann may be quoted as a notable instance.

² The relief of the Sun-god in his

The battle and the defeat, the expression of fear and of high confident effort, are motives well combined; and the movements in the group, while less violent and less pathetic, are as stately as those in the groups of Zeus and Athene.

The mythological question remains—how far this active participation in the gigantomachy of Helios with his attendant deities is appropriate to tradition. As far as I have been able to discover, it is impossible to illustrate these motives in the Pergamene work either from literature or art. When the divinities of light appear in any connection with the action, it is generally as witnesses, or as external to it. It is thus on the vase of Ruvo, and it is thus on the cylix of Berlin, of which the exterior shows a gigantomachy, and the interior a representation of Eos with the winged horses of the dawn. In the account given by Apollodorus, the function of Helios, Selene, and Eos is inactive merely: they are charged by Zeus to withhold their light for a season, until he had obtained the drug which Earth had produced as a charm to preserve her children;¹ and none of the later poets and artists in their rendering of the subject have dealt with these deities as the Pergamene artists have dealt. Nor is there any real indication of reference to the action of Helios in any of the cyclic Titanomachies.² Yet there are certain facts which might have prompted one to believe that these ancient divinities would have been brought into connection with the myth of the giants. Selene is the daughter of Pallas, the mysterious king of whom Homer speaks (Hymn to Hermes, line 100); the name Aegaeon which is applied to Briareus, the giant of the water, is said to designate Helios;³ and we have the tale of the Phaethon whom Zeus destroys with lightning. If Müller's theory were true, that the gigantomachy is a tradition due to the early dual conception of the gods, a contest between their beneficent and deadly natures, might not Helios have been thus regarded and for this reason have played a prominent part in the contest?

The worship of Helios was certainly found in early Greek tribes and was localised in Arcadia, where the myth of the

¹ Apoll. Bibl. i. 6.

² Schol. Ven. II. xxiii. 295, and *Frag.*

mente der epischen Poesie, Düntzer

³ *Etym. May.* s. v. Αἰγαιών.

gigantomachy had taken root.¹ But the figure of Helios in the early tradition seems rarely to be separated from the natural fact personified; and even in Homer his personality is not conceived with sufficient clearness and with sufficient independence, that he should take part in the vigorous action of the other gods; he is rather a watcher of human and divine transactions. And it is probable that before the legend of the giants and their battles had grown, his figure had faded into the background of old belief, and his place in the manifold drama of popular tradition is taken by other personages who have emerged from him, as Heracles and Apollo. But his worship had survived at Rhodes, and was maintained with unique splendour; and the colossal work of Lysippus may have at once expressed and quickened the popular conception of the Sun-god as a deity of personal power.² Now the connection between the Pergamene and Rhodian schools of art is known and has been further illustrated by the discovery of an inscription at Pergamon bearing the name of Xenocrates who was active there and who is known to have been of the Lysippean following.³ Rhodian influences may therefore with some probability be assigned as the reason why the Sun-god as distinct from Apollo is given so prominent a place in the scene of the Pergamene frieze.

L. R. FARNELL.

¹ E.g. in Mantinea, Paus. 8, 9, 2, in Megalopolis, Paus. 8, 31, 4: at Troezen there was an altar of Helios Eleutherios, Paus. 2, 31, 5.

² The legend of Alcyoneus and the

oxen of Heracles is a solar myth, and is in some respects akin to the tale of the gigantomachy.

³ Conze, *Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen zu Pergamon*, 1880-1881, p. 47.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM RHODES.

MR. ALBERT BILIOTTI, the British Pro-Consul at Rhodes, who in conjunction with his brother has been carrying on excavations in that island for some years, has sent me the following eight inscriptions which he has noted from time to time and which, so far as I know, are unpublished.¹ He has very kindly placed at my disposal his copies and, where they could be procured, paper impressions.

1. On a fragment of marble, 5 inches high by $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad, discovered in the course of excavations on the Akropolis of Kamiros: complete on the upper and left-hand sides: from a paper impression.

ΕΠΙΔΑΜΙΟΥΡΓΟΥΣΑ
ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΟΝΤΟΣΜ
ΤΩΝΣΥΝΓΕΙΣΙΣΤΡΑΤ
ΤΟΙΣΜΑΣΤΡΟΙΣΚΑΙΚ/
ΕΠΕΙΔΗΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΡΑΤΗ
ΤΑΣΤΑΘΕΙΣΥΓΟΚΑΜ
ΙΣΟΣΤΕΛ/

Ἐπὶ δαμιουργοῦ Σα
γραμματεύνοντος Μ[άστρων τοῦ δεινός
τῶν σὺν Πεισιστράτ[ωι - - - - - ἔδοξε
τοῖς Μάστοροις καὶ Κα[μρεῦσι
5 ἐπειδὴ Ἀριστοκράτῃ[ς τοῦ δεινός - - - κα-
τασταθεῖς ὑπὸ Καμ[ιρέων
- - - - -

¹ Since this paper was written, a collection of upwards of eighty Rhodian inscriptions has been published by Dr.

E. Loewy, in the *Arch. Epigr. Mittheil. aus Oesterr.* 1883: on p. 134 he gives the text of Nos. 1 and 2 of my list.

This fragment appears to have formed part of the heading of an honorary decree in favour of a certain Aristokrates, who had served the Mastroi and the people of Kamiros in some official capacity. It is unfortunate that the right half of all these lines is broken away, as of the Kamiros inscriptions which we at present possess, not one gives completely the official preamble with which similar decrees were headed and of which our inscription gives a portion. One or two points however are worth noting. The eponymous magistrate, who at Rhodes is the *prytanis*, and at Lindos the *epistates*, is here shown to be at Kamiros the *damiourgos*, as Foucart¹ had already concluded; but although the names of ex-*damiourgi* of Kamiros are cited in other connections, I believe this is the first instance of an official document where this officer is mentioned officially.

In line 2 the restoration is based upon the analogy of the Lindos pedestal published by Ross, *Arch. Aufs.* ii., p. 604, No. 15, where a certain Zenodotos is mentioned as the *γραμματεὺς Μάστρων*: and on a marble shield from Kamiros in the British Museum occurs the phrase *ἐξεπρίστεισαντος καὶ γενομένου γραμματέως τῶν Μάστρων*, which I suppose would be equivalent to *γραμματεύοντος* rather than *γραμματεύσαντος*.² Whether the phrase which follows in l. 3, *τῶν σὺν Πεισιστράτῳ*, refers to the Mastroi or not it is difficult to say, as we have unfortunately not sufficient evidence to decide how much of each line is wanting: a similar designation of a board of officers under the name of one of their number occurs in a Rhodian inscription in the British Museum now in course of publication,³ where a sum is subscribed by the *προστάται τοὶ σὺν Χαρίνῳ*.

Line 4.—Here, as at Lindos and Ialysos, the decree is enacted by the people of the city in conjunction with the Mastroi; on the nature and functions of this office, see Newton, *Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, Pt. II. (now in the press) Nos. CCCLI and CCCLVII, and the commentary on those inscriptions.

¹ *Rev. Arch.* xiv. p. 337.

² The distinction would be the same as that which Foucart (*Rev. Arch. N.S.* xiii. p. 352) has drawn between *τερεὺς* and *τεπαρεύσας*; hence we may restore in the Lindian inscription, Loewy, *loc.*

cit. No. 71, l. 8... καὶ ἐπιστά[της γ]ενόμενος. The *γραμματεὺς Μάστρων* recurs in Ross, *Hell.* No. 47, c.

³ Newton, *Inscriptions*, Pt. II. No. ccxliii. b, l. 29.

2.

ΕΡΜΙΑΣΑΘΑΝΑΓΟΡΑ
ΣΟΛΕΥΣΕΚΑΤΑΙ
ΣΑΡΑΠΙΑΧΑΡΙΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ
ΣΩΘΕΙΣΕΚΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ
ΚΙΝΔΥΝΟΥ

Ἑρμίας Ἀθαναγόρα
Σολεύς ἑκάται
Σαράπι[δι] χαριστήριον
σωθεὶς ἐκ μεγάλου
κινδύνου.

This inscription was copied by one of Mr. Biliotti's workmen from a marble near Monolitho; in a recent letter Mr. Biliotti tells me that his overseer, whom he has since directed to take a paper impression of this stone, is unable to find it: I give the uncials therefore according to Mr. Biliotti's transcript, which seems probably correct with the exception of the first word in the third line which should apparently be either *Σαράπει* or *Σαράπιδι*.¹

The inscription records the dedication of some object to Hekaté and Sarapis by one Hermias a native of Soli, a thank-offering for his preservation from danger. An inscription from Delos (*Bull. de Corr. Hell.* vi. p. 331) is very similar in form: Πρώτος . . . Κώϊος σωθεὶς ἐκ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων κινδύνων Σεράπει, Ἴσει, Ἀνούβει, Ἀπόλλωνι θεοῖς συννάοις . . . χαριστήριον.

Settlers from Soli are of frequent occurrence in Rhodian inscriptions:² most of these are from Lindos, of which town, according to Strabo, 14, 671, Soli was a colony.

3. Copy from a marble at Kerami, a place near the village of Siana.

ΜΕΓΑΛΕΙΑΦΙΛΙΣ . . .
ΠΟΝΤΩΡΕΙΣΓΥΝΑ . . .
ΓΕΙΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ
ΤΙΜΟΚΡΙΤΟΥΑΡΓΕΙΟΥ

¹ Since this was written I have received a paper impression of (2) from Mr. Biliotti, in which the cursive reading *Σαράπιδι* is confirmed; in place of *ἐκ*, however (l. 4), the impression

gives plainly the more Doric form *ἐγ*.

² Ross, *Hellenika*, No. 32, b, and 38; *Arch. Aufs.* ii. pp. 590, 591, 592 and 605. *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* ii. p. 618, No. 8.

Μεγάλεια Φελισ . . .
 Ποντωρε[ύ]ς, γυνὰ [δὲ]
 Πεισιστράτου
 Τιμοκρίτου Ἀργείου.

Both the demes here referred to are already known; that of the Pontoreis recurs in Böckh, *C. I.* 2513, Ross, *Inscr. Ined.* iii. p. 31 and Foucart, *Inscr. de Rhodes*, No. 36; the latter supposes that it was a deme of Kamiros, since Ross's inscription was found near Kalavarda, the ancient site of that city. Argeioi are mentioned in Foucart, *R. A.* xiii. 30, and xv. 60, where the name is referred by him to a deme of Lindos rather than to the town of Argos. The name Megaleia does not occur in Pape's *Wörterbuch*.

4. Copy of Mr. Biliotti, from a stone in the church of the village of Monolitho.

ΑΓΑΘΑΝΔΡΟΥ
 ΚΑΙΤΑΣΓΥΝΑΙΚΟΣ
 ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΙΑΣ

Ἀγαθάνδρου καὶ τᾶς γυναικὸς Μακεδονίας.

5. Copy of Mr. Biliotti from a marble *stelè* in the village of Monolitho; about 2 feet high.

ΜΟΣΧΕΙΝΑ
 ΓΥΝΑΑΓΑΘΑ
 ΜΕΡΟΥ
 ΧΡΗΣΤΑ
 ΧΑΙΡΕ
 ΕΓΕΝΗΣ

Μοσχεῖνα, γυνὰ Ἀγαθαμέρου, χρηστὰ, χαῖρε, ἐγενής.

6. Copy from a marble at Kerami near Siana.

ΒΟΤΡΥΣΔΑ
 ΛΙΑΣ
 ΑΛΑΤΑΣΕΝ
 ΓΕΝΗΣ
 ΧΑΙΡΕΧΑΙΡΕ

Βότρυς Δαλιδός, [Γ]αλάτας ἐνγενής, χαῖρε χαῖρε.

4-6. I think we are justified in assuming that all these inscriptions are the epitaphs of slaves. The omission of the patronymic is sufficient proof that the names are not those of Rhodian citizens, whilst the fanciful nomenclature employed in *Μακεδονία*, *Γαλάτας*, *Βότρυς*, suggests a strong probability that these are slaves rather than Metoiks. The term *ἐγγενής* moreover has been shown in similar cases¹ to have the sense of *οἰκογενής* or *ἐνδογενής* of Delphian inscriptions and to be applied to the case of slaves born in Rhodes, as opposed to imported slaves whose Ethnics are given, unless as *Μακεδονία*, the names are sufficient evidence of their nationality.

Nos. 4 and 5 are interesting as bearing on the question of the intermarriage of slaves. That such marriages were recognised, is known from other sources (Foucart, *loc. cit.*, Nos. 53-55), but of the fifty-nine instances of slaves in Rhodian inscriptions collected by Bottermund,² only three examples occur of married slaves, and only six of slaves born in Rhodes. If the reading in No. 6 of *Δαλιάς* is correct, it seems an unusual provenance for a Rhodian slave, most of those in Bottermund's list hailing from remote parts of the mainland; Botrus would in this case represent a feminine name.

7. Copy of Mr. Biliotti: 'in the Nekropolis of Kimissalla (Siana-Monolitho)' a slab from a tomb inscribed

ΜΕΛΑΝΤΑΣ

This would also seem to be the monument of a slave.

8. Paper impression from a marble fragment found on the Akropolis of Kamiros: letters hardly visible: broken apparently on all four sides. Height $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. by $5\frac{1}{4}$ in.

ΛΟΚΡΑΤ
ΤΗΡΙΓΥ
ΑΜΙΟ ΡΓ

¹ Foucart in *Rev. Arch.* xiv. pp. 334, Nos. 14, 15.
336: cf. *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* ii. p. 620,

² *De Rep. Rhod. Commentatio*, p. 9.

‘ΑΛΙ[ω]ι ?
 Φ]ιλοκράτ[ης
 τηρι γυ
 δ]αμιο[υ]ργ[ήσας ?

CECIL SMITH.

P.S.—Since the above inscriptions were in type, I have received one more copy from Mr. Biliotti, taken by his agent from a marble ‘found at Lachania, a village near Katavia, and the site of the ancient Ixia.’

ΠΟΛΥΑΡΑΤΟ
 ΝΑΥΣΙΚΟΥ
 ΚΑΤΤΑΒΙΟΥ

Πολυαράτο[υ] Ναυσίκου Κατταβίου.

The name of this deme, Καττάβιος, seems to be represented in the modern name of the village near which the stone was found. It recurs on two other inscriptions from Lindos, one in the British Museum¹ published, Newton, Inscriptions CCCLVII., the other in Loewy, *loc. cit.* No. 73.

¹ Foucart, *Rev. Arch. N. S.* xv. p. 211, misreads this Κραττάβιος.

THE RUINS OF HISSARLIK.

IN Professor Jebb's article on 'The Ruins at Hissarlik,' published in the last number of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* (III. 2), I find a statement attributed to me (p. 191), which I must beg leave to disclaim.¹ Professor Jebb there makes me declare 'that "any one, however inexperienced in questions of archaeology," must see that all traces of the Aeolic Ilium cease at six feet below the surface of Hissarlik.' A reference however, to my letter in the *Academy* of November 12th, 1881 (not November 5th, as Professor Jebb says), will show that he has altogether misapprehended my meaning, and that my letter speaks only of objects found at Hissarlik and figured in *Ilios*, and contains no allusion either to walls or to any other kind of building. My words, therefore, can have no relation to 'the architectural epochs which Dr. Dörpfeld recognises at Hissarlik.' Consequently there is no opposition between my views and those of Professor Goodwin, as quoted by Professor Jebb. On the contrary, like Dr. Schliemann and, I believe, Professor Jebb himself, I thoroughly agree with Professor Goodwin that there have been 'only two important settlements' at Hissarlik, the second prehistoric city namely, and the Greek Ilium. The first, third, fourth, fifth, and (if we accept Dr. Schliemann's views) sixth cities were all poor villages which (with, perhaps, one exception) did not extend beyond the castle-hill itself. In referring to Professor Goodwin, Professor Jebb has overlooked the fact that he does not say there have been only two cities at Hissarlik, but, what is very different, 'only two important' ones.

Nor are my views at all contrary to those of M. Dumont, who, as Professor Jebb remarks, 'can speak with special authority' on the subject of early pottery. Professor Jebb

must have read M. Dumont's work on 'Les Céramiques de la Grèce Propre' somewhat hastily since he quotes the French scholar in support of theories which are the exact converse of those he actually puts forward. Rightly or wrongly, M. Dumont contends that *all* the pottery found at Hissarlik at a greater depth than six feet below the surface belongs to the same type and the same period, and this period he endeavours to show is *anterior to the sixteenth century B.C.*, the date to which he would assign the pottery of Santorin.¹ I had myself come to a similar conclusion in an article published in the *Contemporary Review* of December 1878, though the more recent discoveries of Dr. Schliemann have since induced me to modify it. Neither M. Dumont nor myself, however, have ever doubted that the objects found below the uppermost stratum at Hissarlik are prehistoric; the only question is whether we can trace any genealogical connection between the pottery discovered among them and the Hellenic pottery of the historic age. Professor Jebb quotes M. Dumont as noticing 'a piece of earthenware found at about 26 feet 3 inches below the surface,' from the character of which he infers that it is not older than the second century B.C., but he does not add that M. Dumont appends the following footnote (p. 4, Note 2) to the statement of his text:

'*Troy*, p. 295, fig. 211, tête casquée; *Ilios*, No. 516, poisson de bois trouvé à 26 pieds. Il est vrai que, pour l'objet reproduit sous le No. 211 par l'ouvrage *Troy and its Remains*, l'ouvrage intitulé *Ilios* indique seulement 2 à 6 pieds de profondeur. *Ilios*, p. 619.'

To discover the zones of the earth upon the terra-cotta ball figured in Schliemann's *Ilios*, Nos. 245, 246, seems to me the height of temerity, and still more to found an argument upon the supposed discovery. Similar objects have been found upon other prehistoric sites, and neither in them nor in the Trojan ball can I find any imitation of a terrestrial globe. At all events, the object is not even alluded to by M. Dumont.

¹ See especially pp. 69, 71, 72, 75 ('avant le xvi.^e siècle, Hissarlik; au xvi.^e, Santorin; au xiv.^e, Ialysos; au xiii.^e, ou au xii.^e, Mycènes; et au xi.^e, Spata').

According to Dr. Dörpfeld, whom I had the pleasure of meeting at Athens last spring, the article he had written for the *Allgemeine Zeitung* of September 29, 1882, had been misunderstood.¹ In speaking of the 'Roman Ilium' he merely meant the Greek city which was known in Roman times as Ilium. The architectural remains in the lower strata of Hissarlik did not, he considered, admit of any conclusions being drawn from them as to whether they were prehistoric or Hellenic in character. This could be determined only by the objects found among their ruins, and in this department of archaeology he, as an architect, could pronounce no opinion. Consequently there was no antagonism between his views on the one side and those of Dr. Schliemann or myself on the other.

The question, in fact, resembles that suggested by most excavations on ancient sites where inscriptions are wanting. The age and character of the remains we find has generally to be decided by the smaller objects, and more especially the pottery, which are brought to light. Until we come to the Hellenic period, walls and other buildings are so rude and similar in construction, and so little is known at present about their distinguishing peculiarities, that it is difficult, if not impossible, to use them as evidence. All that they can tell us is whether or not a succession of settlements has risen one

¹ See also his letter in the *Times* of March 22nd, 1883. Dr. Dörpfeld, after saying that 'Dr. Schliemann's statement that no Greek or Roman architectural remains are found at a greater depth than two mètres [six feet] can be contradicted by no one, since it exactly describes the facts,' here remarks: 'If therefore, as architects, we can find in the method of constructing the walls not the slightest ground for assigning a fixed age to the earlier settlements [on Hissarlik], we must turn, for an answer to this question, to the objects discovered in the houses, such as pottery, stone weapons and implements, ornaments, jewels and the like. All these objects have till recently been exhibited for three years

and a half in the South Kensington Museum, and are now to be seen in the Schliemann Museum at Berlin, where, as was the case in London, they are classified according to the strata in which they were severally found. It is the same system of classification as that adopted in *Ilios*. I, as an architect, do not feel myself qualified to pronounce an authoritative judgment upon the age of these different objects; but prehistoric archaeologists, after a careful comparison of them with similar objects discovered elsewhere, have from the first agreed that the pottery found below the uppermost stratum—that is, at a greater depth than two mètres beneath the surface—must all be assigned to a remote antiquity.'

above the other upon a given site, and this, as we learn from Dr. Schliemann's architects, the ruined walls of Hissarlik have done. When we come, however, to the objects discovered within these ruined walls the case is entirely altered. Below a certain level, six feet namely from the surface in the central part of the hill, the only objects found are those which, for want of a better term, we must call prehistoric. They are objects, that is, similar in kind and character to those found elsewhere on sites belonging to an age earlier than that at which history begins. Thanks to modern research, we now know the general character of Greek and Roman pottery through all the phases of its history, and we can even trace it back to that early period when it was still under Phœnician influence. Between this pottery and the prehistoric pottery of Hissarlik there is a great chasm which M. Dumont has endeavoured to fill up with the aid of Santorin and Ialysos. The objection to his endeavour is that the stratification of the soil does not admit of so long an interval as he would demand intervening between the fall of the last of the prehistoric cities and the foundation of the Greek Ilion. That the Greek Ilion was founded at a comparatively early date,—that its foundation, in fact as Strabo averred, went back to the era of the Lydian kings—is shown by the pottery found, where we should expect it to occur, in the lower portion of the uppermost or Greek stratum at Hissarlik. Here Dr. Schliemann has disinterred fragments of that archaic Greek pottery, such as is met with at Mykenae, at Tiryns, or at Orkhomenos, which Mr. Newton would refer to the eighth century before the Christian era. It therefore seems to me impossible to suppose that M. Dumont can be right in believing that the archaic Greek pottery of the seventh Trojan city is the lineal descendant of the prehistoric pottery of the preceding six cities, though separated from it by the interval of time required for its development through the several phases represented at Santorin, Ialysos, and Spata. It is more natural to consider the prehistoric populations of Hissarlik as occupying the site down to the age of the Greek settlement, their position in the period which elapsed between the decline of Phœnician trade in the Aegean, and the rise of Greek commercial activity rendering them unaffected by the growing civilisation of the coastlands further south. At any

rate, the existence of inscriptions in the prehistoric remains of Hissarlik makes it difficult to refer all of them to a very remote epoch, and the fact that such of the objects found there as betray foreign influence are Babylonian and not Assyro-Phoenician in character may now be explained by the further fact that Hittite art also was modelled upon that of primitive Babylonia.

A. H. SAYCE.

THE foregoing paper admits, on every point, of a simple and conclusive reply. Nothing is required but a clear statement of the facts: this I propose to give, leaving the judgment on them to the readers of this Journal. By doing so, I wish to dispose at once, and finally, of a discussion, not commenced by me, which it appears undesirable to prolong needlessly in these pages.

Professor Sayce complains that I have misunderstood (1) himself; (2) Professor W. W. Goodwin; (3) M. Albert Dumont; (4) Dr. W. Dörpfeld. I will follow this order.

(1.) Dr. Schliemann's work, *Ilios*, maintained that, on the hill of Hissarlik, all traces of the Greek Ilium—which was founded perhaps about 700 B.C., and passed through many architectural phases in Hellenic, Macedonian, and Roman times—cease at just six feet below the present surface of the mound. Below six feet, down to fifty-two feet, *six prehistoric cities* succeeded one another. Professor Sayce has been among the followers of this theory.

The *Edinburgh Review* (April, 1881) pointed out the probability that the remains of the Greek Ilium extend to more than six feet below the surface, and that some of the six so-called 'prehistoric cities' really represent the pre-Roman phases of its architectural life.

A letter dated November 5, 1881, referring to the *Edinburgh Review* article of eight months before, was published by Professor Sayce in the *Academy* of November 12, 1881. In this he said:—

'My attention has been called to an article in the *Edinburgh Review* of last April which purports to be a criticism of Schliemann's *Ilios*. It is a pity that the anonymous author, before writing it, did not either learn the elementary principles of archaeological science or examine Dr. Schliemann's

excavations on the spot. I should have fancied that the copious illustrations given in *Ilios* would of themselves have prevented any one, however inexperienced in questions of archaeology, from asserting that "the remains of the Aeolic Ilium surely cannot cease at six feet below the present surface of Hissarlik."

In my article in this Journal on 'The Ruins at Hissarlik,' referring to Dr. Dörpfeld's statement in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* of September 29, 1882, I infer from it (*Journal*, III. p. 7) that 'we have at Hissarlik only *one* certain or important *prehistoric* settlement, and, over this, the historic Greek Ilium in three (or possibly four) successive phases.' In the foot-note (p. 7) I quote Professor W. W. Goodwin's view, which was given by himself in the *Academy* of December 9, 1882, and which agrees with my own as recorded in the same journal, and in the *Athenæum*, of December 2, 1882. The foot-note concludes with these words:—

'On the other hand, Professor A. H. Sayce declares that "any one, however inexperienced in questions of archaeology," must see that all traces of the Aeolic Ilium cease at six feet below the surface of Hissarlik.'

The reference is a simple citation of Professor Sayce's own letter, quoted above from the *Academy* of November 12, 1881. Yet he now says that I have 'altogether misapprehended his meaning.' How so? 'My letter,' he says, '*speaks only of objects found at Hissarlik and figured in Ilios, and contains no allusion either to walls or to any other kind of building.*' But, unfortunately for this explanation, Professor Sayce had intimated, in the preceding sentence of his letter, that the opinion which he is condemning could not have been formed by the reviewer had the latter seen the excavations 'on the spot.' Now, the excavations could have shown him nothing but walls and other kinds of building; 'the objects figured in *Ilios*' had long been on exhibition elsewhere. It is manifest, then, that when he wrote his letter on November 5, 1881, Professor Sayce understood the word '*remains*' in its natural sense, as *including* architectural remains. He is now doing himself an injustice when he supposes that he employed it in a non-natural sense, as *excluding* them. That he should meanwhile have changed his opinion as to the depth to which the Greek Ilium reaches, I can easily understand. The question at issue, however, is as to what he meant on November 5, 1881. And I submit that his

language of that date is susceptible of no other interpretation than that which I placed upon it.

(2.) 'In referring to Professor Goodwin,' says Professor Sayce, 'Professor Jebb has overlooked the fact that he does not say there have been only two cities at Hissarlik, but, what is very different, only two important ones.'

This sentence has puzzled my friend Professor Goodwin as much as it has me. The sole reference in my article to Professor Goodwin's view is in the foot-note already mentioned, where I quote his own words, thus (p. 7):—

'In the *Academy* of December 9, 1882, Professor W. W. Goodwin writes with reference to Dr. Dörpfeld's discrimination of the strata: "It tends strongly to what I have always believed would be the ultimate conclusion about Hissarlik—that the only two important settlements there have been, first, a large prehistoric city which made Hissarlik its acropolis and extended far out on the plateau behind it; and, secondly, the historic Ilium in its three phases of a primitive Aeolic settlement on the acropolis, the Macedonian city, and the more elegant Roman Ilium."

Professor Goodwin writes to me (June 25, 1883):—

'I can see nothing in your quotation from my letter to the *Academy* in the footnote to page 7 of your article on "The Ruins of Hissarlik" in the *Hellenic Journal*, or in your remarks upon that quotation, which in any respect whatever misrepresents my views.'

Professor Sayce would seem to have overlooked the fact that the words quoted in my note were Professor Goodwin's own, and that the latter distinguishes three phases of the historic Ilium; the two earlier of which answer to two of the six prehistoric cities of Dr. Schliemann's and Professor Sayce's theory.

(3.) Professor Sayce says: 'Professor Jebb must have read M. Dumont's work on *Les Céramiques de la Grèce Propre* somewhat hastily, since he quotes the French scholar in support of theories which are the exact converse of those he actually puts forward.' I am wholly at a loss to understand what this statement can mean. I quote M. Dumont's work for two points only; viz. (1) that the pottery and other objects found at Hissarlik do not establish differences of a scientific character between the several strata in which they were found; (2) that a particular object, found (according to the book *Troy*) at a depth of 26 feet, cannot be older than the second century B.C. Here are M. Dumont's own words (p. 4):—

'Nous nous occupons seulement des quatre couches qui précèdent la colonie grecque. Les éléments nous manquent pour établir entre ces divers strata des différences évidentes qui aient un caractère scientifique. Nous

voyons, au contraire, que les objets du travail le plus avancé se trouvent parfois à la plus grande profondeur. Par exemple, dans le stratum le plus ancien, nous remarquons des moules d'ornements et d'armes de cuivre, des fibules, des épingles, des bracelets, des morceaux d'ivoire travaillés. A 8 mètres, les fouilles signalent une terre cuite marquée d'une empreinte qui appartient tout au plus tôt au second siècle avant notre ère.'

In a foot-note, M. Dumont instances two objects: first, the terra-cotta above mentioned, with the device of a helmeted head. According to *Troy* this was found at 26 feet; according to *Ilios*, at from 6 to 7 feet. Let us, for the sake of the argument, assume that *Troy* was wrong and *Ilios* right, and leave this terra-cotta out of account. The other object, a wooden fish—'a real masterpiece of art' (*Ilios*, p. 619)—was found, according to *Ilios* itself, at 26 feet. But this is merely one example. 'In the oldest stratum,' as M. Dumont says above, 'we notice moulds for ornaments, and for bronze arms, brooches, pins, bracelets, pieces of ivory-work.' It is not in one isolated case, but in many, that, as he says, 'objects of the most advanced workmanship are found at the greatest depth.' The wide discrepancy between *Troy* and *Ilios* as to the depth at which the terra-cotta was found is certainly important, though not in the sense of Professor Sayce. Accuracy in registering the depths at which objects were found is the primary condition, if we are to argue from them as to the age of the strata. It will scarcely inspire confidence to find that, in the case of a specially significant object, where precision was of peculiar importance, Dr. Schliemann's two published statements differ by no less than 20 feet.¹

In connection with this topic, Professor Sayce adds:—'To discover the zones of the earth upon the terra-cotta ball figured in Schliemann's *Ilios*, Nos. 245, 246, seems to me the height of temerity.' The person responsible for the 'temerity' which Professor Sayce condemns is no other than Dr. Schliemann himself; whose view has, in this instance, been generally accepted. See *Ilios*, p. 349:—'Nos. 245, 246. *Terra-cotta Ball, representing apparently the climates of the globe. (Actual size. Depth, 26 feet.)*'

¹ Professor Sayce does not correctly reproduce, and seems not clearly to understand, M. Dumont's view as to the relation existing between the *oldest* pottery at Hissarlik and that of Thera,

Ialysos, Mycenae, and Spata, but it is needless to discuss this here. It is enough to observe that I did not even touch on this topic, as it was not relevant to my argument.

(4). In the *Allgemeine Zeitung* of September 29, 1882, Dr. W. Dörpfeld described the six epochs of building which he could distinguish at Hissarlik. The sixth, or topmost, of these was '*das römische Ilion*.' The context shows conclusively that Dr. Dörpfeld used that phrase in its only natural and proper sense, to denote the Ilium of the latest or Roman period, as distinguished from the Ilium of the earlier Macedonian period and of the still earlier Greek period. '*Das römische Ilion*' could, in fact, mean nothing else. If any further proof was needed that this is what Dr. Dörpfeld meant, it is supplied by his own letter to the *Times* of March 22, 1883. But now Professor Sayce makes this statement:—Dr. Dörpfeld told him, in a conversation at Athens, that by 'the Roman Ilium' he did *not* mean this. 'He merely meant *the Greek city which was known in Roman times as Ilium*.' So then 'the Roman Ilium' is not the Roman Ilium any more than the pre-Roman; it is simply Ilium,—of Hellenic, Macedonian, and Roman times. If Dr. Dörpfeld had really used '*das römische Ilion*' in this sense, then it would have been necessary to allow that he had made a very extraordinary misuse of language. But Professor Sayce's interpretation is contrary to Dr. Dörpfeld's own published utterances; it is also contrary, as I happen to know, to the distinct understanding which conversations with him left on the mind of a scholar whose accuracy and clearness of thought would be generally recognised. Further, I have received a message from Dr. Dörpfeld that, in so far as my article on Hissarlik deals with the architectural bearings of the question, it has his assent. Under these circumstances, no disrespect to Professor Sayce is involved in the conclusion that he did not accurately apprehend Dr. Dörpfeld's meaning. Professor Goodwin, who understands Dr. Dörpfeld precisely as I do, *i.e.* in the natural sense of his published words, writes to me thus:—

'As to Dr. Dörpfeld's expression, '*das römische Ilion*,' in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* of September 29, 1882, we have:—

(1) First, the passage in which, after describing the five lower settlements on Hissarlik, he says:— '*Noch eine sechste und letzte Ansiedelung finden wir über den ebenfalls zerstörten Gebäuden der fünften Epoche: nämlich das römische Ilion*. He then describes briefly the public and private buildings and

the solid walls built by the Romans, 'um die stammverwandte Stadt zu ehren.'

(2) Secondly, in his letter to the *Times* of March 22, 1883, Dr. Dörpfeld used the following language to explain still more clearly what he meant by 'the Roman Ilium':—

'Architectural remains which belong to the archaic Greek and Hellenic period occur neither in the fourth city nor elsewhere upon Hissarlik. Of the two edifices which alone probably belong to the Macedonian age—the large marble temple of Athena and a small Doric edifice of porous stone—only the blocks belonging to their upper parts have been found; but their foundations, and consequently the exact sites on which they stood, cannot be determined with certainty. The other buildings on the acropolis of Novum Ilium, so far as their age can be ascertained, are of the Roman epoch; among these I may mention a magnificent propylæon and a large double stoa. Under these circumstances, it is true, the question as to the depth to which the remains of Greek and Roman buildings extend below the surface of the soil cannot be answered positively. On the other hand, Dr. Schliemann's statement that no Greek or Roman architectural remains are found at a greater depth than two metres [= 6 ft. 6½ in.] can be contradicted by no one, since it exactly describes the facts.'

'This means, plainly enough' (Professor Goodwin continues), 'that the uppermost stratum of two metres contains no remains of buildings which can be definitely assigned to any earlier time than the Roman epoch; that the sites of the only two Macedonian buildings which have been found can no longer be identified, since their foundations have not been discovered; and that no architectural remains belonging to any earlier Greek settlement have been found anywhere upon Hissarlik. The statement is therefore positive only as regards the Roman buildings, and negative as regards buildings of any Greek period.'

Professor Goodwin here puts the case with accuracy and clearness. And since the uppermost stratum represents the Ilium of the latest or Roman epoch only, it is reasonable to look for the Ilium of the earlier epochs, Macedonian and Hellenic, in the strata next below. This is the belief which I expressed in the *Athenæum* and *Academy* of December 2, 1882. This is the result recognised also by Professor Goodwin (*Academy*, December 9, 1882) as that to which Dr. Dörpfeld's account of the strata tends. And to this view Dr. Dörpfeld's guarded letter in the *Times* refers in terms not obscurely suggestive of the belief to

¹ In quoting this last sentence in his foot-note, Professor Sayce omits the words, 'On the other hand,' and suppresses the whole sentence which I have

printed in italics. This is as if, in quoting a sentence from a Greek author, he were to suppress the clause with μέν, and give only that with δέ.

which he personally inclines. After referring to the view [Dr. Brentano's] that the 'burnt city' was the Ilium destroyed in 85 B.C. as a view which, in his opinion, is untenable, Dr. Dörpfeld thus alludes to my view (the italics are mine).

'It is otherwise with a hypothesis which *has found supporters in the Times*, and which maintains that the uppermost city is the Roman one, the fifth [*prehistoric*] city being Macedonian, the fourth Greek, and the third pre-Greek, while the second must be the city around which the war celebrated in the Iliad was carried on, the first alone being of primeval origin. This hypothesis is certainly capable of scientific discussion, as it endeavours to harmonise in a simple manner the actual condition of the ruins with historical tradition. But this is not sufficient to prove that it is right.'

In connection with this passage, there is a fact to which I would particularly invite attention. The letter which appeared with Dr. Dörpfeld's signature in the *Times* of March 22, 1883, is an English translation of a letter which he wrote in German, and which appeared in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* of March 30, 1883. A collation of the German version with the English shows that the word *prehistoric* has been introduced in the English version where it did not exist in the German original. As the point at issue was precisely whether the epithet 'prehistoric' was admissible, this is a remarkable fact:—

Times, March 22, 1883.

'It is otherwise with a hypothesis which *has found supporters in the Times*, and which maintains that the uppermost city is the Roman one, the fifth *prehistoric* city being Macedonian, the fourth Greek, and the third pre-Greek,' &c.

Allgemeine Zeitung, March 30, 1883.

'Anders verhält es sich dagegen mit einer Hypothese welche *namentlich in England Verfechter gefunden hat*, und welche behauptet dass die oberste Stadt die römische, die fünfte die makedonische, die vierte die griechische, die dritte, eine vorgriechische sei,' &c.

The other discrepancy here between the German and the English is also significant. '*In the Times*' represents '*namentlich in England*.' Now, the 'hypothesis' referred to had been stated *only* (1) in my letters to the *Athenaeum* and *Academy* of December 2, 1882, (2) in a short letter to the *Times* of January 25, 1883, (3) fully in my article, 'The Ruins at Hissarlik,' in this Journal—which, as I know, Dr. Dörpfeld had read 'with interest' before February 5, 1883, and to which, so far as it concerns architecture, he has since intimated his assent. The English version elsewhere introduces a gratuitous error by saying that the *Allgemeine Zeitung* of September 29, 1882, had been

misunderstood by two correspondents of the *Times*, the sole reference to the *Allgemeine Zeitung* having been in a letter to the *Times* of January 25; the German has not a word answering to this. In other places also the English version differs from the German original by omissions, additions; changes of phrase, all calculated to convey a different tone. Thus, the English letter says that the writer has aided in excavations undertaken 'to clear up finally the Trojan question,' where the German has simply 'zur weiteren Erklärung der trojanischen Frage.' The German speaks of 'die wichtige Frage' as to the depth to which the Greek remains extend; the English version suppresses the epithet. One omission in the English is scarcely less material than the addition of 'prehistoric':—

'I, as an architect, do not feel myself qualified to pronounce an authoritative judgment upon the age of these different objects; but prehistoric-archaeologists, after a careful comparison of them with similar objects discovered elsewhere, have from the first agreed,' &c.

'Ich persönlich bin als Architekt nicht im Stande ein Urtheil über das Alter der in verschiedenen Schuttschichten gefundenen Gegenstände abzugeben, aber die Fachgelehrten haben, wie mir Hr. Dr. Schliemann mittheilt, nach sorgfältiger vergleichung dieser Funde mit den an anderen Orten ausgegrabenen Sachen längst entschieden,' &c.

The suppression of the italicised German words makes a vital difference. Dr. Dörpfeld had expressly guarded himself against quoting the opinion of the *Fachgelehrten* (strangely translated 'prehistoric archaeologists'), except on the authority of Dr. Schliemann.

I point out these important discrepancies. The question of their origin I leave to others. I do not attribute them either to the *Times* Office or to Dr. Dörpfeld.

The answer to Professor Sayce's contentions has now been given. In conclusion, I will briefly resume the distinctive points of my position in regard to the problem of Hissarlik. They are these two :—

1. Instead of the six prehistoric cities which Dr. Schliemann's *Ilios* assumes below the historic Ilium, I recognise only (1) the historic Ilium, in its Roman, Macedonian, and Hellenic periods: (2) an older occupation of the site, represented by one considerable settlement of earlier but unknown date, and possibly also, if this be indeed distinct, by one much smaller and still older settlement. Architecture has now said that it can neither prove

nor disprove the Hellenic character of those remains which belong neither to the *latest* or Roman period of the historic Ilium nor yet to the pre-Ilian occupation. Historical and general probability would strongly suggest that they *are* Hellenic. Archaeology, as applied to the objects found in the diggings, does not exclude, and in several particular cases distinctly confirms, this view.

2. The large pre-Ilian settlement *may* be that town, the capture of which at an unknown date gave rise to the legend of Troy. That can be neither proved nor disproved. The data of the Homeric poems for the *site* of Troy cannot be really reconciled with any one site in the Troad. Some of them suit Bunárbashi only; others suit Hissarlik best. The *town* adumbrated in the Iliad is, in all its architectural details, purely poetical. Intelligent antiquity decisively rejected—as I have proved in this Journal ¹—the Homeric pretensions of the historic Ilium. ‘Homer’s Troy,’ in the sense of an actual town described by a poet recording historical fact, has *not* been found at Hissarlik, and will never be found anywhere.

These two propositions, I venture to hope, will ultimately obtain the general assent of qualified judges.

R. C. JEBB.

¹ See ‘The Ruins at Hissarlik,’ *Journal*, III. 19-33, and the former article on ‘Homeric and Hellenic Ilium,’ (Vol. II. page 7).

MISCELLANEA.

I.—CLAY DISKS FROM TARENTUM.

AMONG the objects brought from Tarentum by the Rev. G. J. Chester are certain disks of clay of some interest, though not of artistic value. They are circular and flat or cheese-like in form, with a diameter of $3\frac{1}{2}$ to $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches, and a thickness of about $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch. The inscriptions are impressed in the clay by means of a stamp, and run thus:

	Weight in grains.	Weight in grammes.
1. $\text{FHMI}\Omega$ $\Delta\text{E}\Lambda\text{I}\Omega\text{N}$	2100	136
2. $\text{FHMI}\Omega\Delta$	2035	131.8
3. $\text{FHMI}\Omega$	2035	131.8
4. $\text{FHMI}\Omega$	1825	118.2

The order in date is that followed in the list. No. 1 is oldest, and the shape of the M seems to indicate that it may date from the fourth century B.C.; the other three are probably not earlier than the third century. Later they can scarcely be, for after that time the obol gave way to the Roman denarius and sestertius as a measure of value at Tarentum.

The word $\text{FHMI}\Omega\Delta\text{E}\Lambda\text{I}\Omega\text{N}$ is evidently a dialectic equivalent of $\eta\mu\omega\beta\acute{o}\lambda\iota\omicron\upsilon\text{n}$ and derived from $\delta\delta\epsilon\lambda\acute{o}\varsigma$, just as the other form is derived from $\delta\beta\omicron\lambda\acute{o}\varsigma$, and $\delta\delta\epsilon\lambda\acute{o}\varsigma$ was as we know from C.I. 1690, a form in use at Delphi, no doubt of Doric origin. In the same inscription we find in the not very trustworthy copy of Dodwell $\eta\mu\omicron\delta\epsilon\lambda\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$, but this is almost certainly wrong. Boeckh rejects the termination; and it is not impossible that the form on the Delphian stone may really be the same as on

our disk. It is interesting to compare with the Doric $\delta\delta\epsilon\lambda\delta\varsigma$ for $\delta\beta\omicron\lambda\delta\varsigma$, the Doric Sicilian word $\lambda\acute{\iota}\tau\rho\alpha$ for the Latin *libra*.

The aspirate τ is well known in inscriptions and coins from Tarentum and Heracleia, as a transitional form used after η had become a vowel. It remains in use either as the rule or the exception in the spelling of the name of the city on coins of Heracleia as late as the end of the autonomous coinage of that city.

As to the meaning which the inscription on our disks carries it is not easy to be sure. A silver hemiobol at Tarentum should weigh about 4 to 5 grains, as the stater or didrachm weighs 100-120 grains. The value of this in copper would be about 1000-1250 grains, reckoning the relation in value of silver to copper as about 250 to 1. The disks are therefore almost twice too heavy to be of the weight of a hemiobol's worth of copper.¹ It seems likely that they are the weights used by some merchant of provisions or other goods, and were put into the balance to measure the quantity of those goods to be sold for half an obol. What goods these can have been must remain doubtful. Not bread; a half obol for 2000 grains weight of bread would seem to the Greeks a famine price, the medimnus of about $11\frac{1}{2}$ gallons selling for from 2 to 6 Attic drachms.² Meat is nearer the mark. In the *Frogs*³ we hear of pieces of meat, each presumably enough for a man's dinner, costing half an obol each. Or cheese would suit. Fine cheese was dearer, that of Cythnos especially expensive,⁴ selling for a drachm and a half a mina, but probably ordinary cheese would not cost more than an obol and a half for an Attic mina 6750 grains, which is the rate we require; and the shape of these disks, although of course this is an argument of small weight, does recall that of a cheese. In any case we are I think justified in supposing that our disks were used to weigh out a half obol's worth of some commodity. And they thus become interesting, for no other objects of the same class have, so far as I know, been published.

P. G.

¹ If we could consider the Tarentine staters as drachms, then our disks might be of the weight of an obol's worth of copper; but there is no ground for such an opinion.

² Boeckh, *Staatshaushaltung der Athener*, I. p. 130 sqq. cf. Hultsch, *Metrologie*, 2nd Edit. p. 703.

³ Line 554.

⁴ Aelian, *Hist. Anim.* xvi. 32.

II.—AMPHORA-STOPPER FROM TARENTUM.

THE Rev. Greville J. Chester has presented to the British Museum an object of some interest which he lately found himself in the cutting near the Ramleh railway station. It consists of a circular cake of gypsum, or what we should call rough plaster of Paris, which was discovered within the neck of an *amphora*¹ for which it had evidently served as the stopper. It presents the appearance of having been poured in in a liquid condition upon the contents of the *amphora*, a rough impression of which is consequently preserved in the uneven surface of the under side: the upper side bears the impression of a stamp, thus:



A small fragment is unfortunately broken away from the left side, and with it the first letter of the upper row: the broken edge however distinctly shows traces of an I , so that the inscription is undoubtedly $\text{I}\chi\theta\upsilon\varsigma\ \Sigma\ \Theta$.

Similar stoppers of gypsum are of common occurrence, but I believe it is very rare to meet them in any material inscribed: I have only been able to find five other instances. (2) In a note in the *Arch. Anzeiger* for 1865, p. 51*, mention is made of 'a stopper of terracotta...perhaps unique of its kind,' discovered in the mouth of an *amphora*; it bears the inscription P. SAVFE, which the writer of that note interprets as referring to a well-known family name of the town of Palestrina. Mr. Franks has called my attention to the four following, which exist in his department in the British Museum: they are also from Alexandria, but appear to be of a much later period than Mr. Chester's present.

¹ Unfortunately Mr. Chester could not bring the portion of *amphora* to which this stopper belonged: but from his

description I gather that it was similar in form to the wine-jars of Rhodes.

(3, 4) A Byzantine monogram of cruciform shape.

(5) A seven-branched candlestick, surrounded by the name ΙΟΤΑΙΑΝΟΤ.

(6) St. Menas between two dromedaries.

Whatever the interpretation of these inscriptions may be I think our stamp bears evidence of a different intention. At first sight the word 'Ιχθυς naturally recalls those Christian epitaphs¹ where it is frequently employed to signify emblematically an adjuration to the deity, the initial letters of which are represented in the letters of this word.² But there are various reasons why such an attribution would not be suitable to our inscription: the *amphora* is altogether an unlikely form of Christian burial, wherein cremation was not in use; and such an inscription would hardly take the stereotyped form of an impression from a stamp.

I think it is more probable that we have here a memorandum of what the jar contained: that the practice of marking jars obtained among the ancients is known from various sources,³ and it seems not unlikely that a different system would be in use for distinguishing from wine-jars those containing other preserves: we remember how Horace warns Lollius

Quo semel est imbuta recens servabit odorem
Testa diu,

and it may well be that *amphorae* once used for wine would be kept exclusively for that purpose, and could therefore be permanently stamped: on the other hand, a jar which had contained fish might well be used for olives, and these would have to be marked by some temporary method. There is a passage in Petronius⁴ which seems to refer to some such method: he says, 'adlatae sunt amphorae vitreae diligenter gypsatae quarum in cervicibus pittacia erant adfixa cum eo titulo: Falernum opimum annorum centum.' May it not be that our plaster is one of these same *pittacia*?⁵ 'affixa in cervicibus' could as well mean attached to the *interior* as to the *exterior* of the neck: if these jars were, as was sometimes the case, buried up to the mouth in

¹ See Böckh. C. I. iv. p. 428, Nos. 9076 etc.

² 'Ιησοῦ Χριστοῦ, Θεοῦ Τὸ, Σῶτερ.

³ Hor. Od. I. 20, 3; III. 8, 10.

⁴ Satyr. 114.

⁵ The derivation of the word (πιττώ, πίττα) would seem to favour this view.

earth, the interior of the mouth would be the most convenient place to which such a mark could be attached, while if the *pittacia* had been fastened to the handles, the expression would have been rather 'in manubrio.'

Of course other means may have been also adopted for marking commodities: both that of stamping on the materia of the jar, as in the case of Rhodian and Thasian wine, and possibly that of tying on labels of terracotta or of other substances: in Deville's *Histoire de Verrerie* several glass *amphorae* are published bearing such inscriptions stamped on them as DVLCÉ, MITEMERV¹, and two or three marked SANGVIS², which have contained blood, probably that of Christian martyrs. It is possible that some of the so-called weights of terracotta may have been employed for a similar purpose: in the *Annali dell' Inst.* 1872, p. 198 are mentioned two which bear inscriptions, the one ΜΕΛΙΣ the other ΓΑΤΚ, which latter word is repeated on a large number found at Athens; in this word Ritschl (*Jahrbuch des Vereins von Alterth. im Rheinl.* 1866, p. 9, etc.) sees the name of the *vasaro* ΓΑΤΚ[ΩΝ, but it seems more probable that it refers to the quality of some commodity. Sometimes these labels may have been of lead; see the 'Piombo Siciliano' published in the *Bull. Arch. Nap.* 1853, p. 88.

The provenance of our example is well suited to such an interpretation: we know from Athenaeus how large was the consumption of fish in his time: fish were imported to Alexandria from the Propontis and elsewhere,³ the smaller kinds entire, the larger cut in pieces, and packed in *amphorae* or *pithoi*: some were preserved with the scales, λεπιδωτόν, others were scaled, τιλτόν. For these processes special times of the year were considered most favourable: and fish pickled in the best season were called ὥραϊα τεμάχη: this fact may be a guide in the interpretation of the letters which terminate our inscription, ζ Θ. Assuming that there would be some mark to show whether the contents of the particular jar were ὥραϊα or not, it is possible that these letters may indicate the date of pickling: thus our *amphora* would have been stored on the 9th day of the 6th⁴ month.

¹ P. 47.

² Plate ciii.

³ See Pollux vi. 48.

⁴ See Böckh, C. I. 3892, 4108, *add.* 4351, where months are indicated by numerals.

Thiersch, in his *Henkel irdener Geschirre* publishes one (No. 43) stamped thus .ϢΑΥΘ>, which he reads as 'vielleicht Θυαρος': if his copy is correct, there is room for ΙΧΘΥΑC and a number: and it is worth noticing that there is in the British Museum a bronze stamp which may be classed with our inscription, which reads



CECIL SMITH.

III.—TELESPHOROS AT DIONYSOPOLIS.

SINCE the publication of my article on Telesphoros in the last number of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* (Vol. III. pp. 283-300) my attention has been drawn to certain coins of Dionysopolis in Phrygia which seem to indicate the existence of a cultus of Telesphoros at that place. Two of these coins are in the British Museum, and the third will probably be acquired in a short time for the same collection:—

1. *Obv.* ΔΗΜΟC Youthful head of Demos r.

Rev. ΔΙΟΝΥCΟ[ΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ] Asklepios, draped as usual, standing, looking l. He holds in right hand, serpent-staff; on his right, Telesphoros standing facing. Æ. Size .9. [Beginning of 3rd century A.D. ?]

2. *Obv.* ΙΟΥΛΙΑ ΔΟΜΝΑ CΕΒΑCΤ Head of J. Domna r.

Rev. ΔΙΟΝΥCΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΧΑΡΗC Β ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ. Goddess, veiled and wearing crown, standing facing, holding in each uplifted hand a torch; on her right, Telesphoros standing, facing. Æ. Size 1·15.

3. *Obv.* ΕΙΟΥΛΙΑ (*sic*) ΜΑΙCΑ CΕΒ Head of J. Maesa r.

Rev. ΔΙΟΝΥCΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Type similar to *rev.* of No. 2; in field, ΤΟ (in monogram) Θ. Æ. Size 1·1.

The appearance of Telesphoros on the reverses of Nos. 2 and 3 in company with a divinity who is neither Asklepios, Hygieia, nor Apollo is very remarkable. This divinity is probably Demeter, worshipped perhaps under a local form. Although the association of the great goddess of Eleusis with Asklepios is already well known (see Girard, *L'Asclépieion d'Athènes*, p. 40 ff.), the union of Demeter with the subordinate deity Telesphoros seems to be a fact known to us only from these coins of Dionysopolis.

WARWICK WROTH.

IV.—A RING WITH THE INSCRIPTION 'ATTULAS.'

IN the Leake collection of gems now in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, there is a very curious silver ring brought from Thessaly by Colonel Leake (he has himself engraved Thessaly on the inside) with raised gold letters soldered on the field. The second letter is destroyed in the lower part, and thus the inscription has been read¹ as ΑΣΤΤΑΑΣ. Upon close examination, however, and as will be seen from the accompanying facsimile, we find that in no case could the second letter have been a Σ, of which there is a specimen in the last letter, and that it undoubtedly was a T, for there is just a remnant of the gold of the perpendicular stroke under the middle of the horizontal bar.



The question as to what this name is, seems to me easily solved. It is not a Greek but a Barbarian name, and there can be little doubt that it is a Greek form of the Latin Attila.

I do not venture to assert that the ring was in the possession of the famous Attila in the fifth century, though the locality in

¹ *Catalogue of Colonel Leake's Engraved Gems in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Cambridge, 1870.*

which it was found is undoubtedly one which suffered from his ravages. It would be interesting to see the experience of specialists brought to bear upon the various points which the ring offers for criticism: the make of the ring, the custom of inscribing an owner's (or any other person's) name upon a ring, the method of working the letters (one metal upon another), the form of the letters themselves, the particular form of itacism.

It is known that Greek authors spell Attila's name Ἀττίλας or Ἀττίλας; and Ἀττίλας, of course, does but exhibit another form of itacism, to which the specialist may be able to assign a limit of date. So with the other points. I will only add, for my own part, that the practice of applying letters of metal to a different ground seems to me to point to a Roman and not to a Greek age.

CHARLES WALDSTEIN.



THE FRANKS IN THE PELOPONNESE.

THE period which succeeded the fourth crusade is perhaps the most intricate period in the history of Greece. The capture of Constantinople which then took place, and the partition of the Eastern Empire between the invading Powers, displaced for a time and permanently enfeebled the Byzantine government, and the various western principalities which arose on its ruins had no real bond of unity, nor strength to impart vitality to them severally. Hence their subsequent history is composed of a succession of struggles and changes, accompanied by shiftings of boundaries which are almost bewildering. According to the treaty of partition which was ratified beforehand by the attacking parties, the empire was to be divided into three parts, one of which should be assigned to the Latin emperor who was to rule at Constantinople, another to Venice, and a third to the remaining powers who took part in the expedition: but in practice this was never carried out, and large portions of the conquered territory fell to the share of adventurers. The position of Emperor of Romania was conferred on Baldwin, Count of Flanders; most of the islands, as might be expected, passed into the hands of Venice; Boniface, Marquis of Monferrat, who had held the office of commander-in-chief of the Crusaders, was established as King of Salonica, with the province of Macedonia; other chieftains occupied various parts of Greece Proper as feudatories of the empire; and Athens itself became the seat of an important principality under a Burgundian nobleman, Otho de la Roche, who received the title of Μέγας Κύριος, or Grand-sire, which was subsequently exchanged for that of Duke. It is in imitation of this title that Dante, who was a contemporary

of this dukedom during its flourishing period, speaks of Theseus as 'Duca d'Atene,'¹ while he calls Pisistratus 'Sire' of the same city.² Hence; also Shakespeare, following the Italian writers, introduces Theseus as Duke of Athens, in *Midsummer Night's Dream*. It is noticeable also that though the majority of these new occupants were not French either by descent or by political allegiance, yet the French language was so generally spoken by them that the name Frank, which I have introduced into the heading of this paper, came to be used at that time, as it is at the present day, in those countries as a common title for the inhabitants of Western Europe.

But while these alien Powers were establishing themselves in their newly conquered possessions, the confusion was still further increased by the rise of a number of aspirants to the government of those districts which remained in the hands of the Greeks. At Trebizond a scion of the house of Comnenus founded an empire, which, thanks to its remote position on the coast of the Black Sea, outlived the final overthrow of its parent State. Nicaea in Bithynia, in the immediate vicinity of Constantinople, was occupied by the rightful heirs of the Byzantine throne, and became in their hands the headquarters of a power which at first maintained a hard struggle with the neighbouring empire of Romania, and afterwards watched its rapidly increasing weakness, until the moment should arrive for regaining the lost inheritance. Another principality also was established in Epirus, the despot of which succeeded in driving the Latins from Salonica, and making that place the seat of a Greek empire, so that for a time it seemed as if its rulers, and not those of Nicaea, would be the future masters of Constantinople. And though, before that city was captured, the empire of Thessalonica had been conquered and absorbed by its rival, yet a semi-independent despotat of Epirus continued to exist for more than a hundred years after that time. Again, early in the fourteenth century, another element of disturbance, the Catalan Grand Company, passed like a comet across the Eastern sky, and affected in an important manner the history of the period. The mercenary service of these adventurers, their negotiations with the restored Greek empire, their insubordination and revolts against their leaders, and their military prowess and barbarous crimes, live

¹ *Inf.* xii. 17.

² *Purg.* xv. 97.

for us in the pages of their native chronicler, Ramon Muntaner : but their real importance for history consists in their having destroyed the flower of Frank chivalry, who had mustered from all parts of Greece to oppose them, at the great battle of the Cephissus (A.D. 1310), from which blow the Latin States never recovered. The Catalans themselves settled in the country and became the dominant power there, until towards the end of the fourteenth century, when they in turn were forced to give way to the Florentine family of the Acciaiuoli, who before this time had obtained possession of Corinth and of other domains in Greece. But the disunion and jealousy which pervaded the various States into which the country was divided rendered them incapable of offering any resistance to a powerful enemy; and at last the advance of the Ottomans swept them all, both Eastern and Western, indiscriminately away.

Most of the States that have now been mentioned are noticed, though in general very briefly, by Gibbon in his history. But there is one of the Frank establishments in Greece, the existence of which would hardly be discovered from his narrative, though it lasted for more than two centuries, and was in some respects the most important of all. This was the principality of Achaia, or of the Morea. The reason of this omission is the very intelligible one that the materials for its history did not exist in Gibbon's time. It is mentioned, indeed, incidentally by contemporary writers, when the events of which they treat come in contact with it; as, for instance, among the Byzantine historians, by Nicetas and Acropolita during its early period, and by Phranzes during the later, and among Western chroniclers by Villehardouin, the historian of the fourth crusade : but of the vicissitudes which it underwent, and still more of the state of the province at that time, nothing was known before 1825, when M. Buchon published a translation of the Greek metrical chronicle of the conquest of the Morea, the original text of which was afterwards printed by him in 1841. This remarkable document, which is equally valuable from a historical and a philological point of view, relates the history of the principality during the first century of its existence, and at the same time throws great light on its inner life and organisation. The subsequent researches of M. Buchon also cleared up many difficulties relating to this dark period, and the results of his investigations have

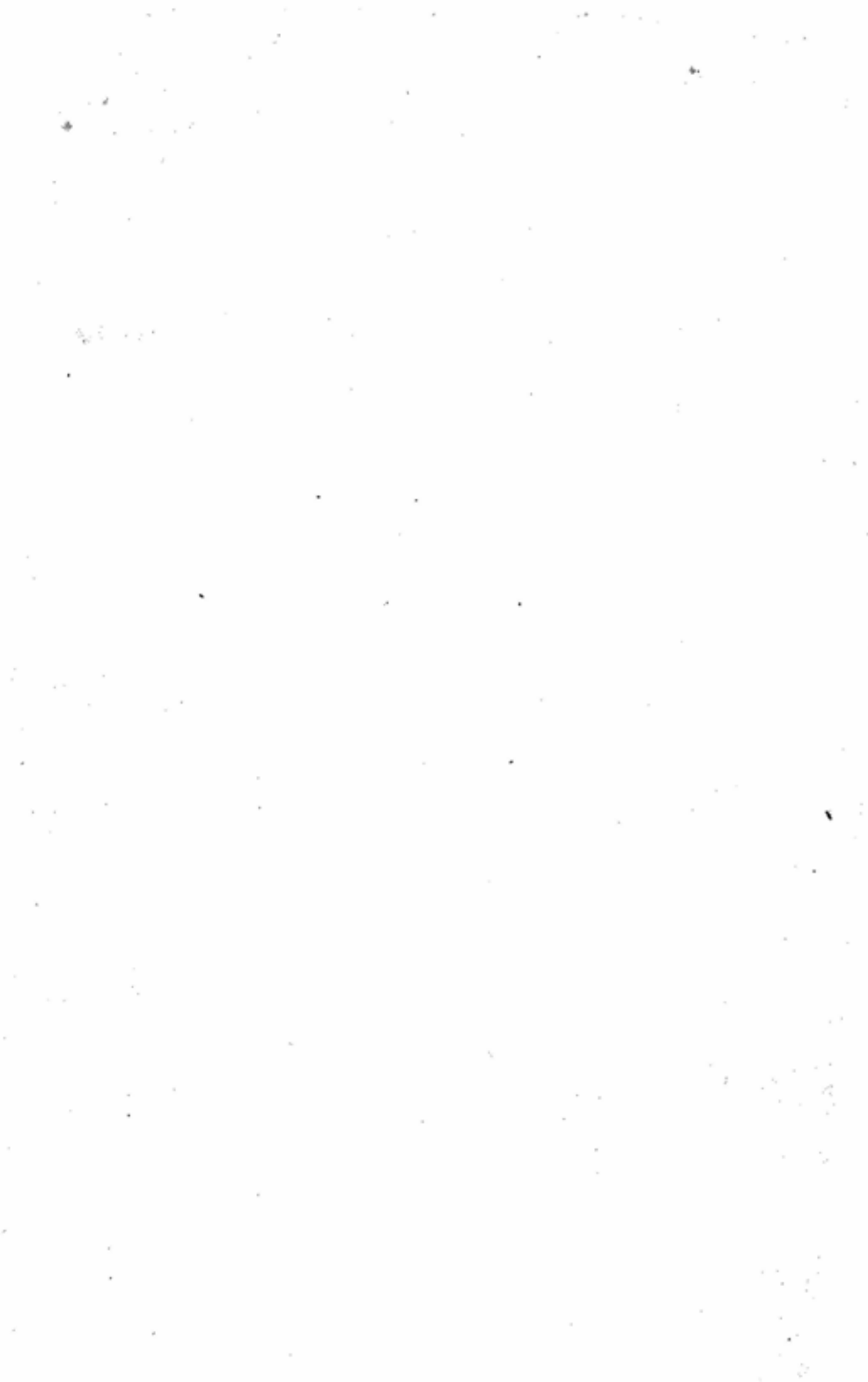
been summarised for English readers by Finlay. Since his time a large amount of additional information on the subject has been collected by the indefatigable labours of Prof. Carl Hopf, who has explored for that purpose the archives of the principal cities of North Italy, as well as those of numerous places in the Mediterranean, and has thus succeeded both in correcting many inaccuracies in the chronicle, and in filling up vacant spaces in the history. The material thus brought together is presented in a very readable form in Hertzberg's *History of Greece*. It is the object of the following paper to give, first, a brief sketch of the history of the period; secondly, an account of the Greek chronicle of the Morea; and thirdly, a description of the remains that exist in the country of the period of the Frank occupation, to examine which I made a journey through the Peloponnese in company with Mr. Crowder in September, 1882.¹

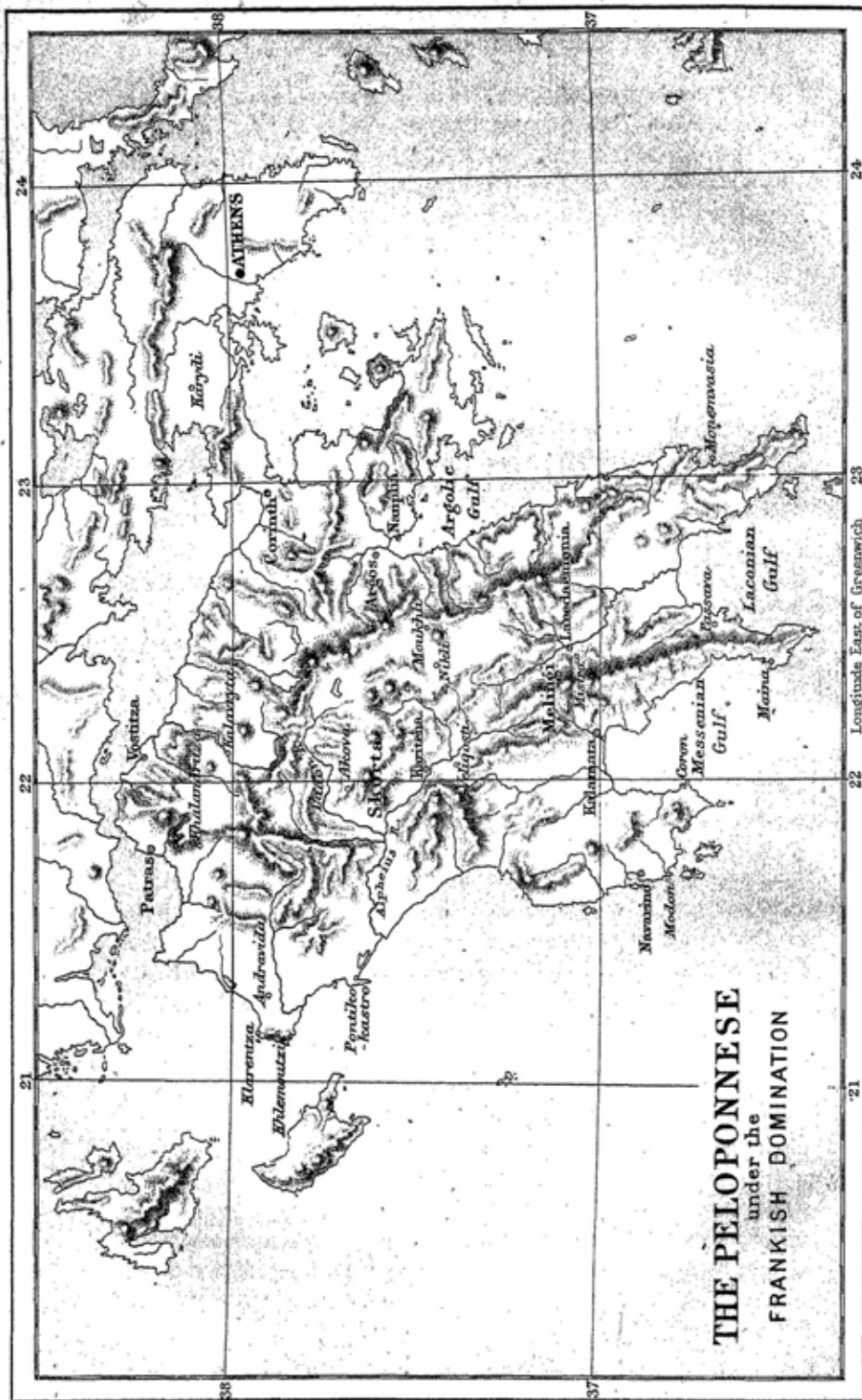
I.—*Sketch of the History of the Frank Principality of the Morea.*

Towards the end of the year 1204, the same in which the Latins captured Constantinople, Geoffrey Villehardouin, a French knight of a noble family in Champagne, and nephew of the Marshal of Romania of that name, whose chronicle has already been mentioned, was returning from Palestine, whither he had proceeded as a crusader, independently of the main expedition, on hearing of the successes of the Franks in overthrowing the Eastern Empire. Owing to stress of weather, however, he was forced to take refuge in the harbour of Modon (Methone) at the south-west angle of the Peloponnese, and while he was kept wind-bound at that place, entered into communication with one of the Messenian nobles, John

¹ Buchon's own summary was published under the title, *Histoire des Conquêtes et de l'Établissement des Français dans les États de l'ancienne Grèce sous les Ville-Hardoin*, vol. i. 1846, but the work was never completed, owing to the author's premature death. That of Finlay forms chapter vii. of the fourth volume of his *History of*

Greece. Hopf's account will be found in vols. lxxv. and lxxvi. of Ersch and Gruber's *Encyclopädie*; that of Hertzberg in vol. ii. of his *Geschichte Griechenlands seit dem Absterben des antiken Lebens*. My own sketch of the period is mainly derived from Finlay and Hertzberg.





Cantacuzenus, who was connected by marriage with the imperial family of Angelus, the successors of the Comneni, and conceived in connection with him a scheme for subduing this province of Greece. The circumstances of the country were in many ways favourable to such an undertaking, for the centralising policy of the Byzantine government, which feared nothing so much as revolt, had from time immemorial discouraged all organisation for purposes of self-defence on the part of the provincials, and that government itself had for the moment been destroyed. The prize, moreover, was a tempting one, for this portion of Greece had for several centuries been comparatively undisturbed by attacks from without and by internal struggles, and consequently was carefully cultivated and possessed a considerable amount of accumulated wealth. The alliance of Villehardouin with a native chieftain caused a prepossession among the Greek inhabitants in his favour, and this was afterwards strengthened, when they found that he was disposed to respect their privileges. In this way he with no great difficulty made himself master of the western coast of Messenia, the rich plain of Elis with its capital Andravida, and even the important city of Patras. But early in the following year John Cantacuzenus died, and his son Michael, discovering that the French leader was aiming merely at his own aggrandisement, broke off the alliance with him, and summoned the Greeks to arms in order to expel the invaders. Villehardouin perceived that he would soon be reduced to great straits owing to the smallness of the force at his disposal.

Meanwhile the Peloponnese had been invaded also from another quarter. Boniface, the newly-appointed King of Salonica, had been put in command of the division of the crusaders which was to subdue Greece, and in the year 1205 marched southwards, accompanied by Otho de la Roche, William of Champlitte, and other chieftains. They met with but feeble resistance, and after Otho de la Roche had been established at Athens, they advanced beyond the Isthmus, and one part of the force, under Boniface, laid siege to the fortress of Corinth, into which Leon Sgouros, the Byzantine governor of Nauplia and Argos, who had undertaken the defence of the country, had thrown himself, while another detachment, with whom was Champlitte, encamped before Nauplia. It was at the latter

place that the two destined conquerors of the country met one another. Villehardouin, despairing of being able to subjugate the country himself, and hearing that a part of the allied forces was advancing from the north, abandoned his possessions in Messenia, and marching along the coastland of Achaia appeared before Nauplia. He there proposed to Champlitte, who was a fellow-countryman of his, being also from Champagne, that he should become ruler of the country, and offered himself to serve under him and become his vassal. King Boniface, who was soon recalled to the defence of his own dominions by an attack of the Bulgarians, signified his consent to the undertaking, and confirmed Champlitte beforehand in any conquests he might make; and thus the combined forces of the two comrades, composed of one hundred knights and a considerable number of men-at-arms, proceeded by way of Patras and Andravida to recover Villehardouin's earlier acquisitions, which they easily succeeded in doing. Their further advance, however, was not to be unopposed. The powerful Greek landholders, who were not disposed to part with their possessions without a struggle, raised a force composed of the remains of the Byzantine garrisons, of bands of warlike mountaineers, and of troops sent to their aid by the despot Michael of Epirus, and having assembled in the upper valley of Messenia, the Stenyclerian plain of classical times, gave battle to the Franks at a place called the olive-grove of Kondoura. Here they were signally defeated, and the impression made by this victory was so great that within no long time the invaders had added to their territory the rest of Messenia, the greater part of Arcadia—including the fortresses of Veligosti on the south-western border of that country, and of Nikli, which occupied the site of the ancient Tegea, on the south-east—and even the important town of Lacedaemonia, the mediaeval representative of Sparta. The fortified places, however, were vigorously defended, and the last-named city withstood the besiegers for five days. Champlitte now assumed the title of Prince of Achaia, and rewarded Villehardouin with the fief of Kalamata in the rich land at the head of the Messenian gulf. The towns of Modon and Coron, however, in the westernmost of the three southern peninsulas, were forcibly occupied by the Venetians, to whom they had been assigned by the original act of partition, and in their hands

they remained throughout this period of history, and became important strongholds.

At the expiration of three years and a half, William of Champlitte was recalled to France by the news of his elder brother's death, in consequence of which it was necessary for him to appear in person in order to claim his inheritance. As his own sons were not yet of age, he named his nephew Hugh to be his bailly or vicegerent in the Morea during his absence, and then took ship for Italy. Shortly after his departure, however, Hugh of Champlitte was removed by death, and this event was immediately followed by the news that the same fate had overtaken William himself in Apulia. It was a critical moment in the history of the newly-formed and half-organised State. According to a strict interpretation of feudal rights, William's eldest son became heir to the principality, and it was in the power of his representatives in France to send an agent of theirs as administrator during his minority; and at a later period stories were afloat, though they receive no confirmation from authentic history, of Geoffrey Villehardouin having been nominated bailly, and having succeeded by craft or force in preventing the claimant from presenting himself within the specified time: but the knights who had served under Champlitte, and were now entering into the fruits of their labours, were well aware that at this conjuncture the rule of a feeble hand would involve them in ruin, and Villehardouin himself was not the man to let slip the opportunity of assuming the government of the State which he had done more than any other man to establish. Certain it is that he now put himself forward, and was acknowledged by the other feudatories as their chief, for early in the year 1210 we find him in command of the principality, and bearing the title of Prince of Achaia. His elevation bore immediate fruits. Leon Sgouros, who defended Corinth against the Franks, when they first invaded the Peloponnese under King Boniface, was now dead, and Michael, the despot of Epirus, had taken possession of that place together with Argos and Nauplia, and intrusted the defence of them to his brother Theodore, a brave and skilful commander, who might in time have turned the tide of fortune in favour of the Greeks. Against him Geoffrey immediately advanced, and having persuaded Otho de la Roche, Grand-sire of Athens, to join him in the expedition,

laid siege to Corinth, which place they captured by blockade; after which, by the aid of Venetian galleys, the strongly fortified Nauplia fell into their hands, and finally Argos capitulated in the year 1212. At this period the only parts of the Morea which were not subject to the Western Powers were the port of Monemvasia at the south-eastern angle of the country, and the mountainous districts of Laconia. In reward for his aid in accomplishing these conquests, Otho de la Roche received Argos and Nauplia as a fief, and this privilege was enjoyed by his successors. Corinth also, which became the seat of a Latin archbishopric, in consequence of its outlying position was dissociated from the rest of the principality; and thus, as Modon and Coron were in the hands of the Venetians, both the north-eastern and south-western peninsulas of the Peloponnese find little place in the history of the Frank State.

It was during this early period that the principality was organised on a feudal basis; but whereas in the other States that were founded by the crusaders in the Eastern Empire the arrangement was regulated by the Assize of Romania, which was drawn up on the model of that of Jerusalem, the common code of the Latin States in Palestine and its neighbourhood, here it was determined by the customs of Champagne, to which country both Champlitte and Villehardouin belonged. According to this a number of baronies were established throughout the country, the holders of which had fiefs assigned to them in proportion to the importance of the position which they were required to defend; while they engaged for their part to serve for a specified portion of each year in garrison duty and in the field. The affairs of the principality were to be settled by a parliament, and, as regards the administration of justice, the courts were modelled on the institutions of France, but the Assize of Romania was received as the legal code. The natural conformation of the Peloponnese, with its numerous valleys separated from one another by high mountains, was excellently adapted to the feudal organisation, as it had been in old times to the development of independent communities. On the sea-coast of Achaia two baronies were formed, that of Vostitza within, and that of Patras without, the straits, while corresponding to these, among the mountains further inland, lay the

baronies of Kalávryta and Khalandrítza. The district of Elis was appropriated to the prince as his domain, and its chief city, Andravída, became the capital of the whole principality; and from the time that Villehardouin succeeded to the government, the fief of Kalamata was combined with this as the rightful possession of his family. But the two most important of the baronies, to which respectively twenty-four and twenty-two fiefs were assigned, were those of Akova and Karítēna. These lay on either side of the rugged mountainous region in north-western Arcadia, then called Skorta, which was occupied by a warlike Slavonic tribe, who, together with the Melings on the slopes of Mount Taygetus, were the only remaining representatives of those Slavonian invaders who had settled in the Peloponnese early in the Middle Ages. It was of the first importance to the French to keep open their communications in this direction from their headquarters on the western coast to the interior and the eastern districts, and with this view these two strongholds were built in commanding positions, Akova on the side towards Elis, and Karítēna towards Arcadia, or, as it was then called, Mesarea. In the southern part of that country the barony of Veligosti guarded the approaches to Messenia, and that of Nikli to Laconia; while of the remainder, Geráki at the southern foot of Mount Parnon was pushed forward in the direction of Monemvasia, Gritzéna held the mountain districts of Messenia, and Passavá, the most remote of all, situated at no great distance from the ruins of Gythium, the ancient port of Sparta, commanded the Laconian Gulf, and the chief pass through the range of Taygetus, by which it was possible to communicate with Kalamata. Besides these, a number of ecclesiastical baronies were established, possessing four fiefs apiece, while three others were assigned to the military orders, of whom the Templars received lands in Achaia and Elis, while those of the Knights of St. John and the Teutonic Order lay near the Messenian Gulf. The holders of these were bound to military service equally with the other feudatories, only they were exempt from garrison duty. The Archbishop of Patras was recognised as the Primate of the Principality, and on the decease of the first baron of that place, he entered on his barony in addition to the eight fiefs which had already been assigned to him.

Geoffrey Villehardouin died in 1218, and was succeeded by the eldest of his two sons, Geoffrey II. This prince had been married during his father's lifetime to Agnes of Courtenay, the daughter of the Emperor Peter of Romania, who was on her way, in company with her mother, the Empress Yoland, from Brindisi to Constantinople; and when they touched at the port of Katákolo on the western coast of the Morea, and were hospitably entertained by Geoffrey I., the marriage between his son and the daughter of the imperial house was celebrated before the expedition proceeded on its way. In consequence of this connection, Geoffrey II., when he came to the throne, was recognised by the Latin emperor as Prince of Achaia, which title he was the first of his family legitimately to bear, for his father had never himself employed it. The early part of his reign was occupied in a struggle with the Church, which had already been threatening in the time of his predecessor. The ecclesiastical affairs of the feudal States of the Eastern Empire generally had been settled at a parliament held at Ravénika in the south of Thessaly in 1210, in a manner highly favourable to the pretensions of the Papal See; but this convention Geoffrey I. refused to recognise, and in other ways he showed himself disposed to set limits to the independence of the Church within his dominions. When, however, his successor called upon his barons to furnish their contingents of soldiers with a view to the completion of the conquest of the peninsula, the clergy refused to answer to his summons, declaring that they owed no military service and held their fiefs from the Pope only. To this defiance Geoffrey II. answered by sequestering their possessions throughout the country; and in order to prove his disinterestedness in so doing he employed the revenues derived from these in building the castle of Khlemoutzi in a strong position on the westernmost promontory of the coast of Elis. This fortress, in the construction of which three years were employed, became a place of first-rate importance to the Principality, because it was in the neighbourhood of Andravída, the seat of government, and also commanded the port of Klarentza, which was the nearest point of communication for the Franks in the Morea with the west of Europe. Geoffrey was excommunicated; but by the time that Khlemoutzi was completed the condition of the Latin empire at Constantinople had become so perilous that both parties were persuaded of the

necessity of a reconciliation, and the Pope, Honorius III., agreed to remove the ban, and the bishops to perform their military service on condition of the restoration of their fiefs. The other great event of Geoffrey II.'s reign was his expedition to Constantinople in 1236, to relieve that city from the attack with which it was threatened by the united forces of the Greek emperor of Nicaea and the Bulgarian king. In this he was successful, for the Greeks in vain endeavoured to intercept the squadron on board of which his troops were embarked, and he landed them safely at Constantinople. In return for this service, Baldwin II., the last of the Latin emperors of that city, who was his brother-in-law, bestowed upon him the suzerainty of the Archipelago, and the Pope authorised him in employing a portion of the revenues of the Church in the Principality for the maintenance of a hundred knights at Constantinople for the service of the empire. Thus in many ways during his reign the Morea tended to occupy the position which had hitherto belonged to that city, for this province was rapidly increasing in importance in proportion as the empire itself declined. Geoffrey II. died in 1245, after a reign of twenty-seven years, and as he left no children was succeeded by his younger brother William.

William Villehardouin, the third and greatest prince of his family, was born at Kalamata, and consequently was the first of his line who could call himself a native of Greece, and on that ground could lay claim to the allegiance of his Greek subjects, for his elder brother was born in France. He also spoke Greek, which does not seem to have been the case with the earlier chieftains.¹ As soon as he came to the throne, he proceeded to complete the conquest of the Peloponnese. The fortified city of Monemvasia, to the northward of Cape Malea, was still in the possession of the Greeks, and accordingly this place was the first object of his attack. The steepness of the rocks on which it was built rendered it an impregnable fortress, and as it was situated on an island which was joined by a bridge to the mainland, it was impossible to blockade it except by the help of a maritime force: in consequence of this William applied to the

¹ In the Greek Chronicle it is specially noticed of William, that when parleying with John Palaeologus after

the battle of Pelagonia, he answered him in Greek, *ὁ πρίγκιπας, ὡς φρόνιμος, βωμδίκῃ τὴν ἀπεκρίβη* (l. 2805).

Venetians for aid by sea, and by means of their co-operation after three years forced the city to capitulate (A.D. 1248). After this he subdued the wild mountaineers of the Taenarian promontory, and constructed the castle of Grand-Maina on the western coast of their territory;¹ and finally, to keep in check the independent Slavonic tribe of the Melings, who inhabited the rugged slopes of Mount Taygetus, he founded the town and fortress of Mizithrá, or Mistrá, on a projecting spur of that range, on the western side of the valley of Sparta. The strength of the position selected, and the extensive scale of the fortifications, testify to the importance which the conqueror attached to this stronghold; it may be regarded, in fact, as a sort of pendant to Khlemoutzi at the opposite angle of the Peloponnese, so that the two together enabled the French to retain a firm hold on the country; thus reminding us of the advice addressed to Philip, son of Demetrius, with regard to the fortresses on the Acrocorinth and on Ithome, when it was told him that by seizing these he would hold the cow by the horns.² Having thus secured himself at home, William proceeded to join the crusade of St. Louis, whom he met in Cyprus: and though after a time he excused himself from continuing the expedition on the ground of the risk involved in a lengthened absence from his possessions, yet with the shrewdness which characterised all the proceedings of the Villehardouins, he took the opportunity of obtaining from that sovereign, to whom he owed allegiance as a French noble, the right of coining money, which from that time forward was exercised by the Principality, so that its *tournois* circulated in the Morea along with Byzantine and Venetian coins. Finally, becoming elated by the greatness of his position, he endeavoured to extend his power outside the Peloponnese by calling on Guy de la Roche, who had succeeded his uncle Otho as Grand-sire of Athens, to do him personal homage; and when he refused to do more than pay the feudal service which he owed for his fief of Argos and Nauplia, and obtained the support of several of the Powers north of the isthmus, and even that of his son-in-law, Geoffrey of Karitena, who was William's nephew and one of his

¹ Leake (*Peloponnesiaca*, p. 142) would place Grand-Maina at Porto Quaglio on the eastern side of this peninsula, but Buchon (*Livre de la Conquête*, p.

95, note) is more probably right in thinking that it was at Tegani, a promontory towards the Messenian Gulf.

² Strabo, viii. 4, § 8.

barons, the Prince of Achaia marched against him, and defeated the confederate army at the pass of Karydi, between Megara and Thebes. Guy was forced to appear at his opponent's court at Nikli, where a parliament was summoned to decide the question, and this after some debate was referred to St. Louis for his adjudication.

The Frank Principality of the Morea had thus reached the culminating point of its greatness. The barons had established themselves in castles throughout the country; security everywhere prevailed; there was a lively commerce both at home and with foreign nations; and the public revenue, without being burdensome to the people, sufficed not only for the current expenses, but for the construction of strongholds such as Mistra, and costly buildings like the church of St. James at Andravida, which was designed to be a mausoleum of the Villehardouin family. At the prince's court the barons from time to time assembled for the celebration of tournaments, which might have seemed a mediaeval revival of the Olympian games; thither too, as to a school of chivalry, the young nobility of France in crowds resorted, so that the French which was spoken there was said to be equally pure with that of Paris. Nor had the majority of the Greek inhabitants for the moment much cause to lament their change of government. For their laws and judicial establishments, which were in all respects superior to those of the Franks, were allowed to remain, and many of their local privileges were respected; the lands appropriated to the newcomers were mostly either imperial domains, or the property of those who had fled the country; and the citizens of the towns retained their private property, and were little interfered with by the Western chieftains, whose residences were in the country districts. Again, whereas under the Byzantine administration the people at large were severely oppressed by the provincial nobility and great landholders, or archonts, as they were called, the yoke of these had been made to press less heavily by the invaders, who deprived them of a great part of their possessions. Even the Slavonian tribes were permitted to enjoy the concessions which had been made to them by the Byzantine emperors.

Unhappily, all this greatness and prosperity was dashed to the ground by a single blow. In the year 1259 William Villehardouin married a daughter of Michael II., despot of Epirus,

who at that time was organising a confederacy among the Greek and Frank States of western Greece to oppose the Greek empire of Nicaea, the power of which was beginning to assume threatening proportions. Thus, when war broke out, the Principality of Achaia was involved in it, and William led the flower of his troops to the support of his father-in-law. The forces which the Emperor Michael Palaeologus sent to oppose them were commanded by his brother John, an able general, and the two armies met in the plain of Pelagonia, in Upper Macedonia, where the confederates were disastrously defeated. Not only were the noblest chieftains of the Morea slain, but Villehardouin himself was captured, being recognised in the hiding-place in which he had taken refuge by his projecting front teeth, which were his most characteristic feature. He could hardly have fallen into worse hands than those of a prince so cunning, ambitious, and merciless, as Michael VIII. For three years, in the course of which the Greeks regained possession of Constantinople, he was detained a prisoner, in the hope that the whole province of the Morea might be extorted from him as the price of his freedom. At the expiration of that period, in 1262, he was released on condition of ceding to the Byzantine government the fortresses of Monemvasia and Grand-Maina and the newly established city of Mistrá, an arrangement by which the Principality was permanently crippled. It would have been far better for both parties in that country if Villehardouin had acceded to his opponent's original demand. Thenceforward there were two powers in the Peloponnese, Greek and Frank, and the land was constantly devastated by the struggles of the contending parties, and Arcadia in particular suffered ruinously from invading armies. But if the original inhabitants were the greater sufferers, the Franks in the long run were at a disadvantage, for their subjects, who were mainly Greek, were always ready to side with their enemies; and their organisation itself was enfeebled, because, owing to the destruction of so many nobles in the battle of Pelagonia, many fiefs had passed into the hands of females. The contest was renewed shortly after William's return, and at first it appeared as if the Greeks would regain the whole peninsula, for they drove their opponents back to their headquarters in Elis, destroying on their way the famous Benedictine monastery and Gothic church of the Virgin at Isova

in the valley of the Alphei¹, and even laid siege to the capital, Andra¹vida; but the tide of fortune turned, and the Franks subsequently obtained two important victories, the one at Prinitza, near the Alphei¹, the other in the pass of Makriplagi, which leads from Arcadia into the upper plain of Messenia. The balance was thus for the moment restored, and a truce was concluded; but from this time onward a new factor appears in the politics of the country, which seriously affected the history of the Principality, and rendered it largely dependent on another power. This was its relation to the house of Anjou.

It was four years after William Villehardouin obtained his freedom, in 1266, that Charles of Anjou won for himself the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily. In the following year, William, feeling his need of the support of a greater Power near at hand to resist the rapidly increasing strength of the Palaeologi, betrothed his daughter and heiress, Isabella—for he had no son—to Philip, the second son of Charles. He was able also to render his new ally material service against the youthful Conradin who now arose as his opponent, for he crossed over into Italy with a band of knights, and contributed in no slight degree to the victory of Tagliacozzo. In return for this aid the King of Naples furnished him with a force of auxiliaries, which enabled him to maintain himself against the Greek emperor. But though the help of a powerful prince had thus been obtained, yet the Principality was now involved in the quarrel between the houses of Anjou and Aragon; and the claims of the former of those two Powers were further strengthened by the cession to Charles by Baldwin II., the last Latin emperor of the East, of his rights as suzerain of the Morea. His Italian campaign was the last great event of William's life, though his death did not occur till ten years later (A.D. 1278). He was buried by the side of his father and brother in the church of St. James at Andra¹vida. With him the male line of the Villehardouins was extinguished, and the first period of the history of the Principality may be said to end. Geoffrey Villehardouin and his two sons, unprincipled and grasping though they were, would have been great men in any age, from the combination of shrewdness and political insight with boldness and vigour in action which

¹ Of the remains of this some account is given in Leake's *Travels in the Morea*, ii. 87, 88.

was conspicuous in their policy. The succeeding period is one of lesser personages and feebler administration, and the forces which influence its history are to a great extent exterior to the country.

For about half a century after William Villehardouin's death the sovereignty of the Principality remained in the hands of his successors in the female line, though this was subject to the nomination of the princes of Anjou as suzerains, and at intervals the government was carried on by the baillies or representatives whom those princes maintained in the country. Philip, the first husband of Isabella Villehardouin, died early; and after this his widow married a Belgian noble, Florenz of Hainault, whom the King of Naples then invested with sovereign power. Florenz appears to have been at once an active and an upright ruler, and the eight years during which he governed the Morea (1289—1297) were a time of prosperity: He perceived that the country required rest, and accordingly concluded a treaty of peace with the Greek emperor, Andronicus II.; by this means he was able to reduce the service of the military bands, and to turn his attention to internal reforms in the province, in which violence and intestine war were generally prevalent. The regret which was felt at his death at the expiration of that period was increased by the administration of his successor, Philip of Savoy Isabella's third husband. This prince devoted himself from the first to amassing money for his private interest, and with this view imposed a tax on the Greek and Slavonian mountaineers of northern Arcadia, who had been secured by charter from such exactions. They rose in rebellion, and having invited the assistance of the Byzantine authorities at Mistrá, succeeded in destroying two of the Frank castles; and though this rising was quelled for the time, yet this part of the population was permanently alienated, and contributed to the subsequent expulsion of their masters. In 1304 Philip of Savoy and Isabella quitted the country, and Philip of Tarentum—who had received the suzerainty of the Morea from his father, Charles II. of Naples—while he himself assumed the title of prince, recognised the claims of Maud, the daughter of Isabella and Florenz, for he appointed her husband, Guy II. of Athens, to be his bailly. But the misfortune which the province had experienced in losing Florenz was repeated in the early death of Guy, whose adminis-

tration was equally beneficial. After an interval, in 1313, the hand of Maud was bestowed on Louis of Burgundy, but he also died (it was said by poison), in 1316, shortly after his arrival in the country. The story of the extinction of this branch of the Villehardouins is a tragical one, and illustrates the unscrupulous ambition of the house of Anjou. Robert, King of Naples, and Philip of Tarentum, being determined that the sovereignty of the Morea should be assured to their family, arranged that Maud should now marry their brother John, Count of Gravina; and when she refused her consent, they celebrated the marriage ceremony in defiance of her opposition, and then immured her in the Castel dell' Uovo at Naples, where she died about the year 1324.

The weakness of the administration during this period, and still more the confusion of claims that followed Maud's death, forced the barons of the Morea, nothing loth, to become virtually independent, and to organise themselves for purposes of self-defence. After this time we hear of one or two sovereigns, such as Robert of Tarentum (A.D. 1346), and his widow, Mary of Bourbon (A.D. 1364), who were acknowledged by the whole Principality; but their power was circumscribed within narrow limits, and the task of government became increasingly difficult. At the same time, and owing to this want of unity, the rival Greek State made gradual, but steady, advances. As early as the reign of William Villehardouin, in the campaign which followed the cession of Monemvasia and Mistra, the Greeks had seized Kalávryta, the seat of one of the earliest baronies, in the northern part of the peninsula, and permanently maintained themselves there: and it is strange to think that, while they thus occupied an outpost in the heart of their enemies' territory, the Franks should at the same time have retained possession of the town of Lacedaemonia, though it was but a few miles distant from Mistra, and cut off by a wide expanse of rugged country from Nikli, the nearest place from which it could obtain succours. But this fortress did not remain long in their hands; and at last, in the year 1320, the Greeks made themselves masters of the powerful strongholds of Karitena and Akova. From that time onwards the territory of the Principality was restricted to Messenia, Elis, and the northern coast of the peninsula. Arcadia was wholly lost to them, and the Frankish inhabitants of that

district went over in numbers to the Greek Church. The destruction of so many of the knights of Achaia shortly before this period by the Catalans at the battle of the Cephissus, in 1311, affords a further explanation of the success of their opponents. From the time of Manuel Cantacuzene (A.D. 1349), the Byzantine province in the Morea was of sufficient importance to be erected into a separate despotat, and became the appanage of the second son of the Emperor of Constantinople.

In the latter part of the fourteenth century the government of the Frankish Morea was practically in the hands of a Power the history of which has been brought to light by the researches of Carl Hopf. This was the Navarrese Company, a band of adventurers resembling the Catalan Grand Company, which was formed in Navarre, in the year 1380, by James de Baux, nephew of Philip II. of Tarentum, who on the death of that prince claimed to have inherited from him the sovereignty of Achaia, and proposed to himself to occupy the country by the help of these mercenaries. In his name they first seized Corfu, and then overran Attica, and captured Athens, which was now in the hands of the Catalans; but being expelled again from those countries, early in 1381 they proceeded to conquer the Morea, and having occupied Vostitza on the Corinthian Gulf, formally took possession of the country in the name of their employer. They then sailed for the west coast, and established themselves at Navarino—which place derives its name from them ('Chasteaux Navarres'), and not as has usually been thought, from the Avars (τὸν Ἀβάρινον)—and after this Kalamata also fell into their hands. Their allegiance to James de Baux soon became nominal, and when the rest of the province had submitted to them, in 1386, the Company proclaimed their captain, Peter de San Superan, vicar of the Principality; he thus became the virtual ruler of the country, and ten years later was recognised by the King of Naples as hereditary prince. As might be expected, a leader of adventurers like Peter de San Superan had few scruples as to the means by which he could maintain himself in power; and before this time we find him visiting the court of Sultan Bajazet, no doubt with the object of obtaining aid from him against the Greeks of the Byzantine province. That aid arrived in an unwelcome form, for in 1397, Bajazet's

general, Evrenos-bey, overran and devastated the Morea, and made both Theodore, the despot of Mistra, and Peter himself, tributary. From this yoke they were delivered by the advance of Timour, resulting in the battle of Angora, and Bajazet's captivity (A.D. 1402).

With the death of Peter de San Superan in 1402, the Navarrese supremacy came to an end, and thus at the beginning of the fifteenth century all unity had ceased among the Frank occupants of the Peloponnese. Argos and Nauplia were sold to Venice in 1388 by the last heir of the house of Brienne of Athens, which had inherited that fief from the De la Roches; Corinth was annexed to the Byzantine despotat in 1404; Patras, with its Latin archbishopric, had passed into the hands of the Pope. The remainder had become for the time the possession of the Genoese family of Zaccaria, which, two hundred years before, had established itself in Chios, Samos, and others of the Aegean islands, and having extended its influence in various directions, at last became the chief power in the Morea, and ruled over the plain of Elis, the ancient barony of Kalandritza in Achaia, and part of Messenia. And along with these changes of governors the Frankish inhabitants of the country had also changed. A roll of the fiefs of the Morea which was drawn up about the year 1391 exists at the present day, from which it appears that not one of the old feudal names of owners of the thirteenth century remained at that time. The end of this feeble state, the shadow of the once lordly Principality, may be described as painless extinction. In 1427 the despot Constantine Palaeologus—the future emperor of Constantinople, who died heroically in the final siege of that city—having conquered the rest of Elis, appeared before the port of Klarentza, which was now in the possession of Carlo Tocco, count of Cephalonia, having been sold to him by a Genoese adventurer, called Oliverio Franco, who had forced Centurione Zaccaria to cede it to him in 1418. The count, distrusting his power of resisting the Greek army, listened to the proposals of Constantine for terminating the war by a matrimonial alliance, and gave him his niece, the beautiful Maddalena Tocco, in marriage, with Klarentza and his other possessions in Greece as her dowry. The despot occupied that place and the neighbouring fortress of Khlemoutzi, which he made his residence, and then proceeded to besiege Patras, of

which he became master in 1429. In his camp before that city he celebrated his marriage with Maddalena, who thenceforward bore the name of Theodora. Meanwhile his brother Thomas had besieged Khalandritza, and pressed Centurione Zaccaria so hard in that place, that he also consented to yield to him his domains there as dowry to his daughter Catherine. This was the last of the Frankish possessions in the Peloponnese; and thus by the marriage of the contending parties the history of the Principality of Achaia reaches an almost melodramatic termination. The Greeks regained the whole of the country, except the portions that belonged to Venice, twenty-four years before their empire was extinguished by the fall of Constantinople. Centurione retained the empty title of prince until his death in 1432, and therefore that is regarded as the date of the formal extinction of the Principality. Its total duration had been two hundred and twenty-seven years.

In order to estimate the effects of the Frank occupation of the Peloponnese on that country, we have only to compare its condition at the commencement of that period with what we find at its conclusion. In the twelfth century, owing to the long interval of rest which that province had previously enjoyed, it was in a singularly flourishing state; a variety of industries existed, especially the manufacture of purple, silk, and linen fabrics; the soil was carefully cultivated; and what may be termed the 'plant' of civilised society—the capital invested by successive generations in roads, bridges, quays, drainage, and similar works—was in excellent preservation. No stronger evidence can be required of the security and good order that prevailed than the fact that a wealthy and populous town like Andravida was not protected by walls. On the other hand, on the eve of the Turkish occupation, we find the country districts depopulated, trade and industry at a standstill, agriculture neglected, and public works and means of communication ruined. Notwithstanding the scanty notices of contemporary society which can be gleaned from the writers of the period, it is possible in some degree to trace the stages of this downward progress. Even in the thirteenth century many families quitted the Peloponnese to settle at Constantinople, and the hardy mountaineers of that country sought service in the fleet of the Greek emperor. The period of anarchy that followed caused

the agricultural population to suffer severely from the exactions of the barons and military adventurers, and their farmhouses were destroyed by the continual forays; so that, from the time when Manuel Cantacuzene became despot in 1349, colonies of rude Albanian peasants, who could endure greater hardships and had fewer needs than more civilised inhabitants, were introduced in great numbers into Arcadia. From the descriptions of the misery and disorganised state of the province given by the author of *Mazaris*, who passed some time at Mistra early in the fifteenth century—whatever allowance must be made for his exaggerations as a satirist—it is clear that the ruin of the country had then been completed.

These disastrous effects, it is fair to say, are not wholly to be attributed to the Frank occupants. The important silk trade, for instance, had already begun to decline, ever since the Norman prince Roger of Sicily, after capturing Corinth in 1147, transferred that trade, for which that city was famous, to Palermo, by carrying with him its most skilled artisans. So too, the piratical expeditions of the Seljouk Turks, who not only bore off plunder, but burnt the houses and destroyed the fruit-trees, and dragged away the inhabitants to be sold for slaves, depopulated the shores of Greece during the latter half of the fourteenth century. The long-continued struggle, also, with the Byzantine empire produced results, which might partly have been avoided, if the invaders had retained their conquest in undisputed possession. But, after all allowance has been made, it is the feudal system itself and the character of those who introduced it, which must be held responsible for the decline of the country. The two peoples thus brought into contact were in every way contrasted. The Greeks were far superior in material civilisation and the arts of life; and their municipal system and legal administration derived from the old Roman code were in advance of anything that had been introduced among western nations. The Franks, on the other hand, had the advantage of higher moral principles, arising from the self-respect and truthfulness inculcated by their family discipline; and these for a time were maintained by the feudal system and the ties of duty it involved. But in the East the beneficial influence of that system was soon lost, because, when it was separated from the associations connected with it, the

grounds of its best obligations were removed, and it soon came to be supported only by the promptings of personal interest. The Villehardouin princes, indeed, who felt the necessity of conciliating their Greek subjects, kept these tendencies in check, and their vigorous administration succeeded in restraining the rapacity of the barons; but after their time the evils arising from the alien administration rapidly developed themselves. The results were not as pernicious as in the states founded by the Crusaders in Palestine, where serfage was forced once more on a people who had emancipated themselves from it; but yet, when the new establishment was fully matured, we find that the Franks were demoralised and the Greeks ruined. This is the reason why no period of Greek history has left so scanty traces in the country as that of the Frankish dominion. A few buildings, a few names of places and families, a few words embedded in the language, remain as memorials of that time; but for any element of civilisation or progress or stability derived from it we look in vain.

II.—*The Chronicle of the Conquest.*

The *Greek Chronicle*, which brought to light the feudal organisation of the Frank Principality, and is the principal authority for the first century of its existence, was first printed from the manuscript in the Paris library in 1841 by M. Buchon in his *Chroniques étrangères relatives aux Expéditions françaises pendant le treizième Siècle*. Its existence had long been known, for Ducange in his Greek Lexicon refers to it under the title *De bellis Francorum in Morea*; and the frequency of his quotations from it attests its value for linguistic purposes, so that it appears in some cases to be the earliest, and in some the only, authority for certain mediaeval Greek words. Ducange also intended to publish it, but was prevented by death, and no use was made of it as a historical document until Buchon's time. When it was first published, the editor believed that it was an original work; but this opinion he was led to alter by the discovery in 1845 of a French text in the library at Brussels, entitled *Le Livre de la Conquête de la Princesse de la Morée*. The view that this was the earlier of the two, and that

the Greek version was derived from it, is now generally accepted, though it was doubted by so excellent a critic of Byzantine literature as the late Dr. Ellissen, who published extracts from the Greek poem, with a verse translation into German and historical notes, in the second volume of his *Analekten der mittel- und neugriechischen Literatur*, in 1856. The French chronicle was printed as vol. i. of Buchon's *Recherches historiques sur la Principauté française de Morée*, while the second volume of that work contained another Greek text, taken from a manuscript discovered at Copenhagen. This latter is undoubtedly superior to the text of the Paris manuscript, as it is fuller, and supplies many of its *lacunae*; but it is inferior in respect of orthography and metre: in the following pages, however, the references are made to the Copenhagen text, and the quotations are taken from it, unless the contrary is stated, because in it alone the lines are numbered. The poem, as edited by Buchon from the Copenhagen manuscript, supplemented in parts by the other, contains 9219 lines of 'political' verse, of which 1332 belong to the Prologue, and the remaining 7887 to the Conquest of the Morea.¹ Its title is *Χρονικά τῶν ἐν Ῥωμανίᾳ καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τῷ Μωρέᾳ πολέμων τῶν Φράγκων*; for though the editor has given to the whole work the title *Βιβλίον τῆς κουγκέστας*, by which it is generally known, and to the part that follows the prologue the separate heading *Τὸ πῶς οἱ Φράγχοι ἐκέρδισαν τὸν τόπον τοῦ Μωραλῶς*, which is a line from the poem itself, yet these convenient appellations are his own invention. The *Livre de la Conquête* carries the history twelve years further down than the Greek chronicle, for it continues to A.D. 1304, while the Greek manuscripts end in 1292.

The date of the composition of the French chronicle can be approximately determined. When referring to the descendants of Baldwin II., the last emperor of Romania, the writer mentions Catharine de Valois, who married Philip of Tarentum; and in doing so speaks of her in the present, and of him in the past tense—'la très excellente dame, qui ores s'appelle empereys et fu feme dou très excellent et noble homme, messire Philippe de

¹ Buchon himself computes the number of lines in the latter part as 7892, but Ellissen has pointed out (l'pref. p.

xxx.) that in the verses 570—580, by an oversight, five verses are reckoned as if they were ten.

Tharente.¹ Now as Philip died at the end of 1332, and Catharine in 1346, the *Livre de la Conquête* must have been written in the interval between those two years. On the other hand, internal evidence goes to prove that the Greek version was made towards the end of the fourteenth century, because a French knight, Erard de Saint-Sauveur, who is there spoken of as no longer alive, is known to have died in 1391 (καλὸς αὐθέντης ἦτον).² It is true that the line in which this occurs is not found in the Copenhagen MS.; but anyhow, whatever may be thought of this passage, the other which bears on the same question, viz. that in which the Catalan Grand Company is spoken of as still in possession of Athens—

ἐπήραν καὶ τὸν τόπον του, τὸ μεγάλο κυράτον
καὶ εἶναι αὐθένταις σήμερον εἰς αὐτο ἡ Κουμπανία—³

if it is not a later insertion, can hardly be taken literally—for the Company itself ceased to govern in 1326—but must rather refer to the rule of the house of Aragon, by whom at the request of the Catalans the superintendence of the duchy was undertaken. It remained in their hands until 1394, and this date is not at variance with the one already given. A strong proof that the French chronicle was the original is found in the forms in which the proper names are given in the two. In it the names of the Western chieftains are accurately spelt, while those of places in Greece appear, either in a purely French form, where they were founded by the new occupants, as Beaufort, Belregard; or in that by which they had from the first represented an ancient name, as La Crémonie for Lacedaemonia. In contrast to this, the Greek has a hard struggle to reproduce the Frank names, so that we are constantly met by such strange forms as *μαντάμα Ζαμπέα* *madame Isabelle*, *ρόη* 'Ραγούν *roi d'Aragon*, *ντὲ Ἄντουλο Dandolo*, who is also sometimes called *Ἀπίς Harry*. But, in reality, the *Livre de la Conquête* has nothing of the air of a translation about it; and

¹ *Livre de la Conquête*, p. 29. A full discussion of this and other points here referred to will be found in Buchon's preface to this work, and in Ellissen's preface to his extracts from the Greek Chronicle, though the point of view of

these writers is often different.

² Paris text, p. 213.

³ Copenh. text, l. 5955. The *μεγάλο κυράτον* is the duchy of the grand-sire, or *Μέγας Κύριος*.

its simplicity and vigour, which remind us sometimes of Villehardouin's *Chronicle*, are the best evidence that it was not derived from any previous writer. At the same time, that the two versions, notwithstanding many minor points of difference, are one work, and not merely corresponding narratives of the same period, is shown by the remarks, the matter of the speeches, and frequently the mistakes, being the same in both.

The author of the *Livre* was a Frenchman, for he speaks of the French as his countrymen. Probably he was also a knight, for his style is not that of a professional writer, and he shows a natural preference for adventures and feats of arms. Certain peculiarities, too, in the vocabulary he used—which contains Greek and Italian elements, unknown to the French language of that period, though such as might be expected in what was spoken in Greece—suggest that he was a native of the Morea. His papal sympathies are evident throughout, and, in particular, the story of the contest between Charles of Anjou and Manfred is told from a point of view strongly favourable to the court of Rome. The same feature is noticeable in his translator, who, though he spoke Greek as his native tongue, was manifestly a Roman Catholic, and a strong partisan of the French. Possibly he was a Gasmul, as the children of mixed marriages between a Frank father and Greek mother were called, such as we frequently hear of at this period. Hence his judgment of the Greeks is very severe, and he readily echoes, and accentuates more strongly, the diatribes against them in which his author indulges—

καθὼς εὐρίσκεται ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τὸ γένος τῶν Ῥωμαίων
εἰς δολιότητα πολλήν καὶ εἰς ἀπιστίας μεγάλαις.¹

In respect of style the contrast between the two versions is complete, for whereas the French is natural and unaffected, the Greek is stilted and prolix: in fact, it is a reproduction rather than a translation, or even a paraphrase, and both the details of the narrative and the diction are greatly expanded. The following passages, describing how Robert of Champlitte was treacherously left behind at Corfu by the captain of his vessel, may illustrate the relation of the two.

¹ Prol. 592, 593.

'Et quant Robert vint à Corfo, le patron lui fist entendre que la gallie avoit mestier de calefater en aucuns lieux ou il faisoit besoing; et en tel maniere si fist descendre le noble homme ou tout son hernois, et puis fist semblant de deschargier la gallie; et la nuit, quant Robert estoit au chastel et dormoit à son aise, le patron fist remettre dedans ce qu'il avoit trait pour decevoir Robert.'¹

In the Greek this occurrence is related thus:

Λοιπόν, ὡσὰν σὲ τὸ λαλῶ, ἐγείνεται τὸ πρᾶγμα
καὶ ὡς τὸ ἤφερον τὸ κάτεργον εἰς τοῦ Κορφοῦ τὸ κάστρον,
ὁ κόμης τὸν ἔκραξε ἐκείνον τὸν 'Ρουμπέρτον,
καὶ λέγει του· 'Τὸ κάτεργον ἔσπασεν ἀποκάτω,
καὶ χρῆζομεν νὰ εὐθυασθῇ, νὰ τὸ καλαφατίσω·
λοιπόν, καλέ μου ἀδελφέ, τὰ ροῦχά σου ἄς ἐβγάλουν
ν' ἀλαφρωθῇ τὸ κάτεργον, νὰ τὸ καλαφατίσω·'
καὶ ἐκεῖνος λογιζόμενος εἰς ἀλήθειαν τοῦ τὸ λέγει,
ᾤρισε καὶ ἐξεβάλλεν τὰ ροῦχά του εἰς τὸ κάστρον,
καὶ ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἀπλίκευσε εἰς τὸ ξενοδοχεῖον.
καὶ ὅταν ἐπέρασε ὁ καιρὸς, τῆς νύκτας γὰρ τὸ πλεῖον,
καὶ ἐλάλησεν ὁ πετεινός, ἐκείνοι τοῦ κατέργουν
ἔδωκαν τὴν συρίστραν τους, καὶ εὐθέως πάντα ὑπαγένουν.²

The speeches, again, with which the narrative is freely interspersed, are sometimes simple inventions of the Greek chronicler, but more commonly free translations from the French with numerous additions. As might be expected, the graces of style are few. Here and there short similes are introduced: slaughter in the field is compared to mowing grass in a meadow (ὅλους τοὺς ἐκατέκοπτεν ὡς χόρτον εἰς λιβάδι); the enemy is overpowered as the partridge by the hawk (τοὺς ἄλλους ὅλους ἔχομεν, ὡς φάλκωνες περδίκι); Monemvasia is kept closely blockaded by William Villehardouin and the Venetians 'like a nightingale in a cage' (ὡς 'ς τὸ κλουβὶν τὸ ἀηδόνη); and the comparison of the triangular site of Constantinople to a lateen sail is really effective—

ὡς ἄρμενον τριπρόσωπον (τρίγωνος γὰρ ὑπάρχει),
τὰ δύο μέρη 'ς τὴν θάλασσαν, τὸ τρίτον 'ς τὴν στερέαν.³

¹ *Livre de La Conquête*, p. 62.

² Lines 2704, 2679, 1583, Prol. 532.

³ *Gr. Chron.* 864—876.

Some of the descriptions of places in Greece are also true to nature; thus the wild mountain district, called in ancient times the Sciritis, through which the road ran from Nikli (Tegea) to Lacedaemonia (Sparta), is well characterised as *δασώδης τόπος, βουνιὰ καὶ στενολάγγαδα*;¹ and the position of Yanina in Albania—with its castle in the lake, joined to the land by a bridge, and capable of ‘defying the world’ as long as provisions could be brought to it in boats—is excellently described in the following lines—

τὸ κάστρον ἐνὶ ἀφηρόν· ἀπέσω εἰς λίμνην ὅτεκει,
 ἐν ᾧ ἐνὶ μέγας ὁ Ὁξερὸς, τὸν γύρωθεν τοῦ κάστρου.
 μὲ τὸ γιοφύριν ἐμπαίνουσιν οἱ ἐκεῖσε κατοικοῦντες·
 μὲ τὰ σαντάλια ἐμπάξασιν τοῦ κάστρου τὴν σωταρχίαν.
 τὸν κόσμον ὅλον οὐ ψηφᾷ τὸ κάστρον τῶν Γιαννίνων
 νὰ τὸ βλάψουν μὲ πόλεμον, μόνῃ νὰ ἔχῃ σωτάρχιον.²

But on the whole it must be confessed that the *Greek Chronicle* is dull reading, though its contents might furnish the material for many romances. Well may Dr. Ellissen exclaim, ‘What would not a Walter Scott make out of it!’

The Prologue commences with the story of Peter the Hermit and the first crusade; and here the sympathies of the writer at once become evident from the way in which he sides with the Crusaders in their dealings with Alexius I. From the taking of Jerusalem by Godfrey of Boulogne it passes to the events of the fourth crusade; and after mentioning the taking of Zara in compliance with the wish of the Venetians, it goes on to relate the circumstances which induced the Crusaders to turn their thoughts towards Constantinople. The siege of that city is then related, and the death of the Greek emperor Murtzuphlos, who was flung to the ground from the top of a high column; and the prophecy relating to that event is introduced, which was believed to date from the time of Leo the Philosopher. The narrative of these events, being given altogether at second-hand, forms a strong contrast to the life-like story in the *Chronicle of Villehardouin*, who was an eyewitness of them. Then follows the election of an emperor, the partition of the conquered

¹ Line 5351.

² Lines 7454—7459. The name of Ozero, which is here given to the lake of Yanina, is the Slavonic word for

a piece of water, *jezero*, which is found at the present day attached to some lakes in Greece, sometimes in the form *Nezero* (τὸν Ἐξερὸν).

territory, the death of Baldwin I., and other events of the succeeding period, until it concludes with the retaking of Constantinople by the Greeks, and the flight of the last Latin emperor. In the Chronicle proper, which begins at this point, it is at once stated that what precedes is simply introductory, and the remainder is devoted to the conquest and history of the Morea. In this part, however, owing to the discursive tendency of the writer, various events belonging to general history are introduced, especially such as are connected with southern Italy. Thus the struggle between Manfred and Charles of Anjou is related, and along with it—as an episode to account for the French invasion of Naples—the story of Charles's wife being found in tears by her husband in consequence of the taunts of her sisters, who laughed at her for being only a countess when they were married to kings; whereupon he protested to her that he would soon make her a greater queen than any of them. The chronicler is in error in speaking of her sisters as two in number, whereas in reality they were three. The story itself would appear more authentic, if something very much like it were not already found in Livy.¹

It has already been intimated that the Chronicle is far from being wholly a trustworthy authority in matters of history; and therefore it may be worth while here to mention the principal errors which occur in it. (1) It states that the doge Dandolo was put forward as a candidate for the office of emperor, but himself declined to be nominated, and recommended Baldwin of Flanders. Gibbon went further, and said that the post was offered to him and he declined it. But Finlay has pointed out that this was not the case, for the constitution of the Venetian republic rendered it impossible for the doge to become a feudal sovereign, and, as a matter of fact, the clause in the partition treaty which provided that Dandolo should be dispensed from taking the oath of fealty to the emperor to be elected, implied that he was himself ineligible.² (2) When speaking of the

¹ *Gr. Chron.* 4603 foll.; *Livre de la Conquête*, p. 200. The story is found in Villani (Book vi. chap. 90), who makes the count, Charles of Anjou, to say, 'Contessa, datti pace, che io ti farò tosto maggiore reina di l ro.' He rightly speaks of three sisters who were

queens. The four are mentioned by Dante (*Par.* vi. 133). The story in Livy (vi. 34) relates to Licinius Stolo.

² *Gr. Chron.* Prol. 928 foll.; Gibbon, vii. 321 (Smith's edit.); Finlay, iv. 90, 94.

Greek empire of Nicaea, and of Theodore Lascaris as being its first emperor, it says that Michael Palaeologus put to death his son;¹ in reality it was the son of Theodore Lascaris II., his immediate predecessor, whom Michael deposed and blinded in 1261, nearly forty years after the death of Theodore Lascaris I.

(3) It represents Champlitte and not Villehardouin as the original conqueror of the north-western province of the Morea. It describes how he came with a force from France and made himself master, first of Patras, and then of Andravida; after which he drove Leon Sgouros out of the town of Corinth, and forced him to take refuge in the citadel, and then was visited at that place by Boniface and Geoffrey Villehardouin.² We have already seen that the true story is, that Villehardouin originally subdued the western districts and then betook himself to Nauplia, where he met Champlitte, who had previously marched into the Peloponnese in company with the King of Salonica.

(4) The Chronicle contains an amusing story, related in much detail, of the manner in which Geoffrey I. became master of the Principality. According to this, when Champlitte returned to France and heard of the death of his relation Hugh, whom he had left as his bailly, he sent a young member of his family, Robert of Champlitte, to take his place. Villehardouin, however, pretended that there was an agreement between William of Champlitte and himself, according to which he was to succeed to the Principality, if his former chief's representative did not present himself within a year and a day; and then by various stratagems he endeavoured to prevent him, first, from arriving in the country, and afterwards from meeting the parliament that was to recognise him, within the specified time. In this he succeeded, and was subsequently acknowledged Prince of Achaia.³ This story may possibly have some foundation in truth, but it receives no confirmation from authentic history.

(5) A still more romantic episode relates to the marriage of Agnes of

¹ *Gr. Chron.* Prol. 1225 foll.

² *Gr. Chron.* 75 foll.

³ *Gr. Chron.* 828 foll. This story has been made the subject of a historical novel in modern Greek, 'Ο αθέτητος τοῦ Μωπέως by Alexander Rhizos Rhangabé, which has been translated into German by Dr. Ellissen, with the

title *Der Fürst von Morea*, and published as Part II. of the second volume of his *Analekten*. The interesting sketch which this romance gives of the chief personages and the life of the period, is not seriously interfered with by the unhistorical character of the event on which it turns.

Courtenay with Geoffrey II. This is said by the Chronicle to have taken place during that prince's reign, and the princess is described as being on her way to Spain, where she was to be married to the King of Aragon, when she put into the port of Katakolo, and was persuaded by Geoffrey to become his wife instead.¹ Agnes, however, in reality was on her way to Constantinople, and was married to Geoffrey II. during his father's lifetime. As Finlay shrewdly perceived, the legendary version of the story dates from a later period, when there was a rivalry between the French of Achaia and the Catalans. (6) But the most important of all the errors into which the chronicler has fallen, and which misled even Finlay, relates to the time at which Corinth, Nauplia, and Argos were conquered by the Franks. According to him this acquisition took place in the reign of William Villehardouin; but in reality these fortresses were taken and annexed to the Frank Principality by his father, Geoffrey I., shortly after Champlitte left the country.²

Before we proceed to notice the linguistic peculiarities of the *Greek Chronicle*, it may be well to mention the derivations which have been given of the name Morea, which first comes into general use at this period. The earliest, and at the same time the most fanciful, is that from the mulberry tree (*μωπέα*), the leaf of which the country resembles in form, just as Strabo in ancient times compared it to the leaf of the plane-tree.³ Next came the Slavonic derivation from *more*, 'the sea,' as if it was called the 'sea-land' or 'coast-land.' This dates from the period when Fallmerayer endeavoured to maintain the purely Slavonic origin of the modern Greeks; and according to him the name was applied to the shore-land of the western coast by the Slavonian colonists of that district.⁴ The objection to it is that it does not make its appearance in common use until the Slavonic element in the Peloponnese had been for the most part absorbed by the Greeks; in addition to which, Kopitar maintains that Morea cannot be formed from this root according to the principles of derivation of Slavonic words. Carl Hopf believed that Morea was a metathesis for Romea, or 'the land of the *Ῥωμαῖοι*,' and was first used by the Frankish occupants.

¹ *Gr. Chron.* 1144 foll.

² *Ibid.* 1486 foll.

³ Strabo, viii. 2, § 1, p. 335.

⁴ Fallmerayer, *Geschichte der Halbinsel Morea*, i. 243, 244.

His arguments in favour of this are: that the name does not occur before the Frank period; that in contemporary documents the words Morea and Romania are used interchangeably; and that an Italian writer of the fifteenth century calls the Roumanians (Wallachs) Morias, in which form the same metathesis appears.¹ Finally, M. Sathas has lately endeavoured to trace the name to an ancient source, viz. to the town that was called by Xenophon Margana, by Strabo Margalae, and by Stephanus Margaeae. This name he thinks is found at the present day in the fishery of Muria (Μουρρηά) near the town of Pyrgos, on the west coast of Elis; and he shows unquestionably that the name Morea existed in Elis before the thirteenth century, and was used in connection with places in the neighbourhood of Pyrgos, though the passages which he cites do not seem to prove, as he thinks they do, that it was the name of a town. According to him this town, which supplies the link to connect the ancient Μαργαῖαι with the modern Μουρρηά, at one period of the Middle Ages gave its name to the neighbouring district, and this was subsequently extended to the whole of the peninsula.²

The point on which this last view mainly turns is in itself open to question, viz. the assumption that the name Morea, as used by the Franks, was in the first instance restricted to the north-west corner of the country. It is clear from several passages, both in the French and Greek Chronicles, that during the Frank occupation Morea was used as equivalent to Elis, as well as in its ordinary acceptation as the name for the Peloponnese—*ὅλης τῆς Πελοπόννησος, τὸν λέγουσι Μωραῖαν*³—or at all events for that part of it which was included within the Principality. Thus we hear of persons going from the Morea to Akova in Arcadia, and to Kalamata in Messenia—‘parti de la Morée et vint à Mathe-Grifphon,’ and ‘si parti de la Morée et vint demorer en la chastellanie de Calamate.’⁴ From these passages Buchon concluded that the name was originally used in the narrower sense, for the part first conquered by the invaders, and was afterwards extended to the whole of their

¹ *Geschichte Griechenlands*, pp. 265—267.

² Sathas, *Documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de la Grèce au moyen âge*;

vol. i. Pref. pp. xxx—xxxviii.

³ *Gr. Chron.* 3067.

⁴ *Livre de la Conquête*, pp. 486, 386. *Cp. Gr. Chron.* 4376, 5394.

possessions.¹ Hopf, however, has shown by documentary evidence that as early as 1278 both Laconia and the town of Nauplia in Argolis were included in Morea; and he pertinently remarks that the chronicles were composed from the point of view of the fourteenth century, at which time the possessions which remained to the Franks were divided into the three provinces of Morea (Elis), Skorta (Arcadia), and Kalamata (Messenia). His conclusion then is, that Morea was from the first the name for the Frankish territory generally, and that it was restricted at a later period to that portion which contained the head-quarters.² This is quite possible, though the arguments here adduced do not necessarily overthrow the opposite view, and the fact that the name Morea previously existed in Elis is strongly in its favour. We can hardly consider the question of the origin of the name to be finally determined, but the derivation proposed by M. Sathas is certainly the most probable that has yet been advanced, and has much to recommend it.

Another point which is worthy of notice in this connection is the marked absence of ancient names and of references to classical times both in the French and Greek chronicles. Strange as it may appear, these gallant chieftains of the West seem to have been wholly unaware that the country which they conquered had ever been famous in history. To them the sacred soil of Greece was nothing more than park or glebe-land, and the remains of Hellenic fortresses and buildings they regarded in much the same way as we regard British camps and Druidical circles. In speaking of the citadel of the town of Arkadia (Cyparissia) in Messenia, the *Livre de la Conquête* describes it as the work of the Giants: 'le donjon avoit une bone tour dessus, de l'ovre des Jaïans,' which passage is rendered in the *Greek Chronicle* by εἶχαν καὶ πύργον δυνατόν ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων—one of the comparatively few places in which that name occurs.³ Nor were the great mass of their subjects qualified to enlighten them, for with the exception of a few learned men they had lost their ancient traditions. The names of the fortified towns on the coast remained, as Corinth, Nauplia, and Patras, but the great majority of the cities of the interior

¹ *Recherches Historiques*, i. Pref. p. xxviii.

² *Livre de la Conquête*, p. 44; *Gr. Chron.* l. 442.

³ *Griechische Geschichte*, p. 266.

had been destroyed or deserted; and though at the present day the ancient names are found attached to some of their sites, yet these also had mostly perished. The same thing is true in a still greater degree of the mountains and rivers. One classical river-name alone—that of the Alpheius—is preserved in the *Greek Chronicle*, though in the *Livre de la Conquête* it is always called Le Charbon.¹ This is the more interesting because of the subsequent history of the name. Alpheius has been changed into Rufia, and has been transferred from the river to which it rightfully belonged to its chief tributary, the Ladon, after its junction with which it is applied to the united stream. In the upper part of its course the Alpheius is now called the river of Karitena.

From a philological point of view the *Greek Chronicle* is well worthy of careful study, because it is a unique specimen of the Greek which was in use in the Morea during the fourteenth century. In it we find, but slightly modified for poetical purposes, the language which was spoken by the inhabitants of this province, when they were subject to the government of the French, and were constantly brought into contact in private life with persons of that nationality; and which, latterly at all events, was employed to some extent by those chieftains themselves and their followers. During the period subsequent to the fourth crusade the Greek popular literature elsewhere was much influenced by the contemporary French romances both in respect of the stories that were borrowed, and the mode in which they were treated; but the language itself remained comparatively unaffected by the West, while in this poem a more definite impression derived from that source is traceable. M. Buchon, no doubt, has greatly over-estimated the changes arising from that cause, and the glossary of French words adopted into Greek, which is appended to vol. ii. of his *Recherches historiques*, contains a large number of terms previously existing in mediæval Greek, and derived from the official Latin of Constantinople; but still the addition thus made to the language is worthy of notice. Besides this, the length of the composition and the variety of subjects of which it treats cause its vocabulary to be extensive and to contain many rare words. From it we may learn the etymology of some words in the later language,

¹ *Gr. Chron.* 3344; *Livre de la Conquête*, p. 176.

because we see them here in their original forms; and at the same time we are warned against assuming that words in modern Greek were introduced at a late date from Turkish or other sources, by finding them already in use at this time. In it also we are able to observe the stage of transition which the language had then reached; for while it teaches us how early certain corruptions and dialectic forms were introduced, and how thoroughly modern its character is, like that of all the compositions in the vulgar tongue from the twelfth century onward, it reminds us also that some familiar usages, which are now all but universal, had not then come into existence.

The introduction of numerous French proper names into a Greek narrative naturally gave rise to considerable difficulty. It is not easy at first sight to recognise *ancelin de Toucy* in *Ἀνσελῆς ντὲ Τοῦθ*, or *Galeran d'Ivry* in *Γαλεράς ντὲ Βρῆς*, or *Mont Escovée*—the name of the fort erected by the Franks on the hill behind the Acrocorinth at the time when they besieged that citadel, which has now been corrupted by the Greeks into *Pente Skouphia* or 'the five caps'—in *Μοὺν-ντὲ-Σκουῦβε*. We can sympathise with Buchon when he tells us that until he became acquainted with the *Livre de la Conquête*, which provided him with a key for the interpretation of these names, he failed to discover *Jean Chauderon* in *Τζᾶν ντὲ Ντζαδρουῦν*, especially as the surname is sometimes written *Τζιᾶν ντὲ Ποῦν*.¹ Nor is *Φρεμενούριοι* a very intelligible representation of 'Frères Mineurs,' i.e. the Franciscans. In these and similar instances there is real difficulty, arising partly from the peculiar pronunciation of the names in the country, and partly from awkwardness in spelling. But in the majority of cases it will be found that the strangeness is only apparent, being caused by the elaborate devices which have been resorted to in order to represent the sounds of a different language. Thus *Κοντέφρονὲ ντὲ Μπουλιουῦ*, strange though it looks, would have been phonetically, in the mouth of a Greek of the fourteenth century, a fairly close approximation to *Godefroi de Bouillon*. The reason of the strangeness is the absence from mediæval and modern Greek of letters corresponding to the sounds *b* and *d*; to the English *sh*, *ch*, and *j*; and the French *j*, soft *g*, and others; in consequence of this, certain artificial combinations of letters have

¹ *Livre de la Conquête*, p. 153, note.

been invented with a view to transliteration. This method is so far from being clumsy, that it is a singularly honest attempt to reproduce foreign names with accuracy, and is vastly superior to the rude adaptations with which most languages have been content. It is curious in some instances to notice the great variety of forms which the same name may take. Thus Baldwin, *Baudouin*, appears as *Βαλδουίς*, *Βαλδούβις*, *Βαλδουβίνος*, *Μπαλδουίς*, and *Μπαντουής*. Sometimes also different forms of a name are adopted, according as one or the other suits the metre; thus Geoffroi is indifferently either *Ντζεφρὲς* or *Ντζεφρόες*.

The military terms which the writer uses are a curious mixture of Eastern and Western words, and of these the Eastern are composed partly of words of Greek origin, but more commonly of Latin words naturalised in Byzantine Greek.¹ The general name for an army is *φουσάτον*, Lat. *fossatum*; a division of the army is *ἀλάγιον*, or more properly, *ἀλλάγιον*, a word which seems to be derived from 'changing guard,' and so is used for 'guard,' 'corps;' and among the various bodies of soldiers we hear of *κουρσατόροι*, 'skirmishers,' Lat. *cursatores*; *σκουταράτοι*, 'heavy-armed,' from Lat. *scutum*; *καβαλλάροι*, 'cavalry,' from Lat. *caballus*; and *ρογατόροι*, 'mercenaries' (which does not seem to be used before this period), from *ρόγα*, Lat. *roga*, that is *id quod erogatur*, and so 'donative,' and 'military pay.' The term for 'soldiers' quarters,' *κατοῦνα*, is also of quite late occurrence, and seems to be derived directly from the French *cantonnement*. 'Arms' are *ἄρματα*, or more accurately though less commonly, *ἄρματα*, Lat. *arma*; and among the weapons and instruments used occur *σπαθί*, 'sword,' Lat. *spatha*, Gr. *σπάθη*: *κοντάρι*, 'spear,' Gr. *κόντος*: *πελατίκι* or *ἀπελατίκι*, 'club,' 'mace,' which is probably a corruption of *ἰππηλατίκιον*, having been originally a stick to be used on horseback; *τζάγρα* or *τζάγγρα*, 'crossbow,' a word of unknown

¹ Ducange's *Glossarium mediae et infimae Graecitatis* is still the great source of information on mediaeval Greek words, and even where it does not give their etymologies, it provides the means of investigating them in the numerous passages which are quoted in their historical order. Additional in-

formation may be obtained from Sophocles's *Glossary of Later and Byzantine Greek*; from Buchon's indices; from Koray's *Ἀτακτα*; and from the glossaries appended to the collections of mediaeval and modern Greek poems, which have been published during the last twenty years.

origin, but probably from the West, for Anna Comnena speaks of the weapon as being strange to the Greeks; βούκινον, 'trumpet,' Lat. *buccina*; δοξάρι, 'bow,' from Gr. τόξον; σαγιτολάσι, 'flight of arrows,' which seems to be found only in this poem, from σαγίτα, Lat. *sagitta*, and ἐλαύνω; κουκουρόν, 'quiver,' Lat. *cucurum*, which seems to be derived from an early form of the German *Köcher*. In one passage where this last word occurs (*Gr. Chron.* 3817) the Paris text (p. 117) for κουκουρά reads καρκάσια, a word of late introduction for 'quiver,' another form of which is ταρκάσιον. Καρκάσιον seems to be connected with Fr. *carquois*, and similar words in other Romance languages; ταρκάσιον, and the late Latin *tarcasia* or *turcasia*, with Turkish *tirkesh*, 'quiver:' but what relation these bear to one another it is difficult to decide. The terms used in describing sieges are chiefly derived from Western sources. The fortified place itself is κάστρον, Lat. *castrum*, but its occupants form the γαρνιζούν, Fr. *garnison*; a siege is σέντζιον, Fr. *siège*, from which is derived a verb ἀσεντζεύω, Fr. *assiéger*, and among the engines and implements of attack are mentioned the catapult, τριμπουτζέτα, Fr. *trebuchet*; the 'sow,' σκρόφα, Lat. *scrofa*, a kind of *testudo* or mantlet for protecting those who undermined the walls, which is described by William of Tyre as being wattling, within which 'libere delitescerent, qui ad suffodiendum aggerem introduce-rentur;' ¹ and scaling-ladders, σκάλα, Lat. *scala*. The provisions for a siege are given as bread, wine, water, and biscuit; ψωμίν, κρασίν, νερόν, παξιμάδι: the last of these words, which is regularly used in modern Greek, and is the Turkish *peksemet*, seems to be of Persian origin, and is found in the form παξαμάς even as early as in the *Tactica* of the emperor Leo (A.D. 886). Several of the terms that have now been mentioned will be found in the following passage which describes the siege of Corinth:—

τὰ τριμπουτζέτα ἐσύρνασιν γύρωθεν εἰς τοὺς τοίχους·
καὶ ἡ τζάγκραις οὐκ ἀφίνασιν ἀνθρωπον νὰ προκύψῃ
ἔξω ἐκ τὰ δόντια τοῦ τειχείου νὰ ἴδουν τὸ ποῖος τοξεύει·
ταῖς σκάλαις, ὅπου εἴχασιν, ἔστησαν εἰς τοὺς τοίχους,
καὶ εὐθέως ἀπέσω ἐσέβησαν, ἐπιάσασιν τὴν χώραν.²

¹ Book xviii. chap. 19.

² *Gr. Chron.* 149—153.

To these words we may add the names for 'horse,' 'ship,' and 'boat.' Those for 'horse' are ἄλογον: φάρας, φαρίον, a word of Arabic origin; παρίππια, 'government hacks,' inferior horses, such as were provided for mercenaries; thus we read (3403):—

τὰ ἄλογα ὅπου ἔχουσι ὅλα παρίππια εἶναι,
ἐνὸς φαρίου μας ἢ φορὰ νὰ ῥίξῃ δεκαπέντε.

And again (5251):—

τὰ λέγουσι παρίππια, νὰ δώσουν τῶν ῥογατόρων.

μουλάριον is also used for a 'mule.' For 'ship' we find κάτεργον, 'galley,' which seems to be first used by Anna Comnena; καράβιον, the previous form of which, κάραβος, 'a small vessel,' is found early; κόκα (Prol. 537), about which I can discover nothing,¹ and the collective πλευτικά, 'fleet.' 'Boat' is expressed by βάρκα, Lat. *barca*; ταρίς, ταρίτα, 'long boat,' which first appears in Nicetas (A.D. 1200); and σανταλίον, which looks as if it were derived from Arab. and Turk. *sandal*, but it is more probable that both of them came from σάνδαλος, 'boat,' which occurs in Theophanes (A.D. 817).

The following words are connected with chivalry and the feudal system. General terms: λίκιος, Fr. *lige*; φῆε, Fr. *fief*; μπάιλος, 'bailly,' Fr. *baile*; παρλαμᾶ, Fr. *parlement*; δμάτζιον, Fr. *homage*; ρεβεσιτζω, 'to invest,' Fr. *revêtir*; χειρόρτιν (5432, 6391), 'glove,' used in investiture. Titles: μπατοῦς, Fr. *baron*; κόντος, Fr. *comte*; μαρκέσης, perhaps Ital. *marchese*, for it is found in Constantine Porphyrogenitus; κοντόσταυλος, Fr. *connétable*, but the Greek word previously existed as the title of an officer of the Byzantine court; it survives as the name of a Greek family, and also of a village near the site of the ancient Cleonae; φλαμπουριάρος, 'banneret,' from φλάμπουρον, 'banner,' Lat. *flammaula*; σεργέντος, Fr. *sergent*. Names relating to military orders: Τέμπλον, the Templars 'Οσπητάλι,

¹ While this is passing through the press, I have received from M. Sathas the following quotation from Fabio Mutinelli's *Lessico Veneto*, 1851, p. 107. "Cocca, legno di guerra (però anche da traffico), aito, rotondo, e perciò molto concavo, laonde caucos significando in

greco, concavo, corrottamente gli venne il nome di cocca. Navigano questi legni per mezzo di vele soltanto, aveano una ciurma dai settecento ai mille uomini, volendosi che le cocche siano state i primi navigli sopra i quali si sian poste artiglierie."

the Knights of St. John; Ἀλεμάνοι, the Teutonic Order; κομμεντούρης, 'commander of an order,' Fr. *commandeur*.

Some additional words of French origin may also be mentioned besides those which have already occurred. A certain number of these retain their original form, while the majority are modified so as to suit the Greek language. To the former class belong κομεσιούν, *commission*; κομόν, *commune*, while Κουμούν is the 'Republic of Venice'; παρτούν, *pardon*, the name for the jubilee of A.D. 1300, which is mentioned in connection with the marriage of Isabella Villehardouin with Philip of Savoy (7247); ἀβοῦερ, *avoué*, 'attorney' (6064). Of those adapted to Greek forms we may notice: nouns, τζάμπρα, *chambre*; κονγκέστα, *conquête*; ντουάριν, *douaire*; βουργίσιον, *bourgeois*; ἀβουκάτος, *avocat*; κουρβερτούρι, *couverture*; καπερούνι, *charpiron*, 'hood'; πασάτζιο, *passage*; this is used, like the contemporary Latin *passagium*, for 'pilgrimage' and 'crusade,' but the Greek word probably comes from the French, as it is first found in this poem; προβελέγκια, *privileges*; ρητζίστρο, *registre*; the form and accent show that it is from the French, though ρέγιστρον, Lat. *regesta*, is found in Constant. Porphy.; διαφέστορας, *défenseur*, though διαφένσωρ, Lat. *defensor*, is found earlier in Greek; ἀκουμέρκοτος, from *commerce*, 'exempt from customs duties'; verbs: ἀμαντεύω, *amender*; ροβολεύω, *révolter*; πρεσαντίζω, *présenter*, 'introduce'; παραοφρίζω, *offrir*. We also meet with expressions in the Greek which have been translated directly from the French; thus ζητεῖν ἀπολογίαν is regularly used for *prendre congé* in bidding adieu to a person, and ἀπολογίαν τὸν δίδει (3813) means 'gives him his discharge,' *congé*; and when it is said by Michael Palaeologus, after he had put William Villehardouin in prison, that he wanted to get money for him, but not to eat him, this is expressed in the *Livre de la Conquête* by 'il ne le mengera mie au sel' (p. 152), in the *Greek Chronicle* by οὐδὲν χρήζει τὸν πρίγκιπα μὲ τὸ ἄλλας νὰ τὸν φάγῃ (3155).

The Latin words which are found in mediaeval Greek are mostly official terms, that is, expressions derived from the court, the camp, and the law-courts.¹ Several of these have been noticed in speaking of the military terms, and a few others

¹ For the history of the introduction of these words into familiar use, see

Mr. Freeman's remarks in vol. iii. of this *Journal*, pp. 372 foll.

among those which occur in this poem may now be mentioned. Such are — *μαντάτον*, *mandatum*, 'message'; *βούλλα*, *bullā*, 'seal'; *ὀφφίκιον*, *officium*, 'office'; *βέργα*, *virga*, 'wand of office'; *τέρμενον*, *terminus*, 'limit,' 'fixed period,' which is regularly used in the phrase *τὸ τέρμενον τοῦ χρόνου*: *φαιμέλια*, *família*; *φάλκων*, *falco*; *καπίστριον*, *capistrum*; *ὀψίδα*, *obscs*; *γιστέρνα*, *cisterna*; *ταβέρνα*, *taberna*, 'shop, tavern'; *ἀπλκεύω*, *applicō*; this word is found in Theophanes as a military term, *applicare castra*, 'to encamp,' and afterwards is used for 'take lodgings, put up at a place'; e.g. (873) *καὶ ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἀπλκευσεν εἰς τὸ ξενοδοχεῖον*; from this again is formed a substantive *ἀπλήκη*, 'lodging'; *μουρτεύω*, 'rebel against'; this word, and the substantive *μοῦρτος*, are taken by Ducange to mean 'murder,' and to be derived from the late Latin *maurdrum*; but it is more probable that they are other forms of *μοῦλτος*, Latin *tumultus*, 'riot, rebellion,' which is found in Theophanes, and *μουλτεύω*, 'to rebel,' which occurs in his *Continuator*; and the passages cited by Ducange will equally well bear this meaning; *πελεργῖνος*, *peregrinus*, 'pilgrim, Crusader'; the earlier form *περεργῖνος* occurs in the sense of *ξένος* in the sixth century, and is used by Anna Comnena with the meaning of 'pilgrim.'

It may be worth while also to mention some of the less common mediaeval Greek words which are found in the Chronicle. *Κιβούριν*, 'a grave' (1416) is first used with this meaning about this period; it appears to be the same as *κιβώριον*, the '*baldacchino* of an altar,' which is found in this sense as early as Theophanes, and sometimes is written *κιβούριον*: this is the original of the corresponding word in mediaeval Latin, *ciborium*. Possibly the later meaning may be derived from the idea of a sepulchre being a covering, 'vaulted over.' It is noticeable that one of the editors of Ducange's *Latin Glossary*, without reference to the Greek word, remarks—'In pluribus Arvernæ locis *Cibory* lingua patria locus est concameratus, in quo reponuntur ossa defunctorum.' *ξυλοκονταρίζω*, 'to tilt or joust' at a tournament (1081), is otherwise unknown, but *ξυλοκόντιον* is used by Nicetas in the sense of a stick for use as a whip on horseback; *χαμοτζούκη* (1080) is another *ἄπαξ λεγόμενον*, and we might suppose it to be foreign, were it not expressly stated to be a Greek name, *καὶ χαμοτζούκην ἐποίηκεν, τὸ λέγουν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι*: the sense required is 'festival' or

'tournament'; *πιττάκι*, 'message, letter,' according to Leake (*Peloponnesiaca*, p. 158) is for *ἐπιταγή*, but *πιττάκιον* is used even by Polybius in the sense of 'writing-tablet'; *σωταρχία* or *σωτάρχιον*, 'provisions' (7457, 7459, and elsewhere), in all probability is rightly explained by Sophocles as a corruption of *σιταρχία*; *τὸ ἐπὶ κλην*, 'surname' (586, and *passim*) is a peculiar form of *ἐπὶ κλησις*: *δρόγγος* is thought by Leake (*ubi supra*) to be a Peloponnesian form of *λόγγος*, 'a wood, wilderness, or mountainous pass,' and Buchon translates it by *defile*; it is used of the mountain region of Scorta, *εἰς τῶν Σκορτῶν τὸν δρόγγον* (591), and also of the fastnesses of the Melings (1666); *καλαφατίζω*, 'to caulk' (868) is best known through the name of the emperor Michael the Caulker (*ὁ Καλαφάτης*) in the eleventh century, and is not derived from the French *calfater* and similar words in the Romance languages, but from the Arabic *kalafa*, 'to caulk,' from which they also are derived; *σεντούκιον*, 'box, chest' (6449), comes from *σάνδυνξ*, 'chest,' which is found in Hesychius; but it is doubtful whether it is derived from it directly, or through the Persian form *sanduk*, which is also the word for 'box' in Turkish; *ἀναπετάριν* (4714) is used of some object, with which the Countess of Anjou wiped the tears from her eyes; *τὰ ὀμμάτιά της ἐσφόγγιζεν μετὰ τὸ ἀναπετάριν*: Buchon gives its meaning as 'mouchoir, ou plûtôt volant de robe, aile'; as it must be derived from *ἀναπετάννυμι*, 'to spread out, unfold,' perhaps 'veil' gives a still better signification; *ἀφηρόν* or *ἀφιρόν* (7454), used of the castle of Yanina, is taken by Buchon as equivalent to *ἀφίερον*, in the sense of 'devoted, resolute, strong'; *τὸ κρότος* in one or two passages (4072, 4077) signifies 'flight, rout,' but it is otherwise unknown.

The feature that impresses the reader most forcibly in the language in which this poem was composed, is its modern character. It is to all intents and purposes modern Greek, and it is surprising to find how many words and expressions which are familiar at the present day had then already obtained currency. Thus 'the moon' is not *σελήνη* but *φεγγάρι*, 'to wound' is *λαβόνω*, 'to kill' is *σκοτόνω*, 'the early morning' is *ταχύτζι*, 'the body' is *κορμί*, 'girls' are *κοπέλια*, 'to look out for' is *κυττάζω*: *ψοφείν*, though rare, is used for 'to die,' of animals; *σημὰ* for 'together with,' *ιδίκες* (*εἰδικός*) for 'own,'

φορά for 'a time,' as *τρεις φοραις*, 'three times.' Similar instances might be multiplied to any extent, and the same thing is true of forms of expression, as *αν εχης ορεξειν να* for 'if you desire to.' In some cases we can see the modern usage growing up. Thus *δια λόγου μου, του κ.τ.λ.*, here signifies 'for myself, himself,' &c.; *οσον δια λόγου μου* is 'for my part'; in l. 63, *ο καθεις δια λόγου του* apparently means 'each on his own account,' and in l. 1837, *κάστρον έποίησεν ο λόγου του*, the phrase is a title of respect (see also l. 48). Now in modern Greek *του λόγου σας* is the polite form of address for 'you, your honour.' Sometimes, too, the derivation of an obscure modern word is revealed. Thus the popular *στερνότερος*, 'last,' appears here as *υστερνότερος*, and is thus shown to be a comparative from *υστερος*: and *ογλήγορα*, 'quickly,' is here *εγρήγορα*, which is the neuter plural of an adjective *εγρήγορος*, 'quick,' connected with the classical *εγρήγορα*, and with *γρηγορεїн*.

But the modern character of the mediaeval popular language, which has thus been traced in the vocabulary, is even more observable in the forms of words, some of the peculiarities of which, as they occur in this poem, are now subjoined. Abbreviations: as *γιαλδ* for *αίγιαλός*, *ας* for *αφες*, *θες* for *θέλεις*: prefixes: as *ετούτο* for *τούτο*, *ετότε* for *τότε*, *ετέτοιος* for *τέτοιος* (= *τοιούτος*), and especially before two initial consonants, as *εγνώριμοι*, *επταισμάτων*: affixes: as *τίποτες* for *τίποτε*, *τόνε* for *τόν*, *πάνε* for *πάν* (= *υπάγουσι*); metathesis: as *εβγαίνω* for *εκβαίνω*, *εβγάλλω* for *εκβάλλω*: shifting of accent: as *αυτος* occasionally for *αυτός*: especially on to the last syllable: as *κεινός* for *εκείνος*, *αυθεντειά*, *στρατειά*, *Ρωμαίων*, *Μωρεός*, *βασιλεώς*: various letter-changes, e.g. the substitution of *o* for other vowels, as *ομορφος* for *ευμορφος*, *ολπίζω* for *ελπίζω*, *ομπρός* for *εμπρός*, *γιοφύριν* for *γέφυρα*, where the form is approaching the dialectic *διοφύρι*; of *ψ* for *υσ*, as *εκαψαν* for *εκαυσαν*, *επλεψαν* for *επλευσαν*, *σάρεψιν* for *σώρευσιν*; of *μμ* for *υμ*, as *ψέμματα* for *ψεύματα*; of *ρ* for *λ*, as *κόρφος* for *κόλπος*; of *δ* for *τ*, as *δοξάταις* for *τοξόται*, *δοξείω*, *δοξόβολον*, 'bowshot'; and other instructive changes, such as *αριθμισμός* from *αριθμός*, and *εκατζε* for *εκάθισε*.

On the nouns we may further observe, that the nominative and accusative plural of stems in *a* often end in *αις*, as *προβολαις*, *μητροπολίταις*: the genitives plural of the same are

sometimes paroxytone, as ἐκκλησίων: some genitives are irregular in form, as τῆς νύκτας, τῆς Πελοποννήσου: the dative is very rare, except with proper names and in phrases, such as ἐν τούτῳ: and sometimes the accusative is used for it, as τὸν ἐλάλησεν, sometimes the genitive, as ἄλογα νὰ τοῦ φέρῃ, εἰπέ του τὰ μαντάτα: the accusative is sometimes found for the genitive, as τὰ δικά τους, 'their own'; the enclitic του, της, του (abbreviated from αὐτοῦ κ.τ.λ.) occurs *passim* for 'his,' &c.; ὁ ὁποῖος and ὁποῦ are the regular relatives, but there is also a peculiar use of the article in this sense, resembling the Homeric usage. On the verbs we may remark that in the formation of the present *ν* is commonly inserted in 'contract' verbs, as σηκώνω, φορτώνω, and in some others, as στέλλω for στέλλω: *γ* also is sometimes introduced between vowels, as πεζεύγω: the aorist passive has the perfect termination in κα, as ἐδόθηκε for ἐδόθη: in the third plural certain forms are found interchangeably, as ὑπάγωσι, ὑπάγουν, ὑπᾶσι: ἐβάλασι, ἔβαλαν: the infinitive is rare, though it is occasionally found, as φυλάττειν, κερδίσειν: the compound analytical infinitive occurs, as νὰ ἔχῃς καταλάβει, ἡθέλασι φονεύσει, and still more analytic expressions are seen in τοῦ νὰ δεχθοῦν, 'that they should receive,' τὸ πῶς ἡθελαν πράξει, 'as to how they should act'; the participle active is used indeclinably, as λέγοντα ἐτούτην τὴν βουλὴν ἔσωσεν καὶ ὁ δεσπότης, and καὶ ἦτον ἀποθάνοντα ἡ πρώτη τοῦ γυναιῖκα. As to the other parts of speech—the forms ἀπαί, ὑπαί, for ἀπό, ὑπό are noticeable; many analytical forms of prepositions are found, as ἀπέσω εἰς, ἀπάνω εἰς for ἐντός, ὑπέρ: both μέ and μετὰ are used with the accusative in the sense of 'with,' μετὰ also with the genitive; παροῦ (παρ' οὗ) stands for 'than,' where παρὰ would now be employed, and ἐνομοῦ for 'together'; the negatives are μή, μήν, and οὐ, οὐδέν, which last has the same signification as οὐ but the abbreviated δέν is not found; there are numerous uses of indefinite particles with a negative following, as πούποτε οὐκ εὑρίσκεται, 'nowhere,' τίποτε οὐκ, 'nothing'; πολλάκις μὴ signifies 'to see whether,' reminding us of the Attic use of μὴ πολλάκις: ὥς ἂν is used for 'like,' but not the abbreviated σάν: γάρ constantly occurs with a meaning corresponding to our 'aye,' as a continuative or epexegetic particle.

III.—*Topographical Notices.*

The following descriptions of the position and present state of some of the most interesting places connected with the history of the Frank Principality are the result of a journey through the Peloponnese, made with the object of investigating the remains of that period. The ordinary routes through the peninsula, which are followed by tourists naturally anxious to visit the classical antiquities, lead to but few of those sites, and therefore it is almost necessary to undertake a special journey in order to explore them. No doubt the mediaeval fortifications of Patras, Corinth, Argos, and Nauplia, which are frequently visited, are among the finest in the country; but these, as we have seen, are but little associated with the history of the Principality, Patras and Corinth having followed for the most part an independent policy of their own, while Argos and Nauplia were attached as a fief to the dukedom of Athens, and remained in the hands of the family of Brienne even after their expulsion by the Catalans from their possessions in northern Greece. The same thing is true of the maritime fortresses of Modon and Coron in the south-west corner of the Peloponnese, for they were almost from the first in the hands of Venice. Hence the parts of the country which deserve especial attention in connection with this period are the north-western, the central, and the southern districts—or, to adopt the ancient names, Elis, Arcadia, and Laconia, together with the eastern portion of Messenia. The course of my own tour was from Corinth by way of Argos, Nikli (Tegea), and Mistra, to Monemvasia on the extreme south-east coast; thence by Passava in Maina and Kalamata through the pass of Makriplagi to Karitena and Akova in north-western Arcadia; and finally through Elis, visiting Khlemoutzi, Klarentza, and Andravida, to Patras. In what I have now to say, however, I prefer to invert this order, and to commence with the western portion, which formed the headquarters of the Principality. Some of the places to be noticed have been visited by Leake, others by Ernst Curtius; Buchon, also, who was indefatigable in every branch of his subject, made a journey in 1840 and 1841 in quest of these Frankish antiquities, an account of which is given in his

interesting volume, entitled *La Grèce continentale et la Morée*. But the majority of the sites are so little known, and the subject has attracted so little attention, that a succinct account of them, which is the result of personal inspection, may not be without value.

As might be expected, the remains are for the most part the ruins of castles, which were the residences of the barons, and were built, as far as the nature of the ground allowed, on the same principles as the feudal fortresses of the West. The steep heights on which the ancient Greeks were wont to construct an acropolis, were equally serviceable for the strongholds of the Middle Ages, and some of the latter are found to rest on foundations of Hellenic walls. To judge from the places that remain, two considerations seem to have influenced the barons in the choice of a site; first, that they might secure their communications with their countrymen; secondly, that there might be sufficient productive land in the neighbourhood to provide them with an adequate revenue. In consequence of this, the principal fortresses were not constructed in very remote places. In the wild district of Skorta, for instance, though we hear of one or two small castles as existing in the heart of the mountains,¹ yet the great baronial residences of Akova and Karitena, by which the Slavonic tribes of that region were to be kept in check, were placed on the edge of the lower country. In some instances, however, the Franks did not occupy new positions, but settled in those which had been already fortified by their Byzantine predecessors; and one of these, the castle of Nikli, was situated on level ground. That of Klarentza, also, with which our description will commence, though a new foundation of the Franks, was distinguished rather by the convenience than the strength of its site.

¹ The sites of the forts of Araklovon and Great Arakhova, which are mentioned in the Chronicle, have not been determined. Buchon visited a place called Arakhova, not far from Dimitzana, but found no castle there (*La Grèce*, p. 492). In Isambert's Guide-book (*L'Orient: Grèce et Turquie d'Europe*, p. 330), which is quite the

best handbook for travellers in Greece, though it strangely ignores the period of French occupation, mention is made of a Frank castle at Dimitzana. The rocks which surmount that town may easily be mistaken for walls, and in one or two places there are fragments of Cyclopean walls among them; but there certainly is no castle.

KLARENTZA, KHELMOUTZI, AND ANDRAVIDA.

On the coast of Elis, where its level plains reach the sea, there stand two solitary promontories which, to judge from their appearance, were once islands, and have been joined to the mainland in some prehistoric period by the advance of the shoreline. Both are composed of low, flattened ridges, the direction of which is from north to south. The smaller and southernmost of these, which lies not far from the mouth of the Alpheius, was in ancient times called Ichthys, and in the Middle Ages bore the name of Katakolo, which is still attached to it, while the castle which defended the little port on the inner side of it was named by the Greeks Pontiko-castro or 'Rats-castle,' and by the French Beauvoir. Far more conspicuous than this is the other promontory, the classical name of which was Chelonatas, derived apparently from its resemblance to the back of a tortoise; this abuts upon the sea like a massive breakwater, and forms the extreme point of the Peloponnese on that side. In the *Greek Chronicle* it is called Khlemoutzi or Khloumoutzi, in the *Livre de la Conquête* Clairmont, and Buchon believes that the former name is a corruption of the latter;¹ this however is improbable, because in the Greek narrative it bears the name of Khlemoutzi from the first, and Col. Leake would derive it from the word *χλεμός, χλομός, χελμός*, which is often attached to hills of regular form in the Morea, and is familiar to the traveller as the modern appellation of Mount Aroanius (Khelmos), the highest point in the chain between Cyllene and Erymanthus in Arcadia, which is one of the most striking summits in Greece.² At the northern extremity of this promontory lies an extensive area of level ground, surrounded on three sides by the sea, the greater part of which is occupied by the castle which the French built there shortly after their arrival, and called by the name of Clarence (Gr. *Κλαρέντζα*). It is a rectangular inclosure, extending about a thousand feet from east to west, and perhaps two-thirds of that length in the opposite direction; of the outer wall little now remains except the foundations, but in the middle of the southern side two

¹ Buchon, *Recherches Historiques*,
i. Pref. p. xlii.

² Leake, *Travels in the Morca*, ii.
171.

piers of a gateway are to be seen: here also the wall has been defended by a moat, for in this part the ground without is higher than that within. At the western end of this inclosure, where the cliffs overhang the sea at a height of fifty feet, is a sort of keep or stronghold, a hundred feet square; and just within the opposite wall is a building of no great size, with the remains of a Byzantine church of later date.

The modern village of Klarentza is situated on a small bight to the east of this headland, which is fairly sheltered from all winds except the north. This little port was formerly regarded as the site of Cyllene, the arsenal of the Eleians, but now that place is thought to have been situated farther north along the coast in the direction of the promontory of Araxes.¹ At the time of the Frankish invasion it bore the name of Hagios Zacharias—

—τὸν ἁγιον Ζαχαρίαν,
ἐκεῖ ὁποῦ εἶναι σήμερον ἡ χώρα τῆς Κλαρέντζας—²

and thenceforward it became the chief point of communication between the settlers in the Principality and their compatriots in western Europe. It is strange to think that this place, which now is principally serviceable for the export of currants, should in those days have been crowded with vessels, whether engaged in the commerce of the country, which extended to Naples, Brindisi, Alexandria, and Cyprus,³ or filled with the young nobility of France, who came hither to seek their fortunes. The size of the inclosure which has just been described is a sufficient proof that it was designed to be, not merely a place of defence, but a resort for visitors, traders, and adventurers. There, too, was a great establishment of the Franciscans (Φρεμενούριοι), with a church dedicated to St. Francis,⁴ but the Gothic remains which Buchon speaks of no longer exist. We learn from Phranzes⁵ that the walls of Klarentza were pulled down by the despot Constantine, and this would account for the ruinous condition in which we now find them. Whether the name of Clarence, which has from time to time been borne by royal

¹ Curtius, *Peloponnesos*, ii. p. 102.

514, 515.

² *Gr. Chron.* 889, 890.

⁴ *Gr. Chron.* 6178, 7279.

³ Hertzberg, *Geschichte Griechenlands*, ii. p. 118; Buchon, *La Grèce*,

⁵ Phranzes, p. 156, edit. Bonn.

dukes in England, is derived from this place has been much disputed. On the one hand it has been maintained, that by the marriage of Isabella Villehardouin with Florenz of Hainault, the title of 'duke of Clarence' passed to their heirs, and thus was introduced into England by Philippa of Hainault, queen of our Edward III., and conferred on their son Lionel.¹ On the other hand it is argued that this title did not come from abroad, but was derived from the district of Clare in Suffolk, and was given by Edward III. to Lionel, when the latter succeeded to the estates of Gilbert, earl of Clare and Gloucester;² and this view has generally been adopted by modern historians. The two opinions, however, are not irreconcilable, for it is possible that the foreign title, derived through Hainault from the Morea, may have been combined with and adapted to the earldom of Clare on the occasion of Lionel succeeding to it; and Dr. Ellissen, no mean authority, has pronounced unhesitatingly in favour of this explanation, though unfortunately he has not given his reasons or authorities.³ It is in favour of this view (1) that Clare is not the same as Clarence, and some account is required of the change in the name; and (2) that the title of 'duke of Clarence,' independently of that of 'prince of Achaia,' was unquestionably in use before this period in the Morea. At the same time it may be doubted whether the transmission of the title has been sufficiently made out.

Four miles due south from Klarentza, on the highest and central point of the ridge, which is between six and seven hundred feet above the sea, is the castle of Khlemoutzi—the same which was built by Geoffrey II. out of the confiscated revenues of the ecclesiastics. It forms a conspicuous object for many miles round both by land and sea, and no one who sees it can doubt that the money expended upon it was well laid out, for it is the finest and most massively built of all the fortresses which the French erected. Geoffrey himself remarked after it was finished, that however often they might be expelled from the Morea, they would be able to regain it by means of Khlemoutzi—

πολλάκις ἂν ἐχάσαμεν τὸν τόπον τοῦ Μωραΐως,
ἀπὸ τὸ κάστρον Χλουμουτζιοῦ τὸν θέλομεν κερδίσει.⁴

¹ Buehon, *La Grèce*, p. 514.

³ Ellissen, *Analekten*, ii. 299.

² Leake, *Peloponnesiaca*, p. 212.

⁴ *Gr. Chron.* 1385, 1386.

The entrance is near the north-east angle, where there is a regular feudal gateway with a portcullis; this leads into a very extensive inclosure, the walls of which are surmounted by battlements, with loopholes pierced in them and a passage round inside for the defenders to fight from, though there are few towers. In various parts of this area are ruined buildings, which must have served for dwelling-houses. On the south side, and occupying the highest ground, is the inner castle, which is entered by another massive gateway, and forms an irregular hexagon, 210 feet in length by 80 feet in its widest part. All round this, vast chambers, built in two storeys, remain, with windows in most instances facing the interior court, though some also look outward. The upper chambers had lofty barrel vaults composed of massive blocks of stone, and chimneys and fireplaces backed with bricks, where the signs of burning still remain; perhaps the finest hall is that on the southern side, and this we may well believe was often the scene of grand entertainments and gay festivities. A chamber on the opposite side of the court would seem to have been a chapel from an apse at its eastern end, but if this is the church that Leake saw at the beginning of this century, the paintings which he speaks of have disappeared. There are extensive cisterns, which must have been of great importance, for notwithstanding the limestone of which these hills are composed, there is no spring in the neighbourhood. At one point a staircase leads to an upper level, which was surmounted apparently by other buildings; but these have been destroyed, probably at the time when the place was captured by Ibrahim Pasha. The material used throughout was masses of stone embedded in mortar, and mixed with brick in places.

The name of Castel Tornese by which this place is known among Italians and sailors recalls the fact, that it was here that the *tournois* were coined, for which William Villehardouin obtained a special privilege from St. Louis. These pieces usually bore upon them the title 'Clarentia,' derived from the name of the neighbouring town. Here also the despot Constantine, the future emperor of Constantinople, resided with his bride Theodora, whom he had married in the camp, after Klarentza had been ceded to him as her dowry. It must have been a delightful abode, especially in contrast with the

heat of Andravida, for it is cool in summer owing to the sea breezes, and the numerous flowering aloes in the village close by, which still bears the name of Khlemoutzi, are a proof of the mildness of the climate in winter. The view it commands is extensive in every direction, and enabled its occupants to watch the approach of friends and foes both by land and sea. On the one side are spread most of the Ionian islands—Zante directly opposite, with its town full in view, the lofty Mount Elato in Cephalonia, Ithaca and the distant Santa Maura, and the islets off the mouth of the Achelous with the heights of Acarnania behind. To the east extends the wide plain in which Andravida lies, and beyond it a conspicuous broken ridge called Santaméri (the ancient Scollis), which received its name from the fortress built there in 1311 by Nicolas de Saint-Omer; while the fine summits of Erymanthus rise behind and dominate the whole view.

Andravida, once the capital of the Principality, though now an inconsiderable village, is situated about six miles off in the midst of vineyards in the dusty, clayey plain. The high temperature of this district is shown by the palms which grow here, though they are of rare occurrence even in the south of the Peloponnese. A trace of the Frank head-quarters having existed in this neighbourhood is to be found in the greater prevalence of names derived from French and Italian—Gastuni, at the present day the chief place of the district, which is called in the *Livre de la Conquête* 'le fié de la petite Gastoigne,' and probably derived its name from a French chieftain Gaston; Rhoviata, to the southward of that place, and Rhiolo, further to the north. The position of Andravida, unwall'd and undefended as it was at the time of the Frank invasion, is well described in the Chronicle—

καὶ εἶπαν καὶ συμβούλευσάν τοὺς τὸ πῶς ἐν' ἡ 'Ανδραβίδα
ἡ χώρα ἡ λαμπρότερη εἰς τὸν κάμπον τοῦ Μωραῖως·
ὡς χώρα γὰρ ἀπολυτὴ κείτεται εἰς τὸν κάμπον·
οὔτε πύργους, οὔτε τειχεᾶ ἔχει κανόλως εἰς αὐτήν.¹

One building remains there, which dates from the French occupation; it is the east end of the church of St. Sophia,

¹ *Gr. Chron.* 94—97.

which was the meeting-place of the great parliament of 1275 ; as the Chronicle again says—

ἔκατξαν ὅλοι ἐνομοῦ εἰς τὴν ἀγίαν Σοφίαν,
ὁποῦ ἤμενευ ὁ πρίγκιπας, ἐκεῖ εἰς τὴν Ἀνδραβίδαν.¹

It was a Gothic structure, in the Early Pointed style, massively built of stone, and two bays of the chancel still exist, with pointed arches and a groined roof. At the east end is a pointed window, and there are two round-headed windows at the sides. The aisles which flank this are one bay shorter, and have round-headed windows. The side walls are thick, and the windows in them deeply splayed. On the outside several buttresses remain. Of the rest of the church there is not a trace, though the area which it covered forms an open space in the middle of the village; and this is the more remarkable, because the part which has been preserved is almost perfect.

When Buchon visited Andravida in 1841, he discovered traces of two other churches belonging to this period, viz. those of St. Stephen and St. James. The latter of these has an especial interest, because it was built by William Villehardouin as a mausoleum for his family, and given by him to the Templars. The Chronicle tells us how Geoffrey II. on his deathbed enjoined his brother to carry out the design which he had himself entertained of erecting a church to contain their father's remains; ² and later on, after this had been accomplished, how William also gave orders that he should be buried by their side—

ὤρισεν καὶ ἐπαρήγγειλεν, μεθότου ἀποθάιη,
μὴ προῦ περάσῃ ὁ καιρός, ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ὁ χρόνος,
τὰ ὁστέα του μοναχὰ νὰ βάλουσιν εἰς σεντούκι,
'ς τὸν ἅγιον Ἰάκωβον Μωραῖως, ἐκεῖ εἰς τὴν Ἀνδραβίδαν,
'ς τὴν ἐκκλησιὰν ὁποῦ ἔπηκε, καὶ ἔδωκε 'ς τὸ Τέμπλον,
εἰς τὸ κηβούριον τὸ ἔπηκεν, ὁποῦ ἦτον ὁ πατήρ του·
εἰς τὴν δεξιάν του τὴν μερέαν νὰ ἔνι ὁ ἀδελφός του,
καὶ ἐκεῖνος νὰ ἔνι ἀριστερά, καὶ ὁ πατήρ του μέσα.³

Only fragments of walls remained in Buchon's time, and after a lapse of forty years we doubted before reaching the spot whether

¹ *Ibid.* 6079, 6080.

² *Ibid.* 6447—6454.

³ *Gr. Chron.* 1408 foll.

any traces of these buildings would still exist; but still I was anxious to discover whether the site could be verified, because, though the sepulchres may have been rifled in the course of ages, yet on the other hand it is quite possible that they are still in their original condition, especially as after the expulsion of the Franks their existence would be soon forgotten. As soon therefore as we arrived at Andravida, I inquired of the inhabitants whether they knew of any remains of ancient churches, and an old man at once replied that he was acquainted with three—mentioning by name those that Buchon saw—and could show us their sites, the memory of which had been handed down by tradition on the spot. As it was clear from this that his information was genuine, we followed him between a quarter and half a mile along a road leading northward, until we reached a point, where in a vineyard on the left hand close to the roadside were a few squared stones, which belonged to St. Stephen's church; and in the next field beyond were some slight foundations of that of St. James. The buildings had been destroyed, he said, many years before; indeed it could hardly be otherwise in such a land of clay and dust, where a hewn stone would be an object of some value. I give these details in order that the trace of this interesting site may not be lost; and I venture to suggest to the members of the *École française* at Athens, that it is their duty or rather their privilege to explore the burial-place of these their famous countrymen.

AKOVA, KARITENA, NIKLI, AND MOUKHLI.

The central basin of Arcadia—or Mesarea, 'the Midland,' as it was called by the Greeks at this time—which was composed of the level plains of Mantinea and Tegea to the east, and the wide open valley of Megalopolis to the west, is a thoroughly Alpine region. We obtain some idea of its elevation from the fact that the bed of the Alpheius at the foot of the hill of Karitena, which is the lowest point in this whole area, is 1100 feet above the sea. As the headquarters of the Principality were in Elis, and its outlying possessions in Laconia and Messenia, it was necessary to command the approaches to those districts; and when the Frank dominion shrank within narrower limits,

these wild uplands became a barrier to resist the progress of the Byzantine forces. The southern passes were secured by the two fortresses of Nikli and Veligosti, the latter of which must have stood at no great distance from the site of Megalopolis, and was thus interposed between the head-waters of the Eurotas and the pass of Makriplagi leading into the Stenyclerian plain.¹ Towards the east, the mountain road which leads to Argos was defended by the strong post of Moukhli, of which, strange to say, though it must have existed during the whole of this period, we hear nothing until it was besieged by Mahomet II. But most important of all were the castles of Karitena and Akova, which served to overawe the independent Slavonian tribe that occupied the wild mountains of the north-west. In this district, which formerly contained the cities of Gortys, Theisoa, and Thelpusa, the country-towns of Stemnitz, Dimitzana, and Langadia now are situated, which notwithstanding their elevated position are among the most flourishing places in the Morea, as may be seen from the careful way in which the bridges and other means of communication are kept up. The traveller in passing from one to another of these on his way from the upper to the lower valley of the Alpheius, has to journey for two days along rugged mountain paths usually at a height of 3000 feet above the sea; and the same line of communication must have been followed during the Middle Ages.

The castle of Akova is one of the least known places in Greece. The neighbouring district is inclosed in a wide bend of the Ladon, which here flows from the north to join the Alpheius. We descended to it in a northerly direction in three hours from Langadia, having obtained a local guide at that place, by paths so steep as hardly to be passable for baggage horses, but commanding beautiful views over the distant sea. The ruins at the present day have no name, but they are identified as being those of Akova by that name existing in the neighbourhood, attached—not, as has generally been stated, and as appears on Kiepert's map, to the surrounding region—but to two villages a little further to the west, called Vervitza and Vizitzi. These are now called Akovais, and the fact of the name representing two places

¹ M. Buchon believed that he discovered the name and site of Veligosti, but all its buildings have disappeared. *La Grèce*, p. 481.

would account for the plural form. Another name derived from the Franks is that of Vretebougā, a mountain near Vizitzi, which Buchon is probably right in explaining as derived from the Templars (Φρὲ Τέμπλου).¹

The castle occupies a height much lower than those from which we had descended, in the midst of sloping hills, on which lie the scattered houses that form the upper and lower village of Galatas. Though at a considerable elevation above the sea, it is no eagle's nest, for it can easily be reached from the valley of the Ladon. The hill on which it stands gradually detaches itself from the ground behind, forming a neck or ridge, the sides of which become steeper as they advance southwards. The length of the fortress was 500 feet, the breadth at the northern end perhaps 180, but it narrows greatly as it rises towards the south. It is the largest of these buildings after Khlemoutzi, but little of it is preserved. The principal remains are towards the north, where are parts of three towers belonging to the wall that crossed the ridge: one of these is tolerably complete for a storey and a half; the second is split in two, so as to stand in two upright masses; while the third, which must have been near the central entrance, has only a single face to show, though that is perfect. The foundations of this crosswall remain throughout and also those of numerous buildings within; at the southern end, where the rocks fall away very steeply towards the ravine below, there was a large keep. The whole is composed of the hard light-grey limestone, of which so many of the buildings in Greece were constructed; but here also, as at Khlemoutzi, tiling is occasionally introduced.

This castle was known to the French as 'Mate-Griphon,' or 'Stop-Greek,' a name which sufficiently explains the object for which it was built.² The most interesting episodes connected with it relate to two noble ladies called Margaret—viz. Margaret de Neuilly, to whom it had descended by lawful inheritance, but who was meanly defrauded of it by William Villehardouin; and Margaret Villehardouin, William's daughter, whose misfortunes

¹ *La Grèce*, p. 493; he spells it Vretembougā.

² 'Griphon' was a common name for the Greeks among the French of this period. *Mater* is 'to subdue,' at chess

'to check-mate,' whence the English expression. Hertzberg is in error when he translates Mate-Griphon by 'schlag die Griechen todt' (vol. ii. p. 78).

seemed to be a retribution for the unjust dealing of her father. The former of these ladies was daughter of John de Neuilly, baron of Passava, and was sent as a child to Constantinople at the time of William's release from captivity by Michael Palaeologus, as one of the hostages for his faithful execution of the treaty then ratified. On her return she found her father dead, and Passava, her rightful inheritance, ceded along with Monemvasia and Mistra to the Greeks; but she was still heiress of the barony of Akova, in succession to her maternal uncle, Walter de Rosières, who also had lately died. The device by which Villehardouin possessed himself of the birthright of his friend's daughter resembles in many points the less authentic story of Geoffrey I. and Robert de Champlitte, and illustrates the knavish practices which could be enacted under the cloak of the feudal system. When Margaret presented herself to claim her possessions, the investiture of the barony of Passava, which was now an empty name, was readily granted to her because her father had died within the year; but as more than a year and a day had elapsed since her uncle's death, and no claim had been made to his inheritance, this was declared to have been forfeited; and when it was represented that the demand for investiture had been rendered impossible by the compulsory absence of the heir as William's own hostage,¹ he replied that the law in such a case admitted of no exception. The property thus nefariously obtained was conferred on William's younger daughter, Margaret, who thenceforward was known as the lady of Akova or Mate-Griphon.

The retribution was long delayed, but came at last. Half a century later, Margaret, who was harassed and even threatened with the loss of her barony by the hostility of her stepson, Count John of Cephalonia, one of the most violent characters of the time, in order to counteract his opposition negotiated a marriage between her daughter Elizabeth, a beautiful girl of fourteen, and the infant Don Fernand of Majorca, who was famous for the part he had taken in the Catalan expedition. To him she ceded her rights to Akova and to the Principality; for it was pretended that William Villehardouin had declared

¹ This particular point, though it is the chronology; but anyhow Margaret mentioned by the Chronicle, does not was unavoidably absent. See Hertzberg, ii. 173.

by will that the survivor of his daughters was to inherit his dominions, and the eldest, Isabella, had recently died. The marriage took place at Messina in Sicily, where Don Fernand was then residing; but when Margaret returned to the Morea, she was seized by a number of barons with Count John at their head, deprived of her possessions, and cast into prison, where she died in 1315. Three months later her daughter Elizabeth died in childbirth, whereupon Fernand invaded the Morea with a strong force of Spanish infantry in order to make good his claims. For a moment it appeared as if the house of Aragon would triumph over that of Anjou, for after landing near Klarentza he made himself master of that place and Khlemoutzi, together with the rest of Elis, and the leading barons did homage to him. But the tide of fortune soon turned. The energy with which Fernand commenced his administration roused the opposition of the feudal chieftains, and caused them to welcome Louis of Burgundy and his wife Maud, the representative of the elder female branch of the Villehardouins, when they landed at Patras in 1316. Fernand sallied forth from Klarentza and engaged the Burgundian forces, which were far superior to those at his disposal; but he was defeated, and when he refused to fly with the rest of his soldiers, he was taken prisoner and beheaded.¹

On the further side of the mountains of Skorta, at the point where the Alpheius, having flowed through the plain of Megalopolis, enters the narrow defile by which it penetrates to the lower country, stands the town of Karitena. It occupies the site of the ancient Brenthe, and the position is certainly one of the finest in Greece. The hill on which it stands rises in steep slopes to a height of 600 feet above the river, which washes its base on three sides, and the rocks that form its summit are precipitous in every direction. The town occupies the declivities towards the north, where a neck of land joins it to the neighbouring heights, while the castle is planted on the summit, and covers its whole area. The entrance is in the middle of the eastern face, where there is a strong feudal tower, with a guardroom on the right hand. Over the gateway outside is a square recess, where an escutcheon once stood, and high over

¹ Finlay, vol. iv. pp. 207, 208, 218, 219; Hertzberg, vol. ii. pp. 172, 173, 251—253.

this project three machicolations for annoying an attacking party. The walls in most parts rise to a considerable height, and inside there runs a passage for the defenders to fight from; but as no battlements remain, it is probable that none ever existed. The interior is about 360 feet in length from north to south, and 120 feet wide in the middle; but the entire area is much less than this would seem to imply, because it narrows towards the extremities. At the northern end, where the walls form an acute angle, there were chambers with massive arches, but the buildings towards the south, from their greater handsomeness, were evidently the baron's own residence. Here a wall was built across from side to side, and a door and three windows, the latter of which still show traces of trefoil arches, looked out into the court. In one half of this space were cross walls, forming separate apartments; but the remainder was occupied by a single chamber, which may have been a hall of audience, or perhaps a banqueting room. The walls here remain to the height of the first storey, and there are vaults below. Close by are the extensive cisterns, in which we found water even at the end of a long dry summer. In the middle of the court the native rock crops out. The masonry, though composed merely of goodsized stones, irregularly imbedded in mortar and mixed with brick, is very strong.

For a panoramic view this castle occupies a most commanding position. The lofty heights of Skorta, which are offshoots from Mount Maenalus, rise to the north, and the eye penetrates into their inmost recesses through the long valley that leads up to the fastness of Dimitzana. To the west, close at hand, stand the summits of Mount Lycaeus; and between these two ranges may be seen the narrow and winding gorge through which the Alpheius flows away, and portions of the lowlands of Elis beyond. In the opposite direction a great part of the plain of Megalopolis lies outspread, and beyond the mountains that bound it appear the heights of Parnon, which interpose between the Eurotas valley and the sea, and, far finer still, the splendid summits of Taygetus, snow-capped for the greater part of the year, which from this point are especially impressive because they rise far away, behind and above the nearer parts of the range. This extensive outlook is an additional element in the strategic importance of the place, besides the strength of its

position and its nearness to the mountains; and this, no doubt, at the time of the conquest was present to the mind of Geoffrey Villehardouin and Hugh de Bruyères, its first baron, when they selected it for one of their strongest posts.

In the town of Karitena there is one building which may date from the Frankish period. Beneath the eastern cliffs of the castle-rock there stands an old church of the Virgiu, small in dimensions, and covered inside with frescoes, now partially defaced. According to the local tradition, the first stone of it was laid by St. Athanasius. It is, however, a Byzantine church of an ordinary type; but close by, and detached from it, is a little campanile of rough construction in an entirely different style of architecture. It is built in four storeys, the two lowest of which have no windows, while the third has one on each of the four sides, and the fourth two on each side, divided by a pillar. The arches throughout are round, and it is surmounted by a pyramidal cap. This is evidently more Romanesque than Byzantine; and as it differs from the apparently Venetian campaniles which are found on the west coast of the Morea, it may possibly be of Frankish origin.

The most prominent personage in the history of this place is the second baron, Geoffrey de Bruyères, the nephew of William Villehardouin, and son-in-law of Guy de la Roche, Grand-sire of Athens. He was the flower of the Frankish chivalry—the Lancelot or Rinaldo of the Morea. His adventurous career was chequered by many romantic episodes. In the war between his uncle and his father-in-law he espoused the cause of the latter; and after his defeat at the battle of Karydi in Megaris, was brought before his uncle with a halter round his neck (μὲ τὸ καπίστρι εἰς τὸν λαμόν, as the *Greek Chronicle* (2024) has it), as being a felon according to the feudal law for having violated his allegiance to his superior. He was pardoned and reinstated in his barony; and subsequently, when the despot of Epirus made war on Michael Palaeologus, and was supported by the forces of the Principality, he was made prisoner at the battle of Pelagonia, and shared the captivity of Villehardouin. At the end of three years, when that prince agreed to surrender the fortresses of Mistra, Monemvasia, and Great Maina to the Greek emperor, Geoffrey of Karitena was sent as envoy to persuade the barons of the Morea to assent to these hard terms. After this, on

pretence of making a pilgrimage, he escaped to Apulia with the wife of a brave knight, Jean de Carabas, who was reputed to be the most beautiful lady in the Peloponnese; and was only persuaded to return and restore her by the earnest representations of Manfred, who at that time was king of Naples. This perfidious conduct nearly cost him his castle, for during his absence Karitena was besieged by the rebellious Slavonians of Skorta, whose rising was with difficulty suppressed. Being once more pardoned, he became the most vigorous leader of the Frankish forces in their struggle with the Greeks, and accompanied William Villehardouin when he conducted a force to Italy to the aid of Charles of Anjou against Conradin. He died in 1269, and if we may trust the enthusiastic eulogy of the *Greek Chronicle*, was widely lamented on account of his chivalrous defence of the oppressed, and his generosity to the poor.¹

The fortress of Nikli, which guarded the south-eastern frontier of Arcadia, was an old Byzantine stronghold. Though built on level ground it occupies an important position, as it commands the entrance to the difficult pass which leads from the Mantinian plain to Sparta; and for this reason the same site was chosen in ancient times for the city of Tegea. At the time of its capture by the French we hear of its lofty walls, which for three days resisted the attacking force; and it was only surrendered when preparations had been made for a regular siege, and a proclamation was issued that no quarter would be given if it was stormed.² The area inclosed is between 400 and 500 feet square, and the line of walls is traceable throughout, some portions which remain being fifteen or twenty feet high; these are composed of stone and brick roughly mixed, and embedded in mortar. Its modern name is Palaeo-Episcopi, from a handsome Byzantine church, now ruined, which stands in the centre of the inclosure. This building rests on Hellenic foundations, and is mainly built of layers of brick, though on the outer face there are numerous blocks of stone and marble, some of which are decorated with classical or Byzantine ornament. Its dimensions are about seventy-five feet in length by forty-five feet in breadth. At the west end is a narthex reaching from side to side, and on either side of the body of the church are passages—they can hardly be called aisles—which terminate in apses.

¹ *Gr. Chron.* 5879—5892.

² *Ibid.* 699—720.

The central cupola, to judge from its span, must have been fine; four other cupolas remain at the four angles, and at the east end there is a window. As the parliament which was convoked at Andravida met in the church of St. Sophia, it is not improbable that the two important sessions which took place at Nikli were held in this building. The former of these was summoned on the occasion when Guy de la Roche of Athens, after being defeated at the battle of Karydi, agreed to appear before the assembled barons of the Morea, that they might adjudge the question of suzerainty which was in dispute between him and William Villehardouin (A.D. 1258). The second, held in 1262, had to debate the terms of William's restoration to liberty. At this his wife, the Princess Anna, and, as we have just seen, Geoffrey of Karitena, were present, but the hard conditions were not agreed to without a prolonged debate.

The approach to Nikli from the side of Argos was protected by the town of Moukhli, which stood on a conical height near the head of the pass leading into the Arcadian plain. The summit of this is 2600 feet above the sea, and 600 feet above the point where it begins to spring from the mountains at its back. It overlooks on one side the plain of Tegea, on the other the rich valley of Akhlado-Kampos (Hysiae), beyond which is seen the entrance of the Argolic gulf, with the islands of Hydra and Spetzia. The ascent is very steep, and halfway up the first line of fortifications is reached, the second at two-thirds of the height, while at the summit is a keep strengthened by towers which follow the ridge. From the way in which the masses of masonry have been dislocated, this would seem to have been blown up by gunpowder. Foundations of ruined buildings are found over a wide area within the walls, but from the traces that remain the city must at one time have extended for some distance outside the fortifications. The largest fragment now standing in this scene of destruction is the western portal of a church with a round-arched doorway, just within the first line of walls; and the apse of the same may be seen, with traces of frescoes. In case of a siege the want of water must have been the greatest difficulty; and, as a matter of fact, it was the destruction of the aqueducts by which the city was supplied which forced it to surrender to Mahomet II. in 1458. The

importance of the place, despite its being almost ignored in history, is shown by its having been an episcopal see; and even as late as Leake's time the Greek bishop at Tripolitza was called bishop of Moukhli.¹

KALAMATA, PASSAVA, MISTRA, AND MONEMVASIA.

The possessions of the Franks in Laconia remained in their hands during but a brief, though brilliant period; but those in Messenia, while they were among their earliest conquests, were not lost to them until the eve of the extinction of the Principality. Chief among these was the fief of Kalamata, which was bestowed on Geoffrey Villehardouin by William of Champlitte as his independent possession, to be transmitted by inheritance to his family. The town of that name, which is still one of the most flourishing places in Greece, is situated on gently sloping ground on the banks of the river Daphnon, the ancient Nedon, at the foot of the mountains, about a mile from the head of the Messenian gulf. Immediately behind, the rock on which the castle stands rises to a height of about 200 feet above it, and recalls somewhat the acropolis of Athens by the level area on its summit, its solitary position, its site relatively to the town, and the prospect over the sea which it commands. The direction in which it runs is from north-east to south-west; and on its south-eastern side is a lower plateau, which at a later period was inclosed by walls and included in the fortress by the Venetians: their fortifications, though broken, still remain with several towers, and through the most massive of these was the entrance, over which on the outside stands a mutilated lion of St. Mark. The Frankish castle above, which is approached through a similar tower, does not differ greatly in size from that of Karitena, being about 350 feet in length by 100 feet in breadth, a space which appears somewhat limited for the abode of the Villehardouins. In shape it forms nearly a rectangle, but the walls follow the irregularities of the cliffs, which on the northern side descend precipitously towards the wide shingly bed of the Daphnon, while in the opposite direction, above the Venetian inclosure, the hillside, though steep in itself, is further

¹ Leake, *Travels in the Morea*, i. 114.

strengthened by a strong facing of stones, many of which are large squared blocks. Of the original walls little remains above the level of the area on the summit, but at the north-eastern end where the ground is highest, there is a sort of keep or broken tower, composed, as usual, of stones embedded in mortar. Inside, there are cisterns in various places. The view comprises the whole of the Messenian gulf as far as the promontory of Akritas; the wide olive-covered plain reaching to the foot of Mount Ithome, whose broad summit is conspicuous among the mountains of Messenia; and the heights behind and eastward of Kalamata, which are outliers of Taygetus, and through which at one point a difficult pass leads to Sparta. In the town below, the only trace of Frankish antiquities which we could discover was a tympanum over one of the doors of the church of the Apostles; but the amount of pulling down and rebuilding of houses which is now going on is not favourable to the preservation of ancient buildings.

In the castle which I have been describing William Villehardouin was born, and there also he died. The history of the place was for the most part prosperous and uneventful; but one incident of a somewhat startling character relating to it is worthy of mention. This was its capture by the Slavonians and its recovery in the time of Florenz of Hainault, the narrative of which is given in the *Livre de la Conquête*, for the *Greek Chronicle* comes to an end shortly before this occurrence took place. Two chieftains of the Slavonian tribe of Melings, who occupied the northern slopes of Taygetus, after frequently reconnoitring the castle, conceived the idea of making themselves masters of it. This they carried into effect by attacking the place one stormy night with a band of fifty followers, when they scaled a tower which commanded the interior of the citadel—probably the one which I have described as the keep. The altitude of this had been measured with a cord by one of their people when he was imprisoned there, and a ladder had been made of corresponding height, by which they mounted. Being joined at daybreak by six hundred of their countrymen, they occupied both the fortress and the town of Kalamata, and proceeded to proclaim the emperor Andronicus II. its rightful sovereign. Florenz, when he heard of the occurrence, hastened to form the siege of the place, but the enemy were now strongly

reinforced, and the castle was well provisioned. These Slavonians were at this time nominally subjects of the Greek empire, but from time immemorial had been practically independent; accordingly, when complaints on the subject of this violation of the treaty were addressed to the Byzantine governor at Mistra, he professed himself incapable of acting in the matter, and the question was referred for settlement to Constantinople. By the interposition of an ambassador of Charles II. of Naples, who happened to be present in that city, the Greek emperor was persuaded to take the affair in hand, though there can be little doubt that he desired the negotiations for the surrender of the place to fail. The person, however, whom he selected as his agent, proved a facile tool in the hands of the French. His name, Sgouros-Mailly, from its double element, Greek and French, seems to show that he was a Gasmul, and this may account for his partiality to the Latins. He had also been bribed before he left Constantinople, for it proved afterwards that 300 gold florins and a handsome horse had been promised him in case of his succeeding in obtaining the restoration of Kalamata. When he arrived in the Morea, he took with him a force of three hundred soldiers from Mistra, and on arriving at Kalamata he persuaded the leading Slavonians to come down from the castle in order to receive the emperor's letter, and in the meanwhile occupied it by his own followers. By this device the Slavonians were forced to evacuate the fortress, and it was once more placed in the hands of the French.¹

The most remote in its position of all the baronies was that of Passava, the name of which is a corruption of 'Passe-avant,' the battle-cry of Champagne. Its castle lies on the western side of the head of the Laconian gulf, slightly withdrawn from the sea, six miles from Marathonisi, the modern representative of Gythium. The deep valley near the mouth of which it stands pierces through the Taenarian peninsula at its base almost from sea to sea, thus forming the most practicable passage in that direction; and the fortress which commanded it served the double purpose of overawing the inhabitants of that peninsula, the Mainotes, who have always been the most independent of the Greek races in the Peloponnese, and of protecting the commerce

¹ The whole story is well worth reading in the original; *Livre de la Con-* *queste*, pp. 335—356; see Finlay, iv. 212, 218; Hertzberg, ii. 193, 194.

of the neighbouring port from the attacks of corsairs. Its importance was shown by the baron of Passava at the time of the conquest, Jean de Neuilly, being named hereditary marshal of Achaia, which office made him the head of the military establishment of the Principality. At the present day the castle is the most perfectly preserved of all those that I have undertaken to describe, and presents a striking appearance when seen from the neighbouring heights, as it crowns an isolated hill, which rises 400 feet above the valley, and though nowhere precipitous is steep on all sides. It forms a square of about 300 feet, and faces eastward, for its western wall follows the line of the ridge, while that parallel to it runs along some little way down the slope. With the exception of a small portion on the southern side, the walls and battlements remain perfect, and there is the usual passage inside, and loopholes at intervals through the battlements. A round tower occupies the north-west angle, and another of square form stands in one part of the eastern face; inside there are large cisterns, and in the middle a guard-house—a rectangular building, lighted by large windows with pointed arches. The inclosure is now overgrown with thorn bushes, valonia oaks, and olive trees. The view from it comprises the Laconian Gulf, the gorge already mentioned, and the summit of Taygetus, which here assumes a pyramidal shape. The present appearance of the place, and especially of its regular line of battlements, is, I must confess, much more that of a Venetian than a Frankish fortress; but there is no evidence of the Venetians having occupied it, and Coronelli, writing of Morosini's campaign in 1687, speaks of it as incapable at that time of resisting a serious attack, and says the Venetians had the intention of razing it.¹ This they evidently did not carry out, and, apparently, we must conclude that this is the original building. The name of Passava has perished as completely as that of Las, the old Laconian town which occupied the site in classical times. It is now known as Turco-vrysis, from a stream of that name which flows in the valley.

Sic vos non vobis might well have been the motto of William Villehardouin's city of Mistra, which was erected and fortified by him at great cost in 1249, and lost for ever in 1262. From

¹ Coronelli, *Mémoires historiques et géographiques du Royaume de la Morée*, &c., translated from the Italian, p. 89.

the time of its cession it became the capital of the Byzantine province in the Peloponnese. Of the two forms of its name, Mizithrá and Mistrá, the former is undoubtedly the earlier. Buchon, indeed, maintains the contrary, and says that Mistra in French *patois* means 'maitresse ville.'¹ But the *Greek Chronicle* in the account it gives of its foundation expressly states that the name Mizithra was attached to the spot before William Villehardouin's time:—

ὄρισεν ἀπάνω εἰς τὸ βουνὸν καὶ ἔκτισαν ἓνα κάστρον,
καὶ Μιζιθρᾶ τ' ὠνόμασε, διατὶ τὸ ἐκράξαν οὕτως·
λαμπρὸν κάστρον τὸ ἔπηκε, καὶ μέγα δυναμάρην.²

It is far more likely that Mistra is an abbreviation for Mizithra. It is also probably an error to connect the name, notwithstanding its similarity, with *μυζήθρα*, the word in modern Greek for a kind of cream-cheese which is found in Crete and the Morea; it would rather seem to be of Slavonic origin, since the inhabitants of the neighbouring mountains belonged to that nationality.³ At the present day the name of Mistra alone is used. By the Byzantine writers, who affect classical expressions—*e.g.* Phranzes and the author of the satire of *Mazaris*—it was often called Sparta, a name which is apt to cause confusion. During the Byzantine period the site of Sparta—or rather a portion of the area which that city covered—was occupied by the town of Lacedaemonia, some of the fortifications of which still remain on the hillsides in the direction of the Eurotas. This place, as we have already seen, remained in the possession of the Franks for some time after the cession of Mistra; but after it passed again into the hands of the Greeks its inhabitants were gradually absorbed by that city, which thus became populous, and continued to be so under the Turkish rule. Even as late as 1821, when the War of Independence broke out, Mistra

¹ Buchon, *La Grèce*, p. 430.

² *Gr. Chron.* 1662-64. The same thing is stated more explicitly in the *Chronicle* of Abp. Dorotheus, which was probably first published in 1684: τὸ ὠνόμασε Μιζιθρᾶν, διότι ὁ τόπος ἐκεῖνος ἔτρη ἐλέγετο Μιζιθρᾶς. Buchon,

Chroniques étrangères, prefatory notice, p. xxx. Cp. also Leake, *Peloponnesiaca*, p. 135.

³ Hopf, *Griechische Geschichte*, p. 267; Fallmerayer, *Geschichte des Halbinsels Morea*, i. pp. 293, 294.

contained a population of nearly 20,000,¹ and the number of ruined buildings that now remain, testify to its former prosperity. But the foundation of the modern town of Sparta, on or near the site of the ancient capital, caused the tide to set once more the other way, and those of the inhabitants of Mistra who have not emigrated thither, have established themselves in a village on the edge of the plain below the mediaeval city. At the present time the population of Old Mistra amounts to fifteen persons.

The position which William Villehardouin selected for his fortress was a spur, which projects from the eastern side of the Taygetus range, and is flanked by a deep gorge formed by a stream that descends from the recesses of those mountains. On the rocky summit of this, which rises to a height of 1,750 feet above the sea, and 250 feet above the hillside behind, was placed the castle; while the town, in which it was intended that the Franks should dwell apart from their Greek and Slavonian subjects, was built halfway down towards the plain, and surrounded by walls of its own. The extensive area covered by this is now a mass of deserted ruins, with the exception of a few ecclesiastical buildings which have been preserved. The entrance is at the south-eastern angle, near which stands a tower pierced in one place by a trefoil opening; and from this a steep street leads upwards in a diagonal line, until a small stone doorway is reached, called the Iron Gate (*σιδηρενία πόρτα*), which gives admission into a separate, perhaps royal, quarter in the highest part of the town. Within this there lies an open space, on two sides of which are the ruins of a palace of several storeys high. A further ascent leads to the *kastron*, which is entered from the back, and is rendered almost impregnable in its precipitous position by a number of round or square towers. The view from it commands on the one side the ravine and the summits of Taygetus, on the other the plain in which the Eurotas flows, with the town of Sparta three miles off on its opposite side, and behind this the long chain of Parnon, while far away to the north may be seen the heights of Mount Parthenium in eastern Arcadia.

The antiquities of the place consist of five churches in the lower part of the town, all of which belong to a period subsequent to

¹ Bory de Saint Vincent, *Relation du Voyage*, ii. 286.

its surrender to the Greeks. They are interesting specimens of Byzantine architecture, especially as several of them possess features more or less alien to that style, in which the influence of Western Europe is traceable, though from what source exactly it was derived it is not easy to decide. Two of these are still used, and consequently are in good repair, while the rest are falling into ruin. The first of them, which is situated just within the gate of entrance, is now called *Perilefton*, the name of its dedication having been lost. It consists of a central cupola, and a nave and aisles, roofed with barrel vaulting, and ending in three apses; through a door at the south-west angle a small vaulted chamber is entered, and along the south side, without the building, runs a portico. The whole is covered with half obliterated frescoes. Higher up than this is the church of the Virgin, called *Pantanassa*. This stands in a steep position on the hillside, and formerly belonged to a monastery called *Ζωοδότου πηγῆς* ('Mother of the Saviour'),¹ the inclosure of which is marked by a wall of circuit, while in places the ruined monastic buildings remain, especially on the eastern side below the church. From these a marble staircase leads up to a corridor or *loggia*, which formerly ran round both the north and east sides of the building, but now remains only towards the east, where there are four arches supported by columns, and a campanile with windows divided by pillars and pierced with trefoils, surmounted by a cupola. The church itself faces south and the nave, which is divided into four bays, is separated from the aisles only by pillars. Thus, though the ornaments throughout are Byzantine, the shape and arrangement are those of a Latin church; and the same is true of the long choir, with three rows of arcades round the apse, the upper one of which is pierced with windows, and supports a semi-cupola. There are four cupolas over the four angles, one over the northern end, and a central one, which however, is of modern construction. A gallery for women, resembling that of St. Sophia, at Constantinople, runs round three sides of the building.

At this place we were destined to a disappointment. Buchon affirms—and his statement has been repeated by subsequent

¹ In Phranzes' time it was called after the Saviour himself, *Ζωοδότου ἁγίου*.

writers—that the tombs of Theodora Tocco, and Cleopa Malatesta, the wives of Constantine Palaeologus and his brother Theodore, still exist in these precincts; and we had looked forward to finding them there. That those ladies were buried in this place there can be no doubt, for the fact is mentioned by Phranzes the historian, who was their contemporary.¹ But it seems equally certain, that there is no evidence of any person having seen their sepulchres since that time, and all the information which Buchon obtained amounted to this—that people on the spot believed in their existence.² At the time of our visit neither the priest who lives there, nor any other person had ever heard of them. So we may conclude that, like the tombs of the Villehardouins at Andravida, they may still remain in their original position, but without excavation it is impossible to state anything definitely about them. Our ill success in this matter was compensated by the sight of an object of great interest on the western wall of the narthex of the church. This is a likeness in fresco of a Byzantine emperor, who, according to the resident priest, is none other than Constantine Palaeologus. He wears the purple robe and the round-topped crown of the Eastern Empire, and his eyes are uplifted, apparently towards the figure of a saint who is appearing to him; but this part of the picture is much obliterated. The face has marked features and a red beard, and though the colours are faint it is evidently a portrait. The fresco is inclosed in a niche, by the side of

¹ Phranzes, pp. 154, 158, edit. Bonn.

² Buchon says in his narrative of his journey, 'Les tombeaux subsistent encore au milieu des ruines du cloître, et sont connus comme tels dans les traditions du pays' (*La Grèce*, p. 432). And again, speaking of Theodora, he says, 'Son tombeau, transporté, comme le dit Phranzi, à Mistra dans le monastère de Zoodotou-Pigi (Mère du Sauveur), s'y trouve encore' (*ibid.* p. 507). In his *Recherches historiques* (i. Pref. p. liv.), we find the evidence on which these affirmations rest. Speaking of the church of Pantanassa, he says, 'Ce n'était pas là que pouvaient être les tombeaux de Théodora Tocco et

Cléophas Malatesta. Ils ne pouvaient être que dans le monastère adjoint à l'église, mais en bonne partie ruiné. Je cherchai à me faire jour au milieu des décombres, mais je trouvai les passages obstrués. Je fis venir plusieurs des habitants et m'enquis des tombeaux. Tous furent unanimes pour me dire qu'ils les connaissaient bien et qu'ils étaient placés au milieu des ruines du cloître; mais il me fut impossible d'y parvenir.' Much would depend on the amount of caution with which these questions were put. No praise can be too great for the ardour with which M. Buchon pursued his investigations, but occasionally his enthusiasm outstripped his judgment.

which stood another, though it is now destroyed. As Constantine, the last emperor of Constantinople, was crowned at Mistra, there is none other of his line whose likeness we should so readily expect to meet with here. If such is the case, the other niche may possibly have contained that of the despot Theodore, for Constantine's wife Theodora, whom we should otherwise expect to find in such a position, died before he succeeded to the throne.¹

The three other churches—those of St. Nicholas, Efendiko, and the metropolitan church—are situated close together, near the north-eastern angle of the city. St. Nicholas is distinguished by the size of its central cupola, in the drum of which numerous small windows are pierced, but the cupola itself has fallen in. The aisles are very narrow, and end in small apses. At the four angles of the building are four small low chapels, forming distinct chambers.² The church at present known as Efendiko—for its real name is lost—almost exactly resembles that of the Pantanassa, having the same gallery for women, numerous domes, and three arcades in the apse; outside there is a chamber and a chapel attached to the west wall. Just below this on the hillside is the old archiepiscopal palace, an unpretending building forming three sides of a square, on one of which stands the metropolitan church (St. Demetrius), while the fourth side is left open, and commands an enchanting view over the olive-groves and mulberry plantations of the plain of Sparta. It is now tenanted by a priest who conducts the services in the church, and consequently this edifice, like that of Pantanassa, is kept in repair. Two inscriptions, one in hexameters on the lintel of the northern door, the other in iambics on the western wall, commemorate its erection by Bishop Nicephorus in the reign of Andronicus II. Palaeologus in conjunction with his son Michael IX. (A.D. 1295-1320): the exact date was 1312, that

¹ The evidence of my informant in this matter may not be of much value, but it is not impaired by his having added that the emperor Constantine was the founder of the monastery, and is buried under a rectangular slab which is let into the pavement of the nave. Can this slab by any chance mark the tomb of Theodora? The idea that the other picture was a portrait of the

despot Theodore would seem to be confirmed by Bory de Saint-Vincent's statement, that in his time there were traditions of a likeness of him having once existed in the church (*Relation du Voyage*, ii. 271).

² Plans of St. Nicholas and Pantanassa are given in Couchaud's *Choix d'Églises Byzantines en Grèce*.

is, just fifty years from the cession of Mistra by the Franks.¹ This building also has a woman's gallery and a small dome over the centre, but in other respects it resembles a Latin church, as there is a long barrel vault both to the nave and the aisles. The floor is inlaid in one place with a two-headed Byzantine eagle, and elsewhere with pieces of *opus Alexandrinum*. On two of the columns are inscriptions relating to property which once belonged to the church.

One more place connected with the history of the Franks in the Peloponnese remains to be spoken of—Monemvasia. The island or peninsula on which it is built—for owing to its nearness to the shore it may almost equally well be called either one or the other—in ancient times bore the name of Minoa, which usually implies that there was a Phœnician settlement where it is found. The Greeks, however, appear never to have occupied the spot, but preferred for the site of their town of Epidaurus Limera, the sheltered bay to the northward of it, to which Minoa formed an effectual breakwater. So shoreless are its rocky sides, that the wonder rather is that any one should have built a city there, and still more that it should have become, as it did during the Middle Ages, one of the most important commercial towns in the Levant, and one of the stations of the fleet of Byzantium. This circumstance lends probability to Hertzberg's conjecture, that the foundation of Monemvasia dates from the time of Alaric's invasion of Greece at the end of the fourth century, when the ravages of the Goths drove the inhabitants to take refuge in easily defensible positions, such as promontories and the islands off the coast—a practice which became still more frequent at the time of the Slavonic inroads. Anyhow, when it first appears in history, at the beginning of the eighth century, it was already an important place. Owing to its commerce with Italy, the pestilence was introduced through it into Greece from that country, which fearfully depopulated the Byzantine empire in 747, and thus prepared the way for the Slavonic immigrations. Finlay calls it the Venice of the iconoclastic period.² In 1147 it was strong enough to beat off the attack of Roger the Norman, in the

¹ An accurate copy of these inscriptions is given in the 'Lives of the Archbishops of Lacedaemonia,' written in

1755, and published by Buchon in his *Recherches historiques*, vol. i. p. lxxviii.

² *History of Greece*, ii. 321.

expedition during which he captured Thebes and Corinth; and it was only by blockade that it was forced to surrender to William Villehardouin. After its restoration to the Greeks it changed hands several times. In 1419 the Venetians obtained possession of it, but ceded it again to the Byzantines. In 1460 the despot Thomas, fearing his inability to defend it against the Ottomans, made it over to Pope Pius II.; but the Venetians seized it in 1464, and held it till 1538, in which year they were forced to yield it to the Turks. When, however, they reoccupied the Peloponnese at the time of Morosini's famous campaign in 1689, Monemvasia once more fell to them, and remained in their possession until 1714, when they finally lost it. During this period it was constituted the capital of Laconia. Finally, at the beginning of the War of Independence in 1821, the Turkish garrison was starved out, and forced to capitulate by the Greeks, to whom it has since belonged.

The island projects eastward into the Aegean, at right angles to the coast of Laconia, twenty miles to the north of Cape Malea, the fine summits of which are visible from the town. It is about a mile in length, and the highest point, which is at the western end where it faces the land, rising in steep precipices, reaches the height of 600 feet above the water. From thence the ground descends gradually towards the eastern extremity, where it falls rapidly to the open sea. Along the northern side the cliffs are almost perpendicular, but towards the south, half-way between the upper level and the water, there is a sloping plateau on which the town is situated. It is joined to the land by a stone bridge of thirteen arches, the further end of which, towards the island, is guarded by a square tower; but the lion of St. Mark, which Castellan, in 1797, speaks of as standing over the gateway, has been removed.¹ This bridge has given to the place its name of Monemvasia, as being the sole means of approach (*μόνη ἔμβασις*). The name is more familiar to English readers than they are commonly aware, for it was corrupted through Malvasia and Malvoisie into Malmsey, and in this form was attached to the Greek wine which was brought from Monemvasia to England during the Middle Ages. It has been doubted whether this wine was made on the spot, or whether it was grown elsewhere, and merely exported from this

Castellan, *Lettres sur la Morée*, i. 40.

place as a depôt.¹ The latter suggestion is likely enough to be partially true; but, on the other hand, though grapes could hardly have been grown either on the island itself, or the rocky coasts in its neighbourhood, yet in the district which intervenes between this and the Laconian gulf there is a large tract of ground—the same which in classical times was called *Leucæ Campi*—which is excellently suited for the cultivation of the vine. At the present day the export of wine has ceased, and that which claims to be the lineal descendant of the old Malmsey is found in the Cyclades, especially in the island of Tenos.

The town is surrounded by strong fortifications of the Venetian period, within which the houses are piled one upon another, with twisted streets and irregular passages, which recall the small Italian towns of the Riviera. A considerable number of these are ruined, for the population of 22,000, which it is said once to have contained, has dwindled at the present day to 500. There are no springs in the whole place, so that the inhabitants have to depend on cisterns; at the time of our visit, which was at the end of an unusually dry season, all the water was being brought from a cistern in the fortress, those below having been exhausted. Owing to its southern aspect and position underneath the rocks the heat is great in summer. No traces of the Frankish occupation remain, unless some of the upper walls date from that time. Buchon, indeed, attributes one of the churches to that age,² but he must have overlooked the inscription over the western door, which says that it was completed in 1697—that is, during the last period of Venetian occupation; and there is nothing in its architecture that would suggest an earlier date. It is dedicated, not as Sir T. Wyse states,³ to St. Peter, but to 'Christ in bonds' (ὁ ἐλκόμενος), a picture of whom stands at the eastern end of the building. Another church closely resembling it in style, which is dedicated to St. Nicholas, is stated by an inscription to have been built in 1703 by Andreas Licinius, a patrician of Monemvasia and doctor of medicine (Μονεμβασίας πατρίκιος δόκτωρ τε ἀκεστορίας). Between the town and the fortress above are steep precipices

¹ Bursian, *Geographie von Griechenland*, ii. 138, note.

² *La Grèce*, p. 412.

³ *Excursion into the Peloponnesus*, i. p. 6.

of red and grey limestone, on which the cactus grows in patches, and these are surmounted by a line of walls. The ascent is by a zigzag path, which leads up to a gateway in the citadel, where there is an old door plated with iron, and a winding passage and guardroom inside. The only object of interest on the upper level is the monastery of St. Sophia founded by Andronicus II. Palaeologus, which overhangs the sea on the northern side, where the rocks are most precipitous. With the exception of the church, almost all the buildings which belonged to this are a mass of ruins, and even the cloister which was attached to the church has in many parts fallen down and formed heaps of *débris*. The church, which somewhat resembles that of St. Nicholas at Mistra, is in shape nearly an exact Greek cross. In the centre is a large low cupola, with numerous single-light windows in the drum, supported on four round arches that span the choir, the nave, and the two transepts, between which are four semi-cupolas over four piers that stand at the angles. The carving of the lintels of some of the doors is elaborate, but the frescoes are almost obliterated. The architecture and ornamentation throughout are purely Byzantine. The cliffs on this northern side are so steep that they have not been fortified by walls except at certain points where escalade might have been possible. At the highest point, which overlooks the bridge, there is a fort of no great antiquity, certainly not as old as the Frank period, to which Buchon thinks it may belong.¹ The natives say that the mountains of Crete are visible from hence in clear weather.

H. F. TOZER.

¹ *La Grèce*, p. 414.

AN INSCRIPTION FROM PRIENÉ.

THE following inscription was copied by Mr. A. S. Murray when travelling with Mr. Newton in Asia Minor in 1870, 'from a stelè at the door of a house at Kelibesch.' It has been put into my hands for publication because the inscribed marbles brought from Prienè by Mr. Pullan in 1870, and presented to the British Museum by the Society of Dilettanti, have been prepared by me for the press, and are now in course of publication. They will form a portion of Part iii. of the *Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*. Kelibesch is a Turkish village on the southern slope of Mt. Mykalè, a short distance from the ruins of the temple of Athenè Polias at Prienè. A description of it will be found in Chandler's *Travels in Asia Minor*, vol. i., p. 197. Mr. Murray's memoranda do not furnish any account of the size or colour of the marble employed for this stelè: but it is evidently entire at the top and right side; the left-hand edge is slightly injured, but a good deal is broken off at the bottom.

Υ Μ Φ Ω Ν Ι Ρ Ρ Ω Τ Α Ρ Χ Ο Υ

ΕΦΑΝΗΦΟΡΟΥΛΕΩΜΕΔΟΝΤΟΣΜΗΝΟΣΤΑΥΝ
 ΟΥΛΥΣΙΑΣΠΟΛΥΧΑΡΟΥΣΕΙΠΕΝΕΠΕΙΔΗΝΥΜΦΩ
 ΑΡΧΟΥΠΡΟΤΕΡΟΝΤΕΦΡΟΥΡΑΡΧΟΣΑΠΟΔΕΙ
 5 ΞΑΚΡΑΣΥΠΟΤΟΥΔΗΜΟΥΕΠΙΜΕΛΩΣΤΕΚΑΙΔΙ
 ΔΙΑΦΥΛΑΞΑΣΜΕΤΑΤΩΜΦΡΟΥΡΩΝΓΑΡΕΔΩ
 ΗΝΤΩΙΔΗΜΩΙΚΑΘΟΤΙΚΑΙΓΑΡΕΛΑΒΕΝΚΑΙΡΛΟ
 ΤΕΡΟΝΑΠΟΔΕΙΧΘΕΙΣΦΡΟΥΡΑΡΧΟΣΥΠΟΤΟΥ
 ΤΗΣΑΚΡΑΣΔΙΕΜΕΙΝΕΤΕΓΑΝΤΑΤΟΝΧΡΟΝΟΝ
 10 ΟΥΡΙΩΙΚΑΤΑΤΟΝΝΟΜΟΝΚΑΙΓΑΡΕΔΩΚΕΝΤΩΙ
 ΟΙΣΦΡΟΥΡΟΙΣΟΡΘΩΣΚΑΙΔΙΚΑΙΩΣΧΡΩΜΕΝΟΣ

easily look like ΤΑΥΝ. The only names of Prienian months which I remember to have met with are :—

Ἀνθεστηριών, Lebas-Waddington, *Voyage Archéologique*, part v. 200, 201.

Ἀπατουριών (unpublished inscription).

Βοηδρομιών, Böckh, *Corpus*, 2906.

Μεταγειτυνιών } (unpublished inscriptions).
Πάνημος

After line 20 I have not tried to restore the lost portions, but probably they contained provisions for making a permanent record of the services of Nymphon by inscribing this decree in his honour, with a view to excite in other citizens an emulation of his virtues. Such was the usual mode of concluding decrees of this kind, in phrases which allowed of but little variation.

The decree has every appearance of belonging to the third century B.C., and possesses, I think, an historical interest, as the following considerations will show.

When Alexander in 334 B.C. delivered the Greek cities of Asia Minor from the Persian yoke, Prienè was one of the towns which reaped the advantage. A huge block of marble from an *anta* of the temple of Athenè Polias at Prienè is now in the British Museum, and is inscribed with the record that 'Alexander dedicated the temple to Athenè Polias' (see my *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, No. 124). Three mutilated decrees published by Köhler (*C. I. A.* Part ii. Nos. 164, 165, 166) seem to have recorded a visit of envoys from Kolophon and Prienè to Athens, bringing chaplets (of gold ?) and votive suits of armour as a dedication to Zeus Eleutherios at Athens, probably in commemoration of their recent recovery of freedom. A decree of Alexander is still extant (see Lebas, Part v. 188, and *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, No. 123), which declares Prienè exempt from all tribute. This edict makes mention also of the garrison (φρουρά) of Prienè, but unfortunately the marble is broken, and we do not learn from it what change was instituted by Alexander. We know, however, from other sources, that Prienè enjoyed independence and immunity from tribute during most of that weary third century B.C., while the tide of war and conquest was ebbing and flowing between the successors of

Alexander,—Demetrios Poliorketes, Lysimachos, the Seleukidae and the Ptolemies.

The material signs of the autonomy of a town in those days were (1) exemption from paying tribute to either city or monarch, (2) the possession of its own citadel. The struggles of Athens to free herself from Macedonian garrisons are well known (see *Hermes*, 1873, 1 foll., and *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, Nos. 167, 169, 181). An inscription of uncertain *provenance*, which in an earlier number of this Journal (1881, p. 98 foll.) I endeavoured to assign to Halikarnassos, records the liberation of Troezen from a foreign garrison. The citadel of Prienè was of remarkable strength. It is described by Chandler, who ascended it (*Travels in Asia Minor*, i. p. 199), as 'a summit of Mycale, large, distinct, and rough, with stunted trees and deserted cottages, encircled, except towards the plain, by an ancient wall of the masonry called *pseudisodomon*. This has been repaired and made tenable in a later age by additional outworks. A steep, high, naked rock rises behind; and the area terminates before in a most abrupt and formidable precipice, from which we looked down with wonder on the diminutive objects beneath us. The massive heap of a temple below' (the temple of Athenè Polias) 'appeared to the naked eye but as chippings of marble. A winding track leads down the precipice to the city. The way was familiar to our guide . . . but difficult and dangerous. The steps cut in the rock were narrow, the path frequently not wider than the body, and so steep as scarcely to allow footing.' If I add to this description of Chandler the account by Mr. Pullan in vol. iv. of *Ionian Antiquities* (p. 28), the reader will fully appreciate the importance of the 'height' (*ἄκρα*, lines 5, 9), which our inscription speaks of as so jealously guarded by the people (*δῆμος*) of Prienè. 'Prienè is situated on a low spur of Mt. Mycalè, some 200 feet above the level of the plain' (the valley of the Maeander, here six miles wide). 'It was surrounded by a wall which can be still traced on all sides but the north, where a grand precipice rises to a height of a thousand feet. In the higher part of the city, almost immediately under this precipice, there is a platform of rock surrounded by terrace walls. Upon this platform stood the Temple (of Athenè). Here, and in the *agora* beneath it, are the only level spots within the city walls. The remainder of the city was built on

the side of the hill, and approached by flights of steps cut in the solid rock.¹

If it be asked by what means a city of moderate size and wealth like Prienè was enabled, even with such natural advantages, to maintain its independence in the times succeeding Alexander, the answer is to be found in a statement by Memnon¹ quoted by Droysen (*Hellenismus*, iii. 1, p. 195): τῶν γὰρ βασιλέων τὴν τῶν πόλεων δημοκρατίαν ἀφελεῖν σπουδαζόντων αὐτοὶ (i.e. the Gauls, who at first had caused nothing but desolation) μᾶλλον ταύτην ἐβεβαίουν ἀντικαθιστάμενοι τοῖς ἐπιτιθεμένοις. To a similar effect is the evidence of a letter of Antiochos Soter to the Ionian city of Erythrae, published by the historian E. Curtius in the *Monatsberichte d. Berlin. Akademie*, 1875, p. 554 (reprinted in my *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, No. 164). It is even probable, as Droysen points out, that the defeat of the Gauls by Antiochos Soter, however beneficial to Asia Minor at large, was yet in one sense a dubious advantage to the autonomous towns. While 'the kings' were in fear of the Gallic hordes, the cities were able to make their own terms with the encroaching dynasties of Thrace, Syria, and Egypt. But when the victory of Antiochos had broken the terror of the Gauls, the cities were at the royal mercy. Droysen has disinterred from Sextus Empiricus a curious story of Antiochos Soter, which happily is confirmed by a statement quoted by Athenaeos, and therefore may be accepted as a genuine bit of history. The story tells how King Antiochos had a dancer at his court named Sostratos of Prienè, whom one day he requested to perform a dance called ἡ ἐλευθερία. Whereupon Sostratos replied that he had no heart for that dance at a moment when his country had lost its liberty. The king, in reward for his wit, restored its freedom to Prienè.² With much probability Droysen (*ibid* iii. 1,

¹ The passage is from Memnon (Orelli's edition), ch. xix.; and runs thus in full. Having just narrated how Nikomedes first brought the Gauls into Asia Minor, the writer proceeds: Αὕτη τοίνυν τῶν Γαλατῶν ἡ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν διάβασις κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ἐπὶ κακῷ τῶν οἰκητόρων προελθεῖν ἐνομίσθη· τὸ δὲ τέλος εἶδειξεν ἀποκριθὲν πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον. Τῶν γὰρ βασιλέων

τὴν τῶν πόλεων δημοκρατίαν ἀφελεῖν σπουδαζόντων, αὐτοὶ μᾶλλον ταύτην ἐβεβαίουν, ἀντικαθιστάμενοι τοῖς ἐπιτιθεμένοις.

² The passage from Sextus Empiricus will be found in his treatise *Adversus Grammaticos*, i. 13: "Ἔνεκα δὲ τούτου καὶ τὴν ὀρχηστικὴν ἀναγκαίαν λέγωμεν εἶναι, ἐπεὶ Σώστρατος δ' Ἀντιόχου ὀρχηστής, λαβόντος ὑποχείριον τὴν Πριήνην

p. 261) connects this anecdote with the statement of Memnon, and conjectures that Prienè had been one of the cities which had purchased the protection of Gallic mercenaries.

The indications afforded by the decree before us fit in entirely with the state of things described above. This inscription represents the citadel of Prienè as carefully garrisoned, and under the command of an influential Prienian citizen. But he holds his office for one year only, like the other officers of a Greek democracy, and at the end of his term has to render due account to the sovereign people. The phrase *παρέδωκεν τῷ δήμῳ*, which twice occurs (lines 6, 10), may imply some formal act of delivery, such as the handing in of the keys of the citadel to the *βουλή*, and the presenting of an inventory of stores and arms. It is stated in lines 9, 10, that the law required the commander to live upon the citadel during the whole of his term, keeping due watch and ward. All these expressions point to the systematic and jealous care with which the Prienians retained command over their citadel. We should like to know the number and the nationality of the garrison. Were they Prienian citizens or were they Gallic mercenaries? The inscription does not inform us. But the language of line 11 at least agrees with the suggestion that the *φρουροί* were paid mercenaries, and *τοῖς φρουροῖς ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως χρώμενος* may imply that the commandant had been punctual and straightforward in giving the garrison their pay out of moneys put into his hands for that purpose by the state.

E. L. HICKS.

τοῦ βασιλέως πατρίδα οὖσαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ παρὰ τὸ συμπόσιον τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀναγκάζομενος ὀρχεῖσθαι, οὐ καλὸν ἔφη τῆς πατρίδος αὐτοῦ δουλευούσης αὐτὸν ἐλευθερίαν ὀρχεῖσθαι· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐλευθερωθῆναι τὴν πόλιν. Concerning Sostratos, compare Athenaeos i. 19; vi. 244, who calls him (by mistake) a flute-player. It is obvious that a

favourite artist residing at court might use his influence for his friends in many ways; a striking instance of this is seen in Kraton the flute-player of Chalkedon who was in high favour with the Pergamene kings: see Böckh, *Corpus*, 3067, and Lüders' *Die Dionysischen Künstler*, 76 foll.

VOTIVE COINS IN DELIAN INSCRIPTIONS.

IN the very important Delian inscriptions of which one is published by M. Homolle in the sixth volume of the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, mention is made among the votive offerings preserved in the temple of Apollo of several sorts of coins.¹ In his comments upon these mentions, both in the inscription which he publishes, and in others which he has read and copied, M. Homolle is less correct than in other parts of his very valuable paper; numismatics being a branch of archaeology in regard to which excellent scholars are sometimes strangely ill-informed. It may perhaps be of some service, in view of M. Homolle's further publications in the same line which may be shortly expected, to insert here a few notes on the votive coins of his Delian lists; and so contribute a little to the full success of his very important labours.

M. Homolle begins thus: 'Les monnaies d'or sont désignées par les mots χρυσοῦς ou στατήρ—Χρυσοὶ Ἀλεξάνδρειοι, Ἀντιόχειοι, Φιλίππειοι, Στατήρες Αἰγυναῖοι, Ἐφέσιοι, Κορίνθιοι, Κρητικοί, Κυζικηνοί, Πτολεμαϊκός. Il faut ajouter les Dariques.' It would seem that M. Homolle takes for granted that στατήρες are necessarily gold coins. But the ancients not seldom speak of the stater as τετράδραχμον νόμισμα; the term is as often applied to silver money as to gold. The stater² at any city is the ordinary staple of currency, whether in gold or silver: the Greeks would apply the term to the English sovereign, the American dollar, and the German mark. In fact shilling and sovereign are alike staters. Of the staters mentioned in the

¹ P. 131.

² I have thought it unnecessary to give references to prove statements when they can be tested by referring

to the indexes of works such as Hultsch's *Metrologie* and *Metrologici Scriptores*.

inscriptions, the Aeginetan, Ephesian, Corinthian, and Cretan are probably silver, unless of course the contrary is stated in the inscriptions themselves. For we have no large gold coins of any of these cities and districts issued before the second century B.C.¹ Cyzicene staters were, as is well known, made of electrum, and widely current in the Levant. The Ptolemaic stater was perhaps of silver, though there are gold coins issued by the Ptolemies which certainly bore the name. M. Homolle's list then will run as follows:—gold staters or didrachms of Alexander the Great, of Antiochus I. II. or III. of Syria (later kings of Syria issued gold staters but rarely), and of Philip II. of Macedon: Aeginetan staters or didrachms of silver (struck before the conquest by Athens or at the time of the restoration by Lysander), Ephesian tetradrachms or didrachms of silver (each of which denominations was at a different time the stater), Corinthian silver tridrachms, Cretan silver didrachms of Aeginetan standard, Cyzicene tetradrachms of electrum, and a Ptolemaic stater of uncertain metal. All of these coins are rather common.

The next mention is of a far rarer piece, *Καρυστία* τ χρυσή, a gold drachm of Carystus. This entry occurs in the list of Demares, about 180 B.C. On this M. Homolle remarks, 'La drachme était partout en Grèce l'unité monétaire pour l'argent; je ne sais donc comment interpréter le texte, qui est certain.' But the drachm was just as much the unity for gold as for silver; it was a fixed weight of metal, coined or uncoined. Gold drachms are frequently mentioned by the writers. This Carystian coin must be the rare piece² struck about B.C. 200, weighing some 50 grains, and having as types on one side the head of Heracles, on the other a reclining bull.

Next come a series of silver tetradrachms—*Τετράδραχμα Μανυσώλεια, Ἀλεξάνδρειον, Πτολεμαϊκά, Ἀνσιμάχεια, Ἀντιόχεια, Νάξια, Ἐφέσιον*. The tetradrachms of Mausolus, of Alexander the Great, and his generals Ptolemy, Lysimachus, and Antiochus, and those of Naxos and Ephesus are all well known. Then come silver drachms:—*Δραχμή Δηλία, Αἰγιναία, Ἀλεξανδρεία, Ῥοδία, Σικωνία, Φωκαῖς*. As to these it need only be said

¹ The coins purporting to be early Ephesian gold are forgeries. The later gold belong to the time of Mithridates.

² Period V. B. 29 of the B. Museum exhibition.

that drachms of Delos and Phocaea are very rare indeed; though silver coins of Delos are known, I am not sure whether a drachm is published. As the entry of the Delian coin occurs in the list of Demares it must probably have been struck about B.C. 200—180. M. Homolle connects with the Phocaean drachm a *Φωκαῖδος νόμισμα*, mentioned in several lists; but this coin is not a drachm at all, but a Phocaean hecta of electrum, as is proved by its position at the end of the electrum, χρυσίον λευκόν. These were widely known in antiquity as *Φωκαῖδες*.

Next comes a very interesting entry which seems to occur only in the list of Demares:—*τετράνομα ΔΔΠΙΙΙΙ· δίνωμα ΔΙ· νόμοι Δ.*¹ M. Homolle rightly remarks that the νόμος (nummus) was a small silver coin of Magna Graecia and Sicily. But it was also, as Mommsen² has abundantly shown, the Roman silver sestertius. Now if the sestertius of 2½ asses is reckoned as the nummus, the ordinary Roman quinarii and denarii will be dinoma and tetranoma. On the other hand doubles and quadruples of the local nummi were not early issued as coin either in South Italy or Sicily. It seems to me therefore certain that in the present entry Roman coins are intended, which were at about this time first making their way in the Levant. As the denarius was more common than either quinarius or sestertius, we can readily explain the fact that in the Delian treasury there were 29 denarii as against 11 quinarii and 10 sestertii. All of these were no doubt of the early type, having on the obverse a head of Roma and on the reverse the Dioscuri on horseback.

The term *Ἰστιαϊκόν* applied to another coin completely puzzles M. Homolle. Clearly the noun to be supplied is νόμισμα. The Histiaic coins are clearly the very abundant late coins in silver issued at Histiaea in Euboea, and familiar to all coin collectors. They bear on the obverse the head of a Maenad; on the reverse the nymph Histiaea sitting on a ship.

Obols are mentioned of Boeotia, Orchomenus, and Phocaea. Also certain coins called according to M. Homolle's reading *ὀβολοὶ ἀρβυλικοί*. This phrase I cannot at all explain: as, however, M. Homolle remarks, 'Ces dernières seules étaient certainement d'argent,' it is perhaps worth while to ask whether

¹ Line of inscr. 215.

² *Röm. Münzwesen*, p. 198.

the reading may not be ἀργυρικοί. But of course without seeing the Delian stone we can only make the suggestion with complete diffidence. It is fairly certain that all the other obols mentioned were of silver, silver obols of all the three kinds above mentioned being known.

The only bronze coins mentioned separately are the local currency χαλκὸς Δῆλιος. All other coins of this metal are termed χαλκὸς παντοδαπὸς ἐπίσημος, miscellaneous bronze coins.

M. Homolle remarks on the frequency with which coins are described as plated or false. It is the same in Athenian and other treasure lists. The motive of the dedicator in such cases is somewhat obscure; he could not hope to win the favour of the deity by a gift of no value, and we can scarcely suppose that he meant to deceive the deity; rather perhaps he intended to invoke divine wrath against the maker of the forgery, whom men might not be able to discover, but who would scarcely escape the eyes of Apollo or Athene.

This seems to be a good opportunity for adding a few words on the actually existing coins in various collections, which are proved by their inscriptions to have been dedicated in temples. Perhaps the most interesting is a didrachm of Sicyon in Achaia, now in the British Museum, which bears in finely punctured letters the inscription¹ ΑΡΤΑΜΙΤΟΣ ΤΑΣ ΕΛΚΕΤΑΞ ΑΜΟΝ, Ἀρτάμιτος τὰς ἐλκετας? ἀμῶν, an inscription in the Doric dialect apparently recording the dedication of the coin to Artemis the deliverer, although the word ΕΛΚΕΤΑΞ is still unexplained. The inscription is no part of the original design of the coin, but added afterwards by the aid of some sharp-pointed instrument. Beside this piece we may place an early coin of Croton in the French collection which bears the incised inscription ἱερὸν το[υ] Ἀπόλ[λωνος], and a tetradrachm of Ptolemy Soter inscribed Σαράπ[ιδι] ἀν[άθημα].² The shorter inscription ΑΝ or ΑΝΑΘ (ἀνάθημα) is not rare on coins.

In the temple of Zeus Casius at Corcyra, regular punches were used for countermarking and defacing coins presented to

¹ See my paper in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1873, p. 183.

² These and other instances men-

tioned by F. Lenormant, *Revue Num.* xv. p. 331, and *La Monn. dans l'Antiq.* i. p. 32.

the god. In the British Museum is quite a series of pieces¹ punched with the word ΔΙΟC or ΚΑCΙΟ or both together, written at length or contracted into monograms. Perhaps in the same category of dedicated coins we ought to place the coins of Stratonicea in Caria, minted under Caracalla and Geta. These pieces originally bore the heads of the two brothers; but later the issue was called in and the head of Geta carefully erased with a hammer; and in its place was stamped the word θεοῦ, together with a small helmeted head, apparently that of Pallas or Roma. It appears from other coins of Stratonicea that an armed goddess, possibly Roma, but more probably Pallas, was worshipped in the city; we may therefore suppose that the whole series of these coins was dedicated in her temple, and thus stamped in order to unfit them for further circulation. It has been suggested² that the word θεοῦ may have reference to the deification of Geta after his death; but as this explanation does not account for the presence of the armed head, it seems less worthy of acceptance than that above stated.

In an inscription from the temple of Amphiarāus in Boeotia³ mention is made, among other dilapidations there recorded, of the falling of coins from memorial tablets on the walls, through decay of the ligaments with which they were fastened. These ligaments might be of metal, but might also be merely of wax, for Lucian speaks of votive coins fastened with wax to the statue of a divinity,⁴ νόμισματὰ ἐνία ἀργυρὰ πρὸς τὸν μηρὸν κηρῷ κεκολλημένα. Of this custom traces still exist in the Levant;⁵ the Greeks still fasten gold coins with wax to the pictures of saints. Coins dedicated in this solemn fashion had probably mostly a history; but the ordinary coins presented to the gods, the νόμισμα παντοδαπὸν of the Delian lists, were used up for cups or for repairs in the more artistic votive offerings which required them. The custom of dedicating coins by throwing them into sacred wells was common throughout Greece; and to this fortunate habit we owe some very valuable hoards discovered in modern days.

PERCY GARDNER.

¹ See *B. M. Cat. of Coins*, Thessaly, &c., p. 158.

² By Dr. Birch in the *Num. Chron.* vol. i. p. 194.

³ *C. I.* No. 1570.

⁴ *Philopseud.* c. 20.

⁵ Newton, *Travels and Discoveries*, i. p. 87 and ii. p. 5.

MONUMENTS RELATING TO THE ODYSSEY.

THE object of this paper is to bring before the notice of the Society two unpublished vases relating to the escape of Odysseus and his comrades from the cave of Polyphemus. I shall endeavour to show :

1st. The place that these two vases take in the history of vase painting, and certain special points of interest that attach to each of them.

2nd. The relation of the designs on each of these vases to what I must call the 'typography' of the myth they represent.

The two questions can in fact, as it is now well understood, scarcely be considered apart. To analyse a vase satisfactorily it is as necessary to consider its 'typography,' i.e. the exact form in which the legend is embodied, and the relation of that form to other forms preceding and following, as it is to discuss the actual technique of the design.

I take first the vase published in Figs. 1 and 2, a krater of the peculiar form known as a kelebe or 'vaso a colonette.' The vase was found at Locri, and is now in the Museum at Karlsruhe. To the courtesy of the director of this museum I owe the photographs from which our drawings are made. The kelebe is of the early severe form popular with Corinthian potters. In the later form the handles develop, increasing in height, and decorated often with reliefs. The early form, however, maintained itself by the side of the later development. The vase, though unpublished, is known to archaeologists, and is noted *Arch. Anz.* 1851, p. 33; catalogued by Dr. W. Fröhner, in his *Griechische Vasen und Terracotten der Gr. Kunsthalle in Karlsruhe*, and appears in Heydemann's list of the Polyphemus vases, *Annali*, 1876, p. 352, g. The wonder is that a vase whose technique is so interesting should have been so long known and

yet remained unpublished. The ground is black, but the rim and a broad band round the body are overlaid with white,¹ allowing the design to be superimposed in black with inner incised lines and details in red and violet. The practice of overlaying the natural clay with a coat of white seems to have been of early rise and familiar to the potters of Rhodes, Melos,



FIG. 1.--OBVERSE OF CARLSRUHE KELECE. *Abridgment of type (a).*

and Cyrene (see O. Puchstein, *Arch. Zeit.* 1881, p. 222). When the black coat of paint invaded the body of the vase, necessitating the red-figured style, the band of white was probably welcome as a means of retaining the old black-figured style. In the vases where black ground and white band are combined

¹ The whiteness of the ground is, owing to the necessity of shading, not very evident in the woodcut. On the

obverse, as well as reverse, of the original, there are unintelligible inscriptions.

we find usually that the drawing is fine, rather mannered, very delicate and precise, showing in fact the notes of a mature and practised style. Of this our kelebe is a good instance. Not only is the drawing of this late black-figured sort, but the design itself shows (as we shall see when we come to the typography of the vase) that the artist was only reproducing a long-familiar type. We may notice in passing that vases with white ground, whether the design be polychrome or merely black, seem to have been fashionable at Locri. Usually they were of small size; Dr. Klein (see *Euphronios*, p. 98) has suggested that the white ground was less serviceable for practical purposes, and that therefore eventually only small vases, essentially articles *de luxe*, were decorated in this way. A familiar example is the whole class of white Attic lekythi, probably manufactured not for hard, daily wear and tear, but for the exclusive and less destructive use of the quiet dead. We shall not, I think, be far wrong if we date our kelebe just about the transition time from the black to the red-figured style, B.C. 490—440, perhaps nearer the end than the beginning of these limits. The black-figured style is retained by the help of the white ground, but it is no longer creative; it carefully reproduces well-known types, and expends its energies not in the expansion of the thought but in the careful reproduction of a recognised pattern. This we shall see more clearly when we come to the typography of the myth.

We pass to our second vase (Figs. 3 and 4), of still greater historical interest, a red-figured cylix in the possession of Signor Augusto Castellani at Rome. The escape of Odysseus beneath the ram is a familiar subject to the black-figure artist. Thirteen instances are known to me personally. But Signor Castellani's cylix is the only red-figured vase with this subject that, so far as I can discover, remains to us. The vase was seen by Prof. Brunn in 1866, and noted by him (*Cor. Bull.* 1866, p. 183); it is again referred to by Dr. H. Luckenbach in his *Verhältniss der Griechischen Vasenbilder zu den Gedichten des Epischen Kyklos*, p. 511, but with no note of its possessor. I therefore scarcely dared to hope, when in 1880 I visited Signor Castellani's collection, that I should find it still there, and to his kindness I owe permission to have photographs and tracings of the vase made. From

Mr. E. Gardner, who kindly verified and completed the tracings of the vase, I learn that at the present date (1883) the vase is still part of the collection.¹ It seems a special duty to secure as promptly as possibly the adequate publication of all important vases in *private* collections, because in such cases we can have no guarantee that at any time they may not be dispersed, and



FIG. 2.—REVERSE OF KARLSRUHE KELENK.

perhaps lost to science for ever. Any one who knows how weary is the search after a lost vase once known to have belonged to a private collection, and how bitter the disappointment when in the end it eludes our grasp, will not think this a small matter.

The meaning of the obverse of our vase (Fig. 3, *a, b*), even

¹ A tracing of the obverse of this vase, and also of the Lungluni vase, I owe to the kindness of Miss M. Malleison.

in its shattered condition, is transparently clear. The giant (the whole upper part of the body has disappeared) is reclining awkwardly in the right corner, supported in part by his left hand, the left leg is completely bent back under the body, the right leg bent in front. We shall notice in other instances that the bent right leg is a frequent element in the representation of the giant. Three rams approach in procession, to each of which is securely bound a human figure. The arms of each of the two last figures are in addition securely tied across the back of their several rams: the arms would naturally meet at the top of the neck or back, but the artist seems naively to desire to emphasise this security by bringing the knots well into view at the side. The foremost figure has his body tied but his arms free, the left he casts in an impossibly twisted position round the neck of the ram, in the right he carries a sword, which he brandishes, drawn from the scabbard hanging at his side. This sword is a pretty constant element in the representation of this myth: it has troubled many interpreters because no mention is made of it in Homer, and much ingenuity has been expended to find it a purpose, such as cutting the withes which bind the comrades, or slaying Polyphemus. It seems scarcely necessary to say that the artist bethought him of it as a simple expedient for marking out the hero Odysseus. The ram which bears Odysseus is spotted, the other two plain. Dr. Luckenbach quotes, ix. 432,

ἀρνεῖος γὰρ ἐὼν μῆλων ὅχ' ἄριστος ἀπάντων,

and 455,

λάχνη στεινόμενος,

and comments on it thus, 'es gibt uns dieses Bild einen sehr engen Anschluss an die Poesie, offenbar kannte der Maler seinen Homer genau und deshalb malte er auch nach ihm.' It is to Dr. Luckenbach that we owe, in the work already cited, an exhaustive exposition of the fallacy of the old 'illustration' theory; but though I say so with the utmost diffidence, I cannot but think that he here falls into the error he has pledged himself to combat. The vase painter adorns the front ram with spots, I think, not in order to follow Homer accurately, but, if he put in the spots advisedly, just for the same reason that he gives

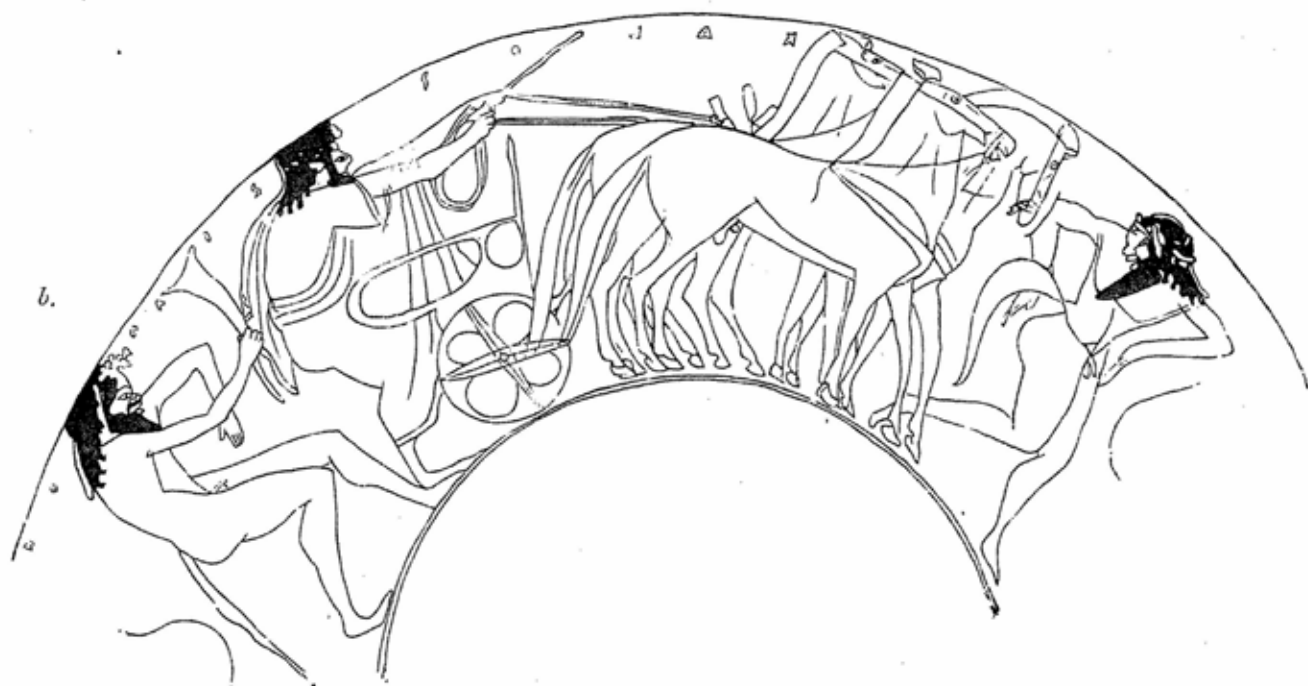
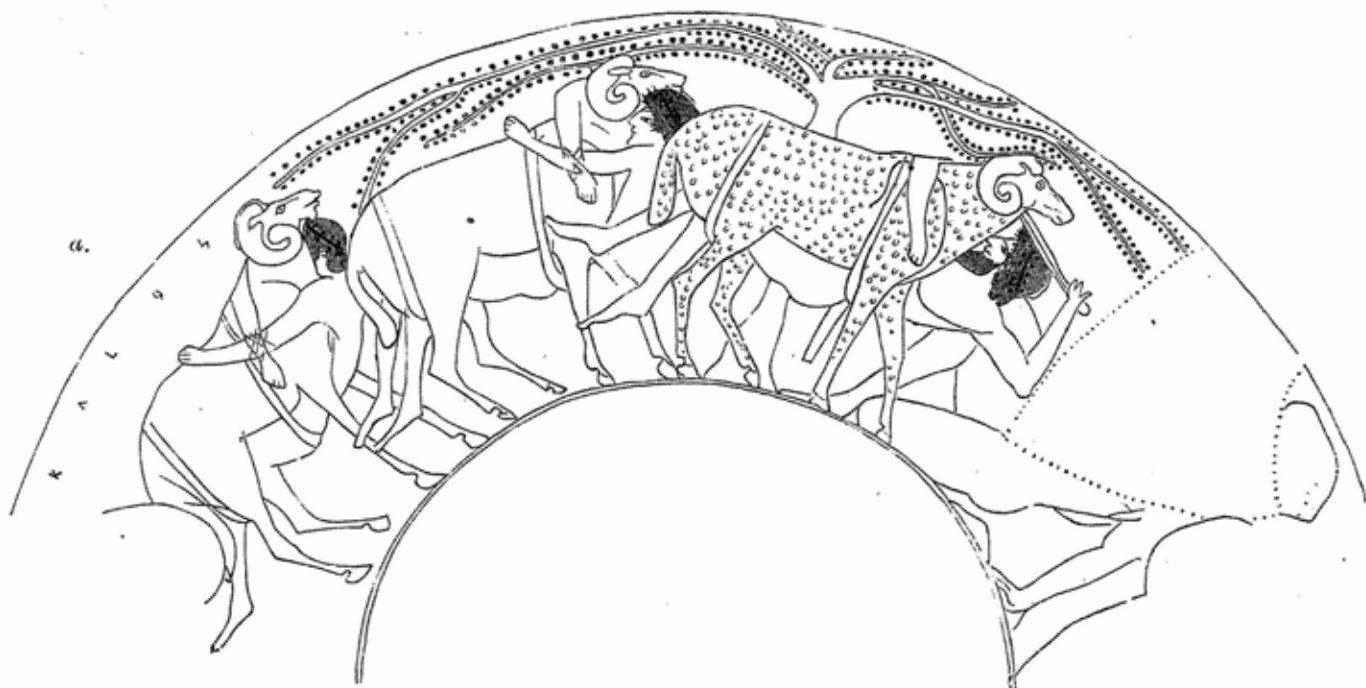
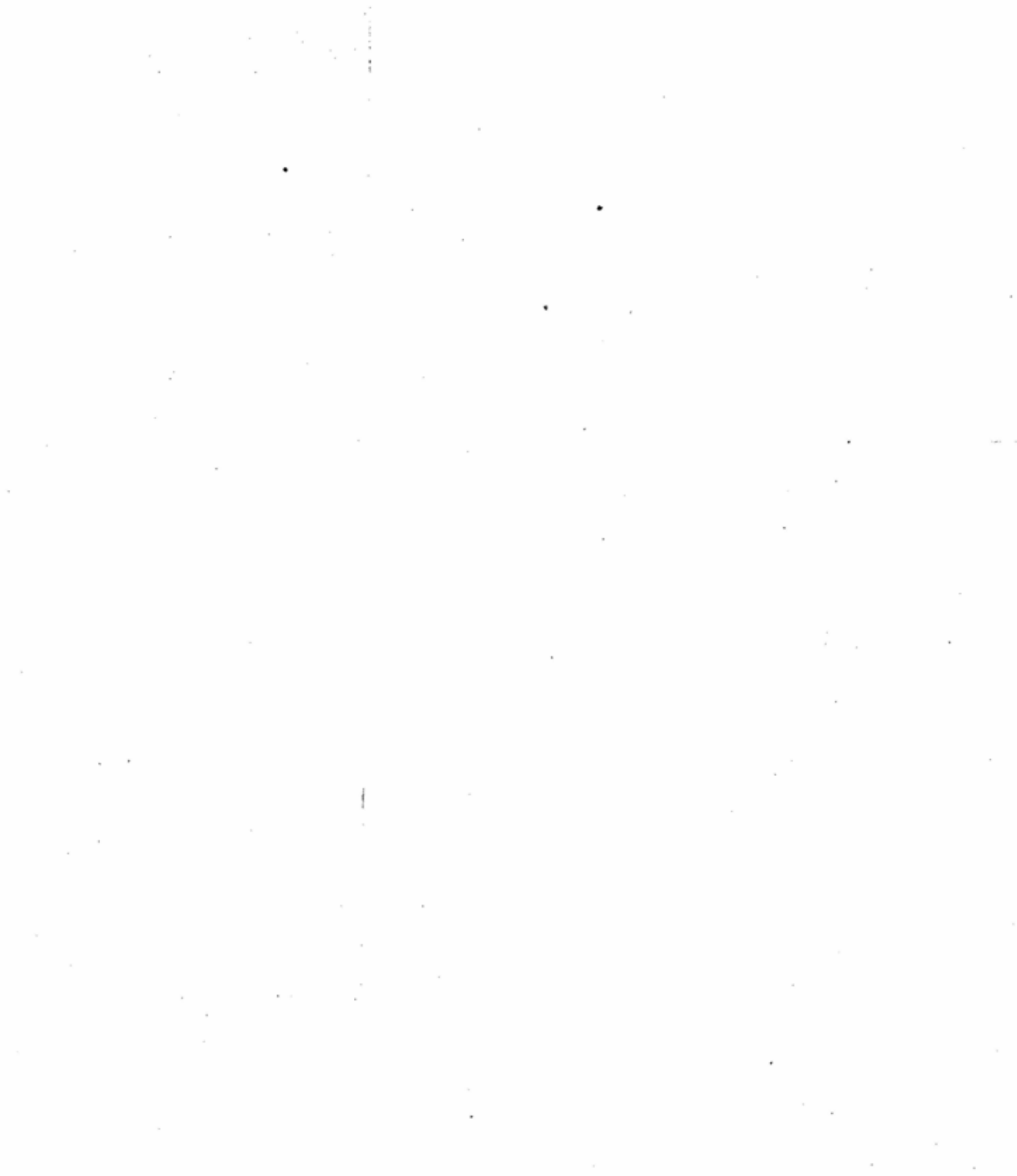


FIG. 3.—EXTERIOR OF CASTELLANI CYLIX. *Obverse, full*



Odysseus a beard and a sword, to lay stress on the superiority both of the hero and his temporary steed. Had the painter known his Homer well, and cared to copy him, surely he would have remembered that Odysseus is the *last*, not the first, to issue from the cave, ix. 444,

ὑστατος ἀρνεῖδς μῆλων ἔστειχε θύραζε
λάχνη στεινόμενος καὶ ἐμοὶ πυκινὰ φρονέοντι,

and still more he must have observed that each of the comrades is carried *on the back* of the middle one of *three* rams, ix. 429,

σύντρεις αἰνύμενος· ὁ μὲν ἐν μέσῳ ἄνδρα φέρεσκεν
τῷ δ' ἐτέρῳ ἐκάτερθεν ἵτην σώοντες ἐταίρους.
τρεῖς δὲ ἕκαστον φῶτ', δῖες φέρον·

it was Odysseus only who clung *beneath* the single ram who bore him. Literature and art are so independent, their language so diverse and governed by such different laws, that when their version of a story is not the same it is almost a misnomer to speak of discrepancies. But such discrepancies cannot be too much insisted on if they help to deal the death-blow to a misconception which has been so fertile of error and is still so slow in dying as the 'illustration' theory.

The vase painter then, according to my view, though he told the same story as Homer, and may have heard his version, works quite independently. What he owed to his predecessors, what new element he added himself, our investigation of the previous typography of the myth will seek to make clear.

The reverse of the cylix shows a Dionysiac scene. Dionysos is in the act of mounting a chariot; on either side of the chariot is an attendant satyr. These two designs decorate the exterior, inside is a single undraped female figure, in the curious half-kneeling attitude that so often in archaic and transitional art indicates rapid motion, in her right a basket suspended, in her left an aryballos (Fig 4).

The drawing throughout is very unequal. In the Polyphemus scene the artist had a most difficult subject, full of complex attitudes for the human body, attitudes he was quite unable to express; he contents himself with reproducing them as they had been handed down to him by the conventions of black-figured art; the extremities are often quite unfinished,

the fingers indicated in the rudest way, *e.g.* the hands of Odysseus himself; the foliage of the tree is also strictly conventional and black-figured in style. The way in which black-figured conventions appear in red-figured vases has been fully demonstrated by Dr. Klein (*Euphronios*, pp. 14, 15). The black-figured *cylix* was, he says, always 'the Cinderella of art,' little attention was paid to its form and its capacities for decoration; it was treated as though it were the more popular amphora, with a regular obverse and reverse; a design was planted in the centre of each of its sides, and the vacant spaces left necessarily by the form of the *cylix* were filled up mechanically with some stock decorative design, a sphinx, a griffin, a siren, unconnected with the main idea; when these fell away, there was still a certain consciousness and awkwardness about the spaces they had filled.

Now it seems to me that our vase is precisely an instance of this; it is the work of an artist not fully at ease in decorating the *cylix* form, he gives it an obverse and reverse of two disconnected scenes, he thinks in amphoras, so to speak. On the obverse he is able to spread out the successive rams to fill the space, in the reverse he places the chariot with Dionysos in the centre, then he has two empty spaces, and these he fills with two satyrs in attitudes which look as if they were bent on filling the prescribed space; they are connected with the scene, but their decorative function is that of corner figures ('*Eck figuren*').

I am indebted to Dr. Klein's work for another general suggestion which I venture to apply in this particular case. About the time of the transition from black to red-figured paintings we notice in the choice of subjects, as it were, a great outbreak of joyous, physical life, the whole cycle of Dionysiac revels come into prominence, and with them every variety of scenes of riot and rejoicing, dancing and carousing in everyday life. Whether we may or may not connect this outburst with the conscious triumph of the Greeks after the repulse of the Persians, the *fact* is well ascertained. With the exception of Dionysiac subjects there is a certain withdrawal of mythology, which is replaced by pictures of scenes actually present to the artist; only those myths are welcome, or at least are *most* welcome, which can be connected in some way with the god of wine and

feasting. Obviously the escape of Odysseus from the drunken Polyphemus is such. The hero triumphs by the help of Dionysos, the running woman in the centre design is also a votary—the whole cylix is instinct with the spirit of joyous riot, it is a panegyric of the god most fashionable at the time it was made. It might seem that this adventure of Odysseus would always, at any time, naturally connect itself with Dionysos, but we are obliged to confess that in the thirteen black-figured vases we possess it never *did*. We may point to the Cyclops of Euripides as a literary analogy without falling into the mistake of supposing that the vase painter drew his inspiration from a satyric drama.



FIG. 4.—INTERIOR OF CASTELLANI CYLIX.

A further note of date we may gather, I think, from the attitude of the woman's figure in the centre design, Fig. 4, and that of the satyr who precedes the chariot. Of the painter Kimon of Kleonae we hear it was the special virtue '*varie formare vultus, respicientis, suspicientisve, vel despicientis*' (Pliny, xxxv. 56). In the two figures we have mentioned, and in countless instances

on vases of this period, we see, I think, the echo of this innovation; there is an elaborate effort, a proud consciousness of new-found capacity in the way that figures are turned and twisted, made to look up and down and back. Kimon of Kleonae, Brunn reckons, lived and painted down to about the time of the Persian wars: the influence of the greater arts takes, we may always suppose, about a generation to penetrate to the conventions of a handicraft like vase painting. We have, therefore, in these figures, which may well be characterised as 'despicientes, respicientes,' a further argument for placing our vase about B.C. 480—460. The inscriptions would accord well with this date; we have the pre-Eukleidic ς and even \perp ; this \perp begins to give place to the Ionic \wedge , even in public documents, before the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, so that in private writing we may suppose the form \wedge to have been current about 450 B.C. (see Kirchhoff, *Studien*, p. 80). The word *καλος* on our vase is in one instance right to left.

But we may hope to find, I think, a still firmer ground for dating our vase. Dr. Klein has shown (*op. cit.*), beyond, I think, the possibility of doubt, that the series of closely connected names extending from Nikosthenes to Brygos occupy a place in the history of vase painting from about B.C. 490—440. Accepting his position, it remains for us now, in dating an unsigned vase apparently of this epoch, to see if the vase in question can show any plain analogy of style and treatment of subject with any particular members of this cycle of masters. Glancing through the list of the works of the Attic red-figured cylix masters (see Klein, *Die Griechischen Vasen mit Meister-signaturen*), we are struck by the fact that the earlier members of the group, and notably Pamphaios, Epiktetos, Kachrylion, and Chelis, have a special fondness for decorating the cylix after this formula:

A. Scene from mythology or daily life.

B. Dionysiac or Erotic scene.

I. Single nude figure looking back, and running or engaging in some violent action.

I need only point to such examples as, for Pamphaios, Klein,

op. cit. p. 43, No. 13; for Epiktetos, p. 46, No. 5; for Chelis, p. 53, No. 7; Kachrylion, p. 56, 7.

Very frequently the design in I. is a woman's figure, exactly analogous to the one on our vase. The large number of cases which justify the supposition that the formula we have given became typical about this time are best seen by glancing over the list at the end of the *Vasen mit Meister-signaturen*.

I think, therefore, that it is not too bold to attribute our vase, not indeed actually to one of the masters we have named, but to an artist who lived in those days, and worked under at least contemporary influence. Pamphaios, Epiktetos, and Kachrylion all worked both in the black and red-figured style, so that we have here an additional reason for placing our vase just at the boundary line. There are not wanting analogies to other vases of a trifle earlier or later date: *e.g.* cf. for the drawing of the horses, shape of chariot wheel, arrangement of tree, the Euxitheos vase published *Mon.* x. 2. In a black-figured cylix with eyes (*Mon.* vi. 7), we have just the coarse, deformed-looking satyrs with crumpled faces which our vase shows us; note also the satyrs of *Mon.* iv. 11, and the Hermes in the kneeling running attitude of the vase *Mon.* iv. 33. These are forms which disappear in the finest Attic cylix period.

Our single instance of a red-figured representation of the escape of Odysseus takes, I think, a safe and satisfactory place among the works of the earliest red-figured masters about B.C. 480—460. It remains for us to see, by a study of the earlier typography of the vase, how much of the form in which it appears was due to the invention of the red-figured artist, how much he inherited from black-figured tradition.

In the table which accompanies this paper I have placed together a list of the instances of this myth as complete as it was in my power to make. Of the 14 there enumerated, 10 appear in the list given by Heydemann (*Annali*, 1876, p. 251). The four which are new to my list are those numbered 1, 8, 11, 14, and distinguished by an asterisk. I have omitted the two vases in Heydemann's list marked *i* and *l*, which are noted as follows:

i. Coll. di Pietroburgo, n. 870 (tazza con rilievo impresso).

l. Vaso di cui Welcker vide il calco presso. E. Braun (*A. D. V.* p. 235).

These two vases stand out from all the rest by the distinguishing mark that Odysseus in both, according to the account given, wears the pilos. I do not wish to enter here into the discussion whether Pliny or Eustathius is to be followed—Pliny in his statement that Nikomachus first distinguished Odysseus by the pilos, or Eustathius who attributes the innovation to Apollodorus. I may refer those who are interested in the question to Bergk, *Ann. dell'I.* 1846, p. 306, note 2. For our purpose it is indifferent whether Apollodorus (working about the time of the Peloponnesian war) or Nikomachus (whose activity falls about the middle of the fourth century) was the innovator; in either case a black-figured vase with this peculiarity must be a mere reproduction, and of little interest in the development of a type.

I have not been able to trace the vase *l*, and I have not seen *i*, but I think their date and character is settled by the consideration of the pilos if it be correctly reported.

It has long been the custom to accompany the publication of a new vase with a citation of similar mythological instances, and as Heydemann has given a list for the Polyphemus myth it may seem that the mere addition of four new instances (distinguished in the table by an asterisk) does not justify a fresh enumeration; I may be allowed therefore to say a few words in explanation of the *raison d'être* of the accompanying table.

Enumeration can never be of any value except as a step to classification, but in the treatment of vases we seem to tarry long in the enumeration stage. It has been shown in the cataloguing of coins that it is possible and most instructive to group them according to types, and instead of in each instance reiterating what is common to all, noting only the individual variation. This principle applied to vases would, I think, yield a rich harvest and diminish eventually the mass of mechanical labour expended in enumeration. We speedily find that the vase painter thinks in certain prescribed forms, using them as the poet uses words. We become conscious that in these forms there is a common element which leads us to presuppose the

Myth. Escape of Odysseus and his Comrades from the Cave of Polyphemus.

Type. Scene—mouth of cave roughly indicated; at entrance, tree with fruit. Polyphemus left, half reclining, holds club. To him approach—1. Odysseus (distinguished by sword drawn from scabbard held in right) bound or clinging to ram; 2. α comrades of Odysseus each bound or clinging to ram.

No.	HEIGHT.	SHAPE.	STYLE.	INSCRIPTIONS.	VARIATIONS OF TYPE.	REMAINING DESIGNS.	DECORATION.	PROVENANCE.	POSSESSOR.	LITERATURE.	REMARKS.
1*	Metres. —	—	B. F., w. i., colouring careless	None	No tree; conventional foliage and fruit; one comrade.	None	—	—	Rhousoupolos' Coll. Athens	Rough sketch in possession of writer	
<i>Abridgments of Type (a.)</i> to suit decorative conditions of vases with obverse and reverse. Polyphemus omitted, and interest therefore shifted to Odysseus.											
2	0.18	Oinochōe	B. F., w. i.	None	Two trees; three rams. Figure beneath first ram has no sword; figure on second ram clings above instead of beneath; third ram has no figure attached.	None	On neck cf. Lau Taf III., 3 b.; sides of design, network	Chiusi	Municipality Coll. Florence	Sketch in writer's possession. <i>Bull.</i> 1859, p. 31	Formerly in Lunghini and Vagnouville collections
3	—	Lekythos	B. F., w. i.	None	A. Single ram, in front of con- ventional tree, bears Odys- seus bound; also conven- tional foliage; no cave	B. Same as A; but comrade in place of Odys- seus; cave to left.	Above design, pattern of leaves arranged V-shape below network	Sicily (?)	Recently disappeared from Trabbia Coll., Palermo	<i>Mon.</i> I. vii. 3, 4 Overbeck, xxxi. 6	
4	0.25	Lekythos	B. F., w. i. r.	None	A. Same as 3: but no conven- tional foliage	B. Same as A.	—	Girgenti	Munich, 755	None	
5	0.38	Amphora	B. F., w. r., rough Etruscan	None	A. Same as 4; but Odysseus carries no sword; no tree; no cave	B. Female figure in chiton and mantle, winged at shoulders and feet	—	Vulci	Munich, 1056	<i>Micali Storia</i> , Taf. xcix. 10; but much reduced, useless for style	
6	0.15	Lekythos	B. F., on black ground, w. i. r.	Eight letters, unintelligible	Same as 3; but no tree or fo- liage	None	On shoulder, vertical lines, leaves vertical- ly arranged	Not known	British Museum, No. 765.	<i>Odyssey</i> , Butcher and Lang, p. 152 <i>De Witt Cat.</i> , 151	
7	0.35	Kelebe	B. F., on white ground, i. r. and violet	Unintelligible	A. Same as 6; fragments of foliage branch from decora- tion at sides	—	On rim, ivy-pat- tern; body, honeysuckle	Locri	Gr. Museum, Carlsruhe, 32	W. Fröhner, <i>Cat.</i> , Carlsruhe, 32	

Abridgment of Type (b.) to suit limited space of ground on oinochōes, &c. Forepart only of ram bearing Odysseus appears. Polyphemus raises hand and usually head in token of speech to ram. Odysseus holds no sword. Interest shifted to Polyphemus.

8*	0.19	Oinochōe	B. F., on red ground, w. i. r.	None	Cave indicated to left; tree and conventional foliage; right hand of Polyphemus extended straight; Poly- phemus holds no club	None	On neck & shoul- der, network without con- necting lines; on shoulder, vertical leaves	Not known	British Museum, Label 478 B. Not in Cat.	Harrison, <i>Myths of the Odyssey</i> , pl. 6 b.	Eye of Poly- phemus drawn without pupil, to indicate blindness
9	0.16	Oinochōe	Same as 8	None	Same as 8; conventional fo- liage replaces tree; cave to left and right; club in left hand of Polyphemus	None	—	Athens	See Heydemann	Heydemann, <i>Gr. Vas.</i> , viii. 2	Same as 8
10	0.2	Oinochōe	Same as 8	—	Same as 9; Odysseus holds sword; no cave	None	Neck, closed lotus pattern & network; sides, network with no connecting lines.	See Berlin Cat. 1645	Berlin, 1645, old Cat.	Raoul Rochette, <i>Mon. In.</i> pl. lxx. 1	Same as 8
11*	—	Oinochōe	—	—	—	—	—	—	Louvre, Campana	—	

Enlargement of Abridged Type (a.) by addition of accessory figures, probably to suit black figured cylix decoration.

12	0.14	Early Cylix	B. F., w. i., and purple rough.	None	A. Single ram, with comrade attached, on either side spectator	B. Same as A.	None	Vulci	Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge	<i>Annali</i> , 1876, p. 352; Welcker, <i>Ant. Denk.</i> , v. 235	
13	0.12	Early Cylix	B. F., w. i. r.	Unintelligible	A. Single ram, with figure bound beneath, pursued by figure with club (?) in right, cloak over left	B. Same as A; but left arm of pursuer not ex- tended.	None	—	Wurzburg	<i>Ann.</i> 1876; Tav. d'Agg. R.	

Return of Original Type to suit decoration of red figured cylix.

14*	—	Cylix	R. F.	A. ΚΑΛΟΙ B. ΗΟΠΛΙΣΤΑΙ C. ΟΥΝΑΙ I. ΚΑΛΟΣ ΟΠΑ	A. Two comrades bound to rams; ram of Odysseus spot- ted; cave not indicated	B. Dionysos mounts chariot, preceded by Satyr, followed by Satyr carry- ing keras in right. I. Nude female figure wearing veil moves ra- pidly to right, carrying in right suspend- ed basket, in left suspended alabastron	None	—	Aug. Castellani, Rome.	—	Upper part of Polyphemus' body destroyed
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existence of a sort of root-form or type. Certain epochs in vase painting are fruitful in the creation of types, certain other periods can only copy and adapt, certain vase forms compel certain abridgments or amplifications. Brilliant instances of the analysis and synthesis of these type forms are given in C. Robert's *Bild und Lied*. It is not too much to say that by the careful analysis of vase paintings and their resolution into these types we gain a feeling for the manners of different periods which can be gained in no other way, and we have as it were a guiding principle for the interpretation of new instances. The type of the myth may sometimes exist only in our minds; it is like the root form of many common words, a sort of abstract formula which we are compelled to assume in order to account for existing modifications. Sometimes we are rewarded by meeting this creation of our brains—this form which we are sure has existed—actually embodied in some vase before unknown to us; more often we see only the broken modifications, but none the less the conception of the type is at the bottom of our classification.

The myth we have before us affords, it is true, no sensational results, but it is a good instance of the simple working of the process.

I will take the twelve vases which were known to me when I first tried to settle the type of this myth. They are the numbers 2—13, inclusive, of the table. The mere juxtaposition of drawings of these twelve made them fall at once into two groups. In the one group (of which Fig. 6 is a specimen) Polyphemus is present, and only half of one figure-bearing ram emerges. In the other group (cp. Fig. 1) Polyphemus is absent, the ram is depicted in full. Is either the original type? At once we reject the group where Polyphemus is absent. The early vase painter was above all a teller of stories, full, detailed after the epic manner; he is more likely to confuse by complicity of detail than to omit the essential. The independent ram, then, without Polyphemus is a fragment become conventional; the representation is so well known that its meaning is recognised even in a fragment. We dismiss, then, 2—7 inclusive.

We turn to our second group, where the forepart only of the ram appears, but Polyphemus is present, and we note that *all* the instances of this form are painted on red ground upon oinochōes; at once the reason of the abridgment of the ram is evident, he is reduced to suit the space he decorates. We have

here *not* the type, but the type modified to its decorative circumstances. We are very near the original type. At this point I felt sure that this type consisted of two elements, each of which in the modifications have been separately emphasised. The old type must have contained the seated Polyphemus and the complete ram bearing Odysseus, followed by a series (number uncertain) of rams bearing the comrades of Odysseus. There were other small, constant elements which added to my conception. Wherever (numbers 3 and 4) a single ram carrying a figure is represented on the obverse and reverse of the same vase, one of the figures carries a sword to mark him as the principal hero. This trait, I fancied, would appear in the early type, or, at least, be speedily added. In all the instances of both groups (except 6), in the background was either a tree or conventional foliage; I therefore restored to the type an original tree, and in all the oinochœ group there were indications of a cave. Polyphemus, whenever he appeared, reclined in the same attitude of helpless half-drunkenness and sleep.¹ These group up therefore the picture in my mind which heads the list as Type. Scene, mouth of cave, roughly indicated. At entrance, tree with fruit. Polyphemus left, half reclining, holds club. To him approach (1) Odysseus (distinguished by sword drawn from scabbard and held in right), bound or clinging to ram; (2) α comrades of Odysseus, each bound or clinging to ram.

I felt sure that the order would be this; that the vase painter would never remember that Odysseus came *last*, not first. I felt sure also that he would not remember, and perhaps never knew, that the hero was never bound to his ram at all, and it would, therefore, be quite a chance whether he represented him bound, or clinging, or both; also, that for symmetry's sake all the comrades would be clinging *below* the rams, not lying on their backs as Homer has it.

But though I knew this type must be, I never saw it till, by the kindness of M. Rhousoupolos, I visited his collection at Athens. There I found the vase numbered 1 in my list. The cave is there, not in the broken form in which it appears in the oinochœ type; the tree is indeed only represented by foliage with large fruits; Polyphemus in his familiar attitude clasping a club in his right; Odysseus on the foremost ram closely *bound*,

¹ This attitude appears also in such vases as represent the blinding of Polyphemus.

brandishing his sword, followed by one ram bearing a comrade. My type was therefore secured. I do not wish to give a false impression; this vase may not be the earliest of my series, but it is the completest *echo* of the original form. Sometimes the completest echo is found in quite a comparatively late vase: that does not prevent its verification of the preconceived type.

I have said advisedly that in the type Odysseus was followed by x rams bearing x comrades. We have no instance of the myth on very early vases decorated in the frieze style,¹ but if one did appear I should expect the procession to be indefinitely lengthened; the love of early art for uniform processions always *moving to the right* is well known.



FIG. 5.—VAGNOUVILLE OINOCHŒ. *Abridgment of Type (a).*

Once the type fixed; its modifications fall easily into their right place. We have the two abridgments of the type, (a) and (b). They seem to me to have been prompted in a double way: first, as I noted before, by decorative necessity, second, by a fluctuation of feeling towards the myth. When the artist omitted Polyphemus, he did so, no doubt, because a single ram on obverse and reverse made a simple, compact decoration for

¹ The situla decorated with ivory, of this from an older class of monuments, *Mon. dell'I.* x. 39, A. 1, is an instance

amphora, lekythos, or kelebe, but he also shifted the emotional centre of gravity of the scene, inclining all the interest to the escape of Odysseus. When the artist, on the other hand, cut off all but the forepart of the first ram, he shifted the emotional centre in the other direction, *i.e.* to Polyphemos. This is not mere fancy. It is noticeable that in No. 1, our type instance, Polyphemos, though a permanent and pathetic figure, takes no part in the action, he is unconscious, either drunken or sleeping; but uniformly in the oinochœ type (8, 9, 10, 11,¹) Polyphemos lifts his hand in token of speech to the ram; in No. 9, he looks distinctly alert, and is without doubt in eager speech with the ram; No. 10, which is of poor and mechanical execution, has the head of the giant sunk in apparent unconsciousness, but the hand is lifted in speech; it seems like an ignorant copy; in this copy we notice also that Odysseus is much more prominent, and brandishes his sword as in the full type. As a rule Odysseus in the abridged oinochœ type holds no sword: why should he? there are no comrades visible from whom it is necessary to distinguish him. It is noticeable, further, that in the oinochœ type Polyphemos, though taking part in the action and speaking, is emphasised as *blinded*; his eye is drawn with two strokes only and no pupil; this adds to the pathos of the scene. Whether his eye is so drawn in the full type instance, No. 1, I cannot with confidence say. If, therefore, in the full type we have epic narration, we have in the abridged type not only a condensation but an intensification of the thought. The artist has seized on a definite moment; he is dramatic in style; restricted space tends to this intensification and unifying of the action, but it is also an indication of that deep-rooted habit of passing in Greek literature as in art from the epic to the dramatic manner, from the combined flow of the story, whether told or painted, to the selecting and embodying the one, definite, crucial moment. This transition seems to come about just at the time of the change from black to red-figured painting, the time to which roughly these oinochœs with limited red fields belong. They probably continued long after the red-figured style was established for cylixes.

From the full epic type we have then two abridgments: (α) is

¹ Of 11 I have tried in vain to obtain the necessary particulars.

for the most part mechanical, a mere detaching of parts of a group, and an incidental shifting of interest; (b) is at once an abridgment of form and a development of idea, it marks the rise of dramatic feeling, the artist cares not only to fill a space and tell a story but to embody an emotion and a situation. It is, I think, the highest level attained by the myth.

We have one class yet unmentioned, of which 12 is a good example. When form (a) became completely detached, its connection with Polyphemus fell out of sight, and it was used by



FIG. 6.—OINOCHŌE IN BRITISH MUSEUM. *Abridgment of Type (b).*

itself quite mechanically. It was just the picture of an heroic exploit. So we find, No. 12, in the Cambridge vase two spectators or agonistic judges stand one on either side of the ram as though they watched an athletic contest. Such mechanical additions to a design which has become mechanical are common enough. Theseus and the Minotaur with attendant judges appear in a similar fashion on the early shaped kylixes decorated with small figures. It was only a step further to make one of the standing figures (with perhaps a vague notion that he represented Polyphemus) pursue the ram with its burden, as in 13.

Turning, after our review of the black-figured series, to our red-figured cylix, we find with respect to its typography that we have just the result we might expect. The artist has added nothing; he revives, indeed, the old type in its fulness to suit the cylix space he has to decorate, but there is no new thought. The artist, as we have seen, was not one of the great masters, he was only one of a school, and that school even was not one conspicuous for the creation of new types, as *e.g.* were the somewhat later masters—Hieron, Duris, Brygos, Euphronios—but rather for their selection of Dionysiac subjects and everyday life. The artist found the subject ready then to his hand; his design is even less lively than in No. 1, for the cave is entirely wanting. Whether the artist adopted the pathetic motive of the oinochoë type (*b*) we cannot say, for the whole upper part and right side of the giant are destroyed. I am inclined to think he did not; with the old full type he probably brought back the epic manner; he did not come of a pathetic school, and this manner would suit him best; but the point cannot be decided. Our kelebe, of course, takes its place in (*a*), of which it is the finest known instance.

A few scattered points remain to be noted. The interesting Lughini vase, No. 2, is now at Florence; a sketch is given in Fig. 5. It is the only instance in which a figure appears on the top of the ram. I attribute this to the artist's desire to make his picture at once clear and varied, *not to any desire to be true to Homer*. A very dejected-looking ram with no burden follows: the whole conception is so naïve that I regret to have to place it where, however, it must needs go, in the mechanical series (*a*). It may have been the earliest instance of abridgment, before it became at all conventional.

No. 3, the first of the Odysseus vases to be known and published, has met with a sad fate. When at Palermo I went in quest of it, and heard from Prof. Salinas that it had recently disappeared from the Trabbia collection which is still kept together. The vase it is supposed was stolen, but no clue could be found.

No. 5 is an Etruscan amphora; the whole vitality of the design has disappeared. In the earlier instances of (*a*) a certain picturesqueness is preserved by the retention of tree or cave; in the later instances this element is gradually eliminated, and the design becomes almost heraldic in its precision.

The oinochöes I think may be ranged in the order of the list, at least 8, 9, 10; of 11 I have no drawing before me; 8, in the British Museum, is very fresh in style, and tree and cave are still present. 9 develops the idea, but the conventional foliage makes for a slightly later date. 10, the Berlin vase, has, as I have shown, all the poverty and confusion of an exhausted type. 13, the Leake vase, is at Cambridge.

As regards the descriptions in the tabular view, I at first had hoped to make them much fuller, so that they might in part supply the place of plates where these were unattainable. Experience soon showed me that not only was this quite impracticable in a tabular view, but also that it greatly confused and obscured my exposition of the type doctrine. I feel strongly that the type can only be securely arrived at when the drawings of all, or nearly all, the individual instances lie before the compiler. The table must, therefore, be regarded not merely as a compilation of material but chiefly as an exposition of a theory. I have, however, tried to make it a complete directory of literary sources, and also a supplement where, as in the matter of subordinate decoration, literary information often comes short. I have avoided, however, repeating the substance of catalogues or publications which must be accessible to every professed archaeologist.

May I be allowed to add that, as I am in process of compiling similar tables for the whole series of myths of the Trojan cycle, any criticism that will help me to improve them will be welcomed as the greatest of benefits.

JANE E. HARRISON.

NOTE.—Since writing the above my attention has been called to a tract by J. Bolte, *De Monumentis ad Odysseam pertinentibus*. To the particular class of monuments of which I treat, vase-paintings, he adds nothing beyond those I have cited from Heydemann's list; but the situla ornamented with ivory published in *Mon.* x. 39, A. 1, and the terra-cotta figure, *Mittheilungen* iv. 172, raise the interesting question as to the ultimate origin of the design of the ram-carrying man. They do not affect my argument as to the complete form of the type.

A STATUETTE OF EROS.

THE interesting statuette of Eros, a photographic print of which accompanies this paper, was presented by His Majesty the King of the Hellenes to Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, who has been good enough to permit its publication in these pages. It is of terra-cotta, gilt, and measures $10\frac{1}{4}$ inches in height without the plinth. It is almost uninjured; but the thumb of the right hand is a restoration. At the back is the usual round air-hole.

It is evident at once that we have here to do with a very unusual representation of Eros, and with one which is to most people singularly pleasing: the head in particular being very attractive. In spite of grave faults in the modelling which reveal themselves on closer inspection, it remains clear that the statuette must be derived from some notable sculptural type. On first seeing it I was at once convinced that it must stand in no distant relation to one of the celebrated statues of Eros, by Praxiteles; and subsequent study has, I hope, put me in a position to prove what was at first mere matter of surmise.

I am unable to state positively where the statuette was found. The Princess of Wales supposes it to come from Tanagra: but on grounds of style this provenance would seem scarcely probable. The fact that it was gilt points strongly to Asia Minor as its source; gilding being a marked characteristic of the statuettes of Asia Minor, especially those of Smyrna. And the style of art is most distinctly that of Asia and not that of Greece proper. We might search in vain among the figures from Tanagra for anything like it; but turning to the plates of M. Froehner's *Terres Cuites d'Asie Mineure* we at once find several statuettes, and even several figures of Eros, which bear a strong family resemblance to the present figure. I would instance the figures





of Eros on plates 4, 9, 18, 20, and 29, in Froehner's work; and more particularly the figure on plate 32, which comes from Smyrna, and which bears so striking a resemblance to our statuette that the two must almost necessarily belong to the same school. To this figure we will hereafter return. It seems, therefore, almost certain, in the absence of direct evidence to the contrary, that the original source of the present statuette was Asia Minor.

A detailed description of the statuette is the more necessary, because our plate represents it only in one aspect. The hair is bound with simple fillet or taenia, and arranged in two plaits which lead up to a sort of knot (*κρωβύλος*) over the forehead, an arrangement not unusual in the case of Eros; the face is full of gentle and pleasing expression, and looks slightly towards the left. The wings are very small, but this is caused probably by the fragile nature of the material; they are rather abbreviated than out of proportion. The body is neither that of a young man nor that of a child, but that of a boy. The arms and the body are full and soft, almost to effeminacy; this is indeed the least pleasing feature of the whole; the artist has certainly here and there, especially in the treatment of the abdomen, passed the line which separates pleasing softness from weakness and fleshiness. The only garment worn by this Eros is a fawnskin (*nebris*), or a cloth closely resembling a fawnskin in form and appearance, which passes over the left shoulder and under the right arm, long ends hanging down the left side. As to this I shall speak later. The feet are, as so often in the case of statuettes, very long and rather clumsy. The rough trunk of a tree is added as a support.

The artistic motive of the statuette is not very easily discerned. At first sight the attitude seems to resemble that of one who has just discharged an arrow and holds a bow still in his left hand. But I do not think that this theory will sustain a closer inspection. Again, on the left hand may have rested a butterfly, or it may have held a flower. Perhaps the correct solution may be that Eros is not occupied in doing anything; but is merely standing and looking into the distance.

If we seek the salient characteristics of the statuette they will be easily found. Eros is here far removed from the vigorous and athletic youth who represents him in early art. He is of

far more sensuous type than the gentle boy who is yet every inch a boy in the group of gods in the Parthenon frieze. Nor has he anything in common with the sturdy and playful babies who do duty in Roman and late Greek art for the god of love. He is, or rather the original which he represents is, the creation of an age when sentiment, and indeed a somewhat sensuous sentiment, was making its way into art; while sculpture was still ideal in tone and not yet contented with crude realism; and before the art of portraying children had reached its perfection.

This seems to me equivalent to saying that our statuette is copied from an original of the time of the second Attic school.

If we take a typical statue of that school, the Olympian Hermes, and place it beside the statuette, we shall see at least in externals and in general effect a certain resemblance. The face looks in the same direction, the pose of both legs is nearly the same, and a line drawn from head to foot down the middle of the body will follow the same curve. The drapery of our statuette resembles in some respects that of the Satyr in the Louvre and of the Satyr at the Capitol,¹ both of which are traced back by the best judges to a Praxitelean original; though it must be confessed that the nebris, if nebris it be of the statuette, is rolled at the top in a way which seems unusual. I do not suppose our statuette itself to date from the time of Praxiteles. It is probably of later date than the time of Alexander the Great, and there are many weaknesses in the work which mark the hand of a later and less original artist. But my contention is that the statuette bears the same relation to some Eros of Praxiteles which certain extant Aphrodites bear to the Cnidian Aphrodite of the same master. That is, it will resemble it in pose, and in general character.

We shall probably be justified in going further and singling out the particular statue which the artist who modelled our statuette intended to copy. Pliny² mentions a statue of Eros by Praxiteles as existing in his time at Parium in the Propontis 'ejusdem (Praxitelis est) et alter (Cupido) nudus in Pario

¹ The Hermes is the frontispiece to the second volume of Overbeek's *Geschichte der Gr. Plastik*, 3rd Edit. An

engraving of the satyr, *ibid.* p. 41.

² Plin. *N. H.* xxxvi. 23.

colonia Propontidis.' The late Dr. Stark¹ wrote a valuable paper on this passage, maintaining that the *nudus* probably refers rather to the absence of the customary bow and arrow, than to absence of drapery. The same writer wished to connect with this passage of Pliny an epigram of Palladas in the Anthology² which runs:—

Γυμνὸς Ἔρως, διὰ τοῦτο γελᾷ καὶ μέλιχρός ἐστιν·
οὐ γὰρ ἔχει τόξον καὶ πτερόεντα βέλη.
οὐδὲ μάτην παλάμαις κατέχει δελφίνα καὶ ἄνθος,
τῇ μὲν γὰρ γαίαν τῇ δὲ θάλασσαν ἔχει.

Stark considers it probable, though he has not proved, that this epigram refers to the statue at Parium, and that this statue held a dolphin and a flower in the two hands. And in this opinion he is followed by Overbeck.

It does not appear to me that so elaborate and defined a symbolism is quite in the style of Praxiteles, but rather belongs to Hellenistic times. We are, however, spared the discussion of this *a priori* question by the existence of positive evidence of what the Parian Eros was like. There is a whole series of coins struck at Parium, by a succession of Emperors from Antoninus Pius down to Philip, on the reverse of which appears a figure of Eros, which is so uniform in character on all of them, as to leave no doubt that it must be copied from a work of sculpture. For when on coins of the imperial Greek class, we find a type consistently preserved in all its details for centuries, we can scarcely avoid supposing that the die-cutters had the original of the type constantly before them in sculptural form. And as the figure on our Parian coins is decidedly Praxitelean in pose, there is no reason to reject the natural and obvious supposition that the celebrated statue from which they are copied is the noted work mentioned by Pliny.³

It is true that on the coins we find no trace of the dolphin

¹ *Berichte der k. Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.* 1866.

² *Anth. Gr.* III. p. 133, No. 94.

³ One of these coins was published by Rauch in the *Berliner Blätter*, vol. v. p. 16; from the evidence of this

single specimen Bursian came to the conclusion that the figure represented was the Praxitelean Eros. I have been unable to consult Dr. Bursian's paper. (See Riggauer in the *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, vol. viii.)

or the flower, which according to the theory of Stark the Parian Eros ought to carry in his hands. And although the die-cutters might consider a flower too small an object to copy on the small field of a coin, yet they could scarcely have thought this of the more bulky dolphin. Therefore it seems likely that the Eros copied by them did not carry these two attributes. But this will scarcely be sufficient to prove that the Eros of the coins is not the Eros of Praxiteles, for the theory of Stark, though able and ingenious, was but a theory, and must give way before the weight of positive evidence. We do not consider it rash to assert that our coins portray the Parian Eros; and that he certainly did not carry a dolphin, though he may perhaps have borne a flower.

I have put together on a plate all the specimens of this class of coin of which my numismatic friends have been good enough to send me casts; they are as follows:—

<i>No. in Plate.</i>	<i>Legend.</i>	<i>Emperor.</i>	<i>Museum.</i>
1	COL · GEM · IVL · HAD · PA · DEO · CVPIDINI	Antoninus Pius	Berlin (Rauch)
2	C · G · I · H · P	„ „	Imhoof.
3	„	„ „	Paris (Wiczay).
4	As No. 1.	Commodus ...	Copenhagen.
5	Obscure	Severus Alex- ander.....	Berlin.
6	C · G · I · H · P DEO CVPIDINI	Otacilia	Milan.
7	C · G · I · H · PA DEO CVPIDINI	Philip, Junior	Paris (Cousin- ery).
8	C · G · I · H · P	Antoninus Pius	British Museum.

Eros constitutes the type of all these coins but the last, which is added merely for illustration.¹ He stands facing the spectator,

¹ On all of these coins there appears by the side of Eros a small terminal figure. On No. 8 of the Plate, a coin

of Antoninus Pius, it occurs on a larger scale. Rauch wrongly took it for an altar. The figure is distinctly bearded,



1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



his head turned somewhat upwards and to the right. His right hand is extended empty, and a light chlamys falls on his left side. In the position of the left hand there seems to be a variation. On the coins struck under Antoninus (1—3) this appears to be raised, but does not, as Rauch supposed, grasp the top of the chlamys. On later coins it rests against the side of the deity. In spite of this variety, the cause of which is obscure, it is evident that in all cases there is an intention to portray the same statue, and even a cursory inspection of the coins will show how very closely that original resembled the terra-cotta under discussion. Allowing for the slight liberties in dealing with perspective to which we are quite accustomed in the case of coins, the resemblances are very striking; both arms are in nearly the same position on the coins and in the terra-cotta; and the hands are alike in the absence or apparent absence of attributes; the legs are in the same pose, and the weight of the body falls in the same line; the head too is turned in the same direction, though the twist is, as is often the case, somewhat exaggerated on the coins. But a few important differences appear. The first is in the wings, which are far longer on the coins than in the statuette; but the fragile nature of the material quite accounts, in case of the latter, for the abbreviation of the wings. The second difference is more notable and of more moment. Whereas on the coins Eros wears no drapery save a short chlamys hanging over his left arm, in the statuette on the contrary he wears a nebris over his shoulder. Pliny's expression *nudus* applies particularly well to the figure of the coins; and the way in which there the chlamys hangs down reminds us of the drapery of the celebrated Hermes from Olympia, of that of the Cnidian Aphrodite and other statues of the Praxitelean school. We can scarcely doubt that the coins reproduce accurately the Parian statue in the matter of drapery as in other respects. If so, it follows that the maker of our statuette, adhering to the Praxitelean model in other respects, innovated in the matter of drapery. What his reason for doing so may have been, remains doubtful. What he has done is remarkable. It is rather hard to say whether he intended to

and so cannot be an archaic simulacrum of Eros. Its constant introduction on

the coins shows however that it stood near the statue of Praxiteles,

portray a nebris or a chlamys; the substance of the garment looks like leather and the ends hanging down on the left side have the general appearance of goat's feet.¹ But on closer



examination the likeness to a nebris diminishes, and the fold over the chest, on the upper line of the garment seems to indicate a light rather than a stiff substance. Is it possible

¹ Eros wears a nebris in the group *Marbles*, No. 90, Clarac, *Musée de Sc.* at Brocklesby House. Michaelis, *Ant.* iv. 690, 1626.

therefore, that our artist intended to clothe his Eros in a chlamys, and that the likeness to a nebris is accidental?

Let us now turn to a remarkable terra-cotta from the Gréau collection, supposed to come from Smyrna, and published by M. Froehner¹ (see woodcut opposite). In it we have a figure of Eros very closely like that now published. In the position of his head, of both his arms, and of both his legs, he is exactly alike in both statuettes: but in the Gréau specimen he is crowned with ivy, and holds in his left hand three quinces, in his right hand he holds the end of a chlamys or other garment which passes over the left shoulder without being fastened there, and is held in position by weights of lead at the end.² Within the chlamys so held are grapes and fruits. This disposition of drapery is most peculiar, and even unnatural. And the curious thing is that though the *motive* of the drapery is quite different from that prevailing in the Princess of Wales' statuette, yet the superficial likeness is complete. Long ends hang down Eros' left side in both statuettes, and indeed in the statue on the coins as well.

We have, then, three distinct types; in which attitude and type of body are retained, but drapery and motive are varied. And all alike are derived from a Praxitelean original. Surely this is an interesting, as well as a somewhat startling fact in the history of Greek art. We find a Praxitelean type ruling, but every artist who adopts it seems at liberty to introduce his own variations, and to give his own interpretation. And these are exactly the facts which in the opinion of M. Froehner are observable in case of the terra-cottas of Asia Minor generally. He remarks over and over again alike the license in innovation on established types to be found in them, and their general Praxitelean character. And Praxitelean influence is not less observable, as I have elsewhere remarked,³ in the types on the coins of Greek Kings of the East. I cannot now follow further this line of observation, which might, if pursued, lead to interesting results.

The evidence, for and against, being duly weighed, there

¹ *Terres cuites d'Asie Min.*, Pl. xxxii.

² M. Froehner thus describes the dress: 'Sa draperie n'a pas d'agrafes, et ne tient pas sur l'épaule; les glands de plomb, fixés aux extrémités l'em-

pêchent seuls de tomber et font contrepoids.'

³ 'special influence in Asia of the School of Praxiteles,' *Types of Greek Coins*, p. 209.

seems to me to be sufficient ground for supposing that the statuette of Eros is a copy of the Parian statue of that deity of Praxiteles; and in spite of certain variations and a certain want of dignity, it may serve to give us some idea of the great masterpiece. The Parian statue was not indeed the most celebrated of the figures of Eros made by Praxiteles. He made a statue of the god for the people of Thespieae which was very far more celebrated in antiquity. We may hope that something has been done in the present paper to set archaeologists on the road to the discovery of copies of this splendid work. We have the Hermes of Praxiteles. We have copies of his Apollo Sauroctonus, his Satyr, his Cnidian Aphrodite, and perhaps of others of his statues. Very much has been lately done in the recovery of traces of his work in existing statues; and if the process goes on, we may hope some day to have as clear an idea of his style as we have of those of Canova and Thorwaldsen.¹

PERCY GARDNER.

¹ Since this paper was in type I have received from the kindness of Prof. Michaelis a copy of Dr. Bursian's tract *De Cupidine Praxiteles Pariano*, as well as several important references by which I have been much aided. Dr. Bursian fully agrees with me that the epigram of Palladas does not refer to the statue at Parium; and he anticipates my view that the figure presented on the coin of Antoninus Pius, No. 1 of the plate, the only specimen known to him, is a copy of this statue. He remarks that on the coin the head of Eros is turned upwards as if he were watching some one descending from

heaven, or listening to a voice from above. Also that the right hand of Eros is stretched out to signify that he awaits the worship of mankind, and his left grasps the top of his chlamys. These suggestions are valuable; but I cannot fully accept them, as I regard the position of the head on the coin as a natural rendering in relief of the attitude of the head of the terra-cotta; and I do not think that the left hand grasps anything, though the bad state of the coin makes this uncertain. The period to which Bursian, with the approbation of Overbeck, assigns the Parian statue is about B.C. 340.

NOTES OF TRAVEL IN PAPHLAGONIA AND GALATIA.

WHEN I undertook in the months of August, September, and October, 1882, my last excursion into Asia Minor, my principal object was to explore some very little known districts in the northern part of that country. Of these Paphlagonia has hitherto been almost a blank on all critical maps, traversed only by two or three routes of Hamilton, Ainsworth, and Tchichatcheff, which gave no hint whatever as to the configuration, the present condition, and the ancient remains of the province. The adjacent parts of Galatia, the inferior course of the Halys, the tract lying between this river and the Iris, the source and length of the famous Thermodon, had all likewise remained unexplored until the present day. No doubt their lack of historical interest must be held to account for their neglect by recent travellers. There were even some important points on the coast-line, such as Kytoros and Kinolis, which had not been visited since Tavernier, two centuries ago.

My starting point was Ineboli, the ancient *Abonu teichos Paphlagonias*, lying about the centre of the northern coast of Asia Minor. Hence I explored, as far as was possible in the course of a rapid ride, the western half of the province as far as the river Parthenius. The mountainous character of the country proved very unfavourable for travelling. The mountains were crowded as it were very closely together, separated only by narrow ravines, while the ascents were of extraordinary steepness. Indeed the paths were on the whole far more difficult than I had met with before even in the Taurus of Pisidia and Cicilia.

Almost the whole configuration of this western part of Paphlagonia depends upon the system of the Devrikian-irmak, a river known hitherto only by name, but which I found to be

the principal channel in this mountainous region. But, as is commonly the case in Asia Minor, this river, far from being a highroad of commerce and communication between the interior and the coast, has to spend its whole force in breaking its narrow way to the sea through a mountain barrier of extraordinary roughness and wildness. It was inevitable, therefore, from the outset, that the traffic of the country should be mainly maritime. The little harbours and places along the coast, so easily accessible to one another by sea, are separated by ridges of the most repellent character, so that communication between the coast and the interior is restricted to a very few lines, which were used in ancient times as they are to this day for the exportation of timber and the importation of the few and simple necessities required by the Autochthones. Hence in no part of Asia Minor were the Greek colonies on the coast of so little consequence as here for the regions which lay behind them.

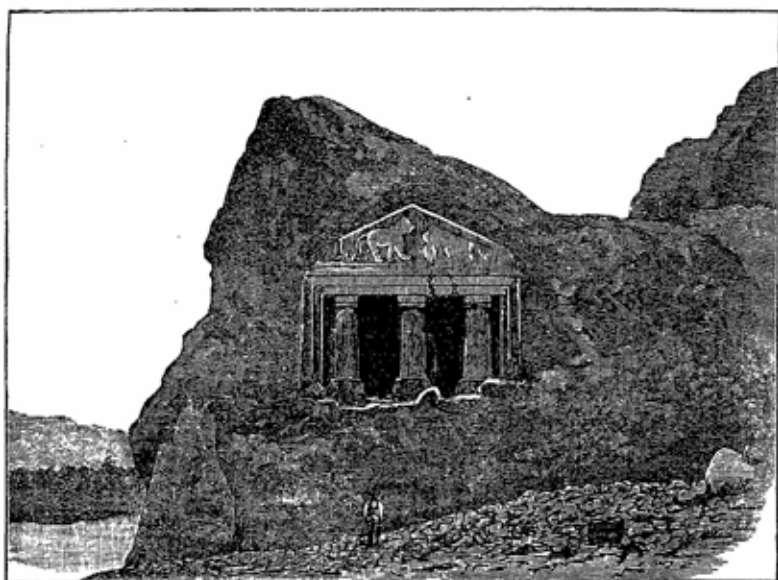
Ancient tradition, so rich for the south and the interior of Asia Minor, has left us almost nothing for Paphlagonia but a bare list of names of cities. Ancient remains also are very scanty, and we are forced to conclude that the people of Paphlagonia, like their neighbours a little further east, of whom Xenophon bears record, took the building materials for their miserable huts from the inexhaustible forests around them, as their successors do to this day. I may mention another analogy between ancient and modern times based upon the unaltered character of the country. In many cases the huts which belong to a single village are scattered over a large area, sometimes on very high and distant points. It has therefore been found necessary by the modern inhabitants to place their religious centre, the mosque, as it were on neutral ground, equally accessible from all parts of the settlement. Now the sanctuaries seem to have been isolated in the same way in ancient times; for I found the remains of one near the Parthenius, while another was probably combined with a necropolis in the valley of the Devrikian in a very imposing situation, where there were still remaining some very ancient marble lions. These had probably once crowned tumuli, if we may judge from the analogy of other cases in the Greek world. Unfortunately all the photographs which I took at this place

were lost through my horses falling into the deep water of the Parthenius beyond Bartin—the Homeric Parthenium.

The necropolis I refer to may perhaps be regarded as the burial ground for a branch of those petty dynasts of Paphlagonia who traced their origin and family name back to the Pylaemenes of the *Iliad*. The site is well chosen, being one of the grandest and most picturesque in the country. From Bartin I made my way eastward along the coast, though the path was of the most difficult character. Our first halt was at Amastris, the town built and named after herself by a niece of Darius Codomannus, on the site of an older Greek colony. In later classical times it was a flourishing centre of commerce. But from the fifteenth century onwards it has remained out of the world and unnoticed. It has, however, remarkably preserved its double character of an ancient and a mediaeval town. For while the mountain slopes running down to the coast abound in remains of antiquity, rude sepulchral monuments, fragments of walls and of columns, the town itself is still so entirely mediaeval as to carry one at once several centuries back into the past.

Having proceeded along the coast with great difficulty as far as Tchakras, the ancient Erythini, we found ourselves compelled to turn inland, the cross ridges running sheer down from the mountain range to the sea making further progress impossible. It was then that I realised from the impracticable nature of the coast region why Paphlagonia has hitherto almost defied exploration, and I determined to make the best of my way back to Ineboli by sea. After leaving Ineboli, where a week of valuable time was lost through the suspicions and intrigues of the Pasha of Castamuni, I rode for two days along the coast, here less difficult than in Western Paphlagonia, but did not push on as far as Sinope, feeling bound to confine my attention to remoter regions. I therefore struck southward again across the mountains, following the course of a little stream. After crossing the topmost ridge of the range which forms the barrier between the coast and the waters of the Halys, we began to descend into a very different region, and finally reached Taschköprü, which occupies the site of the ancient Pompeiopolis. The remains are numerous, but belong to a late period. From

this point I continued almost strictly in a southern direction till I reached the Halys. In order to explore the inferior course of this river, the largest in Asia Minor, I followed it for three days along paths never trodden before by a modern traveller, partly cut into the rock on both sides of the stream, and belonging from all appearance to the remotest antiquity. The small openings and plains on each side of the river are comparatively well peopled, and very fertile, especially in fruits,



grapes being particularly abundant. There is one very important spot, where a large fertile plain, the Zeitun-ovasi, lies on the right bank of the river, while the left bank is almost blocked by huge cliffs of limestone. Here a grand tomb is cut into an isolated rock which adjoins the river. Three columns of rather clumsy proportions, but of good workmanship, about ten feet high, form a kind of *pronaos*. Their whole appearance is very curious. The base of each column consists of a very large *torus*, while the capital is quadrangular. Behind the columns a small door leads to a very small and simple room, in the

background of which a rock shelf is cut out for the corpse which was buried therein (see woodcut). An analogous monument at Aladja was published by Perrot (*Expl.* pl. xxxiii.) I saw others at Castamuni, and especially, further south, at Iskelib at the foot of the citadel, a site I am inclined to identify with Tavium, the capital of the *Trocmi Galatici*. But it must be understood that these monuments cannot be regarded as creations of Galatian art, which has left no traces whatever in Asia Minor.

After having followed the Halys as far as I could, to a point about two days' journey from the sea, I returned by the right bank of the river, crossed the mountains of the Zeitun-ovasi, and went to Osmandjik and Iskelib, a large and flourishing town visited by Ainsworth nearly fifty years ago. Thence I held almost due south, crossed the Halys for the last time, and after visiting the well-known and curious monuments of Euyuk and the rock-sculptures of Bogazkeui, I proceeded in the same direction as far as Yuzgat, situated nearly half way between the northern and southern coasts of Asia Minor. On my way north-east to Amasia, I found that the whole tract between the systems of the Halys and of the Iris is but slightly undulating and of no importance, inhabited by quiet people who till the ground. I saw nothing but Byzantine remains which had apparently belonged to small churches, the only monuments in this region, it would seem, even in those times. But I succeeded in laying down on my map the Skylax, one of the richest tributaries of the Iris.

At Amasia in the beginning of October autumn set in with rain and cold, so it was not easy to travel between the Iris and its largest affluent, the Lycus. But as I was still anxious to explore the kind of trapezium embraced by the course of these two rivers, I rode across the mountains to Tokat, and thence to Niksar the ancient Neocaesarea, which I believe to have been the Kabira of Mithradates.

Lastly I endeavoured to find the source of the Thermodon, with complete success. It turned out to be a very short river (from two to three days' journey), but with abundance of water. It was probably this circumstance, and the fact of the valley being somewhat opener than those of the adjacent rivers of the

coast, that entitled the Thermodon to the importance which it attained in ancient Greek myths.

My land journey ended at Samsun, after a trip to Trapezuntium. I had seen at least the whole northern coast, while in the interior I had carried out my programme. Besides a map of my tour, I had taken numerous photographs, specimens of which have been laid before the Society.

GUSTAV HIRSCHFELD.

NOTES ON HOMERIC ARMOUR.

It is unfortunate that Dr. Buchholz's great book on the Homeric *Realien* should have had no more adequate guides in the difficult and interesting questions relating to archaic Greek armour than the now rather unsatisfactory work of Rüstow and Köchly, *Die Geschichte des Griechischen Kriegswesens* (Aarau, 1852). That treatise was written some thirty years ago, when archaeology was comparatively young. In discussing heroic arms the authors make no distinction of archaic and late monuments, while of course they were ignorant of the revolution in our ideas of primitive Greece brought about by recent discoveries, of which those of Dr. Schliemann at Mykenai occupy the chief place. Some valuable hints have been given by Dr. Autenrieth in his *Homeric Dictionary*, and will also be found scattered through the notes of Ameis and Hentze in their edition of the *Iliad*; but no important monograph on the question has appeared, so far as I am aware, and we must not perhaps complain if Dr. Buchholz has had to take an antiquated treatise for his text, relegating to notes the scattered suggestions which he has found elsewhere. Dr. W. Helbig's promised work, *Das Homerische Epos aus den Denkmälern erläutert*, will doubtless leave little to be desired when it appears;¹ meanwhile the following somewhat disconnected suggestions may possibly be of help in clearing up various disputed points.

Of all the articles of the ancient panoply it is to the shield that our thoughts first turn. In this, both for a Greek and a Roman, lay the "point of honour," which in the days of chivalry

¹ In the *Archaeol. Zeitung* for 1880, p. 194, is a brief abstract of a paper by Dr. Helbig on Homeric armour, but

the full text has, I believe, not been published.

was transferred to the sword. It was the shield which most obviously distinguished the hoplite from his despised and light-armed auxiliary, and it was the shield which bore the device by which, as the mediaeval knight by his banner, the chieftain was known under the disguise of his helmet. But these devices, though so common on vase-paintings, are not Homeric. The Gorgoneion on Agamemnon's shield¹ is not an individual coat of arms, but an ἀποτρόπαιον, or a device to terrify the enemy, like the hideous faces which the Chinese braves carry in the same way; and it is by the size and not by the adornment of his shield that Kebriones recognises the presence of Aias in the fray.² The fact that Herodotos ascribes to the Karians³ the first use of such σημεῖα may be taken to indicate that in his time there was still some recollection of the comparatively recent introduction of the practice; the elaborate description of the emblazonry in the 'Seven against Thebes,'⁴ proves how little such a tradition affected the practice of a poet.

This importance of the shield in the Greek panoply may help to explain, firstly, the apparently disproportionate space given to the shield in the description of the armour of Achilles; and secondly, the epithet *θοῦρις*, which strikes us as so inappropriate when applied to what we regard as a purely passive weapon of defence. But to the Greek the shield was in a special way the type of the warrior and his *θοῦρις ἀλκή*, and it is in the wielding of his shield to right and left that Hector finds the mark of stalwart soldiership.⁵ So that we need not be more surprised at *θοῦρις ἀσπίς* than we should be if in a poem on chivalry we met with such a phrase as 'the furious banner' of a mediaeval knight.

¹ A 36, see Helbig, 'Sopra lo scudo d' Achille,' *Annali*, 1882, pp. 221-44.

² A 526:

Αἴας δὲ κλονέει Τελαμώνιος. εὖ δὲ μιν ἔγνων·

εὐρὺ γὰρ ἀμφ' ὁμοισιν ἔχει σάκος.

Cf. E 182,

ἀσπίδι γιγνώσκων ἀλώπιδι τε τρυφαλεῖν.

³ i. 171. καὶ σφι τριζὰ ἐξευρήματα ἐγένετο, τοῖσι οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐχρήσαντο· καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰ κράνεα λόφους ἐπιδείσθαι Κῆος εἰσι οἱ καταδέξαντες, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας τὰ σημεῖα ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ ὄχανα

ἀσπίσι οὗτοι εἰσι οἱ ποιησάμενοι πρῶτοι· τέως δὲ ἔνευ ὀχάνων ἐφόρεον τὰς ἀσπίδας πάντες, ὥστε ἐάθεσαν ἀσπίσι χρεῖσθαι, τελαμῶσι σκυτίνοισι οἰκίζοντες, περὶ τοῖσι ἀνέχεσι τε καὶ τοῖσι ἀριστεροῖσι ὤμοισι περικείμενοι. (I set this passage out at length for future reference.)

⁴ 387-90, 432-34, 465-70, 491-98, etc.

⁵ So Ameis-Hentze take the phrase τό μοι ἔστι ταλαῦρινον πολέμῳ, H 239: and this seems the most adequate of the suggested interpretations.

Now if we try to form a picture of the Homeric shield, we are at once met with a difficulty, for the poet often calls the shield by names which seem to imply that it was round, and yet indicates that it was large enough to cover the whole man. Hector's shield as he walks beats with its rim at once against his ankle and his neck,¹ and Periphetes trips over the rim of his ἀσπίς ἀμφιβρότη.² Now if such a shield was circular, with a diameter of nearly five feet, it must have projected some two feet on either side of the warrior's body, which we may safely say is absurd. The weapon must have been ponderous at best, and the most dull-witted hero could not fail to reflect that it was not worth while to double the weight just for the sake of protecting empty air. It may be laid down as axiomatic that in actual warfare a shield which was ποδηνεκής could not at the same time be circular.

If we ask what the ἀσπίς ἀμφιβρότη could have been like, we have in Greece virtually two alternatives. It may have been oblong—a portion, that is, of the surface of a cylinder—or it may have been of the so-called Boeotian type. It is doubtful if the pure oval form was ever familiar on Greek soil. The Boeotian form is that taken by Mr. Murray in his highly interesting restoration of the shield of Achilles, and from the point of view of art it has an obvious appropriateness, as satisfying the principle of balance of subjects which characterises the description. On the other hand, I do not know of any expression in the *Iliad* which could be held to indicate this very peculiar shape; and this argument from silence is not without weight when we consider the enormous number and variety of incidents in which the shield takes a part. For the other alternative, that of the oblong, or as we may conveniently call it the scutum type, the *Iliad* does supply one very decided argument; for it is only this which can explain the standing comparison of Aias' shield to a tower.³ That no possible increase of diameter could give the least ground for such a comparison in the case of a circular shield is quite obvious; it is hardly less patent with the Boeotian shape, where the primary impression, that of opposed and balanced curves, is essentially

¹ Z 117.

² O 645.

³ σάκος ἥϊον πύργον, H 219, etc. The

scutum is called θυρεός by Polybios and other writers who dealt with Roman history.

incompatible with the ideas of rectilinearity and verticality which are the groundwork of the conception of a tower.

It is tempting to explain from this shape the obscure epithet in N 130 :—

φράξαντες δόρυ δουρί, σάκος σάκει προθελύμνῳ.

προθελύμνῳ might very well be taken to mean 'with the base in front,' i.e. with the lower part of the long shield set firmly on the ground: and this would give a special significance to the words of Hector a few lines further on (152):—

καὶ μάλα πύργηδὸν σφέας αὐτοὺς ἀρτύναντες.

It must, however, be admitted that this does not help us to explain τετραθέλυμνος in O 479, which seems to show that the θέλυμνα were the layers of hide.

Now we have just enough evidence to show that the scutum type goes back to the very earliest period of Greece. It occurs on an archaic gem from Crete in the British Museum, and on the signet ring (No. 335) from Mykenai.¹ It is, however, less common than what seems to be the predecessor of the Boeotian shield, where two quasi-circular parts of the shield are connected by a sort of isthmus of half their width. This is found in Schliemann, Nos. 313, 530, and on the inlaid dagger, Milchhöfer, No. 64;² a side view is attempted in the gold intaglio, Schliemann, No. 254. The scutum shape is common enough on the Assyrian monuments, where it often appears by the side of the round shield, and it is the regular Egyptian type in contrast to the round shields of their allies the Shairetana, etc.;³ but, as far as Western Europe is concerned, there seems to be a gap in the development after Mykenai, and it vanishes entirely for many centuries, only to reappear among the arms of the Roman legionary.

Are we then to conclude that Homer imagined his heroes as employing both types? This has often been supposed, as for instance by Rüstow and Köchly, who, however, could have had

¹ See Milchhöfer, *Die Anfänge der Kunst in Griechenland*, pp. 84, 92.

² Discovered under the rust after the publication of Schliemann's book, and first published by Kumanudis; *Αθή-*

ναιον, ix.

³ See Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* xi. p. 198. The rounded top does not indicate a difference of type; see Schl. 335.

no archaeological evidence in favour of the scutum form. But even this assumption does not solve the problem. For it happens that in the most elaborate description of a shield, excepting that of Achilles, which Homer gives us, a circular form is distinctly indicated as belonging to an ἀσπίς ἀμφιβρότη,¹ and the practical difficulty with which we started is thus presented to us in a bare form. Moreover the argument from silence here again comes in, for the existence of two classes of shields is nowhere asserted, and can certainly not be proved from the very doubtful testimony of Ξ 376-7:—

ὅς δέ κ' ἀνὴρ μενέχαρμος, ἔχει δ' ὀλίγον σάκος ὦμφ,
χείρονι φωτὶ δότω, ὃ δ' ἐν ἀσπίδι μείζονι δύτω.

Out of this difficulty I see only one way. It will be noticed that the arguments for the scutum type rest partly upon the use of epithets, partly upon the description of a particular shield which we may doubtless regard as traditional. In actual descriptions the round shape is always implied. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that the poet received from the earlier Achaian lays the epithets which belonged to the oldest form of shield, which really looked like a tower, and really reached from neck to ankles. The shield of Aias belonged to epic poetry before the days of Homer, and could not be expelled. But to Homer the warriors appeared as using the later small round shield. His belief in the heroic strength of the men of old time made it quite natural to speak of them as bearing a shield which at once combined the later circular shape and the old heroic expanse, though to the prosaic and practical eye it is clear that the two were really incompatible for human beings. Hence when in Λ 424 a warrior is wounded in the navel *under* his shield, we have an accidental relapse into the real circumstances of the poet's own day.

A slight undesigned confirmation of this view may possibly be found in the word λαισήϊον.² Commentators, herein differing from most archaeologists, almost unanimously explain the word to mean a special sort of light buckler. The epithet πτερόεν,

¹ Λ 32.

ἀν δ' ἔλετ' ἀμφιβρότην πόλυδαίδαλον
ἀσπίδα θούριν,
καλήν, ἣν περὶ μὲν κύκλοι δέκα χάλκεοι
ἦσαν.

Whatever the κύκλοι were, they imply a round shield.

² It occurs only in the line
ἀσπίδας εὐκύκλους λαισήϊά τε πτερόεντα.

which is applied to it, the Scholiasts interpret as *ελαφρον, κοῦφον*, and absurdly compare the phrase used of the divine armour worn by Achilles, T 386:—

τῷ δ' εὔτε πτερὰ γίγνεται, αἶρε δὲ ποιμένα λαῶν.

Another Scholion (B) containing the precious views of Porphyrios will be found on E 453; it is not worth the space required to quote it.

On the other hand, archaeologists have generally seen in the word *λαιοσήια* some allusion to the appendage, apparently of leather, which we frequently find hanging from shields in vase-paintings. Whether they understand the *λαιοσήιον* to be this apron itself or the buckler is generally by no means clear. But I conceive that there can be little doubt of the correctness of the former view. Herodotos says of the Cilicians (vii. 91) *λαιοσήια εἶχον ἀντ' ἀσπίδων, ὁμοβόης πεπονημένα*. Now although this may possibly mean that they used light bucklers instead of heavy shields, yet it would be a very obscure way of putting it, for the word *ἀσπίς* is general enough to include shields of all shapes and sizes, and the contrast would therefore require some distinctive epithet to make it plain. What Herodotos doubtless meant was that the Cilicians used hides with the hair left on them (for *λαιοσήιον* is no doubt connected with *λάσιος*), which they carried over their left arms as Greek warriors sometimes wear the chlamys. The contrast of the two sorts of defence thus receives its full meaning, and the Homeric line gains in significance for precisely the same reason. *πτερόεντα* of course means 'fluttering.'

A rather curious fact at one time made me hesitate to accept this explanation, and disposed me in favour of the older interpretation which made the *λαιοσήιον* a shield. This leather apron is not uncommon upon the later red-figured vases, but I searched in vain for proof of its existence on any archaic works, and it seemed to follow that it came into use at a late period. This objection was only removed by the publication, in the last number of this Journal, of Mr. Dennis's 'Archaic Sarcophagus from Clazomenae.' Pl. XXXI., which is in many respects of extreme interest for our purpose, gives a most satisfactory representation. I am sorry to have to express my entire dissent from Mr. Dennis's remark (p. 18), that the word *λαιοσήιον*

'alludes to the light bucklers of the Trojans, in contradistinction to the heavy circular shields of the Greeks.' On what words such a distinction can be founded I am at a loss to conceive; it would surely be entirely inconsistent with countless passages of the *Iliad* to suppose that the poet was conscious of any such national contrast of accoutrement.

The presence of the leather apron on the shield is thus sufficiently attested in early times; the break in the tradition by which it vanishes from early vases to reappear on those of the finest period, if it be, as I believe, a fact, remains a curious problem. It is perhaps within the bounds of possibility that the *λαιοσήιον*, which is evidently adapted chiefly for defence against arrows, may have been a peculiarity of Asia Minor, where the bowmen of Phrygia had to be encountered. But it affords a confirmation of the assertion that the Homeric shield was not really *ἀμφιβρότη*, for such an appendage could clearly only be used with the small round shield.

So far as I am aware it has not been suggested that this same leather apron gives a satisfactory meaning to the epithet *τερμιόεις*, of which we know little more than that it is used in Π 803, of a shield, and in T 242, of a chiton; and that it is pretty clearly connected with the gloss of Hesychios, according to which *τερμῖς* = *τέρμα*. Dr. Göbel¹ considers it to mean the same as *θυσανόεις*, 'fringed with tassels.' But this epithet is only used of the divine aegis. The *λαιοσήιον* itself might very well be compared to the fringe on a chiton, and would entirely justify the application to a shield of the term 'fringed.'

In M 295-297 we have an interesting description of the shield of Sarpedon:—

ἦν ἄρα χαλκεύς
ἤλασεν, ἔντοσθεν δὲ βοείας ῥάψε θαμείας,
χρυσείης ῥάβδοισι διηνεκέσιν περι κύκλον.

Dr. Helbig in his essay on the shield of Achilles² indicates his opinion that a line has been lost between these two, and that the *ῥάβδοι* are geometrical designs on the face of the shield. It will be interesting to see the arguments which he promises in favour of this view; but meantime it seems to me that

¹ *De Epith. Homer. in eis desinentibus*, p. 18.

² 'Sopra lo scudo d'Achille,' *Annali*, 1882, pp. 221-44.

his assumption is rather violent, and that the explanation of Grashof¹ meets the case. According to this the *ράβδοι* were the inner framework of the shield; rods arranged radially, fastened in the middle to the solid *ὀμφαλός* and at their outer extremities to the rim or *ἀντιξ*, and bound together by concentric circles² at regular intervals. Thus the frame was like a sort of spider's web. For ordinary mortals it was of course of wood; only heroes like Agamemnon would have it of bronze, or like Sarpedon even of gold. On this skeleton were sewn the layers of bull's hide which formed the body of the shield, and over all came the metal plate which received the ornament. There is no sufficient reason to doubt that the shield of Achilles also was thus made, and that the five layers mentioned in Σ 481 were of bull's hide. It is true that Welcker, supported by the weighty authority of Brunn,³ maintains that these *πτύχες* were five concentric circles of metal diminishing in diameter from the lowest disk, which covered the whole surface, to the central *ὀμφαλός*, the uncovered portion of each layer thus forming a ring on which the ornament was engraved. But the existence of such shields in Homer's time is certainly not proved by the passage which Brunn quotes (Τ 274 *sqq.*), which merely states that the metal layer was thinnest near the edge; nor even by the words of Aristides,⁴ from which it only follows that shields with ornaments in concentric circles were known in the second century A.D. It is true that Friederichs, whom Brunn is controverting, overstates his case; but the real point is that there is nowhere else in Homer any indication of shields made by successive layers of metal, while the word *πτύχες* is, in H 547 (cf. H 220), used of the layers of bull's hide which beyond question formed the foundation of the

¹ In Buchholz, p. 363.

² *κύκλοι*. Hence the epithet *εὐκύκλος*. So also N 407, *βινούσι βοῶν καὶ νώροσι χαλκῷ δινωτήν*, probably means 'made in circles.' The phrase used of the Gorgoneion on Agamemnon's shield (Λ 36) *τῇ δ' ἐπὶ μὲν Γοργῷ βλοσυρῶπις ἐστεφάνωτο*, seems inconsistent with the supposition that the *κύκλοι* mentioned three lines above were concentric circles on the face.

³ *Die Kunst bei Homer*, p. 8.

⁴ *ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐπ' ἀσπίδος κύκλων εἰς ἀλλήλους ἐμβεβηκότων περὶ τοὺς εἰς ὀμφαλὸν πληροῦ διὰ πάντων ὁ κάλλιστος*, *Panath.* i. p. 159 (ap. Brunn). To support Brunn's view he should surely have said *ἐπιβεβηκότων*. No doubt the pictures were arranged in concentric rings, only they were not formed in this way.

Homeric shield. It is hardly necessary to say that no argument can be drawn from the lines Υ 271-72, which were obelised by Aristarchos, and contain an obviously absurd arrangement of metals.

This outer plate of the shield of Achilles we may then suppose to have been of bronze, with the pictures inlaid in the five metals named in 474-75. This is distinctly indicated by the poet (Σ 562-5) and all doubt as to the nature of the work is virtually removed by the discovery of the inlaid sword-blades among the objects from Mykenai. A full description of the technic of these swords is given by Köhler, *Mitth.* 1882, pp. 241-50. In face of these considerations it seems additionally futile to suppose, as some have done, that each of Welcker's five layers was of a different metal.¹ As a further external ornament we may mention the twenty $\delta\mu\phi\alpha\lambda\omicron\iota$ of the shield of Agamemnon (Λ 34), which are to be conceived as nail-heads round the rim, serving to fasten the metal facing to the body of the shield. They are occasionally to be found represented on vase-paintings, and are no doubt indicated by the row of dots on the shield in the Mykenai gold ornament, No. 254. Behind this facing came the layers of hide, five in the shield of Achilles, seven in that of Aias (H 220-23). It would be quite needless to specify the material in Σ 481, when it was so much a matter of course that a shield could be called $\rho\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ (Δ 477), $\beta\omicron\epsilon\acute{\iota}\eta$, or even $\beta\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ (H 238, M 105, cf. N 804, $\rho\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\iota\sigma\iota\nu$ $\pi\upsilon\kappa\iota\nu\acute{\eta}\nu$, $\pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ δ' $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron$ $\chi\alpha\lambda\kappa\omicron\varsigma$, and P 493).

Turning now from this shape and construction of the shield, we have to inquire how it was carried. The most natural assumption is that the left arm was passed through two rings and thus bore the weight. But it will be observed that Herodotos (see note 3, p. 282) in ascribing to the Karians the invention of these handles for carrying the shield,² regards them as inconsistent with the use of the $\tau\epsilon\lambda\alpha\mu\acute{\omega}\nu$ or baldrick; and as it is certain that Homeric warriors used the baldrick, it follows that

¹ Similar inlaid work must be implied by the $\omicron\iota\mu\omicron\iota$ of kyanos, gold and tin on the breastplate of Agamemnon (Λ 24-25): while the $\chi\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$ $\kappa\alpha\sigma\sigma\iota\gamma\epsilon\acute{\rho}\omicron\iota\omicron$ in that of Asteropaïos (Ψ 561) reminds us of the metallic 'Schmelze' which is described by Köhler as having given a

bright lustre to the surface of these inlaid weapons.

² The reality of this tradition is confirmed by Strabo's quotation from Anakreon (xiv. 861), $\Delta\iota\alpha$ $\delta\epsilon\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ $\kappa\alpha\rho\iota\kappa\omicron\epsilon\rho\gamma\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ $\delta\chi\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\upsilon$ $\chi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\alpha$ $\tau\iota\theta\acute{\epsilon}\mu\epsilon\nu\alpha\iota$ (Bgk. fr. 91).

in the opinion of Herodotos they had no handles to their shields.¹ And this opinion is, I think, consistent with the words of the poems. For it is always the baldrick which is spoken of as bearing the weight, and it is not the arm but the shoulder which grows weary with the shield. This comes out very clearly in B 388-89:—

*ιδρώσει μὲν τευ τελαμῶν ἀμφὶ στήθεσσιν
ἀσπίδος ἀμφιβρότης, περὶ δ' ἔγχεϊ χεῖρα καμείται.*

We have then to suppose the shield as hanging over the shoulder, and only at critical moments, when a severe blow is approaching, thrust away from the body by the left arm; an action which is indicated by the phrase ἀπὸ ἔθεν ἀσπίδ' ἀνεσχευ (Υ 278) and the like. The baldrick of the shield like that of the sword passed, as we should expect, over the right shoulder, so that the shield might hang on the left side; for the wound which Diomedes receives in E 98 in the right shoulder lies, as we find in E 796, under the τελαμών. In Ξ 404 Aias is hit by Hector,

*τῇ ῥα δὺω τελαμῶνε περὶ στήθεσσι τετάσθην,
ἦτοι δ' μὲν σάκεος, δ' δὲ φασγάνου ἀργυροῆλου.*

This must mean in the immediate neighbourhood of the shoulder, where the two baldricks for some short space ran one directly over the other; not, as we might at first sight suppose, at a point where they crossed, for none such can have existed.

There is, however, one passage which may imply the presence of handles in the Homeric shields; N 407, δὺω κανόνεσσ' ἀραρυῖαν. The κανόνες are mentioned again in Θ 192, but that passage is gravely suspected on other grounds, and proves nothing. It is possible that the word might be used of the long handles which we find in vase-paintings, though ὄχανα, the

¹ The Egyptians however are represented as having shields with both baldrick and handle. They commonly carry the shield slung at their backs; of this there is no indication in Homer, except possibly in Λ 545, when Aias turned to retreat, ἐπιθεν δὲ σάκος βάλεν ἑπταβόειον. The baldrick appears also to pass over the left shoulder, not over the right.—Wilkinson, i. pp. 199, 200.

The immense shield on p. 202 appears to be the same which is found in Assyrian representations of sieges; it covers two men, one of whom holds it while his companion, an archer, shoots by his side. I have not come across any representation on Greek monuments of the τελαμών as worn by warriors in action. Charioteers on vases occasionally have a shield slung behind them.

word used by Herodotos, would be much more natural. Taking into account the general testimony of the poems, and attributing a certain weight to the legend about the Karians, I prefer to adopt the suggestion that these *κανόνες* served to attach the two ends of the baldrick to the shield. I cannot think of anything else about the shield which could be spoken of as dual.

The Homeric shield would thus, if I have interpreted the evidence aright, hold an intermediate place between the Mykenai find and the earliest vase-paintings; the scutum shape of Mykenai had become obsolete, except so far as the memory of it survived in a few traditional phrases, but the baldrick had not yet been superseded by the handle, nor had individual devices been introduced.

From the shield we may pass to another important piece of defensive armour, the helmet. The difficulties which meet us here are of an obvious character. In order to clear the ground I give outlines of a number of helmets which include, I believe, almost all the types of crest which are to be found on archaic monuments. No. 1 is the helmet of that mysterious people the Shairetana, or Shardana, who appear among the allies of the Egyptians (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt*, 1, 245), and in whom many Egyptologists believe that they recognise the Sardinians.¹ 1-a is a curious combination of these two horns with a crest which appears on a situla found at Matrei.² 2 is from the Mykenai vase No. 213 in Schliemann. 3 and 4 are from Mr. Dennis's Sarcophagus, Pl. XXXI. of this Journal. 5 is a helmet, probably Etruscan, in the Bronze room at the British Museum. 6 is a type which is not uncommon on Greek vases; a similar illustration will be found in Autenrieth's *Dictionary*, s.v. ἀμφιφάλαξ. 7 is from a Lykian tomb in the Archaic Room of the British Museum. 8 is Assyrian, from the campaign of Assur-Bani-Pal, in the Nimroud Room. 9 is one of the commonest types on early vases, where it is almost the only kind of crest worn by females;

¹ For the significance of the horned helmet as connecting the Shardana with the Sardinians, see F. Robiou in the *Gaz. Archéol.*, 1881, pp. 133-144.

² This is taken from Zannoni, *Gli Scavi della Certosa di Bologna*, Pl. XXXV., 62. It has an obvious sig-

nificance when taken in connection with the preceding note. Like No. 12 it fills a vacant space in the field between two combatants. The long appendage seems to represent the strap by which the helmet was fastened under the chin, as in R 371.



1



1-a



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



9



10



11



12



13



14



15

by Amazons, that is, and Athene. The latter wears it, with trifling variations, even on the latest of the Panathenaic vases.¹ 10 is from a vase published by Inghirami and Gerhard, and copied by Autenrieth, *s.v.* τετράφαλος. 11 is a form with movable cheek-pieces, which occurs on some of the bronze statuettes of Ares in the British Museum, of the later archaic style; on the Aegina pediments, and constantly in later work, but not, I think, on black-figured vases. 12 is the common 'Corinthian' form. This particular outline is from a very early instance, the same Melian vase which furnished the warrior on p. 74, *supra*. It is part of a suit of unoccupied armour, which fills a vacant space in the field of the picture; the warrior himself has a helmet without cheek-pieces. 13, 14, and 15 are all from black-figure vases in the British Museum. The curious feather-like ornaments are not uncommon, but No. 15 is the only case I have been able to find of more than two on a single helmet.

These, then, are the materials from which we have to explain as best we can the helmets of Homer. The difficulties in the way of a satisfactory conclusion arise from a number of words containing the syllable φαλ. They are φάλος, φάλαρα, ἀμφίφαλος, τρυφάλεια, τετράφαλος, τετραφάληρος. The last two are the most puzzling; for what can there have been of which any helmet could have four?

The most generally accepted view is that of Buttmann, which appears to have been adopted by Helbig; that the φάλος was the same as the later κῶνος, the long ridge in which the crest of the common type No. 12, is fixed. ἀμφίφαλος may then reasonably describe a helmet such as No. 14. But it is difficult to conceive four such ridges with their crests on a single head-piece.²

Dr. Autenrieth endeavours to meet this difficulty in a note contributed to Hentze's appendix to Ameis's *Iliad*, on E 743. He considers that the four φάλοι are the four metal ridges which appear in No. 10, in the uppermost of which the crest is

¹ To such a form as this we most naturally apply, as Dr. Helbig has remarked, the phrase δειδὼν δὲ λόφος καθύπερθεν ἔνευσεν.

² There were, however, three on the helmet of the Athene Parthenos of Phe-

dias, if the supposed copy is accurate in this respect. Of course they appear there in a highly ornate and unpractical form. See Murray, *Hist. Gr. Sculp.* ii. p. 119, 120.

fixed. This however does not seem very satisfactory. A single vase-painting is rather unsafe ground on which to base a construction which does not seem very probable in itself, and which would hardly be important enough to give a name to a helmet.

Though all explanations are to a certain extent 'in the air,' yet we can perhaps get more satisfaction by recurring to what is really the oldest of all. It is that which is indicated by Mr. Dennis on pp. 12, 17, *supra*. According to this the *φάλος* is the metallic projection which appears in Nos. 2, 3, and 4, and also in the woodcut, p. 12 of this volume. This very interesting appendage will, I think, enable us to give something like a history of the development of the Greek helmet.

There seems to have been a time when the Greek helmet was worn without a crest. That this fact still survived in the memory of the Greeks in the time of Herodotos is certain from the passage already quoted (p. 282), where he ascribes to the Karians, among their other inventions, that of helmet-crests.¹ And there is some reason for supposing that the primitive helmet—I will not say of the Aryan peoples, but of Southern Europe—was not crested but horned. Milchhöfer has already drawn attention to this, and has made it a point of contact between the Etruscans on one side, the Greek warriors of the Mykenai vase on another, and the Shairetana, on a third (*Anf. d. Kunst*, p. 95).

It is not perhaps very extravagant to suppose that this horned helmet was directly derived from the scalp of a horned animal. Such a covering for the head is worn, for the chase or for war, by savages all over the world. In Mr. Anderson's *Scotland in Pagan Times: the Iron Age*, will be found several curious instances of such helmets, where the beast shape is prominent (pp. 112–119). The lion-skin of Herakles leads us directly back to the same custom. The appended wood-cut, copied from an Etruscan bronze in Micali, *Italia Avanti i Romani*, Atlas, Pl. XVI., 18, presents us with a figure of Juno Sospita thus equipped, and suggests the derivation of the *παρυναθίδες* from the lower jaw.² Moreover the ordinary form of the crest strictly so called, our No. 12,

¹ Cf. Alkaios, *ap.* Strabo, xiv. 661, *ἀδρον τε σείων Καρικόν* (fr. 22, Bgk).

² The boar's teeth which adorn the

cap in K 263 are doubtless a relic of this, as indeed is suggested by Rüstow and Köchly.

would seem to be descended immediately from a horse's head; whence the Homeric epithet *ἵππιοχαίτης*. That the cheek-pieces when turned up should simulate a horse's ears (No. 11) is probably, however, merely a coincidence.

To these two primitive types, the horned head and the horse's head, the Greeks seem to have added a third; and from the combination of these we can deduce a fairly complete conjectural history of the development of the later helmet.¹ The third type is that of the pointed cap, which was normal among the Egyptians and Assyrians, and formed the tiara of Persia. In another stage of development it became the Phrygian cap, the



'cap of liberty,' which, when translated into metal, produced the Assyrian form No. 8, so strikingly like part of one class of Greek helmets.

Of course the origin of the various excrescences, if it be rightly sought in animals' heads, had been long forgotten when the oldest European helmets of which we have any record came into being. Variety in such prominent adornments would not only please the warrior's fancy, but would also be obviously useful in rendering him conspicuous in battle. Hence the horns are sometimes placed in front and behind, sometimes at the

¹ Reference may be made to M. Léon Heuzey's paper on the curious and important helmet-shaped Corinthian aryballoi (*Gaz. Arch.*, 1880, pp. 145-164), where some remarks as to the development of the helmet will be

found. It may be observed that some of the aryballoi in question present a *φάλος* over the forehead, much conventionalised, but apparently independent of the crest.

sides, sometimes both in front; sometimes they are combined with the central peak in various forms. Now, what the Carians seem to have invented is the fastening to these metal projections in their different forms long wisps of horsehair. By this step No. 9 is derived immediately from No. 8. The Mykenean form (No. 2) must be a very early case of this practice; the connection of the crest and the central knob is obviously inorganic, and this is equally the case with No. 4, where two plumes are fastened to a cone, which looks like a form of the Phrygian cap. In No. 6 the plumes are fixed to two lateral horns. No. 3 would seem to be produced by the influence of the horse's crest, which again in 1a is combined with the primitive horns of the Shardana. In Nos. 13 and 15 the metal horns are used to support vertical plumes which may be meant to represent eagle's feathers. In Nos. 2, 3, and 4 the horns remain as mere survivals without any definite significance, and they ultimately disappeared for the sufficient reason that they interfered with the organic unity and harmony which the Greek demanded in every object which his artistic sense could modify.

But we may pass from this region of mere conjecture; the point which for my purpose is essential, the primitive use of projecting metallic horns, may stand, I think, whether the hypothetical history of the crest be accepted as plausible or no. If this be so, it seems that we have what we require to represent the Homeric *φάλος*. For here is something which is naturally mentioned in connection with the crest, and yet is independent of it, so that we may, as in the helmet of Agamemnon, have four *φάλοι* but only one crest (A 41-2). Such a description would apply to our No. 15, excepting only that the *φάλοι* have here degenerated into mere sockets for plumes.¹ From No. 4 we can see how a blow lighting upon the *φάλος* might pierce the forehead through it,² and in No. 3 the artist has apparently tried to represent the two *φάλοι* side by side, which ought to mark the *κυνέη ἀμφίφαλος*.

There remain other difficulties of which the Homeric poems do not supply a solution. What, for instance, is the meaning of *τετραφάλῃρος*, and is the word derived from the *φάλαρα* of Π 106? and what were the *φάλαρα* themselves? They may be

¹ I assume that this helmet had four plumes, though only three are depicted.

² Δ 459 Z 9: and compare N 614.

the cheek-pieces, as one tradition describes them, but if so *τετραφάλῃρος* cannot be a derivative. If the two words are to be connected, we might suggest that the *φάλαρα* are the plumes fixed in the *φάλοι*, as in Nos. 13 and 15. This interpretation, which is consistent with Buttmann's excellent remarks (*Lexil. s.v. φάλος*), would meet all the necessities of the case, but for want of evidence it is incapable of proof. No. 15 would exactly answer to the *κυνέη ἀμφίφαλος τετραφάλῃρος*, but after all it only rests on the evidence of a single vase. Unfortunately the most ancient monuments teach us little on these matters. No actual helmets were found at Mykenai, and the war scenes depicted on the ornaments are too small to allow of any definite conclusions being drawn from them. But reference may be made to some fragments of a helmet found in the Hissarlik excavations and published in *Dios*, pp. 513 and 474. It would be rash to express a positive opinion without seeing the objects themselves; but at least at first sight Dr. Schliemann's restoration in Fig. 979 does look utterly unsatisfactory. What seems far more likely is that the volute-like fragment was a *φάλος* over the forehead, and that the cone pierced for the crest was quite independent of it, being fixed directly on to the middle of the helmet.

By reference to the chief ancient explanations of the *φάλος* it will, I think, be seen that a tradition of the truth survived. Γ 362, Schol. A, 'φάλον, τὸ προμετωπίδιον ἀνάστημα τῆς περικεφαλαίας· ἔστι δέ τι προκόσμημα, γίνονται γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν περικεφαλαιῶν λαμπροὶ τινες ἥλοι ἔνεκα προκοσμήματος.' This appears mainly correct. N 132, Schol. A; 'φάλοισι, συνίγγια ἐπὶ τῶν μετώπων εἰς ἃ καθιένται οἱ λόφοι.' K 258, Schol. A, 'ὀμφαλός ἐστι μικρὸς ἀσπίδι μικρᾷ παραπλήσιος, κεῖται δὲ κατὰ τὸ μέτωπον, ὑπερέχων τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν, ἀποσκιάζων τὴν αὐγὴν τοῦ ἡλίου, οἶαι τῶν κορυβάντων αἱ κόρυθες καὶ τῶν Παλλαδίων.' The last part of this Scholion, as Buttmann saw, is evidently a mistaken idea which some commentator endeavoured to graft upon the two traditions which described the *φάλοι* as *ἥλοι τινες* (compare also Hesych., ὁ λόφος τῆς περικεφαλαίας...ἔνιοι λευκὸς ἥλος), or as the receptacles for the crest (ἐκ γὰρ τῶν φάλων εἰώθασιν ἐκδεῖσθαι οἱ λόφοι, Schol. V on K 358. See also Buttmann, *Lexil. s.v.*)

As for the body of the helmet, there seems to be no reason why we should not assume for Homer the Corinthian type, No. 12, which is abundantly attested in all periods. *αὐλῶπις* will refer to the narrow openings for the eyes and mouth; perhaps in order to explain the first part of the word we may even recur to the etymological origin of the word *αὐλός*, from root *av*, to breathe, blow, and explain it as signifying 'with breathing holes in the face.' The last part of the word is almost decisive against Autenrieth's interpretation of the *αὐλός* as the tube in which the crest was fixed, as for instance in No. 9. It is hardly necessary to say that we must not suppose this vizor to have been movable: when the Greek wished to free his face he raised the helmet bodily upon his head into a position which is familiar from numberless statues, coins, and vases.

The numerous names in Homer for the helmet cannot possibly be differentiated; it may perhaps be worth while, however, to call attention to Göbel's derivation of *κυνέη*, not from *κυνών* but from root *κυ*, as being 'the hollow helmet,' *Lexil.* i. p. 343, *note*. This, as Autenrieth has already said, is certainly right. It would be hard to find a more inappropriate material for a helmet than dog-skin; and so obvious is this that Eustathios explained it as *δορὰ κυνὸς ποταμίου*, by which it is to be presumed he meant otter-skin. That the word to Homer implied no connection whatever with the dog is abundantly manifest from the epithets *αἰγείη*, *ταυρείη*, *κτιδέη*, *πάγχαλκος*; and it is not without significance that the *κυνέη* of leather is mentioned only in two books, K and ω, which belong to the very latest parts of the poems.

Of the remaining pieces of defensive armour, the thorax and mitra were discussed at length in the April number of the *Journal*. To that paper I have little to add, beyond saying that I have since come across various instances of the rimmed corslet; the most interesting are two bronze statuettes, one published in the *Arch. Zeitung*, 1882, p. 25, the other in the *Mittheilungen*, 1878, p. 14. The latter has an inscription which appears to belong to the end of the sixth century, and both must be contemporaneous with the British Museum statuette mentioned on p. 76. Mr. Stillman also informs me that the archaic cuirass found by him and published in the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* for February last certainly had such a rim as I

describe; this I was not able to make out for certain from the photograph, so I did not venture to quote it. As to the mitra, Dr. Helbig tells me that he believes it to be a metallic band or belt, such as is found 'in uralten Schichten.' It is of course premature as yet either to accept or reject this view; but it has at any rate the advantage of avoiding what I feel to be the difficulty in the explanation which I gave on p. 75, the use of the phrase τὴν χαλκῆς κάμον ἄνδρες of a garment which would seem to have been mainly of leather.

The only other article of defensive armour in the Homeric panoply is the pair of greaves. These are represented with great uniformity on the monuments, and a large number are still in existence. They seem to have been attached to the leg mainly by the elasticity of the metal, which clasped the calf. The oldest monuments give no sign of any other means of attachment either above or below, nor do the greaves which I have examined in detail show any marks of having had anything like a buckle belonging to them. Homer, however, distinctly mentions fastenings over the ankle, ἐπισφύρια: what these can have been is purely a matter of conjecture. We only know that they were at least sometimes of silver; perhaps elastic metal rings left open so as to be put on over the greave and clasp the ankle tightly. There are vague indications of this in some of the best red-figured vases.¹ The greaves on the Mykenai vase, No. 213, above referred to, seem to be of a different type; Dr. Schliemann thinks they are of cloth (p. 134). If this be so, it is another case of a radical difference between the Mykenean armour and that of Homer. The nearest analogy would be the leather gaiters which Laertes wears in ω 229, to protect his legs from thorns. The gold ring which Dr. Schliemann found on a thigh-bone, and which looks as if it may have suspended such greaves, cannot be brought into relation with anything in Homer (*Mycenae*, pp. 230 and 328).

Of weapons of offence we will first take the spear. Homer tells us that Hector carried one of eleven cubits long (Z 319), and when fighting from the ship's deck Aias actually wields one of double the length (O 678). But even the former seems

¹ Cf. Autenrieth, *Dict.*, s.v.

incredibly long; Rüstow and Köchly consider it purely heroic, and suppose that the length for ordinary men would be about six or seven feet. In favour of this they appeal to vase-pictures, where, however, the dimensions of the spear are obviously controlled by artistic considerations. Still one would have little hesitation in agreeing with them, were it not for a passage in Xenophon (*Anab.* iv. 7, 16), where we are positively told that the Chalybes used spears of the portentous length of fifteen cubits. How such things can have been used for thrusting, much less for hurling, it is impossible to conceive; but there is, so far as I know, no valid ground for disputing the words of Xenophon, and we can only suspend our judgment as to the spears of Homer's time.¹

The point is commonly supposed to have been attached to the shaft by a hollow socket, the *αἰλός* of P 297, whence also the epithet *δολέχαιλος*, *ι* 156. The heads of spears at Mykenai are all of this kind (Schliemann, p. 278). Those found in the ruins of Hissarlik, however, are of a different type, being attached to the shaft by nails (*Ilios*, pp. 475-77; *Troja*, p. 95). There are a number of similar bronze blades in the British Museum, where they are called knives; but the shape is that of a piercing rather than a cutting instrument, and Dr. Schliemann's explanation seems to be right. Now we are told of the lance of Hector (Z 320, O 495):—

παροιθε δὲ λάμπετο δουρός
αἰχμὴ χαλκείη, περὶ δὲ χρύσεος θέε πόρκης.

πόρκης is always explained by the commentators as a ring which held the head on the shaft, *e.g.* Schol. A, *ὁ κρίκος ὁ συνέχων τὸν σίδηρον πρὸς τὸ ξύλον τοῦ δόρατος*. This is reasonable enough in itself, but it is only consistent with the supposition that the point was let in to the end of the shaft, not fastened on by means of a hollow socket. Editors do not seem to have remarked the difficulty: Fäsi, for instance, gives both the explanations without noticing the inconsistency; Ameis-Hentze say that the hollow socket was used, and the ring added that shaft and point might be more firmly held

¹ The *sarissa* of the Macedonian phalanx, which was 14 or 16 cubits long, was held in both hands by soldiers who

had not to carry a shield. For a discussion of the question see Grote's *History*, Appendix to Chap. xcii.

together. How a gold ring outside a bronze tube could effect such a purpose I do not see. It appears then that we must either admit that both means of attachment were known in the poet's time or that the explanation of either *αὐλός* or *πόρκης* is incorrect. There is nothing unlikely in the former assumption; but if the latter be preferred, it is still possible to seek another meaning for *αὐλός*. Such a sense is at hand if the interpretation of *αὐλῶπις* given above is accepted, and the words of Homer in P 297, *ἐγκέφαλος δὲ παρ' αὐλὸν ἀνέδραμεν ἐξ ὠτειλῆς*, mean that the brain ran out 'through the opening of the vizor.' The point, on this supposition, had a flat base, which was let into a slit in the end of the spear, and secured by two nails passing through the wood and two holes in the metal; the shaft was then bound with a ring which prevented the wood from splitting. In the British Museum is a perfect specimen of this gold *πόρκης*, probably from Etruria; the implement, however, is not a spear-head but a dagger, the handle being of ivory. The *πόρκης* consists of a very neat 'whipping' with wire, which seems afterwards to have been half fused so as to make an almost solid band. We see from Δ 151 that the arrow-head was secured by a similar whipping with sinew.

The other end of the shaft is usually said to have been armed with a spike, called the *σανρωτήρ*, by which it could be planted in the ground. The evidence for this is however not very strong. The *σανρωτήρ* is mentioned by name only once, in the tenth book of the *Iliad* (153), a rather suspicious authority; and the practice may be also inferred from Γ 135 and Ζ 213. This testimony may pass, in the absence of anything to the contrary; but from the rest of the *Iliad* we might have supposed that the *οὐρίαχος* was rather a knob than a spike, as on the spears borne by the Persian king's body-guard in Her. vii. 41. This knob is common enough on the monuments, whereas I am not aware that any evidence for a spike can be found in archaic work. It is clearly shown, however, in the Vatican amphora published in Vol. I. Pl. VI. of this *Journal*, in company with a thorax of the later type, and is by no means rare on the carefully-painted red-figured vases. In any case some weight at the butt would be required in order to throw the balance of the spear back, and so enable full use to be made of the length. As for the epithet *ἀμφίγυος*, I have elsewhere (*Trans. Camb. Phil. Soc.*,

1883) shown reason for thinking that it cannot refer to the two supposed points, and have endeavoured to explain it rather of the elasticity of the shaft.

There is no trace in Homer of the device of a loop for hurling the spear, common though it is among savage tribes. This is an objection to Curtius's derivation of *καλαῦρος* (Ψ 845) from *κάλως*. On the other hand it has occurred to me as just possible that the curious objects hanging from the spears in the Mykenai vase No. 213 may be a rude representation of such a loop. If so, the artist has taken a considerable liberty in putting them near the point instead of the butt of the spear. Dr. Schliemann finds it also in the bas-relief No. 141, but I am quite unable to make it out in the illustration. This use of the loop, it may be mentioned, is also represented on red-figured vases and apparently on an archaic 'proto-Korinthian' vase in the British Museum (see *Arch. Zeit.* 1883, Taf. 10, 2). It is also apparently indicated in some of the early bronze statuettes.

Even the shape of the sword involves doubts. We have two types between which to choose. The so-called leaf-shape is normal for classical times, and anthropologists consider that it is the earliest in development, as being derived directly from the spear-head. But both at Mykenai and in Rhodes there have been found long tapering swords, in some cases as long and as slender as the rapier which was only developed in Europe in quite modern times. The apparent anomaly is however diminished by the fact that long tapering swords are found both in Assyrian and Egyptian monuments; it is possible therefore that the leaf-shape may have been introduced into Greece by the invasion of a more primitive people, such for instance as the Dorians; and when weapons were still habitually made of bronze the short and solid form would have obvious advantages, for it must have required a higher stage of metallurgical skill than was likely to exist in Greece to produce bronze of such strength and elasticity as is found in Egyptian swords¹ (Wilkinson, p. 212). It is by no means easy to decide from the *Iliad* which was the form in use in the Homeric age. On the one hand the epithet *μέγας*, which is continually applied to the sword, seems rather out of

¹ For the technical means by which elastic bronze was manufactured in the ancient world, see a paper by A. de

Rochas in the *Revue Scientifique*, 1883, p. 375.

place if the blade was only some eighteen inches in length; for even though we admit that all the weapons of a hero must have been of heroic size, yet still such a sword must have been the smallest constituent of the panoply. But no stress can be laid on the epithet *τανύηκες*, which is more likely to mean 'with slender edge' (Lat. *tenuis*) than 'with long edge.' And though the Schol. BL say of the epithet *Θρηάκιον* in N 516, *μόνοι ἐν βαρβάροις οἱ Θράκες μεγίστοις ξίφεσι χρώνται*, yet this is obviously no more than a deduction from the text which they had before them.

On the other hand it is to be observed that the sword in Homer is used almost or quite without exception not as a thrusting but as a cutting instrument. With some at least of the Mykenai swords this would be quite impossible; for they have a strongly marked ridge running for stiffness' sake along the middle of the blade (*Mycenae*, p. 283).¹ There is, however, perhaps a trace of the use of the point of the sword in the often recurring formula

νύσσοντες ξίφεσιν τε καὶ ἔγχυσιν ἀμφιγύοισιν,

(N 147, O 278, P 731, and *νυσσομένων*, Ξ 25, Π 637). It is quite conceivable that this stereotyped phrase may have been part of the tradition of old epic songs, and that we may here again have a sign of the change which had taken place in armour between heroic and Homeric times. It might perhaps be thought that the shivering into three or four pieces of the sword of Menelaos at a critical moment (Γ 363) may have been more likely to happen with a long and slender blade than with the sturdy leaf-shape; but such a speculation is too shadowy to be worth pursuing.

In questions of this sort there is always some temptation to press too closely the expressions in the poems in order to bring the words of Homer into prosaic correspondence with realities. But there can be little doubt that the author or authors of the war scenes had a practical acquaintance of the most

¹ Mr. F. Pollock, however, tells me that Highland broadswords sometimes have a decided median ridge, at all events near the hilt. Curiously enough, too, it appears from Livy xxii. 46, that the short form was preferred for thrusting, the long for cutting: 'Gallis His-

panisque scuta eiusdem formae fere erant, dispaes ac dissimiles gladii, Gallis praelongi ac sine mucronibus, Hispano, punctum magis quam caesim assueto petere hostem, brevitate habiles et cum mucronibus.'

intimate sort with the processes of the actual warfare of their time, and that they sang to those whose life had been devoted to martial pursuits. They can therefore have hardly dared to set down anything that would appear absurd to an Achaian soldier. Here, if anywhere, we must look for realism. A German staff-surgeon has written a tract¹ to prove the 'amazing' accuracy of the description of the wounds, and has even concluded that Homer must himself have been a regimental doctor. Without going so far as this, we may fairly hold that the description of the arms is consistent at once with itself and on the whole with what archaeology allows us to infer of a transition stage between the civilisation of Mykenai and the earliest of the monuments of the historic age. In only one point have I assumed a divergence from reality, in the ascription by Homer to his heroes of weapons larger in size, but like in kind to those of his own time; and here we have the express support of the poems for the assumption, and reasonable ground for thinking that the tradition itself may contain the memory of the older kind of sword and shield which were used in the Achaian days of Mykenai, but had for some reason at which we can only guess been superseded in later Greece by more familiar types.

¹ *Die Militärmedizin Homers*, von Dr. H. Fröhlich, Stuttgart, 1879.

WALTER LEAF,

ON THE FRAGMENT OF PROCLUS' ABSTRACT OF
THE EPIC CYCLE CONTAINED IN THE CODEX
VENETUS OF THE *ILIAD*.

THE document which is the subject of the following paper has the interest of being the only copy of the only direct record of a whole period of Greek literature—the period, namely, of the poets who carried on the traditions of Homeric art in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. It is a fragment in a double sense: first because it is a mere extract, and secondly because the pages on which it is preserved are themselves in a fragmentary condition. It professes to be derived from a certain *χρηστομάθεια γραμματική*—a kind of primer or *résumé* of Greek literature—the work of a grammarian named Proclus; and contains, with other matter, part of his account of the so-called 'Epic Cycle.'

Regarding Proclus himself nothing is certain, except that he is not Proclus Diadochus, the Platonic philosopher of the fifth century. According to Welcker's probable conjecture, he is to be identified with Eutychius Proclus of Sicca, instructor of the emperor M. Antoninus.

Of the context from which this precious fragment is taken we fortunately possess a short account in the *Bibliotheca* of the patriarch Photius (of the ninth century); who had before him, not indeed the original work—few grammatical treatises had the good fortune to survive in their integrity—but extracts (*ἐκλογαί*), of which our document was part. According to Photius (*Cod.* 239) the work of Proclus was divided into four books. His extracts included:—

(1) Short biographies of the five great epic poets—Homer, Hesiod, Pisander, Panyasis, and Antimachus.

(2) An account of the so-called Epic Cycle.

(3) A discussion of the authorship of the poem called *Cypria*.

The Epic Cycle is described as beginning with the primeval embrace of Heaven and Earth, from which the Giants and Cyclopes were born, and giving a complete mythical history. It was made up (*συνπληρούμενος*) from different poets, and ended with the death of Ulysses at the hands of his son Telegonus. The poems of the Epic Cycle, it is added, were preserved and valued not so much for their merit, as for the sequence of the events related in them. Thus far Photius, summarising what he had read in Proclus.

Of the 'chrestomathy' of Proclus itself we have—

(1) A short life of Homer, preserved in the Codex Venetus of the *Iliad*, and elsewhere.

(2) An abstract or argument of the Trojan part of the Epic Cycle, specifying the poems of which it was made up. These, *if the surviving text is so far complete*, were eight in number, viz. :—

Cypria (authorship disputed),

Iliad,

Æthiopis, by Arctinus of Miletus,

Little Iliad, by Lesches of Mitylene,

Sack of Ilion (*Ἰλίου πέρις*), by Arctinus,¹

Nostoi, by Agias of Troezen,

Odyssey,

Telegonia, by Eugammon of Cyrene.

This abstract is preserved in two fragments. The portion relating to the *Cypria* is found in four MSS., none of them of high antiquity. The rest is in the Codex Venetus of the *Iliad*, a manuscript of the tenth century.

These several portions of the work of Proclus answer so well to the description in Photius as to leave no doubt that they are part of the 'extracts' which he had before him. They are less complete than the collection known to Photius, inasmuch as they do not contain any abstract or account of the earlier part

¹ In Mr. Mahaffy's very readable *History of Greek Literature* this poem is mentioned, but it is stated that 'the arrangers of the mythical cycle preferred, on the Sack of Troy, a poem of Lesches called the *Little Iliad*.' I do

not see any ground for this departure from the usual account. If Arctinus' *Sack of Ilion* did not enter into the Epic Cycle, how did an abstract of it come to be given by Proclus?

of the Epic Cycle. They also omit the lives of the other Epic poets—Hesiod, &c. Whether they represent the whole of the Trojan part of the Epic Cycle is the question to which we have now to turn.

The celebrated Codex Venetus of the *Iliad* (Marc. 454), which has preserved in its scholia nearly all that is known of the most ancient criticism of Homer, originally contained a good deal of matter drawn from the chrestomathy of Proclus; in particular the life of Homer, and the abstract of the Epic Cycle, or part of it. This was prefixed to the text and scholia, serving as a kind of introduction to the volume. Unfortunately the leaves on which it was written no longer exist in a complete state. The fragments consist of one entire sheet or pair of leaves, and three detached leaves; in all, five leaves. The rest of the MS. consists of 'quaternions' or gatherings of four sheets each, and the presumption is that the introductory matter occupied one such gathering. Thus three leaves of the original eight are missing. The single leaves have been attached to fresh parchment, and some new leaves are bound up with them, so that there are now eleven leaves before the text of the *Iliad* begins. The five old leaves are numbered 1, 4, 6, 8, 9: of these folio 1 and folio 8, form an entire sheet, the rest being single. Their contents are as follows:—

Folio 1. Life of Homer, from Proclus.

- „ 4. Abstract of part of the Epic Cycle (viz., a few lines of the conclusion of a *Sack of Ilium*, then the *Nostoi*, *Odyssey*, and *Telegonia*), from Proclus.
- „ 6. Abstract of another part of the Epic Cycle, viz., the *Iliad*, *Æthiopis*, *Little Iliad*, and *Sack of Ilium* (by Arctinus): from the second book of the chrestomathy of Proclus.
- „ 8. The latter part of a treatise on the critical marks of the Alexandrians.
- „ 9. Filled with paintings, much later than the MS.

The corresponding abstract of the *Cypria*, which is preserved elsewhere, is exactly long enough to fill one leaf of the Venetian manuscript. Hence we may infer with tolerable certainty,

as Studemund pointed out, that this abstract was contained on one of the lost leaves.

The problem now is to determine the places which the surviving leaves held in the original quaternion.

It is certain, in the first place, that folio 1 and folio 8 formed the outermost sheet (first and last leaf) of the quire. Except on this arrangement it would be impossible to place the three leaves containing the abstracts, and also the lost leaf containing the earlier part of the treatise which ends on folio 8.

Again, it is clear that folio 4 must come after folio 6; for folio 4 gives the last part of the whole Epic Cycle, while folio 6 belongs to an earlier part of the story, and immediately follows the lost folio which gave the *Cypria*.

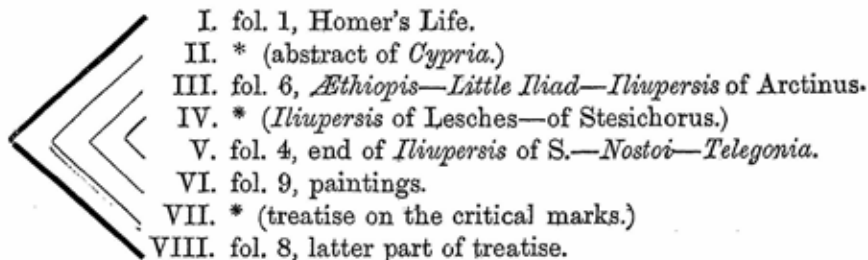
It remains to consider whether folio 4 followed *immediately* after folio 6, or was separated from it by a portion of text now lost. The latter alternative has been recently maintained with great learning and ingenuity by Prof. A. Michaelis first in his edition of Jahn's *Griechische Bilderchroniken* (p. 93 ff.), and again in the *Hermes* (xiv. p. 481 ff.). His chief argument may be stated somewhat as follows:—

The contents of folio 4 begin with a few lines describing the last events of the sack of Troy, as follows: 'Ulysses having slain Astyanax, Neoptolemus receives Andromache as his prize. They divide the rest of the spoil: Demophon and Acamas find Æthra, and take her with them. Then having set Troy on fire, they sacrifice Polyxena at the tomb of Achilles.' Again, the last part of folio 6 is occupied by the abstract of Arctinus' *Sack of Ilium*. If then, folio 4 originally followed folio 6, it is necessary to consider these first lines of folio 4 to represent the conclusion of that poem. Here, however, we are met by a difficulty. The last words of folio 6 are these: 'Then the Greeks sail away, and Athena contrives destruction for them on their way by sea.' In the order of time this evidently follows the supposed conclusion of the *Sack of Ilium*, instead of preceding it, as it ought to do if folio 4 continues folio 6. Hence it follows that the two leaves are not consecutive: that a leaf has been lost between them; and that the lines in question describe the conclusion of another poem on the sack of Troy, introduced along with that of Arctinus into the Epic Cycle.

The observation of this difficulty in the connection of the two folios led Heyne to conjecture that the disputed lines of folio 4 belong to a 'Sack of Ilium' (Ἰλίου πέρσις) by Lesches, the author of the *Little Iliad*. The existence of a poem by Lesches describing the taking of Troy is well known from Pausanias: but, as Welcker and others have shown, the events mentioned in the lines in question do not agree with those for which Pausanias quotes Lesches. Prof. Michaelis accordingly recurs to another suggestion, also thrown out by Heyne, viz., that the 'Sack of Ilium' of which we are in quest was the work of Stesichorus. And in support of this view he adduces the circumstance that the famous *Tabula Iliaca* of the Capitoline Museum, which was doubtless a kind of 'Epic Cycle' in a pictorial form, contains scenes from the *Iliad*, the *Æthiopis*, the *Little Iliad*, and the *Sack of Ilium* of Stesichorus. Finally—since the lost leaf is likely to have contained the abstract of more than one poem—he supposes that the *Sack of Ilium* of Lesches was also part of the Epic Cycle, and was placed between the poems on that subject by Arctinus and Stesichorus.

The arrangement of the quaternion required by this theory may be represented by the following scheme (the asterisks denoting the lost leaves, and the thick lines the surviving whole sheet):—

(MICHAELIS, *Hermes*, xiv., p. 487.).



It is evident that if this view is correct it will be necessary to modify our previous conception of the Epic Cycle. According to Proclus (as represented by Photius) 'the poems of the Epic Cycle' were chiefly valued 'for the sequence of the events contained in it' (διὰ τὴν ἀκολουθίαν τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ πραγμάτων).

Without unduly pressing this phrase, we can hardly regard it as applicable to a compilation in which there were three poems turning upon the same catastrophe, and differing materially in the details of the story. It is a minor objection that Stesichorus, as a Lyric poet, would be out of place in an 'Epic Cycle.' His *Sack of Ilium* was certainly lyrical in form, while the other poems were in hexameter verse.¹

The discrepancy upon which Prof. Michaelis has grounded his restoration is met by other scholars in a different way, viz. by transposing the portions of narrative which are out of their chronological order. If the last sentence on fol. 6 and the last sentence in the disputed lines of fol. 4 are made to change places, the difficulty is removed. This correction was proposed by K. Lehrs, and is adopted in Kinkel's excellent *Epicorum Graecorum fragmenta*. It is rendered plausible by the fact that the two sentences in question are of the same length, and begin with the same word (ἔπειτα); and by the further circumstance—not hitherto observed—that the rest of the disputed passage is just twice the length of each of these sentences. The whole may accordingly be divided into lines, each consisting of either 34 or 35 letters, as follows:—

ἔπειτα ἀποπλέουσιν οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ φθορὰν	35
αὐτοῖς ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ κατὰ τὸ πέλαγος μηχανᾶται.	34
(end of fol. 6)	
καὶ Ὀδυσσεὺς Ἀστυνάκτα ἀνελόντος Νεοπτ—	35
όλεμος Ἀνδρομάχην γέρας λαμβάνει καὶ τὰ	34
λοιπὰ λάφυρα διανέμονται. Δημοφῶν δὲ καὶ	34
Ἀκάμας Αἴθραν εὐρόντες ἄγουσι μεθ' ἑαυτῶν.	35
ἔπειτα ἐμπρήσαντες τὴν πόλιν Πολυξένην	34
σφαγιάζουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως τάφον.	34

This is not the arrangement of lines in the existing manuscript: but it may well have been the arrangement in older copies, or even in the archetype. Recent stichometrical researches show that a line of about that length was a recognised measure in antiquity.

These considerations, however, scarcely do more than diminish

¹ It is true that Stesichorus is followed by the artist of the *Tabula Iliaca*. But the *Tabula Iliaca* was meant for use in Roman schools: and Stesichorus was the chief authority for the official Roman legend of Æneas.

the antecedent improbability of a transposition of text. A much stronger argument against the arrangement of Prof. Michaelis remains to be stated.

The Codex Venetus of the *Iliad* was examined in the Long Vacation of 1880 by Mr. T. W. Jackson (of Worcester College), and an observation was made by him which goes far to solve the problem before us. The following extract from a letter written by him at the time will explain the nature of his discovery:—

‘After puzzling a good deal over the introductory leaves, it occurred to me to try the simplest of all tests, the ruling. I found that every folio is ruled, with a sharp stylus, *on one side only*. Of course, on the other side; the lines are raised. Now in all the rest of the volume (I went through most of it, to make the matter certain) the system of ruling is quite uniform. In any quaternion, fo. 1*a* has the lines raised: 1*b* and 2*a*, incised: 2*b* and 3*a*, raised: 3*b* and 4*a*, incised: and so on. . . . The point of course is this, that if the recto *a*, of any leaf has the lines raised, then that leaf is no. 1, or 3, or 5, &c.—always an *odd* number. If side *a* of a leaf has the lines incised, then the leaf is 2, 4, 6, &c., *i.e.* some *even* number. . . . It seems that Schreiber and Michaelis have overlooked this: for, when I came to the introductory leaves, I found that

fo. 1 <i>a</i>	has lines raised,	∴ this leaf is to have an <i>odd</i> no.
fo. 4 <i>a</i>	„ incised,	„ „ <i>even</i> „
fo. 6 <i>a</i>	„ raised,	„ „ <i>odd</i> „
fo. 8 <i>a</i>	„ incised,	„ „ <i>even</i> „
fo. 9 <i>a</i>	„ incised,	„ „ <i>even</i> „

Now this disagrees with Schreiber’s scheme [this was proposed in the *Hermes*, vol. x., p. 321], doubly: since he places fo. 6 as (4), and fol. 4 as (5). And with Michaelis’ in one point—he would place fo. 4 as (5). But it will suit, of the alternative schemes proposed by you [the details of these need not be now repeated], either no. 1 or no. 2: but not no. 3. The state of the margins makes it impossible that any leaf should have been reversed, so that the original *recto* should now appear as *verso*.’

Under the conditions imposed by Mr. Jackson’s discovery, fol. 6 must stand in an odd place, and fol. 4 in an even place hence it is evident that the two leaves are either consecutive—

in which case they must stand as (3) and (4), or as (5) and (6)—or separated by *two* lost leaves. As this last alternative is practically out of the question, there remain two possible schemes, in both of which fol. 4 comes immediately after fol. 6, and consequently the disputed lines on fol. 4 belong to the abstract of the *Iliupersis* of Arctinus. The two schemes are these :—

(1)

- I. fol. 1, Homer's Life.
- II. * (*Cypria*.)
- III. fol. 6, *Æthiopis*—*Little Iliad*—*Iliupersis*.
- IV. fol. 4, *Iliupersis* (end)—*Nostoi*—*Telegonia*.
- V. *
- VI. fol. 9, paintings.
- VII. * (treatise.)
- VIII. fol. 8, latter part of treatise.

(2)

- I. fol. 1, Homer's Life.
- II. fol. 9, paintings.
- III. *
- IV. * (*Cypria*.)
- V. fol. 6, }
- VI. fol. 4, } rest of Epic Cycle, as before.
- VII. * }
- VIII. fol. 8, } treatise on critical marks.

In favour of the second of these schemes two considerations may be thought to tell with more or less force :—

(1) The case of a single leaf is most likely to arise by the loss (by theft, damage, or the like) of the other half of a sheet. Now in the second scheme no two single leaves belonged to the same original sheet: whereas according to the first scheme the sheet composed of fol. III. and fol. VI. has been separated, and yet neither half-sheet is lost.

(2) In the second scheme the blank leaf (perhaps two blank leaves) after the first may be explained by the supposition that the scribe or his employer wished to leave room for further extracts from Proclus. He may have had before him, as Photius certainly had, the abstract of the earlier part of the Epic Cycle: and if so it was natural, both that he should think of including it, and also that he should begin with the part which bore more directly upon the subject of the *Iliad*.

But whichever scheme is right, the main point—that the abstract of Proclus is complete and continuous so far as it goes, viz. for the Trojan part of the Epic Cycle—appears to be placed beyond reasonable doubt.

It may be added that this result, if it seems meagre and negative,—it amounts in fact to little more than confirming what the majority of scholars have believed,—will be of use in smoothing the way for future inquiries. It will at least give us more confidence in using the scanty documents which we possess. If we do not trust Proclus' account of the Epic Cycle, we can hardly expect much success in arguing from the Epic Cycle back to the ancient epic poems from which it was derived.

The preceding discussion had for its object to show that the extracts from Proclus, in spite of their fragmentary appearance, offer the materials of a continuous text:—that they form part of his account of what he termed 'the Epic Cycle':—and that they contain the whole of his account of an important division of the Epic Cycle, viz., that which dealt with the Trojan war and its sequel. In other words, these extracts, as they stand in Kinkel's *Epicorum Graecorum fragmenta*, may be accepted with confidence as the chief document bearing on the subject.

The first use to which we have to put our document is to determine the preliminary question: what was meant by the term 'Epic Cycle' (ὁ ἐπικός κύκλος) in the technical language of Proclus and his contemporaries?

The description of Proclus manifestly applies to a collection, such as we are accustomed to call a *corpus poeticum*: that is to

say, a body of poems brought together by some common circumstance of origin, or style, or subject, but retaining their separate form. The 'poems of the Epic Cycle'—to use the expression of Photius—were members of such a collective whole. They were arranged in a fixed order; but they bore the names of different authors, and were divided independently into books. This formal distinctness appears from the manner in which Proclus introduces his account of each poem. Thus (with apparent abruptness, the earlier part of the abstract being lost), the account of the *Cypria* begins in this way:—

'Next to this [the preceding poem of the Cycle—perhaps the *Epigoni*] comes the poem called *Cypria*, in eleven books & about the authorship of which we shall speak hereafter, that we may not interfere with the order of our exposition. The contents are these. Zeus takes counsel, &c.'¹

The abstract of the *Cypria* occupied the end of the first book of Proclus' 'chrestomathy.' The second book, which contained his abstract of the remainder of the Cycle, begins as follows:—

'Next to what was spoken of in the preceding book comes the *Iliad* of Homer: after which are five books of the *Æthiopis* of Arctinus of Miletus, comprising the following matter. Penthesileia the Amazon arrives, &c.'²

From this formula—which is repeated without substantial change in the other cases—it is clear that Proclus had before him a series of distinct poems. What then was the 'Epic Cycle'?

The obvious answer is that it was simply the whole of which these poems were the parts. As to this, however, scholars have not been quite unanimous. It has been maintained that 'the Epic Cycle does not mean a cycle of poems, but a cycle of legends, arranged by the grammarians, who illustrated them by a selection of poems or parts of poems.'³ But the language of

¹ 'Επιβάλλει τοῖς τοῖς λεγόμενα Κύπρια ἐν βιβλίοις φερόμενα ἑνδεκά, ὧν περὶ τῆς γραφῆς ὕστερον ἐροῦμεν, ἵνα μὴ τὸν ἐξῆς λόγον νῦν ἐμποδίζωμεν· τὰ δὲ περιεχόμενά ἐστι ταῦτα. Ζεὺς βουλεύεται κ.τ.λ.

² 'Επιβάλλει δὲ τοῖς προειρημένοις ἐν

τῇ πρὸ ταύτης βίβλῳ 'Ιλιάς 'Ομήρου μεθ' ἣν ἐστὶν Αἰθιοπίδος βιβλία ἑ' Ἀρκτίνου Μιλήσιου, περιέχοντα τὰδε. 'Ἀμαζὼν Πενθεσίλεια παραγίνεται κ.τ.λ.

³ I quote the words for convenience from Prof. Mahaffy's *Hist. of Gr. Lit.* i. p. 86. The view was originally put

Photius will not bear this interpretation. He speaks of the Epic Cycle as 'filled up (*συμπληρούμενος*) out of different poets,' and says that, according to Proclus, 'the poems of the Epic Cycle (*τοῦ ἐπικοῦ κύκλου τὰ ποιήματα*) were preserved and valued not so much for their merit as for the sequence of the events in it' (*διὰ τὴν ἀκολουθίαν τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ πραγμάτων*). The 'Epic Cycle' here is something to which certain poems belong, to the exclusion of other poems. It must have denoted not a mere abstract 'cycle of legends'—within which, indeed, almost all epic poetry would equally fall—but the actual volume or *corpus* in which certain poems were collected.

It further appears from the passage just quoted that the Epic Cycle was so arranged as to form a continuous narrative—a 'chronicle of the world' in epic verse. We shall find that the assertion of Photius as to this characteristic of the Epic Cycle is sufficiently borne out by the existing abstract, provided that we do not insist upon an exact continuity in every case.

It is worth notice here that in the part of the Epic Cycle known from the abstract of Proclus the largest share of space was occupied by Homer. While the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* contain forty-eight books, all the other epics mentioned by Proclus only make up twenty-nine. The books, it is true, may have been of greater average length in the case of the later poets. The comparative importance of Homer is also shown by the circumstance that Proclus gives no abstract of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, but merely mentions them when he comes to the places which they held in the series. He took it for granted that their contents were sufficiently known to his readers. We may even go so far as to say that the chief purpose of the Epic Cycle—or at least of the part which dealt with Troy—was the illustration of the Homeric poems.

The only other mention of the Epic Cycle appears to be the often-quoted passage in Athenaeus (p. 277e) to the effect that Sophocles composed whole plays following the stories which it

forward by Heyne when he edited the fragments of Proclus for the first time, in the *Bibliothek der antiken Literatur und Kunst* (1786). It is not held by Welcker, and indeed has been generally abandoned. I may add that I agree

with Prof. Mahaffy as to the existence of a 'selection of poems or parts of poems,' and only differ from him in holding that the term Epic Cycle means that selection, and nothing else.

contained (*κατακολουθῶν τῇ ἐν τούτῳ μυθοποιῇ*). The remark is made with reference to a word said to be borrowed by Sophocles from the *Titanomachia*, an epic poem which is likely (on other grounds) to have been part of the Epic Cycle. Thus there is nothing in the passage inconsistent with the view of the Epic Cycle which we have adopted. Indeed the language of Athenaeus is in marked agreement with that of Photius.¹

The notion of a body of mythical history contained in a series of poems brings us to a much-debated question. Were these poems taken into the Epic Cycle in their original form? In other words, was the 'sequence of events' of which Photius speaks, attained by simply arranging the ancient epics in a certain order, or was there any process of removing parallel versions, smoothing away inconsistencies, filling up *lacunae*, and the like?

If we could argue from the silence of Proclus, we should be led to assume that 'the poems of the Epic Cycle' were the works of the ancient epic poets, retained in their primitive integrity. He nowhere gives any hint of omission or curtailment. The inference, however, would not be a safe one. Proclus may have dealt with the topic in a part of the chrestomathy now lost, or not sufficiently represented in the scanty notice of Photius.² Or it may be that Proclus only knew the poems in the Epic Cycle, not in their independent shape. On the other hand, it is unlikely that the continuity on which Proclus seems to have laid so much stress could have been brought about spontaneously, or by happy accident.

¹ Compare the words quoted in the text with the phrase *διὰ τὴν ἀκολουθίαν τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ πραγμάτων* in Photius.

² The natural place for Proclus to notice any changes made in the poems in order to fit them for a place in the Epic Cycle would be the passage in which he explained that they were 'preserved and valued not for their merit so much as διὰ τὴν ἀκολουθίαν τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ πραγμάτων.' It seems very possible that he there discussed the rejection of books or parts of poems, not merely of entire poems. Note that

the sequence of events, according to Photius, was in the Epic Cycle (*ἐν αὐτῷ*), not in the poems which were chosen to form it.

It may be worth while noticing also that the form used by Proclus in introducing the several poems, does not always expressly assert that the whole poem was before him e.g. *μεθ' ἣν ἔστιν Αἰθιοπίδος βιβλία Ἀρκτίνου Μιλησίου περιέχοντα τάδε*: and so of the *Little Iliad* and *Ilíupersis*—the books, not the poem, are said to comprise so much matter.

Granting that later poets would avoid Homeric subjects, and even that they made it their business to continue or complete the story of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, we should still have to account for the continuity of the later poems themselves. There is no reason to suppose (*e.g.*) that Lesches would respect the subjects treated by Arctinus: and if not, it is difficult to see how poems by Lesches and Arctinus could be made to fall into an approximately chronological scheme.

It is needless, however, to dwell upon arguments of this order if there is enough independent testimony as to the contents of the several poems to furnish a basis for comparison with the abstract of Proclus. In one instance the evidence of this kind is abundant. The *Little Iliad* is discussed by Aristotle in the *Poetics*: several incidents in it are referred to by Pausanias in his account of a picture by Polygnotus: and a considerable number of fragments has been preserved. From all these sources it is easy to show that the poem which Proclus found under that title in the Epic Cycle had been very much shortened from the *Little Iliad* known to Aristotle and Pausanias. The proof is as follows.

In speaking of the unity which should characterise an epic poem, and of the great superiority of Homer in this respect, Aristotle notices that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* supply far the fewest subjects for the stage. The reason is, according to him, that in poems of less perfect structure the successive parts of the action can be turned into so many tragedies: whereas in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* there is a single main action, the parts of which have no independent interest, and are consequently not suitable for dramatic treatment. To illustrate this criticism, he points to the number of tragic subjects taken from the *Cypria* and the *Little Iliad*. The latter, he says, furnished more than eight tragedies: and he enumerates ten, viz. (1) the *Judgment of the Arms*, (2) the *Philoctetes*, (3) the *Neoptolemus*, (4) the *Eurypylus*, (5) the *Begging* (Ulysses entering Troy in beggar's disguise), (6) the *Laconian women* (probably turning on the theft of the Palladium): (7) the *Sack of Ilium*, (8) the *Departure* (of the Greek army), (9) the *Sinon*, (10) the *Troades*. Now the first six of these subjects follow closely the abstract in Proclus, but there the agreement ends. The abstract brings the story down to the point where the Wooden Horse is taken into the

city. The subsequent history, to which the last four subjects belong, is not given by Proclus under the *Little Iliad*, but under the *Iliupersis* of Arctinus. It follows with something like mathematical certainty that in the Epic Cycle the conclusion of the *Little Iliad*—including the sack of the city and the departure of the Greeks—had been left out; the compilers preferring the version which Arctinus gave of this part of the story in his *Iliupersis*.

This inference is confirmed by the description which Pausanias gives (x. 25—27) of a picture by Polygnotus, representing the taking of Troy. The details of this picture, as Pausanias shows from a large number of instances, were taken from the narrative of Lesches. It is true that he does not mention the *Little Iliad*; the only reference to a particular work of Lesches being in the words καθὰ δὴ καὶ Λέσχεως ὁ Αἰσχυλίνου Πυρραῖος ἐν Ἰλίου πέρσιδι ἐποίησε (Paus. x. 25, 5). From this passage it has been supposed that there was an *Iliupersis* by Lesches distinct from the *Little Iliad*. But this is not necessary. The phrase ἐν Ἰλίου πέρσιδι may refer to *part* of a work, meaning simply 'in his account of the sack of Ilium'; as Herodotus says ἐν Διομήδεος ἀριστείῃ (ii. 116), Thucydides ἐν τοῦ σκήπτρου τῇ παραδόσει (i. 9). As we know from Aristotle (*l.c.*) that the *Little Iliad* furnished the material for a play called Ἰλίου πέρσις, it is certain that the *Little Iliad* included the sack of Ilium, and it is unlikely that Lesches wrote a distinct epic on the subject. Polygnotus, then, took his details from the latter part of the *Little Iliad*—the part which was not admitted into the Epic Cycle.

Two quotations may be mentioned which support the same conclusion. The scholiast on Aristophanes (*Lys.* 155), says that the story of Menelaus letting fall his sword at the sight of Helen was told by Lesches in the *Little Iliad*. And Tzetzes (*ad Lycophr.* 1263) quotes from the *Little Iliad* five lines which describe Neoptolemus taking away Andromache as his captive, and throwing the child Astyanax from a tower. These events obviously fall within the part of the story not represented in the *Little Iliad* of the Epic Cycle. They prove that the original *Little Iliad* contained an Ἰλίου πέρσις omitted in the Epic Cycle.

If, then, there was at least one poem which suffered considerable mutilation in order to fit it for a place in the Epic Cycle, the presumption is that similar changes were made in other cases. And apart from this presumption, there are sufficient indications to warrant us in generalising the inference which the *Little Iliad* suggests.

A passage of Pausanias (x. 28, 7), mentions, as the poems which contain descriptions of the infernal regions, the *Odyssey*, the *Minyas*, and the *Nostoi*. As the abstract of the *Nostoi* in Proclus says nothing of a descent into the infernal regions, the probability is that this episode was left out in the Epic Cycle—doubtless as superfluous, after the *vékvia* in the eleventh book of the *Odyssey*.

The *Aethiopis*, according to a scholiast on Pindar (*Isth.* 4, 58), says that Ajax killed himself about dawn. But the *Aethiopis* of the Epic Cycle ends with the quarrel about the arms of Achilles; the death of Ajax falls within the *Little Iliad*. Probably, therefore, the *Aethiopis* had been curtailed.

It is argued by Herodotus that the *Cypria* cannot be the work of Homer (as appears to have been commonly supposed in his time), because it contradicts the *Iliad* in an important particular. The *Iliad*, according to Herodotus, represented Paris as returning from Sparta by way of Sidon, whence he brought the Sidonian women mentioned in the sixth book (l. 290); whereas in the *Cypria* he returned in three days, with a fair wind and smooth sea. But according to the abstract of the *Cypria* in Proclus, a storm is sent by Here, Paris is driven out of his course, lands at Sidon, and takes the city—in perfect agreement with the construction put by Herodotus on the passage of the *Iliad*. Nothing can be plainer than that the *Cypria* of the Epic Cycle had been altered. The voyage to Sidon was inserted, in consequence of the criticism of Herodotus, to harmonise the story with the account implied (or supposed to be implied) in the *Iliad*.

It may be worth while in this connection to notice an instance in which the narrative of the Epic Cycle is not quite continuous. The *Little Iliad* ends, as has been mentioned, at the point when the Wooden Horse has been taken within the walls, and the Trojans are exulting over the defeat of the Greek army. The *Iliupersis* of Arctinus begins with the Trojans deliberating what

they are to do with the Wooden Horse. The two poems, therefore, overlap to a certain extent. The compiler did not break off his *Little Iliad* at the exact point where it was taken up by the *Iliupersis* of Arctinus, but (probably) at the first convenient stopping-place after that point. The fact is interesting as showing that the Epic Cycle was not strictly consecutive, and *a fortiori* that it was not continuous in form. There can have been no attempt to fuse the several poems together, or to give the collection the superficial appearance of a single work.

These conclusions, it is right to add, are opposed to the view of the Epic Cycle held by the scholar to whom this subject owes most of its interest. According to Welcker, the poems of the Epic Cycle were preserved in their original form; it is the information of Proclus that is defective. The object of Proclus, he maintains, was not to describe the poems which he found in the Epic Cycle, but to give a summary of the mythical history which they furnished: accordingly it is Proclus, and not the compiler of the Epic Cycle, who is responsible for the omissions on which we have been insisting. The objections to this view are manifold. In the first place, Proclus in every case professes to describe the poems themselves. His formula is that a poem succeeds or 'joins on' (*ἐπιβάλλει, συνάπτεται*) to the preceding one, and that there are so many books, comprising such and such matter. This manner of speaking can hardly be reconciled with the theory that he passed over large portions of the contents—that, for instance, he omitted from the *Little Iliad* of Lesches an amount of narrative equal to the whole *Iliupersis* of Arctinus, and sufficient to furnish four tragedies. Least of all can we suppose this when we are told that he had dwelt especially on 'the sequence of the events,' as characteristic of the collection of poems. Moreover, the abstract of Proclus is not merely silent about parts of the original poems: in one case at least it introduces new matter, viz. the voyage of Paris to Sidon in the *Cypria*. Now, however apt the framer of an abstract may be to leave out incidents, we can hardly suppose that he would give this story as an episode of the *Cypria* if he had not found it in the Epic Cycle. And if so, we know that it must have been inserted into the poem, either by the com-

piler of the Epic Cycle or by some earlier interpolator. Finally—and this is perhaps the strongest argument—the partial overlapping of events which we have noticed in the abstract is inexplicable on Welcker's theory. If Proclus had aimed only at giving a summary of events, his narrative would have been quite consecutive. It was because he followed the poems—which were approximately but not absolutely consecutive—that he had for a short distance to travel twice over the same ground.

The real ground on which Welcker and other scholars have been unwilling to admit that the poems were tampered with by the compilers of the Epic Cycle, is the belief that it dates from a comparatively early period, when such a process would be alien to Greek ideas. Welcker himself attributes the formation of the Epic Cycle to Zenodotus: and accordingly Grote says that 'the theory [of tampering] would convert the Alexandrine literati from critics into logographers' (*Pt. I. c. xxi*). To meet this argument we must inquire what there is to show that the Epic Cycle properly so called—the Epic Cycle which Proclus described—was known to the critics of the Alexandrine school.

The technical sense of the term Cycle (κύκλος) in relation to Homeric poetry is generally traced back to Aristotle: not however to the *Poetics* or *Rhetoric*, where we should have expected to find it, but to an accidental use in his logical works. In two places in the *Organon* he instances the double meaning of κύκλος as the cause of the fallacy of 'ambiguous Middle Term': viz.—

Post-Anal. 1. 12, 10 (p. 77 b 32), ἄρα πᾶς κύκλος σχῆμα; ἂν δὲ γράψῃ, δῆλον. τί δέ; τὰ ἔπη κύκλος; φανερόν ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν.

Soph. El. 10, 6 (p. 171, a 10), ὅτι ἡ 'Ομήρου ποιήσις σχῆμα διὰ τοῦ κύκλου (the argument proving that the poetry of Homer is a figure by means of the word κύκλος.)

The fallacious syllogism evidently is this:—

Every κύκλος (circle) is a figure,

Certain poetry (τὰ ἔπη, ἡ 'Ομήρου ποιήσις) is a κύκλος,

Therefore it is a figure.

It may be gathered from the very elliptical way in which the argument is stated, especially in the second of these places, that it was a stock example, and probably older than Aristotle. Hence the second meaning of *κύκλος*, whatever it was, must have been one which it bore in ordinary usage. Again, the phrases *τὰ ἔπη* and *ἡ ποίησις* may mean either 'the poetry' (in a collective sense), or 'the poem,' viz. a particular poem. The question for us, then, is this: what familiar fact can have been conveyed by the proposition, as stated by Aristotle or a contemporary sophist, that 'the poetry (or the poem) of Homer is a *κύκλος*'?

That *κύκλος* here meant the Epic Cycle of Proclus, or a similar collection of epic poetry, is improbable on several grounds. In the first place, there is nothing elsewhere in Aristotle to indicate that he knew of such a collection. He speaks of the separate poems, especially (as we have seen) of the *Cypria* and *Little Iliad*: but not of any 'Cycle' or body of poems. Moreover, the poems in question were evidently very little known or read at the time. Plato and Aristotle, who quote Homer hundreds of times, hardly ever quote or allude to the other poems enumerated by Proclus. Yet if *κύκλος* here is an 'Epic Cycle,' we should have to suppose, not merely that there was such a thing in the time of Aristotle, but that it was familiarly known under that name. Again, granting that there was such a *κύκλος*, it would not have been spoken of by Aristotle as 'the poetry of Homer' (*ἡ Ὀμήρου ποίησις*). At one time, it is true, many 'Cyclic' poems were ascribed to Homer. But there is no trace of this confusion in the period with which we are concerned. The 'poetry of Homer' in Aristotle's mouth can only mean the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, with the *Margites* and a number of short pieces, several of which are now lost. When he mentions the *Cypria* and *Little Iliad* (as in the passage already quoted from the *Poetics*), he assumes that they are not Homeric, and evidently takes it for granted that his readers do the same.

If scholars had not come to these passages of the *Organon* with minds possessed by the notion of an Epic Cycle, they would surely have understood *κύκλος* to be either the title of a particular poem ascribed to Homer, or the name of a class to which some well-known Homeric poem belonged. Taking the former

alternative as the easier, we may illustrate it by supposing that the fallacy of Ambiguous Middle Term were exemplified by such a syllogism as—

Every tempest is a meteoric disturbance,
Shakespeare's play is a Tempest,
Therefore it is a meteoric disturbance.

That is to say, the equivalent phrases τὰ ἔπη and ἡ 'Ομήρου ποίησις mean 'the (well-known) poem of Homer': and the only question is, what evidence or probability is there of the existence of a poem of Homer called Κύκλος, or a κύκλος?

Such a meaning of κύκλος is recognised in the commentary of Joannes Philoponus on the *Posterior Analytics*. The passage is given in Brandis' *Scholia in Aristotelem* (p. 217 a 44—b 16), as follows:—

κύκλον δέ φησι τὰ ἔπη ἦτοι τὰ ἐπιγράμματα τὰ οὕτω πεποιημένα, οὐχ ὡς τῇ κατὰ τὸ τέλος τοῦ πρώτου στίχου λέξει ακολουθούσης τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ δευτέρου καὶ τούτῳ τοῦ τρίτου καὶ ἐφεξῆς, ἀλλ' ὡς δύνασθαι τὸν αὐτὸν στίχον καὶ ἀρχὴν καὶ τέλος ποιείσθαι, οἷόν ἐστι καὶ τοῦτο·

χαλκῇ παρθένος εἰμί, Μίδου δ' ἐνὶ σήματι κείμει. . .

λέγει δὲ Ἡρόδοτος ἐν τῷ βίῳ τοῦ 'Ομήρου 'Ομήρου εἶναι τὸ ἐπίγραμμα εἰς Μίδαν τῶν Φρυγῶν βασιλέα. ἡ τοίνυν τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπιγράμματα κύκλον φησὶν, ἡ κύκλον λέγει τὰ ἐγκύκλια μαθήματα, οὕτω καλούμενα ἢ ὡς πᾶσαν ἱστορίαν περιέχοντά πως ἢ ὡς πάντων ῥητόρων τε καὶ φιλοσόφων τῶν τε καθόλου κατὰ μέρος περὶ αὐτὰ εἰλουμένων. [ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλο τι κύκλος ἰδίως ὀνομαζόμενον, ὃ ποίημα τινὲς μὲν εἰς ἐτέρους τινὲς δὲ εἰς 'Ομηρον ἀναφέρουσι.] περὶ μὲν γὰρ τὰ ἄλλα τῶν μαθημάτων οὐ πάντες στρέφονται, οἷον περὶ ἱατρικὴν ἢ περὶ ῥητορικὴν ἢ ἄλλην τινά· περὶ ταῦτα μέντοι σχεδὸν πάντες στρέφονται καὶ οἱ περὶ τὰς ἄλλας λογικὰς ἐπιστήμας σπουδάζοντες· ἢ, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, διὰ τὸ πάντας τοὺς ποιητὰς περὶ τὰς αὐτὰς ἱστορίας εἰλῆσθαι. ταύτῃ δὲ δόξουσι μὲν ἴσως τὰ κωμικὰ τῶν ἐγκυκλίων ἀποκρίνεσθαι· φημί δὲ ὅτι μάλιστα μὲν ἡ ἀρχαία κωμωδία οὐδὲ τούτων ἀπήλλακται, ἀλλὰ παρεμπλέκονται πολλαχοῦ ἱστορίαι αἷς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ποιηταὶ χρῶνται. ἄλλως τε δὲ ὅτι καὶ κυρίως μὲν τὰ ἄλλα εἰεν ἂν ἐγκύκλια, κατὰ συνεκδοχὴν δὲ καὶ ταῦτα.

It has not been observed by any of the scholars who have dealt with this passage that the words in brackets are an interpolation. It is clear, however, from the connexion of the argument that this is so. Leaving out this sentence, then, we find that Philoponus gives two meanings for the word κύκλος:

(1) An epigram so constructed that the same line may form either beginning or end; as in the verses inscribed on the tomb of Midas. These verses were famous in antiquity, as we see from the use made of them by Plato in the *Phaedrus* (264 D). They are ascribed to Homer in the pseudo-Herodotean Life, on the authority of the people of Cyme. According to Diogenes Laertius (I. 6, 2) they were attributed by some to Cleobulus of Lindus, one of the seven Wise Men.

(2) The so-called ἐγκύκλια μαθήματα, that is to say, the study of the poets. It is unnecessary to go into the different explanations which Philoponus suggests for this use of the word ἐγκύκλιος. We should observe however that according to him the ἐγκύκλια μαθήματα included every species of poetry—even comedy, which does not deal with the same mythological subjects as the other kinds: and also that the term did not include other branches of learning, such as rhetoric. It is difficult to gather from the language of Philoponus whether the use of κύκλος for τὰ ἐγκύκλια μαθήματα was customary in his time, or is merely supposed by him to account for the Aristotelian τὰ ἔπη κύκλος.

Of these two interpretations the first is the only one that is tenable. The word ἐγκύκλιος occurs several times in Aristotle and his contemporaries, but always either in the original sense, 'periodical,' 'recurring,' or with a slight extension of meaning, 'ordinary,' 'commonplace,' 'usual.' The special application of the phrase 'usual learning' to the poets is later. But if among the poems ascribed to Homer there was an 'epigram' of the same form as the Midas epitaph, and if this poem were generally known as a κύκλος, we should have a plausible explanation of the passages in the *Organon*.

The interpolated words perhaps offer us the same explanation in a somewhat different form. According to them there was a poem called κύκλος as its proper name (*ιδίως*), which some attributed to Homer, some to other authors. This has generally been understood to refer to the Epic Cycle. Yet it is hardly

possible to suppose that the writer, if he knew anything of the Epic Cycle, would speak of it as a single poem, or that the authorship of the collection *as a whole* would be attributed in his time to Homer. It may be, indeed, that the interpolation is the work of a scribe who was ignorant of the Epic Cycle, but had before him some discussion of the authorship of part of it. But if so it is idle to found anything on his statements.¹

If the passage of Philoponus proves that κύκλος was the technical term for an epigram of the form exemplified in the epitaph on Midas, we may perhaps go a step further, and conjecture that this was the very poem referred to in the *Organon*. The quotation in the Phaedrus not only shows that the verses were well known, but must have added to their fame, especially among philosophers and their hearers. And there is no difficulty in supposing that it was a general term for compositions of a certain type, and was also used *par excellence* as the title of a particular Homeric epigram.

Leaving the *Organon*, we proceed to consider what other traces there are in Aristotle of the use of κύκλος in a sense connected with that which it bears in the phrase ἐπικός κύκλος.

Speaking in the *Rhetoric* (iii. 16), of the narrative that should be given of incidents not suitable for a dramatic style of recital, Aristotle says: παράδειγμα ὁ Ἀλκίνοῦ ἀπόλογος, ὅτε πρὸς τὴν Πηνελόπην ἐν ἐξήκοντα ἔπεσι πεποιήται, καὶ ὡς Φάῦλλος τὸν κύκλον, καὶ ὁ ἐν τῷ Οἰνεῖ πρόλογος. The work of Phayllus is otherwise unknown: from this passage it appears to have been a rapid summary or outline, such as is given in the *Odyssey* (23, 310—343), where Ulysses is described as relating again to Penelope the story already told to the Phaeacians; or such as one of the prologues in Euripides. Unfortunately the words ὡς Φάῦλλος τὸν κύκλον (sc. ἐποίησε), do not make it clear whether the κύκλος is the narrative which

¹ This point cannot be sufficiently discussed without going into the general question of the use of κύκλος in Roman and Byzantine times. Meanwhile it may be suggested that the appearance of κύκλος in the list of Homer's works given by Suidas (along with 'cyclic'

poems, as the *Cypria* and *Little Iliad*), and the statement that the ancients attributed the κύκλος to Homer, are perhaps due to confusion between the Epic Cycle and a particular short poem entitled κύκλος.

Phayllus abridged, or the abridgment itself. The latter is the view taken by Welcker, who considers that the work was intended as an assistance to the memory, perhaps as a school-book.

In one of the ancient lists of Aristotle's works (given in Rose, *Aristoteles pseudepigraphus*, p. 18) appears the heading *κύκλον περὶ ποιητῶν γ'*: from which it has been inferred that Aristotle was the author of a *κύκλος* in the sense now suggested, a survey or *résumé* of Greek poetry in three books. Such a work might conceivably bear the same relation to his *Poetics* as the lost *Πολιτεῖαι*—the account of the various constitutions of Greek states—bore to the *Politics*. All this, however, must be mere hypothesis. The word *κύκλος* does not appear in the corresponding title in the list given by Diogenes Laertius, where we only find *περὶ ποιητῶν α' β' γ'*. Moreover, as Rose shows (p. 77), the work in question was a dialogue—a form singularly unsuited to a brief outline of facts.¹

The chief instance of the use of *κύκλος* as the title of a book is unfortunately of uncertain date. Among the works assigned by Suidas to the ancient logographer Dionysius of Miletus appears a *κύκλος ἱστορικός* in seven books, but it seems probable that there is here a confusion with another of the many writers of that name. Athenaeus (p. 477 d) quotes from a Dionysius of Samos 'in his work on the cycle' (*ἐν τοῖς περὶ τοῦ κύκλου*) some words which evidently come from a prose version of the story of the Cyclops in the *Odyssey*. Clemens Alexandrinus quotes *Διονύσιος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ μέρει τοῦ κύκλου*, for a tradition about the Palladium: and similar references to the work as an authority on points of mythology are found in the Scholiasts. One of these (*Schol. ad Eur. Or.* 988), calls him *Διονύσιος ὁ κυκλογράφος*. Again, Diodorus (iii. 66) professes to have made use of a certain Dionysius, 'the one who made a compilation of the old mythological stories' (*τῷ συνταξαμένῳ τὰς παλαιὰς μυθοποιίας*). He does not give the title of this

¹ If we adopt the correction of Menage *κύκλος ἢ περὶ ποιητῶν*, and compare the titles of other dialogues, *Γρόλλος ἢ περὶ βητορικῆς*, *Εἰδημος ἢ περὶ ψυχῆς*, as also the Platonic titles generally, it seems possible that the word *κύκλος* is the corruption of a

proper name. Otherwise we may acquiesce in the opinion of Rose, that *κύκλος* here has nothing to do with the dialogue 'on the poets,' but is another name for the famous *Πέπλος* of Aristotle. If so, it was a summary of mythical history, like the *κύκλος* of Dionysius.

work, or otherwise identify the author, except by telling us that he 'wrote the history of the god Dionysus, and the Amazons, also of the Argonauts, and the Trojan war, and much more, citing the poems of the ancient mythologists and poets' (*παρατιθεῖς τὰ ποιήματα τῶν ἀρχαίων, τῶν τε μυθολόγων καὶ τῶν ποιητῶν*). This description, however, agrees so well with the *κύκλος ἱστορικός* of Suidas, and with the *κύκλος* or *περὶ τοῦ κύκλου* of Athenaeus and Clemens, that we may refer all the notices to a single work. The character of this work is plain. It was a comprehensive outline, a storehouse of mythological learning, drawn from various ancient poets. It differed from the Epic Cycle described by Photius in the circumstance that it was in prose. Probably, too, it was much more condensed, since the whole was reduced to the compass of seven books. Whether the proper title was *κύκλος* or *περὶ τοῦ κύκλου* is not clear. It is possible that *κύκλος* was not the original title, but only a name by which it was known in comparatively late times.¹

Although there is no direct evidence as to the date of this *κύκλος* (or work on the *κύκλος*), we cannot be far wrong in assigning it to the Alexandrine period. The taste for learned compilation on so large a scale can hardly have arisen before the time of the great libraries. On the other hand the reference in Diodorus prevents us from placing it much later. Thus the notion of a *κύκλος*, in the sense of a prose collection or summary of mythical history, is brought within measurable distance of Aristotle. But the application of it to a *poetical* collection—an *ἐπικός κύκλος*—cannot yet be discerned.

The Epic Cycle, according to Welcker, was the work of Zenodotus, the first of the three Alexandrine editors of Homer, and also the first chief of the Museum.

The direct evidence for this theory consisted mainly in a statement quoted by a Latin scholiast from the grammarian Tzetzes, to the effect that 'Alexander the Ætolian and Lycophron of Chalcis and Zenodotus of Ephesus at the instance of

¹ The *στέφανος* of Dionysius, mentioned by Socrates (*Hist. Eccl.* iii. 23), is generally thought to be the same book. If so, *Στέφανος* may have been the proper title.

King Ptolemy Philadelphus collected and arranged (*in unum collegerunt et in ordinem redegerunt*) the Greek poetical books; Alexander the tragedies, Lycophron the comedies, and Zenodotus the poems of Homer and other leading poets.' But it was pointed out by Ritschl (*Die Alexandrinischen Bibliotheken*, p. 11) that this need only mean such a review and arrangement of the Homeric and other poems as would fall within the duties of a librarian. Subsequently the original scholium of Tzetzes was discovered, and it was found that the three scholars in question were said not only to have collected (*συνθεῖναι*) the books belonging to the several branches of poetry, but to have 'corrected' them (*διορθῶσαι*). We need not go into Ritschl's fresh discussion of the subject (*Opuscula*, i. p. 138 ff.), except to observe that as Zenodotus certainly made a corrected text (*διόρθωσις*) of Homer, the statement of Tzetzes may refer to this, and in any case has no bearing on the formation of a collection such as the Epic Cycle.¹

Coming next to the indirect evidence for or against the existence of an Epic Cycle in the period now in question, we find that in the Scholia of the *Codex Venetus* (A.), which contain nearly all that remains of the Alexandrine criticism of Homer, no κύκλος of epic poems is mentioned or implied. The issue is practically narrowed down to the question whether the adjective κυκλικός, which occurs several times in the *Scholia*, and is used in connection with poetry by Callimachus, can or should be interpreted with any reference to a poetical κύκλος.

In the critical *Scholia*, which are known to come in substance from Aristarchus, the word κυκλικός means 'common,' 'conventional.' It is especially applied to the recurring phrases and turns of expression that belong to the epic style. Thus we have:

Schol. A. Il. 6, 325, τὸν δ' Ἐκτωρ νεκροῖσιν ἢ διπλῇ ὅτι κυκλικῶς κατακέχρηται· οὐδὲν γὰρ λέγεται ἐπιπληκτικόν. That is to say, νεκροῖσιν is inappropriate, since the speech

¹ It is needless to go into the notices connecting Zenodotus and Aristarchus with the collection of the Homeric poems under Pisistratus. Among these must be counted an epigram of Ausonius in which Zenodotus is referred to

as the grammarian *qui sacri lacerum collegit corpus Homeri*. This *lacerum corpus*, or fragmentary Homer of Pisistratus, is a ghost that has no business in the daylight of Alexandrine criticism.

contains no rebuke: hence it is used conventionally, as a piece of epic commonplace.

Schol. A. *Il.* 9, 222, αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πόσιος καὶ ἐδητύος ἐξ ἔρον ἔντο] κυκλικώτερον κατακέχρηται τῷ στίχῳ κ.τ.λ. The line is out of place, because the heroes had already supped: it is therefore merely conventional.

Schol. A. *Il.* 15, 610–614, κυκλικῶς ταυτολογεῖται, i.e. the repetition is a piece of epic mannerism.

Similarly in the Townley Scholia on *Il.* 11, 805 βῆ δὲ θέειν παρὰ νῆας ἐπ' Αἰακίδην Ἀχιλλῆα we find the remark, εὖ δὲ καὶ τὸ μὴ Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτώνων φάναι· τὸ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ κύκλου, τὸ δὲ τὴν ὁρμὴν ἐνέφηνε τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα. That is, ἐπὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτώνων is a stock formula: but ἐπ' Αἰακίδην Ἀχιλλῆα is appropriate to the situation. In this place τοῦ κύκλου is a variety for κυκλικῖν. The scholia on the *Odyssey* furnish an example, on 7, 115 μηλέαι ἀγλαόκαρποι, συκῆαι δὲ γλυκεραὶ καὶ ἐλαῖαι τηλεθώσσαι, where we find the remark οὐ κυκλικῶς τὰ ἐπίθετα ἀλλ' ἐκάστου δένδρου τὸ ἰδίωμα διὰ τοῦ ἐπιθέτου προστετήρηται, i.e. the epithets are not conventional, but suited to each tree.

This use of κυκλικός—in which it differs from ἐγκύκλιος mainly in conveying a distinctly unfavourable or contemptuous tone—is to be recognised in an epigram of Callimachus (*Anthol.* xii. 43):—

ἐχθαίρω τὸ ποίημα τὸ κυκλικόν, οὐδὲ κελεύθῳ
χαίρω τίς πολλοὺς ὦδε καὶ ὦδε φέρει·
μισῶ καὶ περίφουτον ἐρώμενον, οὐδ' ἀπὸ κρήνης
πίνω· σικχαίνω πάντα τὰ δημόσια.

The general meaning evidently is, 'I hate everything common or public—a hackneyed poem, the beaten track, an open fountain, a venal love.' But it is no less certain that the phrase τὸ ποίημα τὸ κυκλικόν was meant to be allusive. It becomes quite tame and pointless if it is not understood as aimed at an individual poet, or at least at some particular school of poetry. This impression is confirmed by the contemptuous reference in Horace, *Ep. ad Pis.* 135:—

Nec sic incipies, ut scriptor cyclicus olim,
'Fortunam Priami cantabo et nobile bellum.'

Also by the epigram of a certain Pollianus, *Anthol.* xi. 130:—

τοὺς κυκλίους τούτους τοὺς 'αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα' λέγοντας
 μισῶ, λωποδύτας ἀλλοτρίων ἐπέων
 καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἐλέγοις προσέχω πλέον· οὐδὲν ἔχω γὰρ
 Παρβενίου κλέπτειν ἢ πάλι Καλλιμάχον
 οἱ δ' οὕτω τὸν "Ὀμηρον ἀναιδῶς λωποδυντούσιν
 ὥστε γράφειν ἤδη 'μῆνιν αἶειδε θεά.'

The date of Pollianus is unknown, but as he professes admiration for Callimachus, he probably echoes his language and critical preferences. Similarly Horace's *scriptor cyclicus* must be interpreted with reference to the Alexandrine use of the term. What then were the poets and poetry called 'cyclic' in the Alexandrine period?

It is hardly necessary to point out that the 'cyclic poem' of Callimachus and the 'cyclic poet' of Horace and Pollianus have nothing to do either with the Epic Cycle or with the ancient epics of Arctinus, Lesches, and the rest. The personal feeling which plainly animates Callimachus and his imitator Pollianus is sufficient proof that they were thinking of contemporaries and rivals. The language of Pollianus, indeed, is meaningless on any other hypothesis: 'these poets,' he says, 'are becoming so shameless in their borrowings from Homer that they have gone so far (ἤδη) as to write μῆνιν αἶειδε θεά.' Moreover, *κυκλικός* in the sense of 'common'—the sense which is necessary to the point in the epigram of Callimachus—has no connection with a poetical or educational *κύκλος*. It is formed, like *ἐγκύκλιος*, from the literal sense of *κύκλος*, and means 'that which has the character of a circle,' 'periodical,' 'recurring,' &c. We must therefore look for the true cyclic poet, not in the early post-Homeric age, but amid the feuds of Alexandrine *literati*.

If any one poet was aimed at by Callimachus in the epigram in question, it was undoubtedly Apollonius Rhodius. The quarrel between these two scholarly poets became famous, and may be traced in their writings. Merkel (in the preface to his edition of the *Argonautica*, p. xvii. ff.) has pointed out an allusion to Apollonius in Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo*, 105—106:—

ὁ Φθόνος Ἀπόλλωνος ἐπ' οὐατα λάθριος εἶπεν.
 οὐκ ἄγαμαι τὸν ἀοιδὸν ὃς οὐδ' ὅσα πόντος αἶειδει.

The phrase οὐδ' ὅσα πόντος (sc. τρέφει) is epic: cf. Hom. *h. Ven.* 5 ἡμὲν ὅσ' ἡπειρος πολλὰ τρέφει ἢδ' ὅσα πόντος. Here the allusion is to the Pontus as the scene of the Argonautic expedition, and to the mythological lore accumulated in the *Argonautica*. It is probably a reply to the words of Apollonius, *Argon.* iii. 932:—

ἄκλειῆς ὁδε μάντις, ὃς οὐδ' ὅσα παῖδες ἴσασιν
οἶδε νόφ' φράσσασθαι, κ.τ.λ.

Apparently Callimachus was attacked as an unlearned poet, and retorted by pouring contempt on the multifarious learning of his rival.

A similar attack on Apollonius is traced by Merkel in Theocritus, *Idyll.* 7, 45—48:—

ὥς μοι καὶ τέκτων μέγ' ἀπέχθεται ὅστις ἐρευνῇ
ἶσον ὄρευσ κορυφᾷ τελέσαι δόμον Ὀρομέδοντος,
καὶ Μοισᾶν ὄρνιχες ὅσοι ποτὶ Χίον ἀοιδὸν
ἀντία κοκκύζοντες ἐτώσια μοχθίζοντι.

The poets who imitate Homer—'who labour in vain to match their cuckoo notes against the Chian singer'—must be Apollonius and his like. The comparison to builders who struggle to raise a giant's house as high as a mountain-top seems strange, and certainly becomes more intelligible if (with Merkel) we regard it as a parody of the lines in the *Argonautica* describing a picture of the building of Thebes (i. 738):—

Ζῆθος μὲν ἐπωμαδὸν ἤεртаζεν
οὔρεος ἡλιβάτοιο κάρη, μογέοντι ἑοικώς.

Putting together these various indications—on the one hand the use of the term 'cyclic,' and on the other hand the evidence as to the state of feeling and opinion at Alexandria—we can have little difficulty either in forming a notion of the general character of this 'cyclic' poetry, or in understanding how the word came to be so employed. The *scriptor cyclicus* was essentially a learned man, who sought to bring together in a poem all the available stores of legendary matter, and was therefore forced to adopt a merely chronological arrangement. He copied the Homeric language and manner, especially the use of epic commonplace, with its repetitions and stereotyped

phrases. It is easy to see how a word like *κυκλικός*, meaning 'conventional' or 'commonplace,' might come to be applied to poets of this stamp, and so pass by degrees into a literary term of reproach, or into the watchword of a sect or school.

Although Apollonius Rhodius was doubtless the type of 'cyclic' poetry in the view of Callimachus, it is not necessary to suppose that he was the only 'cyclic' poet, or even that he was the first conspicuous example of the 'cyclic' style and tendency. The scholiasts on Horace tell us that the *scriptor cyclicus* intended by him is Antimachus of Colophon, and that the lines—

Nec reditum Diomedis ab interitu Meleagri,
Nec gemino bellum Trojanum orditur ab ovo,

apply to the works of Antimachus, in particular to his *Theaid*. It will be worth while to consider whether he has the characteristic of the class.

Antimachus was a contemporary of Socrates and therefore upwards of a century earlier than the Alexandrian school. As a poet he is only known through the judgments passed upon him by ancient critics. Plutarch (*Tim.* 36) describes his style as forced and elaborate (*ἐκβεβιασμένοις καὶ καταπόνους ἔοικε*), contrasting it with the ease of Homer. Quintilian (x. 1, 53) allows him the qualities of force and dignity, but says that he failed in passion, in attractiveness, in arrangement, and generally in artistic power. According to Porphyry he borrowed from Homer, but with alterations that spoiled what he borrowed (*ὁ δ' Ἀντίμαχος τὰ Ὁμήρου κλέπτων παραδιορθοῖ*, Eusebius, *Praep. Ev.* p. 467). His chief work was a *Theaid*, which, as the scholiasts on Horace tell us, began *ab exordio primae originis*, and carried the story down to the return of Diomedes with the Epigoni. The length of this poem was proverbial (see Cic. *Brut.* 51), as was also the wide range of learning displayed in it (*ὁ δὲ περιττός καὶ ἀδολέσχης, ἄν γε τύχη καὶ τὸν Κολοφώνιον ἀνεγνώκως Ἀντίμαχον, κ.τ.λ.*, Plut. *Moral.* p. 513 A). He also wrote an elegy called *Λύδη*, which Callimachus pronounced to be an overgrown composition (*παχὺ γράμμα καὶ οὐ τορόν*). It is interesting to know, through Heraclides Ponticus, that Plato preferred Antimachus to Choerilus, whose epic on the Persian war was then highly popular (Procl. *ad Plat. Tim.* i. p. 28 C).

Other stories of the admiration of Plato for his poetry do not rest on good authority, and may have been suggested by the exclusion of Homer from the Platonic *Republic*. Antimachus was also an 'editor' or 'corrector' of Homer, having been a pupil of Stesimbrotus, who was one of the first recognised Homeric critics. The corrections ascribed to Antimachus in the scholia on the *Iliad* seem to be made in the arbitrary manner which we know to have been characteristic of the earliest attempts in this direction (Stoll, *Antimachi Colophonii reliquiae*, p. 16.)

The failure in *arrangement* which Quintilian notices in Antimachus (as compared with Homer) followed almost of necessity from his adhering to traditional subjects. The heroic legends were no longer plastic, or capable of free artistic treatment. They had acquired a set and consecrated character, especially in the minds of mythological scholars like Antimachus. It was difficult, even in the drama, *proprie communia dicere*—to make a fresh poetic use of the common materials. The difficulty could only be escaped, as Callimachus and Theocritus saw, by adopting new forms of poetry.

It will be seen from these indications that Antimachus has the two chief notes of a *scriptor cyclicus*—imitation of epic forms, and a somewhat laborious and servile use of the ancient legendary matter. He represented the conservative and classicist tendency in literature, against the new subjects introduced by Choerilus: as Apollonius Rhodius was the champion of the traditional epic against the elegiac and idyllic schools. It seems probable enough, therefore, that Antimachus, as well as the later Alexandrine *cyclici*, may have been in the mind of Horace when he spoke of the poets whose habit of recounting a whole legend, or group of legends, from beginning to end was so different from the artistic method of Homer.

The results of our inquiry into the use of κύκλος or κυκλικός in the earlier periods of Greek learning—from Plato and Aristotle to Aristarchus and his followers—seem to be these:

There is no trace of the 'Epic Cycle,' or of any similar poetical compilation. The word κύκλος occurs as the name of a particular kind of short poem, and also in the title of a prose work containing a comprehensive survey or abridgment of

mythical history. The adjective *κυκλικός* has the general sense of 'conventional,' and is also used as the name (or nickname) of an Alexandrine school of poetry. The *scriptor cyclicus* of Horace is one of this school, which has *nothing whatever to do with* the early post-Homeric poets, called 'Cyclic' in our histories of Greek literature.

D. B. MONRO.

THE METROLOGICAL RELIEF AT OXFORD.

[PL. XXXV.]

OF peculiar interest among the Arundel marbles of the Pomfret donation at Oxford, is a slab in the shape of a pediment, 'in which there is in basso relievo the figure of a man as big as the life with his arms extended as if he was crucified, but no lower than about his paps is seen, the cornice cutting him off as it were; and this extension of his arms is called a grecian measure, and over his arm is a grecian foot.' The marble thus described by George Vertue, the engraver,¹ was first published in Chandler's *Marmora Oxoniensia*, Pt. I., Pl. lix., No. 166, but its importance was completely overlooked until the late Prof. Matz, in one of his last papers, published a better drawing and pointed out the artistic interest of the relief as a sculpture belonging to a rather early period of Greek art.² On the other hand, the merit of the monument as an authentic document of Greek metrology was set forth, at my request, by my friend Dr. Fr. Hultsch, the author of *Griechische Metrologie*,³ whose views are repeated in my *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*.⁴ The chief result of his exposition was that our relief unites in a most interesting way the indication of the length of a fathom (ὀρυμιά) of 2·06 or 2·07 m. with that of a foot of 0·295 m.,

¹ *Description of Easton-Neston in Northamptonshire, the Seat of the R. Hon. the Earl of Pomfret* (printed as an appendix to the *Catalogue of the Curious Collection of Pictures of G. Villiers, Duke of Buckingham*, London, Bathoe, 1758) p. 55 (see my *Anc. Marb. Gr. Brit.* p. 569). It appears from Horace Walpole's biographical sketch of G. Vertue, in the *Anecdotes*,

that the only visit Vertue ever paid to Northamptonshire, took place in 1734.

² *Annali dell' Instituto*, 1874, Pl. Q, p. 192.

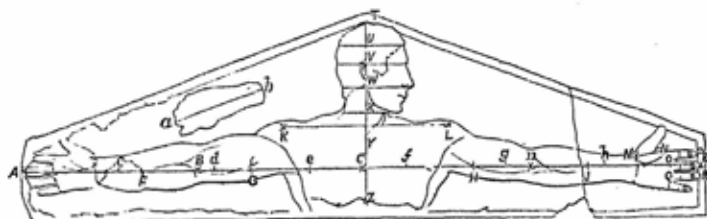
³ *Archaeol. Zeitung*, 1879, p. 177, 1880, p. 91. Hultsch, *Heraion und Artemision*, p. 21, *Griech. Metrologie*, 2 ed., p. 567, note 1.

⁴ P. 559: Oxford, No. 83.

which is not, as one might expect,¹ the sixth, but exactly the seventh part of the fathom. As such a division of the fathom does not agree with the well-known facts of Greek metrology, Hultsch imagined that the foot on our marble might rather be a *modulus* used by sculptors and architects, and he observed that the recent excavations of Olympia seem to show the dimensions of some of the temples, particularly of the very old temple of Herè, to be based on a double measure, on a foot but little longer (of 0.298 m.), as well as on a fathom of 2.084 m. which, again, corresponds to seven of those feet.

The problem thus presented appeared to me interesting enough to justify the desire of studying with greater care and exactness the measures afforded by our marble. I applied to Prof. H. Acland of Oxford, to whose kindness I had been indebted, in 1877, for free access to the university galleries, and he answered my application, not only by supplying me with a very successful photograph—the negative of which has served for the production of the autotype print, Pl. xxxv.—but also by having a cast of the relief made, with a copy of which he was kind enough to present me. This copy is now in the Archæological Museum of the Strassburg University, and it is with the aid of this exact reproduction that I have been able to revise, to correct, and to supplement the insufficient measurements taken on former occasions by myself and by others. I take this occasion publicly to repeat my sincere thanks to Prof. Acland for his liberal and effective aid.

I. METROLOGICAL ANALYSIS.



It appears that the meaning and scope of our monument were duly recognised by Lord Arundel's learned friends, for the

¹ Herod., 2, 149, ἐξαπίδου μὲν τῆς *Fragm. Graecae.* in Hultsch's *Metrologici Scriptores*, i. p. 180, 5. εἰ

authorities consulted by Vertue, the housekeeper and the gardener at Easton Neston, were not competent to find out the right interpretation of the relief. As Matz justly observes, it is a truly Greek idea to give the indication of standard measures not under the simple form of a rule or scale, but by figuring those parts of the human body from which the measures—fathom and foot—were originally derived. Now, the very scope of the monument implies necessarily the exactness of the measures. It is of scarcely any consequence that the right end of the marble has been broken off in ancient times, the fragment being fortunately preserved and fitting so exactly to the main part, that for measurements the fracture does not matter. A greater difficulty lies in the fact that the forepart of the foot, the sole of which appears over the right shoulder of the man, has suffered so much from scratching and rubbing, that at a first glance it seems impossible to determine with sufficient accuracy the top of the toes. On closer inspection, however, the task appears less hopeless, owing to a peculiarity which is a well known feature of very low Attic reliefs; ¹—the outline of the sole is formed by a shallow scraped line which shows distinctly the contour of the toes. The measurement of the line *a b* gives a length of 0.296 m.; the number of the millimeters however cannot be guaranteed with full confidence. This dimension, as is well known, is identical with the length of the Roman *pes monetalis* (0.2957 m.); but this coincidence of the Roman measure with our monument, which is certainly Greek, and older than the introduction of that standard in Rome, needs no longer to be explained, as Dr. Hultsch supposed, by the theory that our foot was merely a *modulus* used by artists, since Dr. Dörpfeld's acute inquiries ² have led to the important discovery, that the Attic foot, the length of which of 0.308 m. was considered to be one of the most certain facts of ancient metrology, had exactly the same length as the Roman foot, of which it became the model. Our monument, to be sure, is not of Attic origin, the material being neither Pentelic nor any other kind of marble used in Attica. Its greyish colour, and its rough and, as it were, gritty surface, which struck also Matz's

¹ Conze in the *Sitzungsberichte d. Akad. d. Wissenschaften in Athen*, 1882, pp. 277 ff., *Berliner Akademie*, 1883, pp. 568 ff. especially p. 304.

² *Mittheilungen des archäolog. Instit.*

attention, seem rather to point to the western coast of Asia Minor or the adjacent islands, in which statues and reliefs of a similar material have been frequently discovered; and precisely to these places the chief agent of the Earl of Arundel, William Petty, owed a great part of his treasures. In any case our monument is evidence that at the time of its origin, in the country where it was made the Attic foot was current measure.

This Attic foot would seem to require a fathom of six feet, equal to 1.776 m. Instead of this, our fathom (*A E*) measures 2.070 m., that is to say almost exactly seven Attic feet.¹ As a fathom of seven feet would be a thing unheard of, evidently our fathom must belong to a different system from that of our foot. Hultsch has rightly pointed out that the measure in question is an Egyptian fathom, which comprises four great or royal ells of 0.524 each,² and consequently has a length of 2.096 m., which is but a little greater than that of our fathom. It is well known that there was a double ell in Egypt, a smaller one of 0.450 m., divided into six palms, each of which contained four inches, and the great or royal ell of 0.524 m. which, being longer by one-sixth, had a length of seven palms.³ A fathom belonging to the latter system was consequently twenty-eight palms long. Now, the Attic foot, being one-seventh of this fathom, is equal to four Egyptian palms; and as the foot is divided by the Athenians also into four palms (*παλασταί*⁴) and each palm into

¹ Seven Attic feet are equal to 2.072 m. The measurements taken on the cast vary between 2.064 and 2.070, owing to the slight inequalities of the surface of the relief, and to the outline of the middle finger of the right hand being defaced. Besides, the nature of the plaster, and the fracture near the right end may cause a trifling deviation. On the original itself Conze had measured 2.07, myself 2.06.—It is strange that Leonardo da Vinci (i. p. 183, No. 343, ed. Richter) makes the foot the seventh part of the length of the body. In the canonical statue of Polykleitos, the Doryphoros, the foot (0.33 m.) is nearly exactly the sixth part of the total length of 2 meters; see Benndorf in the

Zeitschrift für die oesterreich. Gymnasien, 1869, p. 265.

² Dörpfeld in the *Mittheilungen* &c., 1883, p. 38.

³ I am not in a position to enter into the controversy arisen between Lepsius and Dörpfeld, *Mittheilungen* &c., 1883, pp. 36 ff. and pp. 227 ff. I can say only what appears to me to be most likely, and add one new fact.

⁴ *παλαστή*, not *παλαιστή*, is the Attic form of the word, see *G. I. Att.* i. 321, 10; 322 (*Inscr. Brit. Mus.* i. 35), i. 28; 35; 38; ii. 26; 51; 56; 68; 69; 88; 97. *Ἀθήναιον* vii. p. 48, c, 17. Photius *lex. s.v. παλαστή*, referring to Kratinos and Philemon. Phrynichos *coll.* p. 150.

four inches (δάκτυλοι), it is clear that the Egyptian and the Attic palms and inches are the same. The difference of the system begins only when the Athenians constitute a foot, πούς, (not in common use in Egypt) of four palms; the ell (πῆχυς) of one foot and a half, or six palms, and the fathom (ὀργυιά) of six feet or twenty-four palms, are the same as the smaller Egyptian ell with its fathom. As to the royal Egyptian ell, its apparent division into four (larger) palms and twenty-four (larger) inches¹ stands in no close relation to Attic measures.

Notwithstanding the incontestable connection between the Egyptian fathom and the Attic foot, it cannot but be striking to find the two measures united in one relief. As it would not be a reasonable supposition, that the marble served only to state a scientific fact of metrology, it must have been made for practical use; and the only remaining explanation is that in that country in which the relief originated, both the great Egyptian fathom (and ell, respectively) and the Attic foot were current measures. This again proves that the relief cannot be of Attic origin, as at Athens a different fathom was in public use. On the other hand we may be led to the very origin of our monument by a passage of Herodotos in which he affirms that the Egyptian fathom is equal to the Samian fathom.² As a matter of fact, an ell of 0·524 m. seems to have been used in the old temple of Herè, at Samos.³ What has been said above about the quality of the marble would well suit a Samian origin. Moreover we hear that this very island proved a most successful field for Petty's pursuits.⁴ Considering all this, I think it not too rash to conjecture that our relief may have come from Samos, or some place belonging to the Samian dominions, and that it may bear the most authentic, direct witness for the Samian fathom. In this case it is of great importance, for it shows that Lepsius is wrong in supposing the Samian ell of Herodotos to be the same as the *smaller* Egyptian ell,⁵ and that Dörpfeld was right in interpreting the words of the historian as referring to the great or royal ell. And indeed, if Herodotos

¹ See Lepsius' exposition, pp. 234 ff.

Ibid. p. 261 ff.

² Herod. 2, 168, ὃ δὲ Αἰγύπτιος πῆχυς τυγχάνει ἴσος ἐὼν τῷ Σαμίῳ.

⁴ Michaelis *Anc. Marb. Gr. Britain*, pp. 16, 192, 194, 195.

³ Hultsch in the *Archaeol. Zeitung*, 1881, p. 99; see however, Dörpfeld,

⁵ *Mittheilungen &c.*, 1883, p. 238.

had intended to speak about the smaller ell, he would have made it equal to the common Greek or *Attic* ell which, according to Dörpfeld's conclusive argument, is exactly of the same length; by speaking of the *Samian* ell as identical with the Egyptian one, Herodotos implies that he means the royal ell. The Attic foot added on our monument to the indigenous Samian measure is easily explained by the influence exercised in that island by the commercial and political supremacy of Athens, even during the autonomy of Samos, and still more after the unsuccessful revolution of 441—439 B.C.

The combination of the two measures on the same slab necessarily suggests the question, whether the Attic foot and its subdivisions are in any way marked in the fathom as figured in our relief. So far as I can see, this is not the case. Dividing the whole length of the fathom into seven feet (*A c d e f g h E*), the divisions fall in no instance upon a distinctive point.¹ Nor can the subdivisions of the Attic foot, viz., the inch = $\frac{1}{8}$, the palm = $\frac{1}{4}$, and the span (*σπιθαμή*) = $\frac{3}{4}$ of a foot (equal to 0.0185, 0.074, 0.222 m. respectively), be found where they might at first be sought for in the relief. For the breadth of a finger at its root is about 0.022, the breadth of the palm 0.105 m.; so, as both dimensions are considerably too large, such a direct illustration of the 'finger' (inch) and the palm was not intended by the artist. We shall, however, come back to this question. The span finally, the distance of the ends of the second and the fifth fingers when outspread, cannot be directly measured on the relief; the distance as given there measures 0.190 m., or about ten Attic inches.

The metrological analysis of the fathom must consequently entirely exclude the Attic foot. The better marked is the main division of the fathom into four ells (*ABCDE*). According to the definition given by Pollux (2,158), ἀπὸ ὠλεκράνου πρὸς τὸν μέσον δάκτυλον ἄκρον τὸ διάστημα πῆχυς. The elbow itself is not visible; its position, as may be seen from anatomical diagrams², falls a little nearer towards the shoulder than that

¹ I feel bound to correct a false statement given in my *Ancient Marbles*, p. 560 (towards the end of the article, No. 83). The length obtained by measuring 'from palm to palm,' that is to say between the roots of the fingers, is not

1.77 m. (equal to six Attic feet or an Attic fathom) but 1.89 m. This number stands in no rational relation to the Attic measure.

² For instance Aug. Froriep, *Anatomie für Künstler*, Leipz. 1880, Fig. 23.

groove, which indicates the end of the *biceps* and the *brachialis internus*, included between the *radialis internus* and the *supinator longus*. It is exactly this spot on both arms (*B* and *D*) with which, on the relief, coincides the end of an ell of 0·5175 m. (being a quarter of a fathom of 2·07 m.), measured from the end of the middle finger (*A* and *E* respectively); the division of the second and the third ells falls on the middle of the breast (*C*). With less distinctness those places are marked, on which a foot measure of 0·345 m. (viz. two-thirds of an ell) would fall (*FGCHJ*). Starting from the middle of the breast (*C*), the end of a foot would coincide almost exactly with that spot where the sharp outline of the great pectoral muscle combined with the deltoid muscle reaches the upper outline of the arm, just at the junction of the shoulder and the upper arm (*G* and *H*). On the other hand, measuring from the end of the finger (*A* and *E*), the end of a foot falls approximately on the middle of the fore-arm (*F* and *J*). This point, however, is so indistinctly characterised, that it seems more than doubtful whether such a division of a foot is intended to be indicated. And, indeed, we do not even know precisely whether the Samians used such a foot;¹ nor is there any tradition as to how the Samian ell was otherwise divided. There appear to be two possibilities. Perhaps the Samians, in consequence of the relation of 7 to 6 existing between the royal and the smaller ell, and the wide currency of the latter among Greeks, divided their ell into 7 palms and 28 inches. As these subdivisions would coincide with the Attic palm and inches, we may refer to what has already been shown—that these measures do not agree with the real breadth of the palm and the greatest breadth of the fingers on our relief. Nevertheless they can be found in it, as the length of the fore-finger (*λιχανὸς δάκτυλος*, *OP*) being 0·074 m. gives the exact length of a palm, and the breadth of the lowest joints of the four fingers excepting the thumb (*SSSS*) represents with the same exactness the

¹ Hultsch, *Metrologie*, 2 ed., p. 551, 568, supposes such a foot to be the model of the ποὺς Φιλαρπείου of the Pergamene empire. Moreover he takes as ascertained a smaller Samian foot of 0·3145 m., equal to $\frac{2}{3}$ of the

ell, a supposition eagerly opposed by Dörpfeld in the *Archaeol. Zeitung*, 1881, p. 263. To such a foot would answer the length of the fore-arm in our relief (*DM*).

length of an inch of 0.0185 m. But with equal speciousness we may conjecture that the Samians adopted the common Greek system of dividing the ell into 6 palms (of 0.0864 m.) and 24 inches (of 0.0216 m.), a division which, according to Lepsius, would be in Egypt also the common division of the royal ell, and which, as a matter of fact, can be recognised in the Ptolemaean foot of later times, which is based upon it as comprising four of these larger palms.¹ Indeed, the breadth of the fingers at their root (which is absolutely the same in all the four above-named fingers) answers almost exactly the required measure of an inch (0.222 instead of 0.216 m.), and the length of the palm is with still greater exactness represented by the length of the fourth or ring-finger (*παράμεσος δάκτυλος, QE*); not to mention that the same length can also be traced in a line *MN* measured from the wrist (or from the root of the *abductor brevis pollicis, M*) to the end of a distinctly incised furrow (*N*) which answers, as to position, to the joint of the *metacarpus* and the *phalanx prima* of the fore-finger. I do not feel sure whether these slight indications will be considered to be sufficient to solve the question, whether the Samian ell was divided into six or seven palms. Possibly the conditions of international commerce at Samos were such as to require an indication of a double system of inches and palms; I am inclined, however, to give the preference to the division into six palms. The final decision will be left to further investigations, similar to those by which Dr. Dörpfeld has succeeded in discovering the true length of the Attic foot; we may hope that the excavations at the Heraeon may have afforded architectural fragments adapted to solve the riddle.

II. STYLE AND PROPORTIONS.

Besides the metrological questions connected with it, our monument deserves no less attention as a work of art which demands a place in the history of Greek sculpture. Matz, who first recognised the stylistic character of the relief, ascribed it to the first half of the fifth century B.C., basing his judgment on the following points: the shape of the skull, similar to that of

¹ Dörpfeld in the *Mittheilungen*, 1883, p. 45; Lepsius, *ibid.* p. 241.

the statue of Harmodios at Naples¹ and of the Massimi copy of the diskobolos of Myron;² the strong and prominent chin; the trace of archaic smile in the mouth; the high form of the eye, which seems to be represented *en face*; the powerful and muscular body, which, however, is modelled without hardness. Of these arguments, only that taken from the eye seems open to doubt, this part of the countenance being so much battered as to render the original form of the eye uncertain. Besides Matz's reasons, I should lay stress on the treatment of the hair, which is scarcely more than blocked out, as is the case, for instance, with the reliefs of the temple of Assos, with the metopes of the Olympian temple of Zeus, with some of the more archaic metopes of the Parthenon, with one of the terminal figures in the Villa Ludovisi,³ &c. Moreover, the strict profile of the head in combination with the front view of the body, though in keeping with the low style of the relief, still is less startling in a work of earlier date than it would be in a later age, which would have been able to employ other expedients; an elevation of the relief from the background of 0.045 m., as in our marble, would have permitted the sculptor to show the head to the front. Finally, the sharp outline of the great pectoral muscle, together with the very simple treatment of the surface, exhibits completely the method of archaic art. The excellent modelling, however, of the arms should warn us not to go back to a too remote period. This very modelling affords a further argument that the monument is not of Attic origin. An Attic artist would certainly have raised from the ground all the outlines rather strongly with a sharp edge, and would have represented the muscles of the arms with more subdued modelling. The sculptor of our marble followed a different method; he marked nearly throughout the contours by a slightly incised line, and from this very point he began the round modelling of the

¹ *Annali dell' Inst.* 1874, Pl. Q. Compare the heads of Herakles and of Aktæon in the Selinuntian metopes, Pl. vii. and ix. in Beudorf's *Metopen von Selinunt*.

² Unfortunately there exist neither casts nor good engravings of this capital statue (Matz-Duhn *Ant. Bildwerke in Rom*, i. No. 1098). According to

Kekulé (*Kopf des Praxitel. Hermes*, p. 12, note 1) the head offers great analogy with the athlete's head in Ince Blundell Hall, No. 152 (*Archaeol. Zeitung*, 1874, Pl. 3).

³ Schreiber, *Villa Ludovisi*, No. 8. *Monumenti Inediti dell' Inst.* x. Pl. lvii. 1.

muscles and of the interior forms of the body generally. This system can be best traced at the neck, the shoulders, and the arms, as well as on both the flanks of the trunk: besides, the front part of the countenance would scarcely have been so entirely defaced, if the Attic system of sharp outlines had been employed.

The relatively early epoch of our relief is moreover established by the proportions of the body here figured. Vitruvius, in a passage often discussed,¹ treats of the normal proportions of the human body: So far as they can be applied to our relief, they are as follows:—

1. *The length of the body from the crown to the bottom of the feet is equal to the length of the outspread arms.* According to this rule, approved by modern authorities, the total length of the body of our fathom-man is 2·07 m.

¹ 3, 1, 2 and 3. I give the text as it is established by Lorentzen and by Val. Rose on the authority of the best manuscripts, adding the numbers of the following explanations: *corpus enim hominis ita natura composuit, uti* (7) *os capitis a mento ad frontem summam et radices imas capilli esset decimae partis, item* (3) *manus palma ab articulo ad extremum medium digitum tantundem, (6) caput a mento ad summum verticem octavae, (5) cum cervicibus imis ab summo pectore ad imas radices capillorum sextae, (4) a medio pectore* [these three words are wanting in the manuscripts; the supplement is due to Galiani] *ad summum verticem quartae. (8) ipsius autem oris altitudinis tertia est pars ab imo mento ad imas nares, nasum ab imis naribus ad finem medium superciliorum tantundem; ab ea fine ad imas radices capilli frons efficitur item tertiae partis, pes vero altitudinis corporis sextae, (2) cubitus quartae, pectus item quartae...* (1) *si a pedibus imis ad summum caput mensum erit eaque mensura relata fuerit ad manus passas, invenietur eadem latitudo uti altitudo.* In the old editions the numbers 5 and 4 run thus: *tantundem ab cervicibus imis, ab sum-*

mo pectore ad imas radices capillorum sextae, ad summum verticem quartae. The *tantundem ab* is an unhappy attempt to restore a misinterpreted passage, and the last period contains a gross error if the parting point of the measurement here again is the *summum pectus*. It is interesting to see how Leonardo da Vinci in a translation of the whole passage, the corruptness of which he duly recognised, has tried to guess the right sense: '*e dalla forciglia alla sommità del petto si è $\frac{1}{4}$ parte, e dalla forciglia del petto insino alla sommità del capo $\frac{1}{4}$ parte,*' see *Literary Works of Leon. da Vinci*, ed. by Dr. J. P. Richter, i. p. 181, No. 340. In the same work, under No. 343, is given an interpretation and correction rather than a translation of the whole chapter; instead of the corrupt passage Leonardo says: '*dal di sopra del petto alla sommità del capo fia il sexto dell'omo; dal di sopra del petto al nascimento de' capegli fia la settima parte di tutto l'omo; dalle tette al di sopra del capo fia la quarta parte dell'omo.*' In a third article, No. 334, the words *ab summo*—*sextas* are recognised as giving the just measure.

2. *The fore-arm and the breast measure each a quarter of the total length of the body.* We have seen above that this dimension of the fore-arm (*cubitus*) agrees with the relief. The same may be said as to the dimensions of the breast if we are right, in conformity with the common interpretation,¹ in referring it to the breadth of the shoulders, between the *acromia* *K* and *L*, or to the identical distance between those two points where the great pectoral muscle meets with the *deltoides*. The lower parts of the breast are considerably less than a quarter of the total length. It will be worth observing that in the Doryphoros of Polykleitos² the breadth of the shoulders is also exactly a quarter of the total length (0.50); it is but a little smaller in the statue of the British Museum ascribed by Dr. Waldstein³ to Pythagoras of Rhegion (0.435 instead of 0.454 m.).

3. *The length of the hand from the wrist to the end of the middle finger is one-tenth of the length of the body.* The left hand of the relief, from the sharply marked furrow at the wrist to the end of the middle finger, measures 0.20 m., the right hand a few millimeters more, as far as the marble, which is rubbed at this place, permits us to trace the outline of the finger. The length required by Vitruvius is but a little greater (0.207 m.). The hand of the Doryphoros seems nearly to agree with the rule.

4. *From the middle of the breast (if indeed this supplement of Galiani's gives Vitruvius' original meaning) to the crown is a quarter of the total length.* The height of the breast, *pectus*, here, as in the following rule, is the same as the length of the breast-bone, *sternum*, from the pit of the nape down to the ensiform appendix. As a matter of fact, in a normal human body the middle of the *sternum* is a point exactly dividing an upper quarter of the body from three lower quarters. This point lies about 0.03 m. higher than the nipples.⁴ Measuring, on our relief,

¹ See Leonardo's translation, No. 340, '*larghezza di spalle*.' The same expression returns in No. 333, 341, 343. As to the cubit being contained four times in the extension of the arms, see No. 347.

² *Monum. Ined. dell' Inst.* x. Pl. 1. 1, 2.

³ *Journ. Hell. Stud.* i. pp. 168 ff.

Pl. iv. *Spec. of Ant. Sculp.* ii. Pl. v. *Anc. Marb. Brit. Mus.* xi. Pl. xxxii.

⁴ Froriep, *Anatomie für Künstler*, Fig. vii. In a man of normal proportions, 1.75 m. high, the *sternum* is 0.22 m. long and extends from 1.42 downwards to 1.20; the middle of it, in consequence, falls on 1.31 from the bottom and is 0.44 m. distant from the

from the crown (*T*) downwards 0·524 m. (equal to one cubit or one quarter of the total height), we come to the point *Z*, on the upper edge of the fracture of the marble, which seems to answer to the required point pretty exactly. Probably, our relief may have ended originally with the lower outline of the great pectoral muscle, under which the small lower cornice will have cut off the relief. The distance from the top to that point, measuring about 0·59 m., is but a little smaller than it ought to be (0·60 m.). The statue of the Doryphoros is in conformity with the rule as above given, the distance being 0·50 m., or one quarter of the total height of 2 meters; in the Choiseul-Gouffier statue the distance (0·435 m.) is a little less than one quarter of the height ($\frac{1}{4} \cdot 815 = 0\cdot454$ m.).

5. *The head, including the whole neck (caput cum cervicibus imis), from the upper end of the breast to the roots of the hair, is the sixth part of the total height.* The pit of the nape, which indicates the upper end of the *sternum*, is not marked in our relief, but its place can easily be made out as lying between the inner ends of the clavicles, considerably higher than the end of the groove figured in the relief, which is produced by the strong lateral flexion of the sterno-mastoid. The distance between this point, *Y*¹ and *U* (the level of the roots of the hair above the forehead) measures about 0·255 m., or the *eighth* part of the total length, not the sixth (0·345 m.), as required by Vitruvius. Leonardo² gives to that distance the seventh part, in conformity with normal fact, as well as with the Choiseul-Gouffier statue (0·025 instead of 0·026 m.), and the Apoxyomenos of Lysippos (0·28, total length 1·96 m.). Nevertheless it would be rash to alter the text of Vitruvius; for in the Doryphoros of Polykleitos, the proportions of which agree in many points with those given

crown. This point, recommended by Galiani, a physician, agrees better with Vitruvius' rule than the supplements proposed by Leonardo da Vinci: *dalla forcella del petto* (No. 340), or *dalle tette* (No. 343), the latter of which has been approved by many, for instance by John Gibson, the sculptor, in his pamphlet on *The proportions of the human figure*, 2 ed., London, 1857. According to Froriep's diagram the

nipples fall on 1·28 from below.

¹ The point *Y* should really be placed to mark the pit of the nape, higher than it actually is in the woodcut, i.e. a little below *X*, and nearly at the point where the lines *KL* and *TZ* cross.

² i. p. 182, No. 343, ed. Richter: *dai di sopra del petto al nascimento de' capegli fia la settima parte di tutto l'omo.*

by our author, the dimension in question is but very little smaller than one sixth part of the total height (2.0 m.), viz. 0.32 instead of 0.333 m. The very different proportions of our relief are the consequence of the shortness of the neck, and especially of the narrowness of the forehead, which causes the level of the roots of the hair to descend so low. Comparing the exceeding smallness of this dimension with the normal length of the part considered in the fourth article, it is further evident that, what is lacking to the normal height of head and neck, goes to the credit of the breast; and indeed the height of the great pectoral muscle from the pit of the nape down to the end of the relief is about 0.265 m., that is to say about the eighth part of the total length of the body, instead of about the tenth part which would be required in normal proportions. This remarkable height of the pectoral muscle, the *λιπαρὸν στῆθος* praised by the *δίκαιος λόγος* in Aristophanes' *Clouds*, is a highly characteristic feature of such sculptures as either belong to an early period or follow the example of archaic art. Some instances will be sufficient to prove it.

	Height of pectoral m.	Length of body.	Proportion.
Choiseul statue	0.23	: 1.815	= 1 : 8 ($7\frac{1}{2}$).
Harmodios	0.22	: 1.98	= 1 : 9.
Doryphoros	0.21	: 2.00	= 1 : $9\frac{1}{2}$ ($9\frac{1}{2}$).
Apoxyomenos	0.17	: 1.96	= 1 : $11\frac{1}{2}$ ($11\frac{1}{2}$).

6. *The height of the head from the crown to the chin is the eighth part of the length of the body.* The real measure of 0.255 m. agrees pretty well with this rule ($\frac{2.07}{8} = 0.259$). The apparent contradiction between this measure and the result obtained *ad* 5, is explained by the fact that, although the forehead is very low, still the upper part of the head as a whole has the true height.

7. *The length of face from the chin to the roots of the hair above the forehead is one tenth of the length of the body.* This proportion stands in close connection with the rule No. 5, which gives the explanation why the length of face, measuring 0.185 m., is considerably smaller than the length of 0.207 m. required by Vitruvius.¹ Here again a table will give some elements of comparison.

¹ No. 317 of Leonardo's notes (i. p. 172, ed. Richter) begins with the words:

'Dalla sommità del capo al di sotto del mento $\frac{1}{10}$, dal nascimento de' capelli al

	Length of face.	Length of body.	Proportion.
Harmodios	0.175	: 1.98	= 1 : 11½ (11½⁷⁄₈).
Our relief	0.185	: 2.07	= 1 : 11½ (11½⁷⁄₈).
Apoxyomenos	0.18	: 1.96	= 1 : 11 (10⁷⁄₈).
Choiseul statue	0.18	: 1.185	= 1 : 10½.
Doryphoros	0.20	: 2.00	= 1 : 10.

(The place of the Apoxyomenos in this list is in conformity with the general norm of Lysippos' proportions as expressed by Pliny, 34, 65: *capita minora faciendo, corpora graciliora, per quae proceritas signorum maior videretur.*)

8. *The length of face is divided into three equal parts, reckoned upwards thus: from the chin to the nostrils, the nose from the nostrils up to the brow, the forehead from the brow to the roots of the hair.* This rule differs totally from the proportions of our relief. As exactly as the defaced marble allows us to take the measures, the three parts taken from above downwards, give the following dimensions: *UV* 0.039; *VW* 0.063; *WX* 0.083 m. We have already pointed out the exceeding narrowness of the forehead. This, however, is nowise a peculiarity of our relief, but it is an established fact that in a great number of the earlier works of Greek sculpture the forehead is low, especially in comparison with the inferior part of the face, in which the high and very prominent chin is remarkable; the dimensions of the three parts show constant increase from above downwards. Once more I give a comparative table of some characteristic instances.

	Forehead.	Nose.	Nostrils to chin.	Total height.
Our relief	39 mm.	63 mm.	83 mm.	185 mm.
Harmodios	38 "	60 "	77 "	175 "
Strangford 'Apollo'¹	30 "	48 "	52 "	130 "
Prize-running girl²	35 "	40 "	60 "	135 "
Stephanos' youth³	30 "	45 "	55 "	130 "
Doryphoros	65 "	63 "	70 "	198 "
Hermes of Praxiteles	60 "	60 "	65 "	185 "

mento è ⅓ dello spatio ch' è da esso nascimento a terra. The first item agrees with Vitruvius (rule 6), the second will do so if instead of the second *nascimento* we read *mento*, in conformity with Leonardo's translation of Vitruvius (No. 340), as well as with his own views (No. 343).

¹ *Monumenti Ined. dell' Inst.* ix. Pl. xli.

² *Visconti, Museo Pio Clem.* iii. Pl. xxvii.

³ *Annali dell' Inst.* 1864, Pl. D. Kekulé *Gruppe des Menelaos*, Pl. ii, 3, Overbeck *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*, 3d ed., ii. p. 413, Fig. 150a.

	Forehead.	Nose.	Nostrils to chin.	Total height.
Choiseul statue	60 mm.	60 mm.	60 mm.	180 mm.
Farnese Diadumenos ¹	55 „	50 „	45 „	150 „
Cassel Diadumenos ²	75 „	63 „	60 „	198 „
Apoxyomenos	50 „	65 „	65 „	180 „

The table shows that the narrowness of the forehead and the excessive length of the inferior part are gradually diminishing, to the advantage of the expression of mental strength and freedom, which reigns in the upper part of the face, instead of the former predominance of the more material parts of the head. The low forehead of the Apoxyomenos is as exceptional as is the equality of the three parts in so archaic a statue as is the 'Apollo' from Tenea.³

The preceding analysis, particularly the observations referring to rules 5, 7, and 8, will have proved that the vertical proportions of the body figured in our relief—the height of the great pectoral muscle, the shortness of the neck, the high chin and the low forehead—are in favour of an early period in which it must have originated. The proportions of the three parts of the face especially seem to point to an epoch preceding the art of Pheidias and Polykleitos—if, indeed, it is allowable to make such a chronology by reasoning from the development of Attic and Peloponnesian art to that of the Greek art of Asia Minor. Unfortunately there is a complete lack of characteristic monuments from Asia Minor belonging to the fifth century. The higher, therefore, we value the instance afforded by our relief, the greater is, on the other hand, the uncertainty as to special dates. Nevertheless Matz may be not far from the truth in assigning the work to the earlier half of that century; although, to be sure, it would be hard to disprove a date later by one or two decenniums. Consequently, if we are right in conjecturing the Samian origin of the relief, it would most probably belong to a period anterior to 439 B.C., in which the island was still enjoying its autonomy. During this period the old Samian ell, according to Herodotos' testimony, was certainly current; but we have no reason to doubt that it remained in currency at Samos also after the disastrous event of 439, as coins of Attic standard make only a short and exceptional appearance in the

¹ *Annali dell' Inst.* 1878, Pl. A. *griech. Plastik*, Pl. ii.

Murray, *Hist. of Greek Sculpt.* Pl. ix.

³ *Mon. Ined. dell' Inst.* iv. Pl. xlv.

² Conze, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der*

Overbeck, *Plastik*, i. p. 91, Fig. 10.

Samian coinage, being probably confined to the first years after the conquest by Perikles.¹ Now, in connection with the Samian fathom, which the higher relief characterises as the chief object of the monument, appears in a much more modest form the Attic foot. Already when Samos was still the mightiest and wealthiest member of the Attic confederacy, the island stood in so close relations to Athens as the other centre of Greek maritime commerce, that the addition of the Attic standard measure would be far from startling. Possibly, however, this addition was only made after Samos had passed entirely into the dominion of victorious Athens. At any rate it is remarkable that the sole of the foot is not figured in relief, but indicated exclusively by an incised outline, the interior of the sole being exactly on the same level with the surrounding ground of the relief. The foot may therefore be a later addition. If this conjecture should be deemed to be right, the Attic foot on the Samian standard measure would have its closest analogy in the Attic olive-branch on the Samian coins after the conquest;² it would make of our humble, nay, apparently strange marble an interesting historical document, a very characteristic memorial of the most momentous event of Samian history.

AD. MICHAELIS.

STRASSBURG.

¹ Gardner, *Samos and Samian Coins*
(*Numism. Chron.* 1882), p. 44, 52.

² Gardner, p. 43.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM RHODES.

IMPRESSIONS of the following additional¹ inscriptions have been sent me by Mr. Albert Biliotti, from marbles found by himself or his agents at different parts of Rhodes:—

10. On a fragment of marble complete on the top edge only. From the Akropolis of Kamiros. Height 10 in. by 13½ in.

...ΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥΣ
 ΠΝΕΙΟΥΚΑΙΜΥΛΑΝΤ
 ΞΗΝΤΟΣ
 ΞΩΤΙΜΟΥΤΛΩΙΣ
 ΕΥΣΘΕΝΕΥΣΤΑΣ
 ΣΦΙΛΟΚΡΑΤΕΥ
 ΝΑΚΤΟΣΓΛΑ
 ΤΑΓΟΡΑ

Ἀπόλλωνος...
 Κα]ρνείου καὶ Μύλαντ[ος
 Μ]ένητος·
 Σωτίμου Τλώι[ος
 ευσθένης Τλώ[ιος
 ς Φιλοκράτευ[ς
 νακτος Γαλ[άτας
 αγόρα

This seems to be a fragment of a list of priests, *ιερείς*, *ιεροποιοί*, or *ιεροθύται*, perhaps similar to Foucart, No. 62: the letters are clear, well cut, and of a fairly good period. It is unfortunate that the upper portions containing the names of deities should be so little preserved; there is sufficient however still remaining to enable us to recover the title of a deity who has been I believe hitherto unknown—Apollo Mylas—such at least seems

¹ See *ante*, p. 136.

to be a reasonable explanation of the fragmentary word at the end of the second line. Mylas is an epithet which is known from literary sources as having a special connection with Rhodes, but has never I believe been found in inscriptions, and elsewhere has usually been referred to Zeus rather than Apollo. The context however of our fragment, and the close connection with Karneios, make it tolerably certain that we have here a title of Apollo. Neither is the literary evidence at all opposed to this view. Stephanus, who gives the *locus*, on the word Μυλαντία says, ἄκρα ἐν Καμείρῳ τῆς Ρόδου. Μυλάντιοι θεοὶ ἐπιμύλιοι, ἀπὸ Μύλαντος ἀμφοτέρα, τοῦ καὶ πρώτου εὐρόντος ἐν τῷ βίῳ τὴν τοῦ μύλου χρῆσιν. On the other hand Hesychius says Μυλὰς, εἰς τῶν Τελχίνων, ὃς τὰ ἐν Καμείρῳ ἱερὰ Μυλαντείων ἰδρύσατο. It is significant to note that the locality in both these passages is the same as that of our inscription. Now hard by Kamiros, in Lindos, flourished a cult of Apollo Telchinios, and in view of this connection of the deity with the Telchines, the existence of an Apollo Mylas seems only natural. It may be that we have here a later development of an early myth which, arising like many others from a previously existing geographical name, came subsequently under the influence of the prevailing cult of the Sun-God. We see the extent to which this influence attained in Rhodes by the fact that Apollo was there worshipped under at least fourteen¹ different attributes, the majority of which, like our Karneios and Mylas, bore reference to his character as protector and patron of crops and herds. The personification Himalia would be another form at Rhodes of the same idea. The θεοὶ ἐπιμύλιοι would seem then to have been Zeus, Demeter, and Apollo.

Τλώιοι are mentioned in Loewy, *Unediertes aus Rhodos*, 22.

11. On a fragment of marble about 11 in. by 6 in., broken on all sides, but the inscription seems to be complete: the letters are of about the fourth century.

ΑΣΡΙΑΝΙΟΥΕΝΑΤΑΙ
ΕΞΙΚΑΔΟΣΔΙΟΝΥ
ΣΩΙΕΡΙΦΟΣ

* Ἀγριανίου ἐνάται ἐξ ἰκάδος, Διονύσῳ ἔριφος.

¹ Cf. Heffter, *Die Götterdienste auf Rhodus im Alt. und inserr.*

If, as seems probable from Newton, *Greek Inscriptions*, No. cccxlv., the last day of the month was at Rhodes always called *τριάκας*, this would seem to prove that Agrianios was a 'full' month of 30 days as distinct from a hollow (*κοίλη*) month of 29 days. *Ἐριφος* being in the nominative, we must understand some such verb as *θοίγεται*. The full formula is given in *Bull. de Corr. Hellén*, ii. p. 615 in an inscription from Gennadi (Rhodes): *Θευδαισίου ἔκται ἱσταμένον Ποτειδᾶνι Φνταλμῖωι ὃς τέλος θοίγεται*. In Ross, *Hellen*. p. 112, No. 45, an inscription from Apolakkia near Kamiros, one Lakon sacrifices on the 14th Hyakinthios to Halios an *ἔριφον λευκὸν ἢ πυρρόν*.

The peculiar form of gamma in line 1 can hardly be due to anything but an error of the lapidary.

12

ΑΡΙΣΤΙ
ΤΟΥΔΙΟΚΛΕΥ
ΒΟΥΛΙΔΑ

Ἀριστί[ωνος] τοῦ Διοκλεῦ[ς] Βουλίδα.

In Ross, *Hellen*. p. 102, No. 26, *b* is a Rhodian inscription *Διοκλεῦς Ἀριστίωνος Βουλίδα*, which would seem to refer to the father of the person here mentioned.

13

TATIOY

I have recently received an impression of the inscription (No. 6) which I published on page 139 *ante* from Mr. Biliotti's copy: from this it appears that the more correct disposition of the uncials is

BOTPYΣΔΑΛΙΑΣ
·ΑΛΑΤΑΣΕΝΓΕΝΗΣ
ΧΑΙΡΕ ΧΑΙΡΕ

so that the reading would rather be

Βότρυς [Γ]αλάτας χαῖρε
Δαλιάς ἐνγενῆς χαῖρε.

CECIL SMITH.

PAINTINGS ON THE AMAZON SARCOPHAGUS OF CORNETO.

PLS. XXXVI.—XXXVIII.

FEW monuments of ancient art possess either a more obvious beauty and attraction, or a greater interest for the archæological student, than the sarcophagus painted with various scenes of an Amazonomachia, which was discovered in 1869 in a grave at a little distance from Corneto, the ancient Tarquinii, and was a few years afterwards acquired for the Egyptian and Etruscan Museum at Florence. Its date is probably not much after 300 B.C., and the pictures which adorn it, even if not the work of a Greek hand, offer us the best example we possess of the manner of Greek polychrome painting in that age. They have been already described by several highly competent writers, including Dr. Helbig and Otto Donner (*Bull. dell' Inst.* 1869, p. 198 sq.); the late Dr. Klügmann, who for years made representations of the Amazons in ancient art his especial study (*Ann. dell' Inst.* 1873, p. 239 sq.); Mr. Dennis (*Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, 2nd ed., 1881, p. 96 sq.); and Dr. Woermann (*Woltmann and Woermann, Hist. of Painting*, English ed., 1880, vol. i., p. 100). But hitherto no adequate illustrations of them have been published. The sketches in slightly shaded outline engraved, (*Mon. dell' Inst.*, vol. ix., pl. lx.), to accompany Dr. Klügmann's article above referred to, furnish, indeed, a useful key to the shape and dimensions of the sarcophagus, and to the arrangement and subject-matter of its pictures. But of the style of the work they give little notion, and of its colouring, from the nature of the case, none at all.¹ Coloured facsimiles of some selected

¹ Coloured drawings of the whole sarcophagus on its first discovery were made at the order of the Italian Government, and are presumably still

in the possession of the Department of Public Instruction. The Council of the Archæological Institute at Rome proposed to have another set of coloured

portions of these most interesting paintings are published for the first time with the present number of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* (Pls. XXXVI., XXXVII., XXXVIII.).

These facsimiles have been prepared by Herr Steinbock, of Berlin, from drawings taken at my request by Mr. C. Fairfax Murray in 1881. By that time the paintings, which even when first discovered were much injured, had suffered still farther from fading and scaling of the surface in consequence of exposure to the air. But such as they then were, the portions of them here selected have been copied by Mr. Murray with not less accuracy than spirit. His work is as true to the touch and expression of the original as it is to the accidents of surface and condition,¹ and it has been reproduced with surprisingly little loss of effect by Herr Steinbock. The object of the present notes is less to offer any complete criticism of the paintings in question than to introduce the above-mentioned reproductions of them to the student. But even for this limited purpose a certain amount of explanation and discussion seems indispensable.

The sarcophagus, then, measures m. 1.94 or a little over six feet in length, by m. 0.62 wide. The lid, of ordinary Italian marble, is roof-shaped, and on one of its slopes appears the inscription, incised in Etruscan characters, *Ramtha Hucznai Thui. Ati Nacnva Larthial. Apaiatras Zil Eteraias*. Prof. Corssen has expressed the opinion that these three groups of names denote respectively the deceased person, the lady who ordered the monument, and the artist who supplied it. The lid is moreover decorated with a coloured relief of Actaeon devoured by dogs in the pedimental space at either end, and with projecting female heads at the four angles: these ornaments are in the ordinary formal Etruscan

drawings made for publication, but the *Avvocato* Bruschi, on whose ground the sarcophagus had been discovered, refused them permission. After it had passed from his hands into the Egyptian Museum at Florence, they again entertained a similar purpose, but it fell to the ground for want of a skilled hand to undertake the work. See *Ann. dell' Inst.* 1873, pp. 244 and 251.

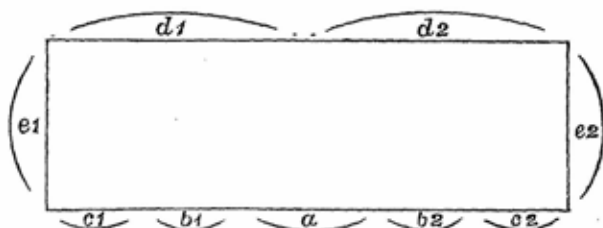
² It is to be noted that, Mr. Murray's drawings not having been originally

intended for publication, the scale of the figures accidentally varies slightly in each of them, those in Pl. xxxvi. being on the largest, and those in Pl. xxxviii. on the smallest scale. Moreover he has omitted from Pl. xxxvii. the letters of the Etruscan inscription rudely incised along the upper margin of the picture. Another portion of the same disfiguring inscription duly appears as in the original in Pl. xxxvi.

style, and call for no special mention. Passing from the lid to the body of the sarcophagus, we find in this both a different material and a different style of decoration. It is made either of alabaster or a marble closely resembling alabaster—as to the exact character of the material and its probable place of origin experts are not agreed. The surface has been left unsmoothed, in order that it might afford the better ground for painting on, and the painter has worked in *tempera* directly on this ground, without further priming or preparation; a method of which the result is naturally liable in a peculiar degree to injury from air and damp. The pictures are decorative in character, and must not be taken as at all representing the achievements recorded to have been made by Greek artists after Agatharchos and Apollodoros in chiaroscuro and perspective, and the deceptive imitation of natural objects. The figures are drawn, indeed, in spirited action with a perfectly free and accomplished hand; but they are as carefully spaced out on a single plane, with as little crowding or crossing of one behind another, as in Greek relief-sculpture of the good time. Behind the figures there is no indication of landscape or distance, but a plain tinted background: along the sides of the sarcophagus this is of a clear lilac colour, and at the ends of a greyish black, which was originally probably dark blue. The general colouring of the pictures is in clear and pure secondary tints, of which the number is limited to eight or nine. In the flesh-tints the differences of the sexes is strongly marked, as if with some reminiscence of the conventional practice of Etruscan and other primitive schools in this respect; the flesh of the fighting Greeks being a tawny red, while that of the Amazons is very fair. For each sex two tints only are used in the shading and modelling of the flesh. The outlines have been freely and lightly drawn in with the brush, generally in red or reddish brown for the flesh-parts and in grey for the rest. Hair and eyes are for the most part a purplish brown; garments mainly reddish brown, whitish grey or pale lilac, and light blue. Horses are uniformly a greyish white, shaded with a fuller tint of grey; their eyes always blue. There are two colours of metal, light blue for swords, spear-heads, and the inner faces of shields, golden yellow for helmets, greaves, hafts of spears, rims and handles of shields, girdles, and chain ornaments. In addition to

the injuries due to time and decay, the principal face of the sarcophagus has been from antiquity disfigured, by having had barbarously incised along its upper margin, subsequently to the painting and without the least regard to it, a slightly modified copy of the same inscription in Etruscan characters as appears on the lid.

The subject of the pictures, as has been said, is a battle of Greeks and Amazons. There is nothing to identify it as representing any one in particular of the three great legendary conflicts of the Greeks with those heroines; that waged by Herakles at the Thermodon, by Theseus before the gates of Athens, or by Achilles during the siege of Troy. Rather the theme is treated generically, as it is in so many scores of other monuments, principally relief-sculptures and vase-paintings, which have come down to us. In the design and arrangement of the groups we have a remarkable example of the essentially Greek principle, most dominant in the finest period of their art, the principle of strict symmetry or correspondence of parts in the general plan, relieved by free variety in the details. The following diagram, showing the arrangement of the several groups on the four sides of the sarcophagus, will make clear the symmetrical nature of the plan.



Beginning with the front or principal face of the sarcophagus, we find:—

- a. Central group of three figures (Pl. XXXVI., in which, however, of the right-hand figure a part only is shown). An Amazon fighting with two Greeks.

- b* 1. Group of two figures. A Greek about to despatch a fallen Amazon.
- b* 2. Corresponding group of two figures (Pl. XXXVII.). A Greek about to despatch a fallen Amazon.
- c* 1. Group of two figures. A Greek on foot confronting an Amazon on horseback.
- c* 2. Corresponding group of two figures. A Greek on foot confronting an Amazon on horseback.

Passing to the back or secondary face of the sarcophagus, we find it entirely occupied by two extensive groups, viz. :—

- d* 1. Group of four figures. Two Amazons riding in a four-horse chariot attack two Greeks on foot.
- d* 2. Corresponding group of four figures. Two Amazons riding in a four-horse chariot attack two Greeks on foot.

Lastly, on the ends of the sarcophagus appear severally :—

- e* 1. Group of three figures (Pl. XXXVIII.). A Greek attacked by an Amazon as he is in the act of despatching a second Amazon fallen between them.
- e* 2. Corresponding group of three figures. Two Amazons about to despatch a Greek who fights on his knees between them.

Let us now proceed to examine more closely these several groups, and especially those among them which our illustrations enable us to study in detail. Besides the interest of their subject, workmanship, and style, we shall have to consider both their relations with other kindred representations which have been preserved, and the signs which they bear of derivation from prototypes which have perished.

In reference to this latter point, let us remember what were the principal works, commemorating the warfare of Greeks and Amazons, which were produced in the great creative age of Greek art, and are likely to have served as models and examples to later craftsmen. They were, at Athens itself, first, the paintings of Polygnotos or his associate Mikon in the temple

of Theseus, with those of Mikon in the Stoa Poikilè; and secondly, the relief-sculptures of Pheidias on the outer face of the shield of the statue of Athenè Parthenos; the special subject of all these works alike was the overthrow of the Amazons by the Athenian hero Theseus. At Olympia the three great legendary phases of the same warfare were all represented by Pheidias and his scholars; the battle of Herakles with the Amazons at the Thermodon in a series of sculptures (probably in the round) placed on the cross-bars of the throne of the great statue of Zeus; their defeat by Theseus in reliefs on the front of his footstool of the same statue; and the death of their queen Penthesilea in the arms of Achilles in a picture painted by Panaenos on the balustrade inclosing the same statue of Zeus.

Among these representations it is antecedently probable that those at Athens, the great centre of arts and artistic handicrafts in the Greek world, will be found, more frequently than those at Olympia, repeated or reflected in subordinate and derivative works of all classes. Of such subordinate and probably derivative works, a vast number have come down to us. Whether treated with reference to a particular legend, or generically as is more common, the *Amazonomachia*, as all students of classical archæology are aware, is one of the favourite subjects of ancient art. Among relief-sculptures still preserved, we have the great series of monumental friezes, beginning with that of Phigaleia, continuing with that, newly recovered for science, of the Heröon of Gjölbaschi, and with that of the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus; and ending with the enormously extensive, if somewhat uninteresting, frieze of the temple of the Magnesian Artemis. We have, besides, a large number of sarcophagus reliefs; one of which, the famous sarcophagus at Vienna, happens to be the most beautiful, and probably the earliest, known example of that form of monument extant,¹ while another, the Louvre sarcophagus found at Salonica, is only second to it.² In painting, we have a vast quantity of painted vases, of the most various fabric and *provenance*, and illustrating the theme with a remarkable diversity of treatment and motive, as well as one or two late mural paintings, and our own unri-

¹ Figured Bouillon, *Musée de Sculpture*, ii. 94, a, b, Steiner, *Der Amazonenmythus*, pl. v.

² Clarac, ii. Pl. 117, A, B, Overbeck, *Heroische Bildwerke*, xxi. 8.

valled earlier example, painted, as we have seen, on a sarcophagus of marble or marble-like alabaster. That material is not suitable for carving, and hence, perhaps, the choice of painting rather than sculpture for its decoration. At the same time, the principles of composition and design which have governed the painter in his work, are those, as we have seen, of sculpture, and of sculpture in its best age. But in truth the laws of decorative design in painting and sculpture were for antiquity so nearly the same, that we are fully accustomed to find either of the two arts borrowing its motives from the other. The nearest parallels which we possess to the present work are, as has been justly pointed out by Dr. Klügmann, for design the sculptured reliefs of the Vienna sarcophagus above referred to, and for technical method the fragments of a painted wooden sarcophagus found near Kertch, and representing the Rape of the Leucippidae (see *Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien*, Pl. 83, 84). Other painted sarcophagi, of course, exist, besides that of Corneto and that of Kertch, but their material is usually terracotta, and the painting is only added to enhance the effect of their ornaments in relief, as in a number of well-known Etruscan examples.

Coming, now, to the single groups—

a (Pl. XXXVI.), represents an Amazon between two Greeks. She is mounted on a white horse, and gallops away to the right, turning round in her seat to deliver a sword-cut with the right arm, which is raised and doubled right over her head, at the Greek warrior behind her, whose right arm threatens her with his spear, while he extends his shield with his left. The second Greek warrior, in front of the Amazon to our right (he is only partly seen in our picture), retreats from between the forelegs of her charger, at whom he at the same time aims a downward blow with his spear.

I cannot point to a group of three quite corresponding to this in any other Amazonomachia that is known to me either in sculpture or painting. But taking away the right-hand figure, the remaining group of two was evidently one of the stock groups, or schemes, borrowed by decorators from the great early masters. It is repeated almost exactly at the left-hand end of the famous sarcophagus at Vienna already mentioned, with the difference that the Amazon in this case threatens with an axe, and the Greek with a short sword. Moreover the same motive

is to be found in a work of the fifth century, the frieze of the temple of Nikè at Athens,¹ where, however, the enemies of the Greeks, as is now generally admitted, are not Amazons, but either Persians or merely typical barbarians. In which of the great compositions above referred to the prototype first occurred, we have at present no means of ascertaining.

Passing to the particular treatment of our own example every reader will be struck by the beauty and spirit of the Amazon, alike in her action and her facial expression.² The type of head, broad, bold, and powerful, and at the same time young and blooming, with the pathetic-indignant expression, are preserved with little falling off from the best age of Greek art; they are recognizably akin to those we know, for instance, in the copies of the Ephesian Amazon statues, and beyond comparison superior to the feeble and characterless types found in the vase-paintings, to which our monument is probably nearer in date, of the Italo-Greek cities of Apulia. The dress of the Amazon consists of the short tunic, girdled at the waist, which is also the same as these heroines habitually wear in Greek sculpture of the fifth and fourth centuries, and of plain reddish *anaxyrides*, or tight-fitting trousers, another garment which in the sculptures of that age sometimes occurs and is sometimes missing. In vase-paintings, Amazons are represented wearing three main different types of costume: (1) the ordinary armour of a Greek hoplite, (2) the plain short tunic, with or without the Phrygian cap and the *anaxyrides*, (3) a close fitting barbaric tunic embroidered all over with elaborate zigzag and other patterns, with *anaxyrides* embroidered in like manner, and a Phrygian cap. The former is on the whole most frequent in vases of the early style, the latter almost universal in those of late Apulian style; but in many vases, and especially in those of the middle period, all three types, with various mixtures and modifications, occur together. It is to be noted that neither on the present nor on any of the other figures of Amazons in our sarcophagus-picture are to be found any traces of the

¹ See Ross, *Die Akropolis von Athen*, pl. xii., a.

² The injury of the left eye, and almost complete obliteration of its lower eyelid, give an appearance of

inequality to the eyes which does not proceed from any real fault of drawing, and is more noticeable in the reproduction than the original.

elaborately embroidered and patterned barbaric costumes in which these heroines are frequently shown clad in vase-pictures of all periods.

In spirit and expression almost equal to the Amazon is the horse she bestrides, again reminding us of earlier Greek examples, and affording the strongest contrast with the tameness of the late Italo-Greek vase-paintings representing the same subject. All the horses in the present work are of the same white colour, similarly shaded with grey, and have the same blue eyes: even superior to this one in fire of action and expression are those of the two *quadrigae* in groups *d* 1, *d* 2 on the opposite face. All are caparisoned with some richness: see, in the present instance, the scarlet reins and headstall, and the gold cable-chain and links. So far we find little in the invention or execution of the picture that seems alien from the spirit of the best Greek art. Turning, however, to the warrior, traces of another inspiration are discernible. The character of the head, like that of the gesture, is full of spirit and energy, but the features are not of the ideal cast which the works both of sculpture and of the minor decorative arts have accustomed us to expect in Greek heroes. They have a blunt realism and individuality which is characteristic rather of the aim of Etruscan art. Moreover it is to be noted that none of the Greek combatants are represented in the work before us in the heroic nudity which Greek art itself affected in these subjects (not exclusively, but introducing figures wearing only a flying cloak, or armed only with a helmet, shield, spear or sword, along with other figures in panoply). All the figures here are fully dressed, most of them in panoply. The warrior in this instance, besides his helmet, spear, and shield, wears over a short red *chiton* a *thorax* coloured in different shades of grey approaching white, and embroidered or painted elaborately with maeanders and other patterns in red, dark grey, lilac, and brown. The Homeric epithets of breastplates, αἰολός, πολυδαίδαλος, &c., are forcibly recalled by these representations; but of what material are we from their colour to suppose them made? These white and greyish tints (still more distinctly seen in the breastplate of the warrior in Pl. XXXVII.) cannot possibly, it would seem, represent any form of metal: are we to suppose, then, that the material is coloured leather, or else that it is linen,

and that the Etruscans, like the Egyptians, were *λινωθώρηκες*? (For a discussion of the meaning of this epithet in connection with a representation of another kind, and of the nature of the Greek *thorax* generally, see the paper 'On the Armour of Homeric Heroes,' by Mr. Walter Leaf in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, April, 1883.) The shoulder-straps, also patterned, are fastened to the breast-plate by gold bosses. An almost exactly similar armature occurs not unfrequently in the paintings of Etruscan tombs; compare for instance the figure of Geryon in the *Tomba dell' Orco* (*Mon. dell' Inst.* Vol. ix., Pl. 15).

b 1, *b* 2. In each of these corresponding groups, which occur to right and left of that above discussed, a Greek grasps by the hair with his left hand, and is about to despatch with his right, an Amazon who has sunk wounded upon her knees. *b* 1, all except the hero's head, is ruined, but enough remains to show that the falling Amazon is represented nude, a peculiarity to which we shall return in connection with group *c* 1, and which never occurs in a pure Greek version of the scene. For the rest, both groups repeat a stock scheme which occurs again and again in other representations of the subject. Most commonly the action is as in *b* 2 (Pl. XXXVII.), but sometimes also from the reverse side, as in *b* 1. In one sense or the other and with this or that minor variation, the motive of a Greek grasping by the hair with one hand, and threatening to slay her with the other, an antagonist who has fallen wounded upon one knee, occurs, to mention only a few of the chief examples, twice in the Phigaleian frieze, once in that of the temple of Nikè Apteros (only here the victim is a Persian, once in that of the Mausoleum, and in both the famous 'Siris' bronzes in the British Museum: in these last instances the Greek thrusts with one knee against the side of his fallen foe. The motive is, in a word, one of the most favourite and often repeated of all those employed in similar scenes. Nor is it difficult to point out among the celebrated works of the great time the prototype from which it is likely to have been derived. A similar motive, as Dr. Klügmann has pointed out,¹ had been introduced by Pheidias into the reliefs adorning the shield of the Athenè Parthenos, as is attested both by the

¹ *Der Amazonenmythus*, p. 60.

Lenormant statuette at Athens and the fragmentary Strangford shield in the British Museum. In the repetition of this motive on our sarcophagus, the chief points to be noticed are the following: In the Amazon, the broken spear with which she has been transfixed from behind in the act of retreat, and from beside the point of which her blood is seen spouting; the fine expression of pain and despair, which even the ruin of the painting has not obliterated, in her face; her action, which is nearly constant in similar groups, of throwing up the shield with her left hand, and the peculiar elongated form of that shield (the ordinary notched Amazonian γέρον or πέλτη, but longer), which elsewhere occurs most commonly in the paintings on late Apulian vases. In the Greek his youthful face, contrasted with the sterner and maturer looks of the warrior in *a*; the coloured patterns on his *thorax*, better preserved and still more elaborate than in *a*, and the addition of greaves, which like the helmets, rims of shields, handles of spears, &c., are painted yellow, as if to represent gold or brass.

c 1, c 2. Not figured in our plates. A Greek warrior on foot confronts a mounted Amazon. Neither of these groups calls for particular remark. *c 1* is almost entirely obliterated. *c 2* pretty accurately reproduces in general design a motive which is of frequent occurrence on Greek vases of the best time, and on several of them is identified by inscriptions as representing the combat of Theseus against Hippolytè or some otherwise-named antagonist. An attempt has been made, not unreasonably, to associate with the name of Mikon the invention of this very favourite motive of Attic art.¹ In the present instance, it has only to be noticed that the warrior of *c 1* is almost an exact counterpart of the warrior of group *a* (Pl. XXXVI), while the Amazon is distinguished by wearing, in addition to the short tunic, a Phrygian cap, a flying leopard's skin, *anaxyrides*, and boots (*endromides*).

d 1, d 2. Not figured in our plate. In each group two Amazons mounted on a *quadriga* drive at full gallop against two Greeks confronting them, of whom the foremost is overthrown while the latter stands firm. A very singular motive, not strictly

¹ See Klügmann, *Ann. dell' Inst.* author gives a list of not less than 1867, p. 211, and *Der Amazonenmythus*, sixteen vases in which this group is p. 45 sq. In the former place the repeated with more or less variation.

paralleled in any other ancient work with which I am acquainted. The *quadriga* or four-horse chariot was ordinarily a vehicle for processions, solemnities, or races. Gods, especially Zeus, may use them in battle (cf. Eur. *Her. Fur.* 177), but the mere chariots of mortal heroes are two-horsed. Sculpture, so far as I know, shows no examples of Amazons fighting from chariots at all. Painting does show such examples, but rarely. Amazons on a *biga* fight against Greeks in a Pompeian frieze, *Mus. Borb.* ii. pl. A, and against griffins on a late vase (*Hancarville*, ii. Pl. 56); and they figure on *quadrigae* in the midst of combatants, but not generally actually engaged in the combat, in several vases. Two of these are black-figured, presumably in imitation of the archaic style.¹ Several are of late Apulian ware, including one at Paris (Millin, *Mon. Ant.* ii. Pl. 8); the celebrated rich and very large Ruvo vase at Naples, (Heydemann, *Vasensammlungen zu Neapel*, 3256, *Mon. dell' Inst.* ii. pl. 30, 31, 32), and another inferior vase of the same class also at Naples (Heydemann, *op. cit.* 3252). This latter example furnishes the closest, but yet not a close, analogy to our sarcophagus-picture. An Amazon in Phrygian dress advances on a *quadriga*, and with her lance deals the death-stroke at a naked Greek who has fallen at the foot of a palm-tree. On the other side of the palm-tree a corresponding scene is enacted. But in all these late Italo-Greek vases there reigns a spirit of tameness and lax insipidity from which our sarcophagus painter is as far removed as possible. His teams of white horses are touched with a splendid animation and certainty of hand; few things in art have more spirit; his fighting Greeks and heroines are marked by the same characteristics as those which we have already illustrated from the opposite face of the work. May we conjecture that a familiarity with the coinages of Sicily, on so many of which the *quadriga* crowned by victory had been a type so long in use and so admirably wrought,—may we conjecture that a familiarity with these coinages in the markets of both southern Italy and of Etruria, had perhaps had something to do with educating the

¹ Quoted by Klügmann, *Ann. dell' Inst.* 1873, p. 242 note, but not more nearly described. Another vase quoted by the same author in the same place (*Mon. dell' Inst.* 1856, Pl. 15) is not to

the point: the *quadriga* in this case is that of Theseus, in which the Amazon Antiopè is being carried captive; cf. the representation on the Kertch sarcophagus (see p. 366, note 1).

craftsmen of those districts, and giving them a partiality for the four-horse chariot as a subject of representation without strict regard to precedent or appropriateness? At any rate, as a feature of an Amazonomachia, in the manner in which we find it introduced in these two symmetrically balanced groups, it is, if I am not mistaken, unique.¹

e 1, e 2. In *e 1*, the Amazons have overthrown a Greek who is on his knees between them. In *e 2* (Pl. XXXVIII), an Amazon hurries up to the rescue of a companion whom a Greek has overthrown. These subjects, painted on the ends of the sarcophagus, have been painted on a darker ground, and with a somewhat coarser touch than those on the two sides. Note in Pl. XXXVIII. the crude colour of the warrior's flesh, and the comparatively vulgar though expressive face of the attacking Amazon. Counterparts of both these scenes, as to their general motive, are to be found among the various extant families of relief-sculpture to which we have already referred. In its detailed features the latter group is however singular. First (see the Plate), we have the attacking heroine dressed in the Phrygian cap and a long tunic flying about her feet; this is a costume unfit for war, and unknown to earlier Greek art in representations of an Amazonomachia. Still more singular is the nudity of the slender fallen Amazon, who is half dragged upwards by the arm by her victorious enemy, and half supports herself with her shield upon the ground. The same peculiarity occurs, as we have seen, in one of the versions on this same sarcophagus, (*b 1*), of the familiar theme of a falling Amazon whom her antagonist seizes by the hair. Greek art affords neither in sculpture nor in vase-painting any parallel instance of such nudity in a combatant Amazon. There does exist, indeed, a whole group of Greek monuments in which the figure of a nude Amazon occurs; including the bas-relief on one of the ends of the Paris sarcophagus above mentioned, a number of gem-engravings, and several terracotta plaques, lamps, &c. But these are one and all repetitions of the same group, a group, namely, of Achilles sustaining the dying Penthesilea. Ancient poetry, we know, contained warrant

¹ Chariots similarly drawn by four white horses occur in a work closely analogous to this, and probably of about the same date, viz. the fragments of the painted wooden sarcophagus of Kertch

representing the Rape of the Leucippidae. But these are the chariots of the Dioskouroi, and belong naturally to the subject.

for this motive of the hero taking compassion on his adversary after he had conquered her and stripped her of her armour, The group in which the motive was thus embodied must, to judge from the number of extant works in which it is copied, have been one very famous in antiquity. At the same time it can hardly have been of very early origin, as the repetitions in question are all of them of late character. See Overbeck, *Heroische Bildwerke*, Pl. xii., Figs. 8a, 9, 10, and 11. text p. 497 *sqq.* A fuller discussion of the family of monuments in question by the same author will be found in the *Zeitschrift für Alterthumswissenschaft*, 1850, Nos. 37, 38, 39. Professor Overbeck, with whose view I am not in accordance, is disposed to refer their origin to the picture by Panaenos on the balustrade of the temple of Zeus at Olympia, and to associate them more closely than I think there is reason for doing with two other families of works, each representing the same subject according to a different scheme. But to the whole question of Achilles and Penthesilea in ancient art I hope one day to return. I have no doubt it is by seeing and imperfectly understanding some representations of that subject that the painter of our Amazon-sarcophagus has been led into the anomaly we see, that of trying to heighten the pathos and helplessness of defeat by depicting two of his combatant heroines as if already *ἐξηναρισμένας*, when they are in fact only in the act of overthrow.

To sum up the general result of the foregoing observations. The beauty and spirit of the pictures under consideration, their purely Greek subject, and the not less strictly Greek principles which have governed their composition and design, might at first sight induce us to claim them for authentic works of a Greek pencil. And this claim might be further supported by the marked difference both of material and of style which exists between the body of the sarcophagus they adorn and its lid, which is a work of ordinary Etruscan handicraft. Such a claim has actually been preferred for them by several writers, including Mr. Dennis (*op. cit.*). But a closer examination seems to prove that it is not tenable. So far as the motives of the design are concerned, we have shown that, although those on the principal face are all of them repeated from current and traditional Greek examples, yet they include one incident, the

nudity of a combatant Amazon (repeated in another composition on one of the ends of the sarcophagus), which is not Greek, but seems on the other hand to show a distinct misunderstanding of Greek precedent: while on the back of the sarcophagus the motive, twice repeated, of Amazons fighting from a *quadriga* against Hellenic heroes, has its only parallels, and those not exact, in late Italo-Greek vases found in the cemeteries of Apulia. Add the exceptional costume of those Amazons who wear long tunics about their heels while they fight; and a certain general tendency to abruptness and uncouth vigour in the actions, and to commonness and realistic energy in the types of the combatants, which seems alien from the harmonious ideals of the Greeks themselves; and we have sufficient reason for concluding that the work is not that of a Greek hand working in the employ of an Etruscan patron, but rather that of an Etruscan hand strongly imbued with Greek ideas and principles.

Of the blending and conflict of native Etruscan with imported Greek modes of design we have, as is well known, abundant examples in the wall-paintings of the various tombs excavated near Corneto and Orvieto severally. But in none is the ascendancy of the Greek element so complete as in the paintings of this sarcophagus. As to the date of the work, an approximate conjecture only is possible. The analogous purely Greek sarcophagus of painted wood found in the excavations at Koul Oba, near Kertch, must belong to the fourth century B.C. The intrinsic evidences of a style which recalls in breadth, energy, and freedom from affectation and sentimentality that of the best Greek work, might incline us to accept at least as early a date for the Corneto example. On the other hand, we must remember that it would take time for changes in the character and principles of Greek art to reflect themselves in the imitative work of alien communities. And we must take into account the introduction of motives, such as those of the fighting *quadrigae* and of the nude combatants, for which, as has been said, no analogies occur except in comparatively late work. Moreover, the epigraphical evidence of the earlier of the two inscriptions,—of that, namely, which appears on the lid,—is pronounced by experts to point to the third century rather than to any earlier date. On the whole,

then, the statement with which we set out, and which represents the accepted view of the matter among archaeologists, is justified : that the still beautiful vestiges of these half ruined sarcophagus-pictures supply the most spirited and satisfactory example we possess of the manner of Greek polychrome painting as practised (though probably not by a Greek hand) in the period shortly following B.C. 300.

SIDNEY COLVIN.

THE CITIES AND BISHOPRICS OF PHRYGIA.

THIS paper is really the first part of a report on the results attained in 1883 by the Asia Minor Exploration Fund. Besides some minor excursions, I then made two long journeys in the interior of Asia Minor, June to October. I was accompanied almost the whole of the time by Mr. J. R. S. Sterrett, a Virginian student at the American School of Athens. Our usual practice was to ride by separate roads,¹ and in this way the expedition surveyed a much wider country than if I had been alone: the results were so good that I am anxious to arrange the expedition of 1884 in a similar way. Our chief aim was to construct the map of ancient Phrygia, and our method was to examine each district thoroughly enough to be able to say, not only where there were, but also where there were not, ancient sites. The discovery of monuments and inscriptions was a secondary object, and we did not aim at completeness in this regard; but even here our results are important. We copied more than four hundred and fifty inscriptions, which is at the rate of one hundred per month, and I incorporate in this paper those which have most direct bearing on the antiquities of each district. Most of them have passed under the eyes of both of us: where only one of us actually copied the inscription from the stone, I give his initials at the head of the text; where no initials are attached, it is to be understood that we have both verified the text on the stone.² I shall speak at another time of the monuments which we found.

¹ Of course not until Mr. Sterrett had learned my ways of work.

² Besides this I have impressions made by Mr. Sterrett of many of the inscriptions which he copied: in such case I still attach his initials to the

text. I hoped here to be able to refer to an important series of inscriptions copied by us at Tralleis, which Mr. Sterrett is preparing for publication; but an unfortunate accident has delayed his work.

We have such a mass of results of every kind that it will take time to arrange them and settle their value: this paper, written before resting from the fatigue of the journey, will give a fair specimen of the results of a month's work. 'Here a little, and there a little,' we collect the material which may in time make it possible to write a connected history of Phrygia.

Hierocles enumerates sixty-two cities in the two Phrygias: of these, sixteen have already been placed correctly on the map.¹ An attempt to solve the problem of Phrygian topography demands two qualifications—(1) knowledge of the country: the number of working days spent by me in actual exploration within or on the borders of Phrygia was sixty-two in 1881, ten in 1882, and one hundred and eighteen in 1883. To attain precision as to the main features of the country and fix them in my mind, I have drawn for myself, from my own observations, the map of great part of Phrygia. (2) A careful comparison of the lists of Hierocles, of the *Notitiæ Episcopatum*, and of the bishops present at the councils of the first ten centuries.² Ptolemy has proved as yet far less useful than the later authorities; I have not discovered the principle of his order of enumeration and of his omissions, or the relation between his list and that of the cities which were coining money when he wrote. The early Itineraries are of the highest value; and I think we have this year traced every road on the Peutinger Table and the Antonine Itinerary west of Angora.

In one respect I dissent from many modern writers: I have been led to attach the highest value to the accuracy and precision of the ancient writers who refer to Phrygia. I could mention various cases where the ancients have been censured for differing from Kiepert's map, and where it will be found, when the new edition of that map appears, that the difference no longer exists. Gradually I have been forced to the opinion that so far as Phrygia is concerned, our censure of the inaccuracy of

¹ I omit four which have been identified in my own papers, also Ceretapa, Dionysopolis, Trajanopolis, placed in the right district but on the wrong site, and Eudocias and other temporary names of well known cities.

² Writing in Smyrna I have to

depend on rough notes made during a very hasty and inadequate examination of the *Acta Conciliorum* in the Athenian University Library. The *Indices* to the *Acta* and the lists of bishops in Le Quien, *Or. Christ.*, are so imperfect as to be useless for my purpose.

the ancients is simply the measure of our ignorance. The reason is obvious: Phrygia was well known to them, to us it has been an unknown land. One exception only have I to make—Livy's account of the march of Manlius. The route which Manlius followed appears direct, distinct, unmistakable, but I cannot reconcile this route with Livy's account without the supposition that he has three times misrendered a Greek tense or particle.

These scanty authorities would be of little use without the *Synekdemos* of Hierocles. A careful study of Hierocles, and a systematic comparison of his lists with the *Notitiae*, makes it easy to place within narrow limits every city which they mention, provided that the following principles are admitted—principles not adopted *a priori*, but attained as the result of eighteen months' thought.

(1) The list of Hierocles is arranged in *strict* geographical order. This fact has been partially recognised,¹ but never thoroughly carried out. I recognised long ago that such an order was observed in Pisidia² and some other provinces, but till our discoveries of this year I thought it was impossible to apply the principle to the two Phrygian provinces. Now I know that it is observed even more strictly in them than in any others. I apply this principle in a few cases where no other evidence remains to show the name of an ancient site; but in general some corroborative evidence can be found.

(2) The list is arranged to a certain extent in districts, and occasionally there is a leap from one district to another: but such arrangement is not carried out systematically, and is perhaps illusory. It is therefore evident that the list is not according to governmental districts.

(3) The list is *absolutely complete*. If a city³ can be proved to exist both before and after the time of Hierocles, it is not omitted in his list. Apparent omission is always to be explained by the use of a temporary name or by some other cause: so we find no Aspendos but Primopolis, no Cotyaion but Eudocias, no Blaundos but Pulcherianopolis, no Conana but Justinianopolis. This principle may be applied to show that an ancient site in

¹ 'L'ordre d'Hierocles, qui est très souvent l'ordre géographique,' Waddington, *Voy. Numism.* p. 59.

² *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1883, p. 40.

³ I use the word *city* in an emphatic sense.



EARLY AUTHORITIES.	PTOLEMY.	COINS BEFORE 140.	COINS AFTER 140.	COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON, 451.	HIEROCLES, 530.	NOTITIAE, I., VIII., IX.	NOTITIAE, III., X., XIII.
Laodiceia	[Λαοδικεία]	ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ	ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ	Laodiceia	Λαοδικεία	δ Λαοδικείας	δ Λαοδικείας
Hierapolis	Ἱεράπολις	ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ	ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ	(Hierapolis, Conc. Ephes.)	Ἱεράπολις	II. δ Ἱεραπόλεως	II. δ Ἱεραπόλεως
Village in the territory of Hierapolis	.....	.....	.....	.....	Not mentioned	II. 2, Μετελλουπόλεως	II. 2, Μετελλουπόλεως, Μεταλλ.
[Village of Hierapolis]	.....	.....	.....	Mossynoi	Μόσυνα	II. 6, Μοσύνων, Μεσύνων	II. 4, Μοσύνων
	[Βιτοῖνα ?]	ΑΤΤΟΥΔΕΩΝ	ΑΤΤΟΥΔΕΩΝ	Aitouda	Ἀττυδα	II. 5, Ἀττούδων, Ἀτγούδων	II. 3, Αἰτούδων, Ἀτούδων
Trapezopolis (Pliny)	[Τραπεζούπολις]	ΤΡΑΠΕΖΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ	ΤΡΑΠΕΖΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ	Trapezopolis	Τραπεζούπολις	18, Τραπεζουπόλεως	2, Τραπεζουπόλεως
Colossai (Herodotus)	.....	ΚΟΛΟΣΣΗΝΩΝ	ΚΟΛΟΣΣΗΝΩΝ	Colossae	Κολασσαί	[District separate]	III. δ Χωνῶν
Anava (Herodotus)	Διοκαίσαρεια	ΚΕΡΕΤΑΠΕΩΝ	{ ΔΙΟΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΩΝ ΚΕΡΕΤΑΠΕΩΝ	Ceretapa	Κερετάπα	8, Ἰκρίων	5, Χαιροτόπων, Χαιρετάπων
Themissonium (Pliny)	Θεμισώνιον	ΘΕΜΙΣΩΝΕΩΝ	ΘΕΜΙΣΩΝΕΩΝ	Themissos	Θεμισόνιος	[District separate]	19, Θαμψιουπόλεως
	Γαζήνα ?	.....	.....	.....	Οὐαλεντία	[District separate]	[Lagina Pamphyliae ?]
Σαναός (Strabo)	Σανίς	.....	.....	Nea (i.e. Σαναί ?)	Σαναός	[District separate]	18, Συναοῦ, Σιναοῦ
Dionysopolis (Pliny)	.....	ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ	ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ	Dionysopolis	Κονιούπολις	II. 3, Διονυσουπόλεως	{ II. 5, Φόβων
Hyrgaletici campus (Pliny)	.....	.....	ΤΡΓΑΛΕΩΝ	(Anastasiopolis, Conc. 536)	Σιτούπολις	II. 4, Ἀναστασιουπόλεως	12, Ἀττανωσοῦ, Τανασοῦ
			ΟΚΟΚΑΙΕΩΝ ?	Atanassos	Κράσος, Κράσσος	17, Ἀττανασσοῦ, Ἀτγανασσοῦ	13, Λούνδων
Peltai (Xenophon)	Πέλται	ΠΕΛΤΗΝΩΝ	ΠΕΛΤΗΝΩΝ	(Lounda, Sym. vii.)	Λούνδα	16, Τριπόλεως ?	7, Πέλτων
Eubeneia	Εὐμένηα	ΕΥΜΕΝΕΩΝ	ΕΥΜΕΝΕΩΝ	Peltai	Μόλτη	5, Πέλτων	8, Εὐμενείας
Silbium (Pliny)	Σίλβιον	ΣΕΙΒΑΙΑΝΩΝ	ΣΕΙΒΑΙΑΝΩΝ	Silbium	Εὐμένηα	12, Εὐμενείας	9, Σουβλαίου
			ΒΡΙΑΝΩΝ	.....	Σιβλία	19, Σιβλίως, Σικλίου, Σικλίου	{ Οἰκονόμου ἦτοι Οἰκοκώμεως
			ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗΝΩΝ	.....	Πέπουζα	.....	22 { Ιουστινιανουπόλεως, Οἰκοκώμεως
	[Ἀλυδῶνα ?]	.....	.....	Selaste	Βρίανα	14, Ἀγαθῆς Κώμης, Κώμης	4, Σεβαστείας
Keraniou Agora (?)	Ἀκμονία	ΑΚΜΟΝΕΩΝ	ΑΚΜΟΝΕΩΝ	Ilouza	Σεβαστή	11, Σεβαστῆς, Σεβάσης	17, Ἐλάξης, Ἐλούξης
		ΑΛΙΗΝΩΝ	ΑΛΙΗΝΩΝ	Acmonia	Ἰλουζα	9, Καρίας, Ἰλούζων	3, Ἀκμωνείας
	{ Μοξανοί Διοκλεία, ὅτ Δόκελα	.....	ΔΙΟΚΛΕΑΝΩΝΜΟΞΕΩΝ	Alianoi	Ἀκμῶνα	[District separate]	16, Ὀρίων
	Κυδισσοίς	.....	.....	.....	Ἀδιοί	15, Ἀλίων	15, Ὠράκων
		ΚΙΔΤΗΣΣΕΩΝ	ΚΙΔΤΗΣΣΕΩΝ	Diocleia	Ἰουχαράταξ	[District separate]	20, Διοκλείας
Arpia (Cicero)	Κερκωπία ?	ΑΠΠΙΑΝΩΝ	ΑΠΠΙΑΝΩΝ	Aristion	Διοκλία	[District separate]	21, Ἀριστείας
Cotynion	Κοτυνείον	ΚΟΤΙΑΕΩΝ	ΚΟΤΙΑΕΩΝ	Kydissa	Ἀρίστιον	[District separate]	14, Κιδισσοῦ, Κηδισσοῦ
Ἀζανοί (Strabo)	Αἰζανίς	ΑΙΖΑΝΕΙΤΩΝ	ΑΙΖΑΝΕΙΤΩΝ	(Aria, Conc. Const., 381)	Κιδυσσός	[District separate]	6, Ἀπέας
	Τιβεριούπολις	ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ	ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ	.....	Ἀπία	6, Ἀπίας, Σεπίας	[In Salutaris]
Κάδοι (Strabo)	[Κάδοι]	ΚΑΔΟΗΝΩΝ	ΚΑΔΟΗΝΩΝ	Cadi	Εὐδοκίας	[In Salutaris]	II. 10, Ζανῶν
{ Temporary name of Daldis Lydine	.....	.....	.....	Theodosiopolis	Ἀζανοί	3, Ἀζανῶν, Ἀζάνων	II. 8, Τιβεριουπόλεως
Ancyra (Pliny)	Ἀγκυρα	ΑΓΚΥΡΑΝΩΝ	ΑΓΚΥΡΑΝΩΝ	Philippopolis ?	Τιβεριούπολις	2, Τιβεριουπόλεως	II. 9, Κανῶν
	Σύναος	ΣΥΝΑΕΙΤΩΝ	ΣΥΝΑΕΙΤΩΝ	Synnaos	Κάδοι	7, Ἀκάδων, Κάδων	[Daldis]
		ΤΗΜΕΝΟΘΥΡΕΩΝ	ΤΗΜΕΝΟΘΥΡΕΩΝ	Temenothyrae	Θεοδοσία	[Daldis in Lydia]	II. 6, Ἀγκύρας
	{ Grimenothyritai Τραιανόπολις	ΓΡΙΜΕΝΟΘΥΡΕΩΝ	ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ	Philippopolis ?	Ἀγκυρα	{ 4, Αγκυρουσυνσότ | Ἀγκύρας	II. 7, Συναοῦ
Blaundos	Βλεανδρος	ΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ	ΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ	Mirus (Episc.) Bleandrensis	Σύνναος	Τημένου Θύραι	13, Τημένου Θηρῶν, Τιμηνουθηρῶς
					Τανούπολις	10, Τρανουπόλεως	11, Τρανουπόλεως, Τραιανουπόλεως
					Πουλχεριανούπολις	[In Lydia]	[In Lydia]

a fertile valley sufficiently extensive to support a city must be mentioned by Hierocles.

(4) The list of Hierocles is the list of the bishoprics of his time. Wesseling, after examining this point, has come to the opposite conclusion, and his opinion has found general acceptance. I cannot here examine the point completely, but I believe that the ecclesiastical arrangement was coincident with, and determined by, the political. Every city had, *qua* city, a bishop: even three cities like Hieropolis, Otrous, and Stectorion, with one and a half to three miles of road dividing them, had three separate bishops. The bishops of each political province formed a distinct body, presided over by the bishop of the *metropolis*. The principle that the ecclesiastical arrangement follows the political was always observed in the Byzantine Church: even such an active, resolute, and uncompromising prelate as St. Basil tried in vain to uphold the superiority of the ecclesiastical arrangement.¹ When Cappadocia was divided politically into two parts, Basil was unable to maintain the ecclesiastical unity of the province. The list of Hierocles is at once the list of the cities recognised by the civil government and the list of bishoprics. The discrepancies between his list and those of the *Notitiae*, on which Wesseling lays such stress, are due to changes in the constitution of the provinces made between the times to which the lists relate.

This is the view to which I incline, but I do not feel sure enough about it to found any inferences upon it at present.

The accompanying table contains lists of the cities that can be traced at different periods in the province. It would help much, in reasoning from this table, if the dates of the various *Notitiae* were known. In the provinces of Asia Minor they seem to fall into three groups. *Not.* III., X., and XIII., always give the same list, with minor variations; this group is certainly the latest of all. *Not.* I. sometimes stands alone, but generally agrees with VII., VIII., IX.; it belongs ostensibly to the reign of Leo the Wise, 886—911. *Not.* VII., VIII., IX., appear to me earlier than I.; they sometimes present remarkable coincidences with Hierocles, but are on the whole divided from him by a broad gap. In some cases substantially the same list

¹ It is true that in the reign of Valens the Church had not the power which it obtained in the Byzantine period.

appears in all the *Notitiae*: in Phrygia Salutaris there is little change, except what was caused by the elevation of Amorium and Kotyaion to the rank of *metropoleis*, while the order of enumeration remains the same throughout. On the other hand it is clear that there were two reorganisations of the province Pacatiana. The first was between Hierocles and *Not. VII., VIII., IX.*: at this time (possibly 535 A.D., when Justinian's changes were made) Hierapolis became metropolis of a geographically well-marked district, and two other districts, that of Acmonia and that of the south, were separated from the *metropolis* Laodiceia.¹ The second took place between *Not. I. and Not. III., X., XIII.*; the Acmonia district and the south district were reunited to Laodiceia, while the Aizani district was detached from it and added to Hierapolis: the order of enumeration was remodelled. All these districts are distinctly marked frontier districts, and it gave me great confidence in my arrangement of the Phrygian cities, when I found that it explained with perfect simplicity, what had long seemed a hopeless puzzle, the differences between the *Notitiae*.

The following names, assigned generally to Phrygia, are excluded from my list. *Sala Phrygiae*, according to Ptolemy and the numismatic arrangement, is assigned to Lydia by all the *Notitiae*. *Clannoudda Phrygiae*, according to the numismatic arrangement, is also a city of Lydia, the southern city of the *Decapolis*: it changed its name at an early period and is probably identical with Aureliopolis. *Attaia Phrygiae* in the numismatic lists is probably a town of Mysia. *Phylakaion Phrygiae*, according to Ptolemy, is a town far south, and probably belongs to Lycia or Pamphylia in the Byzantine lists. *Cibyra Phrygiae* also belongs to Lycia in Byzantine time.

Valentia of Hierocles and some Councils is conjecturally identified on the Table with Lagina or Lakina of Pamphylia, a frontier city not mentioned in Hierocles's Pamphylia, and Theodosia is identified with Daldis; but as I have not yet travelled in these districts I have no confidence in the hypotheses. It would be easy for me in the typographical remarks that follow to spend several pages in discussing the site of each little city,

¹ It was perhaps at this time that Cotyaion was detached from Pacatiana and assigned to Salutaris.

showing in detail why every other site is objectionable while the one assigned fulfils all the conditions: but some proportion must be observed, and we cannot spend our lives writing or reading about where small towns are to be placed on the map. I give my opinion as to the site, and add any remarks I have to make on the antiquities found there: I will here say only that the scheme of arrangement, though hastily written out, has been long and carefully thought over.

I. HIERAPOLIS.—Before ascending the steep range of mountains, extending north-west to south-east, which bounds the Lycus valley on the north, we encamped for the night at a village called Mandama or Ak Tcheshme, close under their foot. About two or three miles north-east there is a deep gorge in the mountain side, and on the roof of a large natural cave high up in this gorge a number of inscriptions are rudely scratched. The only one that could be completely deciphered was the following:—

No. I.

ΦΛΑΒΙΑΝΟΣ	Φλαβιανὸς
ΟΚΑΙΜΟΝΟΤ	ὁ καὶ Μονοτ-
ΟΝΙΣΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΩ	ονις(?) εὐχαριστῶ
ΤΗΘΕΩ	τῇ θεῷ.

This cave is in the territory of Hierapolis, in the mountain range which overhangs that city. The goddess to whom Flavianus addresses himself was evidently the tutelary deity of the mountain, whose sanctuary was this rude cave. The formula is not a common one, but it occurs also on the northern slope of these mountains in inscriptions which give the name of the goddess as Leto or Meter Leto. Just as the goddess, the Mother of Sipylos, was worshipped in all the cities round Mount Sipylos, and is the tutelary goddess both of Smyrna on the south, and of Magnesia on the north, so the Meter Leto of this mountain was worshipped both on its northern and its southern sides. The goddess Leto is known also in Lycia,¹ and in Pamphylia:² the epithet Mother which is applied to her in

¹ See C.I.G. 4300h.

by me in *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1883, p.

² See an inser. of Attaleia published 263.

this district is interesting. It marks her as a form of the usual Mother-goddess of Asia Minor, worshipped under many names, but with practical identity of character, in all parts of the country. It is not impossible that the name Leto is a form of the Lycian *lada*, *woman*; and that Meter Leto is invoked as 'the Lady, the Mother.'² The name *Λητώ* was certainly understood by the Greeks to be connected with *λανθάνω* and *λήθη*, but such Grecising of foreign names is very common: the river *Ληθαῖος*, which flows out of Mount Messogis, was the river of Leto, the goddess of the mountain: the Grecising process has gone even further in this case. Strabo considers that Messogis and the mountain of Hierapolis are one range (p. 629), and, though his opinion is, geographically, not strictly accurate, it may serve as proof that the vulgar belief and the vulgar religion held the two mountains to be one.

The goddess Leto is known from coins of Hierapolis: Mionnet (Suppl. No. 373) gives the following:—

Obv. ΔΗΜΟC. Tête nue.

Rev. ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ autour d'une couronne au milieu de laquelle on lit: ΑΗΤΩΕΙΑ . ΠΥΘΙΑ.

We may gather from this coin that the two chief religious festivals of Hierapolis were devoted to the two chief deities of the city, Leto and Apollo Lairbenos. I shall show below that these two deities are worshipped also on the northern side of the mountain, and that Lairbenos is known only from the coins of Hierapolis and the inscriptions of Dionysopolis.

II. METELLOPOLIS.—A very steep and toilsome ascent of more than two thousand feet brought us to the summit of the mountain ridge. In front the Phrygian plain extended right away to Mount Dindymos, which was only partly concealed by intermediate hills. This great plain is nearly 2,000 feet above the level of the Lycus valley, and before us the country sloped very slowly downwards from the summit of the ridge to the centre of the plain. What had appeared from the Lycus valley

² However this may be, I have no doubt that the Leda of Spartan legend bears the Lycian name, Lada: the remarkable analogies which have recently been discovered between the

antique art and hieratic symbolism of Sparta and of Lycia prove that interchange of religious and mythological forms between the countries is probable.

a steep and lofty range of mountains turned out to be merely the outer rim of the great central plateau of Asia Minor. On the very ridge of this mountain-rim are the remains of an ancient city. The place is now called Geuzlar, *i.e.* the Arches, from the numerous vaulted tombs in the mountain side. They are exceedingly like the 'Prehistoric Building at Salamis,' described by Mr. Ohnefalsch Richter in the last number of this *Journal*,¹ and the tomb at Gheriz in northern Phrygia drawn by J. R. Steuart in his 'Ancient Monuments.'

The reasons which show that this is the site of Metellopolis will be given below, under IX. The name Metellopolis or Metalopolis occurs in the *Notitiae Episcopatum*, and bishops of the place were present at some Councils.

Arundel first observed this site, which he calls Kuslar. Kiepert² supposed that it was Tralles, a town of Lydia distinct from the well-known city of the Maeander: but the road in the Peutinger Table on which he founds this identification is only a dislocated representation of the great central highway of Asia Minor from Ephesus by Tralles and Laodicea to Apameia, &c.³ Moreover the Byzantine Lydia did not extend so far east as Geuzlar.

III. MOSYNA.—About five miles beyond Geuzlar, our road crossed a deep cañon down which a stream flows to join the Maeander. The course of the streams in this district is very remarkable. In the upper part of their course they flow on the level of the plain: gradually their channel grows deeper and deeper, until at last it becomes a great cañon, 500 or 600 feet below the level of the plain. Such is the character of the Maeander, of the Kopli Su, the ancient Hippourios, of the Banaz Tchai, and of the stream which we had now to cross. In the cañon, to the left of our road, is an ancient site, at the lower end of a small valley drained by this stream. About a mile further down the cañon, in its narrowest and deepest part, is a village

¹ The general view on Pl. XXXIV. might pass for a picture of one of the 'Geuzlar.' I speak of Steuart's tomb from memory, not having seen the book for years: I have twice looked in vain for the tomb at Gheriz.

² I often refer to Dr. Kiepert's views in the appendix to Franz, *Fünf Inschriften*.

³ The two roads in the Table meeting at Laodicea must be corrected thus:

Sardis 25	Philadelpheia 34	} Laodicea
Tripolis 12	Hierapolis 6	
Ephesus 15	Magnesia 17	
Tralles 45	Antiocheia 31	

The numbers are of course only approximate.

Geveze, in which we found a fragment of a remarkable relief and inscription, recently excavated on the ancient site.

No. 2.

Simulacrum

resembling

Horseman facing the goddess, the upper part of the figure broken off, holding a patera in his right hand: the horse raises the right fore-foot.

Diana Ephesia, facing, with all the usual characteristics, veil, *manmae*, supports for the hands, and a deer at each side.

Horseman facing the goddess, wearing the *chlamys*, carrying a battle-axe over his left shoulder and holding a patera in his right hand: the horse raises the right fore-foot.

ΟΔΗ radi-
ΟΙΕΙ ated
ΛΗ<ΑΙ head

ΜΟΣΟΜΟ
ΣΤΟΣΥΓΓ
ΣΤΕΦΑΝ

Ὁ δῆμος ὁ Μο[σσύνων
οὐ εἰς τὸ συγγ[ραμμα? ἡ βου-?
λη καὶ στεφαν[οί?

It is impossible to restore the whole inscription, but the name of the city is the most important point. I have great confidence that the restoration Μο[σσύνων] is right. Mossyna is a town of Phrygia mentioned by Hierocles next to Hierapolis, and placed in all the *Notitiae* among the bishoprics under that *metropolis*. I might here devote several pages to prove (1) that there is no other site where Mossyna could be placed without violating the requirements either of the *Notitiae* or of Hierocles, (2) that this site fulfils all these requirements, (3) that no other known name¹ except Mossyna could possibly be restored in this inscription. But probably any one who goes carefully over the list of Phrygian towns and places them on the map will see the arguments that I might use. The description given below of the limits of the diocese of Hierapolis (see IX) appears to me to be of itself

¹ Moxeanoi and Mokka denoi are the only others.

conclusive, even without the corroborative evidence of the inscription.

Mionnet mentions a few coins with the legend ΜΟΣΣΙΝΩΝ-ΛΥΔΩΝ, but they seem to be misread coins of the Mostenoi.¹ Under the Empire both Mosyna and Metellopolis were doubtless villages of Hierapolis. Byzantine policy (compare *C. I. L.* III. p. 63) elevated them to the rank of cities.

Kiepert placed Mosyna on the head waters of the river Morsynos, which is mentioned on coins of Aphrodisias, but the entire course of that river was included in the Byzantine Caria, as M. Waddington has proved.² Moreover there seems to be no connection between the names Morsynos and Mossyna. The word Μόσσυν or Μόσσυνος means a tower or a house of wood: it appears to be a word of Anatolian or of Scythian type, see Steph. *Thesaurus* s.v.

IV. DIONYSOPOLIS.—The district through which the Maeander flows before entering the great fissure by which it finds its way into the Lycus valley is now called the Tchal Ova.³ It is one of the richest districts in the interior, producing large crops of wheat, opium, and grapes. It is divided into two valleys by a low ridge of hills extending northwards from the mountain-rim of the plateau. The eastern valley contains the present seat of government, Demirdji Keui.⁴ The Maeander flows through it from south to north, and then turns through a gap in the hills, and flows west along the northern side of the western valley. This western valley is the plain of Dionysopolis; the eastern is the *Hyrgaletici campi*. When the Maeander enters the Tchal Ova, two or three miles south of Demirdji Keui, it flows in a cañon about 200 feet below the level of the plain; as it passes along the northern side of the Dionysopolitan plain, the cañon is fully 500 feet deep.

We ought to have spent a night in the western plain and taken time to examine it thoroughly: but thinking that one day was enough, I sent on the camp to a village in the eastern plain. We had therefore to leave without discovering the precise seat of the ancient city, but it cannot be very far from Orta Keui or Develar.

¹ M. Waddington has a late coin with the legend ΜΟCCHΝΩΝ.

² *Voyage Numismat.* p. 50.

³ Ova valley, Tchal a kind of soil.

⁴ Demirdji Keui is a Kaimakamlik: the name means Blacksmith Village.

Kiepert recognised that Dionysopolis must be in this valley, but followed Arundel in placing it on the site of Mosyna¹: in reality the latter is separated from the Dionysopolitan plain, and in a contracted situation where no important city can be placed.

In Hierocles Dionysopolis, according to the Byzantine spelling, has been metamorphosed into Konioupolis, and this corruption produced an error that brought dire confusion into Phrygian topography: Konioupolis was identified with Konni, without regard to the fact that the former is in Pacatiana and the latter in Salutaris.

No. 3.

In the courtyard of a house at Sazak, complete at the left side, broken on the right, complete at top and bottom.

ΟΥΣ·Τ·Ι·Κ·Μ^Η·Ι·Δ
ΛΩΝΙΔΟΥΔΙΑΔΥΜΟΥΙΕΡΟΣΚΑ
ΗΓΥΝΗΜΟΥΚΑΤΑΓΡΑΦΟΜΕΝΗΛΙΩ
ΛΕΡΜΗΝΩΔΙΑΔΥΜΟΝΚΑΤΑΟΝ
5 ΟΝΔΕΘΡΕΨΕΝΝΕΙΚΗΦΟΡ
ΜΟ
ΕΙΤΙΣ·ΔΑΝΕΠΕΝΚΑΛΕΣ·
ΘΗΣΙΣΙΕΙΣΤΟΝΤΑΜΕΙΟΝ·
ΟΝ×ΒΦΚΕΕΙΣΤΟΝΘ

There is no clue to the size of the stone: it is a block of marble narrower below than above.

Ἔτ]ους τις', μη(νος)ς', Ι, Δ[ιονυσιος? Ἀπολ-
λωνίδου Διδύμου ἱερὸς καὶ [ἡ δεῖνα
ἡ γυνή μου, καταγράφωμεν Ἡλίω [Ἀπόλλωνι?
Λερμήνῳ Διδυμον ΚΑΤΑΟΝ[
ΟΝ δ' ἔθρεψεν νεικηφόρ[
μο.
εἴ τις δ' ἂν ἐπενκαλέσῃ[
θήσι εἰς τὸν ταμεῖον [πρόστειμ-?
ον (δηνάρια) βφ', κὲ εἰς τὸν θ[εὸν ×.

¹ He was misled by Arundel's somewhat confused language into the belief that this site (see III) was in the plain.

In line 1 the year is doubtful: it is perhaps $\tau\iota\beta'$, but more probably $\tau\iota\varsigma$ ¹: the date by year, month, and day, all numbered, is common in Phrygia. There were never any letters in line 6 after $\mathcal{M}\mathcal{O}$, which are crushed into a narrow space between 5 and 7. This inscription must be compared with the following:

No. 4.

In the courtyard of the same house at Sazak: on a similar block of marble:² complete at right (except in lines 7 and 8) and bottom, incomplete at top and left side, and 7—8 right.

ΝΚΑΛΕΣΕΙ
 ΙΙΤΕΙΜΟΥ
 ΙΝΦΙΚΟΝ*ΡΦ
 ΩΝΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑΡΒΗΝΩΜ
 5 ΦΑΝΤΟΥΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΙΤΗΣΚΑΙΗΓΥ
 ΛΦΟΜΕΝΤΟΝΕΑΥΤΩΝΤΕΘΡΕ
 ΝΕΙΤΙΣΔΕΕΠΕΝΚΑΛΕΣΕΙΟΗΣΙ
 ΝΘΕΟΝΧΒΦΚΑΙΑΛΛΕΙΣΤΟ⁺

εἴ τις δὲ ἐπε]νκαλέσει
θήσει προσ]τείμου
εἰς τὸ]ν φύσκον (δηνάρια) βφ'.

ΩΝ Ἀπόλλωνι Λαρβηνῶ Nor Μ[ηνο ?
 γενης ? Μηνο ?] φάντου Ἱεραπολίτης καὶ ἡ γυ-
 νή μου...καταγρ]άφομεν τὸν ἑαυτῶν τεθρε-
 μένον...[ν'εἴ τις δὲ ἐπενκαλέσει θήσι [π-
 ροστείμου εἰς τὸ]ν θεὸν (δηνάρια) βφ' καὶ ἄλ(λ)α εἰς τὸ τ[α
 μείον]

These stones contain fragments of three deeds of enfranchisement. The enfranchisement of slaves by dedicating them to a deity was customary at Orchomenos in Boeotia (Serapis and Isis), at Chaeroneia and Coroneia (Serapis), Daulis (Athene

¹ Equivalent to 232 A.D.

² The letters in the first three lines are much larger than in the others. The shape of these stones is peculiar:

it is that of a square pillar surmounted by a capital, but the pillar is only about four inches high and the capital about eight.

Polias), Stiris (Asclepios);¹ but no example was hitherto known in Phrygia. The slaves thus dedicated doubtless became *hierodouloi*; it is known that *hierodouloi* existed in the neighbouring Katakekaumene in the Roman period.²

The gods mentioned in the two inscriptions, "Ἥλιος Δερμηνος and Ἀπόλλων Λαρυβηνος, are clearly the same as ΛΑΙΡΒΗΝΟΣ who is known only from coins of Hierapolis. Another form of this epithet, which is peculiar to the religion in the district Hierapolis-Dionysopolis, is given in our next inscription, "Ἥλιος Ἀπόλλων Λυερμηνός.³ The variety of forms shows that the epithet was non-Greek, containing a vowel-sound which could not be properly represented by the Greek alphabet. It could not be very near the modified *u*, which would be quite well represented by the Greek *υ*: the devices to express it suggest that it was close to the German *ö*.⁴ The epithet is an adjective of the form so common in Asia Minor, and means "the God of *Lörbe*." Such epithets in Asia Minor are usually derived from the great seat of the worship of the deity in question: *Lörbe* is therefore a local name. *Λαρυβη* is an inland town on the borders of Isauria and Pamphylia, assuredly not very far from the modern Bei Sheher: the name is evidently identical with our hypothetical *Lörbe*. It is possible either to regard *Lörbe* as the place in or above Hierapolis where the peculiar seat of the god existed, or to consider his worship as adopted from the far eastern Lyrbē. Thus the worship of Artemis Pergaia was adopted in Halicarnassos (C.I.G. 2656); thus I should explain the Helios Apollon Kisauloddenos whose sanctuary on the Acropolis of Smyrna is described in a remarkable inscription, *Μουσείον Σμυρν*. No. ρξς'.

V. ATYCHOCHORION.—The name is known only from the following inscription, excavated recently at a village Badinlar, in the Dionysopolitan valley.⁵ It is engraved on a small plate of

¹ Foucart in Saglio, *Dict. Antiq. s. v.* *Apoleutherismos*: none of the inscriptions referring to this custom are accessible to me while writing.

² See *Μουσ. Σμυρν.*, No. τλγ, where unfortunately the date is mutilated. On the survival of the ancient custom of *εταπρισμός* in Lydia as late as 200 A.D., see an inscription published by

me, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1883, p. 276.

³ On the interchange of β and μ compare Ahrens.

⁴ ΛΑΙΡ of course resembling in sound our *lair*.

⁵ We saw it in possession of an *Iatros* in the Khan at Kaibazar. In line 5 M and E are *lita*.

marble, about $\frac{3}{4}$ inch thick, 16 inches long, and $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad, with a hole at each side by which it was fixed on the wall of the building to which it originally belonged.

No. 5.

ΜΗΤΡΙΑΗΤΟΙΚΑΙΗΛΙΩΑΠΟΛ	Μητρί Λητοῖ καὶ Ἡλίῳ Ἀπόλ-
ΛΩΝΙΑΥΕΡΜ-ΝΩΑΠΟΛΛΩ	λωνι Λυερμηνῶ Ἀπολλώ-
ΝΙΟΣΜ-ΝΟΦΙΛΟΥΤΟΥΑ	νιος Μηνοφίλου τοῦ Ἀ-
ΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥΑΤΥΟΧΩΡΕΙ	πολλωνίου Ἀτυοχωρεῖ-
5 ΤΗΣΥΠΕΡΛΑΟΜΕΔΟΝΤΟΣ	της ὑπὲρ Λαομέδοντος
ΚΑΙΕΙΦΙΑΝΑΣΣΗΣΤΩΝΤΕ	καὶ Εἰφιανάσσης τῶν τέ-
ΚΝΩΝΤΗΝΣΤΟΑΝΕΚ	κνων τὴν στοὰν ἐκ
ΤΩΝΙΔΙΩΝΕΠΟΙΗΣΕ	τῶν ἰδίων ἐποίησε.

Atyochoion was obviously a village of the Dionysopolitan valley. The Stoa which Apollonios erected was either in Dionysopolis itself or in his own village. Apollonios, who was a reader of Homer and the Trojan Cycle, and named his children accordingly, belonged to a distinguished hieratic family, associated doubtless with the cultus of Lairbenos Apollo. This results from a comparison of the following inscription:

No. 6.

At Zeive, on the north-western border of the Hyrgalean plain: on a large block of marble.¹ The inscription has been carefully defaced, and is hardly legible.

	ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΩΜ-ΝΟΦΙΛΟΥ
	ΤΩΔΙΑΓΕΝΟΥΣ ΕΙ
	ΤΟΥΣΩΤ ΡΟΣ CΙ ΛΗ ΟΥ
	ΗΟΥΓΑΤΗΡCΙΦ Α CH
5	ΚΑΙΑΠΟΛ ΝΙΟCΚΑΙ
	ΠΑ ΧCΙΝ CΚΑ ΔΗΜ-ΙΤΡΙΟΣ
	C ΓΓC ΟΙΤΟΗΡΩΟΝΚΑ
	Κ ACAN

Ἀπολλωνίῳ Μηνοφίλου τῷ διὰ γένους [. . .] Εἰ τοῦ Σωτήρος [Σ]ειλή[ν]ου? ἡ θυγάτηρ Εἰφ[ιαν]ά[σ]ση καὶ Ἀπολ[λῶ]νιος καὶ

¹ HMH in line 6 and KA in line 7 are written *lic*.

Πα[ν]λειν[ο]ς κα[ι] Δημήτριος ο[ὗ] ἐγγον[ο]ι τὸ ἡρώον κα-
[τεσ]κε[υ]ασαν.

The interesting title Soter Seilenos is unfortunately not certain; but it was read independently by Mr. Sterrett and by me. Soter is certain, but there is a slight gap, too small for a complete letter, between Σ and Λ. If it were allowable to suppose a Μ with oblique sides, the reading [Δ]ερμη[ν]ου would be preferable: but in this inscription Μ has perpendicular sides. In either case Apollonios traced his descent to a god, and must therefore have belonged to the family which held the priesthood of the god. If we can trust the reading Σειλήνον, the god of Dionysopolis is associated with the religious legends of central Phrygia¹ in a very natural fashion. According to Stephanus² the city was founded by the Pergamenian kings, prompted by finding there a wooden image of Dionysos. It is safe to gather from this tale: (1) that Dionysopolis received from the Pergamenian dynasty the Greek political organisation in exchange for the native village-system, and was made one of that series of cities by which they consolidated their power in the interior: (2) that a god who was readily identified with the Greek Dionysos was the chief deity of the district,³ and if his priests boasted their descent from Seilenos, such an identification was not hard. Dionysos Kathegemon was a great deity at Pergamum, and there was a natural tendency to find him throughout the empire. But on the whole the god of this district, of course in the last resort the Phrygian Sungod, was more frequently identified with Apollo. The double identification and the predominance of the latter can be frequently observed in Phrygia. The name Atyochorion gives a glimpse of the genuine character of this Phrygian *cultus*.

Another inscription of Dionysopolis shows that the worship of Leto was important in the district.

No. 7.

High in the wall of a mosque at Orta Keui, read with difficulty: on a marble tablet broken at the top.

¹ Xenophon, *Anab.* i. 2, 13: Pausan., i. 4, &c.

² Various reasons, which I cannot here specify at length, confirm the

words of Stephanus.

³ The district is a great vine-growing one: this would give a local colour to the cultus of the Sungod.

NETOC

ΑΦΙΑΣΘΕΟΔΟΤΟΥ
ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΩ ΜΗΤΡΙ
ΛΗΤΩΟΤΙΕΞΑΔΥΝΑ
5 ΤΩΝΔΥΝΑΤΑΠΥΕΙ

Ἀφιάς Θεοδότου
εὐχαριστῶ Μητρί
Λητ(οῖ) ὅτι ἐξ ἀδυνά-
των δύνата π(οι)εῖ.

6 ΚΕΚΟΛΛΟΙΓΑΙΤΟΝΓΛΟΥΟΡΟ

Κ ΜΗΤΡΙΑΛΗΤΩΕΥΧΗΝ

Μητρί Λητ(οῖ) εὐχῆν.

The last two lines are very faint, but Mr. Sterrett and I agreed that the appearance of the letters was as above.

I add here a fragment from Dionysopolis, which may be made complete by any one who can induce the people of Sazak to take up a few planks in the floor of their mosque.¹ There are six lines concealed below the floor. The inscription is in a very dark corner of the mosque, turned upside down, and the letters faintly engraved: it was read with difficulty by the light reflected from a small pocket-mirror.

No. 8.

ΝΟΜΟΣ*ΚΕΛΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΣΑΠΕΛΛΙΔΟΥΣΥΝΑΠΕΛΛΙΔΗΚΑΙΑΠΟΛ
ΛΩΝΙΩΤΟΙΣΥΙΟΙΣ*ΛΔΑΜΑΣΠΑΜΦΙΛΟΥ*ΛΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΣΓΛΥΚΩΝΟΣ
*ΙΚΑΙΟΙΝΟΠΟΣΙΟΝ ΚΛΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΗΣ*ΙΕΣΤΙΑΙΟΣΖΩΣΙΜΟΥ
*ΙΑΧΙΛΛΕΥΣΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ*ΙΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΔΗΣΒΑΛΕΞΙΔΙΩΝ
*ΙΤΦΛΑΓΑΘΗΜΕΡΟΣ*ΙΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΣΖΩΣΙΜΟΥΓΑΛΕΑΣ*Ι
ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΣΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ*ΙΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΔΟΥ*Ι
ΑΓΑΘΟΠΟΥΣΜΕΝΕΔΗΜΟΥ*ΙΖΩΣΙΜΟΣΜΕΝΕΘΩΣ*Ι

[.....]νομος (δηνάρια) κέ·[Α]πολλόδοτος Ἀπελλίδου σὺν Ἀπελ-
λίδῃ καὶ Ἀπολλωνίῳ τοῖς υἱοῖς (δηνάρια) λ'· Δαμᾶς Παμφίλου
(δηνάρια) λ'· Ἀντίοχος Γλύκωνος (δηνάρια) ι' καὶ οἰνοπόσιον·
Κλ(αύδιος) Ἑρμογένης (δηνάρια) ι'· Ἐστιαῖος Ζωσίμου (δη-
νάρια) ι'· Ἀχιλλεὺς Ἀπολλωνίου (δηνάρια) ι'· Ἀπολλωνίδης
(Ἀπολλωνίδου) Ἀλεξιδίων² (δηνάρια) ι'· Τ.Φλ. Ἀγαθήμερος
(δηνάρια) ι'· Ἀπολλόδοτος Ζωσίμου Γαλεᾶς (δηνάρια) ι'·
Ἀπολλόδοτος Σελεύκου (δηνάρια) ι'· Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀπολλωνίδου

¹ I had a little 'row' with the people, and left without making a proper revision of the text.

² The reading ΑΛΕΞΙΔΙΩΝ is not certain.

(δηνάρια) ἰ· Ἀγαθόπους Μενεδήμου (δηνάρια) ἰ· Ζώσιμος
Μενεσθ[ε]ως (δηνάρια) ἰ·

The six lines lost at the beginning of this inscription doubtless showed the object of the subscription. The date is about the end of the first century. The frequency of names derived from Apollo is explained by the religion of the district. Roman names are rarer than they would be at a later period in this district, and rarer than they were at this time in cities of the coast. Γαλεᾶς is not in Pape's *Lexicon*.

VI. SALSALOUDA seems to have been a village of the Dionysopolitan valley with a temple of Meter Leto, to judge from an inscription found at Kabalar.

No. 9.

ΜΗΤΡΙΚΑΛΣΑΛΟΥ	Μητρὶ Σαλσαλου-
ΔΗΝΗΤΙΤΟΣΦΛΑΒΙΣ	δηνῇ Τίτος Φλάβις
ΕΠΑΦΡΟΔΕΙΤΟΣΕΥ	Ἐπαφρόδειτος εὐ-
ΞΑΜΕΝΟCΑΝΕΘΗΚΑ	ξάμενος ἀνέθηκα

Φλάβις for Φλάβιος: compare no. 20 below, and Waddington on Lebas, No. 1367.

VII. THE KOINON OF THE HYRGALEAN PLAIN. M. Waddington,¹ by a happy emendation of Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* v. 29, introduced the name *Hyrgaletici campi* into the topography of Asia Minor. An inscription which we found in the Hyrgalean Plain confirms the name, and gives some information as to its social condition—it is not a city with a Boule and a Demos, but a Κοινόν. It is impossible to translate the word Κοινόν in historical documents of Asia Minor. It might be paraphrased by tracing the process which gradually consolidated the homogeneous mass of villages dependent on the central Hieron into

¹ In his *Mélanges de Numismatique*, I., 103. The emendation was only a restoration of the MS. reading, which had been unanimously altered by editors. Bargylia is a well-known town: Hyrgaleia is never mentioned in any other literary authority, not

even in any Byzantine list. The MSS. therefore must be corrected, and we had to read Bargyleticos. It is true that Bargylia is a coast town of Caria, far from the Maeander, but that only showed what was already well known—the 'inaccuracy' of Pliny.

a more or less articulate organism ; but such a task, were it possible in our present state of knowledge, would be too serious for this sketch. It must, however, be remembered that the *Κοινόν* has a different character in Asia Minor and in Greece, due to the difference of the social forces that produced it.

No. 10.

On a limestone column built into the outer wall of one of the mosques in the village of Bekirlü: the end of lines 2 and 6 is concealed in the surrounding masonry. Height of the entire inscription, 5 inches, length of the first line, 14 inches.

ΟΔΗΜΟΚΟΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ
 ΚΑΙΟΔΗΛΛΟΟΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΠΟ
 ΟΔΗ ΟΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ
 ΚΑΙΤ ΚΟΙΝΟ ΟΥΥΡΓΑΛΕΩΝ
 5 Π ΔΙΟΥ ΕΤΕΙΜΗCΑΝ
 ΝΤΟΝΠΛΑΥΤΙΟΝΟΥΕΝCΙ

‘Ο δῆμος ὁ Ἱεραπολειτῶν καὶ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Διονυσοπο[λειτῶν καὶ] ὁ δῆ[μος] ὁ Βλανυδέων καὶ τ[ὸ] κοινοῦ τ[οῦ] Ὑργαλέων π[ρ]έδου ἐτείμησαν [Κοῖ]ντον Πλαύτιον Οὐεν[ῶκα].¹

M. Waddington, *l.c.*, considers that the *Hyrgaletici campri* must be identified with the Baklan Ova, and restores on that supposition a fragmentary inscription found there by Hamilton.² It will be shown below that the Baklan Ova is the plain of Lounda, and that Hamilton's inscription is to be otherwise restored. The Hyrgalean plain is the eastern part of the Tchal Ova, in the north of which we found the above inscription. The villages of the plain were united in a loose association, and under Caracalla archons are mentioned on its coins (Mion. no. 652-3). I had a hasty glance at an interesting coin in the possession of a Greek merchant in the valley, who jealously refused to give me a second glance.

¹ There were never any letters in the gap in l. 5. The reading Οὐενῶκα is suggested to me by M. Waddington.

² M. Waddington is misled by Hamilton's rather ambiguous language into the belief that Demirdji Keui is in the

Baklan Ova: it is in the Tchal Ova. Hamilton found his inscription fully three hours from Demirdji Keui, after crossing the range of hills that divides Baklan Ova from Tchal Ova.

Obv. IOYΛΙΑCEBACTH

Rev. ΥΡΓΑΛΕΩΝΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ

This coin was of very coarse fabric, thick and clumsy, about size 7 or 8 of Mionnet. It was not an alliance of two cities; the *δμόνοια* was therefore the concord of the villages of the plain. In the last number of this journal I have spoken of the condition of a similar association of villages in Pisidia at a somewhat later date: there was certainly a close resemblance between the two cases.

The inscription of Bekirlü was found at a place called *Kilisseh* at the northern foot of a *kale* a little south of the village. There is no appearance that would lead us to suppose that a city stood here, and extant evidence has already shown the probability that no city Hyrgaleia ever existed. The *Kilisseh*, i.e., *ἐκκλησία*, is doubtless the site of the *hieron* which was the centre where the *Koinon* of the plain met. The great deity of the plain was a goddess, who is addressed in the next inscription.

No. 11.

On a fragment of a marble stele in the verandah of a mosque opposite the *Konak* in Demirdji Keui.

ΕΤΟΥΥΣΙΑΠΟΛΥΝΙΟΣΦΙΛΟΜΟΥΣΟΥ
ΜΟΤΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ
ΚΑΤΑΕΠΙΤΑΓΗΝΤΗΣΘΕΑΣΥΠΕΡ

Ἔτους σί. Ἀπολ(λ)ώνιος Φιλομούσου Μοτελληνὸς κατὰ ἐπιταγὴν τῆς Θεᾶς ὑπὲρ [ἑαυτοῦ, τῶν τέκνων, &c., σωτηρίας].¹

It is probable that the modern unity of name and government throughout the Tchal Ova is true to ancient fact, and that, before the Pergamenian kings destroyed that unity by founding a city in the western valley, all the villages of the Ova united in the worship of one goddess in one central *hieron*. That goddess was Leto, and her home was in the mountains that rise high behind (i.e. south of) Demirdji Keui.

On what occasion did four distant cities,² two of them so

¹ On Μοτελληνός, see below No. 14.
The date is probably 126 A.D., see No. 14.

² Blaundos must be fully twelve hours' journey from Hierapolis.

important as Hierapolis and Blaundos, unite in honouring some Roman official? It is not an allowable hypothesis that these cities formed a confederacy, habitually passing decrees in common: the Roman policy, while encouraging city autonomy, always discouraged combinations except on a limited scale between neighbouring places. It must therefore have been some special event that produced the common decree, of which doubtless a copy was placed in each city. That event cannot have been merely the visit of some official, or any benefit conferred by him on each of the cities; in such case each separate city would have passed its own decree. The occasion must have been one where some common need of the four cities was supplied by an act of Plautius. The situation of these cities suggests one common need that would fully explain all the circumstances. These four cities, and no others besides them,¹ use and profit by one road. The great central highway of Asia Minor passes down the Lycus valley and the lower Maeander valley to Tralleis and Ephesus. Dionysopolis, Hyrgaleia, and Blaundos all communicate with this highway by one road, passing close by Hierapolis. Hierapolis again was greatly interested in the passage across its territory, perhaps actually through its gates, of the produce from such a fertile country. On the other hand places so close to Hyrgaleia as Lounda and Briana² communicate with the Lycus valley highway by the road connecting Eumeneia and Laodiceia: Trajanopolis and Sebaste do not use the Lycus valley route, but communicate with the Ægean coast by another highway, viz., that which connects Acmonia with Philadelphæa.³ Precisely the four places which are interested in this road unite in passing the decree: I cannot think of any other occasion on which they would be likely to hold a common meeting, except in regard to this road. They would naturally prefer a request in common to the government on this subject, and equally naturally pass a decree in honour of the official who granted their request.

¹ Mosyna was at this time not a separate city, but a village of the territory of Hierapolis.

² On their situation [see below ss. vv.

³ Only a person who has wandered

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over all these roads, who has looked from any hillock in the Dionysopolitan valley across to Blaundos and from Blaundos seen the view stretching unbroken to the Demirdji Keui hills, will appreciate the certainty of this

D D

Inscriptions that refer to the making or repairing of roads in Asia Minor are couched in the name either of the reigning emperor or of the governor of the province: Plautius then ought to be proconsul of Asia. The only person in the *Fasti Consulares* that could possibly be identified with him is Q. Plautius of unknown *cognomen*, consul A.D. 36. His proconsulate might be expected between 46 and 51, during which period the name of no proconsul is known. The form of the letters in our inscription would certainly suit better with a later date. I cannot at this moment quote a dated example of the round C and ω in an inscription earlier than 119 A.D., but on coins they occur much earlier (*e.g.* Aizani in Phrygia, Mionnet 82, 83 under Caligula).

We should certainly expect that a proconsul would have his title added: but (1) the line is incomplete, (2) in Greek inscriptions titles are not so carefully enumerated as in Latin. Censorinus, proconsul about A.D. 1, is mentioned in an inscription of Mylasa without any title.¹

The point must be left undecided; all that can be said is that the person honoured in common by four distant places, three of them important cities, must have been a high official, and that the preceeding hypothesis explains the situation and encounters no serious difficulty.

VIII. ANASTASIOPOLIS.—The two valleys of the Tchal Ova were united in the earlier period just as they are by the present system and by the necessity of their situation. Under the Roman Empire they were united in trading connection with Hierapolis, and far more coins of Hierapolis than of any other city were shown me in the Tchal Ova.² In the Byzantine lists Hyrgaleia is never mentioned: the district

reasoning. Blaundos is so placed as to communicate both with Hierapolis, twelve to fourteen hours, and with Philadelpheia, sixteen hours.

¹ *C.I.G.* 26985, Waddington, *Fastes*, p. 102. Censorinus was dead, and no longer proconsul when the inscription was engraved: the circumstances of

our inscription might explain the omission of the title, if it is omitted.

² Besides numerous coins of Hierapolis, I saw a good many coins of Blaundos, Dionysopolis, Laodiceia, and Tripolis, fewer of Sala, one each of Hyrgaleia and Marcianopolis (in Thrace, a coin in most beautiful condition).

cannot be omitted by Hierocles, and must occur under some other name. Anastasiopolis, concealed under the form Sitoupolis, follows Dionysopolis in Hierocles and is frequently mentioned along with it in other Byzantine lists. The name dates from the reign of Anastasius, 491—518 A.D., during which there were long wars on the southern side of the plateau. Some village of the plain was then elevated to the rank of a city and named after the reigning emperor.

Near the village of Utch Kuyular, *Three Wells*, in the extreme north of the valley, one hour N.N.E. from Bekirlü, there is a slight rising ground: it was covered with a rich crop of wheat in June, but the villagers declared that the ground was full of marbles, and that all the fragments, mostly Byzantine, in the village had been dug up there. On this site Anastasiopolis probably stood. Two inscriptions were shown us at the village, one a fragment of a metrical epitaph, the other engraved on the tombstone of a man from the neighbouring town of Dionysopolis.

No. 12.

On a marble stele in a courtyard at Utch Kuyular; broken at both sides.

ΟΕ~ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΑΔΟΥΔ

ΠΟΔΕΙΤΗΣ~ΚΑΙΤΑΤΑΙ

ΟΥ~ΡΗΓΕΙΝΩΙΔΙΩΤ

ΜΝ~Μ~ΙCΧΑΡΙΝ¹

‘Ρηγείν]ος Ἀσκληπιάδου Δ[ι-
ονυσο]πο[λ]είτης καὶ Τάτα[ή
γυνή αὐτ]οῦ Ρηγείνω ἰδίῳ τέκ-
νω]μνήμης χάριν

IX. PHOBA.—This name occurs only in *Notitiae* iii., x., xiii., and in *Act. Synod. Phot.* 879 A.D. It is ranked in the diocese of Hierapolis. The list of bishoprics is thus given in all the extant versions:—

¹ Only the second half of Π at the beginning of line 2 remains: the Δ for Α in this line is an error of the engraver.

Not. VII. IX.	Not. VIII.	Not. I.	Not. III. X. ¹
1. δ 'Ιεραπόλεως	1. δ 'Ιεραπόλεως	1. δ 'Ιεραπόλεως	1. δ 'Ιεραπόλεως
Μελουπόλης	2. Μετελλουπόλεως	2. Μετελλουπόλεως	2. Μετελλουπόλεως
Διονυσιοπόλεως	3. 'Αναστασιουπόλεως	3. Διονυσουπόλεως	5. Φόβων
'Αττούδων	4. 'Αττούδων	4. 'Αναστασιουπ'λεως	3. 'Αττούδων
Μοσύνων	5. Μοσύνων	5. 'Αττούδων	4. Μοσύνων
		6. Μοσύνων	

From this table it appears that sometimes only one bishop was placed over the two valleys of the Tchal Ova, and that sometimes he is called bishop of Dionysopolis, sometimes of Anastasiopolis, sometimes of Phoba. This last name occurs so rarely that it is not safe to make any definite conjecture about it.

If a line be drawn on the map inclosing the five cities Attouda, Hierapolis, Mosyna, Dionysopolis, Anastasiopolis, it will include the whole south-western corner of Pacatiana, a well-marked district having its centre in Hierapolis. Within this district and close to Hierapolis is the site of an ancient town at Geuzlar (see above, II.). If that ancient town did not belong to the diocese of Hierapolis, the unity of the district is destroyed; if it does, its name is Metellopolis. Between these alternatives there seems no reason to hesitate.

To complete this sketch of the Hyrgalean plain, we must cross the hills from Utch Kuyular or Bekirlü westwards to the villages of Destemir (1½ hours) and Medele (3 hours). There are in both many inscriptions, and at first I inclined to suppose that another city and bishopric had existed here. These villages lie near the northern bank of the Maeander, right opposite Dionysopolis, but the inscriptions could not be brought without great difficulty across the enormous cañon in which the Maeander flows. I am, however, forced to the conclusion that these inscriptions belong to the Hyrgalean plain. Transport from Bekirlü is easy, and one of the inscriptions contains a term unknown except in Hyrgaleia. Moreover there is no room; owing to the character of the soil, to place a city and bishopric here. The most interesting of these inscriptions are

¹ Omitting the district of the Ancyra attached to the metropolis Hierapolis. bishoprics, which are in these Notitiae

No. 13

On a fragment of a Byzantine architrave over a door in the courtyard of a mosque at Destemir. W.M.R.

ΕΤ' Α' ΤΗΣ ΒΑΣΙΛ' ΙΟΥΣΤΙΝΙΑΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΕΥΣΕΒΟΥΣ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗ
ΕΡΓΟΝ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΤΟΥ Δ' ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥΝΤΟΣ

The second line is irregularly engraved among the tracery on the slab.¹

The ΧΑ of Μιχάηλ are engraved in a curious monogram.

"Ετ(ει) λ' τῆς βασιλ(είας) Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς δεσπό(του)..... Ἔργον Μιχάηλ τ(ῆς) ἐπισκοπούντος..... The date of this inscription is 557: in 553 Alexander, bishop of Dionysopolis, and Hieron, bishop of Anastasiopolis, were present at *Synod.* V. Apparently the latter died between 553 and 557.

IXbis. MOTELLA.—The name of this village occurs only in inscriptions. It is still retained under the form Medele.

No. 14.

On a stele at Medele: copy and impression J.R.S.S.

ΑΥΡΕΙΔΟΜΕΝΕΥΣ
ΤΕΤΡΑΚΕΙΣ ΜΟΤΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ
ΣΥΝΕΠΟΥΔΑΣΕΝΤΩ ΙΔΙ
Ω ΑΥΤΟΥ ΑΔΕΛΦΙΔΕΙ
5 ΕΤΟΥΣ ΤΚΑ

ΜΒΙΗΙΑΥΡΘΕ
ΦΙΛΙΑΝΗΓΛΥΚΕ
ΗΕΦΥΣΕΙΔΕ
ΤΑΤΙΑΝΟΥ
10 ΖΗΝΩΝΟΣ
ΚΙΑΛΛΒΟΥΜ
ΤΩΓΛΥΚΥΤΑ
ΤΩΑΝΔΡ²

¹ The large cross evidently marks the middle of the stone, so that exactly half of the inscription is preserved.

² The reading ΑΔΕΛΦΙΔΕΙ is

quite certain. At least four lines are lost at the end, having been wilfully erased. In line 7 I read on the impression ΓΛ'ΚΕ or ΓΑ'ΚΕ.

Αὐρ. Εἰδομενεὺς τετράκεις Μοτελληνὸς συν[ε]σπούδασεν τῷ
 ἰδίῳ αὐτοῦ ἀδελφιδ[ε]ι(?) Ἔτους τκά, μη(νὸς) βί, ήί, Αὐρ.
 Θεοφιλιανή Γλυκε[ρ]ῆς? φύσει δὲ Τατιανοῦ Ζήνωνος Κιαλλ-
 βου(?)Μο[τελληνού], τῷ γλυκυτάτῳ ἀνδρ[ι] κ.τ.λ.

This inscription is so incorrectly engraved that the sense is obscure. The superscription, lines 1—4, apparently records that Aurelius Idomeneus cooperated with some other person or persons in erecting the tomb.¹ The rest of the inscription is in the usual style of a wife making the tomb of her husband. Aur. Theophiliane had an adoptive father and a natural father, but there is perhaps some confusion among them,² as the latter has so many names or epithets. The word *Μοτελληνός* occurred already in an inscription of Demirdji Keui, No. 11. The name Idomeneus was used for four successive generations.

Whatever be the meaning of a date τξέ on a coin of Hyrgaleia, Mionnet, No. 650, this inscription is clearly dated according to the usual Phrygian and Asian era, 85—4 B.C. The year 321 corresponds to A.D. 237, and the regular use of the *praenomen* *Aur.* belongs to the third century. It is therefore probable that No. 11 is dated according to the same system.

I am, however, strongly disposed to consider this inscription as Christian; a comparison with the other Christian inscriptions of the third and fourth centuries in Phrygia suggests points of analogy: especially the phrase Ἀδελφ... suggests the Christian brotherhood alluded to in an inscription of Eucarpia,³ and in another of the same district copied by Hamilton and commented on by Cavedoni and De Rossi.⁴ But I do not see how exactly to understand the inscription in this sense.

X. ATTANASSOS.—This town is mentioned in all the *Notitiae*, and in the Council of Chalcedon, 451 A.D. The name seems to be retained in the village of Eski Aidan, *Old Aidan*, on the western bank of the Glaucos, Sandyklü Tchai,⁵ about two hours

¹ Σπούδασάντων of the members of an association in an inscription of Apameia which I published *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1883, p. 307.

² I copied at Apameia an inscription in which two lines are transposed, see *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1883, p. 308.

³ See below, No. 43.

⁴ *Opuscoli di Modena* VIII. 176: de Rossi, *Roma. Sott.* I. 106: I have not seen these comments, but take the references from M. Duchesne in *Rev. Quest. Histor.* July, 1883, p. 31. See also Waddington on Lebas, 1687.

⁵ On the opposite bank stands the village of New Aidan.

from Isheklü. A bishopric which existed both before and after the time of Hierocles must on the principle laid down above occur in his list. In this part of his list there occurs a name Krasos or Krassos: this name, which is unknown in Phrygia, is certainly corrupt.¹ Restoring the name Attanassos, we find that his list is geographically true and in perfect accord with the ecclesiastical lists.

It must be added that a town Krasos is mentioned in Phrygia by Theophanes, ἐξελθὼν κατὰ Ἀράβων συνήντησεν αὐτοῖς εἰς Κράσον τῆς Φρυγίας.² But this town is in the south of Bithynia (see *Addenda* I.), and cannot, as Wesseling fancies, be the place referred to by Hierocles.

XI. LOUNDA.—The important name of Blaundos does not occur in Hierocles, and this was usually explained by the supposition that it was hidden under the form Lounda. The supposition contradicts the order of Hierocles; and, moreover, *Not.* III and XIII mention both Lounda and Blaundos,³ the latter being assigned to Lydia. The following inscription effectually vindicates Hierocles' accuracy. It was found at Isabey, a large village in the Baklan Ova. By a fortunate chance we encamped there for a night, and next morning a native offered for a small sum to show a 'written stone' in his house. According to Mr. Sterrett's copy the inscription reads as follows.

No. 15

On the upper surface of a Byzantine capital, made out of an older inscribed stele. J.R.S.S.

ΕΠΤΙΜΙC
ΩΝΠΕΡΤΙΝΑΚ
ΤΟΝΑΥΓΟΥCΤ
ΒΙΚΟΝΑΔΙΑΒΗΝΙΚΟΙ
5 ΨΥΛΗΚΑΙΟΔΗΝ
ΩΥΝΔΕΩΝ

[Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα]
Λεύκιον Σ]επτίμιο[ν Σε-
ουήρ]ον Περτίνακ[α Σ-
εβασ]τὸν Αὐγοῦστ[ον
'Αρα]βικὸν Ἀδιαβηνικὸν
ἢ Β]ουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμ[ος
ὁ Λ]ουνδέων.

¹ The three successive names Konionpolis, Sitoupolis, Krassos, are corrupt to an extent almost unexampled in the list.

² Theoph. *Chronogr.* I. p. 746 (p. 406).

³ Under the form Βλάδος, Φλαῦδος.

The city of Lounda was situated between the villages of Seid and Eski Seid in the sharp angle where the Maeander turns suddenly north to enter the Tchal Ova. The remains of the city have been carried west and south-west to Seid, Mahmoud Ghazi, Hadjilar Mahalesi, and Isabey, and north-east to Kavaklar and the surrounding district. We have in this fertile valley, traversed by an important road from Eumeneia to Laodiceia, a city of the Graeco-Roman type with a Boule and a Demos, not a mere collection of villages like Hyrgaleia. Its remains are numerous and quite different in character from those of the Hyrgalean plain. The inscription copied by Hamilton in the northern part of the Baklan Ova, on the road from Demirdji Keui to Isheklü is to be thus restored in the first three lines

Ἡ βο[υλή
καὶ ὁ δῆμος]
ὁ Λουν]δέων κ.τ.λ.¹

No. 16.

On a basis of a statue in the village of Kavaklar; broken at foot: J.R.S.S.

ΑΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΑ~ΚΑΙΣΑΡΑ~
ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΝ~ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΝ
ΓΕΒΑΣΤΟΝ~ΕΥΣΕΒΗΑΠΟΛ
ΟΔΟΤΟ~Δ ΔΩΡΟΥ~
5 ΤΡΑΤΗΓΩΝΤΙ~ΠΑΤΡΙΔΟΣ
ΜΕΤΑΤΟΥΠΑΤΡΟΣ~ΕΚΤΩΝ
ΙΔΙΩΝΑΝΕΣΤΗΣΕΝΥΠΕΡΕΥ
ΣΕΒΕΙΑΣ~ΤΙΣΙΣΤΟΝΚΥΡΙΟΝ
ΚΑΙΦΙΛΟΤΕΙΜΙΑΣ~ΤΗΣΕΙΣ
10 ΤΗΝΠΑΤΡΙΔΑ~ΚΟΥΑΣΚΑ~
ΕΜΑΓ²

¹ Hamilton, No. 348: restored in *C.I.G.* [Τραλ]λέων, in Waddington *Mel. Numism.* I. p. 105 [Τργα]λέων.

² In 5, ΗΓ *like*; so ΜΕ in 6, ΝΕ

and ΗΕ in 7, ΝΚ in 8, ΗΝΠ in 10. The last letter in Απολλοδοτος is according to the copy a monogram of Ν and Ε, probably it is Ν corrected to Ε.

Α[ὐ]τοκράτορα Καίσαρα Ἀδριανὸν Ἀντωνεῖνον Σεβαστὸν Εὐσεβῆ
Ἀπολλόδοτο[ς] Δι[ο]δώρου [σ]τρατηγῶν τῆς πατρίδος μετὰ τοῦ
πατρὸς ἐκ τῶν ιδίων ἀνέστησεν ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας τ[ῆ]ς [ε]ἰς τὸν
Κύριον καὶ φιλοτειμίας τῆς εἰς τὴν πατρίδα, κόψας καὶ (?)[...]
σμα[...] κ.τ.λ. This inscription dates 137-61.

When all the towns around, Peltai, Eumeneia, Ceretapa, Dionysopolis, even Hyrgaleia, and the little Bria and Seiblia, struck coins, it is difficult to see why Lounda, which was evidently an important place, struck none. The explanation lies I think in a fact hitherto unnoticed: cities like individuals in Anatolia often bear two names. I shall speak of this more fully in regard to Bennisoa; meanwhile I quote the case of Comana in Cappadocia, which coins under the name Comana, but whose inscriptions are couched in the name of Hieropolis.¹

Some rare coins bearing the legend ΟΚΟΚΛΙΕΩΝ are attributed on the evidence of style and fabric to Phrygia.² Ococlia is absolutely unknown except from these coins. I bought an unpublished variety at Isheklü:

Obv. Bust to right, ΙΕΡΑΚΥΝΚΛΗΤΟC.

Rev. Cybele standing facing, wearing polos and veil, clad in long tunic, and holding wreath in her right hand ΕΠΙΚΛ ΑΛΩΒ ΡΟΤΟΥΟΚΟΚΛΙΕΩΝ:³ size 6 of Mionnet. This coin is in fair but not in fine condition: there is therefore a probability that it belongs to some place connected by trade with Eumeneia: in the Isheklü district the common coins, besides Eumeneia itself, were of Eucarpia, Apameia, and Laodiceia. After going over the list of towns which could possibly fulfil that condition, I find none but Lounda which did not strike coins. The suggestion is perhaps worth making, though there is no direct evidence in its favour, that Lounda according to a Phrygian custom was called by a second name, Ococlia.

XII. PELTAI.—We spent about a week seeking for this city, and discovered nothing but negative evidence. In places where we expected to find Peltai, we discovered that no Greek city had ever existed. Absolutely the only place where it could possibly

¹ Also Conni Metropolis, called in the Byzantine lists Conni Demetriopolis.

² Until M. Waddington restored the true reading in Pliny, there was no other evidence than style to prove that

Hyrgaleia was in Phrygia.

³ The sixth, seventh, and eighth letters doubtful: perhaps ΑΛΛ: the name is perhaps ΚΛ. Λαώβροτος.

have stood is the neighbourhood of Karayashilar, a large village on the Glaukos, three hours from Isheklü, two from Eski Aidan, and nearly on the direct line between Lounda and Eumeneia. This situation suits all the evidence, the order in Hierocles, the narrative of Xenophon, the reference in the Peutinger Table, the passage in Strabo mentioning the Πεληνηδὸν πεδίου. The Peutinger Table mentions Peltai at the side of the road from Apameia to Eumeneia, in the same way that it mentions Temnos¹ in connection with the road from Smyrna to Cyme. The road to Peltai diverges from the main road at a point in the Isheklü valley two hours south of Eumeneia; this point is doubtless the *ad vicum* of the Table. The XII on the Table must be corrected to VII; it has been universally recognised that the total distance on the Table from Eumeneia to Apameia, XXVI, is too great. This correction makes the total distance XXI, which is I believe accurate: the modern estimate is seven hours. '*Ad vicum*' is between Genjellü and Homa, about XII miles from Karayashilar and VII from Isheklü. The distance from Apameia to Peltai is therefore XXVI, which agrees with Xenophon's ten parasangs.²

The plain of Peltai lies between the plain of Lounda and that of Eumeneia: there is no line of demarcation on either side, for the country stretches flat as a table from Isheklü to Isabey. In such a fertile and well-cultivated district, we must not expect to find many traces of an ancient city: the rule is invariable—the better populated the country, the greater destruction of ancient monuments. Two large mounds not far from Karayashilar, one north, the other west, both contain considerable traces of ancient life; but inscribed stones are rare in the surrounding villages. In Karayashilar alone, besides numerous marbles, we found two sepulchral inscriptions of no special interest.

After the three days' visit of Xenophon, nothing is known of Peltai till the third century. Among the numerous inscriptions recording the thanks voted by Greek cities to other cities which

¹ See my paper in *Journ. Hell. Stud.* II. p. 286.

² The statement made by me in *Rev. Archéol.* Sept. 1883 (in the *Chron. d'Orient*), with regard to Xenophon's route is wrong. To leave no doubt, I

made another journey across the district after that statement was written. I observed that Peltai must be several miles further north than I at first thought.

had sent *dikastai* to settle their legal troubles, one records the gratitude of the people of Peltai to the Antandrians and the *dikastai* whom they had sent (*C.I.G.* 3568 *f. add.*). This inscription is one of the earliest of its kind, and belongs to the third century. It mentions a hieron of Zeus Peltenos, who is not unknown on coins of the city (Mionnet, No. 879). The earliest coins of Peltai belong to this period. The foundation of Eumeneia curtailed its power and wealth.

XIII. EUMENEIA.—The situation of this city at Isheklü was pointed out by Leake from an inscription copied there by Pococke. Leake, however, has misunderstood the river names. Eumeneia lies under a conical hill, and a stream, rising from a very fine spring at the base of the hill within the ancient city, flows in a winding course south to join the Maeander: this stream is the Cludrus mentioned by Pliny. About three miles west of Isheklü a river, which drains all the large valley of Sandyklü, the Cutchuk Sitchanlü Ova, and great part of the mountainous district between the Burgas Dagħ and these two valleys, flows south-west to join the Maeander. This river, which is quite dry during all the summer in its passage through the Isheklü valley, but which flows with a good perennial stream in all the upper part of its course, is the Glaucos of coins. Hence the passage in Pliny is easy and accurate, *Eumeneia Cludro flumini adposita, Glaucus amnis*.

The villages round Isheklü are full of inscriptions: we copied forty-two, and did not attempt to exhaust them. Almost all were sepulchral; the people of Eumeneia seem to have had no interest in any subject except their welfare after death. I shall give here a few that show strong traces of Christian influence during the third century.

No. 17.

On a stele in the cemetery, Isheklü. W.M.R.

ΑΥΡΩΠΡΟΚΛΑ	Αὐρ. Πρόκλα
ΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥΑΣΕΝ	κατεσκεύασεν
ΤΟΗΡΩΟΝΑΥΤΗΚΑΙ	τὸ ἥρῳον αὐτῇ καὶ
ΤΩΑΝΔΡΙΚΑΙΤΟΙΣ	τῷ ἀνδρὶ καὶ τοῖς
ΤΕΚΝΟΙΣΦΙΛΙΠΠΩ	τέκνοις Φιλίππῳ
ΚΑΙΠΑΥΛΙΝΗΜΝΗ	καὶ Παυλίῃ μνή-

ΕΧΑΡΙΝΕΙΔΕ
ΕΠΙΧΙΡΙ-ΣΕΙ
ΝΑΙΕΤΕΡΟΝ
ΤΑΙΑΥΤΩΠΡΟΣ
ΤΟΝΘΕΟΝΤΟΝ
ΖΩΝΤΑ

μη]ς χάριν· εἰ δέ
τις] ἐπιχ(ε)ιρήσει
θεῖ]ναι ἕτερον,
ἔσ]ται αὐτῷ πρὸς
τὸν Θεὸν τὸν
ζῶντα

No. 18.

On a stele at Dede Keui : J.R.S.S.

ΔΑΜΑΣΔΙΟΤΕΙΜΟΥΚ
ΤΕΣΚΕΥΑΣΕΝΤΟΗΡΩ
ΝΤΩΜΗΤΡΩΝΙΜΗ
ΤΡΟΔΩΡΩΕΠΙΣΚΟΠ
ΩΚΑΙΤΩΠΑΤΡΙΜΟΥ
ΔΙΟΤΕΙΜΩΚΑΙΕΑΥΤΩ
ΕΙΤΙΣΔΕΕΠΙΧΕΙΡΗΣΕΙ
ΘΕΙΝΕΕΤΕΡΟΝΤΙΝΑΘΗ
ΣΕΙΙΣΤΟΤΑΜΕΙΟΝΠΡΟΣ
ΤΕΙΜΟΥ*ΦΕΙΚΑΤΑΦΡΟ
ΝΗΣΕΙΤΟΥΤΟΥΕΣΤΕ
ΑΥΤΩΠΡΟΣΤΟΝΖΩΝΤΑΘΕΟΝ

Δαμᾶς Διοτείμων κ[α
τεσκεύασεν τὸ ἡρώ-
ον τῷ μήτρωνι Μη-
τροδώρῳ ἐπισκόπ-
ῳ καὶ τῷ πατρί μου
Διοτείμῳ καὶ αὐτῷ·
εἴ τις δὲ ἐπιχειρήσει
θεῖναι ἕτερον τινα, θή-
σει ἰς τὸ ταμεῖον προσ-
τείμων (δηνάρια) φ'· εἰ καταφρο-
νήσει τούτον, ἔστω
αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν ζῶντα Θεόν.

The remarkable expression with which both these inscriptions conclude must be compared with other endings of similar character: at Eumeneia we find πρὸς τὸ μέγα ὄνομα τοῦ Θεοῦ (C.I.G. 3902), and πρὸς τὸν ζῶντα Θεὸν καὶ νῦν καὶ ἐν τῇ κρισίμῳ ἡμέρᾳ (C.I.G. 3902 r): at Apameia πρὸς τὴν χεῖρα τοῦ Θεοῦ (C.I.G. 3963), and πρὸς τὸν κριτὴν Θεόν:¹ at Brouzos ἐνορκιζόμεθα τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τοὺς καταχθονίους δαίμονας μὴδένα ἀδικῆσαι τὸ μνημεῖον:² at Bria (see below, No. 126) ἔσται ἐπικατάρατος παρὰ Θεῶ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα: at Eumeneia, in an inscription given in *Add. II.*, the strange curse

¹ In the same inscription τοῖς τέκνοις ἐκ τοῦ αἱματος μου and in another from Apameia τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἱματος αὐτοῦ: I have published these *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1883, p. 310 and 312.

² I published this inscription in *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1882, p. 516; are the δαίμονες devils, or is the inscription a mixture of pagan and Christian phraseology?

ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν Χριστόν. These examples have decided my opinion on a point about which I long hesitated—many inscriptions in central Anatolia, which end with the curse ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν θεόν, must be reckoned as Christian.¹ Hence it is safe to add the following as Christian.

No. 19.

On a stele at Tchevril: this inscription may belong to Attanassos or to Eumeneia.

ΕΤΟΥΣΤΑΓΜΙΕΑΥΡ	Ἔτους τλγ', μη(νός) ι', ε', Αὐρ.
ΜΟΧΑΑΛΕΣΑΝ	Μοσχᾶς Ἀλεξιάν-
ΟΥΕΠΕΣΚΕΥΑΣΑ	δρ]ου ἐπεσκεύασα
Ο ΑΥΡΑΛΕ	τ]ὸ [μνημεῖον?] Αὐρ. Ἀλε-
5 ΣΑΝΔΡΩΜΕΝΕΚΡΑ	ξάνδρῳ Μενεκρά-
ΤΟΥΣΚΑΘΩΣΕΝΕΤ	τοὺς κάθως ἐνετ-
ΕΙΛΑΤΟΕΝΤΗΔΙΑ	εἶλατο ἐν τῇ δια-
ΘΗΚΗΕΙΤΙΔΕΕΤΕ	θήκῃ· εἴ τις δὲ ἔτε-
ΡΟΝΕΜΒΑΛΕΙΕΣΤΑΙ	ρον ἐμβαλεῖ, ἔσται
10 ΑΥΤΩΠΡΟΣΤΟΝΘΕΟΝ	αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν.
ΤΟΥΤΟΥΑΝΤΙΓΡΑΦΟΝΑ	Τούτου ἀντίγραφον ἀ-
ΠΕΤΕΘΗΙΣΤΑΡΧΙΑ	πετίθη ἰς τὰ ἀρχία.

I give this inscription as adding one to the small number of dated Christian inscriptions of the third century. Lebas no. 727 gives one dated 279 A.D. The present inscription dates 249.

Μήτρων in No. 18 is probably a form of μήτρως, a maternal uncle. Ἐπισκόπῳ in the same inscription is interesting. One other important Christian inscription must find a place here.

No. 20.

At Dede Keui: copy and impression, J. R. S. S.

ΑΥΡΝΕΙΚΕΡΩΒΚΑΤΕΣ	Αὐρ. Νεικέρως β'. κατεσ-
ΚΕΥΑΕΝΤΟΗΡΩΝ	κέυασεν τὸ ἥρῶν

¹ I see that M. l'Abbé Duchesne holds the same opinion, *Rev. d. Quest. Hist.* July, 1883, p. 81. But it would

not be safe to assume the point without proof: *δ θεός* and *ἡ θεός* are common in pagan Phrygian inscriptions.

ΑΥΤΩΚΑΙΓΥΝΑΙΚΑΙ	αὐτῷ καὶ γυναι(κὶ) καὶ
ΤΕΚΝΟΙΣΕΘΗΚΑΔΕ	τέκνοις· ἔθηκα δὲ
5 ΦΙΛΟΝΦΕΝΘΑΔΕ	φίλον. Ἐνθάδε
ΚΕΚΗΔΕΥΤΕ·ΑΥΡ·	κεκήδευτε Αὐρ.
ΜΑΝΝΟΣΣΤΡΑΤΙΩΤΗΣ ¹	Μάννος στρατιώτης
ΙΠΠΕΥΣΣΑΓΙΤΤΑΡΙΣ	ἱππεὺς σαγιττάρι(ο)s
ΔΡΑΚΩΝΑΡΙΣΕΞΟΦΙΚ	δρακωνάρι(ο)s, ἐξ ἐφικ[ι
10 ΟΥΤΟΥΛΑΜΠΡΟΤΑΤΟΥ	ου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου
ΗΓΕΜΟΝΟΣΚΑΣΤΡΙΟ	ἡγεμόνος Καστρίο[υ
ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΟΣ	Κάωνσταντος·
ΟΣΑΝΔΕΠΙΤΗΔΕΥ	ὅς ἂν δ' ἐπιτηδεύ-
ΣΕΙΕΤΕΡΟΣΕΤΕΑΥ	σει ἕτερος, ἔστε αὐ-
	[τῷ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν.]

On this inscription see *Addenda* III.

The inscription *C.I.G.* No. 3,888, attributed to Eumeneia on the authority of Laborde, belongs to Eucarpia: we copied the stone in a mosque near the site of Eucarpia, thirty-two miles from Isheklü. *C.I.G.* 3,884 is also attributed wrongly to Eumeneia, and Franz has been put to sad shifts to explain how Eumeneia could be called Sebaste. The inscription belongs to Sebaste, and has either been brought from that site to Isheklü,² or Pococke has, like Laborde, made a mistake in his note of the place where he copied it.

The only tribe of Eumenia known is called Ἀθηναῖς: we found a second name Ἡραῖς.

XIV. SEIBLIA.—Homa lies on the southern slope of the immense mass of limestone named Ak Dagħ. The situation is very fine, plentifully supplied with water, and commanding a fine plain, continuous with the *Eumenetici Campi* on the north-west, and bounded on all other sides by mountains or low hills. There are here traces of an ancient city, which by its situation must have been a strong fortress. The statements of Cinnamus, Ptolemy, and Hierocles show with definite certainty that this

¹ NN *litterae*: the impression is very faint, and I do not feel certain that the reading is correct: possibly KN.

² I have known large inscribed stones transported to a greater distance.

place was Seiblia. Cinnamus says that Seiblia was a fortress situated towards the head-waters of the Maeander.¹ The boundary between Pacatiana and Pisidia runs across the Maeander valley a little way south of Homa at the *boghaz* through which the river finds its way into the plains of Seiblia. There is no place for a fortress in Pacatiana nearer than Homa to the source of the Maeander.

XV. CERETAPA, Rock of the Carians?² The territory of this city was certainly the rich plain on the north-east of the Adji Touz Göl. The order in Hierocles is clear on this point, and is in accordance with Ptolemy. Le Quien also uses the expression, apparently derived from some Greek *menologion*, *Chonae* (i.e. Colossae) *quae juxta Ceretapa* (*Or. Christ.* i., 813). An apparition of St. Michael, whose splendid church in Chonai is famous, occurred at Ceretapa (*Menolog.* September 6). The district is now called the Taz Giri, in which we may perhaps recognise part of the old name. The town is also called Diocaesareia on coins, and Ptolemy knows no other name. The site was at Sari Kavak, where there are important remains: on my visit in October 1881, I found no inscriptions.

Kiepert placed Diocaesareia at Tchardak, about six or seven miles west of Sari Kavak. This village, though a modern halting-place, is not an ancient site.

Ceretapa is probably identical with Anava, a city of the Phrygians, by which Xerxes passed on his march from Celaenae to Colossae. The people still extract salt from the lake, as they did in the time of Herodotus.

Coins of Ceretapa mention a fountain Aulindenos (see *J. H. S.* 1883, p. 72).

XVI. ATTOUDDA.—To complete my argument as to the southern district of Phrygia, it is necessary to refer to the boundaries of the territory of Attoudda. The town was at or near Ipsili Hissar, in the extreme south-western corner of

¹ Manuel, marching from the Rhyn-dacus valley, τὰς ἐπὶ Λάμπης διελθὼν πεδιάδας, φρούριόν τι περὶ πρώτας πύλεις τοῦ Μαιάνδρου ἐκβολὰς (Σούβλαιον ὄνομα αὐτῇ) χρόνῳ πεπτωκὸς ἀνεγείρει, p. 298. Compare Nicetas *de Man.* vi. p. 229,

ἐκ τῶν ἐκεῖσε (towards Dorylaion) μερῶν ἀπανίσταται, εἰς δὲ τὸ Σούβλειον ὡς εἶχε παραγενόμενος ἀνήγειρέ τι κάκεινο.

² Taba means rock in Carian.

Pacatiana. It possessed the territory on the northern side of Mt. Salbakos, Baba Dagħ, and the whole of the Bogħaz west of Serai Keui. The temple of Men Karou, who occurs on coins of Attoudda, was somewhere about the eastern end of the Bogħaz. The territory was bounded on the east by that of Laodiceia, on the north-east by that of Hierapolis, on the north by that of Tripolis. The boundary between Tripolis and Hierapolis was the Maeander, between Hierapolis and Laodiceia the Lycus. In the Roman period the territory of Hierapolis included all the mountain district up to and perhaps including Mossyna.

XVII. PEPOUZA.—We now proceed to the next group in Hierocles' enumeration. It is more difficult here to catch the clue to his order, and but for the fortunate discovery by Mr. Sterrett of an inscription with the name Diocleia, and subsequently my deciphering of a fragment containing the name Kidyessos, it would be hopeless to attempt the task. The towns of this group are situated in the great undulating plain through which the Banaz Tchai flows south-west to join the Maeander, and in the mountainous district between the Banaz Ova and the Sandyklü Ova. Pepouza is memorable as the cradle of the religious movement known as Montanism. We are now able to specify with certainty the district where this movement began. Its early opponents are the presbyters or bishops of Otrous and Hieropolis, in the western part of the Sandyklü Ova. The few facts known about its early history refer to the district between Eumeneia and Otrous. It is worthy of note that three-fourths of the early Christian inscriptions of Phrygia belong to this neighbourhood. In this district there are three places where an ancient bishopric and town might be placed; (1) Doghla and Aghar Hissar; (2) Hodjalar; (3) Yannik Euren: the first is the site of Diocleia, the second is probably a village of the Moxeani, the third is probably Pepouza.¹ It is situated on the high road from Eumeneia to the cities of the Sandyklü valley, at the point where a road diverges northwards to Diocleia and the villages of the Moxeani.

Pepouza seems to have derived its importance from Montanism. Epiphanius (*Haeres.* xlviii. 14) says that it was deserted in his

¹ If this be so, Hodjalar must be Tymion.

time¹ (he died 402 A.D.). Hierocles, however, includes it in his list, and Philostorgius mentions it (*Hist. Eccles.* iv. 8); it never occurs in the *Notitiae*.

About an hour east of Yannik Euren is a village called Kilter, in which there are some marbles.

No. 21.

On a stele at Kilter in a courtyard.

ΕΤΟΥΣΤΜΕΜΓ	Ἔτους τμ᾽, μ(ηνὸς) γ΄,
ΑΥΡΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΟΔ	Αὐρ. Ἀσκληπιουδ-
ΩΡΑΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥ	ώρα κατεσκεύ-
ΑΣΕΝΤΟΗΡΩΟΝ	ασεν τὸ ἥρῳον
5 ΑΥΤΗΚΑΙΤΩΓΛΥ	ἐ]αυτῇ καὶ τῷ γλυ-
ΚΥΤΑΤΩΜΟΥΑ	κυτάτῳ μου ἁ-
ΝΔΡΙΑΥΡΓΑΙΩ	νδρὶ Αὐρ. Γαίῳ
ΕΥΧΟΥΚΑΙΤΩ	Εὐτ[υ]χου καὶ τῷ
ΓΛΥΚΥΤΑΤΩ	γλυκυτάτῳ
10 ΜΟΥΤΕΚΝΩ	μου τέκνῳ
ΑΥΡΚΟΥΑΡΤΩ	Αὐρ. Κουάρτῳ
MN-M-ΕΧΑΡΙΝ	μνήμης χάριν
ΕΊΔΕΤΕΡΟΝΤΙΣΕΠ	εἰ δ' ἕτερόν τις ἐπ-
ΙCENENΚΕΙΕΙΕΤ	ισενένκει εἰ(s) τ-
15 OMN-MEION ^{ΕCΤΕΤΩ} ΠΡΟΣ	ὁ μνημεῖον ἔστε [αὐ]τῷ πρὸς [τὸν Θεόν.]

This adds one more to the dated Christian inscriptions of the third century: the year is 260 A.D.

No. 22.

At Kilter in a fountain: a mere fragment.

ΙΙΟΥΚΕΤΗC VNBHOY Δ V T O V K E I O N , I E K
N O N Δ Y T O Y + E K Y M I Θ I + Δ O Y Λ O C T O Y

¹ I give the statement on the authority of Smith's *Dict.*, having no means of verifying it in Smyrna.

² ME in 1, ΗΠ in 2, TE in 3, HP in 4, HK in 5, MN, &c., in 12, NE and NK in 14, *lib.*

[τὸ κοιμητήριον Ἀνάστασι]ου καὶ τῆ[s] συνβήου αὐτοῦ καὶ [τ]ῶν [τ]έκνων αὐτοῦ + ἐκυμίθι ὡ δούλος τοῦ [Θεοῦ ἔτει κ.τ.λ.

This inscription is far later than the preceding, as is shown by the style of letters, by the spelling (ἐκοιμήθη, τῶν τέκνων, &c.), and by the distinctively Christian formulas.

In the Christian sepulchral inscriptions we find (1) a perfect identity with sepulchral pagan formulas; the dated examples 190-220 A.D. Many of these inscriptions must always remain unknown, as containing nothing distinctively Christian. (2) The penalty of violating the tomb ἔσται πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν: the dated examples 249-260. Instead of a penalty to an earthly ruler, the tomb is placed under the care of God. (3) Similar formula more distinctively Christian in style, τὸν ζῶντα Θεόν, &c., no dated example. (4) κοιμητήριον or some such expression of Christian faith instead of the pagan ἡρώδον, no dated example. (5) Purely Christian formulas, ἐνθάδε κεῖται ὁ δούλος τοῦ Θεοῦ: all known to me are evidently late.

XVIII. BRIA. This town is known from a few rare coins which bear the legend ΒΡΙΑΝΩΝ, as those of Seiblia ΣΕΙΒΛΙΑΝΩΝ, of Alia ΑΛΙΗΝΩΝ, &c. The name is an interesting one: it is the old Phrygo-Thracian word meaning *town*,¹ which gradually passed into a proper name. It occurs as the second element in the Thracian Menebria, Poltyobria, and Selymbria or Salybria. So the common termination *-assos*² is used alone as the name of a town in Mysia; *teira* occurs in Thyateira, *the village (?) of the goddess Thyā*,³ and is also used as the name of a town in the Cayster valley.

Bria was a bishopric in the Byzantine period, and its bishop was styled ὁ Βριάων, just as the bishop of Alia was styled ὁ Ἀλίων (contracted for Ἀλινῶν). This title has produced in Hierocles, who is often much influenced by the ecclesiastical lists, the name Βρίαυα. Writers on numismatics have imitated this error, and the name Briana has now firmly established itself. These writers have coined a similar false name from some Lydian coins which bear the legend ΤΟΜΑΡΗΝΩΝ; the name Tomarena is regularly employed instead of the obviously correct

¹ Steph. Byz. s.v. Μεσημβρία.

² Compare Thyessos, *the peak of*

³ Assos, probably ak-yo-s, *the peak.* Thyā.

Tomara.¹ The coins of Lydia and Phrygia bear as legend the genitive plural of the ethnic.

Between the Banaz Tchai, the Burgas Dagħ, the Isheklü Ova, and the Tchal Ova, there extends a wide district which is a blank on Kiepert's map. Some parts of it are fertile, and many villages, one—Karahallü—much larger than Isheklü, are dotted over it. The ancient town of this district was situated in the neighbourhood of Suretlü and Garbasan. According to the order of Hierocles, this town must be Bria.

No. 23.

On a sepulchral *bomos* at Garbasan. W.M.R.

	ΑΥΡΑΛΕΞΑΝ	Αὐρ. Ἀλέξαν-
	ΔΡΟΣΩΡΕΛΛΙ	δρος Ὁρελλί-
	ΟΥΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥ	ον κατεσκεύ-
	ΧΑΤΟΚΥΜΗΤΗ	ασα τὸ κυμητή-
5	ΙΟΝΕΜΑΥΤΩ	ρ]ιον ἐμαντῶ
	ΚΑΙΤΗΓΥΝΑΙΚΙ	καὶ τῇ γυναικί
	ΜΟΥΑΛΥΠΙΑ	μου Ἀλυπία.

The word *κοιμητήριον* shows that the inscription is Christian; it can hardly be later than the fourth century, but already distinctively Christian technical terms are beginning to establish themselves in place of the old formulas common to Pagan and Christian tombs.

No. 24.

On an elaborately carved *bomos* at Suretlü. W.M.R.

	ΚΑΙΤΩΑΝΔΡΙΑΥΤΗ	[ἡ δεῖνα κατεσκεύασα ἑαυτῇ]
	ΔΙΟΔΟΤΩΚΕΤΟΙΣ	καὶ τῶ ἀνδρὶ αὐτῇ[s
	ΓΛΥΚΥΤΑΤΟΙΣΤΕ	Διοδότῳ κὲ τοῖς
	ΚΝΟΙΣΑΥΤΗΣΦΙΟ	γλυκυτάτοις τέ-
5	ΓΙΩΚΕΤΑΤΙΑΚΑΙ	κνοῖς αὐτῆς Φ[ρ]ο[v
		γίῳ κὲ Τατία καὶ

¹ The river Kissos is mentioned on a coin of Tomara in the collection of Mr. Lawson.

- | | | |
|----|---------------------------|----------------------------------|
| | ΤΗΘΡΕΠΤΗΡΟΔΟ | τῇ θρεπτῇ Ῥοδό. |
| | ΠΙ-MEXΙΔΕΖΩΟΝ | πῃ, μέχ[ρ]ι δὲ ζῶ ὄν. |
| | ΑΝΘΕΛΗΣΩΘΗΣ | ἂν θελήσω θῆσ[αι]. |
| | ΜΕΤΑΔΕΤΗΝΕΜΗ | μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐμῇ[ν] |
| 10 | ΤΕΛΕΥΤΗΝΟΥΔΕΝΙΕ | τελευτὴν οὐδένι ἐ- |
| | ΞΟΝΕΣΤΕΕΤΕΡΩΤΕΘΗΝΕ | ξὸν ἔστε ἐτέρω τεθῆνε, |
| | ΜΟΝΟΝΤΗΟΥΓΑΤΡΙΜΟΥΤΑ | μένον τῇ θυγατρὶ μου Τά- |
| | ΚΕΙΕΣΤΕΕΠΙΚΑΤΑΡΑΤΟΣΠΑΡΑ | τα· εἴ τις δὲ ἕτερον ἐπισενέ[ν]- |
| | ΤΑΕΙΤΙΣΔΕΕΤΕΡΟΝΕΠΙΣΕΝΕ | κει, ἔστε ἐπικατάρατος παρὰ |
| 15 | ΘΕΩΙΣΤΟΝΕΩΝΑ ¹ | Θεῶ ἰς τὸν ἑῶνα. |

This inscription is much earlier than the preceding, and belongs probably to the middle of the third century. It is obviously Christian. The engraver has inverted lines 13 and 14 (see above on No. 14). *θῆσ[αι]* in line 8, is apparently intended as aorist participle: the regular formula requires this restoration. *θῆσ[ω]* is perhaps the reading.

No. 25.

At Suretlü, beside the preceding on a sepulchral *domos* exactly similar to the last, and belonging certainly to the same period, probably to the same family: it is therefore also probably Christian. W.M.R.

- | | | |
|----|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| | Μ ΕΛΤΙΝΗΚΕΦΡΟ Υ | [ἡ δεῖνα κατεσκεύασα τῷ τέκνῳ] |
| | Γ ΙΩΤΩΑΝΔΡΙΑ Υ | Μελτίνῃ καὶ Φρου- |
| | ΤΗΣΚΕΦΡΟΥΓ ΙΩ | γίῳ τῷ ἀνδρὶ αὐ- |
| | ΛΟ ΥΚΙΑΝΗΣΚΑΙ ΤΗ | τῆς καὶ Φρουγίῳ |
| 5 | ΘΡΕΠΤΗΜΟΥ | Λουκιανῆς καὶ τῇ |
| | Α ΣΣ ΕΝΩΚΗΔΕ Υ | θρεπτῇ μου |
| | ΟΗ ΣΕΤΕΚΑΙΙ-ΝΥ | Β]άσσ[η]. ἐν ᾧ κηδευ- |
| | Φ ΗΤΟΥΦΡΟΥΓΙΟ Υ | θίσετε καὶ ἡ νύ- |
| | ΤΑΤΙΑΝΗΟΥΔΕΝΙΔΕΕ | μ]φη τοῦ Φρουγίου |
| 10 | ΞΟΝ ΕΡΩΤΕΘΗ ² | Τατιανῇ· οὐδενὶ δὲ ἐ- |
| | | ξὸν [ἔστε ἐτ]έρῳ τεθῆ[ναι κ.τ.λ.] |

¹ HM in 7, ME in 9, probably HN in 10, NE and HNE in 11, NE twice in 14, *lilce*.

² Incomplete at bottom. [H]E in 6, and HN in 7, *lilce*.

On coins of Alia, a magistrate Phrougios is mentioned under Gordian. These two inscriptions belong to the same period. The coincidence prompted me for a long time to place Alia here, but the position is irreconcilable with Hierocles. The name Phrougios, is not common: it occurs at Laodiceia Com-busta, *C.I.G.* 3989, and a place in the agora of Hieropolis was named Phrougis.¹ It is probably not derived from the Latin *Frugi*, but is rather a native Phrygian name, derived from the national name like the very common Karikos from Caria.²

XIX. SEBASTE. The Banaz Ova is bounded on the east by the Burgas Dagħ, a fine mountain which rises perpendicularly from the plain, on the right of the road from Isheklü to Ushak or to Acmonia. The Burgas Dagħ is continued to the north by a similar but lower ridge of mountains, beneath which Sebaste was built. From this range several streams run down to join the Banaz Tchai, making the country immediately below the mountains a perfect garden. We rode for hours amid orchards, a rare pleasure to travellers on the generally treeless plateau. In the most fertile part of this district, where the growth is most luxuriant, lay the ancient Sebaste; and its place is now filled by three modern villages, Seljüklér, Sivaslú, and Bounar-bashi,³ with its abundant springs of water. Beside Seljüklér there are several tumuli, one of which has recently been opened and the finely-built sepulchral chamber inside has been thus exposed to view. The ancient city doubtless lies within the equilateral triangle with sides about one and a quarter miles in length, which is formed by these three villages, but in such a well cultivated spot no traces except the tumuli are visible *in situ*. Inscriptions abound in the villages.

Arundel, who visited the site, thought that it was Eucarpia.⁴ Hamilton discovered an inscription with the name Sebaste, and observed that the ancient name was still preserved in the modern Sivaslú.⁵

¹ See my paper on Abercius in *J.H.S.* iii. p. 349.

² My remark in the last number of this Journal, p. 38, note 2, must therefore be corrected. Phrougios also at Cotaion and Aizani.

³ Seljüklér, the *Seljuks*; Bounar-bashi, head of the springs.

⁴ It must be said, in justice to Arundel, that he placed Sebaste only three or four miles to the west of Seljüklér.

⁵ The modern form is evidently due to 'false analogy': '-lu or -lü,' 'endowed with,' is an exceedingly common termination in Turkish.

We copied nineteen inscriptions in the three villages, most of which have been already published. I confine myself here to correcting error in the published texts.

Lebas, No. 730. In line 3 for ΚΛ[ι]ταν Νεάρχου read ΚΛ[αυ]δίαν Νεάρχου. — In 5 Lebas reads [τ]αμίαν. M. Waddington, who edits the inscription from Lebas's copy, was misled into the belief that a letter is wanting and reads [Σ]αμίαν. There is no need to supply any letter: it is true that there is a gap at the end of line 4, but I was convinced that no letter had ever been engraved in it. Afterwards, seeing the reading given in Lebas, I asked Mr. Sterrett on his second visit to verify this point carefully: he entirely agreed with me. The true reading is ΚΛ[αυ]δίαν Νεάρχου θυγατέρα Ἀμίαν: the most correct order when a person has two names is to give the first, then the name of the father, then the second. The insertion of *θυγατέρα* in this case, complicates the expression a little. In 20 for Μηνιος read probably Μηνο[γενης]: the letter following O is the lower half of an Ι or Γ or such letter.¹

In No. 737, our copy differs much from that of Lebas: the latter is unintelligible without the supposition that a line has been omitted.

No. 26.

	ΤΟΥΣΥΟΒ	Ἔ]τους νοβ'
	ΥΡΠΑΥ	Α]ύρ. Παῦ-
	ΛΟΞΕΥΓΕΝΙ	λλ]ος Εὐγενί-
	ΕΡΜΑΓΟ	ου] Ἑρμαγό-
5	ΥΚΤΗΣΑ	ρο]υ κτησά-
	ΙΟCΤΟΥΤΟ	μεν]ος τοῦτο
	ΔΟΝΜΗΖ ²	ἡρ]ῶον μη(νὸς) ζ'

This inscription is dated in the seventh month (about March—April), 388, A.D. The expression *ἡρῶον* occurring so late as 388, inclines me to think that the inscription is not Christian, but pagan. The spelling Παῦλλος is also more suitable to a pagan inscription; a Christian would have been more likely to spell his name like the Apostle. At the same time the number

¹ No. 731 is correct.

² The first letter in 7 is certainly ω.

of Christian inscriptions in Sebaste would suggest that the district was early converted to the new religion, and the word *ἡρώων* occurs in a Christian inscription dated A.D. 353 (Lebas, no. 735). Not very far away an undoubtedly pagan inscription is dated A.D. 314 (see No. 36).

In the six inscriptions published by a writer in the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 1883, p. 448 ff., the following corrections must be made:

No. 1, p. 449: in the last line for *ἔτους πθ'* read *ἔτους σπθ.*

No. 2, p. 451: in line 10 for *ποιησαμένης* read *προνοησαμένης*.

No. 3, p. 452—3: in lines 2—3 for *Ἀσκληπιάδου Ἑρμογένους* read *Ἀσκληπιάδου τοῦ Ἑρμογένους*: in line 5 for *Θεογένης* [.....]να read *Θεογένης Παπᾶ*: in lines 30—1, col. 1, for *Μηνόφιλος Βλέπιδος φύσει Εὐπάτορος* read *Μηνόφιλος β' Λέπιδος φύσει Εὐπάτορος*: in line 32, col. 1, for *Ἰλέγων* read *Φλέγων*: in lines 40—41, col. 1, for *Ἀλέξανδρος Μελίτωνος ΛΟΝ, Διόδωρος Ξανθίππου Γεῖνος*, read *Ἀλέξανδρος Μελίτωνος Λονγεῖνος, Διόδωρος Ξανθίππου*: in line 40, col. 2, for *Ἴπποκρίτου τοῦ καὶ Νοντάνου* read *Μηνοκρίτου τοῦ καὶ Μοντάνου*.¹ In line 46 this writer reads *Γέμιος Δάδων*: the stone seemed to Mr. Sterrett and to me to read *Δάδων*, so also the impression. I should be much inclined to read *Γέλλιος*, but the two letters ΛΑ were certainly joined, Μ, on the stone.

No. 4, p. 456: in line 1, *ΙΤ* is clearly a *lettre liée* of Ν and Τ, it may possibly be a contraction of [*Α*]ντ(ώνιος): in line 2, for *παντοπώλης* read *παντοπώλης*. The letters on the stone are clear, distinct, and I had almost said unmistakable.

No. 5, p. 457. We did not see this inscription: the interpretation of lines 6—7 given in the *Bulletin* is obviously wrong, as it makes Attalos at once father and child of his four sons. It must be read *πατρὶ φιλοτέκνω* on the supposition that the engraver has twice engraved ΤΕ. The numerous errors in this writer's transcripts do not allow us to credit the name *Θεοξένης*,

¹ The writer in the *Bulletin* remarks *ma copie et mon estampage portent Νοντάνου*. My copy and the impression now before me bear *Μοντάνου* distinctly. In order to leave no doubt on the

numerous errors of the writer in the *Bulletin*, Mr. Sterrett undertook a two days' journey to Sebaste to compare once more the text of the *Bulletin* with the stones.

an unheard of word, though he assures us that Ξ is certain: pending another copy, we correct to Θεογένης.

No. 6, p. 457: line 1, place a point after Λ : lines 5 and 6 are complete ECTAI (not $\epsilon\sigma[\tau\epsilon]$ as the writer restores), and ΘΕΟΝ.

I have to add that the date by month and day, in Nos. 2 and 4, which the writer in the *Bulletin* hesitates about, is very common in Phrygia: many examples may be found in the present paper. The inscriptions, Nos. 4 and 6, must be added to the Christian inscriptions of the third century: No. 4 is dated 256 A.D. The inscription of the physician Aur. Messalas, published correctly by M. Waddington in Lebas, is also Christian of the third century. No. 735 in Lebas is a Christian inscription dated 353 A.D.

XX. PALAIO-SEBASTE.—About four or five miles north of Sivaslü, there is a tchiflik or farm called Payamalan. The walls of the farm-house are full of inscriptions, which were said to have been brought from a 'kale' about a mile to the west. I visited this *kale*, and found on a hill with precipitous sides slight traces of a Greek town. On the sides of the hill I saw two marble tombstones with part of the Greek inscriptions on them. The character of this site is strikingly like that of Acmonia. There is every probability that in an earlier and more unsettled time it was the chief city of the district, and that Sebaste in its beautiful but defenceless situation supplanted it in a more peaceful age. The relation between the two is the same as exists between Palaion Bendor and Synnada.¹

Two of the five inscriptions which I copied at the tchiflik belong to a very early period, probably before the time when the place yielded to the growing importance of the more fortunate Sebaste, and sank into the condition of a mere village.

¹ See Hirschfeld, in *Monatsb. Berl. Akad.* 1879, p. 312.

No. 27.

In the wall of the tchiflik Payamalan : W.M.R.

ΤΙ	ΠΙΩΙΚΑΙ	Τι[βε]ρίω Καί-
ΣΑΡΙΘ		σαρι Θ[εοῦ Σε-
ΑΣΙΟΥ	ΣΕ	β]ασ[τ]οῦ [νίω] Σε-
ΒΑΣΤΩΙΕ	Ε	βαστῶ ἰε[ρ]ε[ῖ] μεγίστῳ κ.τ.λ.

No. 28.

In the same place as No. 27 : W.M.R.

ΟΝΕΝΟΛΩ
ΙΑΚΑΛΩΣΚΑΙΑΜΕΜ
ΟΣΠΑΝΤΑΣΠΡΟΣΕΝΗΝΕ
ΝΔΕΞΙΩΣΚΛΙΠΡΟΗΓΗΜΕ
5 ΝΟΝ ΓΗΠΑΤΡΙΔ ΝΤΟΤΕΕΝ
ΤΟΙΣΚΟΙΝΟΙΣΚΑΙΜΗΔΕΠΟΤΕΦΕΙ
ΣΑΜΕΝΟΝΕΝΕΠΙΔΩΣΕΣΙΝΚΑΙ
ΑΝΑΛΩΜΑΣΙΝΚΑΙΠΑΝ ΥΝΙΑΙΣ
ΕΝΤΕΤΗΠΟΛΕΙΗΜΩΝΕΠΙΣΗΜΩΣ
10 ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΗΣΑΝΤΑΚ ΑΓΟΡΑΝΟ
ΜΗΣΑΝΤΑΚΑΙΜΗΦΕΙΣΑΜΕΝΟΝ
ΑΝΑΛΩΜΑΣΙΝΚΑΙΠΑΝΨΗΦΕΙ·
ΓΙΙΤΑΤΕΤΕΙΜ

γέγ]ονεν ολω
τ]α καλῶς καὶ ἀμέμ-
πτως]ος πάντας προσενηνε-
]ν δεξιῶς κ[α]ὶ προηγημέ-
5 νον [έν]τῇ πατρίδι [.]ν τότε έν
τοῖς κοινοῖς καὶ μηδέποτε φει-
σάμενον έν ἐπιδ[ό]σεσιν καὶ
ἀναλώμασιν καὶ παν[θ](οι)νίαις
έν τε τῇ πόλει ἡμῶν ἐπισήμως
10 στρατηγήσαντα κ[αὶ] ἀγορανο-
μήσαντα καὶ μὴ φεισάμενον
ἀναλώμασιν καὶ πανψήφει
..... τετειμ[ημένον κ.τ.λ.]

The second of these inscriptions is of the later Hellenistic style, and is unlikely to be much later than the Roman occupation: it may be compared with an inscription of Synnada published by me in *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, June 1883, p. 424. It is not by mere accident that these two inscriptions belong to a period so very poorly represented in Phrygia. In 8, if the restoration *πavθovίαις* is correct, it would be a remarkable example of *v* for *oi* in the first century B.C.

XX. *bis*. ALOUDDA, ELOUZA.—After spending a long time looking for the Roman road from Acmonia to Philadelphia, I feel confident that it went by Hadjimlar and Bei Sheher.¹ These two places are ancient sites, and though the distances do not exactly agree with the Peutinger Table, yet I have no hesitation in calling them Aloudda and Clannoudda. With a slight correction the Roman road may be read Acmonia 25 Aloudda 20 Clannoudda 45 Philadelphia.

Except in Ptolemy and the Peutinger Table Aloudda is never mentioned. According to the principles laid down, we cannot admit that a town on an important road and in a good situation should not appear in the Byzantine lists. The explanation seems to be that Aloudda is the same as Elouza: the termination *dda*, so common in Phrygian town-names, is a modification of the simple *ya* passing through the intermediate form *dya* into *dda* and *za*.²

XXI. DIOS KOME.—The name is known only from an inscription which I found in the wall of the mosque at Tabaklar. It is engraved on poor marble, and the surface is in a very bad condition; I spent more than an hour without being able to satisfy myself as to the reading. The site of Dios Kome is unknown, as it is impossible to say where the stone was found, but it should be at no great distance north-west of Seljukler. The date 330 is the third year of the emperor Philip and his son, 246 A.D., about the month of August. The name of the emperor has been erased.

¹ Besh Sheher on Kiepert's map, on the authority of Arundel.

² From the Lydo-phrygian *Alu-* comes *Aloudda*, as from *Attu-* *Attoudda*.

Alu-, the impetuous, Sanskrit *arvan*, is the Greek *Aru-*. *Alu* and *ala*, horse in Carian, are closely related.

No. 29.

In the outer wall of the mosque, Tabaklar : W.M.R.

ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΙ	Αὐτοκράτορι [Καίσαρι]
Name	[Μ. Ἰουλίῳ Φιλίππῳ]
erased	[Γερμανικῷ καὶ τῷ σύμ-]
ΠΑΝΤΙΟΙΚΩΓΩΝΣΕΒΑΣΤ	παντι οἰκῷ [τ]ῶν Σεβαστ[ῶν
5 ΤΟΥΣΤΑΒ ΔΕΚΑΤΟΥ Η	ἔτους τλ', [μηνὸς] δεκάτου, ἡ
ΔΙΟΣΚΩΛΤ ΩΝΚΑΤΟΙΚΙΑ	Διοσκωμ[ητ]ῶν κατοικία
ΨΑΛΛΑΠΡΟΤΑΤΗ ΣΕΒΑ	τῆς λαμπροτάτης Σεβα[σ-
ΗΝΩΝΠΟΛΕΩ ΕΚΤΩΝ	τηνῶν πόλεως ἐκ τῶν [ι-
ΙΩΝΠΟΡΩΝ ΓΟΝΚΑ	δ]ίων πόρων [. . . γ ο ρ τ]ον κα[τ-
10 ΕΣΚΕΥ ΕΠΙΜΕΛΗΣΑ	σκευ[ασαν]. Ἐπιμελησα-
ΜΕΝΩΝ ΑΤΙΣΥΓΛΥΚ	μένων [. . . Ἐγν]ατί[ο]ν Γλυκ-
ΙΑΝΟΥ ΤΙΑ	ων]ιανού [καὶ . . . Ἐγνα]τια-
ΣΥΠΕΤΡΩΝ ΝΟΥΚΑΙΑ	ν]οῦ Πετρων[ια]νοῦ καὶ [Αἰ ?
ΙΟΥΕΓΝΑΤ Σ ΟΝΓΟΥΚΑ	λ]ίου Ἐγνατίου Δ]όνγου κα[ὶ
15 ΛΙΟΥ ΝΑΤΙΟ ΑΙΤΟΥΚΑ	Αἰ]λίου Ἐγνατίου [ν Π]αίτου καὶ
ΤΙΑΝΟΥΕΓΝΑΤΙΟΥΚΛΩΔΙΑ	?]ιανου Ἐγνατίου Κλωδια-
ΝΟΥΚΑ	νοῦ κα[ὶ Λέν-
ΓΟΥ	γου

XXII. ACMONIA.—The site is well known. Besides the great strength of its situation, the city was very near the natural highway by which alone communication is maintained between the Banaz Ova and the cities to the north and north-east, and on the road from the Banaz Ova to the east.

No. 30.

At Shabban, about an hour north-east of Acmonia. Complete at bottom, broken at top and both sides,

ΕΙ
ΟΝΣΕΡΟΥΗΝΙΟΝΛΟ
ΙΑΙΑΚΟΡΝΟΥΤΟΝΔΕΙ
ΤΙΤΩΝΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΙΚΩΝΔΙΝ/

5

ΑΜΙΑΝΔΗΜΟΥΡΩΜΑΙΩΝΕΠΑΙ/
 ΚΥΠΡΟΥΑΓΟΡΑΝΟΜΟΝΣΤΡΑΤΗΓ
 ΠΡΕΣΒΕΥΤΗΝΚΑΙΑΝΤΙΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΙ
 ΜΑΡΚΩΑΠΩΝΙΩΣΑΤΟΥΡΝΕΙΝΩΑΣΙ/
 ΕΠΑΡΧΕΙΑΣΤΟΝΕΑΥΤΗΣΕΥΕΡΓΕΤ

ον Σερουήνιον Λο

Αἰμ]ιλία Κορνοῦτον δε[κέμουιρα
 ἐπ]ὶ τῶν κληρονομικῶν δικα[στηρίων

5

τ]αμίαν δήμου Ῥωμαίων ἐπα[ρχείας
 Κύπρου, ἀγορανόμον, στρατηγ[όν,
 πρεσβευτὴν καὶ ἀντιστρατηγὸν
 Μάρκῳ Ἀπώνῳ Σατουρνείῳ Ἀσι[άρχῃ
 ἐπαρχείας τὸν ἐαυτῆς εὐεργέτην.

Acmonia seems to have been the station of one of the three *legati Augusti pro praetore*. The name Servenia Cornouta is already known both at Acmonia and at Ancyra of Galatia.¹ The rendering of *decemvir stlitibus judicandis* is new.

After the site of Peltae has been fixed, it follows from the account of Xenophon that Acmonia must be Keramon Agora. There can be little doubt that Hamilton has fixed Caystri Pedion and the fountain of Midas correctly, so that the route of the Ten Thousand is now definitely traced for a long way.

XXIII. ALIA.—There was an ancient site at Kirka, between Susuz Keui and Hadjimlar. The order in Hierocles shows that this must be Alia. The name Alia has been much distorted in the Byzantine lists: *ὁ (ἐπίσκοπος) Ἀλιηνῶν* became *ὁ Ἀλίνων*, and Hierocles elicited from this the name of a city "*Ἀλινοί*,"² which has been altered by an error of the scribe to "*Ἀδιοί*."

¹ Mordtmann, *Marmora Ancyrana*; Franz, *Fünf Inschriften*.

² So Hierocles makes out of *ὁ Βριάνων* a town Briana, see above, XVIII. Such facts as these prove that Hierocles constructed his lists from the

bishoprics of his day. His Tianai or Tiarai of Asia is formed from *ὁ Τιανῶν*: the town is Tia, i.e. Attea: the bishop is in the Notitiae *ὁ Σιδών*. The bishop of Kolose or Koloe is sometimes *ὁ Κολώνης*.

No. 31.

In a fountain beside Kirka on a marble stele containing a relief representing the god Men half-length, standing slightly to the right, wearing a high Phrygian cap and with the crescent on his shoulders. W.M.R.

ΑΓΑΘΗΤΥΧΗΕΤΟΥCC·Ν·Δ	
ΜΗΝΙΑCΚΑΗ	ΑΝΕΘΗΚΑΝ
ΝΩ	Relief
ΦΡΑΤΡΑΗΛΙ	repre-
ΟΦΩΝΤΟC	sending
ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ	the
ΚΑΙΠΟΝΠΕ	god
ΙΟΥΜΑΡ	Men
ΚΟ	
Υ	

Ἀγαθὴ Τύχη. Ἔτους σνδ'. Μηνὶ Ἀσκαηνῶ Φράτρα Ἡλιοφώντος Ἀντιόχου καὶ Πονπελοῦ Μάρκου ἀνέθηκαν.

The reading is certain: the date 170 A.D. Men Askaenos is known at Eumeneia, at Sardis, at Antioch of Pisidia,¹ at Aphrodisias, and at Apollonia of Pisidia. His worship at Apollonia is proved by the following inscription, hitherto unpublished.

No. 32.

At Apollonia, in the wall of the Greek church in the citadel; copied by Sir C. Wilson.

ΟΡΟΣΙΕΡΟΣΚΑΙΑΣΥ
ΛΟΣΘΕΟΥΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥ
ΜΗΝΟΣΑΣΚΑΗΝΟΥ

The god Men, represented exactly as on the relief, occurs on coins of Alia, Mionnet, no. 130, &c.

XXIV. IOUCHARATAX?—This name is obviously corrupt. It has been supposed to conceal Cotyaion, which does not occur in

¹ By a correction of the text of Strabo: see Waddington on Lebas, No. 668.

Hierocles : but this violates geographical order, and I shall prove below that we must find Cotyaion under the temporary name Eudocias. The order in Hierocles shows that we must look for the place whose name has been disfigured as Ioucharatax south of Mount Dindymos and east of Trajanopolis. In the required situation there is a deserted ancient site called Kilisseh, at the head-waters of the Hammam Su, one mile north of the village Otourak. Inscriptions from this village have been already published in the *Corpus*. We found two others, one of which had been recently excavated at the Kilisseh.

The name Otourak has clearly been preserved from ancient time, and assists us to find the true old name. The ending of that name is certainly Charax, 'stockade.' Stephanus mentions four towns of this name in Asia ; one is in Phrygia and is called Charax Alexandri.¹ Of similar character are the names *Panemou Teichos* in Pamphylia, *Gordiou Teichos* in Caria, *Neon Teichos* in Lydia. On these analogies I have no hesitation in writing Charax as the second element in the corrupt Ioucharatax. The first element must remain uncertain, but is clearly analogous to Panemou and Gordiou. One thing is certain : it must contain the letter *t*, to account for the modern form, and for the corruption Ioucharatax. In observing the pronunciation of the Turkish peasants, I have been often struck with the fact that a guttural between two vowels disappears. For example, in this very district of Phrygia a village Ak Euren, *White Ruins*, is pronounced A' Euren : on the same analogy I suppose that Otourak descends from the older Otou' arak, Otoucharak. Again, on account of the assimilation of vowels which is a universal rule in Turkish, a form Atucharak would readily become Otoucharak. The conjecture is then easy that the original name was Atuo-charax, *the stockade of Atys* : Atys or Attys is a very common element in local names in Asia Minor generally, e.g. Attaia, Attouda, Atuos lophos, Atuocho-
rion, &c.

¹ The place is referred to by Nicetas Choniates in his history of the Emperor Manuel, under the name Charax : I

know no other place where it is mentioned.

The name Atuocharax was abbreviated at an early time; this will not surprise any one who reads through a list of local names in the *Acta Conciliorum*. Unfortunately the name in the *Notitiae* has suffered from the scribe as well as from vulgar pronunciation: it appears in the genitive plural 'Ωράκων, but probably the true form was similar to the modern Otourak, Ωτοράκων.

No. 33.

Otourak, on a marble stele. First side.

	ΕΤΟΥΣΤΗΚ-ΤΗΡ		Ἔτους τηρή, κὲ τηρ-
	ΩΝΕΝΤΟΛΑΘΑΝΑ ΤΩΝ		ων ἐντολὰς ἀθανάτων,
	Κ-ΕΓΩΙΜΕΟΛΑΛΩΝΠΑ		κὲ ἐγὼ ἴμε ὁ λαλῶν πιά-
	ΝΤΑΑΘΑΝΑΤΟΣΕΠΙ		ντα Ἀθάνατος Ἐπι-
5	ΤΥΝΧΑΝΟΣΜΥΗΘΙΣΥ		τύνχανος μυηθὶς ὑ-
	ΠΟΚΑΛΗΣΑΡΧΙΕΡΙΑΣ		πὸ καλῆς ἀρχιερίας
	ΔΗΜ ΟΤΙ ΚΗΣΚΑ		δημοτικῆς, κα-
	ΛΟΝΟ [Relief ΑΘΑΝΑ		λὸν ὄνομα,
	NOM defaced; a ΤΟΙΘ		. . . ἐν]πατ-
10	ΑΙΣ cross ΕΟΙΚ-		[ρίδι] ἀλη-
	ΠΑΤ rudely ΝΟ		θείας] ἦν ἐτίμησαν
	ΑΛΗ incised ΡΟΙΣ		ἀθάνατοι θεοὶ κὲ
	ΕΗΝΕ in its place] Κ-ΥΠΕ		(ἐ)ν ὄροις κὲ
	ΤΙΜΗΣΑΝ ΡΟΡΟΥ		ὑπὲρ ὄρους
15	ΣΕΛΥΤΡΩ		ἐλυτρώ-
	ΣΑΤΟΓΑΡΠΟΛΛΟΥΣΕΚΑ		σατο γὰρ πολλοὺς ἐκ κ(α)-
	ΚΩΝΒΑΣΑΝΩΝΑΡΧΙΕΡΕ		κῶν βασάνων Ἀρχιερέ-
	ΑΠΙΤΥΝΧΑΝΟΝΤΙΜΗΘΕ		α [Ε]πιτύνχανον τιμηθέ-
	ΝΤΑΥΠΟΘΕΩΝΑΘΑΝΑΤΩΝ		ντα ὑπὸ θεῶν ἀθανάτων
20	ΚΑΘΙΕΡΩΣΑΝΑΥΤΟΝΔΙΟΓ		καθιέρωσαν αὐτὸν Διογ-
	ΑΣΚ-ΠΙΤΥΝΧΑΝΟΣΚ-ΤΑΤΙΟ		ᾶς κὲ (Ἐ)πιτύνχανος κὲ Τάτιο-
	ΝΥΝΦΗΚ-ΤΑΤΕΚΝΑΑΥΤΩΝ		ν (ν)ύμφη κὲ τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν
	ΟΝΗΣΙΜΟΣΚ-ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ		Ὀνήσιμος κὲ Ἀλέξανδρος
	Κ-ΑΣΚΛΑΣΚ-ΠΙΤΥΝΧΑΝΟΣ		κὲ Ἀσκληᾶς κὲ (Ἐ)πιτύνχανος.

Second side.

	ΘΑΝΑΤΟΕΠΙΤΥΝΧΑ			Ἀθάνατος Ἐπιτύνχα-
	ΙΟΣΠΙΟΥΤΙΜΗΘΙΣΥΠΟΕΚΑ			ν]ος Πίου τιμηθίς ὑπὸ Ἐκά-
	ΤΗΣΠΡΩΤΗ	Re-	ΕΛΕΥΤΕ	της πρώτης, δεύτε[ρ-
	ΟΝΥΠΟΜΑ	lief:	ΝΟΥΔΑΟΥ	ον ὑπὸ Μάνου Δάου
5	ΛΙΟΔΡΟΜΟ	radia-	ΥΔΙΟΣΤΡΙ	Ἡ]λιοδρόμου Δίος, τρί-
	ΤΟΝΦΟΙΒΟΥ	ted	ΑΓΧΗΓΕΤΟ	τον Φοίβου Ἀρχηγέτου
	ΧΡΗΣΜΟ	head.	ΔΟΤΟΥΛ	Χρησμοδότου Ἀ-
	ΛΗΘ	Relief de-	ΩΕΔΩ	ληθῶς δῶ-
	ῶΝ	faced; horse-	ΕΛΑΒ	ρ]ον ἔλαβ-
10	ΩΝ	man to the	ΧΡΗΣ	ο]ν χρησ-
	Ο	right, carry-	ΔΟΤΙ	μ]οδότι-
	Ι	ing battle-	ΑΛΗ	ν ἀλη-
	Ι	axe	ΑΕΝ	θε]ίας ἐν
	Π	over	ΑΤΡΙ	πατρί-
15	ΔΙ	his	Κ-ΝΟ	δι κὲ ἐν ὄ-
	ῶΟ	shoulder.	ΙΕΧΡ	ρ]οις χρ-
	-Ε		ΜΟΔ	η]σμοδ-
	ΟΤ	IN		ότιν
	ΝΟ	ΜΟΥΣΤΙΘΙΝΕ	ΝΟΡΟΙΣ	νόμους τιθ(ε)ῖν? ἐν ὄροις ¹
20	ΡΗCΜΟ	Re-	ΔΟΤΙΝ	χ]ορησμοδότιν
	ΙΑCΙΝΤ	lief:	ΟΥΤΟΕΧΩΔΩ	π]ᾶσιν τοῦτο ἔχω δῶ-
	ΟΝΕΞ	bust	ΑΘΑΝΑ	ρ]ον ἐξ ἀθανά-
	ΤΩΝΠΑ	with	ΝΤΩΝ	των πάντων
	ΑΘΑΝΑ	hands	ΤΩΠΡΩ	Ἀθανάτῳ πρώ-
25	ΤΩΑΡΧΙ	folded	ΕΡΙΚΛ	τῷ ἀρχιερ(ε)ῖ κ[α-
	ἈΛΙΤΕΚ	over	ΝΩΠΙΩ	λ]λιτέκῳ Πίῳ
	Κ-ΜΗΤΡΙ	the	ΤΑΤΙΕΙ	κὲ μητρὶ Τατιεῖ
	ῚΡΙΗΕΤ	breast.	ΕΤΕΚΕ	ἣ ἔτεκε
	ΚΑΛΑΤΕ		ΚΝΑΚΑ	καλὰ τέκνα, κα-
30	ΛΟΝΟ		ΝΟΜΑ	λὸν ὄνομα,
	ΠΡΩΤΟ		ΝΑΘΑ	πρῶτον Ἀθά-
	ΝΑΤΟΝΕΠΙΤΥΝΧΑΝΟΝΑΡΧΙΕΡ			νατον Ἐπιτύνχανον ἀρχιερ-
	ΕΑCΩΤΗΡΑΠΑΤΡΙΔΟCΝΟΜΟΘΕ			ία, σωτήρα πατρίδος, νομοθέ-
	ΙC			τη]ς

¹ Perhaps τ[ι]ς[ε]ν.² With line 2-4 cp. Lebas, 805,

τειμηθέντα ὑπὸ Σωτείρης Ἐκάτης, at Cotsydon.

Third side.

ΘΑΝΑΤΟΙΠΡΩΤΟΙ Ἀ]θάνατοι πρῶτοι

Relief: [blank space]

bird to right ΑΡΧΙΕΡΙΣΟΜΑ ἀρχιερ(ε)ῖς ἐμά-

with a ring ΔΕΛΦΟΙΔΙΟΓ δελφοι Διογ-

in its ΑΣΚ-ΠΙΤΥ ἄς κὲ (Ἐ)πιτύ-

5 mouth. ΝΧΑΝ νχαν-

ΟΣΣΩ ος, σω-

ΤΗΡΕ τῆρε-

ΣΠΑΤ s πατ-

ΡΙΔΟ ρίδο-

10 ΕΝΟ s, νο-

ΜΟΘ μοθ-

ΕΤΕ ἐτ(αι).

This curious inscription, dated 314 A.D., presents a mixture of Christian and Pagan language, which is explained by the strong hold obtained by Christianity in this district as early as 200 A.D. The inscription appears to commemorate several members of one family, two of whom at least held the office of ἀρχιερεὺς in some pagan cultus. An expression in the first side, line 7, shows that Atyocharax was still a pagan town in 314 A.D., though it is certain that by this time some towns of Phrygia were entirely Christian.¹ I shall not attempt to explain all the difficulties in the epitaph, but I may mention that an impression is at the service of any scholar who wishes to investigate more completely any points in the inscription.

In the first side, line 3, occurs the modern Greek form εἶμαι or ἴμε: a case of the modern Greek form of third plural, ἐπιτηδεύουσιν, occurs in an inscription of Apameia,² probably not later than the fourth century.

The name Manes Daes (or Daos?), Heliodromos Zeus is a remarkable combination. Manes was father of Acmon, founder of the neighbouring town Acmonia,³ and was therefore doubtless

¹ A town of Phrygia in which every inhabitant and magistrate was Christian, is said by Eusebius, H. E. viii. 1, to have been burned in the time of Diocletian.

² I published it in *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1883, p. 310.

³ Steph. Byz. s.v. Acmonia. Manes and Men I believe to be the same word: *Journ. Hell. St.* 1883, p. 31.

the great god of this district identified with the Greek Zeus.

XXV. DIOCLEIA.—A coin in the British Museum is—Obv. Bust. (of Elagabalus) to right, laureated :¹

ΜΑΥΡΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟCΑΥΓ

Rev. Apollo standing right, holding plectrum and lyre, which rests on a pillar ; behind him, tripod.

ΔΙΟΚΛΕΑΝΩΝΝΟΙΕΑΝΩΝ

The following inscription, found by Mr. Sterrett, forms a good commentary on the coin :

No. 34.

In a fountain, ten minutes west of Dola, on the road to Emiras, J.R.S.S.

ΚΙΟΝCΕΨΙΜΙΟΝ
 CΕΥΗΡΟΝΠΕΡΤΙ
 ΝΑΚΑΣΑΡΜΑΤΙΚΟΝΓΕΡ
 ΜΑΝΙΚΟΝΒΡΕΤΑΝΙΚΟΝ
 5 ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΝΝΕΟΝΗΛΙΟΝ
 ΗΠΡΟΚΕΚΡΙΜΕΝ-ΤΟΥΜΟΞΕ
 \ΝΩΝΔΗΜΟΥΔΙΟΚΛΕΙΑ
 ΝΑΣΤΗΣΑΝΤΩΝΠΑΡΕ
 ΑΥΤΩΝΚΠΕΤΡΩΝΙΟΥΚΑ
 10 ΠΙΤΩΝΟΣΕΓΝΑΤΙΑΝΟΥΥΠΕΡ
 ΤΟΥΥΙΟΥΜΑΡΚΟΥ ΚΑΙΡΟΥΦΟΥΡΟΥ
 ΦΡΙΟΥΚΡΙΣΠΟΥΚΑΙΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ
 ΔΙ-Μ-ΙΤΡΙΟΥΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥ
 ΟΝΤΟCΤΟΥΔΗΜΟΥ
 15 ΜΑΡΚΟΥΒ'ΤΟΥΟΥΑ
 ΛΕΡΙΟΥΕΤΟΥC'CΠΑ²

The date is 197 A.D. In line 6 the phrase *ἡ προκεκριμένη τοῦ Μοξεανῶν δήμου Διοκλεῖα* is remarkable : Diocleia was the

¹ Prof. Gardner, who kindly sends me a note of this coin, adds that the emperor may be Caracalla.

² ΠΕ *lido* in 9, K very large ; does it stand for Κυρίου, guardian of his son in 10 ΠΕ *lido*.

most important of a number of villages in a district inhabited by the Moxeanoi. The name remains to the present time as Dola or Doghla. The form Diocleia is apparently one of those Grecisms which are constantly met with in Phrygia. Most of the MSS. of Ptolemy read $\Delta\acute{o}\kappa\epsilon\lambda\alpha$, and the modern form proves that this is the true native name.¹ In Dalmatia a similar case occurs: the village of Doclea, as Ptolemy and Pliny, iii. 28, name it, is usually Grecised at Dioclea. The emperor Diocletian, who was born here, bore first the native name Docles, then the Grecised Diocles, and finally the Latinised Diocletianus. The bishopric of Diocletianopolis (*Conc. Chalced.* 451 A.D.), in Pacatiana is, as Le Quien has observed, a false form or perhaps a temporary name of Diocleia.

The Moxeani are mentioned by Ptolemy. Their country was the hill-district between the Banaz Ova and the Sandykly Ova: it is well watered, and every stream flows through a narrow but fertile valley. Diocleia was situated in the largest and finest of these valleys near the head of the Ahat Keui Su, on the direct road from Acmonia to Eucarpia and the Pentapolis. This road is still important as the araba road from Ushak to Sandykly. The inscriptions of Aghar Hissar, a village three miles up the water from Dola, belong to Diocleia, and not as Lebas fancied (see M. Waddington's note to No. 770) to Eucarpia. The name Diocleia is spelt Dioclea on the coin described above.

I have already occupied too much space, but it may be useful to add here a few Christian inscriptions of early date from the same region from which so many have been published above, and in which Montanism seems to have been strong in the second century.

No. 35.

On a slab of stone in a fountain on the road from Sandykly to Ballyk, one hour north of the latter.

¹ It is doubtful whether the guttural = *Dola*, or whether it has been softened has been dropped between two vowels to *gh*, which is silent before *l*. (see above, XXV.), $\Delta\acute{o}\kappa\epsilon\lambda\alpha$ = *Do'cla*

ΜΑΡΚΟΥΛΠΙΟΥΣΝΕΚΤΑΡΕΟΥΚΑΙ
 ΜΑΡΚΟΥΛΠΙΟΥΣΙΟCΒΕΙΝΟC
 ΕΤΕΙΛΗ CANTONE
 ΑΥΤΩΝΠΑ ΤΕΡΑΕC



The date of this inscription is given by the names M. Ulpus Nektareos and M. Ulpus Sabinus. Sabinus is a name of the Flavian dynasty, and two brothers named M. Ulpus must have been born in the time of Trajan. The formula *ἐτείμησαν τὸν πατέρα* is common on pagan tombstones, and the direct simple nature of the epitaph would, on the principles we have laid down, be sufficient evidence to place this among the earliest Christian inscriptions. The religion of the family is proved only by a simple cross cunningly concealed among ornamental tracery. The final letters EC are unintelligible to me, unless they give the date, 205 = 121 A.D.¹ The inscription is complete. The fountain in which it was found is about three or four miles from Eucarpia, and six or seven from Hieropolis.

No. 36.

In the interior of the passage leading to the men's bath-room at the hot-springs near Hieropolis: on a small fragment of a marble *bomos*: complete at top and left, broken at right and bottom.

ΕΙΣΡΩΜ-Ι
 ΕΜΕΝΒΑΣ ΛΙ-Ι
 ΚΑΙΒΑΣΙΛΙΣ
 ΤΟΛΟΝΧΡ
 ΛΑΟΝΔΕΙΔΟΝ-
 ΣΦΡΑΓΕΙΔΑΝΕ
 ΚΑΙΣΥΡΙΗΣΠΕ
 ΚΑΙΔΑΣΤΕΑΠΑ
 ΕΥΦΡΑΤΗΝ ΛΙΛ

5

¹ This explanation did not occur to me for many months after finding the inscription: from the moment of find-

ing it I always assigned the date, on account of the nomenclature, as 115-30 A.D.

- 10 ΤΗΔΕΣΧΟΝΣΥΝΟ
 ΠΑΥΛΟΝΥΩΝΕΠΟ
 ΙΙΣΙΙΣΙ
 ΚΑΙΠΑΡΕΘΗΚΕ
 ΠΑΝΤΙ-ΠΙΧΘΥΝΑΓ
 15 ΠΑΝΜΕΓΕΘΙ-ΚΛΘ
 ΕΔΡΑΞΑΤΟΠΑΡΘΓ
 ΚΑΙΤΟΥΤΟΝΕΠ-
 /ΟΙΓΓΣΟ¹

This inscription is a fragment of the epitaph of Saint Abercius.² According to the legendary life of the Saint, he ordered his epitaph to be engraved on an altar brought from the hippodrome in Rome by the devil whom he cast out of the daughter of M. Aurelius. The stone on which the epitaph was engraved was a block of marble nearly square. One side was plain except for a circular garland or crown in the middle, and a broad double band of moulding round the edge. The other three sides were occupied by the inscription, which was engraved in a sunk panel surrounded by a broad band of moulding. The breadth of this panel on the side that remains must have been about fifteen to sixteen inches.

It is unfortunate that so small a fragment of so interesting an inscription has been preserved; but even this fragment confirms the traditional text in some of the most important points. There is a gap in the traditional text where the words are far too few to fill the measure. On the stone itself there has been a deep erasure precisely in this place. The traditional text was therefore written down from the stone after this erasure, obviously an intentional one, had been made. The two lines may have been erased from mere wantonness, but this is certainly very improbable. The erasure must have been made by a person who had some reason to obliterate precisely these lines: he must therefore have been a Christian, not a pagan, and it is an easy conjecture to make that the lines did or seemed to favour some

¹ Lines 11-12 erased; the tops of the letters in 11 and 18 alone are preserved, and the bottoms of the letters in 12.

² See Duchesne, *Saint Abercius*, in

Rev. des Quest. Histor., July 1883, pp. 1-33: de Rossi *Bull. d'Archéol. Chrét.*, 1882, p. 79: Duchesne, *Bull. Critique* t. iii. p. 135: also *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1882, Pt. II.

heresy, and were on that account removed by an orthodox zealot. Fragments of the letters have been left, sufficient to enable us to read the name Παῦλον at the beginning of the first line. This name, luckily so imperfectly erased, suggests a reason for the act. According to Gibbon's account,¹ the Paulicians placed Paul on a much higher rank than the other apostles: it is possible that the erasure was made from hatred of the Paulician heresy about the end of the seventh century. The Legend of the Saint can therefore not have been committed to writing earlier than the eighth century, and the theory which I formerly proposed in this Journal as to the date must be abandoned. At the same time I must add that the proofs I advanced at the same time to show that the legend grew in the valley of Sandykly and was written down by a person familiar with the locality, still appear to me correct.

In line 11, the sixth letter is Ν and Γ or Ε *liée*. In 15 ΝΜ, and in 17 ΝΕ, are *liée*. The number of letters in each line varies: the eight letters of Εὐφράτης occupy more space than those of καὶ ἄστυα π. The breadth of the first line is 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches, of 10 and 11, which are the longest, 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches. In the restoration of the doubtful passage 9—12, the first point to be settled is the end of the hexameters. In all other cases two lines of the inscription correspond to one hexameter, except perhaps 8 and 10. Here the traditional text certainly suggests that the arrangement is different, but I believe that even in this case it is safest to adhere to the general rule of the inscription.

The stone confirms the reading [πάν]τη in 10: the πάντας of some MSS. is therefore a correction adopted to give meaning to συνομηγύρους. Suspicion is thus thrown on the latter word which moreover offends against etymology and prosody. It has been usual² to accept this word as giving the tone of the passage, and merely to correct its form to συνομηγερέας, but there is no conceivable reason why συνομηγερέας should have been corrupted into such a form as συνομηγύρους. The truth is rather that the ending -ους was distinct on the stone, and that -μηγυρ- is a corruption or a conjecture to fill a gap. The

¹ The only one available to me at the time of writing.

² So Pitra and Dübner: Duchesne

accepts the general sense obtained by them, though doubting their exact reading.

proper word ends a hexameter and must be *συνο*[παδούς]. We have now a clear and singularly appropriate meaning for the whole passage: "everywhere I had companions—Paul in my hands and Faith guiding and feeding me." The restoration of the next line is doubtful, but the beginning *ΕΠΟ* and the verb *προῆγε* appear to prescribe *ἐπόπην*: "Faith went in front, and I followed with Paul." The rest of the line is restored by simple transposition of the traditional text: the awkward position of *δέ*, though permissible in such an epigram, was corrected by the copyist. The letter following *πίστις* began with a vertical stroke, and the traditional *πίστις δέ* seems untenable. The addition of *ν* to the accusative of decl. III. occurs in late Greek: moreover it was an ancient Phrygian inflection,¹ which often persists in Graeco-Roman inscriptions; *βασιλῆαν* may be accusative of *βασιλεύς*.²

Εἰς Ῥώμη[ν δς ἔπεμψεν] ἐμὲν βασ[ι]λῆ[αν ἀθρήσαι],
 Καὶ βασιλίσ[σαν ἰδεῖν χρυσός]τολον χρ[υσοπέδιλον].
 Λαὸν δ' εἶδον ἐ[κεῖ λαμπρὰν] σφραγίδαν ἔ[χοντα].
 Καὶ Συρίης πέ[δον εἶδα]καὶ ἄστεα πά[ντα, Νίσιβιν]
 Εὐφράτην δια[βάς· πάν]τη δ' ἔσχον συνο[παδούς·
 Π[α]ύλον ἔχων ἐπό[μην, Π]ίστις [πάντη δὲ προῆγε
 Καὶ παρέθηκε [τροφὴν] πάντη, Ἰχθὺν ἀπ[ὸ πηγῆς,
 Πανμεγέθη, καθ[αρόν, δν] ἐδράξατο Παρθέ[νος ἀγνή,
 Καὶ τοῦτον ἐπέ[δωκε φί]λοις ἔσθ[ειν διὰ παντός].

I do not know if there is any authority for the quantity of penult and antepenult in *Νίσιβιν*. I may add that an impression of this inscription is at the service of any scholar.

No. 37.

I can now at last give the complete text with perfect certainty of the epitaph of Alexander. The letter at the end of line 4 in the epigraphic text is not *ι*. The stone is broken close to the right side of the vertical stroke, but the beginning of a horizontal stroke projecting to the right from the top of the *ι* is just visible: the final letter is therefore either *Γ* or *Ρ*, and the context makes *Ρ* necessary. The word may be either *φανερὰν* or as

¹ See my paper on the Phrygian Language in *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1883, p. 32 of the reprint.

² *Βασιλῆαν* thus interpreted disagrees with M. Duchesne's allegorical interpretation.

M. de Rossi conjectures *φανερῶς*.¹ Lines 3—4 of the epigraphic text have lost three letters at the beginning and four at the end.

Ἐκλεκτῆς πό[λε]ως ὁ πολεῖ[της τ]οῦτ' ἐποι[ησα]
 Ζῶν ἔν' ἔχω φανε[ρῶς] σώματος ἔνθα θέσιν.

The rest of the text has always been correctly given, and need not be repeated. I prefer *φανερῶς* to *φανεράν*, as nearer the corrupt *καίρῳ* of the traditional text.

No. 38.

At Hodjalar, a village of the Moxeani, on the road from Pepouza to Diocleia, is an oblong tablet marked by lines on a slab of marble.

ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΙ

ΓΑΙΟΣΚΑΙΜΗΝΟΦΙΛΟΣΑΠΟΣΣΤΡΑΤΕΙΩΝ
 ΠΑΙΔΕΣΑΥΡΑΣΚΛΑΦΑΥΣΤΟΥΚΑΙΑΥΡ
 ΔΟΜΝΗΣΕΙΡΗΝΑ ΥΤΟΝΒ ΜΟΝΚΑΙΤ-Ν
 5 ΚΑΤΑΥΤΟΥΣΟΡΟΝΣΥΝΤΩΠΕΡΙΒΟΛΩΚΟΙ
 ΝΩΣΚΑΤΕΣΣΚΕΥΑΣΑΝΕΑΥΤΟΙΣΚΑΙ
 ΤΑΙΣΓΥΝΑΙΞΙΝΑΥΤΩΝΜΕΣΣΑΛΕΙΝΗ
 ΠΑΠΑΚΑΙΒΑΣΙΛΩΕΥΞΕΝΟΥΩΣΜΗΔΕΝΙ
 ΕΤΕΡΩΕΞΕΙΝΑΙΕΠΙΣΕΝΕΝΚΕΙΝΗΘΕΙΝΑΙ
 10 ΞΕΝΟΝΝΕΚΡΟΝΗΣΟΡΟΝΜΟΝΟΙΣΓΝΗΣΙΟΙΣ
 Ι-ΜΩΝΤΕΚΝΟΙΣΕΙΔΕΤΙΣΥΠΕΝΑΝΤΙΟΝΠΟΙΗ
 ΟΝΡΩΕΣΤΑΙΑΥΤΩΠΡΟΣΤΟΝΘΕΟΝ
 ΤΩΤΑΜΕΙΩ ΟΙΛΝΙΙΙΑ²

¹ The conjecture of M. de Rossi was unknown to me till after my return from Phrygia in October. The remarks made by me in *Rev. Archéol.* 1883, September, on the authority of Mr. Sterrett, require correction in this one point. In all others Mr. Sterrett's reading and measurements were perfectly accurate. I saw the stone in October. The first hasty copy of the stone made by me in November 1881, and published in *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1882, p. 518, was accurate in every

point except the reading *l* for *P*; but I did not observe that lines 3—4 were longer than lines 1—2.

² In 2 *T* and *E* *litt.*, in 9 the second *ε* of *ΕΞΕΙΝΑΙ* is a very small letter inserted as a correction between *Ξ* and *l*, in 10 *N* and *N* *litt.*, in 12 *ΟΝ* at the beginning are certain, but the left side of the following letter is blurred and may be either *P* or *Φ* or a *lettre lité*.

The style of this inscription, the form of the letters, and the way in which it is placed on the marble, show that it is very unlikely to be later than 250 A.D. The universal use of the *praenomen* Aurelius points to this epoch. The formula in line 10 shows that we have here the epitaph on the family tomb of two Christian soldiers: *Αὐρήλιοι Γάϊος καὶ Μηνόφιλος ἀπὸ στρατειῶν, παῖδες Αὐρ. Ἀσκληᾶ Φαύστου καὶ Αὐρ. Δόμνης Εἰρήνα[ίου] τὸν βαμὸν καὶ τὴν κατ' αὐτοῦ σορὸν σὺν τῷ περιβόλῳ κοινῶς κατεσκεύασαν ἑαυτοῖς καὶ ταῖς γυναῖξιν αὐτῶν Μεσσαλείην Παπᾶ καὶ Βασίλῳ Εὐξένου · ὥς μηδενὶ ἑτέρῳ ἐξεῖναι ἐπισευκεῖν ἢ θεῖναι ξένον νεκρὸν ἢ σορὸν, μόνοις γνησίοις τέκνοις · εἰ δέ τις ὑπεναντίον ποιῇ [σει] . . . , ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, [καὶ δώσει] τῷ ταμεῖρι, &c.*

Hodjalar may be the site of Tymion, the early seat of Montanism.

No. 39.

On a basis or *bomos* of very simple form in the village of Maghajil. W.M.R.

ΑΥΡ·ΔΙΟΝΟΙ	Αὐρ. Διονοί-
ΣΙΟΣΠΡΕΣΒ	σιος πρεσβ[ύ-
ΤΕΡΟΣΖΩΝΚΛ	τερος ζῶν κα-
ΤΕΣΚΕΥΑΣΕΝ	τεσκεύασεν
ΤΟΚΟΙΛΙ-Τ-ΡΙ	τὸ κοιμητήρι-
ΟΝΕΙ·ΡΙ-Ν-ΠΑΣΙ	ον· εἰρήνην πᾶσι
ΤΟΙΣΑΔΕΛΦΟ	τοῖς ἀδελφο-
Θ Θ ΙΣ	ῖς

The inscription, from the form of the letters, and the use of the term *κοιμητήριον*, is probably not earlier than the fourth century. The inscription belongs to Eucarpia.

No. 40.

On a basis of form similar to the last, in the same village. W.M.R.

ΑΥΡΙ-ΙΛΙΟΣ	Αὐρήλιος
ΑΣΚΛΙ-ΙΠΙ·ΑΔΙ-	Ἀσκληπιάδη[s]
ΕΠΟΙΗ-ΣΕΝΤΟ	ἐποίησεν το[ῦ]

	ΤΟΤΟΚΟΙΛΙ-	το τὸ κοιμη[τῆ
5	ΠΙΟΝΕΙΡΗΝΙ	ριον· εἰρήν[η
	ΠΑCΙ-ΙΤΙ-ΙΑΔΕ/	πάσῃ τῇ ἀδελ-
	ΤΙΚΑΙΟΓ	φότητ]ι, καὶ ἐ[ς ἂν
		[ἀνορύξῃ κ.τ.λ.]

This inscription is certainly of the same period as the preceding. Both belong to Eucarpia, and both mention the *κοινὸν τῶν ἀδελφῶν*, which is alluded to in an inscription of the same district belonging probably to the third century.¹ The salutation of peace which was in that century given to all that passed by is now strictly confined to the brotherhood.

I have used the name Pentapolis to designate the five ancient cities of the valley of Sandykly. The name is justified by the following signature attached to the *Act. Synod. V.*, 553 A.D. (Labbe, p. 223). *Paulus episcopus Stectorii civitatis, Pentapoliticae regionis, Phrygiae Salutaris provinciae*. The five cities are (1) Eucarpia, between the villages Mentesh, Maghajil, and Ille Mesjid, (2) Hieropolis, Kotch Hissar, (3) Otrous, Tchor Hissar, (4) Stectorion, Emir Hissar, (5) Brouzos, Kara Sandykly. I may felicitate myself on having long ago placed three of these cities² in this valley, and one on the exact site: the evidence available then was very slight.

I must here add an inscription, and a coin, which will I believe finally justify me in restoring Hieropolis to its place among the cities of the Roman Empire.

No. 41.

On a small column of marble in a cemetery between two little villages, both named Kuyujak, half an hour north of Kotch Hissar. The inscription is so complicated that I shall give it piecemeal. It was originally placed as a milestone of the emperor Probus, 276—82, but on the accession of Diocletian the name Probus was erased and Diocletian substituted in smaller and coarser letters. The horizontal stroke of the Π alone remains to show the original name.

¹ Copied by Hamilton at Sandykly: commented on by de Rossi, *Roma. Sotter. i. p. 106.*

² *Trois Villes Phryg. in Bull. Corr. Hell.*, July, 1882.

ΑΓΑΘΗΤΥχη
 ΤΩΑΙΩΝΙΩΙημλΩΝ
 ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΙ
 ΜΑΥΡ-ΔΙΟΚΛΗΤΙΑΙ σΕΒΑΣτω
 ΗΛΑΜΠΡΟΤΑΤΗ
 ΙΕΡΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ
 ΠΟΛΙΣ



So hurriedly was the alteration made, apparently in 284, immediately after the accession of Diocletian was reported and before his proper name was known, that the names M. Aurelius were left unaltered. Probably there had been a previous correction to insert the name of Carus, to whom M. Aurelius was proper.

In the year 286 a second inscription, in small rude letters, was added at the left side of the first, so close to it that lines 2, 3, of the new inscription are partly engraved in the spaces between lines 1, 2, and 2, 3 of the original.

bbNN
 ΙΜΡΡ·ΒΙΟCΛΕΤΙΛΝΙ
 ΕΤΜΛΧΙΜΙΛΝΙ
 ΙΝΙCΙΤ
 ΛΥC

In the year 292 another addition was made, beginning at the left side of the last line of the second inscription.

ΤΟΥCΕΠ
 ΦΛΝΕCΤΛ
 ΤΟΥCΚΛΙ
 CΛΡΛCΦΛΛ·ΟΥΛΛ
 ΚΩΝCΤΛΝΤΙΟΝ
 ΚΛΙΓΛΙΟΥΛΛΜΛΞΙΜΙΛΝΟ
 ΗΙΕΡΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Ν
 ΠΟΛΙC¹

¹ Apparently the Λ of Γαλ(έριος) was wrongly engraved.

Finally, at some later time, perhaps during the wars between Licinius and Constantine, the name of Constantius was erased, and herewith ends the strange eventful history of the milestone.

The coin in question is a small coarse one.

Obv. Female bust to left with turreted head, holding up the right hand in front of the face: behind her a cornucopia: **ΙΕΡΟΠΟΛΙΣ**.

Rev. **ΙΕΡΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ**: Asclepios standing facing, but with head turned to left; wearing himation, resting the right hand on a staff, round which a serpent twines. I bought this coin from a peasant at Sandykly: it was undoubtedly found in the valley, and may be assigned with certainty to Hieropolis. I believe that all coins bearing the legend **ΙΕΡΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ** and belonging like this one to a period later than 180 A.D. may be assigned to Hieropolis,¹ instead of Hierapolis in the Lycus valley. It is about 180 that the coinage of the smaller cities of upper Phrygia begins.

In this paper much use has been made of the Asian era: every dated inscription of Phrygia which can be tested employs an era that begins at the autumn equinox 85 B.C. I will here add a good example.

No. 42.

On a column in the village of Ineh: in the court of the *Musa fir Oda*.

ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΙ
 ΚΑΙΣΑΡΙΣΕΒΑΣΤΩΓΕΡΜ
 ΑΝΙΚΩΤΟΔΙΛΟΥΚΙΩΜΙΝΟΥΚΙΩ
 ΕΤΟΥΣΡΟΒΜΠΑΝΗΜΟΥΡΟΥΦΩΥΠ
 ΟΙΕΝΝΑΕΙΚΑΤΟΙΚΟΥΝΤΕΡΩΜΑΙΟΙΤΕΚΛΙ²

The emperor's name has been erased. There was never any conclusion to this inscription, unless it was engraved on the back of the column which is concealed.

¹ Mionnet gives one such coin. The ruins of Hieropolis are far more imposing than those of Otrous or Stectorion.

² B in line 4 is of peculiar shape, ΥΦ and ΥΠ both in monogram.

Αὐτοκρ'τορι [Δομιτιανῷ] Καίσαρι Σεβαστῷ Γερμανικῷ τὸ δι', Λουκίῳ Μινουκίῳ Ρούφῳ ὑπ(άτοις), ἔτους ροβ', μην(ὸς) Πανήμου, οἱ ἐν Νάει κατοικοῦντες Ῥωμαῖοι τε καὶ

The date is given by the consuls of 88 A.D., and by the year 172 of the Asian era. The old name of the place is still retained under the form Ineh. The *praenomen* of Rufus has hitherto been doubtful in the *Fasti*.

ADDENDA.

I. KRASOS.—This place is mentioned in Theophanes, pp. 406 and 347, and in Galen, π. τροφ. δυναμ. I. p. 312 (quoted by Wesseling, *ad Hieroclem*, under 'Krateia of Honorias').¹ The first passage has been quoted above. The second shows that Krasos was in the Opsikian Theme. Artavasdos came from Dorylaion, which is still the chief military station of this district, and attacked the young emperor Constantine unawares in the plain of Krasos. Constantine fled to Amorium. Probably Krasos was in the lower Tembris valley. The words of Galen confirm this situation: Νίκαια καὶ Προῦσα καὶ Κράσσου καὶ Κλαυδιούπολις καὶ Ἰουλιούπολις, ἀλλὰ καὶ Δορύλαιον ἧ ἐστὶ μὲν ἐσχάτη τῆς Ἀσιανῆς Φρυγίας. Wesseling unnecessarily reads Κράτεια: Κράσσος is better. Krasos was in Phrygia, but not in that part of Phrygia included in the province of Asia; it was in the Opsikian Theme, and Constantine, when defeated there, directed his flight to Amorium. These indications point to the neighbourhood of Alpi on the Tembris, ten or twelve miles east of Midaion (Kara Eyuk).

II. The inscription *C. I. G.* 3902 *o*, was copied by Hamilton with perfect accuracy down to the last symbol, which he makes ✕. In reality it is a χ, through the middle of which runs a tall vertical line. It is an unsuccessful attempt by an unskilful engraver² to render the Christian monogram; the end of the

¹ Finlay refers to Niceph. Pat. 3 which I have no means of verifying.

² ΕΙΓΟΝΟΙC in 8; a whole line omitted after 9.

inscription is εἰ [δέ τις ἐπιχειρήσει θεῖναι] ἕτερον, ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν Χρ(ιστόν).

The omission of a whole line in this inscription, compared with the reversal of two lines in the cases mentioned above, No. 26, show that the Phrygian engraver usually worked from a pattern, in which the words were arranged in lines exactly as on the stone.

This inscription is most probably of the third century, and proves that a Christian was at that time a member of the Eumenian Senate.

III. It would be important to determine the exact date of No. 20, as showing when the Christian formula ἐνθάδε κεκή-
δευται had established itself. Professor Mommsen, whom I consulted, cannot give any definite date; the epithet λαμπρό-
τατος, applied to the governor of Pacatiana, shows that it is later than the *Not. Dign.*¹ But I am inclined to think that it is not later than the fifth century.

It may be observed that in the fifth century the old method of dating from the Roman era 85 B.C., passes out of use in Phrygia. With one exception the latest date of the kind is νοβ' (see above, No. 28), i.e. 388 A.D. About the year 400 A.D. the date by indictions becomes common in Phrygia. Byzantine dating and Christian sepulchral formulas supplant the old Roman customs. In one case the Roman date φqa is used alongside of the date by indiction, but while dates σ' and τ' are very common,² υ' is very rare, and φ' only in this exceptional case.

A fragmentary inscription, copied by a Greek *Iatros* near Philomelium, confirms the belief that ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν θεόν is a variation of the pagan curse introduced by Christian scruple.

No. 43.

At Korase: copy given me in Ak Sheher.

OCANTAAYTHT

COP□KAKOEP□ΓEA

ὁς ἀν ταύτη τ[ῇ]

σορ[φ] κακοεργεία

¹ There the governor is a ἡγεμὼν, in Hierocles he is a *στρατικός*.

² τ' is not common in *C. I. G.*, but I know many unpublished examples.

ΧΕΙΡΑ	χεῖρα
ΠΡΟΣΟΙΣΕΙΔΩΣ	προσοίσει, δώσ-
ΕΙΤΩΘΕΩΛΟΓΟΝ	ει τῷ Θεῷ λέγον
ΤΩΜΕΛΛΟΝΤΙΚΡΕΙ	τῷ μέλλοντι κρεί-
ΝΕΙΝΖΩ ΤΑΚΕ	νειν ζῶ[ν]τας κέ
ΝΕΚΡΟΥΣ	νεκρούς.

Probably the formula *ἔσται*, &c., came into use soon after 200 A.D., and No. 18 may belong to this period. The nomenclature and the want of the praenomen Aurelius, indicate a date earlier than 211 A.D.

In a Christian inscription, *C. I. G.* 9270, the phrase *ἐνορκιζόμεθα τὸν παντοκράτορα Θεόν* occurs. Compare the doubtful inscription quoted in the remarks on No. 18.

I add an imperfect list of early Christian inscriptions of Phrygia.

Second Century.

1. No. 35, A.D. 121.

Third Century.

1. No. 36, A.D. 214—15.
2. No. 37, A.D. 216.
3. Lebas, 1687, about 190—210 A.D.
4. No. 18, perhaps before 211 A.D.
5. No. 19, A.D. 249.
6. No. 38, A.D. 250—80?
7. *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1883, p. 457, 256 A.D.
8. No. 21, A.D. 260.
9. Lebas, 727, A.D. 279.
10. Probably also No. 17, No. 43, and Lebas 780,¹ 783, 785; also No. 24, No. 25.

Fourth Century.

1. Lebas, 735, A.D. 353.
2. Nos. 39, 40, and 23, probably belong to this century; perhaps also Lebas, 991 and 980, *C. I. G.* 9263, 9268—70.

¹ See Perrot, *Voy. Archéol.* p. 126.

3. The important inscription, *C. I. G.* 9266, probably belongs to the early years of this century.

Fifth Century.

1. No. 20.

Owing to the character of Byzantine rule, inscriptions of private individuals seem to be rare in the fifth and sixth centuries. While the Arabs were ravaging Asia Minor in the seventh and eighth centuries, we can expect no inscriptions, and after quiet was restored, the inner country never recovered education enough to produce anything beyond a few official inscriptions. *C. I. G.* 9267 cannot therefore be assigned to Century VII., but rather to the preceding century at latest.

W. M. RAMSAY.

THE RUINS OF HISSARLIK.

THE Editing Committee have received a note from Dr. Dörpfeld in reference to the letter signed by him in the *Times* of 22nd March, 1883 (see *Hellenic Journal*, IV. p. 153).

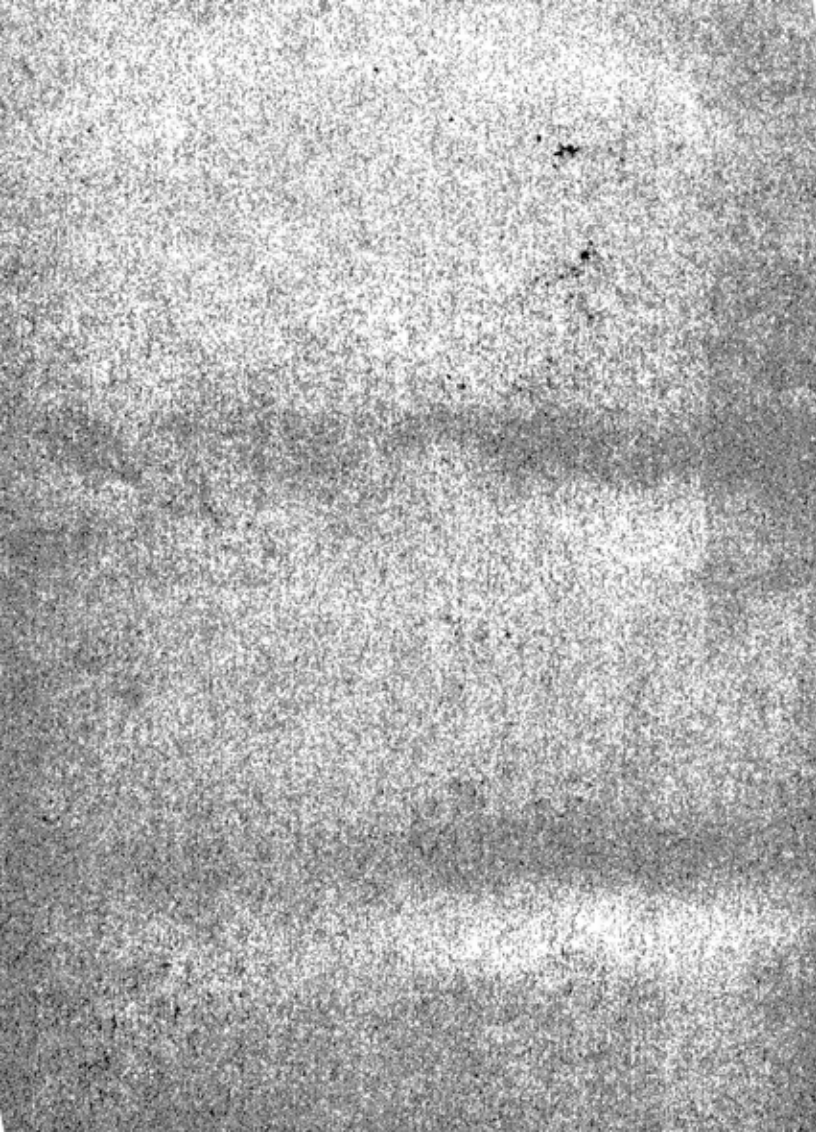
Dr. Dörpfeld accepts the responsibility of that letter as a translation of his article in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* of 30th March, but states that in signing it he overlooked the insertion of the word prehistoric in connection with the 5th city at Hissarlik.

ERRATUM.

Page 158, line 1, for "Amphora-stopping from Tarentum" read "Amphora-stopping from Alexandria."

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