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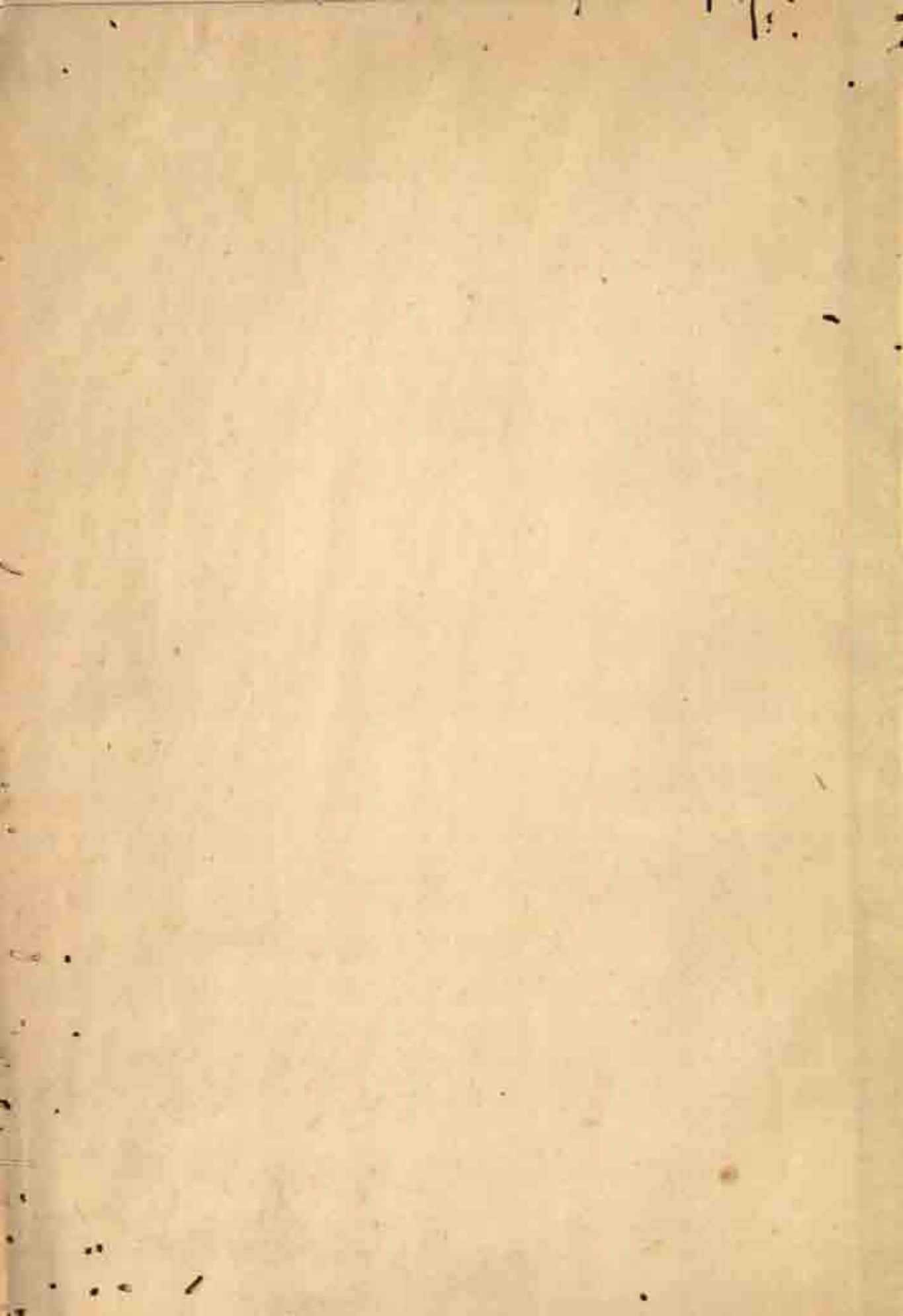
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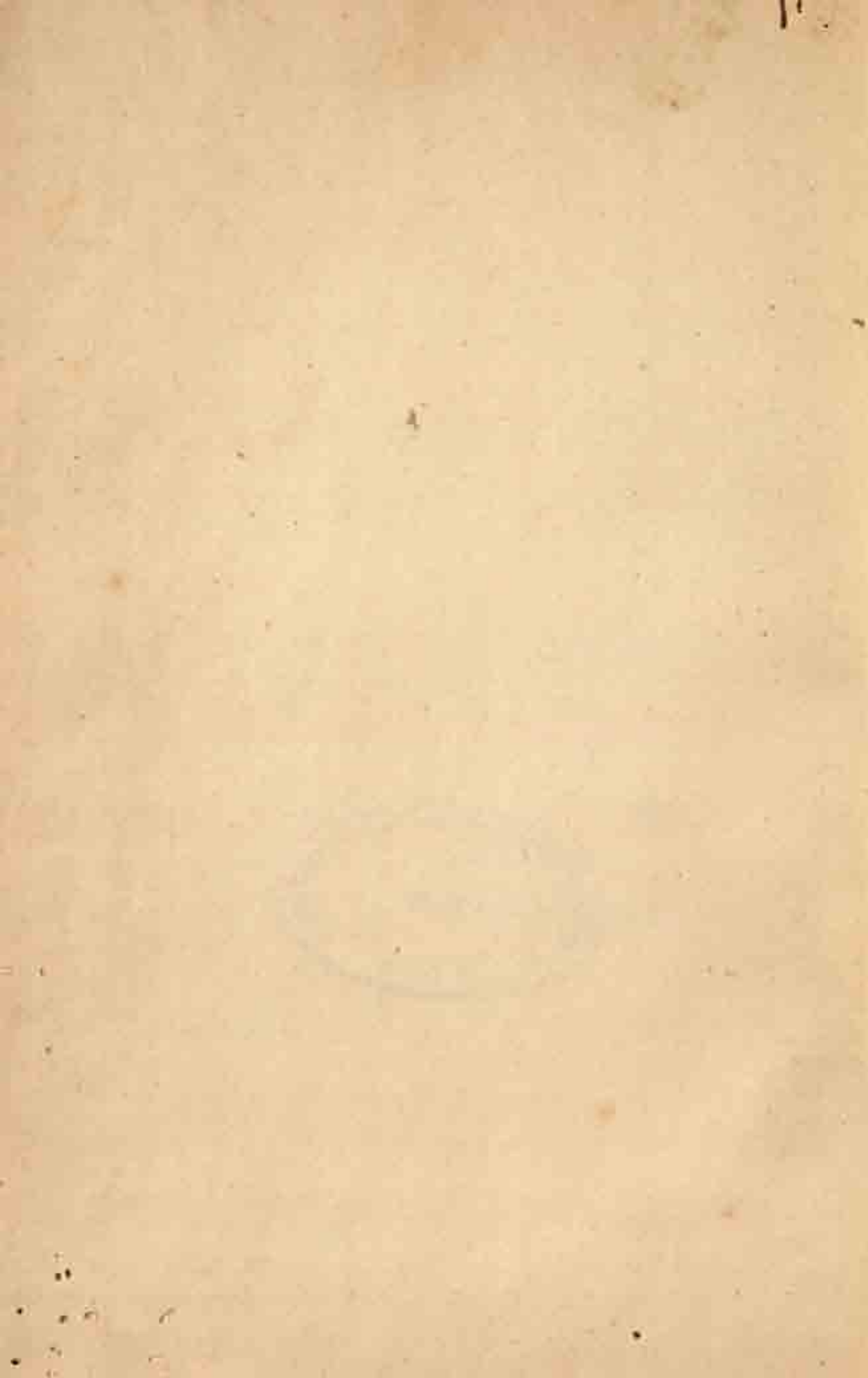
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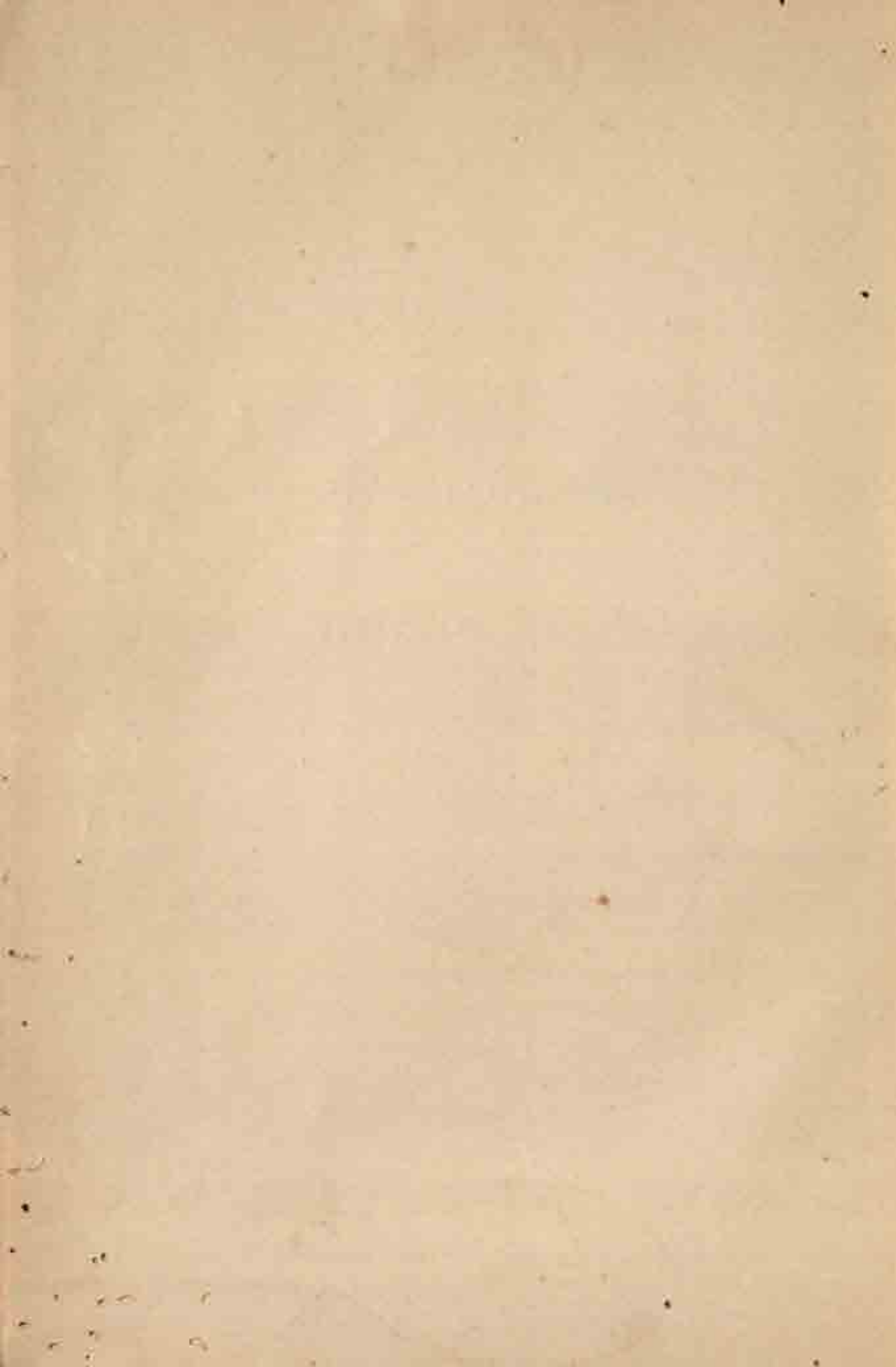






THE JOURNAL
OF
HELLENIC STUDIES





THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES

THE JOURNAL

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ALEXANDER'S *ὑπομήματα* AND THE 'WORLD-KINGDOM'

So far as authority goes, Kaerst founded his theory of Alexander's world-kingdom on two passages in Diodorus and on nothing else. The first, 17, 53, 4, alludes to Ammon having conceded to Alexander the power over the whole world, τὴν ἀπάσῃ τῆς γῆς ἐξουσίαν; the reference is to 17, 51, 2, where Alexander says to the priest of Ammon, εἰπέ μοι εἰ μοι δίδως τὴν ἀπάσῃ <τῆς> γῆς ἀρχήν, and the priest replies that the god grants this. The second passage is 18, 4, 4, the story of Alexander's supposed plan to conquer Carthage, etc., and go to the Pillars, from his alleged *ὑπομήματα*. Every one will agree with Kaerst when he says that the political information in the Arrian tradition is imperfect, and that it is very desirable to supplement it; but the real question, which has to be faced, is, are we in a position to supplement it? It is no good using unsound material as a supplement; it is better to say we do not know, if it comes to that. My object here is to examine the Diodorus passages and see what kind of material they offer.

The Ammon oracle may be briefly dealt with; for it is only Egyptian *ritual*. No doubt the oracle, as we have it, came through Cleitarchus, as is shown by the agreement of Diodorus, Justin, and Curtius; Cleitarchus may or may not have got it from Callisthenes, who may or may not have been at Siwah with Alexander. Against Callisthenes' authorship is the fact that Strabo (17, 814), the only writer who professedly cites Callisthenes' account, though he gives much detail, gives only *part* of the Diodorus oracle, the item that the priest hailed Alexander as son of the god. This item is true, for the priest could not do otherwise; but the other items of the oracle, including the promise of world-dominion, are more than doubtful. Callisthenes possessed in fullest measure the vice of writing for effect;¹ and in his history he added to the Ammon oracle an oracle from Didyma (Strabo *l.c.*) which was certainly a pure invention. For, first, the Didyma oracle is based on a story that Didyma was sacked by the Branchidae in Xerxes' time, which is simply untrue (Herod. 6, 19); and, secondly, it prophesied the battle of Arbela and the death of Darius, *i.e.* it was composed after 330. Consequently, the promise of world-dominion, if from Callisthenes, does not necessarily stand on any better footing than the Didyma oracle. But if it be not from Callisthenes, the case is even worse; for Cleitarchus is poorer authority and was not even contemporary

¹ See e.g. Strabo 17, 814 (possibly *Didymus*, *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscri.* 1907, Eratosthenes' criticism), and the very 130 seq., on Callisthenes' panegyric on just remarks of P. Foucart, *Étude sur* Hermonias.

with Alexander.² As Callisthenes is quite clear that Alexander went into the oracle alone, and as the same thing is implied in Arrian's account, then, if the world-dominion promise were not invented by Callisthenes or Cleitarchus, it can only have come from one of two sources, Alexander or the priests. But Arrian and Plutarch both say that Alexander told nothing. If, then, it were not invented, it came from the priests. And if it were invented, the material was equally supplied by Egyptian priests.

For in fact the ultimate source of the Ammon oracle is not history but Egyptian ritual. In one of the hymns to Amon which formed part of Amon's daily service, Pharaoh (i.e. the priest representing him) thus addresses the god (Moret's translation): *Le Pharaon est venu vers toi, Amon-Râ, pour que tu lui donnes qu'il soit à la tête des vivants.*³ This is precisely Alexander's supposed question. The god, of course, accepted the appeal, and there are many references to his conferring the gift sought. E.g., when Khnum fashions Hatshepsut, he repeats the instructions he has received from Amon: 'I have given to thee all countries, all peoples.'⁴ The hymn of victory of Thutmose III (Amon speaks): 'I have come, causing thee to smite the uttermost ends of the lands; the circuit of the Great Circle (Okeanos) is enclosed in thy grasp.'⁵ In the Harris papyrus, Ramses III says: 'Thou didst assign to me all the lands as far as the circuit of the sun.'⁶ This is the supposed answer to Alexander. Sir G. Maspero, though he did not give the details, long ago pointed out with great emphasis the exact agreement of the story of the Ammon-oracle with the ritual,⁷ and Mahaffy followed him.⁸ Certainly Maspero believed that Alexander did in fact go through the ritual; but that is another matter. Neither Callisthenes nor Cleitarchus is good enough evidence to prove this; all they prove is that some one knew what might be expected to happen, i.e. knew the Egyptian practice. Besides, Alexander, some years later, did tell one thing that passed, and it has no connection whatever with Diodorus' story; he said that Ammon had told him to what gods to sacrifice (Arr. 6, 19, 4). Personally, therefore, I do not believe that Alexander went through the ritual; but that is not the real point. The point is, that once we see that we are dealing with a ritual, with its roots far down the centuries, it matters nothing whether the thing happened or not, or what Greek historian first

² F. Reuss, *Rh. Mus.* 57 (1902), 581 seq.; 63 (1909), 58 seq.; P. Schnabel, 'Berosos und Kleitarchos,' 1912; and see Th. Lensehan, 'Bericht über griechische Geschichte 1907-14,' p. 191, in *Bursian-Kroll's Jahresbericht*, 1919.

³ A. Moret, 'Le rituel du culte divin journalier en Égypte,' *Annales du Musée Guimet, Bibliothèque d'Études*, 14 (1902), p. 128. Moret mentions other hymns to the same effect.

⁴ Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, II, 293.

⁵ *Ib.* II, 265.

⁶ *Ib.* IV, p. 142.

⁷ *Comment Alexandre devint dieu en*

Égypte, 1897; republished in his *Études de mythologie et d'archéologie égyptiennes*, vol. 6 (1912). See esp. p. 265, 'Célestial et discours, tout y est conforme au rituel des temples pharaoniques,' etc.; and p. 274, 'Il serait difficile de rencontrer roi si pieux que les dieux ne lui eussent fait la même promesse' (world-rule) 'à satiété; Amon terminait son entretien avec Alexandre comme il l'avait commencé, par un compliment emprunté au rituel en usage depuis le commencement de la monarchie égyptienne, et qui n'avait rien que d'ordinaire dans son esprit.'

⁸ *A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty*, 1899, p. 16.

related it; for it has ceased to have any bearing on what we want to know—what did *Alexander* intend or plan or claim? Because a Pope granted to a series of monarchs the title of 'Most Christian King,' we do not deduce therefrom the personal attitude of this or that one toward religion; and if an Egyptian liturgy promised Alexander, as it promised many other Pharaohs, world-dominion, we must not on this ground attribute to him claims to world-dominion or plans for world-conquest. The promise of world-dominion was of no more importance, outside of Egypt, than the claim attributed to the McNeils of Barra was of importance outside Barra.⁸ In this respect, it is very important to note that what Alexander asks for, and what the god grants, is not 'authority over all men,' but 'the authority,' *τὴν ἀρχὴν, τὴν ἐξουσίαν* (twice repeated), a known thing;¹⁰ it had been known in Egypt for many centuries.

The other passage, Diod. 18, 4, 4, goes to the root of the whole matter; and the first thing any one has to do, in considering Alexander, is to make up his mind about the vital matter of Alexander's *ὑπομνήματα*; is he, with the majority—e.g. Kaerst,¹¹ E. Meyer,¹² Jacoby,¹³ Schubert,¹⁴ Endres,¹⁵ and Kornemann¹⁶—to assume that they are from Hieronymus and to treat them as history, or with Niese, Beloch, and I imagine one should add Wilamowitz,¹⁷ to reject them altogether as unhistorical? Personally, I agree in substance with Niese; but the story has never been analysed—both sides merely make assumptions—and it is high time that somebody tried to analyse it. I hope first to prove that a great deal of Diodorus 18, chs. 2-4, is not from Hieronymus, and that therefore we cannot assume that the *ὑπομνήματα* are from him; then I will consider what the *ὑπομνήματα* were; then I will analyse the contents, which is the really important thing. I use two premises. One is that Schubert, whatever we may think of his details, has proved that Diodorus books 18-20 is a composite work, containing a good deal which is not Hieronymus; the other is that we cannot, as a rule, detect Hieronymus by phraseology, but only by substance. If any one will trouble to read through (say) those books of Diodorus which deal largely with things Macedonian, 16-20, he will find the same favourite words and phrases throughout, whatever author

⁸ The story is that, after McNeil had died, his pipe used to proclaim that now the other kings of the earth might dine. Marco Polo has a similar story of a chief in Central Asia.

¹⁰ The Latin versions (Curtius, Justin) cannot, of course, represent this; and neither Arrian nor Strabo gives the world-dominion promise of the oracle. Plutarch has kept *τῆς ἀρχῆς*, but has interpreted it away.

¹¹ *Geschichte des Hellenismus* 1² (1917), p. 493, n. 2.

¹² 'Alexander der Grosse und die absolute Monarchie' (*Kleine Schriften*, 1910), p. 299, n. 1.

¹³ 'Hieronymus' in Pauly-Wissowa (1913).

¹⁴ *Die Quellen zur Geschichte der Diadochenzeit* (1914), p. 29.

¹⁵ 'Krateros, Perdikkas, und die letzten Pläne Alexanders,' *BA. Mus.* 1917-18, 437.

¹⁶ 'Die letzten Ziele der Politik Alexanders des Grossen,' *Klio* 16 (1920), 209. Kornemann professes not to go the whole way with Kaerst; but he goes a pretty long way.

¹⁷ 'Alexander der Grosse,' in *Reden aus der Kriegszeit* 5, XI. (1916), p. 18; for the phantastischen Pläne, die man ihm damals und heute unterstellt, spricht es nicht, dass die nachweisbaren Unternehmungen Nutzbauten und Entdeckungsfahrten in grossen Stille sind.

Diodorus be copying; and it is obvious that a phrase which occurs in 16 or 17 as well as in 18-20 cannot be used as a test for Hieronymus. I shall give one or two details in their place.

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

(a) 18, 2, 4. After the reconciliation of cavalry and infantry, they make Philip king; no mention of any reservation of the claims of Roxane's child, as in Arr. *Diad.* (Hieronymus with *λεγόμενα*) and Justin (usually supposed to be from Hieronymus). Contemporaries, we know, found it difficult to understand who was king, for three inscriptions¹⁸ give Philip alone, while *O.G.I.S.* 4 gives Philip and Alexander; but there is no question that Hieronymus regularly gave οὐ βασιλεὺς (Diod. and Arrian *passim*). This passage, then, is not Hieronymus.

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

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

¹⁸ *O.G.I.S.* 8 (v) and *Syll.* 311 (his first year); *I.G.* II², 401 (before Antipater's death).

¹⁹ An enormous literature. Much the best is H. Laqueur, *Zur Geschichte des Krateros*, *Hermes* 54 (1919), 295, who saw in effect that the regency was put in commission.

²⁰ So Parisinus R; βασιλείας only in the inferior MSS. (Laqueur).

²¹ The other passages usually quoted for Perdiccas being regent merely show some form of power, which nobody doubts: Curt. 10, 10, 4, general of the army; Nepos,

Kum. 2, 1 and 2, *summa*, i.e. de facto power (vague); Just. 13, 4, 5, Moleager and Perdiccas generals with regum cura jointly. Contra, Just. 13, 6, 10 (Perdiccas when in Cappadocia has regum cura) and App. *Syr.* 52 (at some time before his death he was προστатыς τῶν βασιλείων) agree with Diod. 18, 23, 2, i.e. Hieronymus; Memnon § 4, τῶν τῶν ἐκτελέσας, who refers to this later period. The only document which, for what it is worth, agrees with (b) is the Heidelberg Epitome, where Perdiccas from the start is ἐπιμελητὴς καὶ ἐκτελεστὴς τῶν βασιλείων πραγμάτων.

story is inseparable from two other stories; that Alexander at the end bequeathed his kingdom τῷ κρατίστῳ, and that he said he foresaw an ἐπιτάφιον μέγαν ἀγῶνα. These two stories are untrue, as he could not speak; they come together with the ring story in Diod. 17, 117, 4; Justin 12, 15, 6; and Curtius 10, 5, 5; the concurrence of these three sources shows that all three stories are from Cleitarchus. Arrian, 7, 23, 6, does not give the ring story, but says that its two adjuncts did not come in Ptolemy or Aristobulus. The ring story, then, has nothing to do with Hieronymus. Diodorus repeats it here of himself from book 17, just as, of himself, he has repeated the two adjuncts in 18, 1, 4, his personal preface.²² No deduction need be drawn from 18, 1, 4 τῷ ἀριστῷ as against 17, 117, 4 τῷ κρατίστῳ, for Curtius also has qui esset optimus; it may show that there were two versions of the Cleitarchean tradition, but equally it may only illustrate the common habit of quoting by substance and not by form.

(d) 18, 2, 4. The rest is not Hieronymus, because of τῷ βασιλεῖ.

(e) 18, 3, 1. The first three lines cannot be Hieronymus, because Perdiccas has τὴν τῶν ὅλων ἡγεμονίαν, i.e. is regent,²³ and in Hieronymus he is not—see (b). Then Perdiccas gives the satrapies as regent. This again cannot be Hieronymus, whose version was that Perdiccas gave the satrapies on Philip's (pretended) orders.²⁴ In fact, of course, it is obvious that there must have been a bargain between Perdiccas and Ptolemy; Ptolemy's price for recognising Perdiccas was Egypt and the appointment of Archidæus to control the funeral arrangements. Curtius, who occasionally represents Hieronymus, does say (10, 10, 1) that the division was made by the generals in council; and it may be that Hieronymus' complete version was that Perdiccas called a council, alleging Philip's orders, and the council bargained the matter out. The phrase (Perdiccas) συνεδρεύσας μετὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων cannot be used to prove that (e) is from Hieronymus, as does Schubert, p. 29, comparing Diod. 19, 48, 1 συνεδρεύσας μετὰ τῶν φίλων; for the phrase is Diodorus' own.²⁵

(f) 18, 3, 4, a well-known crux which needs a little care. It says that Perdiccas gave Seleucus the hipparchy of the Companions, being the most illustrious; Hephaestion had been its first commander, then Perdiccas, and Seleucus third. It has to be considered together with Duris ap. Plut. *Kam.* 1: Perdiccas on Hephaestion's death succeeded to his τάξις (probably meaning his hipparchy),²⁶ while Eumenes took over Perdiccas' hipparchy. In both accounts, then, Perdiccas succeeds to Hephaestion's hipparchy on his death, in direct contradiction to Arrian 7, 14, 10.—First of all, there never was an office called the hipparchy, though some modern writers discuss it quite seriously. I had better take out the facts in Arrian, as this has never been done; they

²² He does repeat from himself; e.g. 17, 114, 2 from 17, 37, 5.

²³ This phrase, though Diodorus' own (17, 23, 5 and 6, of Memnon's extraordinary command), is used regularly in book 18 as equivalent to ἐπιστάτης, the regency; see 18, 30, 6 and 47, 4, where the two are formally

identified each time. Cf. 18, 23, 2 and 3.

²⁴ Arr. *Diad.* 3, 5, 2; Ἀρχιδάειον ἐπιτάφιον. Cf. App. *Syr.* 42; Schubert, p. 134.

²⁵ Diod. 10, 11, 4; cf. 10, 53, 4 and 17, 9, 1.

²⁶ τάξις = hipparchy; Arr. 5, 21, 1; 7, 14, 10.

are quite simple. On Philotas' death the Companions were divided into two hipparchies, commanded by Hephaestion and Cleitus the Black (Arr. 3, 27, 4); they are called hipparchs, but as each nominally commanded 1000 men they could, no doubt, also be called chiliarchs, like many other commanders in the army.²⁷ At the Hydaspes battle, beside the agema (the old royal $\lambda\eta$), now commanded by Alexander personally, we find 5 hipparchies, commanded by Hephaestion, Perdicas, Craterus, Demetrius, and Coenus (Arr. 5, 11, 3; 12, 2; 16, 3); as Hephaestion's command could not have been reduced, each hipparchy nominally contained 1000 men, though not, of course, Macedonian aristocrats; this agrees with the number that crossed the Hydaspes, some 5000 horse (5, 14, 1), viz. 4 hipparchies, 1000 horse-archers, and the agema, perhaps 250. The hipparchies had now each one Macedonian $\lambda\eta$; the rest were Bactrians, Arachosians, etc.²⁸ When Alexander set out homeward through Gedrosia, he took the Macedonian $\lambda\eta$ from each hipparchy with him (Arr. 6, 21, 3), and returned the native cavalry to their satrapies.²⁹ The break in Arrian obscures the next step; but probably what remained of the original Macedonian Companions were collected into one hipparchy and placed under Hephaestion (Arr. 7, 14, 10). There were, of course, other hipparchies formed, probably entirely of Asiatics;³⁰ but when Hephaestion died he was called chiliarch of the Companion cavalry, which was, however, only one $\tau\acute{\alpha}\xi\iota\varsigma$ of the cavalry (7, 14, 10). Arrian (*ib.*) states that no new commander of this $\tau\acute{\alpha}\xi\iota\varsigma$ was appointed, but it continued to bear Hephaestion's name; this statement is certainly Ptolemy's, for Curt. 10, 4 is in verbal agreement, a clear proof in a military item. Consequently the statements of Diodorus and Plutarch (above) that Perdicas succeeded Hephaestion in command of his *hipparchy* cannot represent the facts, and therefore cannot well be from Hieronymus. As Plutarch is Duris, so is (ultimately) Diodorus. Duris is worth little enough. Let us suppose, however, meanwhile, that he is correct in this, that Perdicas succeeded Hephaestion in *something*, and that the term he (Duris) uses, $\tau\acute{\alpha}\xi\iota\varsigma$, perhaps may not here mean a hipparchy.

The whole trouble has arisen, both in Duris and some moderns, from a confusion of the Macedonian military chiliarchs with the Persian official whose title the Greeks unfortunately translated as 'the chiliarch,' an official who was originally commander of the Guard (the full phrase was apparently δ $\chi\iota\lambda\iota\alpha\rho\chi\eta\varsigma$ $\tau\eta\varsigma$ $\epsilon\pi\tau\epsilon\rho\omega\upsilon$), but had become a sort of vizier. Alexander had revived

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

²⁸ This comes out clearly in Arrian's account of the Hydaspes battle. It is given formally Arr. 5, 8, 3-4, where it (like Alexander's Persian dress) relates to past events. Droysen's theory of 8 hipparchies was a mere misunderstanding of $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\tau\alpha$ in 4, 22, 7; $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\tau\alpha$ means 'some of,' as Droysen himself saw clearly in 5, 13, 1, where no doubt is possible.

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

³⁰ E.g. Kallines; Arr. 7, 14, 6; cf. Arr. *Diod.* § 33, $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\tau\alpha$. The statement in Arr. 7, 6, 4 that the fifth hipparchy, formed after the others, was not entirely 'barbarian,' points to the existence later of hipparchies that were entirely Asiatic, like many of the cavalry formations of the successors.

the Persian office (Diod. 18. 48. 5); and, if so, he revived it for Hephaestion, who was his second in command qua the Persians as Craterus qua the Macedonians (Plut. *Alex.* 47). This office is what Hieronymus²¹ means by 'Hephaestion's chiliarchy,' of which he says Perdiccas was made chiliarch after Alexander's death. But as Perdiccas had to be *made* chiliarch (vizier), he was not vizier at Alexander's death. We can now see what did happen. Hephaestion at his death held two separate offices; he was commander of the hipparchy which comprised the original Companions, and he was vizier; to both offices the term 'chiliarch' could be applied. The hipparchy in question remained unfilled till Alexander died, when it was given to Seleucus. The vizierdom *may* have been informally filled by Perdiccas between the deaths of Hephaestion and Alexander; i.e. he did the work without the title, he was *δηροτικός*. Duris may have been trying to say this; but he mixed up the two chiliarchies and *did* say *τὰς*, which might mean anything, but which Diod. 18. 3. 1 very naturally turned into hipparchy. Duris' statement that Perdiccas gave up his own hipparchy and Eumenes succeeded,²² though immaterial, can hardly be true; for Eumenes' mediation between cavalry and infantry shows that he belonged to neither.—(f) then is not from Hieronymus.

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

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

(i) 18. 4. 8. Revolt of the Greeks in the upper satrapies and sending of Peithon. A short duplication of the account in ch. 7, which is admittedly Hieronymus, and which formally introduces Peithon, who has therefore not been mentioned before. But I lay no stress on this duplicate, as it is obviously Diodorus' own anticipation of a future narrative;²³ and *τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἀνδρῶν* is his own phrase, too common to call for references.

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

I come now to the passages that may be Hieronymus.

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

²¹ Arr. *Diod.* § 3; Doxippus fr. 1.

²² Arr. *Diod.* § 2 cannot be made to support this.

²³ He often anticipates. See the reference to the argyraspids, 17. 57. 2, and the long reference to Agathocles, 17. 23. 2.

I am examining this at length elsewhere;²⁴ there is no reasonable doubt that it is Hieronymus.

18, 2, 2 and 3. Generally supposed to be Hieronymus; but so colourless that there is no certainty. There is, however, one definite argument against it. The reconciliation between cavalry and infantry is brought about by αἱ χαρίεσται τῶν ἀνδρῶν, a phrase of Diodorus' own;²⁵ whereas Hieronymus almost certainly named Eumenes.²⁶ If Diodorus were here copying Hieronymus it is difficult to see why he omitted Eumenes' name and substituted a vague phrase.

18, 3. The satrapy list as settled at Babylon must have appeared in every writer, and may have rested ultimately on an official document. Diodorus' list may be derived through the medium of Hieronymus, as there is a certain resemblance between 3, 1 ἀν' Ἀλέξανδρον εὐς ἐπῆλθεν κ.τ.λ. and App. *Mith.* 8 = Hieron. fr. 1^a; but the resemblance is not close.

The result, then, is this. There is only one phrase of which we can say with reasonable certainty that it *must* be from Hieronymus, while there are many passages which are certainly not.^{26a} This proves my preliminary point; we cannot assume that the story of the ὑπομήματα, Diod. 18, 4, 1-6, is from Hieronymus; it must be examined on its merits.

B. THE ὑπομήματα.

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

There is another reason why the 'plans' cannot be identical with Craterus' orders; we know what Craterus' orders were. He was to govern Macedonia,

²⁴ *Heracles son of Barsine*, in this number of this Journal.

²⁵ αἱ χαρίεσται, 18, 65, 6.

²⁶ Plut. *Kum.* 3, with full details.

^{26a} The formal commencement of Hieronymus may have been the old document Diod. 18, chs. 5 and 6, which (obvious additions apart) dates from 324/3, i.e. before the

partition of Babylon:—the Caspian is a lake, the Ganges and Chandragupta are unknown, Media is still undivided and Armenia still a satrapy (a fiction abandoned at Babylon), and Susiana 'happens to be' part of Persia, i.e. is under Pencostas,—the *καὶ οὕτως* of Dexippus, fr. 1.

Thrace, and Thessaly, and preside over, or order (*ἐξηγεῖσθαι*), the freedom of the Hellenes.³⁰ Antipater had not thought much about 'freedom'; he had kept the peace of the League with his oligarchies and garrisons; but Alexander's exiles' decree had altered all that, and the new policy required a new man; the returning exiles, mostly democrats, were not likely to trust Antipater. It is the standing antithesis of the two policies—the Antipater-Cassander policy of oligarchs and garrisons, and the Alexander-Antigonus policy of democracy and 'freedom' (more or less)—which divided the world down to 301, not to mention later offshoots. Craterus, in effect acting President of the League vice Alexander, was going to have his hands full, and could hardly prepare world-conquests in addition. In the face of Arrian's statement it is impossible to identify the plans and the orders.

Endres accordingly, though he does not notice Arrian, tacitly drops this identification, and proceeds to identify the ὑπομνήματα with Alexander's ἐφημερίδες. Certainly ὑπομνήματα can mean a king's Journal;³¹ but whether it does so in any particular case is a mere question of fact. It is a common word at every period, applied to many sorts of documents. Were Aratus' argumentative ὑπομνήματα, for example, ἐφημερίδες, or those of Polybius 1, 1, 1? In the present case, it is impossible to contend that the ὑπομνήματα τοῦ βασιλέως of Diod. 18, 4, 2 were Alexander's well-known Journal, because they are mentioned again in 18, 4, 3 in a context which absolutely precludes their being anything but the ἐπιβολαί; they are identified with the ἐπιβολαί, the plans, i.e. they are the written plans. But there is, of course, a much stronger argument against identifying the ὑπομνήματα with the Journal; the Journal itself. Endres' argument is, that Alexander during his last illness discussed things with his generals, and *must* therefore have discussed the Carthaginian expedition, etc., and this *must* have appeared in the Journal. This, of course, frankly begs the whole question; but apart from that it is refuted by the Journal itself, as given in Arrian (7, 25) and Plutarch (*Alex.* 76) with considerable minuteness. It shows that what Alexander did do was to give orders connected with the Arabian expedition, once concerning the land forces and thrice concerning the fleet; to discuss with his generals the appointments to vacant commands; and to listen to some things Nearchus had to tell him about his voyage and the 'great sea.' Arrian used Ptolemy's excerpt from the Journal, and Plutarch (or his source) some one else's. Now I think no one can read Arrian and Diodorus 18-20 consecutively without noticing how (what we think is) Ptolemy and (what we think is) Hieronymus agree in little things and compliment each other; and I note that Schubert (p. 35) has evidently felt much the same thing. Yet what Endres (who assumes the ὑπομνήματα story to be Hieronymus) asks us to believe is in effect this: that these two capable men, both experienced soldiers and administrators, excerpted the Journal for the few days of Alexander's illness without taking out the same facts in any one single case; that Ptolemy,

³⁰ Whatever be the right reading (see A. Wilhelm, *Attische Urkunden* 1, 1911, p. 16). ³¹ U. Wilcken, *Trismegistos*, Philol. 53 (1894), 80.
the sense is not in doubt.

who found and gave three notices of the Arabian expedition, absolutely overlooked the far more important schemes of conquest in Africa and the Mediterranean and everything else in Diod. 18, 4, 1-6; while Hieronymus, professing to give Alexander's plans, left out the Arabian expedition, of which Alexander spoke at least three times and which was just ready to start. I do not think I need go further.³⁸

We have seen that the *ὑπομνήματα*, according to Diodorus, are the written plans. Now the word *ὑπομνήματα*, in and after the third century, had one very common meaning; the term was often applied to a book of extracts or stories on this or that or any subject, the sort of thing we call a commonplace book, full of snippets; Aelian's *Varia Historia* is a late surviving specimen. A few instances are the *ὑπομνήματα* of Hegesander of Delphi, the *ὑπομνήματα* or *ἱστορικά ὑπομνήματα* of Carystius of Pergamum, the *ἱστορικά ὑπομνήματα* of Euphorion and of Hieronymus of Rhodes, the *συμποτικά ὑπομνήματα* of Persaeus, the *συμμυστά ὑπομνήματα* of Herodicus of Babylon, the *ὑπομνήματα* or *ἄλλα* or *συμμυστά* of Istrus, the *θεατρικά ὑπομνήματα* of Nestor; and we meet with at least two volumes of *ἱστορικά ὑπομνήματα* whose compiler was uncertain, one collection being attributed to 'Aristotle or Theophrastus,' the other to 'Callimachus or Zenodotus.' There were many other such collections bearing special titles; and sometimes we get both sorts of titles: for instance, Persaeus' book is called both *συμποτικά ὑπομνήματα* and *συμποτικά διαλογαί*. I am not going to suggest definitely that there was a book of *ὑπομνήματα* going about called 'Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπιβολαί or βασιλείαν ἐπιβολαί'³⁹ or something of the sort, because I know of no proof: but as there was certainly a collection (or collections) of Alexander's letters, partly forgeries, and similar collections of other people's letters, Olympias', Antipater's, Eumenes', etc., some of which were probably forgeries also, there is no inherent improbability in the supposition of a collection of royal plans; and it may be that this would be a useful line of research for some one whose knowledge of Alexandrian literature is greater than I can lay claim to.

C. THE PLANS.

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

³⁸ If Lehmann-Haupt (*Hermes* 30, 319) were right in attributing Plutarch's excerpt to Hieronymus, my argument would be greatly strengthened. But this depends on his belief that there were only two copies of the *Journal* in existence, an idea entirely in the air.

³⁹ There were, of course, many other 'plans' beside Alexander's, as can be seen from writers like Pliny. Some were extremely wild, like Seleucus' alleged intention to cut a canal from the Caspian to the Black Sea.

expedition, i.e. conquest for settlement of the west coast of, and the islands in, the Persian Gulf. It is, of course, a strong argument against the genuineness of the *ὑπομνήματα* that they do not give a single one of the plans known from Arrian, though certainly the rebuilding of E-sagila and the Arabian expedition were *μήμης ἀξία*.

To take the plans in the *ὑπομνήματα* in order.

(1) The completion of Hephaestion's pyre at Babylon. The pyre was already finished; the elaborate description of it as a work of art in Diod. 17, 115 cannot be pure invention. Endreß, p. 443 (if I understand him aright), implicitly suggests that *συντελείαν* refers only to *payment* for the work. This is impossible; for *συντελείαν* refers to *συντελέσαι* and *συντελεῖν* two lines before, whose meaning is not in doubt; and in fact *συντελεῖν*, always in the sense of 'do, perform, complete,' is extremely common in Diodorus. The first plan, then, is a historical absurdity.

(2) Building of six temples in Europe at a cost of 1500 talents each. This might be true; for Alexander had already ordered two temples in Asia, of Zeus at Sardis and Bel at Babylon. In Plutarch *de fort. Alex.* 343D this building is alluded to, with a round figure for the whole (10,000 talents); this may be confirmation, or may merely be the same source.

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

(4) Interchange of peoples between Europe and Asia. So far as sending more Europeans to Asia goes, Alexander must certainly have thought of it, or even begun it; for the original settlers in his cities in Asia, so far as they were Europeans, had native wives, and European women were an absolute necessity, if the cities were not to become purely Asiatic. The intention of Craterus and Antipater to transfer the Aetolians bodily to further Asia is, however, no confirmation; for what they intended was punishment, after the fashion of Darius I. At first sight it looks as if the words *εἰς κοινὴν ὁμόνοιαν καὶ συγγενικὴν φιλίαν* support the genuineness of this plan, as they rather recall Alexander's prayer at the banquet at Opis for *ὁμόνοιαν τε καὶ κοινωνίαν τῆς ἀρχῆς*.⁴⁰ But no stress can be laid on this; for *κοινὴ ὁμόνοια* is a known phrase of Diodorus.⁴¹ It is, however, probably safe to believe that this plan, at any rate in part, had genuine tradition behind it.⁴²

(5) A great temple at Ilion. Strabo 13, 393 may be evidence that Alexander had thought of this years before.

(6) A tomb for Philip *πυραμίδι παραπλήσιον μὲν τῇ μεγίστῃ κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον*, which they call one of the seven wonders of the world. In Diodorus 16-20 *παραπλήσιον* regularly means 'like' (in shape, etc.) and not 'as large as'.⁴³ The idea of reproducing the Great Pyramid at Aegae

⁴⁰ Arr. 7, 11, 9; cf. Plut. *de fort. Alex.* 330 E *ὁμόνοιαν καὶ κοινωνίαν τοῖς ἀλλήλοις*.

⁴¹ 16, 20, 6; 60, 3.

⁴² It is supported, for what it may be

worth, by Curt. 9, 7, 1, *Graeci milites imper in colonias a rege deducti*.

⁴³ 17, 10, 4; 50, 1; 52, 3; 87, 5; 105, 1. I have not, however, searched books 1-15.

is one that a sense of humour should have prevented any one ever taking seriously. This 'plan' originated in Egypt, and bears with unmistakable clearness the stamp of that sphere of ideas which produced the Graeco-Egyptian Alexander-Romance. Diodorus knew and used that half-way house to the Romance, the Letter to the Rhodians.⁴⁴

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

(7) We come now to the thing that matters, 18, 4, 42—1000 warships larger than triremes to be built in Phoenicia, Syria, Cilicia and Cyprus for the expedition against Carthage and against the other maritime peoples of Libya and Spain and the coast co-terminous with these countries as far as Sicily (i.e. Gaul and Italy), and a road to be made along the Libyan coast as far as the Pillars of Hercules—Note especially that it is not *an* expedition, as often represented, but *the* expedition, a thing settled on and known, though there is no reference to it anywhere in the good tradition—a strange thing, seeing that Ptolemy of the Staff must have known, had an expedition on such a vast scale been already planned. It can, I think, be shown that this 'plan' is only part of a legend which exhibits a regular growth from small beginnings. The legend is primarily based on three things that are facts: the Amon ritual already noticed; embassies from afar did come to Alexander at Babylon; Alexander did build ships in Phoenicia. There is, of course, a fourth fact, that Alexander's enemies at Athens, even as early as 330, were alluding to him as lord of the 'inhabited earth.'⁴⁵ This is mere rhetoric, and not only has no bearing on Alexander's acts or intentions, but did not (so far as I can see) influence the growth of the legend; but it may show that the world was ready enough to absorb the idea of Alexander's world-kingdom, once that idea got started.

First of all, to the certain embassies,⁴⁶ some one, almost certainly Cleitarchus, added a number of others (Diod. 17, 113, 2); Carthage, the Liby-Phoenicians, and all the African peoples as far as the Pillars; and (beside Greeks) the Illyrians, Thracians, Macedonians, and Galati. Illyrians and Thracians are possible enough, though quite immaterial; but *Macedonians* did not send an embassy to Alexander, while Galati (as distinct from Celtae) were not known to the Graeco-Macedonian world till 279. These mistakes, of course, would discredit the whole list, even if Cleitarchus were respectable authority; and they make it very difficult to believe in the embassy from Carthage, which otherwise is possible enough; for one did come to Athens towards the end of the century (*I.G.* ii², 418). The vulgate indeed has a story, very strange in its detail, that an embassy from Carthage came to Alexander during Parmenion's life-time (Just. 21, 6); but it must be remembered that

⁴⁴ Diod. 20, 81, 3, Alexander's 'Testament' deposited at Rhodes; see Ansfeldt, *RA. Mus.* 58 (1901), 517 seq.

⁴⁵ Demosth. *de Corona* 270; Hyperides, *Epitaph.*, 20.

⁴⁶ Libyans, Bruttians, Lucanians, Etruscans; Arr. 7, 15, 4. As all embassies appeared in the Journal, it is difficult to credit any not in Arrian.

Cleitarchus and the vulgate are rather obsessed throughout by the idea of Carthage.⁴⁷ The Carthaginian embassy, then, is possible, but not proven. The peoples of Mauretania are frankly impossible.—Other writers proceeded to improve on the list; Spain and Gaul were first added, Gaul being manufactured out of the Galati (Just. 12, 13, 1; Arr. 7, 15, 4 λέγεται); with these were conjoined Sicily and Sardinia (Just. *l.c.*) or the Ethiopians and European Scythians (Arr. *l.c.*); last of all was added Rome.⁴⁸ The view of these embassies given by Cleitarchus and the vulgate was, that they came from nearly all the inhabited earth (Diod. 17, 113, 2), and that their states entrusted Alexander with the composing of their differences, so that he did *seem to be* lord of the earth (Arr. 7, 15, 5, λέγεται). Here we have both the reason for, and the refutation of, this tremendous extension of the certain embassies; Cleitarchus was committed to the statement that Ammon had said that Alexander was to have the power over the whole earth, and if this was to mean anything outside of Egypt, it was necessary to show that Ammon had delivered the goods. In this working over of the Cleitarchean embassies the vulgate makes Alexander lord of the earth by those from the ends of the earth submitting their disputes to him.

But this was not enough; to be lord you must conquer. Here comes in Alexander's shipbuilding (Arr. 7, 19, 3, cf. Strabo 16, 741), which was actually a modest affair: 2 quinqueremes 3 quadriremes 12 triremes and 30 triakontors were built in sections in Phoenicia, carried to Thapsacus, and brought down the Euphrates to Babylon; while at Babylon he was (when he died) building a few more from such timber as could be collected from the parks in the district. On these two considerations, becoming lord and the shipbuilding, is based the invaluable story preserved by Curtius (10, 1, 3), in which the *embassies* have become a scheme of *conquest* of the same countries. Curtius says that, after Nearchus rejoined in Carmania, Alexander planned to conquer Carthage, march to Gades and the Pillars, go to Spain, and thence cross the Alps into Italy; *therefore* he ordered his generals in Mesopotamia to build at Thapsacus 700 heptemis and bring them to Babylon. This extraordinary patchwork attempt to press a real fact (the shipbuilding) into the service of the idea that Alexander was to be lord of the earth is most illuminating; for it is hardly necessary to remark that if you are going to the Pillars you do not begin by sending your fleet to Babylon. The 700 heptemis alone are a sufficient absurdity to discredit any story;⁴⁹ incidentally, heptemis were not invented till nine years after Alexander died, and were first used at Salamis in 306.

⁴⁷ Curt. 4, 2, 11 and 3, 10; Just. 11, 10, 12; Diod. 17, 40, 3.

⁴⁸ Arr. 7, 15, 5. If it came in Cleitarchus, as Pliny says, it is impossible to see why Diodorus omits it. The new theory advanced by R. B. Steele, *Class. Philol.* 13 (1918), p. 302, does not meet this difficulty. The Pliny passage contains another gross blunder (Schnabel, *op. cit.*, p. 48) and is quite untrustworthy.

⁴⁹ The largest fleets of the 4th and 3rd centuries are:—Dionysius I. (reputed 400); Athens, 413 in the docks in 325; Persia in 334, reputed 400; these largely triremes. For fleets of a larger average size: Demetrius in 306, about 330, not all at sea; Ptolemy II., *circa* 250, some 336 (on paper); Rome in 208, 280, all at sea. *Reforuocis*, etc., in Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas*, 82 seq., 154 seq.

The legend now bifurcates. One branch, represented by our passage, Diod. 18, 4, 4, agrees with the Curtius story as to the round Alexander is to take, but throws over the last link with reality, the fleet at Babylon, as being unworkable; Alexander now builds and keeps his fleet on the Mediterranean, in Phoenicia, etc. The fleet has naturally grown from 700 to 1000 ships "greater than triremes"; but looking at what happened to Xerxes' fleet one is astonished at the author's moderation. The reason for it is simple; the author has recollected an innocent remark of Aristobulus that the basin which Alexander was digging at Babylon was large enough to hold 1000 warships—a simple method of indicating its size.⁵⁰ These 1000 ships, designed for the conquest of the west, turn up again in a very curious context; in Just. 13, 5, 7, Alexander orders them, not for the conquest of the world, but—for the Lamiian war! Incidentally, we can now see why Diod. 18, 4, 4 gives the expedition to Carthage and not an expedition; the writer is referring to previous stories, such as Curtius 10, 1, 3, and who knows what other intermediate developments of the legend; it proves that the Diodorus story is, as we have already seen, part of a chain or sequence in the development of the idea which it handles.—The other branch of the legend is determined to keep Babylon in the picture, and therefore throws over the march to the Pillars along the Libyan coast; instead, it makes Alexander plan to circumnavigate Africa with his army and fleet (like the Phoenicians in Herodotus, only they had not an army and fleet to feed), conquer Carthage from the west, and from Sicily go on to the Euxine and Maeotis (stories collected in Arr. 7, 1, 2).⁵¹—And the last stage of all is the Romance, which gathers up all the 'plans' and turns them into accomplishment; here Alexander does conquer Carthage and Rome, does sail through the Pillars, and does go north far beyond the Maeotis. There is thus a perfectly complete sequence of development in the story from the Cleitarchean embassies to the Romance.

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

Herewith falls to the ground the whole story of the *ἐκπομπὰ*, as history.⁵² We have already seen that they are a compilation, composed of

⁵⁰ Arr. 7, 10, 4. The basin was primarily for merchantmen; warships were not kept afloat. I note that Aristobulus does not say that docks were built for 1000 ships, but that (some) docks were begun—naturally.

⁵¹ It is likely enough that Alexander may have meditated sending out expeditions of exploration and discovery, whether

round Africa, or in the Atlantic like Pytheas; precisely as he did send an expedition to explore the Caspian.

⁵² E. T. Newell, *The dated Alexander coinage of Sidon and Ake*, 1916, p. 31, has noted an 'unprecedented activity' in the Sidonian mint in 323, which he refers to the Carthaginian expedition. It was really due to the coining of the 500 talents which

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

D. THE ABANDONMENT OF THE PLANS.

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

Miccalus brought to Phoenicia to hire or buy settlers for the Persian Gulf (Arr. 7, 19, 5). A local cause would stir up one mint; see the activity at Tarsus prior to

Balacrus' attack on Isaura (Newell in *J. Num.*, 1918, 81). But preparations for an expedition against Carthage and Spain must have been reflected in every mint.

were purported to be conferred by their troops. Treason trials, or condemnation for treason, are common; beside the Philotas and Hermolaois trials under Alexander, we have Eumenes, Alcetas, and their friends (18, 37, 2); Sibyrtius (19, 23, 4); Olympias (19, 51, 1);⁵² and possibly Nicanor (Polyaen. 4, 11, 2). But there is no trace anywhere in the tradition that the Macedonians had any authority in matters of policy or finance. Occasionally kings or dynasts read out their rescripts to the army when promulgating them, to secure *publicity*; so Alexander his order for the return of the Samians, *Syll.*³ 312, and Antigonus his proclamation of Greek freedom to an assembly of his army and the inhabitants of the district, *Diod.* 18, 61, 1-3; but they did not consult the army: the rescripts were purely autocratic. If the army wanted to make its voice heard about policy, as it sometimes did, e.g. over Eurydice's marriage with Philip, it could only do so by mutinying (*Arr. Diad.* § 23), as it had done on the Hyphasis, and at Opis. *Diod.* 18, 4, 3 cannot then be Hieronymus.

This conclusion can be reinforced by the language of the passage. Perdiccas refers the plans to τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Μακεδόνων πλῆθος. Now Diodorus often uses τὸ πλῆθος alone of the Macedonian army;⁵³ and he uses αἱ Μακεδόνες of the army as a tribunal;⁵⁴ but his commonest phrase for a meeting of troops, and especially of Macedonian troops, is ἐκκλησία or κοινὴ ἐκκλησία.⁵⁵ But instead of any of his three usual phrases he has here used a phrase to which he shows no parallel, and which (I may add) has no sense; for what a κοινὸν πλῆθος may mean, when only *one* army is in question, I do not know. Probably, then, the phrase in some way derives from, or is connected with, his source. What it derives from can be easily seen; the original writer had in his mind the κοινὸν τῶν Μακεδόνων, known from *Syll.*³ 575, and πλῆθος is a later addition. That this interpretation is correct is shown by Polyaenus 4, 6, 14, where Antigonus has Peithon condemned by τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Μακεδόνων. If any one will trouble to compare Polyaenus' account with *Diod.* 19, 46, he will see that the two versions differ in practically every detail; and as Diodorus is certainly Hieronymus, Polyaenus cannot be. That is to say, we have in Polyaenus 4, 6, 14 a *second* case in the extant literature in which some one, who is certainly not Hieronymus, has mixed up the ἐκκλησία of the Macedonians as a court for the trial of treason with the later κοινόν.⁵⁶

Now the κοινόν τῶν Μακεδόνων cannot be *earlier* than Antigonus Doson; there is no place for it under Gonatas, and it must have some connection with the change in the royal style of the Antigonids from Μακεδών to καὶ Μακεδόνες.⁵⁷ Consequently the reference to the κοινόν in *Diod.* 18, 4, 3 brings us round by

⁵² Cassander's anxiety to prevent Olympias speaking shows that she was tried for treason and not mere murder; for on murder she had no case, but as to treason she could have said some very awkward things.

⁵³ 16, 35, 2. 17, 84, 6; 107, 4; 109, 2. So αὐτοὶ: 17, 56, 2; 18, 39, 4.

⁵⁴ 17, 79, 6; 80, 1. 18, 26, 7; 37, 2; 39, 3. 19, 51, 2 and 4.

⁵⁵ ἐκκλησία. Macedonian troops: 16,

3, 1; 4, 3. 17, 74, 3; 94, 5; 108, 3; 109, 2. 18, 36, 6. Other troops: 16, 18, 2; 79, 2—καὶ ἐκκλησία. Macedonian troops: 18, 39, 4. 19, 51, 1. Other troops: 16, 19, 3; 18, 3; 78, 2.

⁵⁶ There is a third case of this *analepsis* in *Arr.* 7, 9, 5, Alexander's speech at Opis, which dates the composition of the speech.

⁵⁷ Tarn, *Antigonus Gonatas*, 54, n. 36; 390 n. 61.

another road to what we have already seen from Curtius, viz. that the *ὑπομνήματα* story has nothing to do with Hieronymus, and cannot be earlier than the very end of the third century.

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

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

W. W. TARN.

HERACLES SON OF BARSINE

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

Diodorus first. (a) 18, 2, 1, Alexander dies ἀπαιε. (b) 18, 9, 1, Alexander dies τῆς βασιλείας υἱοῖς διαδόχοις οὐκ ἔχοντος. (c) 19, 11, 2, Olympias μετὰ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου παίδος (one only). (d) 19, 35, 5, Olympias ἔχουσα τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου. (e) 19, 52, 4, ἡ δὲ Κασσάνδρῳ διεγνώκει μὲν ἀνελθεῖν Ἀλεξάνδρου τὸν παῖδα . . . ἵνα μηδεὶς ᾗ διάδοχος τῆς βασιλείας. (f) 19, 105, 4, after the murder in 310 of Roxane's son the dynasts are relieved from fear of the king; οὐκέτι γὰρ αὐτοὺς οὐδενὸς τοῦ διαδεξαμένου τὴν ἀρχὴν each held the χώρα allotted to him as if it were δορίκτητος. This is all plain enough. It is obvious, from the reference to the διαδόχῳ, that (b), (e) and (f) come from the same source: (c) and (d) also come from the same source.

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

¹ Schubert, *Die Quellen zur Geschichte der Diadochenzeit* (1914), to which I shall often refer, makes Diyllus play a large part in Diodorus 18-20; but the foundations of this belief (it is an old controversy) are very shaky indeed. I should be sorry to assume (for instance) that all the pro-Cassander material must be Diyllus, because one bit is. Why should not Hieronymus

have been able to see both sides of Cassander, as he certainly did to some extent in Perdiccas' case? When he wrote he was the friend of Cassander's nephew Genetius, who in part continued the Antipater-Cassander tradition; and in estimating his attitude we must allow for this no less than for his friendship with Cassander's enemies, Eumenes and Antigonus I.

and cannot be Diyllus; and no one has ever doubted that the anti-Cassander material is Hieronymus. However, for the moment I will leave § 2 open. Then follow §§ 3 and 4, the passage cited above (f). This is certainly Hieronymus, because of the meaning of *δορίκτητος χώρα*. I have shown elsewhere² that you cannot identify the Hieronymus material in Diodorus by language, that being Diodorus' own; but you can by the meaning behind the language; and though *δορίκτητος* is common enough from Homer onwards for conquest, and is so used elsewhere by Diodorus himself (e.g. 17, 17, 2), it is used here in a technical sense; *δορίκτητος χώρα*, spear-won territory, was in Macedonia equivalent to *χώρα βασιλική*, King's Land; for, the King being the State, spear-won territory became his private property.³ And the meaning of the statement that the dynasts now held the satrapies assigned to them as the king, whether in Macedonia or Asia, held *γῆ βασιλική*, is this, that they kept the revenues themselves and did not remit them to the central power. Ptolemy had, in fact, remitted no revenues since Antipater's death, if indeed he ever had;⁴ Seleucus had evidently done the same.⁵ After 310, however, all could claim to be *legally* entitled to keep their revenues. It is, I think, obvious that the reference to this rather technical point of the Macedonian law of land can be due to no one but Hieronymus. As the whole of ch. 105 is organically connected—the murder arose from the terms of the treaty, which was a plain invitation to Cassander to kill the boy, and the retention of revenues arose from the murder, the whole chapter is therefore Hieronymus, including (naturally, as being anti-Cassander) § 2.

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

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

² 'Alexander's *ἐκαστοῦ* and the "world-kingdom"', in this journal of J.H.S.

³ See generally Restorff, *Geschichte der römischen Kolonisation* (1910), p. 251 seq.; Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas* (1913), p. 191.

⁴ Diod. 18, 43, 1, his claim that Egypt is *ἐσπέρητος*. Also, after he took the royal title, he reckoned his satrapal years as part

of his reign.

⁵ Diod. 19, 55, 3; he asserts in 316 that he owes no account of his revenues to anybody. If the statement in App. Syr. 63 that he reigned forty-two years (i.e. from 321) represent a true tradition, then he also reckoned his satrapal years as part of his reign.

and it is only in Hieronymus that he, loyal to Eumenes' friend Olympias, becomes a living man.⁸ As to (c). 19, 11, § 4 to the end (favourable to Eurydice, and Olympias in a very bad light), is pro-Cassander; but § 2, which contains our passage, is anti-Cassander and must be Hieronymus because of the glorification of Olympias and the reference to Alexander's good deeds (standpoint of Antigonus I.). Hieronymus, then, is the common source of (c) and (d).

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

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

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

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

⁸ The Vatican fragments of Arrian *Diad.*, (9, 5, 15 and 18; 10, 6, 16) are, of course, not historical.

version compares all the known texts.⁷ I absolutely accept Ausfeld's conclusion that §§ 1 and 2 of the Testament, apart from the obvious Rhodian additions, represent a document of Antipater's time, published, if not during his life, at any rate so soon after his death in 319 that it was still worth attacking him, and that people would understand the attack without explanation.⁸ In this the original portion of the Testament Alexander makes provision for all those related to him by blood; that the provisions are not historical is immaterial here; the point is the list of relatives. Beside Olympias, the writer mentions the one legitimate child of Philip II., Cleopatra; the three illegitimate ones, Philip Arrhidaeus, Cynane, and Thessalonice; and Cynane's daughter.⁹ He mentions Roxane's expected child, and provides for either contingency, boy or girl. And he does not mention Heracles; he knows nothing of Heracles or Barsine, though he knows all the members of the royal house known to history.

I must notice the criticisms directed against Ausfeld's date for §§ 1 and 2 of the Testament. The first is Reitzenstein's;¹⁰ he says that the Testament makes Philip Arrhidaeus *temporary king*, while in fact there was a joint kingship; and as history must be earlier than legend, the Testament must be later than Ausfeld's date. I am afraid that legend precedes history often enough; the world has had quite enough experience of that in recent years. Besides, though we (rightly) accept the joint kingship on Hieronymus' authority, contemporaries were frankly puzzled as to who was king, because decrees were issued in Philip's name alone (e.g. Diod. 18, 56); the contemporary inscriptions are divided on the subject.¹¹ The other two criticisms are Bauer's.¹² The first is that the Testament does not mention Antipater's son-in-law Demetrius, as it ought to on Ausfeld's view, Ausfeld's point being that Alexander allots royal brides to those who in fact married Antipater's daughters. Of course Demetrius is not mentioned; he only married Craterus' widow later—he was merely a substitute, so to speak—and the Testament has to speak as from Alexander's death, when Demetrius was an unknown boy of thirteen, of no possible importance. The second is that Antipater is not really completely passed over in the satrapy-list of the Testament, as Ausfeld says; his name does occur in the version given in the Metz

⁷ A. Ausfeld, "Das angebliche Testament Alexanders des Grossen," *Rh. Mus.* 56 (1901), 517.

⁸ It may have belonged to the propaganda war of 318-317 between Olympias and her friends on one side, and Cassander and the Peripatetics on the other (Plut. Alex. 77). But this war may have been going on, with different protagonists, since Alexander's death, or even since Callisthenes'. No one seems to have studied it. If it could be reconstructed (and parts of it are obvious) we should know more of the history of the Successors than we do.

⁹ Taking Cleodice as representing Eury-

dice, it being necessary, on the scheme of the document, for Leonnatus also to receive a royal bride, and there being reason to suppose that Cynane's daughter is, anyhow, the person meant. Double names of queens are so common at this time that some must have changed their name at marriage: e.g. Audate-Eurydice, Adia-Eurydice, Cynna-Cynane, Myrtale-Olympias, Rhodogune-Spygambis, Barsine-Stateira.

¹⁰ *Poimandres* (1904), App. 5, p. 315.

¹¹ *O.G.I.S.* 4, both kings. *O.G.I.S.* 8 (v.) Syll.³ 311, and *I.G.* ii². 401, Philip alone.

¹² Georg Bauer, *Die Heidelberger Epitoma* (1914), p. 81 seq.

Epitome. Quite so; and, in fact, it also occurs, always as satrap of Cilicia, in several other of the known versions of the Testament, though this has been overlooked; and this greatly strengthens Ausfeld's case. For Antipater never was a satrap; he was *στρατηγός* of the European possessions; and which is more derogatory, to turn the great viceroy of Europe into a petty satrap of Cilicia, or merely to omit his name, which might lead the reader to suppose that he was meant to retain his former office?

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

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

It remains to consider the story of the youth who in 309 appeared as a pretender to the throne of Macedonia under the name of Heracles, son of Alexander and Barsine. Diodorus' story (20, 20 and 28) is that in spring 309 Polyperchon brought Heracles from Pergamum and attempted to make him king; in the autumn, as part of a bargain with Cassander, he put him to death. The reference in Lycophron (*Alexandra* 801) shows that the story was known and believed early in the third century.

First, the historical background. The peace of 311 left Polyperchon isolated, holding Corinth and Sicyon with his mercenaries as a mere soldier of fortune; he had played no part in affairs since 315/4; save for his hold on Acrocorinthus he was little but a name. Antigonus had spoken of putting him down (*O.G.I.S.* 5). But in 310 Polemaeus revolted from Antigonus and allied himself with Cassander, who thus became again in theory at war with Antigonus, though both were exhausted and did not mean to fight again as yet. Then Cassander murdered Roxane's son, and Antigonus seized the opportunity of paying him out for Polemaeus. For this purpose he decided to use Polyperchon, who welcomed the chance of again playing a part in affairs. No one has asked how Polyperchon, in his position, got the money and the 21,000 men with whom he invaded Macedonia in spring 309. Part were the Aetolians, Antigonus' allies, and Antigonus supplied the money to raise more mercenaries. He also supplied a cause, by sending Heracles from Pergamum; if Cassander had killed one son of Alexander he should be threatened with another. Naturally Polyperchon could not have got a pretender from Pergamum unless Antigonus had been co-operating. Some Macedonian royalists joined Polyperchon, and it looked as if he might create enough disaffection in Macedonia to bring Cassander down. Cassander saved himself by getting an interview with Polyperchon, at which he convinced him that if he succeeded he would nevertheless be nothing but Antigonus' servant (Diod. 20, 28, 2; ποιήσει τὸ προστατόμενον ὑφ' ἑτέρου), whereas if he

killed Heracles and joined Cassander he could be general of the Peloponnese and share Cassander's power (*πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ ὀνναστία τῇ Κασσάνδρου κοινὸς ἔσται*). It is obvious that, if Heracles had really been Alexander's son, and Polyperchon had put him forward on his own account and not on Antigonus', Cassander's bribe was entirely inadequate; for Polyperchon, in the event of success, would have been virtual ruler of Macedonia. Diodorus' record of the interview between Polyperchon and Cassander is based throughout on the assumption that both men knew they were dealing with a puppet of some one, who can only be Antigonus. None of the three could afterwards afford to tell the truth; Polyperchon, because he dare not explain that he had misled the Macedonian royalists, who doubtless suffered, on false pretences; Cassander, because he could keep Polyperchon to heel as the man who had killed Alexander's son who trusted him; Antigonus, because he had an excellent propaganda weapon against Cassander for procuring the boy's death. The incident was soon forgotten in greater matters.

Now, is Diodorus' story from Hieronymus or not? I take it to be substantially Hieronymus. The light in which Cassander is represented is of importance for this; and naturally Hieronymus could not say that Antigonus was behind the plot, seeing the pains Antigonus had taken to cover his tracks; the story did not appear in black and white in his Journal, and perhaps even Hieronymus did not know all the details. But the writer has given indications enough: the Aetolian alliance, the mention of Pergamum, the fact that Polyperchon *συνήγε χρήματα* without it being specified how the discarded soldier of fortune achieved this desirable operation, the details of the interview with Cassander. It does not appear what writer but Hieronymus could have given these indications; but what clinches the matter is the reference to the boy's age (seventeen). As we shall see, his age did not, and could not, appear in the vulgate tradition; it could only have been known to some one in close touch with Antigonus. Naturally, Diodorus' remark that Heracles was son of Alexander and Barsine is not from Hieronymus, who, as we have seen, knew only one son of Alexander, Roxane's; this remark is Diodorus' own addition, drawn from the vulgate.¹² Possibly what Hieronymus wrote was 'who was called a son,' etc.; but this is guesswork. But we do know from Lycophron that the vulgate had a long innings before Hieronymus wrote; and it naturally imposed itself on the world, precisely as the Alexander-vulgate did. The vulgate, of course, must essentially have been the story which Polyperchon gave out when he invaded Macedonia in 309; and we must now attempt to ascertain what that was.

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

¹² Diodorus often makes such additions collected by Jacoby, 'Hieronymus' in Pauly-on his own account; see the instances col- Wisowa, and Schubert *passim*.

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

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

As to Heracles, one need hardly go further; but who was 'Barsine'? Take it point by point.

First, the historical Barsine. Only two women of the name are known in this period prior to 309; both are known from Ptolemy:¹⁴ (a) Mentor's wife, and (b) the elder daughter of Darius III., whom Alexander married. Now Mentor belonged to a much older generation than Alexander. He is last heard of alive in 342/1;¹⁵ his sister, Artabazus' wife, had twenty-one children by 342 (Diod. 16, 52); his son Thymondas commanded the mercenaries at Issus, and himself had a grown-up son in 327/6, (*I.G.* ii², 356); his daughter and Barsine's married Nearchus in 324 (Ptolemy ap. Arr. 7, 4, 6). Clearchus of Soli the Peripatetic adds something; he couples Mentor's wife with Artabazus' wife as two women distinguished for insolent pride (Athen. 6, 256 D). Obviously Mentor's wife, like Artabazus' wife and Mentor himself, belonged to an older generation; but nothing else is known about her.

¹⁴ Arr. 7, 4, 4 seq. As Arrian quotes a variant from Aristobulus, this list is from Ptolemy.

¹⁵ I think Kahstedt's date for the cap-

ture of Hermias (*Forschungen zur Geschichte des ausgehenden fünften und des vierten Jahrhunderts*, 1910) is now generally accepted.

However, Curtius 3, 13, 4 (Cleitarchus)¹⁶ says that three of Mentor's daughters were captured at Damascus, but does not mention his wife; presumably, therefore, Cleitarchus thought she was dead.

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

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

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

¹⁶ Duris' brother is called Oxathrus; this proves that this passage is Cleitarchus; see Diod. 17, 77, 4; Curt. 7, 5, 40; Plut. *Alex.* 43. His real name was Oxyartes; Ptolemy ap. Arr. 7, 4, 5.

¹⁷ Nothing in Diod. 17, or in Curtius till after 10, 6, i.e. after Cleitarchus' *excessus*. This is very notable; for Cleitarchus loved

to relate an intrigue, e.g. the Amazon queen, and Cleopatra.

¹⁸ Ptolemy's speech in Curtius, in alluding to Heracles, reproduces what Polyperchon did later, precisely as, in alluding to the Alexander-tent, it reproduces what Eumenes did later.

coloured by Duris (Schubert, p. 123), there can be little doubt through whom Curtius derived his statement.

Can we go further yet?

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

The vulgate tradition, then, i.e. what Polyperchon gave out, was this: Alexander after Issus took a Persian captive named Barsine as mistress, and had by her a son Heracles; the two lived at Pergamum; and he may or may not have added that Barsine was Artabazus' daughter. This vulgate was circulated by (among others) Duris, who certainly made Barsine Artabazus' daughter. Aristobudus, who often rationalised, and who knew quite enough about Alexander to feel that some explanation of a proceeding so contrary to his character was necessary, tried to improve the vulgate by bringing in Parmenion;¹⁹ it was a poor shot, but then he did not know the boy's age; Polyperchon naturally had not stated that (if he knew it), for it would have given his whole story away. Much later, somebody identified 'Barsine' with (3), the Memnon's widow of Cleitarchus; this is no part of the vulgate. We cannot say who made this identification, nor is it material; for the identification rests on an obvious confusion of Mentor and Memnon, of Mentor's half-Persian wife Barsine with 'Barsine' the Persian captive; and such confusions are unfortunately far too common throughout the literature relating to the Macedonian epoch to call for comment.²⁰

Lastly (4), Barsine of the blood royal. Artabazus had played an important part in affairs for many years; we have a mass of references to him in the extant literature, but nowhere else is his royal descent alluded to, and there is no reason in the tradition to suppose it a fact.²¹ It is

¹⁹ It is more than possible (as we shall see) that Parmenion *did* give Alexander such advice, but with regard to the real Barsine, Darius' daughter, and that Aristobudus had some idea of it, and, with the vulgate before him, naturally supposed that it referred to the other (Polyperchon's) 'Barsine' and that Alexander had taken the advice. We know that Alexander's treatment of Darius' family sadly upset

every one's ideas of how a conqueror ought to behave.

²⁰ See another case of Memnon for Mentor, Strabo 13, 610.

²¹ That Artabazus was a son of Pharnabazus and Apama, daughter of Artaxerxes II., is a pure guess, and not very probable on the dates. Apama was married late in 387. In 342 Artabazus had twenty-one children by one wife (eleven

possible, therefore, that Plutarch's mention of royal descent was made, not because of Artabazus, but because of Barsine; it was the lady who had to be of royal descent, and this could only be on the father's side, Artabazus' wife being a Rhodian. The key to the whole thing is given by Justin 15, 2, 3, who has a story that Heracles was 'over fourteen' when murdered. Now a theory has been put forward that fourteen was the Macedonian throne-age, the age at which a prince could begin to exercise royal power, and that therefore Justin only means that Heracles was 'of age.'²² The theory is far indeed from being proved, and there is a rival theory which makes the throne-age eighteen; both seem to shatter on (beside other evidence) Diod. 19, 105, 2 (Hieronymus; see *ante*), which says that some in Macedonia said that Alexander's son ought now to rule, he being from twelve to thirteen years old. I am not going into this; for even if the theory were proved, few would care to believe that Justin (or Trogus) was so confident that his Roman readers would know the one-time Macedonian throne-age that he could allude to it in this extraordinary way without explanation. I take Justin to mean exactly what he says; there was a story which made the boy's age over fourteen in autumn 309. He was then supposed to have been born about summer 323; that is, in this story he was a legitimate son of Alexander and Barsine his wife, Darius' daughter. Plutarch's Barsine of the blood royal is an echo of this; some one (? Duris) mixed this story up with the vulgate, the very different story told by Polyperchon. The confusion with Roxane's son, who was born July 323, is obvious; and, in fact, Justin elsewhere (14, 6, 2 and 13) does call Heracles the son of Roxane.²³ The confusion goes further still in Porphyry (fr. 3, 1), where Roxane is Darius' daughter instead of Barsine. This story also suggests that 'Barsine,' Heracles' mother, the supposed captive of Issus, was really derived from Barsine, Darius' daughter, the real captive of Issus; and lends support to the supposition (see note 19) that Parmenion did give Alexander the advice Aristobulus says he did, but about Darius' daughter. It is tempting to suppose that behind all the confusion may have lain a story or stories with a purpose, the purpose of showing that Alexander left a son of Achaemenid race, just as he himself in Persian legend became a son of Artaxerxes Ochus, and Roxane became Darius' daughter.

sons), and Mentor that year gave 'his sons' commands in the army (Diod. 16, 52, 4). Literally, this means the whole eleven. Probably it really means 'some.' Even so, Ariabazus cannot well have been married later than 370, and most probably married much earlier; for, even if Curtius be wrong in making him ninety-five in 330, at any rate he retired from his satrapy in 323 on the ground of old age; and the period was one which saw men of eighty still commanding armies in the field. If he were Apama's son, he was under sixty when he retired. He may have been Pharna-

bazus' son; but Nöldeke's idea that Apama was his mother was based solely on the belief that he had a daughter Apama. This, as we have seen, was a mere blunder of Duris, possibly due to the fact that there was an Apama (Spitamenes' daughter) among the brides at Susa.

²² Bauer, *op. cit.* p. 51 n., with references.

²³ F. Schachermayer, 'Das Ende des makedonischen Königshauses,' *Klio* 16 (1920), 332, suggests that Heracles in Justin 15, 2, 3 means Alexander IV.; but his article is quite superficial and does not examine the questions involved.

To sum up. Alexander had one son only, Roxane's; his intrigue with 'Barsine' is as mythical as that with the Amazon queen. Heracles of Pergamum was an ordinary pretender, chosen by Antigonos doubtless for some facial resemblance to Alexander, but five years too young for his alleged parentage. Who his mother was is unknown. We are thus quit of two very grave difficulties in the received version of events; we no longer need ask how it could have happened that a son of Alexander should grow up to seventeen unnoticed, and never be used as a pawn in the game by any one; or how it came to pass that Alexander's veterans, three days after that last touching scene when they insisted on filing past their dying king's bed, preferred Philip's idiot son to the son of Alexander.

W. W. TARN.

THE PROBLEM OF BYZANTINE NEUMES.

IN past numbers of the *Annual of the British School at Athens* and elsewhere I have tried to deal with some of the questions connected with Byzantine Music, and, having brought to a close my studies of the Round or Later Mediaeval System, I am unwilling to leave the subject without giving my views on the abstruse and difficult problem of the older notation.¹

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

Riemann claims the following concessions:—

(1) In every phrase the progression makes a fresh start from the *Finalis*.² (2) Only the first sign over a syllable has interval-value: what follows is ornamental.³ (3) The *Ison* at the end of a hymn has an indeterminate value, i.e. it always denotes the *Finalis*, no matter what the foregoing tone may have been.⁴

¹ Authorities: Gastoué, *Am.*, *Introduction à la Paléographie musicale byzantine*. Riemann, H., *Die byzantinische Notenschrift im 10 bis 15 Jahrhundert*. Thibaut, J., *Origine byzantine de la Notation neumatique de l'Église latine*. I have written on the Neumes in *Amer. Jour. Arch.* 1916, p. 62, and *I.M.G.* (Monthly Mag. of Internat. Mus. Soc.) 1913, p. 31. For the Round Notation see my articles in *B.S.A.* vols. xviii., xix., xxi. and xxii.

As this article forms the end of the series, I should like to convey my thanks to several friends, especially to the Editor of the *Annual* and to the Managing Committee of the British

School at Athens; and also to Mr. F. C. Nicholson, Librarian at Edinburgh University, for his valuable aid in procuring access to MS. material at a difficult time. To various gentlemen, whose services I have acknowledged in former papers, I once again express my sincere gratitude.

² *Die byz. Notenschrift*, p. 57. The Latin term *Finalis* is here used to indicate the note on which the melody ends, being also that from which the progression starts.

³ *Ibid.* p. 56.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 57. The signs are given in Fig. 1, and explained below.

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

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

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

Gastoué considers that all phrases in all modes begin from *g*, as a kind of fixed reciting-note. (He does not say whether he expects those modes that have some other *Finis* to reach it automatically at the end of a hymn or whether some transposition is needed.) In attempting to apply this rule to the Round System, Gastoué has fallen into grave error; and from the single specimen of which he gives both original and transcript in the Linear System, it would perhaps be rash to judge of the merits of his theory. His frequent confusion of the *Diple* // with the *Kentemata* .. is a palpable defect; and anyhow the critic must demand more examples of successful interpretation before accepting such a hypothesis.³

In abandoning the principle of a chain of interval-signs, we lose the only mathematical check on the correctness of our evaluation and translation. But no other course seems to be open to us. Riemann says he spent 'many decades' studying Byzantine music, while of Gastoué he remarks: 'Mr. Gastoué has, like myself, made extended experiments of all kinds, but has not reached any definite result.'⁴ Finally, he sums up his own labours thus: 'Here I present the method of interpretation which, after wearisome experiments with every possible or probable scheme of evaluation, has alone proved satisfactory.'⁵ It is hard to believe, if the problem had merely been one of evaluation (as, for example, the Round System would have been without the help of the *Papadike*), that two such eminent musical palaeographers after their protracted labours should have failed to clear up the mystery. For my part, after photographing hundreds of hymns and making numerous copies and trial versions (often thirty or forty from the same hymn according to different theories), I am ready to maintain that the Linear Notation is a

² *Ibid.* p. 80.

³ Gastoué, *op. cit.* pp. 12-16, 23-28, 32-38, and the *ex. pp.* 41-47. (Quiser in a review in the *Mass. Greco* says that G.'s versions 'have no scientific value'.) Although I differ from Gastoué on the main question, I have, like Riemann himself, found many useful suggestions and good material in his book.

⁴ *Op. cit.* *Introd.* pp. iii-iv.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 38. Yet in Riemann's complementary volume (*Riemann-Festschrift*, Leipzig, 1909 (same date as Riemann's own book)), Oskar von Riemann regards the Byzantine Neumes as entirely undeciphered. Riemann had already submitted his main contentions in an article published in 1907. So we may safely leave him to the verdict of his own admirers (see *R.-Festschr.* p. 189, and *L.M.G. Sammelband*, Oct. 1907).

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

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

THE LATEST FORM OF BYZANTINE NEUMES (THE MIXED OR CONSTANTINOPOLITAN SYSTEM)

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

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

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

1 Ison: equality.

² *Ibid.* p. 35.

2 *Oligon*: ascending second. In the intermediate and earlier phases of Neumes this sign is the *Ison*. Riemann considers that it always represents the *Ison* in the Linear System.¹⁰ But this is almost certainly a mistake; for (1) where the Coislin System shews a plain stroke, this reappears in parallel passages of Round Notation as the *Oligon*. (2) When we compare earlier and later Neumatic passages, we find that the straight *Ison* in the former is quite regularly represented by the hooked *Ison* in the latter. Where the Coislin System has the *Oligon*, the earlier form either has an *Oxeia* or gives a different turn to the phrase. If we admit the general principle of constant tradition, these arguments seem conclusive. But, from the nature of the case, we cannot give a mathematical proof. If Riemann's evaluation worked out satisfactorily, I should have accepted it; but the opposite is the case.

3 *Oxeia* and

4 *Petaste*—these are used exactly as in the Round System. } Ascending
5 *Kentemata*: also used as in the above. } second

6 *Kentema*. Here the value was probably not fixed. 7 and 8 usually made an ascending third, but 9 and 10 may also have served for an ascending fourth.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹⁰ *Op. cit.* p. 55.

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

Also in the compound 30 only one ascending second seems to keep its mathematical value. For we find very often the formula 30 *a* in the Linear

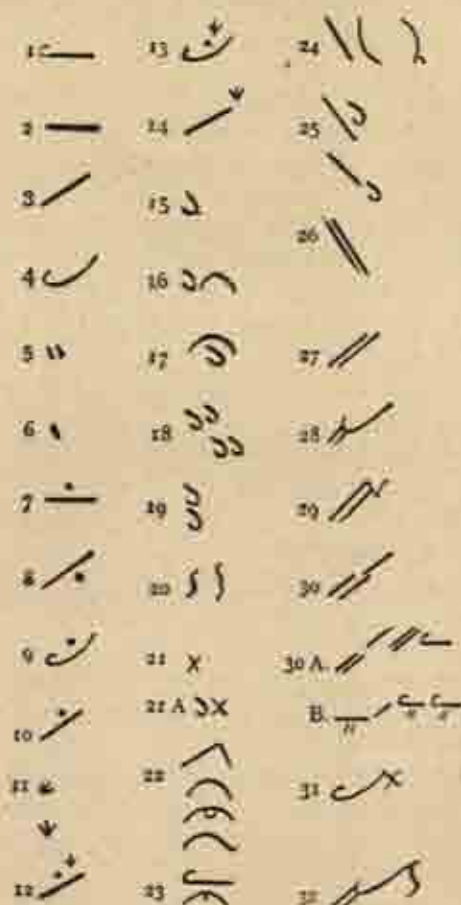
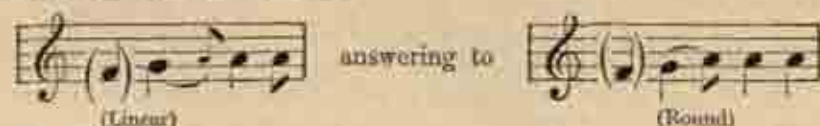


FIG. 1.—SYMBOLS USED IN THE COAN SYSTEM.

System answering to 30 *b* in the Round Notation, both being common at cadences; the effect was probably



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

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

Hypostases. Many of these already familiar in the Round Notation occur in the Neumes, the commonest being the Klasma \vee or \smile . In the older Neumes this is used alone and seems to be a compound of Barcia and Oxeia, the value being one or two notes down and one up.

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

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

34. Thematismus Eao and 35. Thema Haploon may now sometimes indicate formulae not shewn by the interval-signs. (V. *ibid.*)

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

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

In every case we supply the parallel hymn from the Round Notation. The degree of similarity varies greatly, and where there is only a remote general likeness, any translation of the Neumes will be mainly guesswork. The task of the future will be to gather materials for more extensive comparison, and as every melody extant in the Linear Notation has many

counterparts in the Round System, a thorough collation of the versions of various dates should eventually fill up most of the gaps in our present knowledge.

In the Round System, when an ascending sign is annulled by an *ison* or a descending sign, some ornamentation was probably implied. The exact execution may have been left, as it is in modern Greek Church music, to the discretion of the singer. For the annulled *Petaste* I put a *mordente*. This, in quick time, is conveniently sung as a triplet (including the principal note). For the annulled *Oligon* or *Oxeia* I put a grace-note or *accusatura*; for the annulled *Kouphisma*—a double *mordente*.

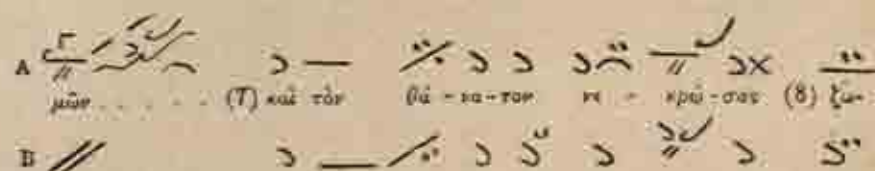
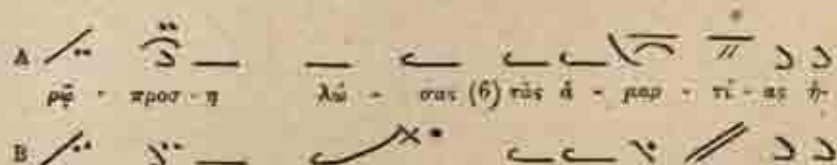
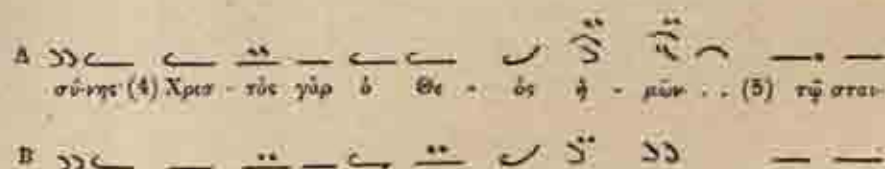
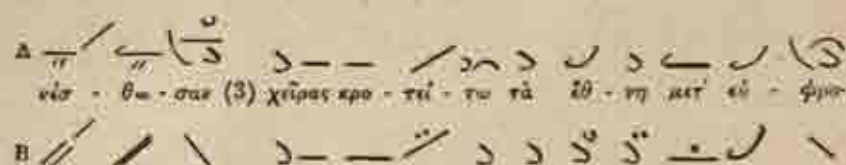
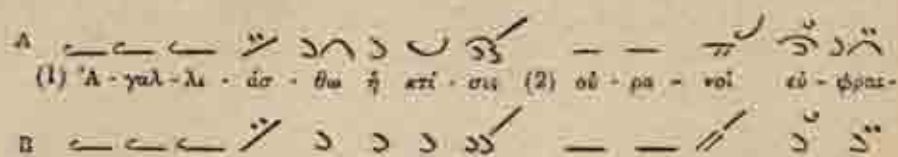


FIG. 2.

A. COD. ATHON. VATOPED. 288, F. 374 (Round Notation).

B. COD. SINAIT. 1214 (Linear: Coislin System).

MODE I.

From *Stichera Anastasima*.

A

(1) Ἀ·γαλ·λι· - εἰρ - θω ἡ κτί· - σις (2) οὐ· - ρα - ραί εὐ· - φραι·

B

γὰρ - θω· - σαι (3) χεῖρας κρο· - τει· - τω τὰ ἔθ· - νη μὲν· εὐ· - φραι·

A

σύν·ην (4) Χρῆς· - τος γὰρ ὁ Θε· - ος ἡ· - μῶν... (5) τῷ· σταν·

B

ρῶν· - προσ· - η - λώ· - σαι (6) τὰς δ· - μῶν - τει· - σις ἡ·

A

μῶν... (7) καὶ τὸν θά· - να· - τος νε· - κρώ· - σις (8) ὡς

B

11 *Finis*.

12 Fresh start from lower Finalis.

13 Fresh start from middle Finalis.

A

B

ἦν ἡ - μῶν ἑ - δὲ - μῆ - σα - το (9) περ - τα -

A

B

κό - τα - τόν Ἀ - δάμ (10) παγ - γε - νῆ ἁ - να - στῆ - σας,

A

B

ὡς φιλ - ἄν - θρω - πος.

A. COD. ATHON. VATOPED. 288 f. 368 b. (Round Notation).

B. COD. SINAIT. 1244. (Linear: Coislin System).

MONE II.

From *Stichera Anastasima*

A

B

(1) Ἐ - λ - γ - σον ἡ - μῶν (2) τοῖς πται - ον - τὰς σοι πολ -

A

B

λά . . . (3) καθ' ἑ - κάσ - την ἡ - ρα 11 ὁ Χρισ -

10 Parakletike.

11 Fresh start from lower Finalis; clear dot in text of Sinait.

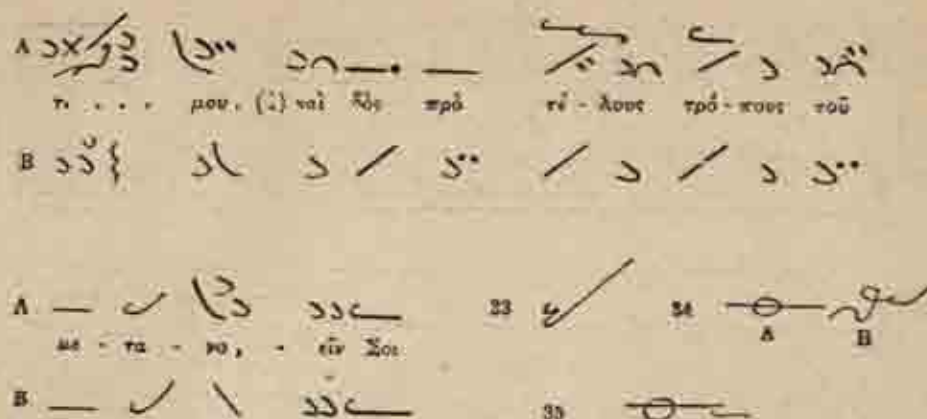


FIG. 3.

Note on the Russian Neumes.

The Russian Church, besides translating most of the Byzantine Liturgy into the Slavonic language¹⁶ also borrowed her sacred music from Constantinople. It is, however, a remarkable fact that the so-called Kondakaria Notation, the oldest known in Russia (11th-12th century), cannot be traced in any Greek manuscript, though a few of the signs seem to agree with the Ecphonetic. This system is totally unintelligible at present; but the slightly later Sematic Notation is so much like the Coslin Neumes that a valid interpretation of the latter would almost certainly supply us with its clue. Unfortunately the materials are buried in the libraries of Russian monasteries, where there are small facilities for study, while the publications, as far as they are available at all in this country, are altogether inadequate for our purpose.

Thibaut reproduces one ode of the Easter Canon in the early Sematic Notation,¹⁷ This we have tried to decipher on the analogy of Coslin 220.

For the hymns given by Riesenmann I have no parallels available.¹⁸ The later stages of the Sematic Notation, to judge from Riesenmann's facsimiles, have scarcely any likeness to the older. This may be due to the fact that he has no examples between the twelfth and the seventeenth centuries. At the latter date we find a highly developed notation with group-symbols and red diacritic letters, which can be read with certainty by the help of numerous mediæval handbooks and the tradition of the Old Believers.¹⁹ An extensive publication of hymns in this script has been carried out in Russia. Here, therefore, the

¹⁶ Cosl. — some correction needed.

¹⁷ Lygisma.

¹⁸ For information as to Russian liturgy, see Neale, J. M., *Hist. of Holy Eastern Church*, introd. pts. 1 and 2.

¹⁹ *Op. cit.* PL VIII. (No transcription attempted.) In the next facsimile is a specimen of the later Sematic Notation. How widely they differ will be seen at a glance. The same writer discusses the Ecphonetic Notation on pp. 17 ff.

¹⁸ Oskar von Riesenmann, *Die Notationen der alt-russischen Kirchengesänge*, Leipzig, 1900. Musicians owe a debt of gratitude to this scholar, who has set out in a concise and clear form a mass of information otherwise accessible only in Russian.

¹⁹ MSS. of this class are common all over Russia and are found in western libraries. I bought three at the Nijni Novgorod fair in 1911; the latest may belong to the early nineteenth century.

THE PROBLEM OF BYZANTINE NEUMES

41

Εὐχαριστία

Α

τέ μου. (4) καὶ ὁς: πρὸ τέ - λους τρὸ - πους τοί

Β

Α

μή - τα - ρά - εἰς Σοί

Β

western scholar need only come as a learner; but in the more ancient neumes there seems to be plenty of room left for investigation and methodical criticism. To this subject, which lies beyond the range of the present article, I should be glad to return at some later date.

RUSSIAN NEUMES, EASTER CANON.
Facsimile in J. THIBAUT, *op. cit.* Pl. VIII.

вос-кре - се - ні - я день про - свѣ - ти - мь ся

лел - и - ѣ. пас - ха гос - пои - ѣ - ня пас - ха. о - ть

съ мър - ти - ю во - къ жи - зи - ни и о - ть зем - ля на

не - бо хрис - тос - ѣ бог - ѣ на - съ при - ве - дь

ес - ть по - бѣ - дь - ну - ю по - ю - ше

THE EARLIER FORMS OF BYZANTINE NEUMES.

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

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

= Fresh start from lower Finalis.

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

Many MSS. of the intermediate class are very ornate, using a great number of compound signs of obscure meaning. The extreme example of this we find in the Chartres fragment and the MS. Laura 7, 67, from which it seems to have been torn. This MS. contains a leaf of a musical handbook dealing in a summary fashion with the notation in question. This latter fragment I have discussed in an earlier article.²²

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

For the Easter Ode we offer three versions (Fig. 4). The Laura MS.²³ (c. 1000 A.D.) is the oldest known specimen of Byzantine Neumes, while that from the Iberian Monastery is the oldest that I have seen in the Round Notation.²⁴ It is often hard to decipher and contains errors besides reminiscences of the Neumes. The laws of subordination are sometimes overlooked, and the sequence is broken occasionally at a medial cadence. The middle stage is here represented by Coislin 220, from which the system takes its name.

The Hymn for S. Stephen is a fairly simple instance of the intermediate Neumes (Fig. 5). The frequent use of the Argon will be observed, and also the compendious sign in line 7 (*Thematismus eso*). An unusually close parallel is afforded by the Trinity MS., which probably belongs to the early fifteenth century.²⁵

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

²³ For this MS. see my article, *B.S.A.* xix. pp. 95 ff. and Pl. XIV. Riemann, *op. cit.* 72-94, also gives specimens; his reproductions are almost illegible (from bad photo-

graphs; the MS. is clear) while his versions are open to the objections already mentioned.

²⁴ Cf. my article in *Musical Antiq.* 1913, 205, 226. We should probably add a Diple to the last Ison but one in the hymn reproduced from this MS. in Fig. 5, in order to secure a normal ending, as in the transcription.

²⁵ For other exx. from this valuable MS. see *B.S.A.* xxi. pp. 136, 143; cf. *ibid.* xxiii. p. 201.

A / 3 / 3 / 3 / 3 / 3

B 3 3 / 3 / 3 3' \ 3 // 3 —
 (1) Δεῦ - τε πῶ - μα πλ - ι - μιν και - νόν (2) οὐκ ἐκ

C 3 3 3 3 / 3 3 3' \ 3 π 3 —

A 3' / 3 3' 3' 3 // // . 3' 3

B — / 3 / 3 3' — 3 // 3' // 3 3' —
 πέτρας δ - γὰρ γὰρ τε - ρα - τούτ - γὰρ - μένον (4) ἀλλ' ἄ - φθαρ-

C — / 3 / 3 3' — 3 π 3' // 3 3 —

A // 3 3 // 3 / 3 3 3 3

B // 3 3 // 3' / 3 3 / 3 3 3
 οὐ - κε πη - γήν (5) ἐκ τῆ - φου ὁμ - βρή - σαν - τα Χρεσ-

C 3 3 3 π 3 — 3 3 / 3 3 3

A 3 // 3 3 3 3 // // .

B // 3 3 3 3' // // 3
 τόν (6) ἐν ᾧ στε - ρε - οῦ - με - θα

C π 3 3 3 3' // 3 3

FIG. 4.

CANON FOR EASTER.

A. PALAEOBYZANTINE; LAURA B 22, f. 10 b.

B. COISLIN SYSTEM. COD. COISLIN 220.

C. ROUND SYSTEM (ARCHELIC) COD. ATHON, IBER. 222, f. 5.

ODE III. MODE I.

A

(1) Δεῦ - ρε πῶ - μα πῖ - ω - μεν καὶ τὸν (2) οὐκ ἐκ

B

C

A

πῖ - τρας ἃ γὰρ τὸν τε - μα - τας γὰρ με - τον (1) ἀλλ' ἃ φθα -

B

C

A

σί - ας πη - γὴν (5) ἐκ τὰ - φαν ἁμ - βρή - σαν - τα Χρισ -

B

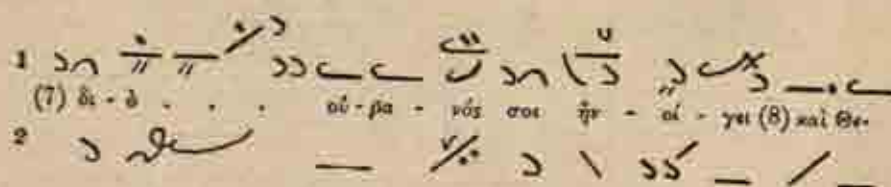
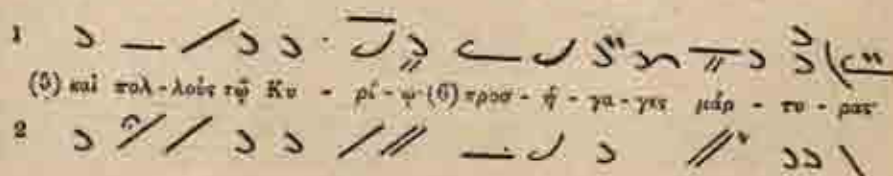
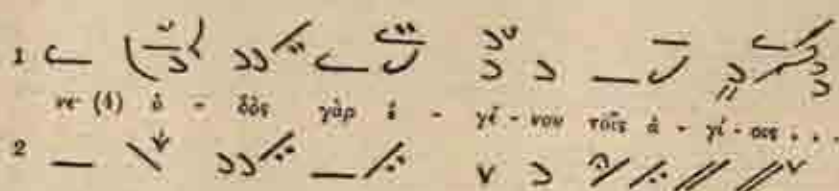
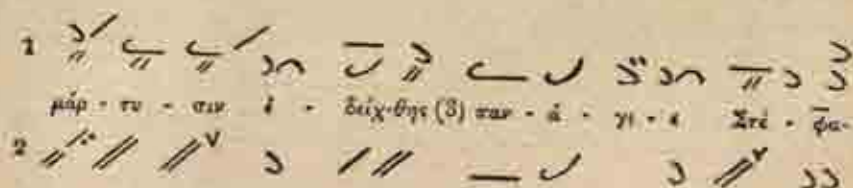
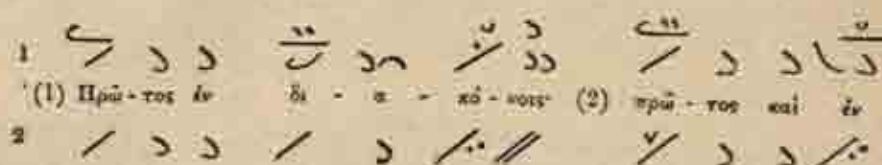
C

A

τὸν (6) ὅν ψ σπῆ - ρα οὐ - με - θα.

B

C



HYMN FOR S. STEPHEN (*Dec. 26th*)

1. CANTAB. TRINITATIS. B. 11. 17. f. 107 (Round System).

2. SINAITICUS. 1219. NEUMES (Intermediate Form).

MODE II.

(1) Ἡμῶν - ρος δι - α - κό - ρος (2) προῦ - ρος καὶ ἐ -
 μῶν - ρος δι - α - κό - ρος (3) παρ - ᾧ - γε - ε Στ - φ -
 αν (4) ὁ - ἔος γὰρ ἐ - γέ - ρον τοῖς ἀ - γέ - ος . . .
 (5) καὶ παλ - λους τῶν Κυ - ρί - ων (6) πρὸς - ἡ - γε - γέε μῶν - ρος
 (7) δι - ὁ - ρᾶ - ρος πρὸς ἡν - α - γε (8) καὶ θε -

* Fresh start from Finalis.

* Argon (*prosim*).

* Thematisms—compensatory sign.

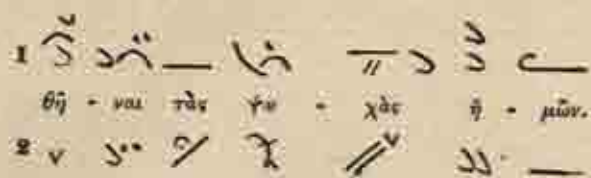
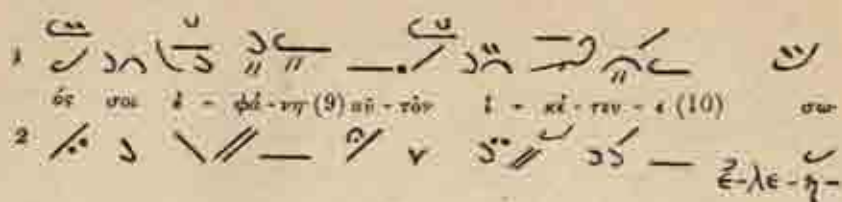


Fig. 5.

The musical score consists of two systems, each with two staves. The first system is marked with a '1' and a '2' on the left. The first staff of the first system has a 'w' above it. The lyrics for the first system are: *ὅς σὺν ἡ - φάν-το· (9) αὐ - τῶν ἡ - κε - ρε - ς (10) σὺν -*. The second system is marked with a '1' and a '2' on the left. The lyrics for the second system are: *θῆ - ναι τὰς ψυ - χὰς ἡ - μῶν, σὺν - ναι*.

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University College, Johannesburg.

* Barcia.

THE PROGRESS OF GREEK EPIGRAPHY, 1919-1920.

In my last Bibliography (*J.H.S.* xxxix. 209 ff.) I attempted to cover the three and a half years from July 1915 to December 1918 inclusive, though I was only too well aware that, under the conditions of the period of war and armistice, I could not claim completeness for my record. In the present article I deal primarily with the years 1919 and 1920, but I have inserted references to a number of books and articles which actually appeared earlier though they did not become accessible to me until the years under review. Excavation has not yet been renewed on anything like the pre-war scale and the number of Greek inscriptions published for the first time is correspondingly small, but gratifying progress has been made in many directions in the restoration of mutilated texts and the fuller interpretation and utilisation of documents already known. The reader who glances even cursorily through the following pages will, I hope, be struck, despite the compression necessitated by considerations of space, by the vitality and interest of the study to which they relate, and by the many-sided contribution it has made to the understanding of Hellenic language, literature, religion and history.

General.—In addition to my own Bibliography above referred to, the 'Bulletin Épigraphique' of P. Roussel and G. Nicole¹ calls for mention: the 'Literaturbericht' for 1916 drawn up by P. Kretschmer² has a more specialised aim and therefore a narrower scope, but is invaluable for philologists. A very concise account of Greek and Latin epigraphy is incorporated in Laurand's *Manuel des Études Grecques et Latines*,³ but this, though containing some useful suggestions and bibliographical data, is too brief to serve as a satisfactory introduction to the study of Greek epigraphy. The excellent little work entitled *How to Observe in Archaeology*,⁴ addressed primarily to travellers who have received little archaeological training, takes some account of inscriptions and contains two tables of Greek and cognate alphabets, one relating to Asia Minor and the other to mainland Greece and the islands.

The year 1920 has seen good progress made with the third edition of Dittenberger's *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, of which two new instalments⁵ have been issued. Volume III contains the 359 texts (of which 44 did not appear in the second edition) selected to illustrate various aspects of the public, religious and private life of the Greeks. The great majority have been edited by F. Hiller von Gaertringen, but E. Ziebarth has undertaken this

¹ *Rev. Ét. Gr.* xxx. 409 ff.

² *Glotta*, x. 213 ff.

³ *Fasc.* 7, Paris (Picard), 1919.

⁴ London (British Museum), 1920.

⁵ Leipzig (Hirzel).

responsibility for some sixty inscriptions, chiefly dealing with private life, and O. Weinreich and H. Diels have dealt with a few texts falling within their special provinces. The first section of Vol. IV comprises Indexes of personal names, divine and human; of their accuracy and fulness there need be no doubt, but it is hard to approve of the change whereby human beings other than potentates are arranged not solely on the alphabetical principle but under the several states to which they belonged.

E. Preuner has published⁶ extracts from the papers of H. N. Ulrichs relative to Greek inscriptions, following the order of the *IG.*; most of these shed fresh light on, or suggest corrections of, published texts, but some afford new material for Troezen, Tanagra, Thespiae, Thebes and Delphi. A metrical epitaph, the provenance of which is not indicated, has been discussed by T. Reinach⁷ and may receive a passing mention here.

In the dialectological sphere special attention may be called to two articles⁸ in which F. Bechtel examines dialect-forms found in Thessalian, Boeotian, Loerian, Delphian, Arcadian and Lesbian inscriptions. J. C. Hoppin has given us, in addition to the valuable work noted in the following section, some corrections⁹ of Nicole's *Corpus des Céramistes Grecs*. C. Robert has examined fully¹⁰ the scenes from the *Iliad* and from the *Nosti* occurring on two inscribed Homeric vases, and the brief inscriptions on several gems¹¹ seen by Antoine Galland (1646-1715) and on a glass weight from the Vienna Hofmuseum¹² also call for notice. Of much greater interest is E. Preuner's detailed examination¹³ of some points of contact between archaeology and epigraphy, in the course of which he attempts a new restoration of the Micythus-inscription from Olympia, reconstructs the *stemma* of the Megarian sculptor Callicles, investigates the evidence for the artistic activities of Daedalus, a Sicyonian bronze-caster of the early fourth century, collects the references to a family of Athenian potters in which the names Bacchius and Cirtus are prominent, calls into being from an epithet a Theban artist Euan-critus, deals with the titles on portraits of Menander, Solon and Archilochus, traces the source of the forged inscription on a relief at Wilton House, and shows how the allegation that Cyriac of Ancona copied in Chios an epitaph of Homer rests apparently upon the fact that he copied the metrical epitaph of a certain Isidote which refers to Chios as the *πάτρα πολυήρατος Ὀμήρου*.

To two French scholars we owe able and important volumes the materials for which are drawn largely from inscriptions. In his work¹⁴ on the translation into Greek of the consular title M. Holleaux reviews successively the translations found in documents emanating from consuls, in dedicatory inscriptions set up by the Italians of Delos, in decrees and dedications of Greek origin, in Polybius, and in the acts of the Senate. A chapter is devoted to critical remarks on the title *στρατηγὸς ὑπάτος*, and in an appendix (p. 131 ff.)

⁶ *Rh. Mus.* lxxiii. 273 ff.

⁷ *C. R. Acad. Inscr.* 1920, 57.

⁸ *Göt. Nachr.* 1918, 397 ff., 1919, 339 ff.

⁹ *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxi. 308 ff.

¹⁰ *Jahrb.* xxxiv. 65 ff.

¹¹ *Rev. Arch.* xii (1920), 104 ff.

¹² *Num. Zeit.* ii. 194 ff.

¹³ *Jahrb.* xxxv. 59 ff.

¹⁴ *Étude sur la traduction en grec du titre consulaire*, Paris (Boccard), 1918.

the author reproduces his discussion¹⁴ of the so-called letter of Cn. Manlius Velso to the state of Heracles sub Latmo. The addenda and corrigenda include a new fragment of a letter of Sp. Postumius, remarks on the dedications of Roman magistrates mentioned in the Delian inventories and a new letter of the Senate, written probably early in 188 B.C. and inscribed at Delphi. No less interesting is J. Hatzfeld's exhaustive discussion of the Italian *negotiatores* in the Greek East,¹⁵ in which, after some preliminary remarks on Latin names in Greek inscriptions (p. 7 ff.), the writer traces minutely the history of the expansion of the *negotiatores* over the Hellenic world (17 ff.) and then reviews (193 ff.) their professions, origin, social status and organisation, their relations to the Greek population, and the rôle they played. The full and excellent index adds greatly to the value of a notable book. Other important books and articles also draw largely or mainly upon epigraphical sources. Among these are W. Schubart's remarks on the style of the letters written by Hellenistic kings,¹⁷ T. Klee's monograph¹⁸ on the *γυμνασίοι ἀγῶνες* at Greek festivals, which, starting from the Coan victor-lists here first published, discusses successively the programmes of the competitions, the age-classes of competitors, the times of the several festivals and the victors in the four sacred ἀγῶνες, M. Holleaux's admirable collection¹⁹ of the epigraphical occurrences of the title *στρατηγὸς ἀνθίστατος*, and F. Imhoof-Blumer's article²⁰ on the significance of the title *πρωτοκ* and the employment of Roman knights as officials in Greek cities. U. Wilcken's examination²¹ of the formulae of Imperial rescripts from the time of Augustus to that of Diocletian also owes something to inscriptions, notably that of Scaptopara.

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

J. Sundwall, who continues to do valuable work on the Cretan scripts, has attempted²² an interpretation, necessarily provisional, of some tablets in the linear script A, and has also discussed²³ the question of the origin of the Cretan writing, rejecting the theory that this was the 'Urbild' of the Phoenician, and tracing back fifty-three Cretan signs to Egyptian hieroglyphs: there cannot, he holds, be the slightest doubt that the Egyptian hieroglyphic writing served not only as a stimulus but as a pattern and that the Cretans

¹⁴ *Rev. Ét. Anc.* xix. 237 ff.

¹⁵ *Les Traffiquants Italiens dans l'Orient Hellénique*, Paris (Boccard), 1919. Reviewed by P. Roussel, *Rev. Ét. Anc.* xxii. 138 ff.

¹⁶ *Arch. Pop.* vi. 324 ff.

¹⁷ *Zur Geschichte der gymnasialen Agone an griech. Festen*, Leipzig (Teubner), 1918.

Reviewed *Berl. phil. Woch.* xxxix. 160 ff., *Class. Phil.* xiv. 90 f. Cf. Klee, *loc. cit.* 192 f.

¹⁸ *Rev. Arch.* viii. (1918), 221 ff.

¹⁹ *Nouv. Zeit.* xlviii. 94 ff.

²⁰ *Hermes*, lv. 1 ff.

²¹ *Acta Acad. Aboensis Humaniora*, ii, Abo, 1920.

²² *Ibid.* i. 2. Reviewed *Phil. Woch.* xii. 12.

took over the Egyptian phonetic values together with the signs. Of W. N. Bates' paper on 'Recent Theories on the Origin of the Alphabet' I know only a brief summary,²⁴ but it is noteworthy that he thinks that the Greek alphabet is not derived from the Phoenician. This same thesis is maintained by W. M. Flinders Petrie, who, in an article²⁵ resuming and restating the view already set forth in his work, *The Formation of the Alphabet*, admits indeed the close connexion between the Greek and the Phoenician alphabet, but argues that the latter was neither the sole source of the former nor the source of all other alphabets. He rejects the claims of the hieratic, Cretan and Sinaitic scripts to have originated alphabetic writing, and traces the use of a signary of some sixty signs back to a very early stage of Egyptian history, in many cases prior to the use of hieroglyphs. Of these signs various people made different selections, or the same people, as for example the Greeks, used now a fuller and now a shorter selection. Reviewing this article, a writer in the *Revue Archéologique*,²⁶ though not committing himself to the whole theory, holds that at least it 'merits discussion.' E. Hermann, on the other hand, has written an interesting summary²⁷ of Sethe's article in which the Sinaitic inscriptions are regarded as bridging the gulf between the Egyptian hieroglyphs and the Semitic scripts. The Phoenicians took over the hieroglyphic signs but not the Egyptian values; the pictographs received their Semitic names and their value was then determined on the acrophonic principle. The Greek alphabet in turn was derived from the Phoenician, as has been shown afresh by M. P. Nilsson, whose work (*vide infra*) Hermann summarises and criticises (p. 54 ff.). The same scholar has protested²⁸ against the misrepresentation of his article on the letters *Pi* and *Beta* by A. Mentz, who has made a brief rejoinder.²⁹ M. P. Nilsson's work³⁰ contains a re-examination of the theory of a Phoenician origin of the Greek alphabet and an attempt to trace its development on the basis of simple and consistent principles, aided by a well-guarded use of analogy. He insists that in the Semitic and Greek alphabets the acrophonic principle determines without exception the phonetic value of a letter, which represents the first sound of the letter-name, and examines at length the procedure followed in other alphabets and also in Greek to secure signs for sounds hitherto unrepresented, the main method consisting in a differentiation of the sign which is phonetically most closely akin to the sound for which a new sign is sought. In a paper³¹ dealing mainly with some points in the history of the Etruscan and Latin alphabets, M. Hammarström has devoted to the history, form and value of the Greek letter *H* a full and valuable discussion, which students of the Greek alphabet cannot afford to neglect. Considerations of space and of relevance forbid any detailed notice of J. Capart's estimate and critique of recent dis-

²⁴ *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxiv. 90.

²⁵ *Scientia*, Dec. 1918.

²⁶ x. (1919), 379 f.

²⁷ *Deutsche Literaturztg.* xl. 27 ff., 51 ff.

²⁸ *Berl. phil. Woch.* xxxix. 264.

²⁹ *Ibid.* 576.

³⁰ *Kgl. Danske Videnskabsnks Selskab. Hist.-filol. Meddelelser*, i. 6. Copenhagen, 1918.

³¹ *Acta Societatis Scient. Fennicae*, xlix. 2. Helsingfors, 1920. Reviewed by E. Hermann, *Berl. phil. Woch.* xl. 1067 ff.

coveries relative to the history of the alphabet²² and of R. Eisler's bold and noteworthy attempt²³ to decipher the Sinaitic inscriptions, written according to the author in an alphabet of twenty-two letters, almost all of which can be traced back to Egyptian hieroglyphs, though their sense is not that of the Egyptian signs but of the Semitic letter-names. Special attention should, however, be drawn to K. Kalinka's essay on the origin of alphabetic writing,²⁴ in which the writer maintains the Semitic origin of the Greek alphabet, but after an examination of the pictographic value of the earliest Phoenician letter-forms concludes that the inventor of the alphabet was not a Phoenician but a member of some nomadic people in the Phoenician hinterland, possibly the Israelites, and to C. F. Lehmann-Haupt's long and suggestive study²⁵ of the same subject, in which the writer develops and supports suggestions made by him in 1904 and 1910, insisting that whereas the 'inner form' of the Phoenician alphabet is certainly derived from an Egyptian source, the 'outer form,' i.e. the signs employed, should not be traced to Egyptian, Babylonian or other originals (as appears from the two recorded American cases of the invention of scripts in recent times), though an eclectic use of Cretan or other signs may have been made without regard to their phonetic values; the general conclusion is that the Phoenician alphabet arose in Palestine not very long before 1100-1000 B.C., probably at the period when Egyptian rule over Palestine had ceased, and there was no single and compact régime in Mesopotamia.

Attica.—The new Attic inscriptions published during the period under review are few in number and of no very great interest, but valuable work has been done in the restoration and interpretation of previously known texts. At Sunium B. Stais has found two fragments of archaic dedications and a number of stone balls inscribed with numerals and, in some cases, the name of a certain Zoilus;²⁶ their purpose he regards as enigmatic, but J. Svoronos has conjectured²⁷ that they served as weights in the Athenian mint at Sunium. Investigation of the grotto of Pan near Phyle has yielded sixteen texts, of which all save one are new, mostly votive in character.²⁸ E. F. Rambo has illustrated an article²⁹ on Attic grave-stelae by three hitherto unpublished examples in the Philadelphia Museum, and F. Behn has discussed³⁰ two Panathenaic amphorae from Egypt, now preserved in the Pelizäus Museum at Hildesheim. F. Hiller von Gaertringen, who is at present engaged on a special study of the earlier Attic inscriptions, has discussed the restoration of the 'Salaminian Decree,'³¹ documents relating to the Hekatompedon, Athenian public works and the Apolline worship,³² and two archaic

²² Acad. Royale de Belgique. *Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres*, 1920, 408 ff.

²³ *Die Kenitischen Weinschriften der Hyksoszeit im Bergangebiet des Sinaitaltes*, Freiburg i. Br. (Herder), 1910. Reviewed *Aegyptus*, i. 378 ff., *Bibl. Arch.*, x. (1919), 380, *Berl. phil. Woch.* xl. 1184 ff., *Hist. Zeits.* cxxiii. 303 ff.

²⁴ *Klio*, xvi. 302 ff.

²⁵ *Zeits. D.M.G.* lxxiii. 51 ff.

²⁶ *Apex*, 'Ep. 1917, 291, 293.

²⁷ *Journ. Intern.* xviii. 122.

²⁸ *Apex*, 'Ep. 1918, 19 ff.

²⁹ *The Museum Journal*, x. 149 ff.

³⁰ *Arch. Anz.* xxxiv. 77 ff.

³¹ *Berl. Sitzb.* 1919, 600 f.; cf. *Hermes*, liv. 112.

³² *Ibid.* 1919, 661 ff.

epigrams.⁴² W. Bannier has published a further instalment⁴³ of his valuable comments on Attic inscriptions, dealing with the sixth and fifth centuries, and the latter century is further represented by L. Weber's re-examination⁴⁴ of the two epigrams of *I.G.* i. 333, both of which he refers to the battle of Marathon and connects conjecturally with the basis of the Hermae erected in the Athenian Agora to celebrate the victories won over the Persians, and by G. F. Lehmann-Haupt's discussion⁴⁵ of the phrase *καθ' ἑαυτὸν οἱ ἄλλοι Χαλκιδεῖς* in the 'Chalcidian Decree.' New and valuable light has been thrown on the decree of 401/0 (*I.G.* ii.² 10.) granting privileges to those metics and foreigners who had aided in the overthrow of the Thirty Tyrants and the reinstatement of democracy: the document is discussed in detail, mainly upon the basis of the generally accepted restoration, by P. Cloché,⁴⁷ while P. Foucart sets himself with marked success to the task of restoring the text and interpreting the exact nature of the services rendered and the rewards granted.⁴⁸ Turning to the fourth century we may note Cloché's dating⁴⁹ of the Attic fragment mentioning King Tachos of Egypt (*I.G.* ii. 60=ii.² 110). E. Reisch's article⁵⁰ on the date of the statue of Syeris sculptured by Nicomachus (ii. 1378), K. Kunst's examination⁵¹ of a famous Eleusinian account (ii. 834 b=Dittenb. *Syll.*² 587), and G. Glotz's attempt⁵² to fix in June or July 332 B.C. the date of the accounts relating to the Portico of Philon at Eleusis (ii. 834 c). To B. Leonardos we owe very careful and detailed commentaries⁵³ on the decree granting citizenship to Menestheus of Miletus (ii. 455) and on the catalogue of the demesmen of the Acamantid tribe (ii. 1032). In a series of epigraphical studies on Athens in the imperial period, P. Graindor discusses⁵⁴ (a) the date of the archonship of Philopappus (iii. 78) and of Plutarch's *συμπροσιακά προσηλήματα*, (b) the decree in honour of an Emperor, probably Hadrian, of which *I.G.* iii. 7 and 55 are parts, (c) a dedication (iii. 132) to Aselepius and Hygieia, and (d) the date of the catalogue, *I.G.* iii. 1012. T. Reinach draws attention⁵⁵ to a fragment of a copy of *I.G.* iii. 5 (Dittenb. *Syll.*² 885) in the Biblioteca Bertoliana at Vicenza and to the presence of certain other inscriptions in the same library. E. Michon traces the history and corrects the text⁵⁶ of *I.G.* iii. 94, on a bust of Melitene, priestess of the Metroön in the Peiraena, now in the Louvre. Mention must also be made of L. R. Farnell's able and convincing interpretation⁵⁷ of a fragment of Plato Comicus in the light of an Attic ritual inscription. T. Homolle's exhaustive discussion⁵⁸ of three inscribed reliefs from Phalerum, O. Weinreich's article⁵⁹ on the inscription (Dittenb. *Syll.*² 1125), statue and cult of *Νέωρ* at Eleusis,

⁴² *Hermes*, liv. 211 ff., 329 ff.

⁴³ *Berl. phil. Woch.* xi. 40 ff.

⁴⁴ *Philologus*, lxxvi. 60 ff.

⁴⁵ *Klio*, xvi. 193 ff.

⁴⁶ *Rev. Ét. Gr.*, xxx. 384 ff.

⁴⁷ *Un décret Athénien relatif aux combattants de Phylé* (Mém. de l'Acad. Inscr. et Belles-Lettres, xlii. 323 ff.), Paris, 1920. Reviewed *Class. Rev.* xxxv. 361.

⁴⁸ *Rev. Egyptologique*, I. (1919), 213 ff.

⁴⁹ *Jahresh.* xix.-xx. 209 ff.

⁵⁰ *Berl. phil. Woch.* xxxix. 493 ff.

⁵¹ *Rev. Ét. Gr.* xxxi. 307 ff.

⁵² *Arch. Ep.* 1918, 100 ff., 104 ff.

⁵³ *Rev. Ét. Gr.* xxxi. 221 ff.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* 91 ff.

⁵⁵ *Mém. Soc. Nat. Ant. de France*, lxxv. 91 ff.

⁵⁶ *Class. Quart.* liv. 139 ff.

⁵⁷ *Rev. Arch.* xi (1920), 1 ff.

⁵⁸ *Arch. Rel.* xix. 174 ff.

W. B. Dinsmoor's theory⁶⁰ that the pedestal in front of the Athenian Propylaea, which later bore a statue and inscription of Agrippa, was originally erected about 178 B.C. on the occasion of the victories won in the Panathenaic chariot-races by Eumenes II and his brother Attalus, F. Bechtel's interpretation⁶¹ of the epigraphically attested name Σμύσσοπος, and B. Schroeder's list⁶² of the accessions made since 1903 to the German collections of antiquities, including a votive relief from Peiraeus and three Attic gravestones. W. Dörpfeld's latest article⁶³ on the Athenian Hekatompedon makes constant appeal to epigraphical evidence, and inscriptions form the chief basis of G. Smith's interesting examination⁶⁴ of the Attic casualty lists and cognate questions such as those of mobilisation, military organisations, the treatment of the wounded and the care of the invalided, widows and orphans. R. C. Flickinger's book⁶⁵ on the Greek theatre devotes a chapter (ix, p. 318 ff.) to 'Theatrical Records,' in which some account is given of the surviving fragments of the three great Athenian dramatic records—the *Fasti*, the *Didascaliae* and the *Victor-lists*. H. McClees deals with the subject of the part played by women in Athenian public and private life as viewed through the medium of the inscriptions, but her book is still inaccessible to me.⁶⁶ The vexed, but very important, question of the chronology of the Athenian archons has given rise to two articles, in one of which⁶⁷ J. Kirchner discusses the new results relative to the archons of the second and first centuries B.C. reached by P. Roussel in his work *Délos: Colonie Athénienne*, while in the other⁶⁸ P. Graindor corrects the dates attributed by him in a recent article to certain archons of the second century after Christ. J. C. Hoppin's *Handbook of Attic Red-figured Vases Signed by or Attributed to the various Masters of the Sixth and Fifth Centuries B.C.*⁶⁹ is invaluable not only to the student of Greek vase-painting but also as giving a complete and authoritative list of artists' signatures within the limits indicated by its title. On the historical side the posthumous work of B. Keil, edited by R. Laqueur, entitled *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Areopagus* calls for special notice. Starting from an examination of an Epidaurian stone (*I.G.* iv. 936-8) the author discusses with minute care the evidence, primarily epigraphical, for the character and position of the Athenian Areopagus as reorganised in the period of Roman supremacy, when the old oligarchical council was placed above the two democratic bodies, the *Bουλή* and the *ecclesia*, and incidentally deals with the powers exercised at this time by the archons, the *στρατηγοί* and other magistrates. An interesting parallel is drawn (p. 79 f.) between the Areopagus with its *ἐκρυξ* and *αἰεσίτες* on the one hand and the English Town Council with its Town Clerk and its Standing Committees on the other.⁷⁰

⁶⁰ *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxiv. 83.

⁶¹ *Hermes*, lv. 29 f.

⁶² *Arch. Anz.* xxxiv. 109 ff.

⁶³ *Jahrb.* xxxiv. 1 ff.

⁶⁴ *Class. Phil.* xiv. 351 ff.

⁶⁵ *The Greek Theatre and its Drama*, Chicago (University Press), 1918.

⁶⁶ *A Study of Women in Attic Inscriptions*, Columbia University Press, 1920. *Cl. Am.*

Journ. Arch. xxiii. 72, *Class. Rev.* xxxv. 76.

⁶⁷ *Berk. phil. Woch.* xl. 836 ff.

⁶⁸ *B.C.H.* xl. 74 ff.

⁶⁹ Two vols. Harvard University Press. Vol. i. reviewed by E. Pottler, *Ber. Arch.* x (1919), 259 ff.

⁷⁰ *Berichte der Sachs. Akad. Phil.-hist. Klasse*, lxxi. 8.

Peloponnese.—K. K. Smith has published ⁷¹ forty-two inscriptions found at CORINTH, mostly during the excavations carried on from 1902 to 1907, together with a number of valuable notes on previously published texts from the same site: they comprise decrees, catalogues, dedications and epitaphs, and, though the majority are seriously mutilated, some—such as the four archaic dedications (Nos. 71-74), two sculptors' signatures (Nos. 80, 82), and especially an early boundary-stone giving warning of a fine to be imposed on trespassers (No. 70)—are of considerable interest. In addition, Corinth has produced a proconsular rescript of the third or fourth century of our era and two funerary inscriptions.⁷² To W. Vollgraff we owe two further instalments ⁷³ of his epigraphical discoveries at ARGOS, numbering twenty-four texts ranging from the fifth century B.C. to the late Roman period and including a fragment of a fifth-century treaty between Argos and Epidaurus (No. 5), a list of actors who took part in certain musical contests (No. 25), an inscription in honour of Pompey the Great *αὐτοκράτωρ τῷ τέταρτον* (No. 27), and a letter of Agrippa to the Argive *γερονσία* (No. 28), which gives rise to an interesting discussion of *γερονταί* in general (p. 265 ff.). Four epitaphs from the neighbourhood of Argos and Nauplia have been added to the Nauplia Museum.⁷⁴ C. A. Giamalides' article ⁷⁵ on the ancient churches of EPIDAUROS contains a large number of Byzantine and Christian inscriptions together with a few (Nos. 1, 2, 5, 26, 28, 50) of an earlier period. The numerous inscriptions found by P. Cavvadias in the course of his recently renewed excavations at the Epidaurian Asclepium have not yet been published, but five of them, of which a preliminary account has appeared,⁷⁶ bid fair to prove of exceptional value. The longest and most important, which throws new light on the working of the Achaean League and clears up some of the problems left unsolved by Polybius, is a law passed by the Achaeans in 223 B.C. to define and regulate the fresh situation created by the admission of the Macedonians and their allies to the League, modifying some articles of its constitution, and granting to the Macedonian king the right of intervention in its affairs. G. H. Macurdy has interpreted ⁷⁷ the puzzling word *ἀφαιεῖν*, which occurs in an inscription of SPARTA (*I.G.* v. 1. 209), as being equivalent to *ἀφαιρεῖν*, 'to act as starter.' F. Hüller von Gærtringen has proposed ⁷⁸ to read *Νικόπολις*, the city-goddess of Nicopolis, in an inscription of Mantinea in ARCADIA (*I.G.* v. 2. 297), and W. Vollgraff, after publishing ⁷⁹ as new a bronze fragment containing accounts of a very early date, subsequently found ⁸⁰ that it had previously appeared (*I.G.* v. 2. 410) among the inscriptions of Lusi, north of Cleitor. From Aegira in ACHAEA we have ⁸¹ a new, but incomplete, dedication and a revised version of the metrical epitaph published by Wilhelm in his *Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde*, 109, No. 93.

⁷¹ *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxiii. 331 ff.

⁷² *Apx. Anst.* iv. esp. 3 ff., *Apx. Ep.* 1917, 108.

⁷³ *Memnosyne*, xlvii. 160 ff., 262 ff.

⁷⁴ *Apx. Ep.* 1917, 108.

⁷⁵ *Apoll.* xxv. 403 ff.

⁷⁶ *Acropole*, i. 8 ff.

⁷⁷ *Class. Rev.* xxxiv. 98 f.

⁷⁸ *Hermes*, liv. 104 f.

⁷⁹ *Memnosyne*, xlvii. 66 ff.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* 230.

⁸¹ *Jahresh.* xix.-xx. Beiblatt, 38 ff.

Northern Greece.—Seven inscriptions from the sanctuary of Amphiaraios at Oropus have been carefully edited⁸² by B. Leonardos; among these the most interesting are (a) the stele (No. 91) bearing the word ΙΣΤΙΗΣ from the altar described by Pausanias, i, 34, 3; (b) a list (No. 92) of subscribers to an ἀνάθημα set up in 328/7 B.C. and an Attic decree in praise of three men who helped in its erection; (c) a new version (No. 93) of the famous ἱερὸς νόμος published in *I.G.* vii, 235, *Leyes Graecorum Sacrae*, 65, and elsewhere; (d) a record (Nos. 95-97) of the honours paid to στρατηγοὶ ἐπὶ τῇ χώρῃ, ἐπὶ τῷ Παρραεῖ and ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀκτεῖ and others in 324 B.C., the front of the stone being occupied by a list of the eleven λοχαγοὶ and sixty-three ἐθνηβοὶ (their names arranged under their respective demes) who united in bestowing the crowns here commemorated. Few of the new finds from Βοιωτία are of special importance. A. D. Keramopoulos' investigations at Thebes⁸³ have brought to light twenty-three inscriptions, chiefly votive in character, from the temple of Ismenian Apollo and other sites. Some of them go back to the sixth century B.C. (pp. 35 f., 61) and among the divinities honoured are Apollo Hismenios, Pronaia (p. 35 f.), the Great Mother, Δαίμων Μινύχιος, Attis and Artemis Orthosia (p. 421 ff.). An inscribed vase⁸⁴ with scenes from the Νέστοι also comes from Thebes, while from the Boeotian Cabirium is derived a leaden token⁸⁵ with the inscription KAB. A. Skias has given us⁸⁶ fifteen new Plataean texts found in 1899, two unpublished documents from a MS. of Stamatakis, and corrected versions of two inscriptions already known (*I.G.* vii, 1679, 1705-6). G. de Sanctis has discussed⁸⁷ the meaning of the phrase ἡμῶν ἔνεκεν found in the *Senatus consultum* relating to Thisbe, and E. Preuner has devoted a long and valuable article⁸⁸ to Honestos, the author of the epigrams engraved on a number of statue-bases from the Thespian sanctuary of the Muses: in this the epigrams are examined afresh, their relation to the monuments on which they are engraved is discussed, and the date of one of them—that which refers to Σεβαστή, whom Preuner regards as Julia, Augustus' daughter—is fixed at ca. 3/2 B.C., a valuable datum for determining the period of the epigrammatist.

In Doris a single archaic epitaph⁸⁹ has been found. W. Vollgraff has proposed⁹⁰ an emendation in a well-known inscription (Dittenb. *Syll.*² 844) of Amphissa in Locris, and E. Schwyzler has attempted⁹¹ to explain the puzzling word AMATA in the treaty between Aetolia and Acaëmania recently discovered at Thermum (Dittenb. *Syll.*³ 421).

DELPHI takes a more prominent place in the epigraphical history of the past two years. F. Poulsen's admirable account of the history and archaeology of Delphi, translated by G. C. Richards,⁹² makes considerable use, as is but natural, of epigraphical materials. P. Cloché's full discussion⁹³ of Greek

⁸² *Apex*. 'Ep. 1917, 39 ff., 231 ff., 240, 1918, 73 ff.

⁸³ *Apex*. Δελφ. iii, 22 ff., 33 f., 61, 64, 306 ff., 401, 421 ff.

⁸⁴ *Jahrb.* xxxiv, 65 ff.

⁸⁵ *Journ. Intern.* xviii, 114.

⁸⁶ *Apex*. 'Ep. 1917, 157 ff.

⁸⁷ *Atti di Torino*, liv, 526 ff.

⁸⁸ *Hermes*, lv, 385 ff.

⁸⁹ *B.S.A.* xxiii, 111.

⁹⁰ *Mnemosyne*, xlvii, 72.

⁹¹ *Rh. Mus.* lxxii, 434 ff.

⁹² F. Poulsen, *Delphi*, London (Gylden-dal).

⁹³ *B.O.H.* xi, 78 ff.

politics from 355 to 327 B.C. is based largely on the financial records of the *ναοποιοί*, which not only receive illumination from the literary texts but themselves in turn supplement and give precision to those texts, and works out in detail the view expressed by E. Bourguet in 1896 (*B.C.H.* xx. 223) that the composition of this college gives the most exact idea of the relative importance of the various Greek cities at the sanctuary. A. C. Johnson attempts⁸⁴ a new chronological arrangement of the Amphictyonic records and of the Delphian archons of the period 240-202 B.C. by bringing into close relation the epigraphical discoveries made at Delphi and at Athens and by applying the principles (a) that no member of the Macedonian Empire or of the Achaean League ever participated in the Amphictyonic Council while it was dominated by Aetolia, and (b) that when we find any state represented on the Council, that state must be free from Macedonian control at the time. The article closes with a list (304 ff.) of Delphian archons and councillors and *hieromnemones* for 239-202 B.C. By a re-examination of a Delphian inscription G. Glotz shows⁸⁵ that at Delphi (as at Delos, Boeotian Orchomenus, Coreyra and Corinth) the *χαλκοῦς* is the twelfth part of the obol. In the course of his article⁸⁶ on the title *στρατηγὸς ἀνθρώπων*, M. Holleaux discusses six Delphian texts, one of which (No. 13), set up by the Amphictyonic *κοινόν* in honour of Q. Ancharius, was previously unpublished. In the renewed Thurian *promanteia* (Dittenb. *Syll.*³ 295) E. Bourguet proposes⁸⁷ to restore $\pi[\rho\acute{o}] \tau[α] λιωτ\acute{\alpha}\nu [\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu] \tau\omega\upsilon\sigma$ for the $\pi[\rho\acute{o}] \alpha λιωτ\acute{\alpha}\nu [\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\upsilon\sigma] \tau\omega\upsilon\sigma$ conjectured by Dittenberger and generally accepted. In this connexion⁸⁸ and also in a special article,⁸⁹ Bourguet voices an outspoken criticism of the procedure and competence of H. Pomtow as shown in his treatment of the Delphian texts published by him in the first volume of the new edition of Dittenb. *Syll.* Pomtow has continued his publication of Delphian inscriptions in a fourth series of *Delphische Neufunde*.¹⁰⁰ Under the general heading 'The Liberation of Delphi by the Romans,' he deals fully with twenty-eight inscriptions, almost all of the second century B.C., many of which have already appeared in Dittenb. *Syll.*³ 607 ff. The second group (Nos. 115-123: cf. Dittenb. *Syll.*³ 607-12) comprises, according to the editor, historically the most important Delphian texts of the second century, recording 'the liberation and restoration of the Delphian ecclesiastical state by M. Acilius, the expropriation of the Aetolian lands and houses by the Delphians, the sanctioning of these measures by the Senate, the revenge of the Aetolians by the murder of the three Delphian envoys returning from Rome, etc.' The third section (p. 141 ff.), entitled, 'The Restoration of the Delphian Amphictyony after 188 B.C.', contains *inter alia* the important decree of 184 B.C. (No. 123*) previously edited by Blum (*B.C.H.* xxxviii. 26 ff.), and another of 119/7 B.C. (No. 125) which refers to a religious *στάσις* which 'exercised a very marked influence in hampering the public and private life of the community.' The concluding section deals with the rivalry of two states in E. Locris, Thronium and Scarpheia,

⁸⁴ *Am. Journ. Phil.* xi. 286 ff.⁸⁵ *Rev. Et. Gr.* xxxi. 88 ff.⁸⁶ *Rev. Arch.* viii. (1918), 221 ff.⁸⁷ *Rev. Et. Anc.* xxi. 77 ff.⁸⁸ *Ibid.* 77 n. 2.⁸⁹ *Rev. Arch.* vii. (1918), 209 ff.¹⁰⁰ *Klio*, xvi. 109 ff.

and includes three documents of great interest, that relating to the disputed right to nominate the Epimenidian *hieromnemon*, settled in favour of Thronium by an Athenian tribunal of sixty-one members (No. 130), that relating to a frontier-dispute (No. 131), and that containing a supplement to a frontier-settlement between Thronium and the 'Egagioi' (No. 137).

The new finds from THESSALY consist of an honorary inscription¹⁰¹ set up at Larissa by the *κοινὸν Θεσσαλῶν*, and fifty-four texts from Chyretiae (Perrihaebia) discovered and published¹⁰² by that indefatigable explorer of northern Greece, A. Arvanitopoulos: of these thirty-nine are matumissions of the usual Thessalian type, four are honorary inscriptions, two are decrees (Nos. 301, 304), one of them accompanied by a letter borne by the Chyretian envoys who communicated the text of the decree to the people of Oloösön, one (No. 302) is a letter from Titus Quinctius Flamininus, *στρατηγὸς ἑταρος Πρωταίων*, to the state of Chyretiae, and eight are funerary, of which one is a metrical epitaph dating apparently from the last quarter of the fifth century B.C. In addition several inscriptions from Scotussa, Phalanna and elsewhere have been corrected or annotated¹⁰³. The mosaic-inscriptions from the early Christian basilica at Nicopolis in EPIRUS excavated by A. Philadelphens have been published by their discoverer¹⁰⁴ and commented on by A. Hadjis.¹⁰⁵

Islands of the Aegean.—EUBOEA has produced no new inscriptions, but the epigraphical and other discoveries at the sanctuary of the Egyptian deities at Eretria have been discussed by P. Roussel,¹⁰⁶ and K. Swoboda has suggested¹⁰⁷ some emendations and restorations in the hymn addressed to the Idaean dactyls (*I.G.* xii. 9. 259). Of the Cyclades DELOS alone is represented. The article of Roussel just referred to deals also with the Delian shrine of the Egyptian gods, and some valuable remarks are to be found in F. Durrbach's reviews¹⁰⁸ of Roussel's recent works—*Délos: Colonie Athénienne* and *Les Cultes Egyptiens*. J. J. Kirchner has devoted an article¹⁰⁹ to the statement and examination of some of the results reached by Roussel in the first Appendix to the former book, which deals with the chronology of certain of the Athenian archons of the second and first centuries B.C. In the course of a long and detailed study¹¹⁰ F. Durrbach examines the chronology of the Delian archons from 314 down to 166 B.C., especially of those from 301 (Lysixenus) onwards, which is settled by a Delian text discovered in 1912 and confirmed by Glotz's article¹¹¹ on the price of pitch. Inscriptions are of very secondary interest in A. Plassart's full report¹¹² on the excavation of the residential quarter lying to the east of the Stadium: Delian inscriptions, however, play an important part in the articles of Holleaux referred to in the opening section of this Bibliography. An archaic dedication to Apollo is found on a vase from SCYROS.¹¹³ A vigorous duel has

¹⁰¹ *Rev. Arch.* viii (1918), 235, No. 19.

¹⁰² *Arch. Ep.* 1917, 1 ff., 111 ff.

¹⁰³ *Mnemosyne*, xlvii, 110. *Rh. Mus.*

* lxxii, 426 ff., *Arch. Ep.* 1917, 38.

¹⁰⁴ *Arch. Ep.* 1917, 48 ff., 1918, 40.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.* 1918, 28 ff.

¹⁰⁶ *Revue Egyptologique*, I. (1919), 81 ff.

¹⁰⁷ *Woch. kl. Phil.* 1918, 262.

¹⁰⁸ *Rev. Et. Gr.* xxxi, 122 ff., 128 f.

¹⁰⁹ *Berl. phil. Woch.* xl, 836 ff.

¹¹⁰ *B.C.H.* xl, 298.

¹¹¹ *Rev. Et. Gr.* xxix, 281 ff.

¹¹² *B.C.H.* xl, 145 ff.

¹¹³ *Arch. Δελτ.* iv, παραρτήμα, 38.

been waged over the pre-Hellenic inscriptions from LEMNOS between E. Lattes¹¹⁴ and L. Pareti,¹¹⁵ the former of whom maintains that the language is Etruscan, while the latter regards the proofs brought forward in support of this theory as insufficient and is inclined to trace in the inscriptions Thracian rather than Etruscan affinities. The contributions of CRETE are not of great interest¹¹⁶ with the exception of an archaic text from Gortyn, written *boustrophedon*, giving, according to D. Comparetti,¹¹⁷ 'the indispensable complement of the last clause of the law on the division of the inheritance contained in the Gortynian Code which has come down to us in the Great Inscription': in fact, however, it is not a later addition but a considerably earlier enactment, omitted in 'that badly arranged and imperfect body of laws which we possess in the Great Inscription.' One of the greatest problems of the Code of Gortyn is discussed by A. Debrunner,¹¹⁸ who examines the meaning of the phrase $\alpha\iota\delta\kappa\alpha$ in *S.G.D.I.* 4991, v. l. 4 l., and the significance of the passage in which it occurs. W. Krause has attempted¹¹⁹ to determine the pronunciation of θ in Gortynian speech, concluding that in the first period it had the value t^h , while in the third it took the spirantic value p .

Of the publication of some new inscriptions of COS in T. Klee's work on the Greek *ἀγῶνες* mention has already been made: P. Stengel's examination¹²⁰ of the word *ἐνδορα*, which is found in Coan inscriptions (Paton-Hicks, 37, 38, 40), also calls for notice. Some fifty-three inscriptions, among them several of considerable interest, discovered in the course of the Greek and German excavation of the Heraeum of SAMOS, have been published by M. Schede.¹²¹ They include four texts set up by the Athenian settlers on the island, eleven belonging to the period of the Antigonids (322-300 B.C.), most of which contain some reference to the exile (*φύγι*) or to the restoration (*καθόδο*) of the Samians, six of the Ptolemaic period, including a long and interesting record (probably dating from 243/2 B.C.) of the services rendered to his native state by a certain Bulagoras, and nine of late Hellenistic times: the remainder, which are of the Roman period, include the inscriptions from statue-bases of M. Cicero, of Calpurnia, wife of Julius Caesar, of Agrippa Postumus, of Julia the daughter of Augustus, of Drusilla the sister of Caligula, and of other well-known historical personages. E. Preuner has re-examined¹²² a much-discussed epigram (Kaibel 872) relating to a certain Vera, *hydrophoros* in the cult of Artemis of PATMOS. Valuable contributions have been made to the study of the inscriptions of RHODES by F. Hiller von Gaertringen, to whom are due a suggested new reading¹²³ of a sacrificial inscription from Netteia copied by L. Ross, a thorough discussion¹²⁴ of the topography of the demes of the Rhodian cities, in the course of which a new inscription from Ialysus is published, and a re-examination¹²⁵ of the inscription on Aridiceus and Hieronymus. The

¹¹⁴ *Hv. fl.* xlvii. 321 ff., xlviii. 378 ff.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.* xlvii. 153 ff., xlviii. 55 ff.

¹¹⁶ *Ap. Δελ.* iv. *επιγράμματα*, 11 ff.

¹¹⁷ *Rendiconti dei Lincei*, xxvii. 207 ff.

¹¹⁸ *Rh. Mus.* lxxiii. 362 ff.

¹¹⁹ *Zts. f. d. Sprachforschung*, xlix. 121 ff.

¹²⁰ *Hermes*, liv. 298 ff.

¹²¹ *Atk. Mitt.* xlv. 1 ff. Cf. *Berliner Museum*, xli. 117 ff.

¹²² *Hermes*, lv. 174 ff.

¹²³ *Arch. Rd.* xix. 284 ff.

¹²⁴ *Atk. Mitt.* xlii. 171 ff.

¹²⁵ *Hermes*, liv. 105 ff.

'Lindian Chronicle' has given rise to two valuable articles, in one of which¹²⁶ M. Rostovtseff deals with the sources of the *ἐπιφάνειαι* and adduces striking parallels from other inscriptions, notably the honorary decree of Chersonesus for the historian Syriacus (*I.O.S.P.E.* i. 184, iv. p. 277), while in the other¹²⁷ L. Radernacher maintains the identity of the grammarian Timachidas with the Timachus from whose work we have several citations, and gives a number of other instances in which the name of the same man occurs in a full and also in a shortened form. S. Zervos' sumptuous work on Rhodes makes apparently little or no use of epigraphical sources,¹²⁸ but L. Pernier's valuable survey of recent exploration in Rhodes includes a provisional publication of minor epigraphical finds at Ialysus, Camirus and Cymisala.¹²⁹

Asia Minor.—B. Haussoullier has discussed¹³⁰ the architectural terms *βομβασπεῖρον* and *σπειροκέφαλον* which occur in various inscriptions from Asia Minor. *AEOLIS* is represented only by W. Vollgraff's suggestions¹³¹ relative to the compact between the Aegaeans and the Olympeni dealing with the importation of wool. Among the states of *IONIA* only two make any contribution. J. Keil, after a careful investigation¹³² of the epigraphic and numismatic evidence for the third *neokoria* of Ephesus, concludes that Ephesus was never *neokoros* of Caracalla but that in the third and the fourth *neokoria* of the city that of Artemis was reckoned, and that the retrogression from the fourth to the third was due to the *damnatio memoriae* of Elagabalus. F. Hudson Williams' account,¹³³ accidentally omitted from my last Bibliography, of the Milesian 'Education Bill'¹³⁴ and of the similar document from Teos (Dittenb. *Syll.*³ 578) may be mentioned side by side with Vollgraff's conjecture¹³⁵ of *ἀνοφέλαξι* for *αἰνοφύλαξι* in a text from the Milesian Delphinion (*Milet.* iii. 2, 33c). B. Haussoullier returns to the building-records of the great temple at Didyma, using the Milesian list of *eponymi* to determine their relative and absolute chronology. Of the five documents comprised in the first group, which dates from the close of the third century B.C., three are here published for the first time,¹³⁶ while a second group is brought into chronological order and provisionally dated in 175/4 B.C. and the adjacent years:¹³⁷ this article includes the first publication of an honorary inscription for the prophet Autophon (p. 38), and an appendix on the family of the prophet Antenor (p. 55 ff.) contains two epitaphs previously unpublished. Several inscriptions of Didyma are re-edited with considerable improvements by E. Premer in an article¹³⁸ on 'Zwei Hydrophoren.' An article¹³⁹ by R. Feist and others on records of legal proceedings in the Ptolemaic period deals mainly with papyri, but has also a brief discussion (p. 359 ff.) of the dossier from Cnidus relating to the case of Diagoras' sons (Dittenb. *Syll.*³ 953).

¹²⁶ *Klio*, xvi. 203 ff.

¹²⁷ *Philol.* lxxv. 473 f.

¹²⁸ *Rhodes, Capitale du Dodécanèse*, Paris. See fig. 85.

¹²⁹ *Bollettino d'Arte*, 1914, 224 ff., 233, 241.

¹³⁰ *Rev. Philol.* xlv. 72 ff.

¹³¹ *Mnemosyne*, xlv. 68 ff.

¹³² *Num. Zeit.* xlviii. 125 ff.

¹³³ *An Education Bill from Ancient Greece*, Cambridge (Univ. Press), 1917.

¹³⁴ E. Ziebarth, *Aus dem griech. Schulwesen*; Dittenb. *Syll.*³ 577.

¹³⁵ *Mnemosyne*, xlv. 71 f.

¹³⁶ *Rev. Philol.* xlv. 175 ff.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.* xlv. 31 ff.

¹³⁸ *Hermes*, lv. 174 ff.

¹³⁹ *Arch. Pap.* vi. 348 ff.

A. Cuny has devoted one of his studies in Greco-oriental questions to the Lydian-Aramaic bilingual text from Sardis: ¹⁴⁰ of O. A. Danielsson's discussion ¹⁴¹ of the Lydian inscriptions, mentioned in my last Bibliography, I cannot speak from first-hand knowledge. A brief reference is made to the Greek inscriptions found at Sardis in a summary ¹⁴² of the excavations carried on there from 1910 to 1914. Some of the texts discovered by Keil and von Premierstein in their recent journeys through Lydia have given rise to interesting discussions, ¹⁴³—notably that of the Philadelphian *ἱερὸς νόμος* (Dittenb. *Syll.*³ 985) by O. Weinreich ¹⁴⁴ and that by M. Rostovtseff ¹⁴⁵ of a document referring to the *τεπάρων συντέλεια*, which, taken in conjunction with the famous inscription of Pizos in Thrace (*ibid.* 880), shows that in the third century of our era recruiting had already become compulsory, resting on the village as a whole and carried out by the village magistrates in the same way as the payment of a tax. S. Reineck contributes a note ¹⁴⁶ on W. H. Buckler's treatment of the Lydian penitential inscriptions, and F. Hiller von Gaertringen points out ¹⁴⁷ the *pia fraus* by which the people of Nysa, by substituting *Πομαίων* for *Πομαίων* in Dittenb. *Syll.*³ 741, avoided giving offence to the Romans only by sacrificing the sense of the whole passage.

From Lydia we pass to CARIA. A relief of the Roman period from Tralles, bearing a previously unpublished inscription, is described in B. Schröder's account ¹⁴⁸ of the accessions made since 1903 to German collections. W. H. Buckler has re-examined and restored ¹⁴⁹ with characteristic thoroughness and marked success a group of legal documents from Mylasa and Olymna, showing how the landed investments of the Carian temples were administered about 76 B.C. and deriving some fresh information regarding legal rules and customs. The well-known inscription of Mausollus from the same city (Dittenb. *Syll.*³ 167) has been dealt with ¹⁵⁰ by P. Cloché in connexion with his discussion of Greco-Egyptian relations from 405 to 342 B.C. Continuing his 'Studies in Hellenistic History,' M. Holleaux has given us an attractive new restoration ¹⁵¹ of the decree of Bargylia in honour of Posidonius, which has a peculiar interest on account of its reference to the war of Aristonicus. Fifty-six texts from the temple of Hecate at Lagina, copied by J. Chamonard, have been published ¹⁵² with a careful commentary by J. Hatzfeld; most of them are honorary inscriptions, dedications and lists of sacred officials and several of them are of considerable interest, particularly the decree relating how with divine aid the *δήμος* was saved from its perils and became free and autonomous (No. 1: cf. 4), and the addendum (*πρόσγραμμα*) to the general regulations of the temple relative to the maintenance of the woodland attached to it (No. 11).

¹⁴⁰ *Rev. Ét. Anc.* xxii. 259 ff.

¹⁴¹ *Skrifter utgifna af Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet*, xx. Upsala (Akad. Bokhandel).

¹⁴² *Rev. Arch.* xi. (1920), 371 ff.

¹⁴³ *Rendiconti dei Lincei*, xxv. 74 ff.

¹⁴⁴ *Sitzb. Heidelberg*, 1919, No. 16.

¹⁴⁵ *J.R.S.* viii. 26 ff.

¹⁴⁶ *Rev. Arch.* vii. (1918), 184 f.

¹⁴⁷ *Hermes*, liv. 107.

¹⁴⁸ *Arch. Anz.* xxxiv. 110.

¹⁴⁹ *B.S.A.* xxii. 190 ff.

¹⁵⁰ *Rev. Egyptologique*, i. (1919), 217.

¹⁵¹ *Rev. Ét. Anc.* xxi. 1 ff.

¹⁵² *B.C.H.* xlv. 70 ff.

W. Kubitschek has subjected to a careful re-examination¹⁵³ the inscription on the great granary of Andriace, the port of Myra in Lycia, dated in A.D. 389-392 by the name of the prefect Flavius Eutolmius Tatianus, to whom *C.I.G.* 4693 also refers, and E. Ritterling has attempted¹⁵⁴ a more exact dating than has hitherto proved possible of the earlier documents of the dossier forming the Opramoas-inscription. Under the title 'A noble Anatolian Family of the Fourth Century,' W. M. Ramsay has investigated¹⁵⁵ two inscriptions of about A.D. 340-380, both apparently from a large family mausoleum, one forming the epitaph of C. Calpurnius Collaga Macedo, orator, philosopher and doctor, a member of the *curia* of Antioch in Pisidia, the other the metrical epitaph of his son. The same scholar has also published¹⁵⁶ the result of a fuller examination of the dedications discovered at the sanctuary of Colonia Caesarea and first published in this Journal (xxxii, 111 ff.), together with an account of the sanctuary itself and of the period, occasion and dedicators of the inscriptions, the religious principles they reveal, the meaning of the oft-discussed term *τεμπεσις*, and the nature of the *τεμπεσις* to which it refers. A. Rosenberg points out¹⁵⁷ the special significance of a dedication to the emperor Gallienus found at Adanda, south-east of Selinus-Trajanopolis in Cilicia (*Mon. Ant.* xxiii, 168), which adds Cilicia to the provinces which under Gallienus were governed not by a senator but by a knight. G. de Jerphanion has collected¹⁵⁸ ten epitaphs in Cappadocia, and a votive inscription, eighteen epitaphs and a fragment in Pontus. I have not been able to examine A. P. M. Meuwese's *De rerum gestarum divi Augusti versione graeca*,¹⁵⁹ an addition to the already copious literature dealing with the Monumentum Ancyranum.

Outlying Regions.—A votive inscription of the Imperial period has been discovered¹⁶⁰ at Brestovizza in north-eastern Italy, in a cavern on the Carso. E. Espérandieu has republished¹⁶¹ an inscribed altar from Lodi Vecchio, now preserved in the Milan Museum. F. Cumont and L. Canet discuss¹⁶² a text from the Mithraeum in the basement of the Thermae of Caracalla, showing the substitution of Mithra for Sarapis and pointing out how 'in the syncretism of the Imperial period the various gods assimilated to the Sun could replace each other and had become interchangeable in value' (p. 317). Valuable light has been thrown on the life and thought and organisation of the Jewish community at Rome by the discovery and investigation of two extensive Jewish burying-places. The inscriptions of the Jewish catacomb on the Monteverde, many of which were published by Schneider-Graziosi in the *Nuovo Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana*, xxi, 13 ff. (cf. xxii, 193, xxiii, 31), have been carefully edited with full commentary and ample illustrations by N. Müller and N. A. Bees:¹⁶³ of the 185 texts comprised in this volume, 128 are Greek, five Greek

¹⁵³ *Nem. Zeit.* ii, 63 ff.

¹⁵⁴ *RA. Mus.* lxxiii, 33 ff.

¹⁵⁵ *Cl. Rev.* xxxiii, 1 ff.

¹⁵⁶ *J.R.S.* viii, 107 ff.

¹⁵⁷ *Hermes*, lv, 319 ff.

¹⁵⁸ *Mélanges Beyrouth*, vii, 1 ff.

¹⁵⁹ Boule Due (C. N. Toulings). Reviewed by Nohl, *Woch. Klass. Phil.* 1920, 440 f.

¹⁶⁰ *Notizie*, 1920, 101.

¹⁶¹ *Rev. Arch.* iii, (1916), 25 ff.

¹⁶² *O.E. Acad. Inscr.* 1919, 313 ff.

¹⁶³ *Die Inschriftender jüdischen Katakombe am Monteverde zu Rom*, Leipzig (Harnack-Sowitz), 1919.

and Latin, and three Latin written in Greek characters, while the remainder are Latin or Hebrew. Nineteen similar epitaphs from the same cemetery are added by R. Paribeni¹⁶⁴ and several of them are annotated by C. Clermont-Ganneau.¹⁶⁵ Another Jewish catacomb has been found on the Via Nomentana, and, though as yet incompletely excavated, has yielded¹⁶⁶ fifty-two inscriptions, of which forty-eight are Greek and one bilingual. The other discoveries made at Rome consist of a commemorative inscription¹⁶⁷ and two fragments, probably of epitaphs.¹⁶⁸ The three fragments¹⁶⁹ unearthed at Ostia are of negligible value, but the famous relief of Archelaus of Priene, found at Bovillae and now in the British Museum,¹⁷⁰ has been discussed afresh at some length by J. Sieveking.¹⁷¹ D. Comparetti offers a new and complete reading¹⁷² of a leaden *defixio* from Cumae, and the archaic inscriptions from the same site form the subject of an article¹⁷³ by F. Ribezzo which I have been unable to consult. A funeral stele from SARDINIA, with a fragmentary inscription,¹⁷⁴ is lodged in the Archaeological Museum at Milan.

B. Pace publishes¹⁷⁵ eleven Rhodian amphora-handles, five clay stamps, an inscribed vase and a fragmentary epitaph from Lilybaeum on the west coast of SICILY. D. Comparetti discusses¹⁷⁶ three *defixiones* from Selinus, the earliest of which, inscribed on both sides of a leaden disc found at the temple of Demeter Malophorus, is earlier than 450 B.C., and P. Orsi's account¹⁷⁷ of the investigations conducted by himself at Syracuse contain eleven epigraphical finds, one of which, a fragment written *boustrophedon*, may well be the earliest extant inscription from Syracuse.

The majority of the Greek texts found in AFRICA—at Cherchell,¹⁷⁸ Lambaesis,¹⁷⁹ Gighis¹⁸⁰ and Thuburnica¹⁸¹—call for no detailed notice. C. Bruston has shown by an examination of two magical stones of Carthage¹⁸² and Sousse¹⁸³ that inscriptions apparently meaningless may become intelligible if transliterated into Hebrew. The excavations at Carthage have produced¹⁸⁴ a large number of inscribed gems, seals, leaden *bullae*, gnostic stones, amphora-handles and similar objects as well as fragments of inscriptions on stone. Of greater interest are the finds¹⁸⁵ made in the Cyrenaica, which I know only at second hand.¹⁸⁶ These include two copies of a bilingual inscription, dated

¹⁶⁴ *Notizie*, 1919, 61 ff.

¹⁶⁵ *Rev. Arch.* xi. (1920), 365 f.

¹⁶⁶ *Notizie*, 1920, 143 ff.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.* 231.

¹⁶⁸ *Bull. Com. Arch. Com.* xiv. 226, 234.

¹⁶⁹ *Mon. Ant.* xxvi. 368; *Notizie*, 1920, 46.

¹⁷⁰ *B.M. Inscr.* 1098.

¹⁷¹ *Röm. Mitt.* xxxii. 74 ff.

¹⁷² *Rendiconti dei Lincei*, xxvii. 202 ff.

¹⁷³ *Riv. indo-greco-ital.* iii. 71 ff.

¹⁷⁴ *Rev. Arch.* iii. (1916), 27 f.

¹⁷⁵ *Notizie*, 1919, 80 ff.

¹⁷⁶ *Rendiconti dei Lincei*, xxvii. 193 ff.

¹⁷⁷ *Mon. Ant.* xxv. 607 ff.; *Notizie*, 1918, 275 ff.

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¹⁷⁸ *Bull. Arch. Com. Trav. Hist.* 1918, cclxiv., 228 f.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.* cclxiv.

¹⁸⁰ *Milange*, xxxiv. 284 ff.

¹⁸¹ *Bull. Arch. Com. Trav. Hist.* 1918, 164.

¹⁸² *Rev. Arch.* xii. (1920), 47 ff.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.* x. (1919), 28 ff.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.* viii. (1918), 383; *Bull. Soc. Nat. Ant. de France*, 1917, 146 f., 156 f., 163 f., 168 f., 211, 218 f., 242 f.; 1918, 118 f., 129 f., 143 f., 159 f., 173 f. *Bull. Arch. Com. Trav. Hist.* 1918, ccxvii. ff., ccxxvii. ff., ccxxxiii., cclxi. ff., 331.

¹⁸⁵ *Notiziario Archeol.* ii. 1, 2.

¹⁸⁶ *Rev. Arch.* x. (1919), 435 f.

A.D. 71, marking the frontier between the territory of Cyrene and that of Rome, a dedication by a proconsul of Crete and Cyrene in A.D. 161, a dedication to Hadrian and Antoninus set up in A.D. 138 by the city of Cyrene, and the record of the refounding of Claudopolis by the Emperor Claudius Gothicus *ὁπλοῖς ἀναστίλας τὴν πολυχρόνιον Μαρμαριτὸν θρασυτητα*. Two previously published Cyrenaean texts have been emended by W. Vollgraff.¹⁸⁷ For the inscriptions discovered in Egypt and Nubia I may once again refer to my Bibliographies in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*.¹⁸⁸

The epigraphical chapter¹⁸⁹ of Jaussen and Savignac's account of their mission to ARABIA contains eighteen Greek inscriptions, including a Graeco-Nabataean bilingual dedication, of which the great majority are commemorative graffiti. F. Vollbach has published¹⁹⁰ an inscribed amulet of unknown provenance in PALESTINE. F. M. Abel has collected twenty-two texts,¹⁹¹ for the most part epitaphs dating from the sixth or early seventh century, from El 'Aoudjeh and other sites in the Negeb; F. C. Burkitt has edited¹⁹² seven inscriptions of Beersheba, found by D. P. Blair¹⁹³ and transported to Jerusalem, of which four are epitaphs and one a new portion of the interesting Byzantine edict of which a number of fragments have previously come to light: F. M. Abel has discussed¹⁹⁴ several of these, and A. Alt has published¹⁹⁵ with a valuable commentary, especially on the chronological problem, a sixth-century gravestone from the same place.¹⁹⁶ A brief epitaph from Maiumas,¹⁹⁷ a fragmentary mosaic-inscription from a Byzantine chapel at Beit el Djemal,¹⁹⁸ a group of inscriptions, mainly sepulchral, from Caesarea¹⁹⁹ and a votive text from Samach on the Lake of Gennesaret²⁰⁰ deserve mention but do not call for comment. The use of the term *πίρρος* in Syrian inscriptions and in the New Testament to denote a *Wirtschaftsgebäude* is discussed by E. Meyer²⁰¹ and by A. Alt.²⁰² Among the publications relating to SYRIA the foremost place is taken by F. Cumont's valuable volume entitled *Études Syriennes*,²⁰³ which embodies the 'archaeological and geographical results of a journey undertaken in the spring of 1907 in northern Syria and of investigations carried on in the following years thanks to the documents brought back from these regions, hitherto but little explored.' It contains eight essays, four of them not previously published, and the remainder recast or enlarged, a detailed itinerary and an account of certain Greek MSS. of Syria. The inscriptions, forty-eight in number, are collected in a separate section (p. 317 ff.), including a few which have already been imperfectly published: most of them are epitaphs, but among the remainder are several dedications (Nos. 7, 8, 43, 45).

¹⁸⁷ *Mnemosyne*, xlvii, 251.

¹⁸⁸ *J. E. A.* vi, 214 ff., vii, 105 f.

¹⁸⁹ *Mission archéol. en Arabie*, Pt. II, c.
v. Paris (Gauthier), 1914-20.

¹⁹⁰ *Ant. Ber.* 1915, 123 ff.

¹⁹¹ *Rev. Bibl.* xxix, 113 ff.

¹⁹² *Pal. Expl. Fund Q.S.* 1920, 16 ff., 51.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.* 15 f.

¹⁹⁴ *Rev. Bibl.* xxix, 259 ff.

¹⁹⁵ *Zeits. d.d. Pal.-Verena*, xlii, 177 ff.

¹⁹⁶ Previously published *Pal. Expl. Fund Ann.* iii, 136.

¹⁹⁷ *Pal. Expl. Fund Q.S.* 1920, 47.

¹⁹⁸ *Rev. Bibl.* xvi, 244 ff.

¹⁹⁹ *Rev. Bibl.* xxix, 316.

²⁰⁰ *Berl. phil. Woch.* xi, 859.

²⁰¹ *Hermes*, lv, 100 ff.

²⁰² *Ibid.* 334 ff.

²⁰³ Paris (Picard), 1917. Reviewed by R. Dussaud, *Syria*, i, 250 f.

a milestone (No. 46) and the boundary stone of a place of asylum (No. 38). E. Schwyzer has pointed ²⁰⁴ out that the inscription from Nebi Abel, between Damascus and Heliopolis, published by him in *Rh. Mus.* lxxviii. 634, is a copy of, but not identical with, Dittenb. *O.G.I.* 606, and was previously edited by M. R. Savignac.²⁰⁵ The results, so far as they here concern us, of the French archaeological mission to Sidon in 1914²⁰⁶ and of the epigraphical mission which visited Palmyra in July of the same year²⁰⁷ are of moderate value: J. B. Chabot, a member of the latter mission, has suggested²⁰⁸ a new interpretation of a previously known text from Palmyra dated A.D. 327. J. Waldis has examined the language and style of the inscription set up by King Antiochus I of Commagene on the summit of the Nemrud Dag (Dittenb. *O.G.I.* 383 ff.) in a careful dissertation²⁰⁹ somewhat disproportionate in length to the interest of the subject with which it deals.

Political events in southern Russia have temporarily suspended the archaeological exploration of that district, whose results from 1912 to 1917 have been interestingly summarised²¹⁰ by M. Rostovtseff, who has also discussed,²¹¹ in connexion with the 'Lindian Chronicle,' several inscriptions of Chersonesus, notably those in honour of the historian Syriacus (*S.G.D.I.* 3086) and of the general Diophantus (Dittenb. *Syll.* 3 709): otherwise there is nothing to report save the publication²¹² of an inscribed *oinochos* bearing the names Φοῖβος, Δάφνη, Πόθος, etc. Remarkably rich are the epigraphical spoils won in the excavation of Histria in Roumania during 1914 and 1915 and published by B. Pärvan in a lengthy memoir,²¹³ to which are appended a useful summary in French and fourteen excellent plates. They number sixty-four texts, of which eighteen are Latin and the remainder Greek or bilingual, and include honorary inscriptions for Hadrian (No. 20), Antoninus Pius (21), Septimius Severus (31), Caracalla (32), etc., but the most interesting is the dossier of letters (15, 16) from various Roman governors about A.D. 50 confirming to Histria the enjoyment of fishing and other rights. The Greek inscriptions found at Ulmetum²¹⁴ and Tomi²¹⁵ are late and of slight interest.

K. Lehmann has published²¹⁶ two inscriptions found at CONSTANTINOPLE, one a Christian epitaph, the other a list, perhaps ephebic, dating from late Hellenistic times and containing 257 names, each accompanied by a patronymic: there is reason to believe that this did not originally belong to Byzantium, and a probable conjecture of the editor assigns it to Cyzicus. THRACE has not been especially productive of new inscriptions recently. M. Olsen, commenting on the inscribed ring found at Ezerovo, near Philippopolis, has sug-

²⁰⁴ *Rh. Mus.* lxxii. 436.

²⁰⁵ *Rev. Bibl.* ix. 533 ff. *Cl. Zeits. d.d. Pal.-Ver eins.* xxxvi. 220.

²⁰⁶ *Syria*, i. 33, 49 f., 100, 198 ff., 225: cf. 230 f.

²⁰⁷ *Rev. Bibl.* xxix. 359.

²⁰⁸ *G. R. Acad. Inscr.* 1919, 376.

²⁰⁹ *Sprache u. Stil d. grossen griech. Inschrift v. Nemrud-Dagh in Kommagene (Nordosyrien)*, Heidelberg (Winter). Reviewed by Maas, *Sokrates*, viii. 280 f.

²¹⁰ *Journ. d. Savants*, 1920, 49 ff.

²¹¹ *Klio*, xvi. 203 ff.

²¹² *Rev. Arch.* v. (1917), 313 f.

²¹³ *Analele Acad. Române*, II. xxxviii. (1915-16), *Mem. Sect. Istorie*, 533 ff. *Cl. Rev. Arch.* x. (1919), 401 ff.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.* xxxvii. 267, 275 f., 301 f.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.* xxxvii. 419 f., 446.

²¹⁶ *Arch. Mit.* xlii. 185 ff.

gested²¹⁷ that the word ζῆλα at the close means 'gold': G. Seure, however, thinks²¹⁸ that the ring-inscription is not a Thracian text but a votive to a Thracian divinity containing three names, each with patronymic and ethnic, and holds that in all likelihood we shall never know the Thracian language, which, 'only spoken and never written, is dead beyond the possibility of resurrection.' The same scholar argues²¹⁹ for a Thracian origin of the name Τελεσφόρος, which he would derive from the form Τελεσπορος, and has also devoted a further article²²⁰ to the publication and interpretation of eighteen 'unpublished or little-known' inscriptions, of which fourteen are Greek and the rest Latin. B. Filow describes²²¹ a silver omphalos-saucer from Radičevne in north-western Bulgaria with the inscription Κόντος Ἐγγηιστών, interpreting the latter word as the name of an otherwise unknown Thracian tribe. We have only to note further a votive relief to Zeus Ὀλβιος from Gallipoli,²²² a valuable correction and discussion by M. Rostovtseff²²³ of a phrase in the famous inscription of Pizeo (Dittenb. *Syll.*³ 880) and several minor discoveries in Bulgaria collected by G. Kazarow.²²⁴

MACEDONIA has produced a disappointingly small number of inscriptions when the development and exploration of the country during the war are borne in mind. Of new Greek inscriptions the present writer has published²²⁵ eighteen, of which two-thirds are epitaphs: the most interesting are the dedication of a ναός to Horus-Harpocrates (No. 14) and an inscription in honour of M. Salarus Sabinus, a prominent and public-spirited citizen of Lete in the early part of the second century of our era (No. 7). G. Oikonomos, editing²²⁶ an inscription of Salonica bearing the name of Justinian, infers that this Emperor visited Thessalonica and traces the connexion between him and St. Demetrius, in whose church the inscription came to light. In the course of a valuable article²²⁷ on Upper Macedonia which, though published in 1914, only came into my hands towards the close of 1920, N. G. Pappadakis published forty inscriptions, almost all of them for the first time, from Eordaea, Lyncestis, Orestis, Western Elimeia, Macedonian Illyria and Almopia, including an interesting dedication by a λατογλάφος to Artemis Σιβουρικῇ (No. 54). The same writer devoted a long appendix (p. 462 ff.) to a discussion of the important decree of the [L]apinae published in *J.H.S.* xxxiii. 337 ff. In an article on the Macedonian provincial era I have attempted²²⁸ to restate and confirm the arguments for dating that era from 148 rather than from 146 B.C. W. Vollgraff proposed²²⁹ a restoration of an Amphipolitan text in which he subsequently found²³⁰ that he had been forestalled by P. Perdrizet. The journey of C. Praschniker and A. Schober in Albania and Montenegro²³¹ resulted in the dis-

²¹⁷ *Indog. Forsch.* xxxviii. 166 ff.

²¹⁸ *Rev. Ét. Anc.* xxii. 1 ff.

²¹⁹ *Rev. Ét. Gr.* xxxi. 389 ff.

²²⁰ *Rev. Arch.* x. (1919), 333 ff.

²²¹ *Röm. Mit.* xxxii. 53.

²²² *Arch. Anz.* xxxiv. 111.

²²³ *J.H.S.* viii. 29.

²²⁴ *Jahresh.* xix.-xx. Beiblatt. 43 ff.

²²⁵ *B.S.A.* xxiii. 67 ff.

²²⁶ *Arch. Ep.* 1918. 41 ff.

²²⁷ *Arch.* xxv. 430 ff.

²²⁸ *B.S.A.* xxiii. 206 ff.

²²⁹ *Monum.* xlvii. 72.

²³⁰ *Ibid.* 231.

²³¹ *Archäol. Forschungen in Albanien u. Montenegro* (Schriften der Balkankommission: Ant. Abt. VIII.), Vienna (Holder), 1919. Pp. 45, 65 ff., 69 ff.

covery of six texts from Durazzo (Dyrrhachium), Fieri and Apollonia. C. Clermont-Gauneau has put forward²²² a solution of a puzzling epitaph of Salona in DALMATIA.

At Vidy in Canton Vaud, SWITZERLAND, a Greek *graffito* has been unearthed,²²³ scratched on a fragment of wall-plaster, containing part of the *versus reciprocus* recorded by Planudes (vi, 13) and recurring at Pompeii (*C.I.L.* iv, 2400 a). From FRANCE we may note an epitaph from Marseilles,²²⁴ C. Jullian's reminder²²⁵ of an important votive discovered thirty years ago at Agde, and the publication²²⁶ of a fragment from the Musée Lapidaire at Arles, together with the re-editing²²⁷ of an epitaph copied by the Chevalier de Gaillard in 1767.

MARCUS N. TOD.

²²² *C. R. Acad. Inscr.* 1918, 308 ff.

²²³ *Rev. Ét. Anc.* xix, 273.

²²⁴ *Bull. Arch. Com. Trav. Hist.*, 1918, 3 ff.; *Rev. Ét. Anc.* xxi, 227.

²²⁵ *Rev. Ét. Anc.* xxii, 56.

²²⁶ *Ibid.* 184 f., No. 18.

²²⁷ *Ibid.* 182 f., No. 19.

CLEOSTRATUS REDIVIVUS

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

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

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

¹ Cp. *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* v. 281, xvii. part 2-3, p. 203.

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

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

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

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

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

* *Circulorum quoque coeli ratio in terræ mentione aptius dicitur, quando ad eam tota pertinet, signiferi modo inventoribus non dilatis. Obliquitatem ejus intellexisse, hoc est rerum fores aperuisse, Anaximander Milesius traditur primus Olympiade quinquagesima octava, signa deinde in eo Cleostratus, et prima Arietis et Sagittarii, sphaeram ipsam ante multo Atlas.*

In the first sentence there is no difficulty. Though Pliny will not discuss the circles on the celestial globe until he comes to speak of the terrestrial globe, he must make mention at once of the framers of the zodiac, whom evidently he believed to be Greeks. The second sentence is not so easy, I think only because, in Boll's words, 'das Verbum hat Plinius in gewohnter Kürze verschwiegen.'³ 'Intellexisse' is made to govern 'obliquitatem,' 'signa,' 'prima,' and 'sphaeram,' but no translator can find any one word for it that will give a satisfactory rendering in every case. We may, with Dr. Fotheringham, make Anaximander 'recognise' the obliquity of the ecliptic. But what

* Cp. Kugler

² *Sphaera*, p. 192.

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

Personally I do not think that any change is required, and indeed it seems to me that what Pliny meant to say is plain enough. 'Signifer' is, of course, a common Latin equivalent for 'zodiac' (signifero in orbe qui Graece ζῳδιακός dicitur¹), and the 'signa' which Cleostratus made out in the zodiacal belt are naturally the signs of the zodiac. But in this phrase there is an unfortunate ambiguity, which it will be as well to point out here, as its recognition will become important later on. By the 'signs of the zodiac' we may mean either the zodiacal constellations, κατηγερισμένα ζῳδία,² twelve groups of stars very unequal in extent, through which the sun passes in his annual journey, or the ecliptic divisions, δωδεκατημόρια, twelve exactly equal spaces of 30 degrees each, which in ancient times coincided roughly with the constellations whose names they bear, but owing to precession do so no longer. When we say that Regulus is the brightest star in Leo, or that the equinoctial point, which was once in Aries, is now in Pisces, we are speaking of constellations. When we say that the sun enters Aries at the equinox, or that Jupiter, being at the 10th degree of Taurus, is in opposition to the sun, which is at the 10th degree of Scorpio, we are speaking of ecliptic divisions. The division into degrees—30 to each sign—is, of course, inapplicable to constellations, which are unequal in extent and have no definitely marked beginning or ending.

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

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

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

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

¹ *Cla. Des.* II. 42, 89.

² *Cp. Hipparch. ii. l. p. 126 Manit.*

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

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

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

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

Τίνος ἂ φυλακά; τίς ἀμείβει
τῶν ἐμῶν; πρώτα
δύεται σημεία καὶ ἐπτάποροι
Πλειάδες αἰθέριαι· μέσα δ' Ἀιέτος οὐρανοῦ ποτᾶται.
Ἐγρεσθε, τί μέλλετε; κοιτᾶν
ἔγρεσθε πρὸς φυλακῶν.
οὐ λείψετε μηνίδος αἴγλαν;
ὡς δὴ πέλας, ὡς
γίγνεται, καὶ τις προδρόμων
ᾧδε γ' ἔστιν ἀστήρ.

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

Κράτης ἀγορεύει φησὶ τὸν Εὐριπίδην τὴν περὶ τὰ μετέωρα θεωρίαν διὰ τὸ εἶναι ἐτι εἶναι ὅτε τῶν Ῥήσων ἐδίδασκε μὴ γὰρ δύνασθαι Πλειάδων καταδυομένων <τοῖς> τοῦ αἰτοῦ μεσουρανεῖν. ὑπὸ γῆν γὰρ ἔστι τότε ὁ αἰγόκερος, ἐφ' οὗ ὁ αἰετός ἰδρυται, καὶ ἐτι Πλειάδων δυομένων ὑπὲρ μὲν γῆς εἰς ζῳδία τὰδε, ταῦρος διδύμοι καρκίνος λέων πυρθίνος ζυγός ὑπὸ γῆν δὲ τὰδε σκορπίος τοξότης αἰγόκερος ὑδροχόος ἰχθύς κριός. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὁ

Κράτης δαίκε δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς φράσεως ἀμφιβόλου <οὔσης> κεκρατῆσθαι. τὰ γὰρ πρῶτα σημεῖα καὶ τὰς Πλειάδας φήθη καταδύεσθαι λέγειν τὸν Εὐριπίδην. τὸ δὲ οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα σημεῖα τῆς φυλακῆς φησι δύνεσθαι, τὰς δὲ Πλειάδας ἀνατέλλειν. πῶς γὰρ ἐπὶ καταδυομένων εἶπεν αἰθερίας αὐτάς; ὥστε τριχόθεν τὸν καιρὸν ὑπὸ <τῶν> φυλακῶν δηλοῦσθαι, ἀπὸ τῆς οὔσεως, ἀνατολῆς καὶ μεσουρανήματος.

Ὁ μὲν οὖν Παρμενίσκος πρῶτα σημεῖα φησι λέγεσθαι τὰς τοῦ σκορπίου πρῶτας μοίρας διὰ τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων οὕτως αὐτάς λέγεσθαι, καὶ ὅτι τάντα οὗτος ὁ Βοώτης ἅμα ἀρχεται καταδύνεσθαι. Κλεόστρατον γοῦν τὸν Τενέδιον ἀρχαίον οὕτως·

Ἄλλ' ὅπταν τρίτον ἡμᾶρ ἐπ' ὀγδώκοντα μένῃσι,

Σκορπίου εἰς ἄλα πίπτει ἄμ' ἠοὶ φαινομένηφι. . .

τοῦτο δὲ παραδείξας ὁ Παρμενίσκος ὅτι καταδύεται τὰ πρῶτα σημεῖα τοῦ σκορπίου, καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς Πλειάδος ἐπιτολῆς ἐπέξεισιν. 'ὅταν γὰρ, φησὶν, Εὐριπίδης λέγῃ καὶ ἐπιτάγοι Πλειάδες αἰθέριαι, οὐ δύεσθαι τότε αὐτάς, ἀλλ' ἔμπαιν ἀνατέλλειν ἐκ τοῦ ὑπὸ <γῆν> τμήματος εἰς τὸ ὑπὲρ <τὸν> ὀρίζοντα ἀναύσας· καὶ τοῦτο εἶναι τὸ καὶ ἐπιτάγοι Πλειάδες, οἷον· εἰς τὰς ὡς πρὸς ἡμᾶς οὐρανὸν ἀφικνούμενοι. ταῦτα δὲ καταστησάμενος, ὁμολογέει, φησὶ, τοῖς Εὐριπίδου τὰ φαινόμενα.—τὰ μὲν πρῶτα σημεῖα τῆς ὥρας εἰς δυαὶν κεχώρηκεν, ἡ δὲ Πλειὰς ἀνατέλλει, ὃ δὲ αὐτὸς πρὸς τὸ μέσον κεχώρηκε.

As so much could be said about the passage, one must suppose that it is not so easy as at first sight appears, and one cannot but admire the courage with which Dr. Fotheringham advances to the attack, calling trigonometry to his aid, and armed with calculations for the age of Euripides and the latitude, not only of Athens, but of Troy itself. The soldiers, it will be seen, perceive by the movement of the stars that the hour of their relief is come and past, the glimmer of the rising moon shows them that the night is nearly over, the appearance of a herald star announces the dawn. Dr. Fotheringham here says sadly that after all his toil he is 'unable to identify . . . the προδρόμων ἀστήρ.' I do not see that there need be more difficulty about it than about Milton's unnamed 'bright morning-star, day's harbinger.' Whether the planet Venus actually was a morning star in the spring of the year in which Rhesus came to Troy, we shall, I am afraid, never know.

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

That the soldiers meant, as the scholiast says, to indicate the hour by the aid of stars rising, stars culminating, and stars setting, must have been clear, one would think, to every one, ancient or modern, who has read the passage, except Crates. The failure of this celebrated critic to perceive that αἰθέριαι (εἰσι) is opposed to δύεται makes one wonder how he gained so much reputation, but his astronomy is correct enough. It should, I think, be pointed out

that his little lecture on the zodiacal signs does not at all imply that he saw any reference to them in the word *σημεῖα*. It was usual for a Greek of his time to treat the ecliptic as the fundamental line, in relation to which the position of the other stars was defined. There is nothing to show that he did not think, as I do, that *σημεῖα* means merely 'stars' or 'constellations.'

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

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

In the first place, if it is true, it is surprising. Stars are constantly said by their appearances *σημαίνειν* or *ἐπισσημαίνειν*, and *σημεῖα* would seem to be the natural Greek equivalent and original of the Latin 'signa,' which certainly does mean 'constellations.' In Latin, indeed, the original sense of the word seems to be entirely forgotten; when Horace, for instance, says that *nox . . . diffundere signa parabat*,⁴ he means no more than that the stars were coming out.

Secondly, even if it be true that *σημεῖον* is nowhere else used in the sense of 'constellation,' is that a conclusive reason for thinking that it cannot be so used here, by a poet, in a poem? When Shakespeare's boatswain says to the courtier: 'What care these roarers for the name of king?'⁵ are we wrong in supposing that by 'roarers' he means 'waves'? Would Dr. Fotheringham deny it on the ground that, while passages may indeed be found in which waves are said to roar, there is none other discoverable in which a wave is actually called a roarer? When Homer in a famous passage speaks of *τὰ τεῖρεα πάντα τὰ τ' οὐρανὸς ἐστεφάνωται*,⁶ we know from the context that by *τεῖρεα* he means 'constellation.' But it is not easy to find another passage in which the word has the same sense, and without the context it might be hard to answer Dr. Fotheringham if he were to argue that it must mean 'rainbows,' as indeed it does elsewhere.

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

⁴ Hor. Sat. i. 5, 10.

⁵ Tempest i. 1.

⁶ Mr. Massfield (*Reynard the Fox*, part

II) calls hounds "rompers." One may

safely say that this use of the word is unique.

⁷ *Il.* xviii. 485.

be so here? Euripides, who perhaps wrote the *Rhesus*, certainly wrote the *Ion*, in which (line 1157) we read, among other constellations, of *Τάδε γὰρ ναυτίλοις σαφέστατον σημεῖον*. I do not for a moment maintain that the word is here *merely*, as in Latin, a synonym for 'constellation': the Hyades are so called because their rising was an indication of rough weather to come. But the fact remains that a constellation is here called a *σημεῖον*, and why should not other constellations be called so too, particularly when it is on their office as 'indicators' of the changing hours that the speaker is dwelling?

And lastly, the rarity of the word *σημεῖον* in this sense is easily explicable. Before Euripides older poetical usage had put a kindred word *σῆμα* in possession of the field. To Homer Sirius is a *κακὸν σῆμα*,¹⁰ and Aratus has the word over and over again. When he says that Zeus *τὰ γὰρ σήματ' ἐν οὐρανῷ ἐστῆριξεν*,¹¹ what does he mean but constellations? His reason for using *σῆμα* rather than *σημεῖον* was no doubt chiefly because it was conventionally the right word in poetry. But by his time probably *σημεῖον* had become impossible, because it had already acquired the meaning of 'point' which it bears in mathematical and astronomical prose. When the *Rhesus* was written mathematical literature was yet scarce.

I think, therefore, that *πρώτα σημεῖα* means merely 'first constellations,' and that we are left to make out for ourselves, if we choose, what these constellations were. Dr. Fotheringham, on the other hand, thinks that the words had for a Greek a meaning as definite as *Πλειάδες* or *Ἄρκτος*, and is pleased with a trigonometrical proof that the setting of the stars which he supposes to be meant, 'tallies exactly with the meridian passage of Altair, the central and brightest star of Aquila, if we make the computation either for Athens or for Troy, and for the middle of the fifth century B.C.' This would be much more convincing did he not proceed, in the next paragraph, to lament the poet's 'imperfect acquaintance with astronomy' as shown by his placing the Eagle in mid-heaven when the Pleiades were seen in the east. 'Assuming that they (the Pleiades) could be seen when their central and brightest star Alcyone was at a true altitude of 2°, I find that Altair would have passed the meridian by an hour and three minutes if we compute for Troy, by an hour and six minutes if we compute for Athens.' Moreover—a much more damning proof of inaccuracy—the stars which Dr. Fotheringham takes for *πρώτα σημεῖα* 'would have set long ago.' Surely this argument is somewhat illogical. If Dr. Fotheringham had found Euripides accurate in treating of stars whose identity is not in doubt, he might fairly infer that he would be accurate in treating of the other stars whose identity is to be ascertained. But if the two statements which we can test are found to be inconsistent with each other, it is clear that a third hypothetical statement gains nothing in validity by being shown consistent with one of them.

Here, however, the difficulty seems to me entirely of Dr. Fotheringham's own creation. The soldiers, it may be observed, do not say that a particular star is on the meridian. They say that a group of stars is soaring in mid-heaven, a very much vaguer statement, and, it may be added, very much

¹⁰ *Il.* xxii. 30.

¹¹ *Phaenomen.* 10.

more in character. The exact position of the meridian is not easily ascertained—even by people who know what it means—out of doors in a strange country. And the soldiers, on Dr. Fotheringham's own showing, were not very far out.

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

'Ὁ μὲν οὖν Παρμενίσκος πρῶτα σημεία φησὶ λέγεσθαι τὰς τοῦ σκορπίου πρῶτας μοίρας διὰ τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων οὕτως αὐτὰς λέγεσθαι, καὶ ὅτι ταύταις ὁ Βούτης ἄμα ἄρχεται καταδύεσθαι. It is almost entirely upon this short passage that Dr. Fotheringham grounds his strange theory that *πρῶτα σημεία* means, and was generally understood to mean, 'the first points,' or, rather, 'the first stars of Scorpio,' and of Scorpio only. He thinks, indeed, that the missing words in the passage from Cleostratus would corroborate him if we had got them. Unfortunately we have not got them. But surely the theory is such a strange one, the improbability that people ever said 'there are the Pleiades, there the Eagle, there the First Points' is so great that, even if the scholiast's words naturally bore that meaning, we should do wisely to inquire if they could not bear another.

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

This interpretation, at any rate, agrees with history. *Μοῖρα*, though *σημεῖον* in this sense may still be found, is the usual word in Ptolemy for what we call a 'degree,' that is to say, the 30th part of an ecliptic sign, or the 360th of the whole circle. And it had acquired this sense by the time of Hipparchus. But its use at first was not so restricted. Aratus uses it more than once¹² to denote a whole sign, that is to say, the 12th part of the ecliptic. All that Parmeniscus meant to say was that 'first points' must signify 'first degrees of an ecliptic sign,' and that the sign here in question was Scorpio. The idea that 'first points' meant in a special sense 'first points of Scorpio,' never, I feel sure, even entered his head. This is indeed shown by his afterwards explaining the expression—we have here apparently his own words—

¹² See especially *Phaenomena*, 560, and *Dioec.* 8.

αὐτὰ πρῶτα σημεῖα τῆς ὥρας, which is equivalent to the Scholiast's *πρῶτα τῆς φυλακῆς*, 'the first of our appointed hour.'

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

A curious consequence of the popularity enjoyed by the poem of Aratus in antiquity is that, among the innumerable commentaries to which it gave birth, we have preserved to us the larger part of a work by the great astronomer Hipparchus, whom otherwise we should know, save for a few quotations in Ptolemy, only at second hand. It contains a lively polemic, not indeed against Aratus, for whom as a poet Hipparchus seems to have shared the general admiration, but against an Aratean commentator, one Attalus, who persisted in asking the second century B.C. to accept as accurate loose statements made by a poet of the early third century on the authority of an astronomer of the early fourth. One of these statements was this: 'The constellation of Boötes takes so long in setting that during the process no less than four zodiacal divisions, namely the Ram, the Bull, the Twins, and the Crab, have time to rise.' Hipparchus shows that the statement was exaggerated, and that in Central Greece Boötes did not begin to set until the whole of the Ram and a small part of the Bull had risen. But when Taurus begins to rise the opposite sign of Scorpio begins to set, and later in his work Hipparchus proves this too. The first star of Boötes sets along with the sixth degree of the sign Scorpio.¹³

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

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

¹³ Hipparch. II. 2 23-29.

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

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

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

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

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

One might have supposed this passage to tell against, not for, Dr. Fotheringham. For why should Euctemon have been at the trouble to add τοῦ Σκο-

ρτίου, when on the theory *πρῶτοι ἀστέρες* meant 'first stars of the Scorpion' ? But Dr. Fotheringham ignores this little objection. 'Euctemon,' he says, 'was an ἀρχαῖος and a contemporary of Euripides.' 'The adjective *πρῶτος* applied as here to particular stars is, so far as I know, unique in the Greek calendars.' Dr. Fotheringham will find it often enough in Hipparchus, who, in fact, takes us through the constellations, telling us in each case the *πρῶτος ἀστήρ* to rise and the *πρῶτος ἀστήρ* to set. Nor is there anything in the least surprising in its use by Euctemon. He and the other observers cited in the Calendar usually distinguish stars by their places in the figure, as 'the Scorpion's sting,' 'Orion's shoulder,' 'the Bull's horn.' But there are several stars in the Scorpion's tail going down much at the same time. Hipparchus, who aimed at a precision unknown to Euctemon's age, distinguishes one as ὁ τρίτος σφόνδυλος ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῷ κέντρῳ ἀριθμουμένους, ἕκτος δὲ ὢν τῶν μετὰ τοὺς ἐν τῷ στήθει. The early star-watchers did not write like that.

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

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

A 'simple answer' indeed. Babylon! Only to those who have felt the full blessedness of the word 'Mesopotamia' can it appear either simple or satisfactory. Does Dr. Fotheringham really expect all these confident statements to be accepted without protest? The time-honoured belief that the Babylonian year began at the equinox had, one had thought, been hopelessly shattered by Kugler, who shows that it began with a spring month kept to its

place by observation, not of the equinox, but of star-risings.¹⁴ And was the vernal equinox the starting-point of the Babylonian zodiac? This can only mean that the Babylonians made the equinoctial point itself the first point of their first sign $\bar{\kappa}\alpha$, as we make it the first point of our Aries. And that they did so has, of course, been assumed over and over again, generally by writers who had no idea that any other arrangement was possible. But it is only one of several arrangements adopted in antiquity, and it does not appear to have been the one favoured at Babylon, at any rate in Seleucid times.¹⁵ Further, even if the Babylonians had done what Dr. Fotheringham says they did, why should we assume without evidence that Cleostratus would have done so too? If he had, is it not likely that the Greeks in general would have followed his example from the first? But they did not. Dr. Fotheringham indeed asserts later on that Hipparchus began his series of signs with the actual spring equinox. Where is the evidence for this? It is true that the Aries of Hipparchus began at the equinoctial point, but it in no way follows that he regarded Aries as the first sign. In his only extant work he begins, not with Aries, but with Cancer—at the solstice instead of at the equinox. That he must have done so later, after he had begun to suspect precession, appears from that interesting chapter of the *Almagest*¹⁶ in which Ptolemy cites the alignments of stars which Hipparchus had made in order that his successors might see whether the stars outside the zodiacal belt were moving with those within it. Ptolemy, who himself puts Aries first, would not have started here with Cancer unless Hipparchus had done so. Again, the calendar in Geminus begins with Cancer. So evidently did that of Meton. Dr. Fotheringham's conviction that Cleostratus must have begun with the equinox cannot be considered as evidence that he did. And if he did so, why should his very singular phraseology be adopted by other Greeks, who did not? Euripides, for instance, was an Athenian, and the Athenians began their year at Midsummer.

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

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

¹⁴ Kugler, *Sternkunde*, II. 300, and *Ergänzungen zum I und II Buch*, p. 2.

¹⁵ e.g. Kugler, *Mondrechnung*, p. 74 and *Entwicklung*, p. 173.

¹⁶ *Almag.* vii. 1.

'If then we have *πρῶτα σημεῖα* of Scorpio in respect of cosmical settings,¹⁷ is there any other series that we might expect? The morning setting would naturally be matched by the morning rising, and the zodiacal constellation which first began to rise heliacally after the vernal equinox was Aries.' There were therefore two sets of *πρῶτα σημεῖα*, which elastic phrase might mean 'Scorpio setting' or 'Aries rising,' according to circumstances. But Dr. Fotheringham's expression 'first after' the vernal equinox is vague. What we want, or rather what he wants, is clearly some stars whose heliacal rising took place at the same time as the cosmical setting of the first stars in Scorpio.

Dr. Fotheringham himself has reminded us that Euctemon, as quoted in the *Geminus Calendar*, mentions the morning setting of τοῦ Σκορπίου οἱ πρῶτοι ἀστῆρες. But this setting is made to take place, not after, but two days before, the vernal equinox, as determined by Euctemon himself. To require exact agreement between observers of star-risings would be absurd. But Euctemon lived within a hundred years of Cleostratus, and some at least of his observations were made nearly in the latitude of Tenedos.¹⁸ We want, therefore, to find stars which rose heliacally at, or immediately after the vernal equinox, and Dr. Fotheringham will hardly maintain that any stars of Aries were visible so soon. Especially as the most conspicuous of them, our α Arietis, was, as Hipparchus, Ptolemy, and Al Sufi alike testify, considerably less bright in antiquity than it is now.

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

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

The constellation of Aries is easily recognised by two conspicuous stars, those marked α and β in our maps. Not only, however, is it certain that the brightest of them is brighter now than of old, but it must be noted that they are both so far to the north of the ecliptic as to be really not in the zodiacal belt at all, if we give to it its conventional breadth of twelve degrees. As

¹⁷ A star sets cosmically when it goes down in the morning twilight just before the light is strong enough to extinguish it.

A star which at the same time rises just soon enough to be seen is said to rise heliacally.

¹⁸ Ptol. Phas., p. 67 Heib.

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

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

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

It may be remembered that Parmeniscus describes Cleostratus as an ἀρχαῖος. Dr. Fotheringham, who does not scruple to write 'Scorpii' for 'Sagittarii' when it suits his purpose, is properly severe upon a German commentator who proposed here to write ἀστρολόγος for ἀρχαῖος. The offence is more serious than might have been thought. 'I do not think,' he writes, 'that it has ever been noticed that οἱ ἀρχαῖοι in Hipparchus and Geminus when not qualifying a noun regularly means the early astronomers, beginning with Thales and descending as far as the third century B.C.' He is probably right: I should doubt whether Hipparchus and Geminus themselves, neither of whom even mentions Thales, ever noticed it. The ἀρχαῖοι of whom they speak are people who lived before them and who were busied with the things of which they are speaking. Why 'the use of the same term by Parmeniscus' should suggest 'that it had acquired something of a technical meaning,' I do not understand. Were a man to say that 'the ancients' made ivory statues, one would understand that he was speaking of ancient sculptors, but one would not conclude that to him 'an ancient' was a technical term for an ancient sculptor. But to Dr. Fotheringham the discovery is a great one. 'Had this fact been realised, chronologists would not with one consent have mistaken the astronomical calendars described in the eighth chapter of Geminus for successive official calendars of Athens.'

I should have thought that chronologists, not at all a harmonious race, had been very far from unanimity on this subject. But why should the discovery that ἀρχαῖοι meant 'ancient astronomer,' even supposing it to be true, affect our theories about the Greek astronomical cycles? Apparently because Dr. Fotheringham does not consider a cycle to be a cycle unless it has been used by some one not an astronomer. Now Geminus merely says that these cycles were used by ἀρχαῖοι; ἀρχαῖοι were only astronomers, not real people like archons, and these cycles are therefore to be considered as merely 'astronomical conceits.' Indeed Dr. Fotheringham seems even to deny that the later of them owed 'their origin to defects in earlier systems proved by experience.' 'They were exercises in the art of combining days, months, and years, of which the relative mean durations had been learned in Babylon.'

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

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

But there is a real *argumentum ex silentio*, the strength of which can only be appreciated by those who have read enough about Greek astronomy to have some idea not merely what was known about its history but what was not. To me the only true value of the passage from Parmeniscus lies in the evidence

it affords that in his time the poem of Cleostratus was still extant. Eudemus must surely have been acquainted with it. How comes it, if the borrowings from Babylon had been so recent and on such a scale as Dr. Fotheringham asserts, that neither Eudemus nor any one else has recorded them? Dr. Fotheringham must have felt this difficulty strongly, for to surmount it he propounds a theory which to me appears one of despair. He supposes, in fact, a deliberate conspiracy of silence. 'Of sixth-century Greece, with its mind open to the barbarian, later Greece was ashamed. Barely an admission is to be found in Greek sources of anything in science or philosophy learned from the Chaldeans, the enemies in the golden age. What Thales learned abroad he was said to have learned from the Egyptians. Even Herodotus, who, as became an Asiatic Greek, still cherished in the fifth century B.C. an admiration for the civilisation of the East, is accused by Plutarch of being φιλοβαρβάρος.'

A passage more misleading was surely never written. Dr. Fotheringham admits in a footnote that Herodotus does trace to Babylon 'the sun-dial, the gnomon, and the twelve hours of the day.' He omits, however, to add that Herodotus makes the remark¹⁰ only to correct the impression he might have given that *all* scientific knowledge came to Greece from Egypt. Why should not Herodotus, who may have been born in the lifetime of Cleostratus, have mentioned other Babylonian gifts to Greece if he had known of them? As to Plutarch's accusations of philo-barbarism, who would not suppose from Dr. Fotheringham's words that Herodotus had been blamed for tracing Greek science to an Eastern origin? There is not a word of the sort in the whole essay, and the passage in which φιλοβαρβάρος occurs refers to a case in which the historian compares his countrymen unfavourably, *not* with Orientals, but with Egyptians.

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

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

E. J. WEBB.

¹⁰ Herod. ii. 109.

A MINOAN BRONZE STATUETTE IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

[PLATE I.]

THE bronze statuette reproduced for the first time on Pl. I. and Fig. 1 has for many years past formed part of the national collections. The earliest date to which it has so far been traced is 1885, when it was included in the category of 'unclassified or suspect bronzes.' Beyond 1885 it enjoys at present the happiness of having no history; but as in that year it bore no mark of registration, the inference may be drawn that it entered the Museum with the 'old collections,' perhaps a hundred or a hundred and fifty years ago. It remained in retirement until the early years of the present century, when attention was called to its affinities with the newly discovered art of prehistoric Crete; and the publication, in 1912, of the Tylißos praying figure¹ (Fig. 2) supplied a parallel sufficiently close to establish beyond doubt that the British Museum bronze was a work of the same school and period.

The statuette represents a beardless man standing in the familiar attitude of adoration with the right hand raised to the forehead, palm upward and fingers clenched; the left hand hangs stiffly at the side, the forearm slightly in advance of the hip, and the hand tightly clenched with knuckles to the front. The feet and legs are closely pressed together and the whole pose is one of strained attention, which is emphasised by the Minoan mannerism of exaggerating the curve of the back. On the other hand there is none of the Minoan pinched-in waist or slimmest of figure; the waist is normal and the outlines suggest obesity. The statuette is heavily and solidly cast, apparently from a wax model; the metal appears to be almost pure copper. The surface for the most part is in wonderfully good preservation and shows well the naturalistic finish, particularly on the breast and arms; and the faintly incised lines which indicate details of costume are drawn with delicacy and precision. As in most Minoan bronzes, the technique of the casting has not proved equal to the artistic demands made upon it; the details of the face are blurred and at several points are lumps and excrescences of waste metal, which apparently there has been no attempt to remove.² The more noticeable of these are the rough furrows under the chin and on the right shoulder; the curious lump on the left wrist, shaped like a pointed leaf, suggests the branch or spray held by votaries, but is probably only another flaw in the casting. The height of the statuette is 195 m. (7 $\frac{3}{4}$ ins.), and the height over all, including the base, 22 m. (8 $\frac{3}{4}$ ins.).

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

¹ *Apx. Tz.*, 1912, Pl. XVII, p. 223; Hall, *Aegean Archaeology*, p. 68, Fig. 14.

² On similar defects in other Minoan bronzes, see Hall, *Aegean Archaeology*, p. 67.

in front of the left toe, the left half of the front is rectangularly cut back about 4 mm. Below the base is a rectangular plug about 2 cm. in length. The combination of plug and base common on Minoan bronzes; to give only the better known examples, it is found, on the Tylissos figure, on the Gourmia statuette,³ and on a praying man from the Cave of Psychro.⁴ There can be no doubt that it is a deliberate feature to facilitate mounting in a base slab



FIG. 1.—MINOAN BRONZE IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM. 1:2.



FIG. 2.—MINOAN BRONZE FROM TYLISSOS.

and that the plug does not represent merely the metal jet of the casting, as the Gourmia excavators have suggested.⁵ The cut-away of the base-plate probably is likewise intended to provide a better grip for the mount. The Tylissos statuette has two such cut-backs at back and front; and in the Psychro

³ *Gourmia*, Pl. XI., B 21.

⁴ To be published by Sir Arthur Evans in the forthcoming *Palace of Minos*. I am indebted to Sir A. Evans for the reference.

⁵ *Gourmia*, l.c. Compare also such

bronzes as those figured on Tsountas and Manatt, *The Mycenaean Age*, p. 161, Figs. 55, 56, where the base-plate is omitted and there is a plug under each separate foot.

bronze this is developed into a decorative feature and the whole front edge is cut into a regular scallop pattern.

The costume is indicated with care and comprises high Cretan boots and an elaborate combination of waist-band or belt and kilt. The boots, reaching half-way up the calf, are of the type which has long been familiar from the footgear of the soldier on the 'Chieftain' Vase from Hagia Triada⁶ and the Petsofa figurines,⁷ where the colouring has led Prof. J. L. Myres to suggest that, like modern Cretan boots, they were made of white or pale buff-coloured leather; the details, however, are more clearly indicated than on any previously known example. The sole is flat and heel-less; the quarter-pieces are cut with a triangular slope up to the ankles where a seam runs round the entire leg, and on the outer side a smaller seam runs directly down from the ankle-seam to the edge of the quarter-piece. On the front is a pointed toe-cap with a raised seam on each side running back to the quarter-piece, and a third seam running up the middle of the foot. Above the ankles, the boot is in one piece.

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

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

⁶ The footgear is best illustrated in Mosso, *Palaces of Crete*, p. 227, Fig. 107.

⁷ *B.S.A.*, Vol. IX, p. 363 Pl. IX.

⁸ *Jahrb.*, xxx., 1915, Pl. I, p. 65.

⁹ E. g., on a seal impression from Hagia Triada, *Mon. Ant.*, xiii, p. 43, Fig. 40; and on a gem from Mycenae, *Furtwängler, Ant. Gemmen*, iii, p. 44, Fig. 20.

The kilt is fastened on the right hip, both ends passing up under the belt; and at the junction hangs down a loose end with a heavily indented border. This appears to be the end of the rear part of the kilt. The end of the fore part may be the fold over the upper band round the waist; but it is not certain whether this upper band, above the belt, is to be regarded as the top of the kilt, or as a separate object. In favour of its being part of the kilt is the fact that the loops are attached to it, and similar loops are shown in the Rekhmara fresco (Fig. 3)¹⁰ clearly attached to the kilt; while against this view is the fact that in no other example does the kilt so far rise above the belt. If it is a separate piece of clothing, it would appear to be a folded waist-cloth, like the modern cummerbund; in shape it strongly recalls the girdle of the Berlin 'snake-charmer,' which appears to be a votive ceinture, fastened in front, and allied to the snake girdles of Knossos.¹¹

In the Rekhmara fresco we may trace the belt, the two loops and the kilt fastened on the right side with the end hanging down in front. The prolongation of this loose end into the rounded apron is seen on the Psychro bronze, which, save for the absence of the upper roll about the waist, presents an exact parallel to our bronze. In discussing the Psychro bronze, Sir Arthur Evans calls attention to various seal impressions¹² which seem to show a similar rounded flap, and suggests that it is a ritual garb used in ceremonial processions, a conclusion which is supported by the hieratic attitude of the British Museum statuette. The seal impressions are all of M.M. iii. date, and the Psychro bronze is also assigned to the same period. It seems probable that the apron is characteristic of that epoch, in which case the position of our bronze in Minoan chronology is fixed in the Third Middle Minoan period.

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



FIG. 3.—MINOAN ENVOY ON THE TOMB OF REKHMARA AT THEBES.

¹⁰ Reproduced from Bossert, *Alt Kreta*, Pl. CCLVII.

¹¹ Hall, *Aegean Archaeology*, Pl. XIX.; vide also Evans, *B.S.A.* ix. p. 83.

¹² *J.H.S.* xxii. p. 78, Fig. 5 (ritual procession with the double axe); cf. also *ibid.* Fig. 6 and Pl. VI. 7; *Mon. Ant.* xiii. p. 41, Fig. 35.

higher relief; it rises on the front of the head, immediately behind the raised hand; the end is broad and flat, in shape strongly suggestive of a snake's head; it then falls in serpentine curves behind the left ear into the hair knot, out of which the tip of a tail just emerges on the left side (Fig. 1). The interpretation of this third ridge is a matter of doubt. If it represents hair, we have three pig-tails, as on the Gournia bronze; but the analogy is not convincing, for in the Gournia statuette all three locks are of equal thickness, and the middle one is the longest of the three; whereas in the British Museum bronze, the middle ridge is the shortest, and by its more pronounced relief is clearly differentiated from the side-locks. Supposing it not to represent hair, and eliminating it from the analysis of the coiffure, this will consist of two locks knotted behind and falling in two tails, an arrangement which is exactly paralleled by the hair-dress of the Tyliassos and Psychro bronzes. Comparison with these two closely allied examples suggests strongly that the arrangement of the hair in all three statuettes is intended to be identical, and that the middle lock on our bronze is not hair at all; and its resemblance to a snake has already been noted.

Interpreting the centre ridge to be a snake, or possibly an artificial representation of a snake, a new light is thrown upon the significance of the statuette, which now enters the numerous company of figures associated with the Minoan snake-cult. In the case of some of these doubt exists as to whether deity or votary is intended, but in the present instance there is no suggestion of divinity; a worshipper is represented and in this respect the statuette may be considered the masculine counterpart of the well-known Berlin bronze, formerly known as the 'Mourner.'¹² Thiersch has denied any religious significance to this, seeing in it merely a snake-charmer and comparing it with the bull grapplers.¹³ Caskey has called it a priestess performing magical rites with serpents in honour of the goddess.¹⁴ But on an almost identical statuette found at Hagia Triada,¹⁵ while the snakes are omitted, the posture of the right hand is repeated. Similarly the Psychro and Tyliassos bronzes reproduce the hieratic attitude and almost the costume of our bronze with the exception of the snake. Obviously no stress need be laid on the presence of the snake, which is merely a ritual attribute. Whether the bronzes display the snake or not, all alike represent the same class of worshipper, male and female, standing in stiff reverence before the shrine of the goddess.

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¹² Hall, *op. cit.*, Pl. XIX.

¹³ *Aegina, Hellenism d. Aphaia*, p. 372.

¹⁴ *A.J.A.*, 1915, p. 248.

¹⁵ Mosso, *Palaces of Crete*, Fig. 26, p. 69; Bassett, *Alt-Kreta*, Pl. CXLVII.

THE GREEK OF CICERO.

It has occurred to me more than once that there was yet some work to be done on this topic, even after the meritorious and very accurate labours of Steele,¹ the notes and indices of a series of editors, notably Ernesti,² Orelli,³ and Tyrrell and Purser, and the dissertations of Bolzenthall,⁴ Font,⁵ and Laurand.⁶ Of these, the editors are concerned chiefly with establishing a correct text, and explaining the meanings of the words, which last task has for the most part been satisfactorily performed (see Tyrrell and Purser, *passim*, also Boot's excellent edition of the *Letters to Atticus*). Laurand mentions the matter only incidentally, and gives a list, not very reliable, of the words used in the rhetorical works; Font's chief interest is not lexicographical, but rather an attempt to answer the question why Cicero should ever use a Greek word at all when a Latin one was available. Bolzenthall I have not been able to consult, but gather from Font's synopsis of his work, pp. 3, 28 *seqq.*, that it is largely superseded by Steele. Steele sets out to study the whole vocabulary of the letters, including quotations, but omitting the Greek words in the other works; and his chief interest, apart from tracing the quotations to their sources, is in a grammatical analysis of the words used by Cicero and his correspondents, with a list of those words which occur only or for the first time in the letters. How admirably this work has been done is evident to any one who studies it closely: the very few errors I have been able to detect arise almost wholly from the fact that the materials for forming a judgment which were available in 1900 were less abundant than those which were at hand at the time of writing (1920).

My object has been, first, to give as complete and reliable a list as possible of the words used by Cicero himself (not his correspondents, though I have included half-a-dozen words quoted from Atticus and Caesar), omitting literary quotations of all sorts, including proverbs and the chapter-headings of the *Paradoxa*, and taking account of all the works, whole or fragmentary, which have come down to us. This list is my own compilation, not taken over from the earlier ones, which, except that of Merguet,⁷ are not full alphabetical lists of all the words, and include quotations as well as Cicero's own words. Within its assigned limits it is, I think, fairly complete and in accordance with up-to-date texts.

¹ *Amer. Jour. of Phil.*, xxi. (1900), pp. 387-410.

² *Clauis Ciceroniana*, at the end of his ed.

³ *Onomasticon*, in Baetler-Orelli's ed.

⁴ *De graeci sermonis proprietatibus quae in Ciceronis epistolis inueniantur*, Castrin, 1884.

⁵ *De Cicerone graeca uerba usurpante*, Paris, 1894.

⁶ *Études sur le style des discours de Cicéron*, pp. 61, 73-76, Paris, 1907.

⁷ *Lex. zu den philos. Schriften*, endl. This gives the words in the philosophical treatises only.

Secondly—and this is the more important object—I have tried to compile some material for answering the question: How did an educated man talk, in Greek-speaking circles, at that date? We know fairly well how he wrote, for publication at least; we have much evidence of the style of speech of provincials, more or less educated, in the non-literary papyri of Egypt; but outside of Cicero, I know of but little that can tell us what the Greek *sermo urbanus* was like after the classical period. The question is of some interest in itself, but more so as helping to throw light on two other questions, viz.: To what extent did the Atticising movement, initiated apparently in part by the Rhodian school,⁸ affect educated speech? and, Would the vocabulary and syntax (apart from rhythm and other rhetorical features) of a non-literary work, such for example as the second Gospel, strike a cultured reader as offensively rustic, or as merely artless? And would a markedly literary, yet still Hellenistic style, say that of Diodorus Siculus in one of his bursts of platitudinous reflection, or of Dionysios of Halikarnassos in a speech, be so far different from the language of every-day life, as to be hard of comprehension by, say, a poor and uneducated Greek?

It may be objected that Cicero is a foreigner, and thus poor evidence for colloquial usage. But it must be remembered that even for a well-educated Roman his Greek appears to have been very good; that he commonly wrote,⁹ spoke, and disputed in it, had Greek correspondents, had lived for years in Greece, and was the close friend of Greeks, and of the largely Hellenised Atticus. No doubt an Athenian could have told by small nuances of pronunciation and perhaps of choice of words that a foreigner was speaking to him; but if we remember how often in our own experience the nationality of an English-speaking Frenchman is betrayed only by slight differences of intonation which would disappear on paper, we may, I think, assume that a passage of plain Greek written by Cicero, and one written, for example, by his old tutor, Antonius Molon of Rhodes, would differ only in an almost imperceptible degree.

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

⁸ Christ-Schmidt, *Griech. Lit.*, II. 2, p. 263.

⁹ In seasons of distress, as during his

exile and after the death of Tullia, he used Greek as little as in his official communications.

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

A.

- Ἀβδηρικὸς, 'silly' vii. 7/4. Luc. *quomodo historia* 2; hence perhaps a.
 ἀβλάβεια, Tusc. iii. 16. † C in this sense (ἀβλαβής, *innocens*, a).
 ἀγέλαστος, Fin. v. 92. a.
 ἀγέννητα, x. 15/2. h.
 ἀγοστηνύτως, xiii. 3/1. C (—τος h, late).
 ἀγών, i. 16/8. c; N.T.
 ἀδεώς, xiii. 52/1. a.
 ἀδηλος, Acad. ii. 54. c; N.T.
 ἀδιαφορία, ii. 17/2. † C.
 ἀδιάφορος, Fin. iii. 53. Stoic t.t.
 ἀδιήρητος, xiii. 9/1. a (ἀνεκδιήρητος, N.T.).
 ἀδικαίαρχος (pun), ii. 12/4. C; cf. for formation ἀδικαιοόδοτος, Diod.
 ἀδιόρθωτος, xiii. 21a/1. a, but h in tech. sense 'unrevised.'
 ἀδόλεσχος, xvi. 11/2. a.
 ἀδύνατος, i. 1/2. c; N.T.
 ἀδωροδόκητος, v. 20/6. a.
 ἀζηλοτύπητος, xiv. 19/4. C.
 ἀηδής, xii. 9. a.
 ἀθαμβία, Fin. v. 87. c (Demokritos).
 ἄθεος, N.D. i. 63, iii. 89. c; N.T.
 Ἀθηναῖος, ii. 9/4 and quot. c; N.T.
 αἰνιγμός, ii. 19/5; vi. 7/1. c (a poetical).
 αἵρεσις, F xv. 16/3, *haeresis*, xiv. 14/1, 'school,' h in this sense. N.T.
 αἰρετός, xv. 19/2. c.
 αἰσχρός, ix. 6/5 and quot. c; N.T.
 αἰτία, xv. 12/2. c; N.T.
 Ἀκαδημική, sc. σίναξις xiii. 12/3; the full phrase 16/1. h.
 ἄκαιρος, ix. 4/3. c (—ως; N.T.).
 ἀκαταληψία, xiii. 19/3. } h (Academic t.t.).
 ἀκατάληπτος, Acad. ii. 18. }
 ἀκενόσπουδος, F xv. 17/4. C.
 ἀκέραιος, xv. 21/2. c; N.T.
 ἀκηδία, xii. 45/1. h mostly.
 ἀκκιζομαι, ii. 19/5. a.

- ἀκίνδυνος, xvi. 18/1. c.
 ἀκωνανήτος, vi. 3/7. a. — τὸς vi. 1/7. C.
 ἀκολασία, xiv. 11/1. a, less commonly h.
 ἀκοπία, F xvi. 18/1. C (ἀκοπος c).
 ἄκουσμα, xii. 4/2. a.
 ἄκρατος, F xiv. 7/1. c; N.T.
 ἀκροστιχίς, de dia. ii. 111. h.
 ἀκροτέλειον, v. 21/3. a.
 ἀκρωτήριον, v. 20/1. c.
 ἀκτίς, ii. 3/2 (math.) c in general sense.
 ἀκύθρος, vii. 32/2. h.
 ἄκυρος, xvi. 17/1. h (ἀκυρῶ N.T.).
 Ἀλαβανδεῖς, F xiii. 56/1.
 ἄλη, x. 1/4. c, mostly poet.
 ἀλίμενος, ix. 13/5. a.
 ἄλις, ii. 2/8, 19/1. c.
 ἀλιτεῖς, xiv. 13/1. h (Diod., Strab.).
 ἀλληγορία, ii. 20/3; orat. 94. h (Philodemos) as rhet. t.t. (a, ὑπόνοια).
 ἄλλος, vi. 5/2 etc., and quot. c; N.T.
 ἀλογῶ, xii. 3/2. c—a; h.
 ἀλογεῖσθαι, vi. 4/3. C.
 ἀλογιστως, ix. 10/4. a.
 ἀλόγως, xii. 35; xiii. 48/1. a (ἀλογος, N.T.).
 ἀλύω, vi. 5/1. c—a; h.
 Ἀμαλθεία, i. 16/18; Amalthea, ii. 20/2; Ἀμαλθείον, i. 16/18.
 ἀμάρτημα, xiii. 44/3; xiv. 5/1. a; N.T.
 ἀμειπτος, vii. 1/9. a; N.T.
 ἀμεταμέλητος, vii. 3/2; xiii. 52/1. a; N.T.
 ἀμηχανία, xv. 29/1. c.
 ἀμορφος, vii. 8/5. c.
 ἀμφιβολία, F vii. 32/2. Arist., as t.t.
 ἀμφιλαφία, Q.F. ii. 4/3, 14 (15 b)/3. C¹ (ἀμφιλαφῆς c).
 ἄν, ix. 4/2, etc. c; N.T.
 ἀναβολή, i. 21/1. c; N.T.
 ἀναθεώρησις, xiv. 15/1, 16/2. C¹; cf. Diod. xiii. 35/4.
 ἀντίθημα, i. 1/5. N.T.
 ἀναλογία (usually *analogia* in Varro), vi. 2/3; x. 11/4, Tim. 13. a; N.T.
 ἀναντίλεκτος, Q.F. ii. 8(10)/1. C¹.
 ἀναντιφωνησία, xv. 13/2. ἀναντιφώνητος, vi. 1/23. Both C.
 ἀναπάντητος, ix. 1/3. C¹.
 ἀναπολόγητος, xvi. 7/5. h; N.T.
 ἀναφαίνω, ii. 10/1. C, c; N.T.
 ἀναφέρω, xiii. 49/1; with dat. c (but mostly with εἰν and acc.); N.T.
 ἀναχωρῶ, ix. 4/2. c; N.T.
 ἀνέκδοτος, ii. 6/2; xiv. 17/6 *unpublished.* h (Diod.) in this sense.
 ἀνεκτός, xv. 19/1; — ὅτερα, xii. 45/1 (— ὡς quot.). c; N.T.

- ἀνεμέσσητος, xiii. 12/2; xvi. 7/2. a.
 ἀνεμοφόρητος, xiii. 37/4. h.
 ἀνεξία, v. 11/5 'ut Siculi dicunt.' C.
 ἀνηθοποίητος, x. 9/6 'not in character.' h (Diod.).
 ἀνήκεστος, ix. 4/2. c.
 ἀνὴρ, i. 18/6 and quot. c; N.T.
 ἀνθηρογραφουμαι, ii. 6/1. C¹.
 ἀνθος (pl., 'elegant extracts'), xvi. 11/1. h.
 ἀνιστορησία, vi. 1/18. C (ἀνιστόρητος, h).
 ἀνοίκειος, xvi. 11/4. h (Diod.).
 ἀντίθετον, orat. 166. a.
 ἀντιμυκτηρίζω, F xv. 19/4. C; but cf. ἐκμ—Lc. 16¹⁴.
 ἀντιπολιτεύομαι, vii. 8/5. a.
 ἀντίπους, Acad. ii. 123. a, h (Strabo).
 ἀντίχθων, Tusc. i. 68 ('S. hemisphere'). † C¹ in this sense.
 ἄνω, xv. 4/1. c; N.T.
 ἀξία, Fin. iii. 20, 34 ('honestum') Stoic t.t.
 ἀξιοπίατος, xiii. 37/3. a.
 ἀξίωμα, Acad. ii. 95; Tusc. i. 14; de fat., i. 20, 21. Arist.
 ἀπάθεια, Acad. ii. 130. Stoic t.t.
 ἀπαιδευσία, xiii. 16/1. a (ἀπαιδευτός, N.T.).
 ἀπαλαιστρος, orat. 229. h.
 ἀπαρτῶ, vii. 5/3. c; N.T.
 ἀπάντησις, ix. 7/2; xvi. 11/6. h; N.T.
 ἀπαρρησιαστος, ix. 20/2. h.
 ἀπειρία, Fin. i. 21. c (ἀπειρος, N.T.).
 ἀπελεύθερος, vi. 4/3, 5/2. a; N.T.
 ἀπεραντολογία, xii. 9. C¹.
 ἀπογίγνομαι, vi. 5/2. c.
 ἀπόγραφον, xii. 51/3 ('copy'). h, but elsewhere —os.
 ἀπόδειξις, Acad. ii. 20. c.
 ἀποθέωσις, i. 16/13; xii. 12/1, 36/1, 37a (= 37/4). h.
 ἀποκοπή, ii. χροόν.
 ἀπολιτικώτατος, viii. 16/1. The superl. is C.
 ἀπολογισμός, xvi. 7/3. a.
 ἀποπροηγμένον, F ix. 7/2; F in iii. 151; *apoproegmenon*, ibid. 15. Stoic t.t.
 ἀπορία, vii. 12/4, 21/3, etc. c; N.T. ἀπορώ, vii. 11/3; vi. 1/8, etc. c; N.T.
 ἀποσκήπτω, xii. 5/1. c.
 ἀπότηγμα, xiii. 27/1; F ix. 21/1; Q.F. iii. 2/2. Stoic t.t.
 ἀποτόμως, x. 11/5. a; N.T.
 ἀποτρίβω, vii. 5/5. a.
 ἀποφατικοί, topic, 49. Arist. t.t.
 ἀπόφθεγμα, F ix. 16/4, de off., i. 104. Xen., Arist., h.
 ἀπρακτος, i. 14/6. a.
 ἀπροσέεινσος, xvi. 13/1. C¹.
 ἀπρόσιτος v. 20/6. h; N.T.

- ἀπροσφώνητος, viii. 8/1. C¹.
 ἄρα, xii. 5/11 and quot. c; N.T.
 ἀργός, v. λόγος.
 ἄρειος, u. πῦρος.
 ἀρέσκω, ii. 3/3 (τὴν ἀρέσκουσάν τε, γνώμην). h in this sense.
 ἀρετή, x. 10a/4 and quot. c; N.T.
 ἀρήγω, ix. 4/2. c—a; Xen.
 ἀριστεία, xiv. 15/2; xvi. 9. c.
 ἀριστοκρατικώτατος, ii. 15/3; — κῶς, i. 14/2; ii. 3/4. a.
 ἄριστοι ('optimates') ix. 4/2. c.
 Ἀριστοτέλης, xii. 40/2; — εἰς, xiii. 19/4. h.
 ἁρμονία, Tusc. i. 19; Tim. 27. c.
 ἀρρώστημα, Tusc. iv. 23 ('moral imperfection'). Stoic t.t.
 ἀρχαῖος, vi. 1/18 (τὸν τῆς ἀρχαίας, sc. κωμῆδας). h in this sense.
 ἀρχέτυπον, x. 5 c (= 5/4), xvi. 3/1. h (Dion. Hal.).
 ἀρχή, x. 10/4. c; N.T.
 Ἀρχιμήδεις, xii. 4/2; xiii. 28/3. h.
 ἀσαφέστερος, xiii. 25/1. a.
 ἀσελγής, ii. 12/2. a (ἀσελγεία, N.T.).
 ἀσμενιστός, ix. 20/2, 16/9. h.
 ἀσμεναῖτατα, xiii. 22/1. a (—ως, N.T.).
 ἀσπάζομαι, ii. 9/4, 12/4. c; N.T.
 ἀσπονδος, ix. 10/5. c.
 ἀστρατήγητος, vii. 13/1, h. ἀστρατηγικώτατος, viii. 16/1. C.
 ἄστυ, vi. 5/2. c (h mostly uses πόλις).
 ἀσύγχελυστος, vi. 1/17. C¹.
 ἀσφάλεια, ii. 19/4; xvi. 8/2, ἀσφαλής, vii. 13/3; — ὥς Q.F.I. 2/3;
 All c; N.T.
 ἀσώματος, N.D. i. 30. a.
 ἀταραξία, F xv. 19/2. Demokritos, Epicurus.
 ἀτελής, xiv. 12/1 (possibly a quot.). c.
 ἄτεχνος, topic. 24 (rhet. t.t.). Arist. in this sense.
 ἀτοπώτατον, xv. 26/1. c; ἀτοπος, N.T.
 Ἀτρεΐδαι, vii. 3/5 i parody of Eur.
 ἀτριψία, xiii. 16/1. C.
 ἀττικισμός, iv. 19/1 ('atticism of style'). h in this sense.
 Ἀττικός, i. 13/5; — ὥτατος, vi. 5/3 (pun); — ὥτατα, adv. xv. 1a/12. c.
 ἄτυπος, ('Balbus'), xii. 3/2 c conl.; clypeo, M. C¹ in this sense; atypus
 Gell. iv. 2/5.
 ἄτυφος, vi. 9/2. a.
 αὐθεντικός, x. 9/1. C¹.
 αὐθωρεῖ, ii. 13/1. h.
 αὐτός, ix. 4/2; etc. (xv. 27/3 c conl.; autem. M.) c; N.T. αὐτότατα, vi.
 9/2, cf. αὐτότατος Ar. Plut. 83 (πεπαικται κωμικῶς Schol.).
 αὐτονομία, vi. 1/15. c.
 αὐτόχθων, vii. 2/3. c.

ἀφαίρεσις ('lessening regimen'), vi. 1/2. † C¹ in this sense. Cf. the use of ἀφαίρειν, Ar. Ran. 941 and comm. ad loc.

ἄφατος, xiii. 9/1; xv. 19/2. c.

ἀφελής, i. 18/1; — ὥς, vi. 1/8, 7/1. Both c (ἀφελότης, N.T.).

ἀφίδρυμα ('shrine'), xiii. 29/1. † C¹; h (Diod.). a, ἱδρυμα.

ἀφίημι, ix. 4/2. o; N.T.

ἀφιλόδοξος, ii. 17/2. C¹ (other comps. of α + φιλ— in N.T.).

ἀφίσταμαι, vi. 5/2. c; N.T.

ἀφομιλῶ, F xvi. 17/2. C.

ἀφρακτον or ἀφρακτῆριον, iv. 11/4, 12/1. h.

ἀχαριστία, ix. 7/4. a (ἀχάριστος; N.T.).

B.

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

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

βδελύττομαι, xv. 29/2. a; N.T.

βλάμμα, Fin. iii. 69. Stoic t.t.

βλάσφημος, xv. 11/4. a; N.T.

βουλευτήριον, 2 Verr. ii. 50. c.

βουλεύω, ix. 4/2. c; N.T.

βούλησις, Tusc. iv. 12. c.

βούλυσσις, xv. 27/3. C (βουλυτός c).

βοῶπις, ii. 9/1, 12/2, 14/1, 22/5 (nickname of Clodia).

Βρούτος, xv. 12/2.

Γ.

γαυριῶ, xvi. 5/5. a, but mostly h.

γε, vi. 1/20; xvi. 15/3. e; N.T.

γενικῶς, i. 14/2. — ὥτερον, ix. 10/6. Arist. in this sense.

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

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

γεωμετρικῶς, xii. 5b. Arist.

Γημήτηρ, N.D. ii. 67.

γλαῦξ, F vi. 3/4; ix. 4/2 (prov., γλαῦκ' εἰς Ἀθήνας; but translated, Q.F. ii. 15(16)/5.) a.

γλίσχρως, xvi. 1/5. c.

γλυκύπικρος, v. 21/4. c.

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

γυμνασιώδης, i. 6/2, 9/2. C.

Δ

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

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

- δαίμων, Tim. 38. c.
 δάκνω, xiii. 20/4. c; N.T.
 δάμαρ, vi. 4/3. c (archaic).
 δέ, ii. 16/4, etc., and quot. c; N.T.
 δέδοικα, vi. 4/3, 5/2 and quot. c.
 δέξ, vi. 1/20. c; N.T.
 δέρρις, iv. 19/1 (sense doubtful). a.
 δεύτερος, vi. 5/2. c; N.T.
 δή, vi. 4/3 and quot., δήπου, ibid. c; N.T.
 Δημήτηρ, iv. 8a/2, N.D. ii. 67.
 δῆμος, vi. 6/2, vii. 3/10. c; N.T.
 Δημοσθένης, xv. 1a/2.
 διά, with acc. ix. 4/2; with gen. ibid. c; N.T.
 διάθεσις, xiv. 3/2. a.
 διαίρεσις, vi. 1/15. c; N.T.
 διαλεκτική, de Or. ii. 157, topic. 6, 57; *dialectici topic.* 56. a.
 διάλογος, v. 5/2; xv. 13/2, orat. 151.
 διαμένω, xv. 12/2. a; N.T.
 διανοητικός, F xv. 16/1. a.
 διαπολιτεία, ix. 4/2. C¹.
 διαρρήδην, F xvi. 21/6. c.
 διύρροια, F vii. 26/2. a.
 διατύπωσις, Q.F. iii. 5/4. Arist.
 διάφασιν, ii. 3/2. Theophr.
 διαφόρησις, F xvi. 18/1. C¹.
 δίβαφος, ii. 9/2. h.
 δίδακτος, x. 12a/4. c; N.T.
 διευθετῶ, vi. 5/2. h. (διασκευάζω, a).
 διευκρινῶ, vii. 8/3, 5.
 δικαιοῶ ('execute') 2 Verr. ii. 148; said there to be Sicilian, but c in this sense.
 δίκροτον or *dicrotum*, v. 11/4, etc. a.
 Διόδωρος, F ix. 4.
 διοίκεσις, F xiii. 57/1 (administrative t.t.). h (Strabo).
 Διόσκουροι, N.D. iii. 53. c— a (— κοροι). h; N.T.
 διφθέρα, xv. 24/1. c.
 διπλή (critical sign), viii. 2/4. h.
 δόγμα, Acad. ii. 27, 29. a.
 δοκιμάζω, ix. 4/2. a; N.T.
 δοκῶ, vi. 4/3, 5/1; ix. 4/2. c; N.T.
 δόξα, Fin. ii. 20., N.D. i. 85.
 δύναμις, ix. 6/5. c; N.T.
 δυνατός, F ix. 4, de fato. 1, 17. c; N.T.
 ευαδιάγνωστος, v. 4/1. C¹; h (Dion. Hal.).
 ευσεκλάλητος, v. 10/3. C¹; h (Dion. Hal.), cf. N.T. ἀνεκ—.
 δυσεντερία, F vii. 26/1; — ικός ibid. c.

δυσουρία, x. 10/4. c.
 δυσχρηστία, xvi. 7/6 ('tight money'), h; δύσχρηστος, vii. 5/3. c. δυσ-
 χρήστημα, Fin. iii. 63, Stoic t.t.
 δυσωπία, xiii. 33/2; xvi. 15/2. C¹.

E.

ε' ('Book V'), xii. 38a/2. cf. δ.
 εἶν, xv. 12/2. c; N.T.
 εἰνόν, αὐτόν, vi. 5/2; ix. 4/2, etc., and quot. c; N.T.
 ἐγγήραμα, xii. 25/2, 29/2, 44/2. C¹ (from Atticus).
 ἐγκέλευσμα, vi. 1/8. Xen.
 ἐγκωμιαστικός, i. 19/10. Arist.
 ἐγώ, vi. 4/3 (μον, μοι) and often quot. c; N.T.
 ἐθελοντής, ix. 4/2. a.
 εἰ ('si') ii. 16/4 ('num'), ix. 4/2, etc. c; N.T.
 εἶδος, topic. 30 and quot. a, late; N.T.
 εἰδωλον, ii. 3/2; F xv. 16/1, Fin. i. 21. c.
 εἶπω, vi. 5/2. c; N.T.
 εἰλικρινής, Q.F. ii. 6(8)/1. c; N.T.
 εἰμαρμένη, N.D. i. 55, de div. i. 125. c.
 εἰμί, vii. 5/2, etc., and quot. c; N.T.
 εἶμι, ix. 4/2; xiv. 22/2. c.
 εἶρων, de Or. ii. 270, Brut. 298, de off. i. 108. c.
 εἰρωνεύομαι, F iv. 4/1, bis. c.
 εἰρωνεία, xvi. 11/2, Acad. ii. 15; ἰωνία, Brut. 292. a.
 εἰς, ii. 3/3; † vi. 4/3, 6/2 (with ellipsis of vb. of going). c; N.T.
 εἰς, vi. 4/3 (eis Iachmann) and quot. c.; N.T.
 ἐκάτερος, ii. 3/3, 9/3. c.
 ἐκλογή, xvi. 2/6 (Reid; *eclogari* uolg.). h (N.T. as theol. term.).
 ἐκτενεία, x. 17/1; ἐκτενής, xiii. 9/1 ('official friendliness'; 'ostentatiously friendly'). h (N.T. in different sense).
 ἐκτοπισμός, xii. 12/1. h (Strab.)
 ἐκφώνησις, x. 1/3. h.
 ἐκχυσις, ii. 3/2. Arist.
 ἐλάχιστος, de fat. 22. c; N.T.
 ἐλευθερία, ix. 14/2. c; N.T.
 ἐλπίζω, vi. 5/2. c; N.T.
 ἐμετική, xiii. 52/1 ('regimen of emetics'). h († c in this sense).
 ἐμός, vi. 5/1 and quot. c; N.T.
 ἐμπερπερένομαι, i. 14/4. Arr. Epict. ii. 134. cf. περπερένεται, I. Cor. 13⁴.
 ἐνάργεια, Acad. ii. 17. a.
 ἐν, i. 13/4, etc.; ii. 19/5, expressing agency; ἐν δυνάμει, pro imperio, ix.
 6/4. c, last two uses chiefly h; N.T.
 ἐνδελέχεια, Tusc. i. 22. c.
 ἐνδόμυχος, v. 14/3, 21/4. c—a (poet).
 ἐνερευθέστερος, xii. 4/1. h; comp. C.

- ἐνθουσιασμός, Q.F. iii. 4/4. a.
 ἐνθύμημα, i. 14/4, topic. 56 (rhet. t.t.). Arist.
 ἐνιαύσιος, v. 14/1. c.
 ἐνορία, topic. 31; Acad. ii. 30; Fin. iii. 21; Tusc. i. 57. a.
 ἐντάφιος, xii. 29/2. c.
 ἐντεχνος, F vii. 32/2 (rhet. t.t.). Arist.
 ἐντυραννοῦμαι, ii. 19/1. C.
 ἐξακανθίζω, vi. 6/1. C.
 ἐξασφαλίζομαι, vi. 4/3. C¹; Strab.
 ἐξελεύθερος, vi. 5/1. h; N.T. uses ἀπ— only. Dio. Cass. seems to use
 ἀπελ. = *libertinus*, ἐξελ. = *libertus*.
 ἐξοχή, iv. 15/7 ('eminence'). ? C¹ in this sense; N.T.
 ἐξωτερικός, iv. 16/2; Fin. v. 12. Arist.
 ἐπαγγέλλομαι, ii. 9/3. a; N.T.
 ἐπάγω, ix. 4/2. c; N.T.
 ἐπαγωγή, topic. 42. Arist.
 ἐπέχω, vi. 6/3; Acad. ii. 59, 148. Skept. t.t.
 ἐπὶ with gen. ii. 5/3, with dat. quot. only. c; N.T.
 ἐπιγεννηματικός, Fin. iii. 32. Acad. t.t.
 ἐπιδεικτικός, orat. 37, 207; *epidicticus*, ibid. 42. a.
 ἐπιδήμιος, xii. 10. c.
 ἐπικεφάλιον, v. 16/2. h.
 ἐπίκτητος, vii. 1/5. c.
 ἐπίκωπος or *epicorus*, v. 11/4; xv. 16/1. ? C¹. Cf. Gell. x. 25.
 ἐπιλέγω, vi. 5/2. c.
 ἐπιμελοῦμαι, x. 10/6 with gen. c; N.T.
 ἐπισημασία, i. 16/11; xiv. 3/2. h (Diod.).
 ἐπίσκοπος, vii. 11/5 (administrative t.t.). a.
 ἐπίτευγμα, xiii. 27/1. h (Diod.).
 ἐπιτομή, v. 20/1. h.
 ἐπιφορά, F xvi. 23/1 (med. t.t.). ? C¹.
 ἐπιφώνημα, i. 19/3. C¹.
 ἐπιχρόμιος, vi. 9/3. c, but rare.
 ἔπος ('epic') Q.F. iii. 9/6; but *epicus*, opt. gen. or 1, 2, etc. c.
 ἐποχή, vi. 6/3, 9/3; xv. 21/2 (Skept. t.t.), xiii. 21/3 (nautical). h.
 ἐπτόλοφος, vi. 5/2 C¹. δίλοφος, etc., c.
 ἐπταμηνιαίος, x. 18/1. h; —μηνος, c.
 ἔρανος, xii. 5/1. c.
 ἔργον, xiii. 25/3 *c conl.*; *at ego codd.* c; N.T.
 ἐργώδης, xv. 19/1. c.
 ἔρμαιον, xiii. 19/5. c.
 ἔρωτικός, ix. 10/2. a.
 Ἑσπερος, N.D. ii. 53. c.
 Ἑστία, N.D. ii. 67.
 ἔσω, iv. 8a/4. c; N.T.
 ἔτι, xvi. 1/1 and quot. c; N.T.

- ἐτυμολογία topic. 35; Acad. i. 32. h (Dion. Hal.).
 εὐαγγέλιον, ii. 3/1; xiii. 40/1 ('good news') h; N.T.; ii. 12/1 ('reward to bringer of good news'; plur). c.
 εὐαγγέλιος, xiii. 23/3 e conl.; εὐαγγος or εὐλαβῶς codd. C; —ος a.
 εὐανάρετος, ii. 14/1. C¹.
 εὐγένεια, F iii. 7/5. c; εὐγενής, viii. 9/3; xiii. 21a/4. c; N.T.
 εὐδαίμων, ix. 11/4. c.
 εὐδοξία, Fin. iii. 57. c.
 εὐελπίστια, ii. 17/2. h.
 εὐεργέτης, ix. 4/2, 5/3. c; N.T.; εὐεργετῶ, ix. 4/2. a; N.T.
 εὐήθεια, vi. 2/10. c (μωρία; N.T.).
 εὐήμερον, v. 21/2. h; εὐμέρια, ix. 13/1. c.
 εὐθανασία ('honourable death'), xvi. 7/3. Quoted from Atticus; ἀπ. εἰρ. in this sense.
 εὐθυμία, Fin. v. 23. 87 (Demokritos).
 εὐθυρρημονῶ, F ix. 22/5. C¹; cf. εὐθυρρημονέστερος, F xii. 16/3, from Trebonius.
 εὐκαιρία, xvi. 8/2; Fin. iii. 45, de off. i. 142. εὐκαιρος, iv. 7/1; εὐκαίρως, xiii. 9/2; Q.F. ii. 3/6. All a; N.T.
 εὐκόλως, xiii. 21a/3. a.
 εὐλαβοῦμαι, ix. 4/2. c; N.T.
 εὐλογία, xiii. 22/4. a; εὐλογος, xiii. 5/1, 7, 33/3; xiv. 22/2; xiii. 6a. c.
 εὐλυσία, F xvi. 18/1 (med.) ? C¹.
 εὐμένεια, xvi. 11/2. c.
 εὐπινής, xii. 6/4, —ως; xv. 17/2. C¹ in this sense; Dion. Hal.
 Εὐπολις, iv. 1/18.
 εὐπόριστος, vii. 1/7. h.
 Εὐριπίδης, F xiii. 15/2.
 εὐριπιστός, xiv. 5/2. C¹.
 εὐστομάχως, ix. 5/2 ('good-naturedly'). C¹.
 εὐταξία, de off. i. 142 (phil. t.t.) ? C¹ in this sense.
 εὐτόκσειν, x. 18/1. h, including the form of the augment.
 εὐτραπελία, F vii. 32/1 (pun.). Arist. in this sense; N.T. (= βωμολοχία).
 εὐχρήστημα or —ία, Fin. iii. 69. Stoic t.t.
 ἐφίημι ('permit'), ix. 4/2. c, but frequent in h.
 ἐφίσταμαι ('notice'), xiii. 38/1. Arist. in this sense.
 ἔχω, xv. 12/2. o; N.T.
 ἑῶ, xvi. 1/1 unless corrupt, and quot. c; N.T.
 ἔωλος, xiii. 21a/1, F ix. 2/1. c.

Z.

- ζηλοτυπία, Tusc. iv. 17 (18). a (rare); h.
 ζηλοτυπῶ, xiii. 13/1, 17/2 (18). a.
 ζήτημα, vii. 3/10; F ix. 20/1. a; N.T.
 ζῶ, ii. 12/2 (ζώσης φωνῆς), xii. 2/2; xiv. 21/3. c; N.T.
 ζωδιακός, de div. ii. 89. h.

H.

- ἡγεμονικός, N.D. ii. 29. Stoic. t.t.
 ἡδονή, F xv. 19/2, 3; Fin. ii. 8, 12, 13; iii. 35. c; N.T.
 ἡθικός, orat. 128 (rhet. t.t.). Arist.
 ἡθος, x. 10/6, 12a/4, de fat. i. c; N.T.
 ἡμεῖς, vi. 5/2, etc., and quot. c; N.T.
 ἡμερολογεῖν, iv. 15/3. c.
 Ἡρακλείδειον, xv. 4/3, 13/3, 27/2; xvi. 2/6. h.
 Ἡρώδης, ii. 2/2, etc.
 ἥριες, vii. 13/1; xiv. 4/2, etc.; often written *heros*. Homer. and h in this sense.
 ἡσυχάζω, ix. 4/2; Acad. ii. 93. c; N.T.

Θ.

- θάμα, vi. 5/1. c.
 Θεόπομπος, xii. 40/2.
 θεός, xiii. 29/1 (πρὸς θεῶν) and quot. c; N.T.
 Θεοφάνης, ii. 5/1.
 θέσιν ('generalised case'), ix. 4/1; topic. 79, orat. 46. Arist.
 θετικός, Q.F. iii. 3/4; — ὡς Parad. 5. ? C¹ in this sense; Strab.
 θεωρημα, xiv. 20/3, de fat. ii. h, θεωρητικός, ii. 16/3. Arist. θεωρία ('enquiry'), xii. 6/2. c.
 θορυβοποιῶ, F xvi. 23/2. h (Diod.).
 θυμικός, x. 11/5. h.
 θύμωσις, Tusc. iv. 21. h.

I.

- ιδέα, orat. 10; Acad. i. 30; Tusc. i. 58. a.
 Ἰλιάς, viii. 11/3 (I. κακῶν). c.
 ἶνα, vi. 5/2 and quot.; see section on grammar. h; N.T.
 ἰσοδυναμῶ, vi. 1/15. h.
 ἰσονομία, N.D., i. 50, 109. Epic. t.t.
 ἴσος, xiii. 51/1. c; N.T.
 ἱστορία, xiii. 10/1. c; ἱστυρικός, i. 19/10; vi. 1/8, 2/3; h in this sense.
 ἰσχύω, ix. 4/2. c; N.T.

K.

- καθήκον, xv. 13/6; xvi. 11/4; Fin. iii. 20, de off. i. 8 ('officium'). Stoic. t.t.; h; N.T.
 κάθοδος, vii. 11/1. a.
 καθολικός, xiv. 20/3. h.
 καί, ii. 12/4; vi. 1/20, etc., and quot. c; N.T.
 καιρός, ix. 4/2. c; N.T.
 κακία, Fin. iii. 39, 40; Tusc. iv. 34 (κακός quot. only). c; N.T.
 κακοστομαχος, F. xvi. 4/1 ('fastidious'). ? C; Auth. xi. 155, 4, the right reading is clearly κακοστομάτων.

- καλός, ii. 19/1; vii. 11/1, etc. (καλῶς quot. only). c; N.T.
 Καλλιπέδης, xiii. 12/3, see comm. *ad loc.*
 καμπή, i. 14/4 (rhet. t.t.). a.
 Κάμалλος, vi. 5/3.
 κανών, F xvi. 17/1. a; N.T.
 παραδοκῶ, ix. 10/8. c.
 κατά, ii. 7/4, 17/4, etc., and quot. c; N.T.
 κατάβασις, xiii. 13/2, 31/3, 32/2 (title). c; N.T.
 καταβίωσις, xiii. 1/2. C¹.
 κατακλείς, ii. 3/4 ('clausula'). † C¹ as t.t.
 καταληπτός, Acad. i. 41 and u.l. ii. 18. κατάληψις, Fin. iii. 17; Acad. ii. 17, 31, 145. Both Acad. t.t.
 κατάλυσις, ix. 4/2. a.
 κατασκέπτομαι, vi. 5/2. h.
 κατασκευή, i. 14/4. a (—άζω; N.T.).
 κατάστασις, iv. 13/2. c (h rather περι—).
 κατάχρησις, orat. 94. Arist.
 κατηγορήμα, Tusc. iv. 21 ('predicate'). Arist.
 κατηφής, xiii. 42/1 (a quot. l). c.
 κατήχησις, xv. 12/2 ('education,' 'upbringing'). h (κατηχῶ, N.T.).
 κατόρθωμα, Fin. iii. 24, 45; iv. 15, de off. i. 8. κατόρθωσις, Fin. iii. 45.
 Stoic t.t.
 καχέκτης, i. 14/4. h.
 κενός, v. 20/3. Cf. Thuc. iii. 30/4 and Classen, *ad loc.*; u. inf.
 κενόσπουδος, ix. 1/1. C¹.
 κέντρον, Tusc. i. 40 (math. t.t.). a.
 κεκέρωμαι or κεκέφωμαι, xiii. 40. C¹.
 κέρας, v. 20/9, 21/9; vi. 1/13 ('musical instrument'). Xen.
 κεφάλαιον, v. 18/1; xvi. 11/4. a; N.T. (κεφαλῇ quot. only).
 κηδεμονικός, ii. 17/3. h.
 Κικέρων, ii. 9/4, 12/4.
 κινδυνεύω, ix. 4/2. c; N.T. κίνδυνος, ix. 4/2. c; N.T.
 κληρονομῶ, vi. 5/2. a; N.T.
 κοιλία, F xvi. 18/1. c; N.T. κοιλιοαλυσία, x. 13/1. C.
 κοινότερος, xiii. 10/2. a.
 κολακεία, xiii. 27/1, 30/1. c; N.T.
 κόμμα, orat. 211, 223 (rhet. t.t.). h.
 Κόνων, vi. 5/2.
 Κορία, N.D. iii. 59.
 κόσμος, Tim. 35. c; N.T.
 κρίνω, xiii. 31/3; F. ix. 4. c; N.T. κρινόμενον ('point at issue') orat. 126, topic. 95 seems h.
 κρίσις, F ix. 4. c; N.T.
 Κρόνος, N.D. ii. 64.
 Κροτωνιάτης, vi. 4/3, 5/6; —ικός, 5/2.
 κύκλος, N.D. ii. 47. c; N.T.

κύριος, Fin. ii. 20; N.D. i. 85 (the κ. δοξαί). Epic. t.t.
 Κύρος, ii. 3/2; ix. 25/1; xiii. 38a/2; in the last Wilamowitz—Moellendorf
 would read Κυραῖς, *Platon*, Vol. II. p. 27².
 κῶλον, Brut. 162; orat. 211, 223 (rhet. t.t.). Arist.
 Κωρυκαῖοι, x. 18/1.
 κωφός, xiii. 19/3 (κ. πρόσωπον). h in this phrase.

Λ.

Λακωνικός, x. 10/3.
 λακωνισμός, F xi. 25/2 ('laconic saying'). h, ? C¹.
 λαμπρός, v. 20/6. c; N.T.
 λανθάνω, vi. 1/8. c; N.T. λεληθότως, vi. 5/3; F ix. 2/3. h.
 λαπίζω, ix. 13/4 ('swagger'). C¹ in this sense. λάπισμα, ix. 13/4. C.
 λέγω, vi. 4/3; ix. 7/13. c; N.T. Cic. never uses λαλῶ, but συνεκλάλητος.
 λέξις, xvi. 4/1 (παρά λ. 'ungrammatically' ? C). Elsewhere quot.
 λεπτός, ii. 18/2 (κατά λ.) and quot. a in this phrase.
 λέσχη, vi. 5/1; xii. 1/2. c.
 Λευκοθέα, Tusc. i. 28; N.D. iii. 48.
 ληκύθος, i. 14/3 ('purple patch'), C¹ in this sense.
 λήμμα, de div. ii. 108. Arist.
 λῆρος, xiv. 21/4; xvi. 1/4. a; N.T.
 λῆψις, vii. 7/3; ix. 2/1, etc. ('attack' sc. of fever). c.
 λιτότης, vii. 26/2 (not rhet. t.t.). h (Diod.).
 λογικός, xiii. 19/5; Fin. i. 22; Tusc. iv. 33, de fat. i. Arist.; N.T.
 λογοθεώρητος, Dicta fr. 22. C¹.
 λόγος. ἄργος λ., de fato, 20; Stoic t.t. Elsewhere quot.
 λοιπός, vi. 1/30 (τί λοιπόν). c; N.T. cf. Mod. Gk. λοιπόν = οὖν.
 λύπη, Tusc. iii. 61. c; N.T.
 λυρικός, orat. 183. h in this sense.

Μ.

μάκαρ, xii. 3/2 u. νῆσος.
 μάλα, i. 14/2; xiii. 42/1; xv. 12/1. c; μάλλον, ix. 4/2. c; N.T. μάλιστα,
 quot. only.
 μανία, Tusc. iii. 11. c; N.T.
 μαντική, N.D. i. 55, de div. i., de legg. ii. 32. c; μάντις de div. i. 95 and
 quot. c.
 μέγας, ix. 4/2 and often quot. c; N.T.
 μεθαρμόζω, xii. 12/2. a.
 μείλιγμα, ('inferias'), xiii. 27/2. a.
 μελαγχολία, Tusc. iii. 11. c.
 μέλει, xii. 2/2, 3/3; xiv. 17/3 and quot. c; N.T.
 μελέτη, v. 10/3. c.
 μέλλω, ix. 4/2; τὸ μέλλον, ix. 10/8. c; N.T.
 μέμψις, viii. 2/2; xiii. 13/2, 49/1. c.
 μέν, vi. 5/2; F xvi. 8/1 and quot. c; N.T.

- μένω*, ix. 4/2. c; N.T.
μέρος, xiii. 22/2 (τὰ κατὰ μ.). a; N.T.
Μεσοποταμία, ix. 11/4.
μεσότης, Tim. 23 (math. t.t.). c.
μετέωρος, v. 11/6; xv. 14/4. c.
μετωνυμία, orat. 93. h.
μή, ii. 16/4, etc.; *μήπω*, often; *μηδέ*, vi. 5/2; xvi. 15/3; *μηδείας*, vi. 1/16
 (never *μηθ*—). c; N.T.
μηλαῦμαι, xii. 51/2. C in middle; act. c, but rare.
μήν ('month'), vi. 5/2. c; N.T.
μικρός, ii. 9/4; xiii. 21a/1 (*σμικ*— quot. only). c; N.T.
μικροψυχία, ix. 11/4. Arist.; a.l. *μακρ*—, C, but cf. *μακροθυμία*.
μισάνθρωπος, Tusc. iv. 25. a.
μίτος, xiv. 16/3 (κατὰ μ.). h.
μνᾶ, vi. 5/2. c; N.T.
μνημονικός, xiii. 44/3; xiv. 5/1. a.
μουσοπάτακτος, Q.F. 8 (10)/1. C.
Μυλαεῖς, F xiii. 56/1.
μυστικός, iv. 2/7; vi. 4/3 ('private'). h in this sense, *mysteria* always in
 Lat. letters.
μῶμος, v. 20/6, c—a; h; N.T. in peculiar sense.

N.

- νέκνια*, ix. 11/2. Tusc. i. 37. h (Diod.).
νεκρομαντεῖον, Tusc. i. 37. c.
νέμεσσι, v. 19/3. c.
νεύκτιστος, vi. 2/3. c.
νεώτερισμός, xiv. 5/3. c.
νεώτεροι, vii. 2/1. c.
νήσος, xvi. 13/2; *μακάρων*, v. xii. B/2. c; N.T.
Νίκων, F vii. 20/3.
Νόμος, N.D. iii. 57.
νομοφύλαξ, de legg. iii. 46. c.
νόσημα, Tusc. iv. 23. c; N.T.
ναυμηγία, vi. 5/2. c; N.T.

Ξ.

- ξύλλογος*, vi. 5/1; *ξύλλ*—, xiii. 30/3, 32/3. c.
ξυνόροσ, vi. 5/1. c (Doric) only.

O.

- ὁ, ἡ, τὸ*, passim; *ὅδε*, quot. only. c; N.T.
ὀβελίζω, F. ix. 10/1 (gram. t.t.). h.
ὀβολός, vi. 5/2. a.

- ὁδός, v. 21/13; vii. 1/5 and quot. c; N.T.
 ὁίδα, vi. 4/3; ix. 7/3, etc., and quot. c; N.T.
 οἰκείος, i. 10/3; ix. 4/2. Acad. ii. 38. c; N.T.
 οἰκοδεσποτικός, xii. 44/2. C¹ (—της; N.T.).
 οἰκονομία, vi. 1/1, II ('arrangement'). h mostly in this sense.
 οἰμῶζω, Q.F. iii. 9/8 (? a quot.). a.
 οἰχομαι, vi. 1/1 and quot. in Pis. 25/61. c.
 ὀλιγορῶ, vi. 5/2. a; N.T.
 Ὀλος, ii. 17/3; xiii. 40/2. c; N.T.; but u. infr.
 ὀλοσχερῶς, vi. 5/2. h mostly.
 Ὀμηρικῶς, i. 16/1. h.
 ὁμοιόπρων, Dicta. fr. 16. h.
 ὁμοειδής, ii. 6/1. Arist.
 ὅμοιος, xiii. 15/1 and quot. c; N.T.
 ὁμολογία, Fin. iii. 21. Stoic. t.t.
 ὁμολογουμένως, ii. 17/1. Xen.; N.T.
 ὁμοπλοία, xvi. 1/3, 5/3. C.
 ὁμώνυμος, vi. 5/2. c.
 ὄναρ (adv.), i. 18/6. a (noun in N.T.). δνειρον, vi. 9/3 (proverb).
 ὀξύπειρος, ii. 12/2; iv. 13/1. c.
 Ὀποῦν, Ὀπούντιος, vi. 2/3.
 ὄργανον, F xi. 14/1. c.
 ὀρίζων, de dim. ii. 92. Arist.
 ὀρμή, de fin. iii. 23; v. 17 and often in phil. works; Stoic. t.t. ὀρμαίνω quot. only.
 ὀρῶ, x. 8/7 (misquot. of Thuc.); ὀρώμενον, ii. 3/2 (math.). c; N.T.
 ὄς, vi. 4/3. c; N.T.
 ὄσος, vi. 5/2. c; N.T.
 οὐ, οὐδέ, οὐδεὶς (never οὐθείς), οὔποτε, οὔτε *passim*, but mostly quot. c; N.T. (but once or twice οὐθείς).
 Οὔριος or Vrius, 2 Verr. iv. 148 (title of Zeus); v. 12/1. c.
 οὔτος, *passim*. c; N.T.
 ὀφείλημα, vi. 5/2. a; N.T.; ὀφείλω, *ibid.* c; N.T.
 ὀψιμαθής, F ix. 20/2. a.
 ὄψις, ii. 3/2 ('sight'). c.

II.

- πάγος. Ἄρειος π., i. 14/5, elsewhere *Ariopagus*, —ίαι. a; N.T.
 παθητικός, orat. 128. Arist.
 πάθος, xii. 3/2; F vii. 26/1, often in phil. works and quot. c; N.T.
 παιδεία, ii. 3/2 (Κύρον π., with pun); F ix. 25/1. c; N.T.
 παῖς, ii. 15/3 and quot. c; N.T.
 παλιγγενεσία, vi. 6/4. h (Philo).
 παλινοβδία, ii. 9/1; iv. 5/1; vii. 7/1. a.
 Παναίτιος, xiii. 8.
 πανήγυρις, i. 14/1. c; N.T.

- πανικόν ('canard,' 'scare'), v. 20/3; xiv. 3/1; xvi. 1/4; F xvi. 23/2.
 πάνυ, xv. 27/1. c.
 παρά, xiii. 10/1, 16/1 and quot. c; N.T.
 παραβεβλημένοι ('spurious,' sc. στίχοι), F. ix. 10/1. ? C in this sense.
 παράγραμμα σι παρά γράμμα (kind of joke), F. vii. 32/2. Arist.
 παραδίδωμι, vi. 5/2; uid. inf.
 παρίδοξος, vi. 1/16; Acad. ii. 136; Fin. iv. 74; Par. 4. a; N.T., but
 also Stoic t.t.
 παραινετικός, x. 10/1. h.
 παρακινδυνεύω, xiii. 27/1. a.
 παρακλέπτω, x. 12/2. a.
 παράλυσις, xvi. 7/8. Theophr.
 παράπηγμα, v. 14/1. h.
 παραφθέγγομαι, vi. 4/2. a.
 παραφυλάττω, vi. 9/2. a.
 παρεγχείρησις, xv. 3/3. C¹.
 πάρειμι, iv. 13/2; vi. 5/2; x. 8/7 (Thuc., misquoted). c; N.T.
 πάρεργον, v. 21/13; vii. 1/6; εν π. Q.F. iii. 93. a.
 παριστορώ, vi. 1/25. C¹.
 παρόδω, εν, v. 20/6. Arist.
 παρονομασία, de Or. ii. 256.
 παρησία, i. 16/8. a; N.T.
 πᾶς, vi. 5/2; F xv. 17/1. c; N.T.
 πᾶσχω, ix. 4/2; xv. 20/3. c; N.T.
 πατήρ, vi. 5/2 and quot. c; N.T.
 πατρίς, ix. 4/2, etc. c; N.T.
 πειθῶ, Brut. 59. c.
 πειράζομαι ('be attacked by,' sc. a disease), xvi. 7/8. h (Strab., cf. N.T.).
 Πειρήνη, xii. 5/1.
 πειρῶ, ix. 4/2. c.
 πεντέλοιπος, xiv. 21/4; xv. 2/4. C.
 πεπλογραφία, xvi. 11/3. C; but πέπλος = miscellany, h.
 περί, xiii. 52/2; x. 13/1, etc.; after its noun ix. 4/2; an archaism? c;
 N.T.
 περίοδος, Brut. 162, orat. 204; i. 14/4. Arist.
 περιοχή, xiii. 15/3 ('passage'). ? C¹ in this sense, for which cf. Act. 8²².
 Περιπατητικός, xiii. 19/4. h.
 περίπατος, F xvi. 18/1. a.
 περισκεψάμενος, vi. 4/3. a.
 περίστασις, iv. 8a/2, xvi. 11/4. h.
 Περσεφόνη, N.D. ii. 66.
 Περσική, sc. στοά, xv. 9/1, where see comm. a.
 πέψις, F xvi. 18/1. Arist.
 pegma, iv. 8/2 ('binding' of book). C¹ in this sense.
 πῖθανός, xiii. 19/5. a.
 πῖνος, πεπινωμένος, xvi. 7/2. h; —ως, xv. 16/1. C.

- Πλάτων, ix. 13/4.
 πλουδοκῶ, x. 8/9. C; cf. παραδοκῶ.
 πλοῦς, xv. 21/3. a (πλόος; N.T.).
 Πλοῦτων, N.D. ii. 66.
 ποί, xii. 5/1; ποι, ix. 4/2. c; N.T.
 ποιητής, F ix. 10/1. c; N.T.
 ποιητικός, Fin. iii. 55. Stoic t.t.
 ποιότης, Acad. i. 25; N.D. ii. 94. Plato.
 ποιῶμαι, ix. 4/2. c; N.T.
 πόλεμος, v. 20/3; ix. 4/2, etc. c; N.T.
 πολιορκῶ, ix. 4/2. c.
 πολιτεία, πολιτεύομαι, *passim*. c, πολίτευμα, vi. 1/13; ix. 7/3. a.
 πόλις F xv. 17/2. c; N.T.
 πολιτικός (subst. and adj.), *passim*; -κώτερος, ii. 1/3, -κῶς, *ibid.*, -κώτερον, adv. v. 12/2. a.
 πολυγρφώτατος, xiii. 17/2(18). C¹.
 Πολυκλής, vi. 1/17.
 πολὺς, *passim*. c; N.T. πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ, vi. 1/20. a.
 πομπεύω, xiii. 32/3 (figurative). ? C¹ in this sense.
 ποσέ, ix. 4/2. c; N.T.
 πράγμα, vi. 1/17. c; N.T. πραγματεύομαι, ix. 4/2. a; N.T.
 πραγματικός or *pragmaticus*, xiv. 3/2, de Or. i. 198; — κῶς, Q.F. ii. 14 (15 b)/2. h; in sense of 'attorney' C¹.
 πρακτικός, ii. 7/4, 16/3. a.
 πράξις, x. 13/1; xiv. 12/1, 19/5 (with pun). c; N.T.
 πρόπον, xiii. 16/1; orat. 70; de off. i. 93. Plat. N.T.
 πρόβλημα, xii. 2/2, 4/2, etc. Arist. in this sense.
 προβολή, xiii. 21/3 ('boxer's guard'). Carneades.
 προέκειμαι, vi. 5/2. C¹.
 προηγμένον or *proegmenon*. Fin. iii. 15, etc. Stoic t.t.
 προθεσπίζω, viii. 11/3. Aesch.; h.
 προκοπή, xv. 16. h (Diod.); N.T.
 Προκύων, N.D. ii. 114. h.
 πρόληψις, topic. 31, N.D. i. 43, 44; Acad. ii. 30. h.
 πρόνοια, N.D. i. 18; ii. 58, 73 and quot. c; N.T.
 προοικονομας (mid.) Q.F. ii. 3/6. ? C¹ in this mood.
 πρόπλασμα, xii. 42/4. h.
 πρόπυλον, vi. 1/26, 6/2. c, but usually plur.
 πρόσ, often; π. θεῶν, xiii. 29/1. c; N.T.
 προσανατρέφω, vi. 1/2. C¹.
 προσδοκία, F vii. 32/2 (παρὰ πρ.). Arist.
 πρόσληψις, diu. ii. 108 ('minor premise'). h.
 προσπεύσις, v. 4/2. h.
 προσπάσχω, ii. 19/1. a.
 προσφώνω, xiii. 21a/1; xv. 13/6; xvi. 11/4 ('dedicate'). h, προσφώνησις, xiii. 12/3. C¹.

πρόσωπον, xiii. 32/3 ('person.' 'character'). h; xiii. 19/3, u. καφός; F xv. 17/2 ('face'). c; N.T.
 πρότερος, i. 16/1, 2 and quot. πρώτος, vi. 5/2 and quot. Both c; N.T.
 προύργου, ix. 4/3. a.
 πρῶτον, vi. 4/3. c.
 πυνθάνομαι, x. 1/1 and quot. c; N.T.
 Πυρρῶν, N.D. ii. 52. h.
 πυροί, vi. 6/2. c.

P.

ῥαθυμότερα, Q.F. ii. 15(16)/5. a.
 ῥήτωρ ('orator'), orat. 61. c; but *rhetoires* ('rhetoricians'), 93. h; N.T.
 ῥητορείω, xv. 16a. a.
 ῥαπή, xvi. 5/4. a.
 ῥυθμός, orat. 67. ? 170. a, *rhythmic*, de Or. iii. 190. h (Dion. Hal.).
 ῥωπογραφία, xv. 16a. C.

Σ.

σαρδόνιος (γέλως), F vii. 25/1. c.
 σεμνός, ii. 1/3; xii. 5/1; xv. 12/1 (u.l. —ως). c.
 σημεῖον, xiii. 32/3 (? 'abbreviation'). c; N.T.
 σησιωδέστερον, vii. 17/2 (a coinage).
 Σιτοῦς, Σιπούντιοι, vi. 2/3.
 σιλλυβος or *sillybus*, iv. 4a/1, 8/2. C.
 σιωπῶ, vi. 8/5. c; N.T.
 σκέμμα, vii. 8/3, 21/3; x. 1/3. c.
 σκέψαι, xii. 3/2. a.
 σκήπτομαι, xvi. 9. c.
 σκῆψις, i. 12/1. c.
 σκιαμαχία, F xi. 14/1. C.
 σκόλιος, xiii. 39/1 and quot. c; N.T.
 σκοπός, ii. 18/1; xv. 29/2. c; N.T.
 σκόρδον, xiii. 42/3 (so Tyrrell). h; a frequent vulgarism.
 σκοτεινός, Fin. ii. 15. c; N.T.
 σκυλμός, iv. 13/1. h.
 σκυτάλη, x. 10/3. c.
 σάλοικος, xiv. 6/2 ('in bad taste'). Xen., cf. ὑποσάλ—.
 Σοφοκλῆς, Q.F. ii. 15/3.
 σοφίζομαι, ii. 16/2. a (act. LXX, N.T.); σοφιστεύω, ii. 9/3; ix. 9/1. a.
 σοφιστής, quot. only.
 σοφός, F ix. 22/5; Fin. ii. 24; Tusco. v. 7 and quot. c; N.T.
 σοφία or *sophia*, ? F ix. 10/2, de off. i. 153. c; N.T.
 σπένδομαι, xv. 29/2. c.
 σπονδεῖάζων, vii. 2/1. h.
 σπουδάζω, xiii. 21a/1; F xv. 18/1. a; N.T. σπουδαῖος, v. 3/2; xiii. 52/3.
 a; N.T. σπουδή, ii. 1/8; F, xvi. 21/6 and quot. c; N.T.

- στάσις, topic. 93 ('*depulsio criminis*'). h.
 στείχω, vi. 5/2. c—a (poet.).
 στέργω, ix. 16/7; στοργή, x. 8/9, both c.
 στερέμνιος, N.D. i. 49. Epic. t.t.
 στερητικός, topic. 48 (rhet.). Arist.
 στεφάνη or *stephane*, N.D. i. 28 (Parmenides).
 Στίλβων, N.D. ii. 53. h.
 στραγγουρικός, F vii. 26/1. c.
 στρατήγημα, N.D. iii. 15. a.
 στρατύλλαξ, xvi. 15/3. O (Stratilax in Plaut. *True. dram. pers.* is a ghost-word; see Lindsay's crit. note.)
 σύ, *passim*. c; N.T.
 σύγγραμμα, xvi. 6/4. c.
 συγκατάθεσις, Acad. ii. 37. Acad. t.t.
 συγκινδυνεύω, ix. 4/2. a.
 συγκύρημα, ii. 12/2. h.
 σύγχυσις, vi. 9/1; vii. 8/4. c; N.T.
 συζήτησις, F xvi. 21/4. h; N.T.
 συζυγία, topic. 12, 38. Arist.
 σύλλογος, see ξυλ—
 συμβίωσις, F ix. 10/3. h. συμβιωτής, F ix. 10/3. a.
 σύμβολον, topic. 35. Arist. in this sense.
 συμβουλευτικόν, xii. 40/2. Arist.
 σύμμετρος, F xvi. 18/1. c.
 συμπαθεία, iv. 15/1, etc., N.D. iii. 28, etc. Arist., h. συμπαθώς, v. 11/7; xiii. 44/1. h. συμπάσχω, xii. 11. a; (N.T. συμπαθῶ).
 συμπολιτεύομαι, vii. 7/7. a.
 συμπόσιον, ii. 12/2. c; N.T.
 συμφιλοδοξῶ, v. 17/2. h.
 συμφιλολογῶ, F xvi. 21/8. C¹.
 συμφιλοσοφῶ, iv. 18/2. Arist.
 συμφορά, xii. 41/2. c.
 σύν, quot. only.
 συναγωγή, ix. 13/3; xvi. 5/5. a (N.T. in different sense).
 συναγωνιῶ, v. 12/2. h.
 συναπογράφομαι ('enlist along with'), ix. 4/2. a, late.
 συναποθνήσκω, vii. 20/2. c.
 σύνδειπνος, Q.F. ii. 15/3. c, σύνδειπνον, F ix. 20/3. a.
 συνδιμερεύω, viii. 9/3. Xen.
 συνέχον ('next point'), ix. 7/1. a.
 σύνναος, xii. 45/2. h.
 συννοσῶ, ii. 2/1. c—a.
 σύννοτος, xiii. 42/1 (? a quot.). a.
 σύνταξις, xiii. 12/3; xv. 14/4. h.
 σύνταγμα, xvi. 3/1 ('collection of writings'). † C¹; Diod.
 συντάσσομαι, xvi. 7/3 ('compile'). h.

- σύντηξις, x. 8/9 (metaphorical). Arist. ? C in this sense.
 σύντομος, vii. 3/5. c (-ως; N.T.).
 συσκενάζομαι, ii. 17/1. a.
 σφαῖρα, N.D. ii. 47. h, as t.t. σφαιροειδής, Tim. 17. c.
 σφάλμα, x. 12a/2. c.
 σφόδρα, vi. 5/2. c; N.T.
 σχεδιάζω, vi. 1/11. a. σχεδίασμα, xv. 19/2 ('invention,' 'trumped-up story'), cf. σχεδιάζειν = *nugari* (Diod. often). ? C in this sense.
 σχεδόν, vi. 5/2. c; N.T.
 σχῆμα, topic. 34, Brut. 141, 275; orat. 85, 181 (rhet. t.t.). Arist.
 σχολή, ii. 5/3 ('leisure'). c, schola, ix. 22/5; Fin. ii. 1 ('disputation'),
 h. σχολιον, xvi. 7/3. C¹ (from Atticus).
 σφίζω, vi. 5/2; xvi. 15/3. c; N.T.¹
 Σωκρατικώς, ii. 3/3. h.
 σῶμα ('collection,' 'collected edition'), ii. 1/3. h.
 σωφροσύνη, Tusc. iii. 16, σῶφρων, ibid. c; N.T.

T.

- ταξιάρχης, xvi. 11/3. c.
 τε, vi. 5/2, etc. and quot. c; N.T.
 τέμππα, v. 21/7. c.
 τεκμηριώδης, vii. 4/3. Arist.
 τέκνον, vii. 2/21 and quot. c; N.T.
 τελευτώ, iv. 8/1 (Soph., with a pun). c; N.T.
 τέλος, xii. 6/2; xiii. 12/3; Fin. i. 42; iii. 26. c; N.T. τελικός, Fin. iii.
 55. Stoic t.t.
 τέμπη, iv. 15/5. c—a.
 -τέον, facteon, i. 16/13 (comic hybrid).
 τέρας, viii. 9/4. c; N.T.
 Τεύκρης or Teucris, i. 12/1, 14/7.
 τεχνολογία, iv. 16/3. C¹.
 τίς; iv. 1/20 and quot.; τες vi. 5/2, etc., and quot. c; N.T.
 τίτος, ii. 9/4, 12/4.
 τοι, ix. 7/3 and quot. c.
 τοιοῦτος, xvi. 15/3. c; N.T.
 τόκος, vi. 5/2. c; N.T.
 τοπική, sc. τέχνη topic. 6. h.
 τοποθεσία, i. 13/5, 16/18. C¹.
 τότε, ix. 9/3 and quot. c; N.T.
 τρεῖς, xiii. 57/1. c; N.T.
 τρισπεισπαγῖται, iv. 15/4. C.
 τρίψις, F xvi. 18/1 ('massage'). ? C¹ in this sense.
 τρόπος, Brut. 69 (rhet. t.t.); ix. 4/2. Former sense h, latter c; N.T.
 τροποφορῶ, xiii. 29/1. cf. Schol. Ar. Ran. 1432. C¹.

¹ Whether Cicero wrote σφίζω, or σφίζω, etc., can hardly be determined.

- τύμβος, de legg. ii. 64. c.
 τύρπυς ('statuette'), i. 10/3, c. τυρωδώς, iv. 13/2. h (Strab.).
 τυραννίς, ii. 17/1, etc., and quot.; c, τυραννῶ, ix. 4/2, etc.; c, τυραννοκτόνος
 or *tyrannoktonus*, vi. 4/3; xiv. 6/2. h.
 τυροταρίχιος, iv. 8/1; xiv. 16/1; F ix. 16/9. † C.
 τυφλώττω, ii. 19/1. c.
 τετύφωμαι, xii. 25/2. a; N.T. τύφος, xiii. 29/1. a. Written as Latin by
 Varr. ap. Non. 229, 16 M., and elsewhere.

T.

- τάμις, x. 12/4 and quot. c; N.T.
 υπαλλαγή, orat. 93. h (Dion. Hal.).
 υπάρχοντα ('property,' 'goods'), vi. 4/3, 5/1, h (χρήματα, οὐσία, c), cf.
 1 Cor. 13³.
 υπεκτίθεμαι, vii. 17/4. c.
 ὑπέρ, with gen. ix. 4/2. c; N.T.
 ὑπεραττικός, xv. 1a/2 (with pun). C¹.
 ὑπερβολή, F vii. 32/2, topic. 45. a, ὑπερβολικῶς, v. 21/7; vi. 2/4. h.
 Former also N.T., but not in tech. sense.
 ὑπέρην, x. 1/3. a.
 ὑπηνέμιος, xiv. 10/1 ('windy'). h.
 ὑπηρεσία, ix. 13/5. a.
 ὑπό, with gen. xvi. 15/3; with dat., quot. only; with acc. ix. 2/1. c;
 N.T.
 hypodidasculus, F ix. 18/4. a, rare.
 ὑπόθεσις ('case'), topic. 79; i. 14/4, etc. a.
 ὑποθήκη ('counsel'), ii. 17/3; ὑπ. or *hypotheca* ('pledge,' 'paw'), F xiii.
 15/2. c.
 ὑποκορίζομαι, ix. 10/4. a.
 ὑπομεμφίμοιρος, vi. 1/2. C; cognates h.
 ὑπόμνημα or *hypomnema*, ii. 1/2; xv. 23; xvi. 14/4. c.
 ὑπομνηματισμός, v. 11/6; F xiii. 1/5. h.
 ὑποσόλοικος, ii. 10/1; xiv. 21/3. C¹; cf. *σολοικός*.
 ὑπόστασις, ii. 3/3 (ὁ. *nostram ac πολιτείαν*); h in this sense (προαίψεις, c.).
 ὑπουργός, x. 11/1. c.
 ὑποφυρῶ, vi. 5/1 with tmesis. C, but *φυρῶ*, c.
 ὑπώπιον, i. 20/5 ('disgrace,' 'one in the eye for . . .'). † C¹ in this sense;
 cf. ὑπωπιάζω, Luc. 18⁶, 1 Cor. 9²⁷ ('treat contemptuously').
 ὕστερος, i. 16/1 (ὁ. πρότερον, Ὀμηρικῶς, i. e. wrong end first, like Homer's
 τράφην ἢ δ' ἐγένοντο, A 251). h phrase.
 ὕω, N.D. ii. 111; *Hyades*, ibid. c.

Φ.

- φαίθων, N.D. ii. 52. h, as name of planet.
 Φαίδρος, xiii. 39/2.

- φαινοπροσωπῶ, vii. 21/1; xiv. 22/2. C.
 φαλαέρισμα, xiv. 2/3 and c. (ibid. 2. h (LXX).
 φαλαρισμός, vii. 12/2. C.
 φαλλός, xvi. 11/1 (Gurlitt, *uallo* codd.; 'indecenty')- c, but C in this sense.
 φαντασία, ix. 6/5; F. xv. 16/1; Acad. i. 40; ii. 18. a. h often (N.T. always) in sense of 'display,' 'showiness.'
 φέρω, vi. 5/2. c; N.T.
 φθονῶ, v. 19/3; ix. 4/2. c; N.T.
 φιλαίτιος, xii. 41/2; xiii. 20/2; F. iii. 7/6. c.
 φιλαληθῶς, Q.F. ii. 15(16)/5. h.
 φιλαυτία, xiii. 13/1. h (φιλαυτος, N.T.).
 φιλειδήμων, xii. 8/2 (doubtful). C¹; Strabo.
 φιλέλλην, i. 15/1. c.
 φιλένδοξος, xiii. 19/3. h.
 φιλήδανος, F. xv. 19/3. c; N.T.
 φιλιππίζω, de div. ii. 118. a.
 φιλογυνία, Tusc. iv. 25. h.
 φιλοδίκαιος, F. xv. 19/2.
 φιλοθέωρος, F. vii. 16/1. a (late) and h.
 φιλόκαλος, F. xv. 19/3. a.
 φιλολογία, F. xvi. 21/4. Arist.
 φιλόλογος, xiii. 12/3 (-ώτερος, C¹), 52/2; xv. 15/2. Arist. in this sense.
 φιλόπαιτρις, ii. 1/4; ix. 10/5. h.
 φιλοπροσηνέστατα, v. 9/1. C.
 φιλορρήτωρ, i. 13/15. h (Philodemos).
 φίλος (noun), ix. 4/2; adj., quot. only. c; N.T.
 φιλοσοφία, de Orat. i. 9, and often as a Lat. word. φιλόσοφος, ii. 12/4; -ως, xiii. 20/4; -ώτερος, vii. 8/3; φιλοσοφῶ, i. 16/3; ii. 5/2, 13/2; F. xi. 27/5. c, the first two also N.T.
 φιλοστοργότερος, xiii. 9/2. The posit. in Xen.; N.T. φιλοστόργως, xv. 17/1. Arist.
 φιλοτέχνημα, xiii. 40/1. C¹.
 φιλοτιμία, vi. 9/2; vii. 1/1. c.
 Φλιούς, vi. 2/3.
 φλύαρος, F. xv. 18/1. a.
 φοβερός, xiii. 37/2. c; N.T.
 φρονῶ, vi. 5/2. c; N.T. φρόνησις, de off. i. 153. a; N.T.
 φύγας, vii. 11/1. c.
 φυρατίν, vi. 9/2; vii. 1/9. C, cf. ὑποφυρῶ, φυρῶ, vi. 4/3, 5/1. c.
 φυρμός, xiv. 5/1. C¹ (Diod.).
 πεφύσσηται, v. 20/6 ('glorior'). a; N.T.
 φυσικός, vii. 2/4, de Orat. i. 217. Xen.; N.T. φυσιολογία, de div. i. 90. Arist.
 φωνή, ii. 12/2. c; N.T.
 Φωσφόρος, N.D. ii. 53. h.
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X.

- χαίρω, viii. 8/2 and quot. c; N.T.
 χαρακτήρ, Q.F. ii. 15(16)/5, topic. 83; orat. 36, 134. a; N.T.
 Χερρονησιτικός, vi. 5/2.
 χολή, F xiv. 7/1. c; N.T.
 χρέος, vii. 11/1 (χρεῶν ἀποκοπὰς). c.
 χρεωφειλέτης, vii. 8/5. h; N.T.
 χρήσιμος, Tusc. iii. 16. c; N.T.
 χρησμός, ix. 10/5. c.
 χρηστομαθής, i. 6/2. h (-ὡς Philodemos).
 χρόνος, N.D. ii. 64. c; N.T.
 χρονιώτερος, F xvi. 8/1 (med.). c.
 Χρύσιππος, F ix. 4.
 χώρα, ix. 4/2. c; N.T.

Ψ.

- ψευδέγγραφος, xv. 26/1. C.
 ψευδόμενος, de diu. ii. 11 (logical t.t.). h.
 ψευδσιόδειος, vii. 18/4. C.
 ψῆφος, vi. 4/3, 5/1. c; N.T.
 ψιλῶς, xii. 4/2. a.

Ω.

- ὦ, vi. 1/17; x. 15/2, etc. c.
 ὠνή, v. 16/2 ('saleable commodity'), vi. 4/3 ('sale'). Latter sense c;
 former inscr., e.g. Ditt. Syll.² 226, 52.
 ὠφέλημα, Fin. iii. 33, 69. Stoic t.t.

The above list might be lengthened by including a number of established loan-words from Greek, such as *acratophorus*, *dica* (2 Verr. ii. 44), *idiota*, and others; but as these have been sufficiently discussed by Laurand (op. cit. p. 62 sqq.) and others, and in any case belong rather to the history of Latin than of Greek in their Romanised form, I omit them. Neither do I intend to make a detailed study of the words listed (about 1000, including proper names). From the point of view of their structure, I have nothing to add to the remarks of Steele in the article already cited; but I would call attention in general to certain outstanding characteristics of the vocabulary, perceptible without elaborate statistics. Cicero might, to judge by his tastes in Greek literature, be expected to classicise. Of the scores of quotations, for which see Steele p. 393 sqq., from various poets, two only can be traced definitely to post-Attic writers, one to Rhinton and one to Leonidas of Tarentum (Q. ix. 18/3, x. 2, where see T. and P.); while another, viii. 5/1, *πολλά μάνην κεράσσειν ἐς ἡέρα θυμήσαντα*, has perhaps an Alexandrian flavour. In prose, the Platonic epistles and Thucydides divide the honours, save for one scrap of Epicurus. It would seem as if the later philosophers whom he read for their content furnished him in matters of style only with the many technical terms with which his works are besprinkled. In his own Greek style, when he wrote for

the public, he no doubt showed himself a true follower of the classicising Rhodian school which had so profoundly influenced his Latin.¹⁰ Yet the familiar style of his letters is interspersed with as plain and colloquial, in other words, as Hellenistic, a Greek as his Latin is easy and informal. A very large percentage of the vocabulary is Hellenistic; not a few words are unexampled elsewhere, i. e. formed part of the current vocabulary of his day,¹¹ for that he should coin them is most unlikely; there are one or two frankly vulgar words, as *σκόρδον* and probably *ἐμπερπερεύομαι*.

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

Pronunciation is indicated in two places. One is the reading *τὰ κερά* helping to date the variant *καὶνόν-κενόν* in Thuc. iii. 30/4; cf. Arist. Eth. iii. 1116^b 6, and agreeing with Diod., who likes the phrase and often uses it (xvii. 86/1; xx. 30/1, 67/4); which indicates that *ε* and *αι* were pronounced alike, and incidentally that even to the educated ear Greek quantity was growing less distinct. A clearer indication is given in F ix. 22/3: *cum 'bini' (loquimur) opscenum est*. 'Graecis quidem' inquires, i. e. *bini* sounded like *βινει*, the distinction between *αι* and *ι* being lost. We now see the significance of a point in Cicero's translation of the epitaph on Thermopylae,

hic, hospes, Spartae nos te hic uidiase iacentis
dum sanctis patriae legibus obsequimur.

To him, the original was a series of *i*-sounds, and his rendering brings this out most clearly.¹²

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

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

¹⁰ I think it likely, though it is not yet proved, that his prose rhythms are Rhodian in origin.

Philodemos gives us new examples of more than one *επταεπίμυτος* of Cicero.

¹¹ See Rhys Roberts, *Eleven Words of Simonides*, Camb. 1920, pp. 15, 21.

4. An odd construction, of which I can find no other example, is the use of *παράδιδωμι*, vi. 5/2, where, apparently in the sense of 'submitted accounts showing that . . .', it is followed first by a participle and then by an infinitive. We may, however, recollect the fairly numerous cases in Attic where the infinitive carries on a construction which began with some other form of *oratio obliqua*.

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

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

H. J. ROSE.

RED-FIGURED VASES RECENTLY ACQUIRED BY THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

[Plates II.-VIII.]

In Vols. XVIII. (1898) and XXXI. (1911) of the *Journal* I gave some account of black-figured vases acquired by the British Museum subsequently to the appearance of Vol. II. of the *Catalogue of Vases* in 1893. On page 1 of the latter volume a promise was made that another paper should follow, describing red-figured vases similarly acquired; but its appearance has been delayed by the war and other circumstances, with the result that the number of vases now included amounts to nearly fifty. Seventeen other vases acquired during the period 1895-1920 are omitted here as having been already published elsewhere, but a list is appended on page 150. The total number of red-figured vases added to the collection since 1894 is thus over sixty. The *terminus post quem* for this paper goes back over a year previous to the publication of the *Catalogue* in 1896, as several vases were acquired while it was passing through the press, and were too late for inclusion.

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

These five classes are:

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

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

I. EARLY ARCHAIC PERIOD.

(1) KYLIX of 'mixed' technique.

Ht. 17 cm. Diam. 37.2 cm.

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



FIG. 1.—INTERIOR: KYLIX OF 'MIXED' TECHNIQUE.

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

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

¹ *Handbook of R.F. Vases*, i. 183 ff.

E 285 in the Brit. Mus., and Hartwig, *Meisterschalen*, Pl. 18, 1 (a vase in the late Dr. Hauser's collection).

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

(2) KYLIX by *Euergides* (Plate II.).

Ht. 13 cm. Diam. 30 cm.

This cup was known some 70 years ago, but had since then been lost sight of. It reappeared at a sale at Sotheby's in 1920, and the Museum had the



FIG. 2.—EXTERIOR: KYLIX OF 'MIXED' TECHNIQUE.

good fortune to secure the vase, which bears the signature of the potter *Euergides*, and is the best existing example of his work. It was published in the *Annali* for 1849, but the illustration, which was used by Rizzo in his monograph on Skythes,³ and by Hoppin in his recently-issued handbook, is now shown to have been a most unsatisfactory one. Beazley's verdict that *Euergides'* painter was of rather mediocre ability must, I think, be modified now that the vase itself is before us.

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

² Cf. the Ricketts-Shannon cup, *J.H.S.*, 1909, pl. 8.

³ *Mon. Pict.*, xx. 142.

with the same signature, and another on a kylix in the Louvre, which Pottier assigns to Epilykos.

On the exterior we have two scenes each closed by a Sphinx, seated with head turned away from the centre; each one on the left holds up her right paw. The side A represents a nude youth leading two horses with halters, and carrying a stick or goad behind his head. Above him is inscribed ΠΑΕΧΙΠΡΟΣ, ΠΑΐξιπρος or 'Whipper,' a sort of descriptive name. It occurs on two other cups in the Museum (E 20-21), which may also be from Euergides' workshop. On B, a nude athlete walks to right, looking round and holding a javelin in both hands; facing him are two draped youths, one of whom holds a red, the other a flower. The attitude of the javelin-thrower shows that he is just preparing for a throw, drawing the pointed end back with his left hand so as to pull the thong of the *amentum* tight, as explained by Mr. Norman Gardiner in describing a similar figure on a kylix at Munich.⁴

As regards the artistic qualities of this cup, the interior figure is distinctly good, and almost equal to the contemporary work of Epiktetos. The exterior figures are somewhat dwarfed in proportions, and recall the work of the painter Skythes,⁵ whom Rizzo is probably right in regarding as the actual painter of Euergides' cups. The composition has not really advanced beyond the stage of the transitional cup-painters. The vase is in astonishingly fine condition, and there is not a trace of injury about it; the varnish is brilliant in the extreme. The shape of the rim should be noted, recalling the cups of Brygos.

(3) KYLIX signed by Chachrylion (Fig. 3).

Diam. of complete vase about 23.5 cm.

These fragments of a cup, which were purchased in 1897, are illustrated by Hoppin in his *Handbook*, i. pp. 158, 159, but as he only gives one of the exterior subjects (B), I publish the other here also for completeness' sake. The cup is also given in Nicolo's list of Chachrylion vases,⁶ but is not mentioned by Beazley.

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

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

⁴ *J.H.S.* xxvii. 262.

⁵ Cf. Beazley, *Vases in Amer. Mus.*, p. 21.

⁶ *Rev. Arch.* iv. (1916), p. 396, No. 71, 19.

The exterior design (A), which is not given by Hoppin, represents a sacrifice or libation. A woman (of whom only an arm holding bowl, sleeve and edge of chiton, and part of feet remain) holds a fluted libation-bowl over an altar, of which only part of the base and the flame on the top remain. On the left is visible part of the torso of a man to right, who carries a large basket on his shoulder. On the right are seen the right half (to the waist); and right forearm of a youth looking to the left, who has drapery twisted round his waist and holds a fruit in his left hand. On the extreme right are seen the foot



FIG. 3.—FRAGMENTS OF KYLIX BY CHACHRYLION.

and part of the leg of a figure moving to right. Above the altar is the inscription . . . ΟΣ ΚΑ . . . , which must be intended for *Λεαγόρος καλός*, as that is the only *καλός*-name ending in -ος used by Chachrylion.

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

(4) KYLIX.

Ht. 7.7 cm. Diam. 19.8 cm. Found in Asia Minor, and purchased in 1896.

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

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



FIG. 4.—KYLIX: EARLY ARCHAIC PERIOD.

(5) ALABASTRON, of the school of Epiktetos (Plate VIII.).

Ht. 8.2 cm. From Attica; purchased 1902.

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

(A) A woman stands to right, with left hand raised as if in greeting; she wears a long chiton with wide sleeves, and her hair is tied in a knot behind

with a fillet, the ends of which hang free. On the right is inscribed ΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ, *ἐποίησεν*, but no artist's name.

(B) A woman stands to left, facing the other; her right hand is held in front of her with fingers upright and palm outwards; she wears a coif, sleeved chiton, and mantle over her shoulders. Round her head is inscribed ΠΡΟΣΑΛΛΟΡΕΥΘ, *προσαγορεύω*, and on the upper edge of the lip is the inscription Ο ΑΙΣΧ . . . ὁ (π)αῖς κ[αλός].

This vase is discussed by Brueckner, *Lebensregeln auf athenische Hochzeitsgeschenken*, pp. 8, 11, who explains it as a 'Besuch bei den Epaulien,' or visit paid by a friend to the bride on the *ἐπαύλια* or day following the wedding. The expression *προσαγορεύω* was probably a ceremonial form of greeting used on these occasions. It occurs on other vases of the school of Epiktetos, one of which, an alabastron similar to the one under discussion, is in the Louvre, and has been published by M. Pottier, who refers all these vases to a supposed artist Παιδίσκος.⁷ The signature *ἐποίησεν* by itself is also found on other vases of this period, mostly of the school of Epiktetos, but one in the Louvre (G 40) is assigned by Pottier to the school of Chachrylion.⁸

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

II. RIPE ARCHAIC PERIOD.

(1) KYLIX, of the school of Euphronios (Plate III.).

Ht. 9.5 cm. Diam. 24 cm. Bought 1897.

This vase has been made up from fragments, but is almost complete; it had been broken and riveted in ancient times. The surface is covered with a good black varnish, and the red clay of the design has been ruddled over. The inner markings are in brown, the inscriptions in purple. The drawing on the exterior is hasty and careless, but that of the interior is more meritorious. It would seem that, as in the case of Pamphaios' 'Sleep and Death' cup (B.M., E 12), two hands had been at work on it. The use of the καλός-names Athenodotos and Leagros clearly brings it within the circle of Euphronios and his school. It is also mentioned by Klein (*Liebingsinsicht*,¹ p. 92, no. 10).

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

⁷ Pottier, *Bonne des Etudes Grecques*, 1893, pp. 40, 41; cf. also G 82 and G 101 in that collection; and see *id.*, *Cat. des Vases du Louvre*, p. 924. Hoppin, *Handbook to B.F. Vases*, ii. 275, assigns this group to Paidikos, but does not mention the B.M. vase.

⁸ See Klein, *Meisterz.* pp. 111, 220; *J.H.S.* xii. 346; *Rom. Mus.* 1896, p. 341; Pottier, *Cat. des Vases du Louvre*, p. 919.

divided by a band of meander. In the field is inscribed ΑΘΕΝΟΔΩΤΟΣ, 'Αθηνόδοτος'.

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

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

Beazley, in his discussion of vases by the 'Panaitios Painter,'⁹ incidentally refers to this cup as resembling a fragmentary one in New York with the καλός-name Panaitios. It may therefore be assigned to the vases of the Euphronios-cycle which were decorated by that artist, the producer of the Theseus cup in the Louvre and of the Brit. Mus. Eurystheus-cup (E 44). Five of his vases bear Euphronios' signature as maker; seven have the καλός-name Athenodotos, and one besides the present example has that of Leagros in addition. Mr. Beazley may, however, be right in preferring to associate our vase and the New York cup with the Colmar Painter, another artist of the beginning of the ripe archaic style. He assigns to this painter sixteen cups, three of which have the καλός-name Lysis. The style of our cup, at all events that of the exterior, is hardly worthy of the man who could produce the lovely interior of the Theseus cup in the Louvre, to say nothing of the Eurystheus scene on the Brit. Mus. example.

(2) KYLIX, of the school of Euphronios.

Ht. 8.8 cm. Diam. 18 cm. Found in Rhodes, and given by Sir A. Biliotti, 1901.

This vase is much broken, nearly all of the right side of the design being deficient. From the style of the drawing it may be assigned to the Panaitios painter already discussed; the style resembles that of the B.M. vase E 46, attributed to him by Beazley.¹⁰ The black varnish is good; the inner markings are executed in light brown, the wreath and inscription in purple. The pupil of the eye is close to the inner angle, which is open.

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

(3) KYLIX.

Ht. 9.2 cm. Diam. 23 cm. Found at Vulci, and presented by Miss A. F. Pariss, 1896.

⁹ *Vases in Amer. Mus.* p. 87.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.* p. 87.

This vase was found at Vulci in 1845, and is included in a Sale Catalogue of that year (No. 116).¹¹ It has been made up from fragments, and most of the rim is wanting. The black varnish is good; there are no inner markings, but purple and thinned-out varnish are used for accessories. The eye is of transitional type, with inner angle open.

The design is on the interior only (Fig. 5), and is surrounded with a border of 'stopped' meander; it represents a nude woman stooping to right and plunging both hands into a laver on a fluted stand, the capital of which is ornamented with an egg-and-tongue moulding; round the bottom of the laver is a hatched band in thinned varnish. The woman wears earrings and a tight-fitting coil, the strings of which are in thinned brown varnish, the clasp being indicated



FIG. 5.—KYLIX BY BRISEIS PAINTER.

by two black dots. Above the laver is inscribed (in thinned varnish) ΑΙΟΣΙ, and on the left is ΑΑΟΠ in purple.

Beazley¹² assigns the kylix to the 'Briseis painter,' the artist of the two Museum cups E 75 and E 76, the latter of which represents the story of Briseis. These were formerly assigned by Hartwig to his 'Bald-head Painter.'

(4) KYLIX, of the school of Douris.

Ht. 9.2 cm. Diam. 23.5 cm. Found at Orvieto.

This cup was formerly in the Bourgnignon collection, and was acquired at the sale of the same in 1901. It is No. 52 in the Sale Catalogue, and an inadequate illustration is given on p. 18 of that publication. The vase is much broken, and has been repaired in antiquity. The drawing is of the 'late strong' style, and is suggestive of the school of Douris; the vase is given by Hoppin¹³

¹¹ *Notice d'une collection de vases peints d'Etrurie*, 1845.

¹² *Amer. Vases*, p. 116; see also Hoppin, *Handbook*, i. 102.

¹³ *Handbook*, i. 283.

in the list of works which have been attributed to that master. The pupil of the eye is near to the inner angle, which is slightly open, thus showing an advance in the treatment of that organ. Purple is used for inscriptions, wreaths, and strings of suspended objects.

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



FIG. 6.—KYLIX: SCHOOL OF DOUBTS.

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

Exterior (A): Three ephebi, of whom the middle one sits on a stool to right, the others stand facing him, leaning on sticks. All wear cloaks, and the right-hand youth holds out an open set of tablets in his right hand. In the field are a bird-clapper and a writing-tablet with *stilus*, also the inscription ΑΙΣ ΚΑ. ΟΣ, ὁ παῖς καλός.

Exterior (B): Similar; in the middle, youth as on (A) with stick in left hand; on the left, wreathed youth in cloak, leaning on stick and holding out an open tablet-case. The right-hand figure is missing. In the field, clapper and tablets, and the inscription ΑΟΓΑ. ΣΚΑ, Νῆ ὁ παῖς καλός.

Tame birds and other animals kept in cages are represented on other vases; one is given in No. V, 16, below (Plate III.); other examples are Petrograd 1791 (*Compte-Rendu*, 1860, Pl. I.); Bibliothèque Nationale 361 (Reinach, *Rép.* ii, 262); and *Mon. dell' Inst.* x. Pl. 37 (rabbit in cage).

(5) NOLAN AMPHORA (Plate IV.)

Ht. 30.5 cm. Found in S. Italy or Sicily, and given by Mr. E. P. Warren, 1896.

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

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



FIG. 7.—LEKYTHOS, BY BOWDICH PAINTER.

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

(A) Eros flying to right, wearing fillet; he holds out flaming torches, two in the left hand and one in the right. On the right is the inscription *ΚΑΛΟΣ ΧΑΡΜΙΔΕΣ*, *καλός Χαρμίδης* (see Klein, *Lieblingsinschr.*², p. 145, No. 17).

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

(6) LEKYTHOS (Fig. 7).

Ht. 17.8 cm. Found in Rhodes and presented by Sir Henry Howorth, 1916.

Slightly repaired; good black varnish; purple for inscriptions and details. Treatment of eye archaic. On the shoulder, black rays and palmettes; below the design a band of meander.

A nude youth to right plunges his hands into a laver; above hangs a sponge. In the field is inscribed ΚΑ . . . , κα(λός), and on the laver is ΕΤΚΟ in large black letters.

Beazley (*Amer. Vases*, p. 72) assigns this vase to the painter of the Bowdoin box.¹⁴ As he points out, red-figured lekythi are not found until the archaic style was fully developed, owing to the survival of the B.F. technique for this shape. But he reckons no fewer than sixty-two examples which he attributes to this one artist alone.

(7) LEKYTHOS.

Ht. 32.8 cm. Presented by Miss Preston, 1899.

Style still somewhat severe, the treatment of the eye being archaic, but the vase is assigned by Beazley¹⁵ to the painter of the Paris Gigantomachy vase, which is of more developed style. Good black varnish; purple for fillet and inscriptions. Round the neck, egg-pattern.

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

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

III. LATE ARCHAIC PERIOD.

(1) KYLIX.

Ht. 8.5 cm. Diam. 23 cm. Bought 1895.

The vase has been repaired, but is almost complete. The surface of the designs has been ruddled, and the black varnish is of good quality. The drawing is somewhat careless, but still slightly archaic, the eye being in elementary profile. Inner markings in light brown. Below each handle is a double palmette.

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

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

¹⁴ See also Hoppin, *Handbook*, i. 98.

¹⁵ *Amer. Vases*, p. 96; see also Hoppin, *Handbook*, ii. 324.

stick in the right; the middle one leans on a stick and raises a kylix to his lips, and the third bends forward, holding up a wine-jug.

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

(2) OINOCHOE (Plate VIII).

Ht. 19 cm. From Cervetri. Bought 1912.

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

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

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

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

(3) OINOCHOE.

Ht. 21 cm. Found at Vulci.¹⁷ Presented by Miss Pariss, 1896.

Ordinary form; much broken, but only a small fragment wanting. Drawing of 'late strong' style, the eye archaic in treatment. Inner markings in light brown; purple for fillet and inscription. On the top of the handle is an enclosed palmette; on the neck, band of similar palmettes; and below the design a broad red line.

The design (Fig. 8) represents a Satyr leaping to left, with head turned to right, wearing a fillet; his left hand is placed on his head, and in the right he holds out an ivy-branch. On the right are a *thyrsos*, and the inscription *ΗΟΡΑΙΣ ΚΑΛΟΙΣ, ὁ παῖς καλός*.

(4) ALABASTRON (Plate V).

Ht. 20.5 cm. Presented by Mr. C. Fairfax Murray, 1917.

Late archaic period; eye still archaic; careful drawing.

¹⁶ *Amer. Vases*, p. 133; see also Hopkin, *Handbook*, i. 104.

¹⁷ *Camino Sala Cal. (Notice de Vases peints)*, 1845, No. 36.

Designs in panels, divided by vertical bands of spirals: (A) Priestess (1) moving to left, carrying olive-branches in left hand, and holding torches in her right; she has her hair gathered in a knot at the nape of the neck, and wears an embroidered *sphendone*, chiton spotted with crosses, and himation over her arms.

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

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



FIG. 8.—CHIOSCHON: SATTE.

IV. EARLY FREE STYLE.

(1) STAMNOS.

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

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

(A) Combat between a mounted horseman and a foot-soldier (Plate VII.). The latter thrusts with his spear at the former, whose horse advances to right; his left foot is placed on a high rock. The horseman is armed with a spear, and

a bow at his back; he wears a crested helmet, short chiton, breast-plate with Gorgoneion, and shoes. The foot-soldier has crested helmet, chiton, and breast-plate, and is armed with sword and shield, the latter bearing the device of an arching snake. On the right a youth armed with spear hastens up; he wears a *petasos*, bordered chlamys, and high boots with tongues at the sides, and round his head is a fillet shown in the colour of the clay. In the field is the inscription ΚΑΛΕ, καλῆ.

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

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

The paintings on this stamnos approximate in style to the work of the Altamura painter, and of the Lykaon painter.¹⁸ Though certainly not by either artist, it is more likely to belong to the period of the later one (the Lykaon painter), the drawing being of the earliest phase of the free style (contemporary with the vase-painter Polygnotos), with great attention to detail. It may be compared with G 342 in the Louvre (Millingen-Reinach, Pls. 49-50), which is by the Altamura painter.

(2) HYDRIA OR KALPIS (Plate IV.).

Ht. 18.5 cm. Bought 1920.

This vase is one of the most charming and delicately-executed products of the later red-figure period. The care and refinement with which the vase is modelled and the decoration executed makes it difficult to believe that it is contemporaneous with the later free style. The group to which it belongs, of which there are three or four more examples in the British Museum, is included by Mr. Beazley among the work of the ripe free period, but I am disposed to regard it as an earlier development.¹⁹ The drawing, it is true, shows no signs of archaism, and the subject is more in keeping with the pyxides and round-bellied lekythi of the end of the fifth century; but the treatment of the handle-palmettes and the meander-band under the figures recalls the work of the period of Duris and Brygos.

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

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

¹⁸ Beazley, *Amer. Vases*, pp. 144, 172.

¹⁹ *Vases in Amer. Mus.* p. 100. See *Brit. Mus.* E 202, 204, 207.

(3) LEKYTHOS.

Ht. 35.2 cm. From Sunium. Bought 1905.

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

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



FIG. 9.—LEKYTHOS OF EARLY FINE STYLE.

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

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

(4) KANTHAROS (Plate V.).

Ht. 11.3 cm. Diam. 10.7 cm. Bought 1919.

Early free style, with eye in profile.

On one side of the cup is a woman seated in a chair; her hair is knotted up at the back, and she wears a chiton with wide loose sleeves, over which is a himation. She is engaged in spinning, and holds out the distaff in her left hand, the top inserted in a mass of flax, from which she draws out a thread with her right hand, to be wound on the spindle which hangs below.²⁰ The same action is to be seen on a relief from the frieze of the Forum of Nerva at Rome.

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

(5) KANTHAROS.

Ht. 14 cm. Diam. 11 cm. Bought in 1898.

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

(A) Scene at tomb: A nude youth with a staff in left hand stands to right before a tall *stèle* on a base, down which is inscribed vertically ΠΑ. ΝΟΝ ΙΑΙΡΕ. ΠΑ(Δ)ΨΟ(Υ) (Χ)ΨΙΡ.

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

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

(6) KYLIX.

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

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

The other designs are of no great interest; on the other side of the exterior we have a bearded man, marked as a king by his sceptre, between two women, one of whom holds out a wreath, the other a libation-bowl; in the field are the inscriptions καλή and καλός. In the interior Nike is represented, confronted by a draped youth. Between them is inscribed καλός.

²⁰ See on the subject Blumner, *Technologie*, 2nd edn., i. 121 ff.; Smith, *Dict. of Antiqs.* i. 297.

(7) KYLIX.

Ht. 9.8 cm. Diam. 22 cm. Presented by Miss Preston, 1899.

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

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

The exergue of the design is left red.

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

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

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

(8) KYLIX.

Ht. 4.8 cm. Diam. 16 cm. Presented by Miss Preston, 1899.

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

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

(9) KYLIX.

Ht. 7 cm. Diam. 21.7 cm. From the Deepdene collection; given by Mr. G. Durlacher, 1917.

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

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

The exterior (Fig. 10) is decorated on either side with panels of lozenges in oblique lines, forming a diaper pattern; they are alternately black, and red with black dots. On either side are panels of inverted elongated B.F. lotos-buds. Under each handle is a panel with vertical borders of network pattern, in which is a B.F. goat leaping to right, very carelessly drawn in silhouette.

Underneath the foot are carefully moulded and painted concentric circles.²¹

The style of ornamentation on the exterior is not unknown on vases of this period; compare, for instance, the B.M. kotyle E 161, and one or two others uncatalogued; but this and the following seem to be the only instances of its adoption for a kylix. We may also compare the 'lattice-amphorae' of fifth-century date so often found in tombs in Cyprus and Rhodes.

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

Ht. 6 cm. Diam. 21.3 cm. Similarly acquired.

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

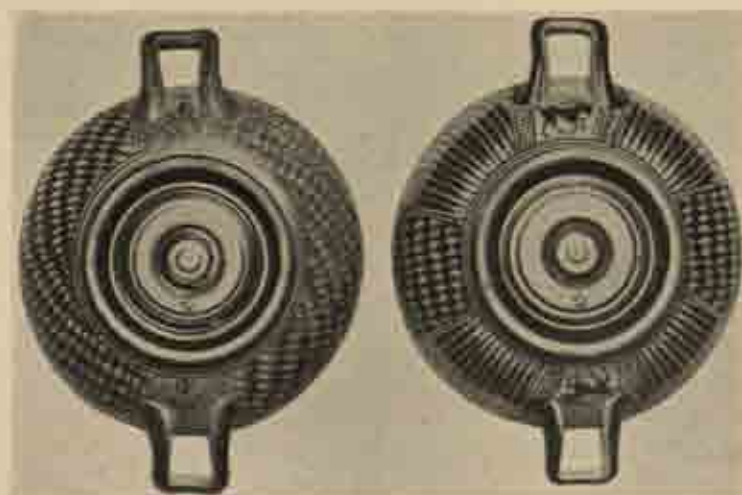


FIG. 10.—TWO KYLIKES: EARLY FREE STYLE.

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

Underneath the foot, concentric circles as before.

V. RIPE FREE STYLE.

(1) BELL-KRATER.

Ht. 27.5 cm. Bought 1900.

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

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

²¹ Cf. E 128 in Brit. Mus.

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

In reference to the position of the boxers, each with the left foot well advanced, Mr. E. N. Gardiner²² points out that this is characteristic of boxers on Greek vases, and that it is not, as suggested by Mr. K. Frost,²³ a mere convention, but is the result of the sideways position usually adopted for blows at the head. The Greeks appear to have discountenanced body-hitting altogether.

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

(2) BELL-KRATER.

Ht. 32 cm. Diam. 36 cm.

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

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

On the reverse are the usual three draped youths.

(3) CALYX-KRATER (Plate VII.).

Ht. 31.5 cm. Bought 1907.

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

²² *Greek Athletic Sports*, p. 419.

²³ *J.H.S.* xxvi. 219. This is even less

likely in the cases of vases of the later period such as the present one.

silhouette, the wings being in the usual R.F. technique. Gilding has originally been used for the raised beads of which the necklaces are composed.

(A) This scene may represent the courting of Anchises and Aphrodite, the principal figures being a youth in Oriental costume and a woman accompanied by Erotes; but, as in many other scenes on vases of this style and period, the characterisation of the figures is not strongly marked, and there is also an absence of action, which suggests that the painter had no very definite intention beyond an effective grouping of figures. The same feature is to be observed in some of the large vases from Kerteli published in the plates of Stephani's *Comptes-Rendus*,²⁴ and also in many of the vases of Southern Italy.

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

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

²⁴ See Reinach, *Repertoire des Vases*, I. century B.C.) see P. Ducati, *Saggio di studio I-II. For an interesting study of the sulla ceramica attica figurata*. Roma, 1916. Greek painted vases of this period (fourth

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

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

(4) PELIKE.

Ht. 36 cm. Bought 1910.

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

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

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

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

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

(5) PELIKE.

Ht. 30 cm. From Capua. Bought in 1901.

The vase is of the late fine period, the drawing resembling that of many of the vases of this style found in the Cyrenaica. The brilliant black varnish

is discoloured in parts; inner markings are rendered in thin black lines, thinned out to brown for the hair, and the body of Eros is painted white.

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

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

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

The vase is mentioned by von Salis in his article on the Naples vase representing preparations for the Satyric Drama.²⁵ He points out that the sleeping figure must be an ordinary Maenad, and not Ariadne, and that there is no adequate reason for associating the subject with the Satyric Drama. Similar scenes occur on the following vases: Brit. Mus. E 555; Berlin 2341; Naples S.A. 313; Reinach, *Répertoire*, i. 340, and ii. 261 (Bibl. Nat. 852).

(6) ΟΙΝΟΧΟΟΣ (Plate IV.).

Ht. 11 cm. From Athens. Bought 1910.

Late fine style.

In a panel, bordered above and below by tongue-pattern, is represented an infant in a high chair to right, waving a rattle in the form of a club; round his head is a purple fillet. The chair has a solid base, and a board above, through which the child's legs protrude, and is of the same hour-glass-shaped form as that depicted on a vase formerly in the Van Branteghem collection.²⁶ On the left is an oinochoe; on the right a toy cart, with handle leaning against the edge of the design.

(7) ΟΙΝΟΧΟΟΣ (Plate V.).

Ht. 8.3 cm. From Athens. Bought 1910.

Late fine style. Slightly repaired; dull black varnish.

Design in a panel with borders of egg-pattern above and below, representing a child in cart drawn by two other children. The first child wears a garment leaving the right shoulder bare, and holds out a stick in the right hand; the other two are nude, with belts across the breast; the nearer one looks back and the other holds out a torch-holder in the left hand. The cart is in the form of a seat on solid wheels, with pole.

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

²⁵ *Jahrbuch*, xxv. (1910), p. 137.

²⁶ Froehner, *Coll. Branteghem*, No. 163.

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

(8) *ONOCROTIS* (Plate IV.).

Ht. 13 cm. Bought 1910.

Late fine style. Repaired; varnish discoloured.

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



FIG. 11.—LEXYTHOS OF RISE FREE STYLE.

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

For the subject compare E 769 in Brit. Mus.

(9) *LEXYTHOS* (Fig. 11).

Ht. 17 cm. Presented by Miss Preston, 1899.

Late careless work of fine style, with good varnish. Broken at neck.

Artemis, to right, aims with her bow and arrow; she wears chiton, spotted himation girt round her waist, and boots. The bow-string is indicated by a line of mixed varnish. In front of Artemis is a square rock or box; behind hangs a sash.

On the shoulder is a band of B.F. palmettes; above the design, band of quares of maeander and of dotted crosses, alternating.

(10-11) PAIR OF LEKYTHI (Plate IV.).

Ht. of each 33 cm. Acquired from the Rome collection, 1909.

Both have been repaired; they have wide lips and thick, short necks; the varnish is dull. The body in each case is plain, with the design on the shoulder.

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

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

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

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

(12) LEKYTHOS of round-bellied type.

Ht. 14.2 cm. Found at Athens, and bought 1895.

Late fine style; brilliant glaze; jewellery, fruit, and hydria in low gilt relief, but the gilding is largely worn away.

The design (Plate III.) represents a scene in a garden, with rocky ground indicated by a line faintly incised in the varnish. In the centre is a tree with fruit, on the left of which a boy is crawling on the ground, with drapery about his feet. On the right of the tree a nude woman stoops down and holds out a bird on her right forefinger to the boy; her left hand rests on her raised right knee. Her hair is gathered in a knot and confined by a broad band with key-pattern and jewelled upper edge; she wears necklace, bracelets, chiton, and himation embroidered with crosses. Behind her stands a woman holding a necklace suspended from her outstretched right hand; her hair is arranged as in the preceding figure, and she wears earrings, necklace, jewelled girdle, chiton,

and himation embroidered with palmettes between bands of maeander. Behind the boy a third woman advances, holding out her hands to take a gilded hydria standing on a high rock. Her hair has a jewelled band round it and flows loose behind; she wears necklace, earrings, and bracelets, chiton, and himation thrown over the left shoulder and fore-arm.

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

(13) FRAGMENT OF LOUTROPHOROS-AMPHORA (Plate VII.).

Ht. 12.5 cm. Length 28.5 cm. Bought 1896.

Best period of fine style; eye in developed profile. Varnish browned by fire.

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

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

The form of the vase probably corresponded to that illustrated by Perrot, *Hist. de l'Art*, x. 667, Fig. 365, an amphora of elongated type with slim neck and handles, derived from the 'prothesis-amphora' of the B.F. period. It may be noted that the change from funeral to nuptial scenes for the decoration of λουτροφόροι took place about the middle of the fifth century. A change was also made later in the form, the body becoming spherical, with vertical handles formed of double loops, and resting on a detached stem, instead of being prolonged to a low foot. E 810 in the Brit. Mus. is an example of this type, which Walters identifies as a λέβης γαμικός for providing warm water rather than a λουτροφόρος.²⁷ The old form was at all events preserved for the marble λουτροφόροι which came into vogue for placing on tombs in the fourth century. See on the subject generally Walters in *Ath. Mitt.* xvi. (1891), p. 371 ff.; Daremberg-Saglio's *Dict.*, s.v.; and Perrot, *loc. cit.*

(14) ΛΟΥΤΡΟΦΟΡΟΣ, model of (Fig. 12).

Ht. 13.4 cm. Bought 1910.

²⁷ *Jahrbuch* xiv., (1899), p. 219.

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

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



FIG. 12.—MODEL OF LOUVRE VASE.

holding out a spotted sash, which she has taken from an open casket held in her left arm.

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

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

The form of the vase is a combination of the two types discussed under the preceding heading; the upper part reproduces the older elongated form

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

This pyxis belongs to a class of which the Museum already possesses two or three fine examples, belonging to the ripe free style, and illustrating various aspects of women's life in Athens. But it is rare to find a representation of a wedding procession full of such interesting detail.²³

The scene on the cover is also characteristic of the period. We have here three cosmic deities, such as are seen on the famous Blacas Krater, and on another pyxis in the Museum (E 776). First is Helios driving a four-horse chariot, and also distinguished by a representation of the sun at the upper edge of the design. Next comes a goddess in the close-fitting tunic of the charioteer, driving a two-horse chariot; and thirdly, within a space cut off by two parallel curved lines, a goddess on horseback seated sideways on the off-side of her steed, and holding up her hands with a gesture of surprise or encouragement. The interpretation of these two figures presents some little difficulty. We may, however, assume that the riding figure is Selene the Moon, as she is usually represented on horseback on the vases, although in the East Pediment of the Parthenon she is undoubtedly driving a chariot. For the other figure the names of Eos or Nyx immediately suggest themselves, but the difficulty is that here the goddess has no wings, such as we are accustomed to associate with those two personifications. On the Sabouroff pyxis in Berlin (No. 2519) we have a scene almost exactly like that on the Museum vase, but here the third figure is winged. Furtwaengler called her Eos; but Robert points out that the Moon would not come between the Sun and Dawn, and prefers to call her Nyx. There is indeed a Roman sarcophagus on which Nyx is unwinged, and she appears thus on Trajan's column; but this is not good evidence for Greek vases. But on the whole I prefer the identification as Nyx in the present case.

(16) PYXIS.

Ht. 7.3 cm. Diam. 16.8 cm. Bought 1907.

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

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

²³ D 11 in the B. M. may be compared with this; but here the bride and bridegroom are on foot.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The mystic marriage of Dionysos and the Basilinna took place on the second day of the Anthesteria.²¹ The chief authority for the details of the ceremony is the speech of Demosthenes *contra Neaeram*, 73-76, in which he accuses her daughter Phano of unlawful participation: αὐτὴ ἡ γυνὴ . . . εἰσῆλθεν οὐδὲν ἄλλος Ἀθηναῖος τοσούτων ὄντων εἰσέρχεται ἀλλ' ἢ τοῦ βασιλέως γυνὴ . . . ἐξεδόθη δὲ τῷ Διονύσῳ γυνὴ, ἐπραξε δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως τὰ πατρία τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς πολλὰ καὶ ἄγρια καὶ ἀπόρητα (§ 73). Further on he says (§ 76): ἀπαξ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐκάστου ἀνοίγεται τὸ ἀρχαιότατον ἱερὸν τοῦ Διονύσου καὶ ἀγιώτατον ἐν Αἰμναῖς τῇ δωδεκάτῃ τοῦ Ἀνθεστηριῶνος μηνός. Aristotle in the *Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία* (3, 5) gives the additional information: ἐστὶ καὶ νῦν γὰρ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως γυναικὸς ἡ σύμμιξις ἐνταῦθα (i.e. in the Βουκόλιον near the Prytaneum) γίγνεται τῷ Διονύσῳ καὶ ὁ γάμος.

The old temple of Dionysos ἐν Αἰμναῖς contained a *ξόανον* of Dionysos Eleuthereus,²² and also a *stèle* on which were inscribed the regulations concerning the union of the Basilinna with the god, who was represented by the old wooden image.²³ Full details of the marriage ceremony and the solemn procession to the Βουκόλιον are given by Mommsen;²⁴ our vase, which probably dates from the first half of the fourth century, gives the proceedings in the

²¹ Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen*, p. 392.

²² Paus. I. 28, 8.

²³ Demosth. *c. Neer.* § 75.

²⁴ *Op. cit.* p. 394.

more conventional fashion in which bridal scenes are usually represented on vases of this period (cf. Nos. 13-15 above).²²

(18) OINOCHOS (Plate V.).

Ht. 14 cm. Found near the Olympieion at Athens. Bought 1910.

Repaired; varnish discoloured. Design in opaque white with yellow markings.

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

ΑΓΓΗΜΕΛΟΣ
ΑΔΙΡΙΑΟΣ
ΤΟΣ ΦΙΑΥΣ

perhaps intended for

ἀειδε μέλον
ἀεὶ φίλός
τοῖς φίλοις.

(19) OINOCHOS (Fig. 14).

Ht. 10.8 cm. From Eretria. Bought 1894.

Thin fabric with dull black varnish. Base repaired. Design in opaque colours over white with yellow markings, and in raised gilt.

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

(20) LEKYTHOS or AMYBALLOS (Plate VIII.).

Ht. 8 cm. From a tomb in Eretria. Bought 1894.

Design in opaque white and blue with gilding. Repaired. At the base of the neck is a tongue-pattern; on the shoulder, egg-and-tongue with raised gilt dots; below the design, egg-pattern; below the handles, palmette with spirals.

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

The explanation of this scene is to be found in several passages of ancient writers which deal with a tradition of gryphons guarding gold in the far north-east. Herodotus locates them beyond the Issedones in Central Asia (Turkestan);

²² This vase was described at a meeting of the Hellenic Society by Mr. (now Sir) Cecil Smith in 1906, and is also mentioned by Mr. Farnell in his *Culte of Greek States*,

v. 260, and by Mr. A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, i. 689 and 709, note 2, but so far no illustration of it has been given.

Ἰσσηδόνων ὑπεροικέειν Ἀριμασποὺς ἄνδρας μονοφθαλμούς, ὑπὲρ δὲ τούτων τοὺς χρυσοφύλακας γρύπας (iv. 13, cf. iv. 27): Ἰσσηδόνες εἰσι οἱ λέγοντες τοὺς μονοφθαλμοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ τοὺς χρυσοφύλακας γρύπας εἶναι). In another passage (iii. 116), speaking of the quantities of gold found in Northern Europe, he says: λέγεται δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν γρυπῶν ἀρπάζειν Ἀριμασποὺς ἄνδρας μονοφθαλμούς.³⁶ The story is further amplified by Ktesias (quoted by Aelian, *Nat. Anim.* iv. 27, from the *Indica*, ch. 12): Βάκτριοι λέγουσιν αὐτοὺς (sc. γρύπας) φύλακας εἶναι τοῦ χρυσοῦ αὐτόθι καὶ ὀρύττειν τε αὐτὸν φασιν αὐτοὺς . . . Ἰνδοὶ δὲ οὐ φασιν αὐτοὺς φρουροὺς εἶναι τοῦ προειρημένου, μηδὲ



FIG. 14.—OINOCHOE WITH OPAQUE FIGURES.

γὰρ δεῖσθαι χρυσοῦ γρύπας . . . ἀλλὰ αὐτοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ χρυσοῦ ἀθροισιν ἀφικνεῖσθαι. He does not, however, mention the Arimaspi, but it is probably to this story that we owe the representations of combats between Arimaspi and gryphons so common on vases of this period. The story was also known to Aeschylus.³⁷

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

³⁶ Rawlinson, ii. 505, points out that Herodotus regards Europe as including the whole of Northern Asia. The district of which he is speaking is that east of the

Ural Mountains, i. e. South-western Siberia, to the north-west of the territory assigned to the Issedonians.

³⁷ *From. Vinct.* 830 ff. III. 23.

century, and in the vases of Kertch, which the vase under discussion resembles in style.²⁸

It will also be noted that the gold is here represented as lying on an ant-hill, which suggests a reference to another passage of Herodotus in which he describes how, in Northern India, the ants throw up sand-heaps as they burrow, and these sand-heaps are full of gold (iii 102: αὐτοὶ οἱ μύρμηκες ποιεῦμενοι οἴκησιν ὑπὸ γῆν ἀναφορέουσι τῆν ψάμμον . . . ἡ δὲ ψάμμος ἡ ἀναφερομένη ἐστὶ χρυσῆ). The painter of this vase, if not intimately acquainted with the text of Herodotus, was at least familiar with the legends which through the historian had become a commonplace of Greek literature.²⁹

(21) GUTTUS (Plate VIII.).

Ht. 14 cm. Bought 1920.

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

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

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

H. B. WALTERS.

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

²⁸ See Roscher, *Lexikon*, i. 1768, for the gryphon in Greek mythology, and for illustrations in art, Minns, *Scythians and*

Greeks, passim, and Ducati, *Ceram. ant.* fig. p. 92.

²⁹ See also Minns, *op. cit.* pp. 112, 440.

150 RED-FIGURED VASES ACQUIRED BY BRITISH MUSEUM

- (1) *Kyliz* (1895). Flute-player. Hartwig, *Meisterschalen*, pp. 350, 351.
- (2) *Kyliz* (1895). Imitation of Duris. Jacobsthal, *Göttinger Vasen*, Pl. 22.
- (3) *Pelike* (1895). Zeus and Nike. *Élite Céram.* i. 14, 30; Stackelberg, *Gräber der Hell.* Pl. 18, 2; Hoppin, *Handbook*, ii. 468.
- (4) *Amphora* (1895). Triptolemos. *Élite Céram.* iii. 57 A-B; Gerhard, *A. V.* 46 (Reinach, ii. 34).
- (5) *Kyliz* (1896). Signed by Hermaios. *Élite Céram.* iii. 73; Hoppin, ii. 17.
- (6) *Stamnos* (1898). Signed by Polygnotos. Robert in *Mon. Antichi*, 1899, Pl. 3, p. 7, Fig. 1; Hoppin, ii. 378, 379.
- (7) *Krater* (1898). Signed by Nikias. Froehner, *Coll. Tyazkiewicz*, Pl. 35; Hoppin, ii. 218.
- (8) *Lekythos* (1899). Ἀλκμαίων καλός. *J.H.S.* xix. 203; Beazley, *Amer. Vases*, p. 92.
- (9) *Kalpis* (1899). Troilos and Polyxena. *Forman Sale Cat.* p. 67, No. 339; Beazley in *J.H.S.* xxxii. Pl. 2.
- (10) *Lebes* (1899). Amazons. Furtwaengler and Reichhold, *Gr. Vasenm.*, i. Pl. 58.
- (11) *Alabastron* (1900). Horses training. Murray in *Mélanges Perrot*, p. 252.
- (12) *Kotyle* (1902). Kottabos. *Archæologia*, ii. Pl. 14, p. 383.
- (13) *Kyliz* (1907). Signed by Pamphaios. Hoppin, ii. 296, 297.
- (14) *Krater* (1917). Anodos of Dionysos. Tischbein, *Vases d'Hamilton*, i. 32; Reinach, ii. 287.
- (15) *Krater* (1917). Apollo on Swan. *Élite Céram.* ii. 42; Reinach, ii. 296.
- (16) *Kyliz* (1917). Theseus and Minotaur. Tischbein, *Vases d'Hamilton*, i. 25; Reinach, ii. 285.
- (17) *Hydria* (1920). Kaineus and Centaurs. *Bull. Arch. Nap.* vi. Pl. 2; Reinach, i. 474.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

Tales of Aegean Intrigue. By J. C. LAWSON. Pp. 271. London: Chatto & Windus, 1920. 12s. 6d.

The writer of these tales served during the War as Naval Intelligence Officer in Crete, and had consequently exceptional opportunities of applying his wide knowledge of the Greeks and their ways to the picturesque incidents which such service provoked. He seems to have taken an active part in the events which resulted in the National Defence Movement, and the establishment of a Venizelist administration in insular Greece. As he confines himself to what he himself saw or experienced, some knowledge of the main course of events is presupposed, if these 'Tales' are to be fitted into their place in it. He has clear and emphatic views on some defects in our organisation and war-policy, which are commended to those whom they concern. Of less ephemeral interest are the examples of propaganda-literature and mock-ballad in local dialect; and those who have seen other specimens will wish Mr. Lawson had printed more.

A Description of the Monuments of Cyprus. By GEORGE JEFFREY, F.S.A. Pp. 467, 37 text-illustrations, 5 plates. Nicosia: Government Printing Office, 1918. 7s. 6d.

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

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

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

J. L. M.

Under the Turks in Constantinople. By G. F. ARBUTHNOT. Pp. 418. London: Macmillan & Co., 1920. 18s.

This book contains a record of the Embassy of Sir John Finch to Turkey, 1674 to 1681. It has a commendatory Foreword by Lord Bryce, and as a frontispiece a reproduction of the portrait of Finch by Carlo Dolci.

Mr. Abbott has taken much pains over this record, and appears to have digested the State Papers of the period with success. It is a careful and detailed account of the activities of one of our Ambassadors—a man of good brains and considerable energy—who was in the difficult position of being in almost equal shares the servant of the King and the Levant Company. The story of his tribulations in his contact with the corrupt and dilatory Turkish officials makes interesting reading.

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

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

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

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

The Idylls of Theocritus. With Introduction and Notes by R. J. CHOLMELEY. New edition. Pp. 449. London: G. Bell & Sons, 1919. 18s. 6d. net.

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

Cholmeley published his book some seven years after leaving Oxford. During this time he had been occupied in teaching, first at the City of London School, and afterwards in South Africa, where he fought in the Boer War. He was prevented by military service from seeing it through the Press, and it contained a number of misprints and some slips,

which would have been removed by the author under normal circumstances. Its merits were at once recognised. It was indeed a young man's work, not without blemish, but full of promise for the future. He was full of enthusiasm for his subject, he had a great capacity for taking pains, he was attracted by new theories, he advanced some novel explanations, sometimes very acute, his conjectures were frequent and clever, though sometimes over-daring. In his notes he sometimes seemed too subtle, especially when treating points of grammar, and he had a tendency to employ slang phrases which grated on many readers. It is no small praise to say of him that various suggestions which he has made will have to be carefully considered by all editors. He could be very conservative. Thus in *Id.* vi. 11-12 the MSS. give:—

καὶ δὲ καὶ καλὰ κῆρυκα φωνῇ
ἄσπετος ἐκχέζοντα ἐν ἀγυαλίᾳ θένοντα.

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

ἄσπετος δὲ προσβολῆς ἐν ἀσπίδι κῆρυκα φωνῇ
ἀσπετος ἄσπετος ἐκχέζοντα ἐν ἀγυαλίᾳ θένοντα.

It seems odd that an advancing warrior should have his shield slung over his back. Cholmeley restores the sense by reading *κῆρυκα* for *κῆρυκα*. Here also the corruption is due to a wish to avoid a legitimate hiatus. As a specimen of an ingenious, though somewhat subtle interpretation, we may take *Id.* xxvi. 29.

οὐδ' ἔσμεν ἡ καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐκχέζοντα.

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

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

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

Hinc movet Euphrates, illinc Germania bellum.

He received a commission in the Cheshire Regiment, and refusing work behind the lines took his place in the trenches. He gained the Military Cross for bravery and was wounded twice. The present writer made his acquaintance for the first time when he was lying in hospital at Oxford, suffering from a wound in the head received on Vimy Ridge. He had then passed through one operation and another was impending, but there were Greek

books beside his bed and he was full of Theocritus. His military ardour was not abated by the armistice, and, having acquired a knowledge of Russian, he volunteered for service in that country. He was drowned there on August 16, 1919, having been swept overboard while overhauling machine-guns required for action at daybreak.

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

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

ALBERT C. CLARK.

Euclid in Greek. Book I, with Introduction and Notes. By SIR THOMAS L. HEATH. Pp. 181. Cambridge: University Press, 1920. 10s. net.

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

Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum, à GULIELMO DITTENBERGERO condita et aucta, nunc tertium edita; volumen tertium, voluminis quarti fasciculus prior. Pp. 402. Leipzig: Hirsch, 1920. M. 45.

The rapid progress towards completion of the new edition of Dittenberger is a subject for unfeigned rejoicing. If the third volume, so anxiously awaited, does not entirely fulfil the anticipations of those who meet with it, this will not be because of any decline in the editorial standard, which remains as high as ever, but solely by reason of the fact that it

has not been expanded as much as we could have wished by the inclusion of new material: we miss, in fact, some familiar friends, and do not feel that the loss is sufficiently compensated. For example, the statute of the *poesia* of the *Asklapia* at Delphi (No. 438 in ed. 2) has disappeared, together with the accounts of the *Isotria* *Eleusis* (No. 587) and those of the Delian *Agonoi* (No. 588): all of these should have been retained if possible, and we should have welcomed the inclusion of some specimen of the third century Delian accounts, the importance of which for economic history is considerable. In the selection of new documents the chief stress seems to be laid on religious antiquities, of which we have no complaint to make. The *Leges Sacrae* of Cos (No. 1000), Miletus (No. 1002) and Priene (No. 1003) are welcome additions, and we may especially note No. 985, referring to an *altar legis* at Philadelphia, from Kell and V. Premierstein's third *Bericht*. It is needless to say that the texts of the older inscriptions have been brought up to date with the aid of Ziehen's *Leges Sacrae* and such-like works: thus the word *ἐκκλησία* now appears in the funeral law of Julia (No. 1218 = No. 877, ed. 2). Misprints are exceedingly rare (*γυναικωνισ* 1003.26, *ἀλλήλων* 1221.1): No. 1268 should be indicated as a new addition. The first volume of the Index is arranged on a new principle: place-names form headings, and individuals are subsumed thereunder. We cannot regard this as an improvement, as some loss of time is inevitable in use. Some cross-references should be added: *ΒΑΣΙΛ*, for example, is not to be found, and it requires presence of mind to turn to *ΒΑΣ* without delay.

Epicuro: Opere, Frammenti, Testimonianze sulla sua Vita, tradotti con introduzione e commento, da ERRORE BIGNONE. Pp. 271. Bari: Laterza e Figli, 1920. L. 15-50.

Since the publication of Usener's *Epicurus* in 1887, much incidental work has been done in elucidating the text of Epicurus' writings and expounding his intricate and subtle doctrines. In Germany Brieger wrote several tracts—marred by excessive emendation of the text—and Wotke in 1898 published the eighty new fragments discovered in a kind of philosophical Anthology in a Vatican MS. of the fourteenth century. In our own country there have been the studies of Wallace, Professor A. E. Taylor and Mr. R. D. Hicks (*Stoic and Epicurean*) together with incidental observations in Dr. Maass's *Lucretius: Poet and Epicurean*, all of which appear to be unknown to Dr. Bignone. But the chief work has been done in Italy, where classical scholars have of late devoted themselves largely to the study of the outlying Greek philosophies. The brilliant essays of Giussani in his *Studi Lucretiani* were followed up by Pascal and Tesauri and by several articles in periodicals by Dr. Bignone himself. No writer has, however, had the courage hitherto to undertake a complete edition of the Epicurean remains. It may therefore be said at once that the present volume is a most valuable contribution to the study of Epicurus—it is the first complete translation in any language—and that the execution of the work is fully worthy of its importance.

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

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

required by the commentary: it would have been invaluable for working purposes to have in front of one the text as Dr. Bignone has reconstituted it. The want is the more severely felt in that the new text would undoubtedly be greatly superior to that of Usener. Dr. Bignone is naturally of a conservative disposition, but by his commanding knowledge of the Epicurean system he has in many places demonstrated that the MS. text may safely be retained, and that Usener's 'corrections' were due to misunderstanding. Having worked at the text of Epicurus for a good many years, I may perhaps say that in very many places I had independently made the same restorations, and that in many more I should now agree with Dr. Bignone's suggestions. All editors, however, have their own nostrums, and Dr. Bignone seems to me to assume too frequently that words have dropped out through 'haplography.'

The translation is accurate but free, that is to say, it does not always follow literally the Greek order of words and clauses and frequently expands, but it brings out admirably the full force and meaning of the original. There are places in which Dr. Bignone seems to strain the meaning of the Greek unduly, and others—especially in the *Letter to Menoeceus*, where one feels that he is apt to lose the full force of the rather strange and picturesque words of Epicurus by a too commonplace rendering—but it is difficult to judge of this in a language not one's own.

The notes are models of conciseness and lucidity. One is always given full references to parallel passages which elucidate the doctrines, the most crabbed writing and subtle theories are briefly and clearly explained, and controversy, where it is necessary, is kept within the briefest limits. Here and there, as, for instance, in the sections in the *Letter to Herodotus* on *αἰσθησιμότητα* and *αἰσθησιμότητα* (68-73), repression seems almost too great and one would gladly have more.

For this reason one of the most valuable parts of the book is the Appendix, in which Dr. Bignone has dealt at greater length with some difficult points in the theory. A comparison, for instance, of his treatment of the Epicurean Cinetics with that in Giussani's brilliant essay shows a markedly greater command of the subject and sobriety of judgment: Giussani had his own theory to which he made Epicurus conform, Dr. Bignone has with great care and ingenuity worked out a consistent theory on the data given us by the MSS. I do not myself feel convinced yet that Epicurus held that the *αἰσθησιμότητα* of vision moved with 'atomic velocity' or that the portions of sections 46 and 47 of the *Letter to Herodotus*, which Giussani wished to transpose, can be retained in their place as relating to the movement of the *αἰσθησιμότητα*—but at least Dr. Bignone has made a good case for his conservatism.

It is indeed the outstanding sobriety of judgment and the complete mastery of the Epicurean system which give the book its value and place it very high in the classical work of the present century. It is to be hoped that it will become well known in England and that it will not be long before Dr. Bignone publishes his second volume of exposition.

C. BAILEY.

Le Phédon de Platon et le Socrate de Lamartine. By JOSEPH ORSIER.
Pp. 149. Paris: Boccard, 1919. 12 f.

M. Orsier is rather a lawyer and historian than a philosopher, and his accustomed field is modern rather than ancient times. He explains that the French Ministry of Education sent him in 1916-17 to teach ancient philosophy at Toulon, and that the present essay is the fruit of this mission. The volume consists of two more or less equal parts; of which the first was originally published separately. This is a detailed criticism of Lamartine's well-known poem, *Socrate*, by comparison with its source, the *Phædo* of Plato. Appreciation, illustrated by frequent quotations, of Lamartine's eloquent alexandrines is intermingled with protests against the poet's occasional modernisations, falsifications, and flights of imagination. Much of this is interesting, though more from a literary than from a philosophical point of view, and more, perhaps, to a Frenchman than to an Englishman. The second section is called by M. Orsier 'un aperçu historique et critique sur la

philosophie ancienne jusqu'à la renaissance.' It is in fact an attempt to outline the history of philosophy from Thales to Descartes. Seventy pages are really not enough for this, however great the writer's skill and knowledge. M. Orsner's ability to master his material may be judged from the four pages devoted to the pre-Socratic philosophers. These are grouped as (1) Materialists (the Ionians and the Atomists), (2) Idealists (Pythagoreans, Eleatics, Empedocles, Anaxagoras), (3) Sophists. We see no justification for this kind of compendium.

A Critical History of Greek Philosophy. By W. T. STACE. Pp. 386. London: Macmillan & Co., 1920. 7s. 6d.

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

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

Mr. Stace has profound respect for Aristotle, whose system is 'the perfected and completed Greek idealism.' His account of Aristotle's advance upon Plato is clear and interesting, but to his just critique of the Aristotelian philosophy should he not have added a fuller statement of the difficulties and lacunae in the doctrine of *essence*? Post-Aristotelian philosophy occupies less than forty pages of the book. Its cursory treatment is deliberate, because in Mr. Stace's opinion it lies outside the main stream of idealistic development. Although this may be true of the Epicureans and in a less degree of the

Stoics, it does not seem true of the Neo-Platonists. Mysticism may be distasteful to some idealists, though not to all.—Mr. Bradley himself has been called a mystic,—but there is much in Plotinus and Proclus which foreshadows, and indeed has contributed to, the idealism of to-day.

J. H. S.

Transition in the Attic Orators. By R. D. ELLIOTT. 8vo. Menasha, Wisconsin: The Collegiate Press, 1919.

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

Primitive Time-Reckoning. A Study in the Origins and first Development of the Art of counting Time among the Primitive and Early Culture Peoples. By MARTIN P. NILSSON. Pp. 324. Lund & Oxford: The Oxford University Press, 1920. 21s.

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

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

The actual contents of the volume may be briefly summarised. After an Introduction in which the general nature of the subject is explained, there are separate chapters dealing

with the following subjects: the day; the seasons; the year; the stars, including a digression on star-lore; the month; the months, regarded as a series; old Semitic months (Babylonia, the Israelites, and the pre-Mohammedan Arabs); calendar regulation, with special reference to intercalation and the determination of the beginning of the year; popular months of European peoples; solstices and equinoxes; artificial periods of time, especially in connexion with markets and religious feasts (including a discussion on the origin of the Sabbath); the calendar-makers as a professional class; finally there is a chapter of conclusions, to which is appended a brief discussion of the ancient Greek calendar, a subject which the author has treated more fully elsewhere.

There are certain fundamental points in which, in spite of endless varieties of detail, almost all primitive people seem to agree. Keen observation of the changing phenomena of nature and the absence of a developed mathematical sense leads them into descriptive, as opposed to numerical, terminology. Regularly recurring concrete phenomena are used to indicate season or time of day. Thus the Nandi of East Africa would render 'November 30th at 8.0 p.m.' by saying 'in the month of the strong wind, on the day of the moon's darkness, at the time when the porridge is cold.' A list of the time indications used by this tribe is in fact practically a description of their life. The method survives with us poetically in such phrases as 'cock-crow' or 'the fall of the leaf.' Moreover, primitive peoples conceive of time not in connected periods but 'acristically' as a number of discontinuous points. Periods are reckoned on the *pars pro toto* principle, a day and night being frequently denoted by a 'sleep,' a month by a 'new moon,' a year by a 'winter.' Enumeration occurs only sporadically, the Maories of New Zealand being unique in having a numbered series of months.

Practically all primitive peoples agree, too, in adopting the moon as their indicator of longer periods of time, and lunar months are related to seasonal phenomena and occupations. Cycles of 12 or 13 months are adopted as a rough approximation to the year, primitive mathematics being inadequate to the approximation of a period of 365 days, except in the case of certain North American tribes who kept tallies in the form of notched sticks. The displacement of the months in relation to the seasons becomes obvious after a few years, and is corrected by intercalating or omitting ('doubling' or 'forgetting') a month, as the case may be. Such intercalations are empirical, not systematic; the treatment of the calendar's disorders is therapeutic rather than prophylactic. An additional check on the months is provided by the stars, of which most 'uncivilised' peoples are careful observers, particularly the Polynesians (as navigators), and the South American Indians. The rising or setting of the Pleiades and Orion are most commonly used to indicate the proper time for sowing or planting. The solstices and equinoxes are in rarer cases observed, and the influence of environment is here apparent, the Eskimo near the Arctic circle being particularly favourably placed for observing the solstices. One would be inclined to doubt whether any people closely in touch with nature can have failed to notice the turn of the year by the changing position of sunrise and sunset, though records of the fact may be lacking.

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

The evolution of a true calendrical system is primarily a question of mathematics, since it presupposes the power to assess the year in terms of days, a thing beyond the

mind of primitive man. It is difficult to recognise a logical and continuous development from what was essentially concrete and non-numerical to the purely abstract and numerical. It would appear more likely that the mathematical faculties were developed independently of time-reckoning (though this may have provided a contributory stimulus), and being subsequently applied to the proper regulation of time, as required in an organised polity, produced a revolution, in other words a system, in the calendrical world.

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

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

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

H. J. B.

Greek Tragedy. By GILBERT NORWOOD. Pp. 396. London: Methuen and Co., 1920.

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

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

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

A. W. M.

A Handbook of Greece. Vol. I. The Mainland of Old Greece and certain Neighbouring Islands. Pp. 782, 10 plates, 2 maps.

A Handbook of Macedonia and Surrounding Territories. Pp. 524, 5 maps and plans. Compiled by the Geographical Section of the N.I.D., The Admiralty. London: H.M. Stationery Office.

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

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

The *Handbook of Macedonia* is similar in plan, but of considerably less value. The data from which it had to be compiled were most insufficient and unreliable. During the

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

M. S. T.

Hellenism in Ancient India. By GAURANGA NATH BANERJEE. Second Edition. Pp. 344. London and Calcutta: Bitterworth & Co., 1920. 16s.

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

The theory of the Greek origin of the Indian drama, first championed by Weber and Wundt, is still not without supporters; to the latter we recommend Mr. Banerjee's able discussion of the characteristic differences between the Greek and Indian drama. He, however, is too ready to accept the nature-myth theory of the origin of the drama. The fourth part of the book discusses the independent evolution of religion, philosophy and fables in India and Greece, and contains a good deal that hardly comes within the subject of the book. The author does not seem to know of Professor Berriedale Keith's important article on Pythagoras and the Doctrine of Transmigration in the *J.R.S.*, 1909, pp. 562-606.

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

swarm with them—'gyothl scanior,' on p. 288, is a specimen. The last quarter of the book, on religion and philosophy, is much too ambitious and lacks lucidity. This is hardly the place to call attention to many minor inaccuracies on purely Indian points, such as the use of the antiquated terms 'Indo-Pali' and 'Scythian' languages and the extraordinary statement on p. 242 that Patanjali refers to dramatic representations of Krishna's love affairs. In their present form the bibliographies appended to each chapter are of little use except to show the author's pedantry. The lists should be cut down to books and articles that are really important, and full and accurate titles with details of publication should be given.

The Greek Orators. By J. F. Dobson. Pp. 321. London: Methuen, 1919. 7s. 6d. net.

Jean's *Attic Orators* is now long out of date, and since 1876 there has been no book published in English which covers the Orators as a whole. So Professor Dobson's work is welcome, and will prove very useful to students. The book does not aim at the exhaustive completeness of Blass, but at supplying a handy and interesting introduction to the Greek orators. This is the standard by which it is to be judged, and judged by this standard it can claim success. The author—though he clearly is master of the literature of the subject—rightly avoids polemical discussion of complicated points of chronology and law. Sometimes he is almost too careful to give both sides of the question. For instance, the unhappy theory of Benseler and Dobree that the Battle "at Cnidus" in Isæus V is the battle in 394 B.C. might by now be passed over in silence.

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

The Sayings of Jesus from Oxyrhynchus. Edited, with Introduction, Critical Apparatus and Commentary, by HELEN G. EVELYN WHITE. Pp. xxvi + 48. Cambridge: University Press, 1920. 12s. 6d. net.

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

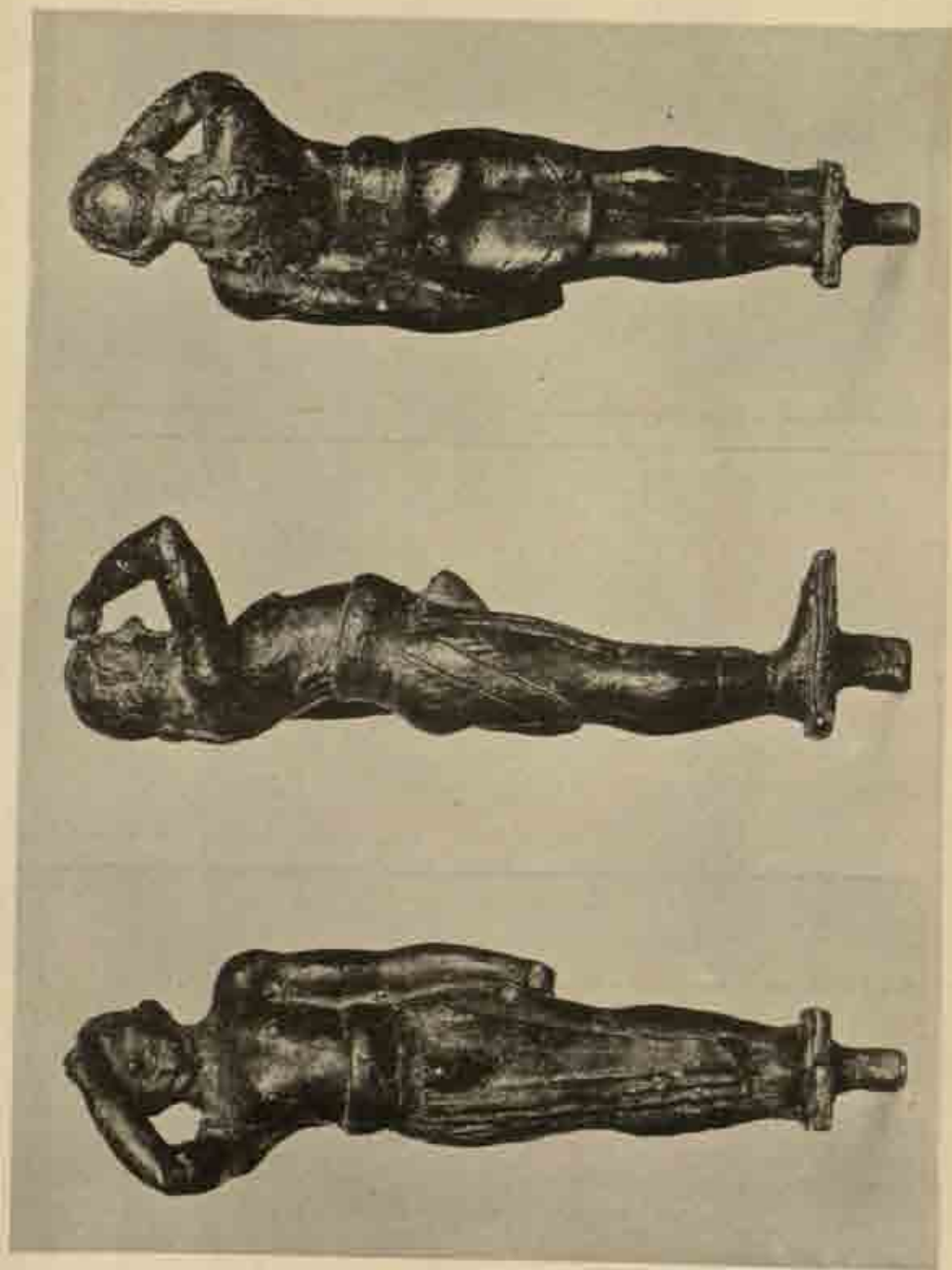
Beginning with a bibliography of the subject, the author first reproduces the actual text of the two MSS. (P. Oxy., 654 and I), without restoration of lost words or letters, and next gives the restored text adopted by himself, not distinguishing (a feature which is to be deprecated) the restorations from the MS. readings. This is followed by an "Introduction," which is really an elaborate essay on the nature of the Sayings, and finally the Sayings themselves are given one by one, with the various readings proposed by scholars, and lengthy notes. The volume concludes, it is satisfactory to note, with an index.

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

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

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

This is probably Mr. Evelyn White's most brilliant single contribution to the textual criticism of the Sayings, but many of his restorations and comments are of considerable importance. His *ἐκείνῳ*, indeed, in l. 23 (Saying III), is very weak, though it must be confessed that the passage is puzzling. His common sense and soundness of judgment are seen in his view of Saying VIII (Logion III), as against the fanciful interpretations of some commentators; and he adduces some excellent parallels for the words *πῶς* and *ἐκείνῳ*, which have caused much unnecessary perplexity.



MINOAN BRONZE STATUETTE



KYLIX SIGNED BY EVERGIDES

IV. 8



V. 12



V. 16



II. 1



II. 3



II. 5



ATTIC RED-FIGURE VASES

IV. 2



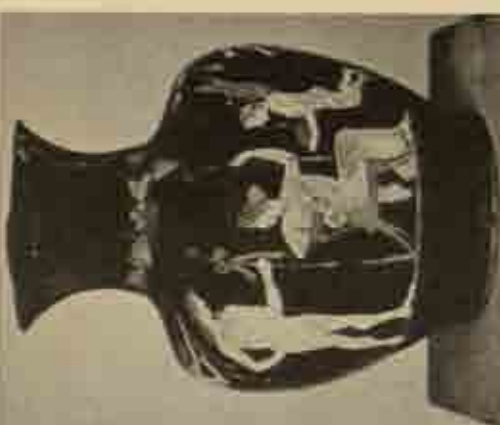
V. 6



V. 8



V. 17



II. 5



V. 10-11



ATTIC RED-FIGURE VASES

V. 7



III. 4



V. 10



IV. 4



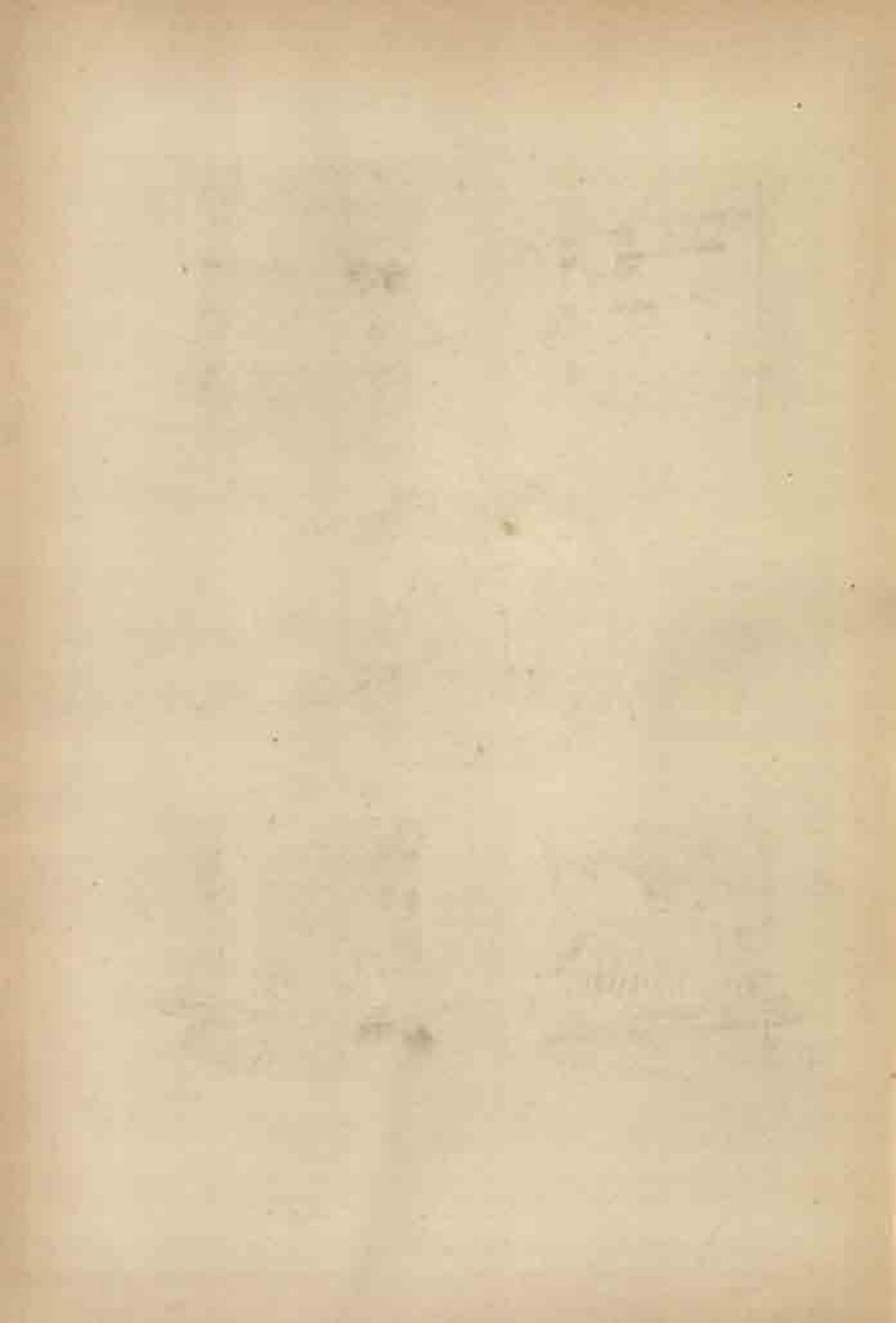
III. 4



IV. 4

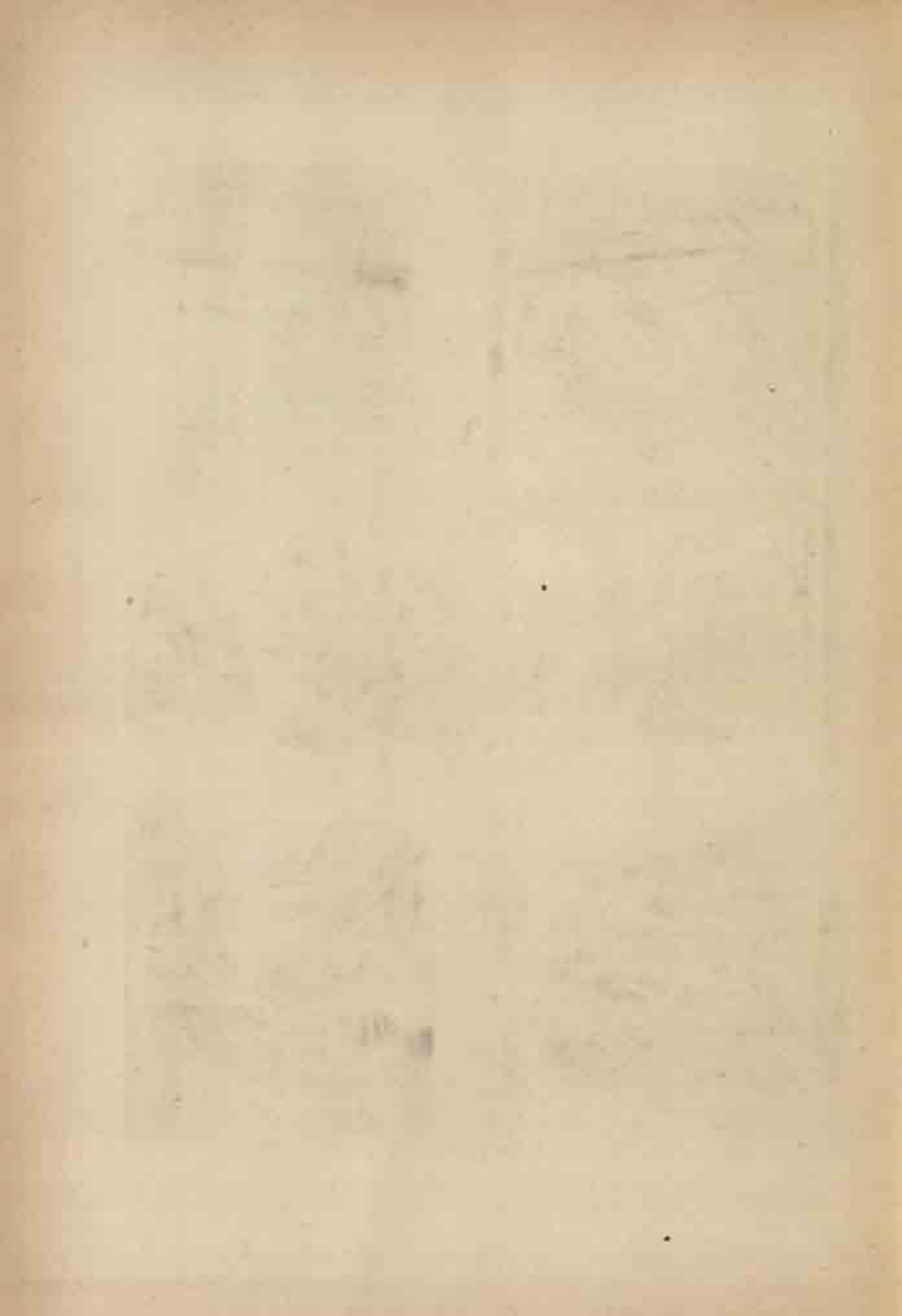


ATTIC RED-FIGURE VASES





PYXIS WITH WEDDING PROCESSION AND COSMIC DEITIES



IV 1



V 2



V 4



V 1



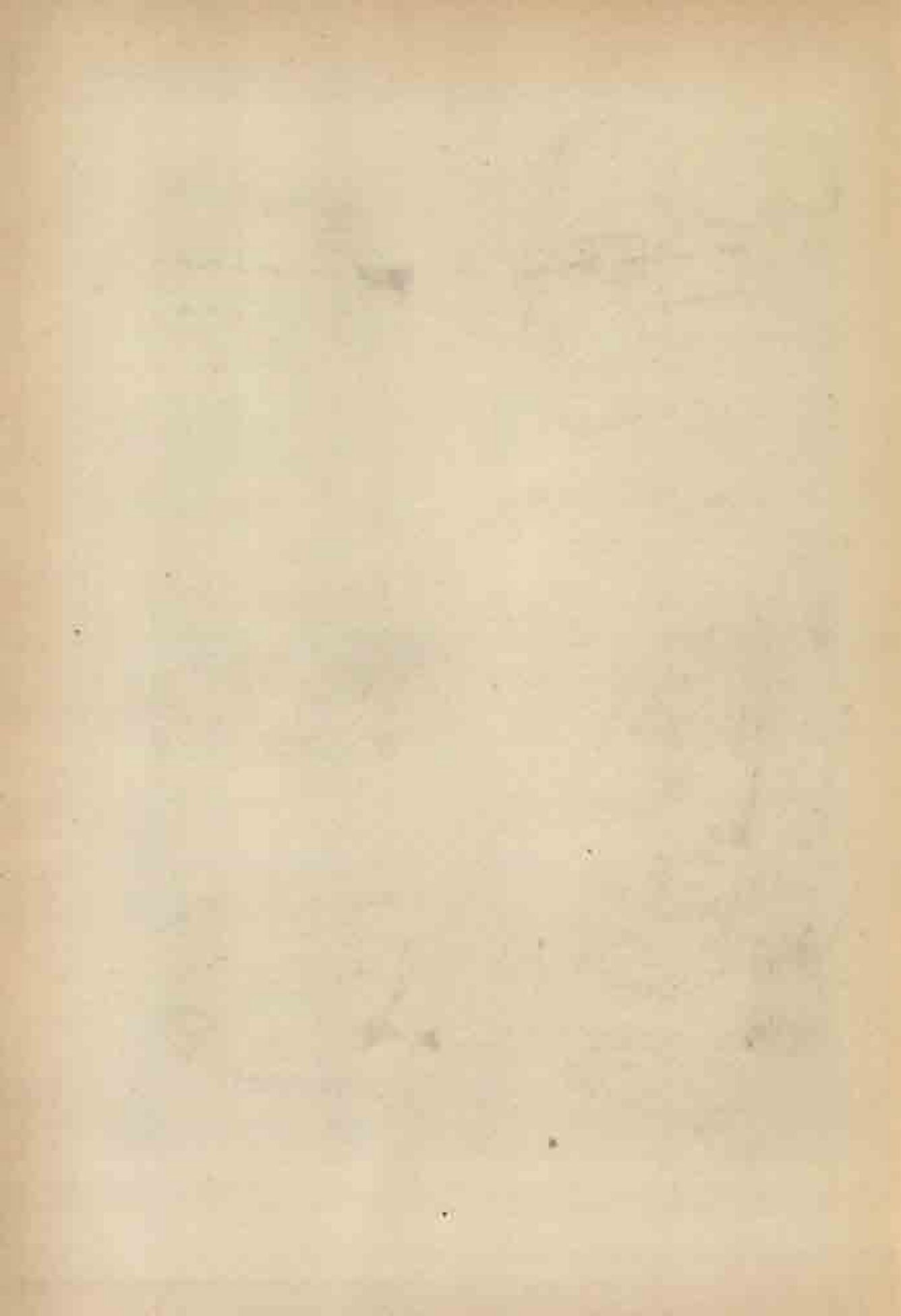
V 3



V 13



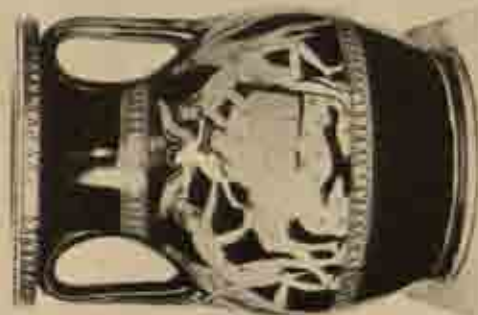
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114. 2



V. 21



V. 5

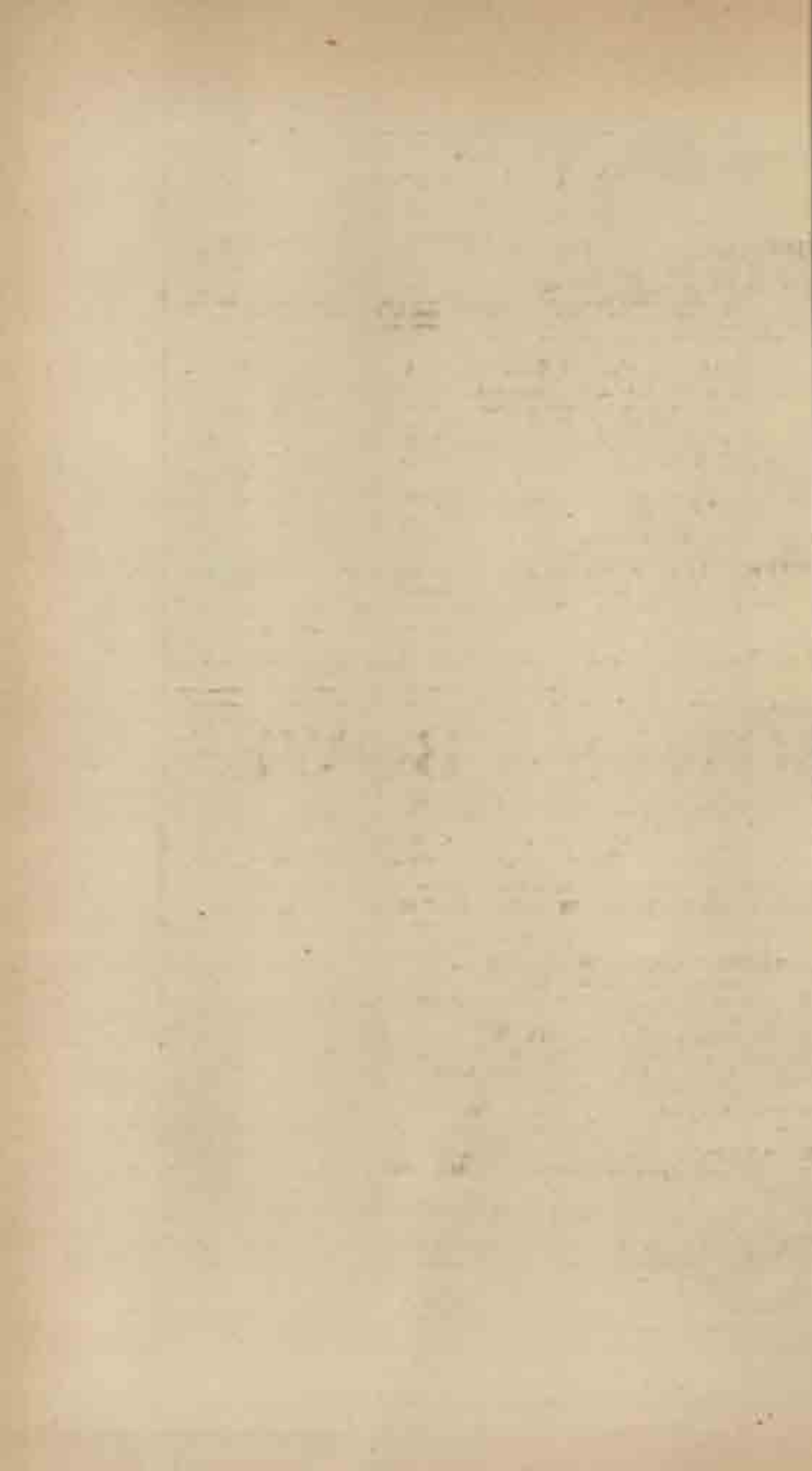


I. 6



V. 20

ATTIC RED-FIGURE VASES



WHEN WAS THEMISTOCLES LAST IN ATHENS?

THE twenty-fifth chapter of the Aristotelian *Constitution of Athens* contains a circumstantial account of the overthrow of the Areopagus, which differs from the accepted version of the same affair in ascribing an important, though not the foremost, part in the attack to Themistocles. The newly discovered version does not, it is true, stand entirely by itself. But it is found elsewhere only in an argument to the *Areopagiticus* of Isocrates,¹ written probably by a sixth-century Christian.² As between the argument and the papyrus, it is the latter that alone can give any serious historical value to the former. But what is the historical value of the account in the *Constitution*? If it is true, then, as was recognised at once by Kenyon in his *editio princeps*, it revolutionises the history of the later part of Themistocles' career.³

But it was at once recognised also that the version of the *Constitution* was difficult to reconcile with the accounts of Themistocles to be found in Thucydides, Plutarch, and other writers.⁴ These all say that the trial that drove Themistocles to Persia took place while he was living ostracised from Athens at Argos. The ostracism of Themistocles took place before the condemnation and death of Pausanias, with whom the Athenian statesman was accused of having intrigued during his period of ostracism. As the downfall and death of Pausanias have generally and with good reason been dated about 468 B.C., it has been inferred that Themistocles cannot have been in Athens after about 469 B.C.⁵

This reckoning, again, has been thought to be confirmed by the accounts of the flight to Persia. Themistocles is said by Thucydides to have reached Persia when Artaxerxes was 'newly' on the throne: Artaxerxes succeeded his father Xerxes in the year 465 B.C. Even on the loosest interpretation of 'newly,'⁶ it is hard to see how even a Themistocles can have got through all the adventures that befell him between his ostracism and his arrival at the Persian court if the former event took place during or after the attack of Ephialtes on the Areopagus and the latter shortly after the accession of Artaxerxes. Furthermore, Themistocles is said by Thucydides to have fallen

¹ Ἐπὶ τῶν καὶ Θεμιστοκλέους χρῆσταις ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις καὶ εἰδὲς ἐν τῇ Συντάξει τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους, εἰς τὴν ἀποστολὴν, εἰς τὴν ἀποστολὴν, μεταδίδει αὐτοῖς ἑκαστὸν τῶν τοῦ... ἡ γὰρ Ἀριστοτέλης λέγει ἐν τῇ πολιτικῇ τὸν Ἀθηναῖον ἐν καὶ ἡ Θεμιστοκλέους αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ ἀποστολῇ τῇ Ἀποστολῇ.

² Ross, *Ath. Pol.* p. 423, accepted by Saubyn, *Ath. Pol.* p. 197.

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³ Kenyon, *ad loc.*

⁴ Thuc. i. 135-8; Plut. Them. 22 f.; Diod. xi. 54-59 (Ephorus); Corn. Nep. Them. 8-10 (mainly Thucydides).

⁵ E.g. Holm Hist. Gr. ii. p. 94; E. Meyer, *Ges. d. Alt. III.* i. p. 519.

⁶ See below, p. 171, n. 27.

in on the way to Persia with the Athenian fleet blockading Naxos. The date of this blockade is not quite certain; but it preceded the battle of Eurymedon, which in turn preceded the siege of Thasos, which last event can be dated with some certainty as having begun in 465 B.C., or, at the latest, early in 464. If Themistocles was on the way to Persia at the time of the siege of Naxos, he cannot have been in Athens in 462 B.C.

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

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

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

⁷ Mitchell and Caspari in their edition of Grote, p. 285, n. 1; F. Cauer, *Deutsche Literaturzeit.* 1894, p. 942. Cp. also (inter alios) Bernard, *Rev. Hist.* xlix. (1892) p. 296; Botsford, *Cornell Stud. Class. Phil.* 1893, p. 220, n. 2; Busolt, *Gr. Gr.* III. i. p. 29; Costantini, *Rivista di Fil.* 1892, pp. 353-5; Dabour, *Const. d'Ath.* p. 115; Gilles, *Eng. Hist. Rev.* 1892, pp. 332-3; E. Meyer, *Gr. d. Alt.* III. i. p. 519; Niese in *Sybel's Hist. Zeits.* xxxiii. (1892), p. 43; Th. Reinach, *Rev. Et. Gr.* 1891, pp. 149-151; Rühl, *Rhein. Mus.* 1891, p. 431; De Sanctis, *Stud. Constituz. d'Ath.* pp. 4-6, and *Rivista di Fil.* 1892, pp. 108 f.; Sandys, *Const. of Ath.* p. lxix; Walker, *C.R.* vi. pp. 95-99; Willmowitz, *Aristot. u. Athen.* i. pp. 140 f.

⁸ Th. Reinach, *C.R. Acad. Ins.* June 1891, and *Rev. Et. Gr.* 1891, pp. 149-151, cp. *Regum. Atheniensium*, p. 40; Busolt, *Aristot. Ath. Pol.* Their arguments are answered by Politis, *Parnassos*, 1893, pp. 95-6, and Schaeffer, *Jahresber. Fortsch. d. Alt.* lxxxiii. (1895), pp. 220-1. The sub-

stance of this paper will make it unnecessary to revert to them in detail.

⁹ See the list given by Th. Reinach, *Rep. Ath.* pp. xxvi-xxvii (Canon 'youngish' in 462 B.C., c. 20; Spartan peace proposals put after Arginusae instead of Ozyaia, c. 24, cp. Philoc. *F.H.G.* i. fr. 117-8; all the generals put to death after Arginusae instead of all who were put on trial and appeared before the court, c. 34; confusions or contradictions in the accounts of the *seisachtheia*, c. 6, and *kybernetes*, c. 54, cp. c. 48). For the *Ath. Pol.* drawing inferences, sometimes wrong, as to early constitution-usages, see Swoboda, *Arch. Epig. Mit.* xvi. pp. 57 f. on *Ath. Pol.* 18. 10. It is, of course, easy to find in the *Constitution's* account of the fifth century much that is 'palpably legendary.' De Sanctis, *Studi Cost. Att.* p. 11, if we regard as such any new information that disagrees with our preconceived conceptions of the period. For a good protest against this attitude, see Politis, *Aristot. Ath. Pol.* in *Parnassos*, 1893, p. 13.

Themistocles is described as merely a soldier ¹⁰ as contrasted with the statesman Aristides. Mistakes and slips of these kinds are inevitable in any historical writing, ancient or modern. The mistakes laid to the charge of the writer of Chapter XXV. of the *Constitution* are of a different and much more damning order. It is one thing to sum up the Duke of Wellington as a distinguished statesman, or George Washington as an eminent soldier. It would be an entirely different thing if a modern historian should be found assigning, let us say, a prominent and circumstantial part to John Hampden in the trial of Charles I. This latter is the sort of mistake that is alleged to occur in Chapter XXV. of the *Constitution*, but nowhere else in the whole work.

The prevalent attitude that has just been described seems, therefore, on the whole, less tenable than that of the extremists who resort to excision or abuse. But are we bound to accept any of the views so far quoted? Is Chapter XXV. of the *Constitution* really so impossible to reconcile with our other sources for the later history of Themistocles as has been generally assumed? More than one writer has accepted the *Constitution* on Themistocles and endeavoured to reconcile it with our other sources. The first attempt was made by Baier,¹¹ who proposed a completely new set of dates for the events of the period, based on the information contained in Chapter XXV. The death of Pausanias is ascribed to 462-1 B.C., after which comes the ostracism of Themistocles, his final condemnation and flight, the siege of Naxos, the battle of Eurymedon, the revolt of Thasos at the time of the earthquake in Sparta, and the fall of Thasos, which last event is placed in 457 B.C. This chronology has not found any acceptance; as shown by E. M. Walker¹² and others, it lands us in extreme difficulties, not only for the period of Themistocles, but also for the years that follow.

A different line of defence is suggested by von Schoeffer, who supposes that the attacks on the Areopagus began long before the grand assault of 462 B.C., and that Themistocles took part only in the earlier phases before the generally accepted date of his ostracism.¹³ But this defence is as difficult to maintain as it would be damaging if maintainable. The *Constitution* says distinctly that the attack did not begin till 'about seventeen years after the Persian Wars.' The circumstantial account of the dealings with Ephialtes has to be explained away as part of a generally accepted Themistocles legend. In dates, in details, and in emphasis it has to be admitted that our author was seriously wrong.

The same objection may be made to Wilamowitz when he suggests that the basis of the story was a report spread abroad in Athens in 462 B.C. by the enemies of Ephialtes, to the effect that he was merely the tool of the absent and exiled Themistocles.¹⁴

¹⁰ Cf. Plat. *Clm.* 5, where Clinias, the protégé of Aristides, is described as 'inconceivably the superior' of Themistocles as a statesman.

¹¹ *Forsch. Ath. Pol.* p. 171 f.

¹² *C.R.* vi. pp. 95-99. Against Baier's chronology, see also Baier, *Jahrb. Cl. Phil. Suppl.* xviii. (1892), p. 605.

¹³ *Jahresber. Fortsch. d. Alt. Ixxviii.* (1895), p. 251, cf. Nodding, *Stud. i. d. Themistoklesfrage*, p. 61.

¹⁴ Wilamowitz, *Arschol. v. Ath.* I. 149. The whole question as to how far by the time of Aristotle or even Thucydides Themistocles had won his way into the fabulous is beyond the scope of this article.

Still more unsatisfying is the attempt at a reconciliation between the *Constitution* and Thucydides made by A. Brieger,¹² who suggests that the Areopagus was predominant after the Persian Wars, not for seventeen years but for seven. Seventeen years is confirmed as the original reading by the reference to the archonship of Conon, and by the fact that Ephialtes' death is dated as not long after his great success, and six years before 457 B.C. Brieger here emends six to sixteen, and there are other consequential changes that his suggestion leads to if it is carefully followed up.

In examining the discrepancies, apparent or real, between our author and Thucydides, it is important to remember that if we accept the former it does not imply any criticism of Thucydides half so serious as that which we must pass on the author of the *Constitution*, if in so recent and important a matter as the history of Themistocles he could record fiction under the impression that it was fact. The best of historians sometimes wrongly omit. Only the worst would in such a case as we are considering invent, and only quite inferior writers would be misled by the inventions of others. A truthful and careful writer in a position like that of Thucydides writing on Themistocles may easily omit important facts and get wrong in a chronology that he is himself constructing from not very adequate data.¹³ Nobody has ever recognised this better than Thucydides himself.¹⁴ His chronology for Themistocles is difficult and dubious on any showing, and his account of him is a digression that was never intended for a full biography. It takes him back beyond the period for which he claims special authority, and, moreover, is confined strictly to events in which Themistocles played the leading part, which in the *Constitution* itself is disclaimed for him as regards the attack on the Areopagus.¹⁵ Omissions, therefore, and even misleading omissions cannot be ruled out of the question.¹⁶

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

¹² *Unser Zeit*, 1891, II, pp. 28-9; cp. O. Seeck, *Klio*, IV, (1894), pp. 202-3.

¹³ Thucydides quotes (I. 138) relatives of Themistocles as stating that his bones were brought back to Athens and secretly buried; but it does not follow that the historian was able to get full information about the life of the dead statesman from this source. The only relative of Themistocles known to have remained in Athens, his son Kleophantes (Plato, *Meno*, 93), was notoriously interested in nothing but horses and athletics.

¹⁴ Note, too, that *Att. Pol.* 18 tacitly corrects Thuc. VI on several points in the Harmodius story, and that it has been claimed by Weil, *Journ. d. Sav.* 1891, p. 203,

that Thucydides himself in I. 20 appears to realise the mistakes of the Book VI account, which is probably the earlier. Thucydides is also corrected by the *Att. Pol.* (31-3) on points of detail about the four hundred: Weil, *ibid.* p. 204.

¹⁵ Ephialtes is much the more prominent all through the chapter. Where both are mentioned together, Ephialtes is put first. Themistocles has merely a share in the responsibility, *συνετιον γνομενον θανατοκλον*. The same inference is to be drawn from c. 41, *ἡβλουν δὲ ἡ πὰρ ταύτην τοῦ Ἀριστίδους πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους, ἑκάστην δὲ ἐπετίθεντο καταλέγειν τὴν Ἀποκαταστάσεως δουλῆν*. In these last words Mathieu, *Bibl. École Hautes Études*, 216 (1915), p. 64, wrongly finds traces of a tradition according to which Ephialtes was not aided by Themistocles.

¹⁶ Compare the remarkable omissions in Thucydides' synopsis of the history of Athens between the Persian and Peloponnesian wars, I. 97.4. There is nothing about the political measures of Ephialtes

Is it possible to discover in Thucydides any comparatively unimportant omission or inaccuracy that would account for the discrepancies between his narrative and that of the *Constitution*? If I am not mistaken, one possibility has yet to be considered that saves the latter without bringing to the charge of the former anything but a most pardonable piece of ignorance with some very natural but unfortunate consequences. My suggestion is that Themistocles did take part in the attack on the Areopagus, but that he did so not before he had been ostracised, but during a brief return to Athens at the end of his ten years of ostracism.²⁰

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

As regards the attack on the Areopagus, there may well have been a conspiracy of silence on the part of the historian's informants. At Athens he moved in Periclean circles. Pericles continued the work of Ephialtes and Themistocles in destroying the privileges of the Areopagus; but in doing so he appears to have reversed the policy of his family in the period immediately preceding: it was the Alcmæonid Leobotes²¹ who had prosecuted Themistocles and prevented him on our hypothesis from remaining in Athens to take part in the last phase of the attack. The incident is one that Periclean circles may not have cared to recall. Except for the four years between Pericles' death and the beginning of Thucydides' exile, years that were largely spent by the historian on active naval service, and for the uncertain period that followed his return from exile, when he had probably completed his account of Themistocles, the Periclean party was supreme throughout the period when Thucydides had access to Athens. State documents uncongenial to a strong government do not tend to be very much in evidence, and this would be particularly

of Pericles, nothing about the divisions of opinion on the question of sending help to the Spartans at Ithome, nothing about the ostracism of Cimon or the political activity of Thucydides the son of Melesias: events either closely connected with external affairs, or so important that they might have seemed to demand mention in the most cursory sketch of the period. *Forbes, Thuc.* i p. cxvii.

²⁰ The duration of ostracism is given as ten years by Plato, *Gorg.* 516 D; *Plut. Cim.* 17, *Nic.* 11, *Corin. Nep.* *passim*, *pseudo-Andoc.* iv. 5, *schol. Aristoph. Vesp.* 947; *cp. Theopomp. F.H.G.* i p. 293. Cimon was recalled from ostracism *εἰς τὴν πόλιν* *τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἐξουσίας*. If the sentence had been for five years we should expect not *εἰς*, but *τὴν* *πόλιν*, *Car-*

copinus, Bib. Fac. Lett. Paris, xxv, p. 117. *Diod.* xi. 55.2 gives it as five and *Philochorus* fr. 796 as originally ten, later five. If Diodorus is not confusing with the Syracusan *petalismos*, which he also describes, he might be explained by *Philochorus*, but note that the last victim of ostracism, *Hyperbolus*, was ostracised for six years, *Theopomp. F.H.G.* i p. 294. Cimon seems certainly to have been sentenced for ten years. If, therefore, the length of the sentence was ever shortened it was presumably after the time of Themistocles.

²¹ *Plut. Them.* 23, *de Exil.* 15 (*Moral.* 605 E); *Krateros F.H.G.* ii. 619, fr. 5. For Alcmæonid hostility to Themistocles, see also *Plut. Praec. Ger. Rep.* 10 (*Moral.* 805 C), *Aristid.* 23.

the case in connexion with an incident like that of the Alcmaeonid prosecution of Themistocles, which no important party or personage had any particular motive for recalling.

Equally misleading may have been the results if, as is highly probable, Thucydides made inquiries about Themistocles at Argos, which he, too, in all probability, like Themistocles, knew as an exile.²² He tells us that while there Themistocles made frequent excursions to other parts of the Peloponnese. Assume that Themistocles began his final flight from Athens by a last hurried visit to Argos, and the brief period of the final sojourn in Athens may well have been concealed in the Argive version among the various excursions made by Themistocles from his Argive headquarters during his period of ostracism.

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

It is doubtful whether the mention of Naxos is to be regarded as an independent piece of evidence. The name of the island is immaterial to the point of the story; very possibly none at all appeared in the original version, in which case the name appearing in Thucydides is only the result of chronological conclusions reached on other grounds. There are hints that there was in antiquity another chronology that required the fleet to be not at Naxos but at Thasos, and can be reconciled with the story in the *Constitution*. According to Thucydides, the landing of Themistocles in Asia took place at Ephesus; but a version found in Plutarch²³ makes him reach the mainland up in the North at Cyme, a place of arrival that ill suits a passage past Naxos, but fits in well with a passage past Thasos. The incident with the Athenian fleet is not mentioned by Plutarch in giving this version. He quotes it only in connexion with the Thucydidean version, which he also gives, but with the remarkable variant in one MS. that Thasos appears as the original reading, subsequently corrected to Naxos. The MS. in question is said to give the best readings for some of the lives, including that of Themistocles. To judge from the way in which he treats Thucydides, Plutarch was probably abbreviating the version that introduces Cyme. It looks as though Thasos was the original reading,²⁴ emended in the other MSS. or their prototypes by learned scribes who knew their Thucydides, and that the original reading, Thasos, was due to the fleet incident having been located there by the version that landed Themistocles on the mainland at Cyme.

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

²² Cp. *Thuc.* v. 26.

²³ *Plut. Them.* 26.

²⁴ So Wilamowitz *Aristot. u. Ath.* I. p. 130, n. 47.

between 474 and 472 B.C.:²⁵ he proceeded to the Peloponnese, and while there fell under the suspicion of intriguing with Pausanias; from the Spartans' point of view Pausanias was the chief danger, and after crushing him they ceased to be alarmed about Themistocles, who was left an exile on the worst of terms with the pro-Spartan Government at Athens; then in 464 or 463 B.C. the ostracism expired, and Themistocles returned to Athens to find Ephialtes beginning his attack on the Areopagus, which was at this time in sympathy with Cimon and the Alcmaeonids, and like the Alcmaeonids supporting Cimon in his pro-Spartan policy: the Spartans saw their influence in Athens threatened, and furnished alleged evidence of Themistocles' support of the medium of Pausanias some years before; eventually he was prosecuted on this and perhaps other charges, with an Alcmaeonid conducting the case and Cimon in the background; before the trial began it was obvious which way it must go, and Themistocles withdrew from Athens:²⁶ perhaps he began by hurrying back to Argos, which had been his home for the greater part of the previous ten years, and where he had a good deal of influence; but very soon he was compelled to fly further, and ultimately reached Persia in 462²⁷ after a narrow escape on the way from the Athenian fleet, which was either just concluding the siege of Thasos, or cruising off the island after successfully ending the siege.

²⁵ This date accords quite as well as any other with the meagre evidence, which is fully set forth by Busolt, *Gr. G.* III. i. p. 113.

²⁶ Diod. xi. 54 speaks of two trials, the first at Athens before the ostracism, ending in acquittal, the second at Sparta, after the ostracism, resulting in Themistocles' flight and condemnation. Diodorus' evidence is not decisive; he assigns the events of a number of years to the single year 471-470 B.C., and makes the unlikely statement that the trial that drove Themistocles to Asia took place at Sparta: but an early trial and acquittal can be easily reconciled with the order of events suggested above.

²⁷ Artaxerxes in 462 B.C. might still be 'newly on the throne' from the point of view of Thucydides writing after the close of his long reign of 40 years. The version that brings Themistocles to Persia before the death of Xerxes may be dismissed (so e.g. Bauer, *Forsch.* p. 89) as a poetic emendation of the facts. The flight to Persia is indeed dated 471 B.C. by Diod. xi. 54-5, and 472 B.C. by the Armenian version of Eusebius, but their evidence is weak: on Diod. see note preceding; Euseb. is probably based on Diod. The flight is probably misdated by either writer to the year required by his chronology for the ostracism (in which case we have here

a further possible explanation of the double dating with a ten years' difference already noticed in the chronology of Themistocles, by J. A. R. Munro, *C.R.* vi. (1892) pp. 333-4. On *On. de Asia*, 14, 42, which has been thought to confirm Diod. and Euseb., see below, p. 177. Wilamowitz, *Arrest. u. Athen.* I. pp. 143-4 and Busolt *Gr. G.* III. i. pp. 113a, 128, accept 471 B.C., but their arguments are flimsy, based on the assumption that the three authorities who alone give a definite date to the flight are based on contemporary documents, notably the *εἴσακ' ἡγεμὴν τῶν ἱερέων καὶ τῶν ἐφόρων* and copies made by Krateros of Athenian decrees. But because Krateros is known to have published the charge brought against Themistocles, it hardly follows that Diodorus derived from him the date of Themistocles' flight. As regards the *εἴσακ' τῶν ἐφόρων* it is rather remarkable that they are never once mentioned in connexion with Themistocles. If they are to be used at all as evidence, that is one point that must be taken into account. Can the explanation be that the trial and condemnation took place, as the dating proposed in this paper implies, during a comparatively brief setback in the progress of the party to which Themistocles belonged, and that consequently his name never got posted up?

We may now proceed to consider whether the course of events just suggested is chronologically possible. According to the generally accepted datings, it is nearly so, but not quite. Chapter XXV. of the *Constitution* is held to imply²⁸ that Themistocles was in Athens in the archonship of Canon, which began about midsummer 462 B.C. The siege of Thasos is usually dated 463-463 B.C. Further, some months at least must be allowed for Themistocles to get to Asia from Athens, via Corfu and Pydna, with various adventures on the way.

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

The great attack on the Areopagus culminated after Canon became archon: but it began before,²⁹ possibly in 463 B.C.³⁰ As regards the part played by Themistocles in the final triumph of Ephialtes, the *Constitution* says simply that he was partly the cause of it.³¹ These are hardly the words that our author would have used if he had pictured Themistocles as taking an active part. Contrast the sentences immediately following, which describe Themistocles' activities earlier in the struggle. We are indeed told that both reformers brought a series of charges against the Areopagites till they had deprived them of their power: but this latter statement, which, as far as it concerns Themistocles, seems hardly quite to harmonise with the statement just referred to from earlier in the same chapter,³² was probably qualified in the sentence immediately following. Unfortunately, there is a lacuna in the narrative at this point; but the gist of the missing words may well have been that Themistocles was brought to trial and fled from Athens before the final triumph of his party.³³ After the lacuna the narrative informs us that Ephialtes was 'not long after' removed from the scene, being treacherously murdered by Aristodikos of Tanagra. Ephialtes met his death in 462-461 B.C., the year in which he overthrew the Areopagus.³⁴ The murder, therefore, cannot be placed very early in the year; but there is no need to place it very late. Revolutions can get a long way in a short time when once they have gathered the

²⁸ So e.g. E. M. Walker, *C.H.* vi. p. 96 and Kenyon *ad loc.*

²⁹ καὶ πρὶν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ πολλοῦ τῶν Ἀριστοκρατῶν . . . ἐπεὶ καὶ Κάνων ἀρχων ἦν *Ath. Pol.* 25, 2.

³⁰ This year could easily be regarded, especially on an inclusive reckoning, as "about 17 years after the Persian wars," which is how the *Constitution* dates the beginning of Ephialtes' attacks, *Ath. Pol.* 25.1. See further, Hertlein, *Korrespondenz-Blatt f. d. Gelehrten u. Real Schulen Westerbeyers*, 1895, pp. 2-3.

³¹ ὥστε καὶ ταῦτα συνέστην γενόμενος θεμιστοκλέης. The word συνέστην is rendered by the translators (Th. Reinach, Haussoulhier, Poste, Dymes, Zuntz, Ferrini, Poland, Kaibel and Kiessling, Erdmann) by such

words as associé, concours, co-operation, conjuration, coopérateurs, compagne, Unterstutzung, beteiligt, Mitwirkung. But the Greek for this would surely be some such word as συμπόρευτος or βοηθός.

³² See previous note.

³³ The sentence might perhaps be completed in some such way as this: καὶ ἀφελθὲν < αὐτὸν > θεμιστοκλῆς διὰ τὴν ἀναστασίαν ἀνέστην ἐπὶ αὐτῷ, ἀφελθὲν > καὶ καὶ ὁ Ἐφιάλτης. Kaibel *Stil u. Text d. Pol.* A² pp. 182-3 states that the words ἀφελθὲν καὶ καὶ ὁ Ἐφ. imply that the missing words told of the death of Themistocles: but may not ἀφελθὲν mean simply 'was removed'? *op. Ath. Pol.* 25, 2 ἐπέλατο πολλοὶ τῶν Ἀριστοκρατῶν ἀγῶνας ἐπέλατο περὶ τῶν ἀριστοκρατῶν.

³⁴ Kenyon, *ad. Ath. Pol.* 26, 2.

necessary impetus. The downfall, therefore, of Themistocles probably occurred at latest fairly early in the year 462-461. But there is no reason why it should not be put back as early as the middle of the year 463-462. The demand that Themistocles should be put on trial had been made at an early stage in the struggle, and may have been pushed home during a temporary success of the party opposed to the reformers. If the original intention of a prosecution before the Areopagus was now abandoned for an *εἰσαγγελία* before the people, the change of tactics need not²² cause any surprise.

The fall of Thasos is generally dated 463 B.C. But the evidence leaves it possible that it took place rather later than is generally supposed. The revolt probably started in 465 B.C., since it broke out, according to Thucydides, 'about the same time' as the Athenian expedition to Drabeskos, which is assigned with some certainty to that year.²³ But it is by no means certain that it was all over by the end of 463.²⁴ This date for its conclusion is an inference from the statement of Thucydides that the siege ended in the third year. By the third year, however, he means the third year of the siege: it may have been the fourth of the revolt. We do not know what time of year the revolt began. When news of it reached Athens the Athenians had first to collect a fleet²⁵ and send it to the island, where they landed only after winning a naval victory. This is the point in his narrative at which Thucydides inserts the account of the expedition to the Strymon and the Drabeskos disaster. If the narrative is strictly chronological, this may mean that active operations against Thasos were for a time held up. Thucydides has still to tell of land battles²⁶ against the islanders won by the Athenians before they were able to begin the siege. The year 464 may have been well started before the three-year siege began. The blockading squadron, too, is not likely to have sailed away the moment Thasos surrendered.

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

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

²² *Paes Th. Reimach, Rev. Et. Gr.* 1891, p. 156. For the presumed change in the form of attack *op. Ath. Pol.* 25. 3 and above n. 1 with *F.H.G.* II. p. 419.

²³ E. M. Walker, *C.R.* vi. p. 97.

²⁴ *Diod.* xi. 79, apparently dates the fall of Thasos in the archimadry of Archidamides, 464-3 B.C., but (pace *Cauer Hist. Aristot.* p. 27) he may be like the moderns, merely making an inference from Thucydides.

²⁵ And perhaps also to recall Cimon from Sparta to take the command (*Plut. Cim.* 14). The chronology of this part

of Cimon's career is difficult, but it seems on the whole most probable that the urgency of the situation in Thasos was the reason why Cimon came back from his first Spartan relief expedition in so great a hurry that he had not even time for the usual civilities to the states through which he passed en route.

²⁶ The MSS. vary between *αἰχμῆς* and *αἰχμῶν*. The Teubner and new Oxford texts both print *αἰχμῆς*. But *αἰχμῶν* is the *difficilior lectio* and has the support of a good group of MSS. It is read by Forster.

supporters. But if the news of military difficulties and disasters abroad had started the revolution at home, reports that the Thasian situation was now well in hand may have led to the first reprisals against the reformers. The situation at Thasos was retrieved by Cimon, the friend of Sparta and enemy of Themistocles, and the first attack would naturally be concentrated on Themistocles, not merely because he was particularly obnoxious to Cimon and his friends, but also as being more open to attack than the scrupulous and incorruptible Ephialtes, who is only disposed of when the revolt that gave him his great opening has been completely quelled.

In making the attack on the Areopagus take place during the siege of Thasos we are disregarding Plutarch, who apparently pictures Ephialtes as beginning his campaign after Cimon had come home from Thasos and sailed away again on fresh active service. But Plutarch is a biographer, not a chronicler. His arrangement of his material is based largely on its character. His chronology is often vague and not infrequently misleading,⁴⁰ and he cannot on a point like this be quoted as invalidating conclusions that have been shown on other evidence to be probable.

It is not only in his chronology that Plutarch diverges from the *Constitution*. He does so also on an important point of fact. He makes the chief supporter of Ephialtes the youthful Pericles, or, rather, he reverses the position and makes Pericles from a rather obscure background direct the activities of the more prominent Ephialtes. But here again Plutarch's evidence is highly dubious. In one of the passages where he makes this statement he himself throws doubt on it: 'the rest of his policy he (Pericles) carried out by commissioning his friends and other public speakers. One of these, so they say, would only become real evidence for assigning to Pericles a part in the attack, was Ephialtes, who broke down the power of the Areopagus.'⁴¹ This passage if the words 'so they say' were omitted, and the word 'who' amended to 'through whom he.' It will be observed that Pericles does not appear in person on the scene. Another passage associating Pericles with Ephialtes is vaguer: 'for forty years he (Pericles) stood first among such men as Ephialtes, Leocrates, Myronides, Cimon, Tolmides, and Thucydides.'⁴² This passage, though supported by Cicero,⁴³ unquestionably antedates the rise of Pericles to a leading position in the State. He was not the foremost man in Athens in 469 B.C. Of the men who are said to have played second to him, Ephialtes, who died in 462, at least five years earlier than any of the rest, is the only one who supports this improbable ascendancy of forty years.

It is true that in the *Præcepta Gerendæ Reipublicæ* we find the words, 'as Pericles through Ephialtes degraded the Areopagus.'⁴⁴ But these words,

⁴⁰ For examples of unsatisfactory chronology in Plutarch see his accounts of democratic developments at Athens, *Cim.* 15, the two expeditions of Cimon to Sparta, *Cim.* 18 f., and the various occasions on which he returned from active service to Athens, *Cim.* 14, 15, 17; *cp.* also *Them.* 5-6, where the choregia of Themistocles in

476 B.C. is mentioned just before the account of 480 B.C. and Salamis.

⁴¹ *Plut. Per.* 7.

⁴² *Plut. Per.* 16.

⁴³ *Cic. de Orat.* iii. 34, 133.

⁴⁴ *Plut. Præcept. Ger. Rep.* 15 (*Moral.* 812 C).

which merely make an incidental comparison, must be read in the light of the passages previously quoted. Though they do not explicitly mention the forty years of political predominance, they come very near to implying them. The leader of the opposition in 463 B.C. can hardly have entered politics much after 468. Plutarch himself makes so long a political leadership unlikely, since he states that as a young man Pericles 'had nought to do with politics, but devoted himself rather to a military career, where he was brave and enterprising'.⁴⁵

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

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

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

⁴⁵ *Plut. Per.* 7.

⁴⁶ *Plut. Cim.* 14.

⁴⁷ *Plut. Per.* 7.

⁴⁸ *Pauly-Bischoff* (*Gr. G.* III, i, p. 113 n.). The difficulties raised by *Com. Nep. Arist.* fin., which dates the death of Aristides 'fere post annum quintum quam Themistocles Athenis erat expulsus' need not be here discussed.

⁴⁹ *Plut. Arist.* 26.

⁵⁰ That Ephialtes had been the master of Pericles would have been forgotten the more easily since the position of *εὐεργετὴς* or *ἀδελφεὸς τοῦ πολιτικοῦ* to Pericles was commonly ascribed to Damonides or Damon, see *Ath. Pol.* 27, 4, *Plut. Per.* 9, 4. The latter quotes Plato *Comicus* on Damon: *ὅτι γὰρ ἔκλειπεν, ὁ Χείρας ἀδελφεὸς Περικλέα.*

of its power by Ephialtes and Pericles.⁵¹ But a careful reading of what is said there confirms the view that Pericles entered the struggle late and played a subordinate part. The words of Aristotle are *καὶ τὴν μὲν ἐν Ἀριστοφάνει βουλὴν Ἐφιάλτης ἐκόλουσε καὶ Περικλῆς*. The word order with the singular predicate shows that Ephialtes was foremost in the writer's mind and Pericles little more than an afterthought sufficiently explained by the sentence that follows.⁵² A writer who puts the matter thus in this passage might well, on another occasion, omit the part played by Pericles altogether.

It cannot be maintained that in Chapter XXV. of the *Constitution* Themistocles is written by mistake for Pericles or any other name. The double-faced stratagem attributed in the text to Themistocles is a typical illustration of his duplicity:⁵³ nothing could be more unlike the Olympian Pericles. But there is no need to be surprised that Plutarch makes no mention of the incident in his life. Not only does it conflict with his chronology for Themistocles, but in itself it is neither improving nor amusing, and may very well have been omitted on its own demerits by a moralising biographer.⁵⁴

When the wife and children of Themistocles joined him on his way to Persia, they came from Athens.⁵⁵ If, therefore, Themistocles passed direct from ostracism to banishment, we must suppose that his family had been content to be separated from him all the time that he was living in honourable retirement at Argos, but now suddenly joined him while fleeing for his life. This may have been the case. The Greeks were certainly prone to visit the sins of the father on the rest of the family. But if, as this paper has endeavoured to show, there are grounds for the view that Themistocles returned to Athens from ostracism before his flight to Persia, then we may quote in support of it the fact that it was from Athens and not from Argos that his family set out to join him on his last journey, and we may do so the more since Plutarch gives a pleasing picture of his family life.⁵⁶

There are thus a number of considerations all supporting the belief that Themistocles went back to Athens after his ostracism. The weak point in the evidence so far adduced is the fact that no ancient authority has been quoted to the effect that Themistocles did indeed return. But when these pages had already been written, my colleague, Mr. E. R. Dodds, drew my attention to a passage of Cicero where the return is referred to in so many words. 'Cuius studium in legendo non erectum Themistocli fuga redituque retinetur?'⁵⁷ Many editors have rejected the MS. reading, but only on purely historical grounds which this paper has at least demonstrated to be not beyond question. The context of the words strongly favours the MS. reading. They occur in a letter written by Cicero in 56 B.C. shortly after his return from banishment. It is

⁵¹ Aristot. *Pol.* II. 1274 A.

⁵² *καὶ δὲ ἡ βουλὴν αὐτοφύκτου ἀντίστοιχον Περικλῆς.*

⁵³ Samlvs. *Att. Pol.* p. 106a.

⁵⁴ Pace *Reichl Rhein. Mus.* 1891, p. 433.

⁵⁵ As to why Plutarch may have omitted, see

further (in spite of his mistaken chronology), Bauer, *Forch.* p. 82, and Norlin, *Stud. i. d. Themistoclesfrage*, pp. 62-3.

⁵⁶ *Plut. Them.* 24.

⁵⁷ *Plut. Them.* 18, ep. 24.

⁵⁸ *Cic. ad Fam.* v. 12. 5.

addressed to the historian Luceius, and urges him to write a special monograph on Cicero's career, 'a principio conurbationis usque ad reditum nostrum.' Editors have suggested changing the name Themistocles, or emending *reditu* to *interitu*.⁵⁸ But either change spoils the sense. Nothing could be so Ciceronian as to compare his own recent feeble vacillations with the masterly versatility of Themistocles, nothing less appropriate than a reference to the death in exile of the great Athenian *novus homo*. Several passages are indeed quoted by the editors in which the flight and death of Themistocles are unquestionably coupled by Cicero,⁵⁹ but in all these passages the association is eminently appropriate. They belong to a later phase of the orator's career, when his country was plunged in civil war, and the ultimate fate of Themistocles was far more likely to be often before his mind.

The most serious objection to accepting the MS. reading in the letter to Luceius is to be found in another statement of Cicero, which is generally thought to confirm 471 B.C. as the date of the flight to Persia. It occurs in the *de Amicitia* and runs thus: '(Themistocles) cum imperator bello Persico servitute Græciam libertauisset propterque invidiam in exilium expulsus esset, . . . fecit idem quod xx. annis ante apud nos fecerat Coriolanus.'⁶⁰

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

But is there any need to look for such agreement on such a point between a letter written in 56 B.C., and a treatise on Friendship, written twelve years later? There is reason to think that shortly before writing the *de Amicitia* Cicero was somewhat exercised over the credibility of the Themistocles narrative;⁶¹ very possibly he may have modified his views on the subject as a result. But if he did so, it by no means follows that his later opinions were always the sounder.

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

⁵⁸ See Tyrrell and Jones *ad loc.*

⁵⁹ Tyrrell quotes *Brut.* 43, *ad Att.* ix. 10. 3, *de Amic.* 42. The death of Themistocles is mentioned in the *pro Scauro*

(54 B.C.), but in a context that deals with the subject of suicide.

⁶⁰ *Cic. de Amic.* 42.

⁶¹ See *Cic. Brut.* 43 (46 B.C.).

On no showing, therefore, does the *de Amicitia* offer any good reason for rejecting the MS. reading in the letter to Lurcius, supported as that is both by the context and by independent historical evidence, when it tells us that, like Cicero himself, Themistocles had been not only banished but also restored from banishment.⁶³

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⁶³ Mention should perhaps be made of Root's neat emendation 'reditusque spe tenetur' (cp. Purser *Script. Class. Bibl. Oxon.*, ad loc.); but though ingenious this emendation is as unattractive as the rest. The context requires a reference to an actual return.

HERMES CHTHONIOS AS EPONYM OF THE SKOPADAE

From the tenth Pythian ode of Pindar we learn that both the Aleuadæ,¹ who had their seat of power at Larissa, and the Skopadæ, lords of Crannon, once called Ephyra, were descendants of Heracles. These families are chiefly known to us through the poets, and in the case of the Skopadæ, from the passage in the *Protagoras* of Plato in which a poem of Simonides is discussed. The statement of Theocritus,² that the great families of Thessaly would be buried in obscurity but for the songs written in their honour, is amply justified:

πολλοὶ ἐν Ἀντιόχοιο δόμοις καὶ Ἀεακτῶς Ἀλεῖα
ἄρμαλιν ἐμῆτρον ἐμετρήσαντο πενστάτ'
πολλοὶ δὲ Σκοπάδαισιν ἐλάνθοντο ποτὶ σηκοῖς
μόσχοι σὺν κεραῇσιν ἐμυκήσαντο βοῶσι
μυρία ἰμ' πεδίων Κραννῶντιον ἐνδιάσχοι
ποιμένες ἔκκριτα μῆλα φιλοξένοισι Κρεώνεσσιν.
ἀλλ' οὐ σφιν τῶν ἡδὺν, ἐπεὶ ἡλυκὸν ἐξεκύνωσαν
θυμὸν ἐς εὐρείαν σχεδὴν στειγροῖο γέροντος,
ἀμνασταὶ δὲ τὰ πολλὰ καὶ ὀλβία τήνα λιπόντες
δαίλοισι ἐν ρεκύνεσσιν μακροῦς αἰῶνας ἔκειντο
εἰ μὴ δαιμόνιοι οὐδὲ ὁ Κῆρος αἰὼλα φωνέων
βαρβάρων ἐς πολύχορδον ἐν ἀνδράσι θῆκε' ὀνομαστοῖς
ὕπλοισι.

The Aleuadæ are more conspicuous and more often mentioned than the Skopadæ, who were the younger branch of the Aleuad family, as the Kreondæ are the younger branch of the Skopadæ at Crannon. Both families appear to have immigrated from Thesprotia. The eponym of the Aleuadæ is one of the Thessalian heroes whose story brings them into connexion with the serpent, of whom the most famous is Asklepios. Of him Rohde writes: 'In Wahrheit ist ursprünglich auch er ein in der Erde hausender thessalischer Ortsdämon gewesen, der aus der Tiefe, wie viele solche Erdgeister, Heilung von Krankheiten, Kenntnis der Zukunft (beides in alter Zeit eng verbunden) heraufsandte.'³

The name Aleuas, as I have previously pointed out,⁴ means Avenger of Ill, and is closely connected with the name of the goddess of Mantinea and Tegea, whose title Alea has been interpreted by M. Fougères⁵ as the goddess affording the 'protection qui éloigne le mal.' Aleuas was evidently once the name or title of a divine hero of the order of the Thessalian Heracles. In the northern Greek countries, in Aetolia, Epirus, Macedonia, and Thessaly, names

¹ Based on Pindar, *Pyth.*, 10, pp. 531-534.

² *Id.*, 16, 34 ff.

³ *Psyche*, I, 144.

⁴ *C.Q.*, xiii, 3-4, 170-171.

⁵ *R.C.H.*, xvi, 573.

from the verbs meaning to ward off ill are exceedingly common among the princes and other distinguished men. Amyntor, Amyntas, Alexander, Alkon, Alketas, Aleuas will serve for examples of such.

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

Ἑρμῖων γὰρ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ πόλιν Κόρης καὶ Διμήτρον ἄστυλος, ὅστε σκέπη παρέχεν τοῖς ἱκετεύουσιν.

This is the most useful example of the root for my purpose, which is to give the meaning of Shelterer, Protector to the name Skopas, and to attach it to a chthonic deity of Thessaly, for whose cult at Crannon and Larissa, and at many other places in Thessaly, there is inscriptional evidence.⁶

The chthonic deity is Hermes, from whom a Thessalian and Aetolian month was named. This month, Hērmaios may, as Stein⁷ suggests, testify to a very ancient cult of Hermes as 'Totengott' in Thessaly and Aetolia. There is evidence⁸ that Hermes was worshipped at Pherae, that seat of divinity that traffics with the dead. The chthonic deities are notably the gods of increase of field and flock, and in the sixteenth book⁹ of the *Iliad* Hermes lies with Polymele, the One of Many Flocks, and there is born to him a son Eudoros, an epithet that recalls titles of the Earth, the All-Giver. Hermes himself has the title of ἐπιμήλιος, and the word πολέμηλος¹⁰ occurs in the *Iliad* in connexion with Phorbas (the Feeder of Cattle), the Trojan most beloved by Hermes, who gave him wealth.

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

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

⁶ P. W., 8, 738, gives the references.

⁷ P. W., 8, 763.

⁸ Calcein, *Frag.*, 117.

⁹ *Il.*, 16, 180 ff.

¹⁰ *Il.*, 14, 496.

'Watch and ward' expresses the etymological meaning of the root seen in both words. The words *εὔσκοπός*¹¹ and *εὔσκεπαστος*,¹² passives to *εὔσκοπος*, both mean sheltered, the passive forms evidently retaining the more ancient meaning. The active form *εὔσκοπος* passed over into the meaning 'with good aim,' and is applied once in the *Odyssey* to Artemis in that significance. It is later used of the other gods of the bow, Apollo and Heracles. It is not suited to Hermes in that sense, and is found with reference to him twice in the *Iliad* and twice in the *Odyssey*, both in connexion with the much-disputed epithet *ἀργειφόντης*.

The lines in the seventh book¹³ of the *Odyssey*, in which the epithets appear, suggest the meaning of Shelterer, the 'custos maximus' of Horace, for *εὔσκοπος*.

σπένδοντες δεπόμεσσι εὔσκοπῳ ἀργειφόντῃ
ὃ πύματ' σπένδεσσαν, ὅτε μνησαίετο κοίτου.

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

In the genealogy of the Skopadae, so far as known, the name Skopas appears as the name of three of the family. The name Diaktorides appears among the suitors of Agorista in the sixth book of Herodotus—*ἐκ δὲ Θεσσαλῆς ἦλθε τῶν Σκοπαδίων Διακτορίδης Κρανώνιος, ἐκ δὲ Μαλοσσῶν Ἀλκων*. The name of the Skopad suitor is derived from an epithet of the god Hermes, which appears always in the *Iliad* in the phrase *διάκτορος ἀργειφόντης*. Of the ten instances of the word in the *Odyssey* it accompanies *ἀργειφόντης* in eight. It appears alone in the *Odyssey*, once in the genitive, and once in the vocative. The epithet is appropriate to Hermes *ψυχοπομπός*, who guides souls to and from the realm of Persephone.

Connecting the name Skopas with the epithet *εὔσκοπος*, and noting the name Diaktorides, which points directly to a cult of Hermes, I argue that just as the Aleuadae traced their family to a hero, perhaps a hypostasis of Heracles, whose name was Aleuas, Averter of Evil, so the Skopadae, lords of many flocks, had for their eponym a hypostasis of Hermes Chthonios under the name of Skopas, the Protector.

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

¹¹ Theophrastus, *H.P.*, 4, 11.

¹² *Od.*, 7, 136-138.

¹³ *Thuc.*, V., 71.

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Protagoras that the father of Skopas of Simonides' ode was Kreon. Gruppe¹⁴ writes of Hermes *επειος*, worshipped in Thessaly, but the train of reasoning by which Hermes is shown to have had this title is to my mind unsound. The only passage quoted in which the title is actually given to Hermes is a fragment from Anacreon, and I have been able to find no other. It is, of course, possible that Hermes may have borne this title, which is a usual one for divinities and heroes, and in that case he would serve excellently as the eponym of the younger branch of the Skopadae, the Kreondae.

Like the names Alexanor, Alketas, Alkon, Alexander, Amyntander, etc., the name Skopas appears in the western part of northern Greece. It is found in inscriptions¹⁵ referring to Aetolians, and the well-known strategos of the Aetolians¹⁶ (whose name occurs in the second of the two inscriptions cited) was named Skopas. It is significant for the prevalence of these names of religious origin in the north-western parts of Greece, as well as in Macedonia and Thessaly, that among the witnesses on the bronze tablet discovered at Dodona¹⁷ are the names of two Molossians, Alexanor and Skopaios. (It must be said that the first two letters of the latter name are supplied.)

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

GRACE H. MACGREGOR.

¹⁴ *Handbuch*, 5, 2, 1323.

¹⁵ *Ditt., Sylloge*, 845, 11; 923, 3.

¹⁶ *Aetolia, Geography, Topography, and Antiquities*, Woodhouse, p. 235.

¹⁷ *Ditt., Sylloge*, 839, 5.

PTOLEMAIOS EPIGONOS

J'espérais bien n'en plus parler; j'en ai parlé, jadis, assez longuement.¹ Mais un important article, publié en 1915 dans l'*Hermes* par E. von Stern et dont je n'ai eu connaissance qu'en ces temps derniers,² m'oblige à en dire encore quelques mots.³

Il s'agit, une fois de plus, de ce Πτολεμαῖος Ἀντιμάχου, appelé aussi Πτολεμαῖος Ἐπίγονος,⁴ dont fait mention un décret voté, en 240 avant notre ère, par les citoyens de Telmessos en Lycie;⁵ qui, par la faveur de Ptolémée III Evergète, était devenu peu avant cette date prince souverain de Telmessos; et qui reçut des Telmessiens, en récompense de ses bienfaits, les plus rares honneurs.

J'avais cru reconnaître⁶ dans ce personnage Ptolémée, fils du roi Lysimaque, né du mariage de celui-ci avec Arsinoé (II), fille de Ptolémée I Soter et sœur de Ptolémée II Philadelphe. E. von Stern ne doute pas que ce ne soit là une erreur.⁷ Il s'applique à démontrer que le fils de Lysimaque et d'Arsinoé fut adopté par Philadelphe, à l'instigation de sa sœur devenue sa femme, et par lui associé à l'empire; qu'il ne diffère pas de ce (Ptolémée), 'fils' (υἱός) de Philadelphe, dont parle le roi dans sa lettre aux Miletéens;⁸ qu'il est identique aussi au 'co-régent' de Philadelphe, connu par les papyrus égyptiens des années 267/6-259; identique enfin au gouverneur d'Ephèse qui se révolta contre Philadelphe et périt assassiné en 259.⁹ Et il ne m'en coûte nullement

¹ B.C.H. 1904, 408 *exp.*

² E. von Stern, *Hermes*, L. 1915, 427 *exp.*; voir notamment 436-444. — Le présent mémoire a été rédigé en novembre 1920.

³ La bibliographie du sujet, que W. W. Tarn qualifiait déjà de 'tremendous' en 1910 (*J.H.S.* xxx. 1910, 222), s'est sensiblement accrue depuis que j'en ai dressé le tableau dans B.C.H. *ibid.* 409, 1. Les indications d'E. von Stern ne sont point complètes. Aux écrits qu'il a cités (Bouché-Latréacq, *Hist. des Lagides*, iv. 311-313; A. Rehm, *Delphinion*, 303 et note 4; Wilamowitz, *Göt. gel. Anz.* 1914, 88), ajouter: Dittenberger, *Or. gr. inexc.*, ii. *add.*, p. 349 (*ad. n.* 224, *not.* 4); C. Lehmann, *Klio*, 1905, 383, 389, 1; D. Cohen, *De magistrat. Aegyptii*, etc. diss. Leyden (1912), 13-14; M. Rostowzew, *Stud. zur Gesch. des röm. Kolonialwes.*, 278; W. W. Tarn, *J.H.S.* xxx. 1910, 216, 39, et 221-222; *Antiq. Comitat.*, 442-447;

E. Pozzi, *Mem. Accad. di Torino*, brül. 1911/1912, 245, 3; G. De Sanctis, *Atti Accad. di Torino*, 1911/1912, 816. M. G. F. Hill veut bien me rappeler que le Brit. Mus. possède une monnaie (*Nouv. Chron.* 1912, 145, n. 24) qui peut être attribuée à Ptolémée de Telmessos.

⁴ La restitution *Ἀντιμάχου*, que j'ai proposée pour les ll. 22-23 du décret de Telmessos (B.C.H. 1904, 410-412), est acceptée sans hésitation par E. von Stern (*Hermes*, *ibid.* 438). Bouché-Latréacq a été seul jusqu'ici à en contester l'exactitude (*Hist. des Lagides*, iv. 312). Il n'a pas dit ce qu'il y voudrait substituer.

⁵ Dittenberger, *Or. gr. inexc.* 53.

⁶ B.C.H. 1904, 408 *exp.*

⁷ *Hermes*, *ibid.*

⁸ A. Rehm, *Delphinion in Milet*, 309, n. 139, l. 9.

⁹ *Trog. prof.* 26; *Athen.* xiii. 592a.

d'accorder que cette démonstration est conduite avec beaucoup d'art et qu'elle aboutit, par une suite de déductions ingénieusement enchaînées, à des conclusions qui paraissent, en soi, fort plausibles.¹⁰

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

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

I.

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

Si 'Ptolémée, fils de Lysimaque,' honoré par le décret des Telmessiens, est le neveu d'Évergète, il avait à peine vingt ans¹³ lorsqu'il reçut de son oncle, peu avant l'année 240, la principauté de Telmessos. Il n'y a, dès lors, aucun motif de ne point l'identifier, d'une part, avec Πτολεμαῖος Ἀντιμάχου, donateur à Délos en 188,¹⁴ de l'autre, avec *Ptolemaeus Telmessius*, mentionné par T. Live¹⁵ (d'après Polybe) à propos du traité d'Aramée, sous la date de 189. Effectivement, l'identité des trois Ptolémées est admise par E. von Stern,¹⁶ comme elle l'avait été avant lui par Ad. Wilhelm¹⁷ et par plusieurs autres. En raison de l'indication donnée par T. Live, Ptolémée fils de Lysimaque, neveu d'Évergète, aurait donc régné sur Telmessos durant plus de cinquante ans.—C'est précisément là ce qui me fait douter que le prince de Telmessos fût, comme on l'assure, le neveu d'Évergète.

Nous sommes bien peu renseignés sur ce Lysimaque qu'on lui donne pour père.¹⁸ Au vrai, nous ne savons de lui qu'une chose, c'est qu'il fut mis à

¹⁰ Il faut observer pourtant qu'au lendemain de la publication de la lettre de Philadelphie aux Miletains (*Delphinion*, n. 139), G. De Sanctis a donné des Il. 8-9 de ce document une interprétation tout à fait contraire à celle que propose E. von Stern (*Atti Acad. di Torino*, 1913/1914, 1238; ce mémoire paraît avoir été lu par E. von Stern). [Depuis que ces pages ont été écrites, j'ai pu, grâce à l'obligeance de W. Vollgraf, prendre connaissance d'une étude de A. W. de Grook (*Elain. Mus.* 1917/1918, 446-463; 'Ptolemaeus des Sohn'), où la thèse de E. von Stern est vigoureusement battue en brèche.]

¹¹ Pol. xv, 23, 2; Schol. Theophr. xvii, 128 (p. 324, C. Wendel).

¹² L'hypothèse a été, pour la première fois, énoncée par Ad. Wilhelm, *Unt. gel. Anz.* 1898, 210.

¹³ Le mariage de Philadelphie et d'Arsinoé

se place entre 285 et 280 (J. Beloch, *Griech. Gesch.* iii, 2, 130); Ptolémée (Évergète) est né en 280 ou peu auparavant; la naissance de Lysimaque, son frère, est antérieure à 274 (cf. Beloch, *ibid.* 132).

¹⁴ Dittenberger, *Syllog.*, 588; Il. 94-95; 188 est la date établie par F. Dürbach. Cf. Ad. Wilhelm, *Gott. gel. Anz.* 1898, 211.

¹⁵ Liv. (Pol.) 37, 56, 4-5. J'ai été le premier, je crois, à appeler l'attention sur ce texte: *Rev. de Philol.* 1894, 119 *sup.*

¹⁶ Voir, notamment, *Hermes*, *ibid.* 442.

¹⁷ Ad. Wilhelm, *ibid.*

¹⁸ Je ne sais si l'inscription hiéroglyphique et demotique de Thèbes [et non de Komos, Sottas], où est nommé 'Lysimachos, stratège, frère des rois' (Krahl, *Sitzber. Wien. Akad.* 1884, 366-368; cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. des Lagides*, i, 162, 2; 283, 3; iii, 129, 2), se rapporte, comme je l'ai cru sur la foi de Krahl, au frère d'Évergète (*Rev. Ét. ant.*

mort par le fameux Sosibios, le tout-puissant ministre d'Évergètes, puis de Philopator.¹⁹ Voici ce que nous apprend là-dessus Polybe: (xv. 25. 2) καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἀργῦσαι (Sosibium) φόνον Λυσισμάχου, ὃς ἦν υἱὸς Ἀρσινόης τῆς Λυσιμάχου καὶ Πτολεμαίου (II), δευτέρῳ δὲ Μάγῳ τῷ Πτολεμαίου (II) καὶ Βερενίῃ τῇ Μάγῳ, τρίτῳ δὲ Βερενίᾳ τῇ Πτολεμαίου μητρὶ τοῦ Φιλοπατορος, τετάρτῳ Κλεομένει τῷ Σπαρτιάτῃ, πέμπτῳ θυγατρὶ Βερενίης Ἀρσινόῃ. — Quand mourut Lysimaque? On suppose d'ordinaire que Sosibios le fit périr en même temps que Magas et Bérénice, c'est-à-dire presque aussitôt après l'avènement de Philopator. Pourtant, ceci ne ressort point nécessairement du texte de Polybe: ce texte indique seulement que le meurtre de Lysimaque précéda ceux de Magas et de Bérénice. Il se pourrait qu'il les eût précédés de longtemps; il se pourrait dès lors que Lysimaque eût été mis à mort dès le règne d'Évergètes. C'est une hypothèse que j'ai autrefois énoncée;²⁰ je la regarde, encore aujourd'hui, comme plausible. Mais, pour simplifier les choses, nous pouvons négliger ce point et nous en tenir à l'opinion courante. Pour l'objet qui nous occupe, il importe, après tout, assez peu de connaître l'époque exacte de la mort de Lysimaque.

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

νήπιος ὃς πατέρα κτεῖρας υἱὸς καταλείπει.²¹

Les mêmes motifs qui déterminèrent Sosibios à supprimer Lysimaque le devaient décider aussi à se débarrasser de Ptolémée. Je ne vais pas, cependant, jusqu'à exiger qu'il le fit tuer; je n'ai pas l'âme si cruelle. Mais je soutiens qu'il devait, à tout le moins, le mettre 'hors d'état de nuire,' c'est-à-dire le séquestrer et le resserrer étroitement, comme on sait, par exemple, qu'il fit pour Cléomènes.²² Car il est trop clair que, ne fût-ce qu'en raison de son âge,

1912, 374 et note 7). Spiegelberg (*Denkm. ägypt.* 54) est d'avis, comme Wiedemann (*Philol.* 1888, 90) et Strack (*Dynast.* 95, 5), qu'il en faut abaisser considérablement la date, en raison surtout de l'expression 'frère des rois,' qui impliquerait l'existence d'une 'Mit. oder Sammlerthron.' Cependant M. Sottas a eu l'obligeance de me faire savoir que rien dans l'inscription ne 'milite en faveur d'un abaissement de la date' d'abord adoptée.

¹⁹ Que Sosibios ait été au pouvoir dès le règne d'Évergètes, c'est ce qu'à, le premier, vu J. Börsch (*Griech. Gesch.* III, 1, 713), et ce qu'a confirmé le décret voté par les Déliens en son honneur (*IG*, XI, 4, 640); cf. Börsch, *Rev. Ét. anc.* 1912, 370 *sup.*

²⁰ C'est à tort, toutefois, que j'avais

voulu tirer argument de l'absence du nom de Lysimaque sur l'esclave consacré, à Thermos, par les Attoliers à Ptolémée Évergète et à ses proches (G. Sotiriadis, *Εφημ. ἀρχ.* 1905, 96-94). Ce monument est incomplet; au témoignage de G. Sotiriadis, il y manque deux pierres (ibid. 90 et 92); le nom de Lysimaque pouvait être gravé sur l'une d'elles.

²¹ Vers de Stasmos, cité par Polybe, xiii. 10, 10.

²² Sosibios en aurait usé de même à l'égard de Bérénice, si l'on en croit Zénonides (iii. 94; dans Leutsch, *Pyrronischer. Gr.* 81), dont Niess (ii. 361) accepte le témoignage. La reine aurait été internée dans son palais, et s'y serait empoisonnée.

Ptolémée était plus à craindre que Lysimaque. Et il ne pouvait échapper à personne que la mort même de Lysimaque aurait pour effet nécessaire de le rendre particulièrement redoutable : à moins de l'imaginer dénaturé, comment ce fils n'eût-il point eu à cœur de venger son père ? D'autre part, Lysimaque et Magas une fois disparus, Ptolémée, en sa qualité de cousin de Philopator, se trouvait être l'unique héritier de l'empire. Le tentation ne lui viendrait-elle pas, avant que Philopator fût marié,²² avant qu'il eût un fils, de se mettre en possession d'un si bel héritage ? Si Sosibios n'a point fait des réflexions si simples ; si, en 221-220, après la mort de Lysimaque et de Magas, il a souffert que le neveu d'Évergète demeurât tranquille à Telmessos, j'avoue ne rien comprendre à sa conduite. Polybe vante son ἀγχίνοια :²³ cet homme 'subtil' m'a plutôt l'air d'un sot.

Qu'on n'aille point dire, en effet, que, résidant en Lycie, loin de l'Égypte, Ptolémée était par là même devenu inoffensif. C'est justement loin de l'Égypte qu'il lui était loisible de préparer de longue main et de machiner à l'aise quelque coup dangereux contre le roi régnant. La rébellion du 'fils' de Philadelphie avait naguère fait voir ce que pouvait tenter en Asie un prince entreprenant. Et l'on se rappelle les inquiétudes si raisonnables que Polybe prête à Sosibios, en 220, lorsqu'il s'agit de renvoyer Kléomènes en Grèce : (v. 35, 9) ἡγωνίων (οἱ περὶ Σωσιβίου) μὴ ποτε — — βαρὺς καὶ φοβερός αὐτὸς ὁ Κλεομένης ἀνταγωνιστὴς σφίσι γένηται, (10) — — θεωρῶν — — πολλά τὰ παρακρέμμενα μέρη καὶ μακρὰν ἀπεισπασμένην τῆς βασιλείας καὶ πολλὰς ἀφορμὰς ἔχοντα πρὸς πραγμάτων λόγον (11) καὶ γὰρ ναῦς ἐν τοῖς κατὰ Σάμον ἦσαν τόποις οὐκ ἀλλοίαι καὶ στρατιωτῶν πλῆθος ἐν τοῖς κατ' Ἐφεσον. Si peu digne que fût le principule de Telmessos d'être comparé à l'héroïque roi de Sparte, son séjour en Lycie était propre à faire naître des appréhensions de même sorte. . . . Lui aussi pouvait jeter du côté d'Éphèse et de Samos des regards indiscrets.

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

Car, à partir de ce moment, c'est à Ptolémée de Telmessos, comme au seul agnat survivant de la famille royale, qu'appartiennent légalement les fonctions d'ἐπίτροπος et de régent, aussi longtemps que durera la minorité d'Épiphanes.²⁴ On sait que, pour s'assurer le pouvoir pendant cette minorité, Agathoklès et Sosibios jugèrent bon de supprimer la reine-mère Arsinoé et de fabriquer un testament,²⁵ attribué à Philopator, par lequel le roi défunt leur confiait la

²² Le mariage de Philopator avec sa sœur Arsinoé (III) fut, comme on sait, tardif (cf. Pol. xv, 25, 9) ; il est certainement postérieur à l'année 217 ; cf. Niese, il. 405-406 ; Strack, *Dynastie des Ptolem.* 194, 14.

²³ Pol. xv, 25, 1 ; 34, 4.

²⁴ Sur les règles en vigueur dans les monarchies macédoniennes, concernant la régence et la tutelle du roi, au cas où celui-ci est mineur, voir J. Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.* III, 1, 384 ; E. Baccin, *Il diritto*

dinastico, etc. (*Studi di Stor. ant.* IV), 57 sqq. ; 74. — On observera que le rapport de parenté est exactement le même entre Ptolémée, fils de Lysimaque (à supposer que Lysimaque soit le frère d'Évergète), et Ptolémée Épiphanes, qu'entre Antigone Dossén et Philippe V.

²⁵ Pol. xv, 25, 5 : καθάπερ τὰς παρασκευασθεῖς (δοσίδους καὶ ἀποδοχὰς) καταλαμύειν, ἐν ᾧ γερμαίνοντες ἦν οἱ καταλείπειν τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκτερόνους ἢ βασιλεῖς Ἀγαθokλῆς καὶ Σωσιβίου.

tutelle de son fils. Mais, cependant, à quoi bon ce crime et cette fraude, si Ptolémée, neveu d'Évergète et par conséquent cousin de Philopator, continue d'exister? C'est avec lui qu'ont d'abord à compter Agathoklès et Sosibios. L'assassinat d'Arsinoë ne s'explique que si la reine est le principal obstacle entre eux et la régence.²⁷ Le testament supposé de Philopator n'a pareillement de raison d'être que si toute la parenté masculine d'Épiphanes est éteinte; il est absurde dans le cas contraire. Pourquoi, le fils de Lysimaque étant toujours en vie, Agathoklès et Sosibios auraient-ils eu recours à cette inutile supercherie? Comment se seraient-ils flattés que les Alexandrins, d'ailleurs si mal disposés pour Agathoklès,²⁸ s'y pourraient laisser prendre? Il est trop évident que la pièce est apocryphe, puisqu'elle confère la qualité de tuteurs du roi à deux particuliers, au détriment du dernier prince du sang, c'est-à-dire en violation du droit monarchique: cette naïve imposture est la meilleure preuve qu'Agathoklès et Sosibios ne sont, pour parler comme Polybe, que des *ψευδοστράτορες*.²⁹ Et, d'autre part, une fois Agathoklès renversé, comment la régence passe-t-elle après lui, d'abord à Tépolémos, puis à Aristomènes?³⁰ Comment ces deux personnages, qui, très différents d'Agathoklès et de Sosibios, sont de loyaux serviteurs de la couronne, usurpent-ils cette dignité sur le prince parent d'Épiphanes? Et, enfin, comment celui-ci, au lendemain de la mort de Philopator et pendant les années suivantes, se laisse-t-il si benoîtement déposer, souffre-t-il d'une âme si égale qu'on le tienne à l'écart, et ne tente-t-il rien pour faire valoir ses droits?³¹ Comment, dans cette période agitée de l'histoire d'Égypte, n'est-il jamais parlé de lui?

Résumons ces observations. Si, comme le veut E. von Stern, Ptolémée fils de Lysimaque, seigneur de Telmessos, est le neveu d'Évergète, il faut qu'il entre dans l'ombre dès 220, il faut surtout qu'il meure en 203³² au plus tard: autrement, on se heurte à d'intolérables paradoxes historiques, ou mieux, à de radicales impossibilités. Mais E. von Stern admet—et son système l'oblige d'admettre—que le fils de Lysimaque régnait encore sur Telmessos en 189/8,

²⁷ À défaut d'agnat dans la ligne masculine, et si le roi défunt n'a pas institué par testament de conseil de régence, la tutelle du roi mineur et la régence sont ordinairement dévolues à la reine-mère; cf. E. Breena, *ibid.* 14.—La lecture de Polybe (xv, 25, 8; 25, 12; 26a) ne permet pas de douter qu'Arsinoë ait été assassinée après la mort de Philopator; la vérité, sur ce point, a été vue par Bouché-Leclercq (*Hist. des Lagides*, I, 338-339), qui toutefois, s'est étrangement mépris sur le sens des mots (Pol. xv, 26a, 1): *εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ἡ βασιλείαν*, lesquels signifiaient selon lui «sauver la reine».

²⁸ Cf. Pol. xv, 25, 10; 25, 23-25.

²⁹ Pol. xv, 25, 1.

³⁰ Pol. xvi, 21-22 (régence de Tépolémos); xv, 31, 7; xviii, 53-54 (régence d'Aristomènes).

³¹ Il faut prêter attention à ce passage

de Pol. xv, 25, 25: *τὸ δὲ μὲν ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐπιφανοῦς ἐξέχεται τὸ ἐπικρατοῦναι, καὶ δὲ αὐτὸ τοῦ ἰσχυροῦς ἐν τῇ Ἀγathoklῆς καὶ τῇ Ἀγathoklῆος ἀπειροῦναι (οὐ καλλῶν), τὸ δὲ ἰσχυρὸν ἔχει, τοῦ μὲν ἄλλα κατασκευάσας τὴν αὐτὴν τὴν ταχίστην καὶ ταύτην ἐπικρατοῦναι. Comment expliquer ce langage, s'il existe en ce moment un prince, proche parent du roi, qui peut et doit exercer le pouvoir en son nom? Comment les Alexandrins ne mettent-ils point en lui leurs espoirs, et comment n'est-il point à la tête de l'opposition qui se forme contre Agathoklès?*

³² C'est à l'automne de 203, comme je l'ai indiqué maintes fois, que mourut Philopator, ou, tout au moins, que sa mort fut révélée au public. (Il m'a été très agréable de constater tout récemment que Ad. Wilhelm a donné à cette opinion l'appui de sa grande autorité; *Anteig. der. Wiss. Abh.* 1920, xvii-xxvii, 55 sqq.)

Nous devons, en ce cas, renoncer à rien attendre à l'histoire intérieure de l'Égypte dans le temps qui suit la mort de Philopator. Cette histoire devient intelligible si, à la fin du III^e siècle, le prince de Telmessos est le cousin d'Épiphanes, ou, simplement, s'il est un Lagide.²³ C'est la preuve par l'absurde que le système est faux. Je ne sais, et personne ne sait, si Lysimaque, frère d'Évergètes, eut un fils appelé Ptolémée; mais, à coup sûr, ce fils n'était point le personnage célébré par le décret des Telmessiens. Et, dès lors, quel sera le père de celui-ci, sinon Lysimaque roi de Thrace? Pour échapper à cette conclusion, qui paraît nécessaire, inventera-t-on un troisième Lysimaque— inconnu de l'histoire?

Je crois donc, après examen, devoir m'en tenir à ma première opinion. 'Liegt sonst eine Nötigung vor,' écrit E. von Stern,²⁴ 'das Dekret der Telmessier auf den Sohn des Diadochen Lysimachos zu beziehen?' Il répond à cette question par un 'striktos nein'. Je pense avoir montré qu'il faut répondre par l'affirmative.

II.

Je dois discuter maintenant certaines critiques qu'a soulevées mon interprétation du mot *ἐπίγονος* joint au nom de Ptolémée.

Ce mot, ai-je dit, est une épithète, un surnom. Ptolémée, fils de Lysimaque, est appelé Ptolémée l' 'Épigone.' Il est dès lors le fils de Lysimaque, roi de Thrace: en effet, les 'Épigones' sont les fils des 'Diadoques'.²⁵

On a jugé que cette interprétation d'*ἐπίγονος* était un anachronisme, et que j'attribuais naïvement à ce mot un sens qu'il n'a pris que de nos jours. 'Nulla ci obbliga,' écrivait le regretté E. Pozzi,²⁶ 'a dare in questo caso alla parola *ἐπίγονος* il senso determinato e, direi, tecnico, con cui essa è adoperata ora nella storia ellenistica.' Et Bouché-Leclercq craint pareillement que je ne sois victime d'une 'illusion.' 'Nous sommes habitués,' dit-il,²⁷ 'à appeler "épigones" les fils des "diadoques": mais il faudrait démontrer que cette expression, employée une fois par Diodore (l. 3),²⁸ . . . était en usage au temps où vivait

²³ C'est pourquoi, à supposer que la chronologie le permette, on ne gagnerait rien, dans le système de von Stern, à faire de *Ptolemaeus Telmessius* (identique au *Πτολεμαῖος Τελμεσίης* de Délos) l'arrière petit-fils, et non le fils, du frère d'Évergètes. Il n'est pas possible que la dynastie de Telmessos soit un rameau de la famille royale d'Égypte.

²⁴ *Hermes*, *ibid.* 440.

²⁵ Je n'ai pas besoin de dire que je renonce maintenant à tirer argument de l'épigramme de Créide, *Anc. Greek inscr.* 797. L'interprétation de H. Usener (*Rhein. Mus.* 1874, 25 *esp.* = *Kl. Schriften*, iii, p. xxv, 382 *esp.*), qui, je l'avoue, m'avait longtemps séduit, doit être définitivement abandonnée. Il est certain aujourd'hui qu'*Ἀσπίονος*, le surnom *Ἐργέτης*, était un

simple particulier. C'est ce qu'avait vu, dès 1896, comme je m'en suis aperçu trop tard, W. R. Paton, *Rev. Ét. gr.* 1896, 422, 1. Cf. A. Rehm, *Delphinion*, 299, n. 138, E. von Stern, *Hermes*, *ibid.* 439, et aussi W. W. Tarn, *J.H.S.* 1910, 214-215. Wilamowitz, *Textgesch. der griech. Büchhalter*, 200.—Il est surprenant que l'hypothèse d'Usener ait été encore acceptée en 1912, par W. Bettingen, *König Antigonus Doson von Makedonien* (dis. Iena, 1912), 23 et note 6.

²⁶ E. Pozzi, *Mem. Accad. di Torino*, 1911/1912, 345, 3 *esf.*

²⁷ Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. des Lagides*, iv, 312.

²⁸ Il y a là une forte erreur. Bouché-Leclercq oublie Dionys. Hal. *Arch.* i, 6, *Suid.* s.v. *Νίπασ* et Strab. xv, 736; d'autre part, il ne voit pas que, dans l. 3, 3, Diodore

notre "épigone." C'est un de ces termes de synthèse historique qui ne s'emploient qu'après coup, pour grouper les faits dans la perspective. . . .

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

Comme je l'avais rappelé et comme en convient E. von Stern—au lieu que Bouché-Leclercq l'oublie—le mot *ἐπίγονοι* a été employé, dans la première moitié de ce siècle, par Nymphis d'Héracléia et Hiéronyme de Kardia, pour désigner les fils et rejetons des Diadoques. Le premier composa un ouvrage *περὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ τῶν διαδόχων καὶ ἐπιγόνων*, le second, une histoire intitulée *ἱστορίαι τῶν διαδόχων καὶ ἐπιγόνων*.³⁹ Il n'est pas très vraisemblable que ces deux écrivains aient introduit chacun, dans le titre de son livre, un terme que les lecteurs eussent eu peine à entendre. Si, travaillant à l'écart l'un de l'autre, ils se sont rencontrés pour faire du mot *ἐπίγονοι* le même usage très particulier, c'est, je pense, qu'autour d'eux cet usage était établi; c'est qu'on avait, de leur temps, accoutumé d'appeler "Épigones" les descendants des Diadoques. Or, le temps où ils écrivaient était précisément celui où vivait Ptolémée de Telmessos. Je veux bien, comme l'assure Bouché-Leclercq, qu'"épigones" soit "un de ces termes de synthèse historique qui ne s'emploient que pour grouper les faits dans la perspective." Je constate seulement que ce "terme de synthèse historique"—où je verrais beaucoup plus volontiers, je l'avoue, une appellation d'origine érudite (cf. ci-après)—eut la vogue de bonne heure.

Si l'on en fit emploi, ce ne fut point peut-être par un pressant besoin de "grouper les faits dans la perspective"; ce fut plutôt, je crois, par esprit d'imitation. J'avais rappelé à ce propos⁴⁰ le nom d'*ἐπίγονοι*, donné par Alexandre à la seconde génération de ses soldats et aux jeunes recrues barbares de son armée.⁴¹ E. von Stern estime le rapprochement oiseux. Selon lui, la dénomination d'"Épigones" appliquée aux descendants des Diadoques est la chose du monde la plus naturelle; il n'y a rien là que de conforme au sens primitif et habituel du mot *ἐπίγονος*: "Die Bezeichnung entspricht dem Wortsinne von *ἐπίγονος* und ist ganz naturgemäss."⁴² Bouché-Leclercq était du même avis: "Il n'y a pas lieu d'invoquer comme précédent les *ἐπίγονοι* d'Alexandre."⁴³ Je persiste à croire, au contraire, que le "précédent" est

renvoie aux anciens auteurs qui se rattachent à la tradition des *ἐπίγονοι* à *τοὺς ἐκγόνοις καὶ ἐκτετακτοῖς τῶν ἐκείνων*.

³⁹ Pour les références, voir B.C.H. 1904, 412, 4; W. W. Tarn, J.H.S. 1910, 215, 38; E. von Stern, *Hermes*, *ibid.* 440. Je ne crois pas devoir partager les doutes de F. Jacoby (P.-W. viii. 1547) sur le titre de l'ouvrage de Hiéronyme.

⁴⁰ B.C.H. 1904, 412.

⁴¹ Sur la question, voir, en dernier lieu, J. Lesquier, *Instit. milit. de l'Égypte sous*

les Lagides, 32, 55, 62; cf. G. Schubart, *Quæst. de reb. milit., quales fuerint in regno Lagidarum*, 32-33.

⁴² E. von Stern, *Hermes*, *ibid.* 439.

⁴³ Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. des Lagides*, iv, 312.—Bouché-Leclercq et E. von Stern, celui-ci reproduisant une phrase de Bouché-Leclercq (*Hist. des Lagides*, *ibid.*), me reprochent d'avoir parlé hors de propos (cf. B.C.H. 1904, 412, 3) des *ἱπποὶ ἐκγόνοι* de l'armée lagide. J'ai seulement fait allusion, en général, non aux *ἱπποὶ ἐκ-*

des plus instructifs. Mais, pour le faire entendre, il me faut insister quelque peu sur l'histoire, mal connue, semble-t-il, du mot *ἐπίγονος*.

Il est bien vrai qu'en raison de l'étymologie, ce mot signifie *post natus*, et peut, par conséquent, avoir le sens soit de 'descendant' (*posterus*; cf. *ἐπιγενόμενος*, *οἱ ἐπιγενόμενοι*), soit de 'puîné.' Il en est exactement de *ἐπίγονος*, comme de *πρόγονος*; ce sont termes correspondants et qui s'opposent. L'un désigne simplement le *minor*, comme l'autre le *maior natus*, que la comparaison porte sur des personnes appartenant à des générations successives ou à la même génération.⁴⁴ Dans le premier cas, les *πρόγονοι* sont les représentants des générations antérieures à celle que l'on considère, donc ses 'ascendants', ses 'ancêtres'; Inversement, les *ἐπίγονοι* en sont la 'postérité.' Dans le second cas, c'est-à-dire à l'intérieur d'une même génération, le qualificatif de *πρόγονος* marque la primogéniture: c'est ainsi que le fils aîné peut être dit (*ὁ υἱὸς ὁ πρόγονος*;⁴⁵ pareillement, *ἐπίγονος* pourra se dire du fils puîné. —Mais, ceci reconnu, on peut douter que, pris au sens soit de 'puîné,' soit de 'descendant,' ou, plus généralement, de *post natus*, le mot *ἐπίγονος* soit jamais entré dans l'usage ordinaire. Ce qui est sûr, en tout cas, c'est que, s'il a d'abord eu cette large acception, il est devenu très vite une sorte de nom propre collectif, employé seulement au pluriel, dont la signification, singulièrement restreinte, a été fixée une fois pour toutes.

Dans la grécité classique, les *ἐπίγονοι* sont expressément, et l'on peut dire exclusivement, les fils des Sept-Chefs célébrés par l'Épopée thébaine. Le terme ne se rencontre qu'au sens étroit qu'il avait reçu des Cycliques. Il appartient, jusqu'aux temps alexandrins, au vocabulaire épique. 'Descendant' s'est dit, en grec, ou bien *ἐκγονος*, ou bien *ἀπὸγονος*, ou bien *ἐπιγενόμενος*, mais non point *ἐπίγονος*; les Grecs ne connaissent pas d' 'épigones' en dehors des 'Épigones' légendaires.⁴⁶

ἐπίγονοι, mais aux hommes dits τῶν ἐπίγονων; et tout ce que j'ai voulu indiquer, c'est que la même idée, qui a suggéré l'appellation *ἐπίγονοι*, se retrouve aussi, semble-t-il, dans l'expression τῶν ἐπίγονων. C'est un point qui paraît aujourd'hui hors de doute; cf. J. Lesquier, *ibid.* 55 sqq. [La signification, si contestée, du terme τῶν ἐπίγονων vient tout dernièrement d'être fixée par U. Wilken (*Arch. f. Pap.forsch.* vi. 368). Il est désormais acquis qu'il désigne les fils de soldats (*εὐπορίαι*), nés en Égypte, jusqu'au moment où ils entrent dans l'armée et deviennent eux-mêmes soldats. Voilà qui rappelle nécessairement les *εὐπορίαι* instituées par Alexandre, les *Epigoni*, dont parle Justin (12, 4, 5 sqq.).]

⁴⁴ Cf. les remarques de E. von Stern, *Hermes*, *ibid.* 440.

⁴⁵ Voir, par exemple, un décret de Kalykum: *Dial. inschr.* 3553, ll. 7-9.

⁴⁶ M. Paul Mazon, que je ne saurais assez remercier de son obligeance, a bien

voulu, à ma prière, relever tous les passages des auteurs classiques où le mot *ἐπίγονοι* ne désigne point les fils des Sept. Ces passages se réduisent à cinq. Et, dans deux seulement (1 et 5), *ἐπίγονοι* a le sens plus ou moins net de 'descendants'; dans un seulement (4), un sens approchant de celui de 'puîné.'

1°. *Aesch. Sept.* 903: *οἷον ἄνθρωποι ἐπίγονοι, ὅς τις αἰσώμενος* [δὲ καὶ ἀνέστη τῶν]. Le poète ne parle point ici des 'Épigones.' Étéocle et Polydore ne laissent point de postérité (cf. 828). Il ne s'agit donc pas de leurs descendants, mais des générations suivantes en général. Eschyle, toutefois, se sert ici du terme par lequel la tradition désignait les fils des Sept-Chefs, les *Epigones*. Il ne peut se déjuger entièrement des souvenirs de l'Épopée... (P. Mazon, *Eschyle*, I, éd. Guill. Budé, 1920, p. 141, n. 2, de la traduction).

2°. *Plat. Leg.* v. 749c: —*ὅς τις ἐπὶ τῶν ἁλίστων χρόνων, ὃ καλεῖται ἐπίγονοι γίγνεται* θάλας ὃ τινος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐκείνου κ.τ.λ.—3°. *xi.*

Appliqué, soit aux recrues d'Alexandre, soit aux princes issus des Diadoques, le qualificatif d'*ἐπὶ τοῖσι* n'a donc point été tiré de la langue commune — pour la bonne raison qu'il était étranger à cette langue. Il n'est pas dérivé simplement du 'Wortsinn' comme l'a pensé E. von Stern : car le 'Wortsinn' était oublié. Dans les deux cas, il est d'origine littéraire; dans les deux cas, il n'y faut voir qu'une réminiscence des vieilles épopées. Et l'on observera, qu'en effet, dans les deux cas, conformément à l'usage des poètes, le mot garde son caractère de nom propre collectif, réservé, bien que transmissible par hérédité, à une catégorie limitée de personnes.

C'est Alexandre qui, le premier, s'inspirant directement des souvenirs épiques, rajeunit ainsi l'antique expression par une application nouvelle; il en fit un vocable militaire: ses vétérans, comme jadis les Sept, eurent leurs 'Épigones.' Après lui et sur l'exemple qu'il avait donné, 'Épigones' devint, en Égypte, le nom de jeunes soldats, fils eux-mêmes de soldats.⁴⁷ Rien que de naturel, semble-t-il, si, vers le même temps, on se servit du même terme pour désigner la postérité des généraux macédoniens, compagnons d'armes du conquérant. Dès qu'on se réfère à l'emploi analogue et tout récent fait par Alexandre du mot *ἐπίγονοι*, cette dernière appellation s'explique aisément. Si, au contraire, on écarte et néglige ce 'précédent,' on crée une difficulté inutile: car il s'agit alors de savoir comment l'idée put naître de donner aux fils et descendants des Diadoques, en le détournant de l'usage consacré par la tradition, le nom archaïque, poétique et, comme tel, passablement imprévu d' 'Épigones.' Et, par surcroît, il devient nécessaire d'admettre

0200: ἀπογενεσθῆναι ὅτι ἂν τις θεὸς εἴη
 ἢ ἀνθρώπος ὅτις αὐτὸν ποιῶντος, πᾶσι τοῖς
 ἀπογόνους ἀνακαταστήσει καὶ ἂν τις ἀνθρώπος
 ἐπιγενέσθαι καὶ τοῦτον. — Dans nos deux
 passages, le mot ἐπίγονος ne signifie ni
 'descendants' ni 'pousses': il est pris
 dans une acception toute particulière:
 'sunt filii post herodes legitimus nati et
 sufficientem numerum numerum excedentes,
 qui hanc ipsam ob causam in coloniam
 mittuntur' (T. Mitchell, *Ind. græc. Platon.*
 I. 276): 'post natum, praeoptime, qui post
 herodes legitimus natus est' (Fr. Aët., *Lex.*
 Platon. I. 771). Platon entend ici par
 ἀπογονοὶ les enfants nés 'par surcroît,' en
 sus des héritiers légaux. C'est un sens que
 l'étymologie autorise, mais qui est d'ailleurs
 sans exemple.

4°. Texte attribué par von Steud (*Hermes*, vol. 440) à Platon sur la foi du *Theaetetus* avec la référence fautive *Leg.* v. 746c, mais qui, en réalité, n'est point de Platon; il se trouve dans Pollux, III, 25, sans indication d'origine: *ἐν δὲ καὶ τὸ ἀποφαινεῖν αὐτὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀντιθέτου ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀποφαινεῖν αὐτὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀντιθέτου*. Il est visible que l'auteur inconnu, à qui est empruntée cette phrase, propose d'attribuer au terme *ἐπὶ ἀποφαινεῖν* une signification quelque peu différente de celle

qui se tire naturellement de l'étymologie. Ce terme servirait à désigner, moins le fils puîné, que le fils du second lit par opposition à celui du premier.

3. Xenoph. Oecon. vii, 34:—καὶ τοὶ γενο-
μένοι οὕτως ἐπιμαίμεν (opium rogatu) δι-
εσπάρτατοι ἐνθάδε διὰ διεσπάρθαι καὶ διευνοῦναι αἱ
μικταὶ γλώτται. Ἀποκρίναι αὐτοὺς οὐκ οὐκ
ἐννοῦμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς. La leçon ἐνθάδε a
été contestée; cf. Sturz, Lex. Xenoph. ii, 272,
s.v.: 'all. ἐμπέριον.' Si on la maintient,
il n'est pas douteux que le mot signifie :
"la génération envahie." [Dans le Rhein-
Mus. 1917/1918, 617, O. Kiota écrit,
à propos du passage d'Eschyle cité plus haut :
"Also ist das Wort ἐνθαπερ, dessen Bedeu-
tung ja nicht auf diese Helden beschränkt
ist, sondern das der lebendigen Sprache
angehört, allgemein zu fassen. C'est la
thèse même de E. von Stern, mais les faits
de la conformation pas : ἐνθαπερ n'appartient
pas à la "lebendigen Sprache."]

⁴⁷ Cf. Pol. v. 65, 10. — Sur la question, J. Lesquier, 53: "Quelques rares papyrus... emploient le mot *εἰρηναῖος* pour désigner une catégorie de soldats. Il n'y a pas de raison de tenir ces *εἰρηναῖοι* pour différents de ceux que l'on connaît sous les historiens d'Alexandre, etc."

qu'on fit, à la suite d'Alexandre, sans pourtant l'imiter, justement ce qu'il avait fait; qu'on eut, comme lui, mais indépendamment de lui, le caprice, assez étrange, d'aller chercher dans le vocabulaire de l'épopée, pour la transporter à des contemporains, une dénomination qui, jusque là, semblait appartenir en propre à des personnages héroïques. Une telle rencontre serait trop singulière. Quoi qu'ait pensé von Stern, entre les *ἐπίγονοι* (fils de soldats), ressuscités par Alexandre, et ceux (fils et descendants des Diadoques), dont les écrivains, comme Nymphis et Hiéronymos, ont conté l'histoire, il existe une relation directe. C'est aux premiers que les seconds doivent leur nom. La répétition est ici signe d'imitation.

À présent, je reconnais volontiers que j'avais donné du mot *ἐπίγονοι*, tel qu'on l'employa au III^e siècle, une interprétation 'trop étroite';⁴⁸ que ce nom a désigné, comme le montrent précisément les titres des ouvrages de Nymphis et de Hiéronymos, non seulement les fils, mais encore les petits-fils des Diadoques; que, par suite, donné à *Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Ἀνσιμάχου*, il n'implique pas nécessairement que ce personnage fût le fils d'un Diadoque, et ne saurait donc fournir la preuve que Lysimaque, son père, fût le roi de Thrace. Sur ce point les critiques de E. von Stern sont fondées. Du fait que *Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Ἀνσιμάχου* est dit l'Épigone, j'avais conclu à tort que son père ne pouvait être que le grand Lysimaque. — Mais, à son tour, von Stern devrait m'accorder que si *Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Ἀνσιμάχου* est le fils du Diadoque Lysimaque, la qualification d'*ἐπίγονος* lui convient parfaitement: ⁴⁹ car, si l'on en a fait usage pour désigner les petits-fils ou même tous les rejetons des Diadoques aussi bien que leurs fils, c'est cependant à ceux-ci qu'elle s'est d'abord appliquée et c'est sans doute pour eux qu'on la remit en honneur.

Au contraire, les choses iront beaucoup moins bien si Ptolémée a pour père Lysimaque, frère d'Évergète. En ce cas, j'ai peine à comprendre qu'on ait tenu à inscrire à la suite de son nom, dans le décret de Telmessos, l'épithète honorifique d'*ἐπίγονος*. Car si Ptolémée n'est un 'Épigone' qu'à la troisième génération, si son père et son aïeul l'ont été avant lui, l'épithète n'a plus rien de caractéristique et perd singulièrement de son intérêt. À la vérité, selon E. von Stern,⁵⁰ *ἐπίγονος* équivaldrait ici à 'der Jüngere, der Nachgeborene, der Neffe des Energetes': on aurait appelé de la sorte le fils de Lysimaque pour le distinguer de son oncle, le roi Ptolémée III. Mais, nous l'avons dit, *ἐπίγονος* n'a point en grec le sens usuel de 'Nachgeborene' (*post natus*). Et, d'autre part, la précaution qu' imagine E. von Stern aurait été bien superflue. À qui fût-il venu à l'esprit de confondre les deux Ptolémées? Le décret des Telmessiens est rédigé de façon si claire qu'il exclut toute équivoque. Au surplus, pour faire entendre cette chose si simple que Ptolémée, fils de Lysimaque,

⁴⁸ Cf. E. von Stern, *Hermes*, *ibid.* 440.

⁴⁹ J'avoue ne pas bien entendre l'objection formulée par E. von Stern en ces termes (*ibid.* 441): 'befremdend müsste das Epitheton sein, wenn damit der viel ältere Ptolemaios, des Diadochen Lysimachos Sohn, der dergleichen Generation wie Ptolemaios Philadelphos angehörte, dem König Energetes gegenübergestellt

und von ihm unterschieden sein sollte.' À mon avis, les rédacteurs du décret ne se sont nullement proposés de distinguer *Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Ἀνσιμάχου* de Ptolémée Évergète; cette opinion est particulière à mon contradicteur (et ci-après). Par suite, je ne vois pas du tout pourquoi l'épithète donnée au fils de Lysimaque serait 'befremdend.'

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* 441.

était 'le neveu de son oncle,' pourquoi se fût-on servi de ce terme inattendu d'*ἐπίγονος*? N'eût-il point été préférable d'écrire *Πτολεμαῖον τὸν ἀδελφιδεόν*? J'ajoute qu'*ἐπίγονος*, au sens (d'ailleurs inusité) où le prend E. von Stern, serait sans doute propre à désigner le descendant par rapport à l'ascendant, le fils par rapport au père, le frère puîné par rapport à l'aîné; en revanche, il s'en faut qu'il soit heureusement choisi s'il s'agit d'un neveu qu'on oppose à son oncle: car, en pareil cas, l'ordre de primogéniture n'a rien d'évident, un oncle pouvant être moins âgé que son neveu. Ce serait la première fois, je pense, qu'on en aurait fait ce douteux emploi. Et puis enfin, si *ἐπίγονος* avait la signification qui lui est ici prêtée, n'est-ce pas plutôt *τὸν ἐπίγονον* qu'il eût convenu d'écrire?

Pour moi, il me semble évident qu'il existe une correspondance exacte entre ces deux appellations, *Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λυσιμάχου*, *Πτολεμαῖος ἐπίγονος*, données simultanément à la même personne. Elles doivent s'expliquer l'une par l'autre. La seconde s'explique en effet, et très simplement, si, dans la première, Lysimaque est le Diadoque roi de Thrace. Dans le cas contraire, je ne vois guère comment l'interpréter.

III

J'examinerai, pour terminer, une difficulté,³¹ grave seulement en apparence, qui m'est opposée par E. von Stern.³²

Dans le décret des Telmessiens (l. 7-8), Ptolémée, fils de Lysimaque, est appelé *Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λυσιμάχου*. S'il avait pour père le roi Lysimaque, il devrait être dit *Πτολεμαῖος ὁ βασιλεὺς Λυσιμάχου*; l'omission du mot *βασιλεὺς* serait ici d'autant plus choquante que les Telmessiens, en rendant leur décret, ont pour objet de faire honneur au fils de Lysimaque, leur seigneur et bienfaiteur.

La réponse paraît aisée. Si les Telmessiens se proposent d'honorer Ptolémée, fils de Lysimaque, il est sûr, d'autre part, qu'ils n'ont garde de déplaire au roi d'Égypte, Ptolémée Evergète, auquel, en dernier ressort, ils se trouvent toujours dépendre, et qui, s'il n'est plus leur suzerain direct, demeure pourtant leur souverain. Cependant, ils n'ont pas donné son titre royal à Philadelphos, père d'Evergète. À la l. 9 du décret (cf. ll. 2-3), nous lisons: *παρὰ λαβὼν (Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λυσιμάχου) τῆς πόλεως παρὰ βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖον τοῦ Πτολεμαίου*. Et, sans doute, je n'ignore pas qu'une telle formule est autorisée par l'usage officiel; qu'il s'en rencontre de multiples exemples; et qu'on peut à la rigueur soutenir que le titre de *βασιλεὺς* est implicitement attribué au père dès qu'il l'est expressément au fils.³³ Mais il n'en demeure pas moins que la nomenclature protocolaire, employée parfois par Evergète

³¹ Elle ne m'était pas demeurée inaperçue (cf. *B.C.H.* 1904, 413, 3). Pour la résoudre, j'avais cru pouvoir m'autoriser de l'inventaire solien de Kallistratos, où le fils de Lysimaque aurait été dit simplement, comme dans le décret de Telmessos,

Πτολεμαῖος Λυσιμάχου. Or, vers 21-après, à l'Appendice, que c'était là une erreur et que, dans l'inventaire, Lysimaque porte toujours le titre royal.

³² *Hermes*, *ibid.* 441.

³³ Cf. E. von Stern, *Hermes*, *ibid.* 443.

lui-même, est βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου,⁴⁴ et que, pour faire court, les Telmessiens se sont dispensés de la reproduire : il leur a paru suffisant de donner son nom, sans titre, au second Ptolémée, qui n'était mort que depuis sept ans. Quoi d'étonnant qu'avec Lysimaque, mort depuis quarante ans, ils aient usé de la même liberté ? C'est le contraire qui serait singulier.

Mais, au surplus, il se peut que je n'aie pas su rendre raison de l'omission du titre royal devant le nom de Lysimaque ; il se peut que j'aie mal expliqué, dans le décret de Telmessos, la signification du terme ἐπίγονος ; quand j'aurais erré sur ces deux points, mes premières conclusions (ci-dessus, p. 188) n'en sauraient être aucunement affectées. Il resterait toujours vrai — et c'est par là que je veux finir — que, lors de l'avènement d'Épiphanes, la dynastie lagide n'avait plus, hormis lui, de représentant masculin ; que le prince qui régnait en ce temps-là sur Telmessos (que ce fût Πτολεμαῖος Λυσιμάχου premier du nom, c'est-à-dire l'« Épigone », ou un Πτολεμαῖος Λυσιμάχου second du nom, son petit-fils⁴⁵) n'appartenait donc pas à la famille royale ; qu'ainsi Ptolémée l'« Épigone » n'était pas le neveu d'Evergète. Et, là-dessus, je reviens à ma question : De quel Lysimaque l'« Épigone » a-t-il pu être fils, sinon de Lysimaque, roi de Thrace ?

M. HOLLEAUX.

APPENDICE

E. von Stern a cru possible de discerner, dans l'inventaire délien de Kallistratos, une mention du prétendu neveu d'Evergète, Ptolémée, fils de Lysimaque, prince de Telmessos, à côté de celles de Ptolémée, fils du roi Lysimaque.⁴⁶ Le premier se serait appelé Πτολεμαῖος Λυσιμάχου ; le second serait désigné par les mots : Πτολεμαῖος βασιλεὺς Λυσιμάχου, ou βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος Λυσιμάχου.

Afin de savoir une bonne fois ce que les textes de Délos sont susceptibles de nous apprendre et sur ce point particulier et sur l'ensemble de la question traitée dans ce mémoire, j'ai prié mon ami F. Dürbach, l'admirable éditeur des fasc. 2 et 3 du t. xi des *Inscr. Græcæ*, de vouloir bien me faire connaître, en y joignant ses observations, tous les documents provenant de Délos, où figure un Ptolémée, fils d'un Lysimaque. Je transcris ici, en le remerciant vivement de sa complaisance, la « consultation » qu'il a eu la bonté de m'adresser.

⁴⁴ Voir l'inscription d'Adulis (Dittenberger, *Or. gr. inscr.* 54), ll. 1-2 : βασιλεὺς μέγας Πτολεμαῖος, υἱὸς βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου καὶ βασιλέως Ἀρσινόης θυγατρὸς Ἀδελφῶν ; la dédicace du temple d'Isis à Philai (*ibid.* 61) : βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου καὶ Ἀρσινόης θυγατρὸς Ἀδελφῶν ; *Sylloge*, 462.

Cf., pour Ptolémée II, *ibid.* 26, 27 ; *Sylloge*, 433 ; pour Ptolémée IV, *ibid.* 76, 77, etc. — E. von Stern lui-même cite (*Hermes*, *ibid.* 441) sept inscriptions où le titre de βασιλεὺς est donné au roi défunt père du roi régnant.

⁴⁵ *Cf. B.C.H.* 1904, 415-416.

⁴⁶ *Hermes*, *ibid.*, 443-444.

I.

(1) Fragment d'inventaire un peu antérieur à celui de Démétrès [I.G. xi. 3. 427], l. 15: [φύλαι ἐν πλουθείαις || . . . μία Πτολεμαίων τοῦ Λυσιστράχου ἀνάθημα . . .].

(2) Autre fragment [I.G. xi. 3. 428], l. 7: la mention de la phiale, certaine à cette ligne, est entièrement restituée.

(3) Inventaire de Têlésarchidès II. [I.G. xi. 3. 439; date rectifiée: 181], 4, l. 85: texte identique à celui de l'inventaire de Démétrès.

(4) Inventaire de Démétrès [I.G. xi. 3. 442; date rectifiée: 179], B. II. 94-95: φύλαι ἐν πλουθείαις ||, ἐπεὶ τὸ θύμετρον ἔς ἔφασκε ἀνατίθηναι ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀρχῆς Χαλρίας καὶ Τελεσφόρουτος [date rectifiée: 188], μία Πτολεμαίων τοῦ Λυσιστράχου ἀνάθημα, ἄλλη Ἀντιπάτρου τοῦ Ἐπιγόνου.

(5) Inventaire de Xénotimos [I.G. xi. 3. 443; date rectifiée: 178], B. 6, II. 20-21: texte identique à celui de Démétrès, sauf omission de la formule ἔς ἔφασκε κ.τ.λ.

La phiale consacrée par Πτολεμαῖος Λυσιστράχου se retrouve dans les Inventaires attiques; mais elle y est séparée de celle d'Antipatros, et elle a changé de place. Voici deux mentions qui se complètent l'une l'autre.

(6) Inventaire Γ 307 (= P. Roussel, *Délos col. athén.*, 399, n. xxiii.), A. col. i. II. 28-29: [ἄλλη (φύλη) λεία ὡς ποδῶν, ἀνάθημα Δηλιδῶν, ἐπιδότης Πτολεμαίων τοῦ Λυσιστράχου αὐτῇ διὰ τὸ πικρὸν] ²⁸ . . . καὶ ἦν ἐν τῷ ναῶι αὐτῇ ἐχει ἐπογραφημένην τὴν αἰτίαν.

(7) Inventaire d'Hagnothéos [précédemment appelé *Archon*; date probable: 140/39], A. II. 27-28: ἄλλη (φύλη) λεία ὡς ποδῶν, ἀνάθημα [Δηλιδῶν, ἐπιδότης Πτολεμαίων τοῦ Λυσιστράχου αὐτῇ διὰ τὸ πικρὸν] ²⁹ . . . αὐτῇ ἦν ἐν τῷ ναῶι καὶ ἐχει ἐπογραφημένην τὴν αἰτίαν.

II.

(8) Inventaire de Kallistratos [date approximative: 157/6], A. col. i. II. 8-14: ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τῷ πρὸς τῷ ἐκκλησιαστηρίῳ αἰὲν χαλκῆν βασιλίσσης Ἀρτυνῆς ἀνάθημα Πτολεμαίων ἀγάλμα λιγνῶν ³⁰ ἐν πλουθείαις ἀνάθημα Πτολεμαίων τοῦ βασιλέως Λυσιστράχου ³¹ εἰς τὸν οἶκον ἐπὶ βίβλας τεθρομένον, ἀνάθημα Ἀφροδῖτης καὶ Ἀριστοῦ ³² ἄλλω ἐπὶ βίβλας ἀθροίσας, ἔχοντα γραφὴν ἀνάθημα Πτολεμαίων ³³ τοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως Λυσιστράχου ἄλλω ἐλάττω ἀθροίσας, ἔχοντα ³⁴ γραφὴν, βασιλέως Λυσιστράχου.

« Viennent ensuite un certain nombre d'offrandes consacrées par divers particuliers, une *ἀοτὶς* et des séries de *θύραι*. — II. 24-30: ἄλλον (θύρῳ) ἱερικὸν ἐπὶ χροῖον, ἔχοντα [in *casura*] ἐγὼ ³⁵ ναῦμα, ἀνάθημα βασιλέως Πτολεμαίων τοῦ Λυσιστράχου ἄλλον ³⁶ περικλῶν ἐπὶ χροῖον, ἔχοντα κεραμεῖς ἐπὶ χροῖον, ἀνάθημα Πτολεμαίων βασιλέως Λυσιστράχου ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν πλουθείαις ἀπὸ ³⁷ τῆς γραφῆς, ἔχοντα ἑκατέρωθεν χροῖον λευκόν, ἀνάθημα Κλεοδῶρος ἄλλον ἐν πλουθείαις μεσολέγον, ἀνάθημα Πτολεμαίων ³⁸ τοῦ Λυσιστράχου ἄλλον κ.τ.λ.

Cette partie de l'inventaire de Kallistratos est d'autant plus précieuse que je ne lui connais pas de double dans la série des documents athéniens, à l'exception toutefois d'un texte très mutilé, dont il ne reste que quelques lettres au bord gauche:

(9) Inventaire Γ 505 (= P. Roussel, *Délos col. athén.*, 397, n. xvii.), B. col. ii. II. 24-29: ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τῷ πρὸς τὸ ἐκκλησι³⁹αστηρίῳ αἰὲν χαλκῆν βασιλίσσης

²⁸ Le mot *ἀότῃς* avait été omis par Th. Homolle.

Ἀρσινόης, ἀνάθημα] ²⁰Πτολεμαῖον τῷ βασιλείῳ Λυσιστάχου πύνακα ἐπὶ βάσει τοῦ
²¹μύου, ἀνάθημα Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Ἀρσινόης ἄλλον ἐπὶ βάσεως] ²²ἀθροιστὸν, ἔχοντα
 γραφὴν, ἀνάθημα Πτολεμαίου τῷ βασιλείῳ Λυσιστάχου ἄλλον (ἐλάττωτα) ἀθροιστὸν,
 ἔχοντα] ²³γραφὴν, βασιλεὺς Λυσιστάχου κ.τ.λ.

La l. 27 de cet inventaire est un peu plus courte que les autres. On ne voit pas ce qui peut manquer au texte : y avait-il un mot *in rasura* ? Au contraire, la l. 28 est un peu trop longue : c'est pourquoi je mets entre () le mot ἐλάττωτα qui manquait peut-être ; mais il se peut que ce soit βασιλεὺς qui ait été omis. À part cela, les restitutions paraissent certaines ; le fragment apporte deux précisions intéressantes : d'abord, le mot ἐλάττω, à la l. 24 ; et surtout, à la l. 23, la mention Πτολεμαῖον τοῦ βασιλέως, au lieu de Πτολεμαῖον, qui se trouve à la l. correspondante (l. 9.) de l'inventaire (8) de Kallistratos. Il résulte de cette variante que le texte de Kallistratos ne donne, comme c'est l'usage de tous les inventaires, que des notations abrégées. Nous ne serons donc pas surpris de lire, aux ll. 29-30 de Kallistratos (8), Πτολεμαῖον τοῦ Λυσιστάχου sans adjonction du titre royal. L'absence de βασιλεὺς, soit devant Πτολεμαῖον (cf. l. 25 de Kallistratos), soit devant Λυσιστάχου, ne peut être alléguée comme une preuve qu'il s'agisse ici de deux Ptolémées différents. Ce serait un hasard par trop singulier que deux personnages quasi-homonymes — Ptolémée, fils du roi Lysimaque, et le Πτολεμαῖος Λυσιστάχου de l'inventaire de Démaris (ci-dessus, 4) — fussent nommés simultanément dans ces quelques lignes. Comme le premier y est mentionné cinq fois (ll. 9, 10, 12, 25, 27), il y a toute apparence que c'est encore de lui qu'il est question la sixième. Je me demande même si, à la l. 14, il ne figurerait pas une septième fois. On est quelque peu étonné de rencontrer tout-à-coup une offrande du roi Lysimaque en personne : le scribe n'aurait-il pas omis, avant ce nom, les mots (ἀνάθημα Πτολεμαῖον τοῦ) ?

III.

(10) Inventaire de Phaidrias [date approximative : 153/2], A. col. i. a, ll. 49-53 [cf. B.C.H. 1905, 537] : βασιλεὺς ἐλάττω ²⁰περικειχισμῶν, βάσει ἔχοντα] ἔξ ἐλάφαιτος [α]ἰ θύας, ἀνάθημα Πτολεμαῖον τῷ ²¹... ἄλλον ἐλάφαιτον, ... ²²... [ἀνάθημα ... Καλχιδόνιον στ(λ)εργίδιον, ἀνάθημα Αἰγλαῖον ²³Κερμαῖον κ.τ.λ.

(11) Inventaire d'Hagnothéos [date probable : 140/39], A. ll. 92-93 : βασιλεὺς ἐλάττω περικειχισμῶν, βάσει ἔχοντα ἔξ ἐλάφαιτος καὶ θύας, ἀνάθημα Πτολεμαῖον τοῦ ... καλιδόνιον ἐλάφαιτον, [... ἀνάθημα ... Καλχιδόνιον ²³στ(λ)εργίδιον, ἀνάθημα Αἰγλαῖον Κερμαῖον κ.τ.λ.

Les deux passages paraissent se correspondre. Mais alors il faut supposer que les mots ἀνάθημα Πτολεμαῖον τοῦ ... ont été omis dans l'inventaire d'Hagnothéos. Avec le καλιδόνιον ἐλάφαιτον, qui répond à l'ἄλλον ἐλάφαιτον de l'inventaire de Phaidrias (10), on a la description d'une nouvelle offrande, celle de N. Kalchedonien. De toute façon, Hagnothéos ne peut apporter aucune lumière sur l'identité du Πτολεμαῖος nommé dans Phaidrias. Quel est ce personnage ? J'ai restitué, non sans témérité, τοῦ βασιλέως Λυσιστάχου dans B.C.H. 1904, 409, 5, et simplement τῷ (Λυσιστάχου) dans B.C.H. 1905, 537 ; mais le supplément Λυσιστάχου est-il assuré ? La seule raison qui m'engageait à voir ici le fils d'un Lysimaque, c'est que je ne connais pas, dans les inventaires déliens, de Ptolémée (sans titre royal) qui soit fils d'un autre que Lysimaque. Mais cette raison est fragile. La seule

* [αἰς (nomme θύς), 'bois de thuya,' M.H.]

remarque que l'on puisse faire avec quelque fondement est celle-ci : nous sommes ici dans l'inventaire du temple d'Apollon ; or, cet inventaire, nous l'avons *in extenso* dans *Démétris*, et l'offrande en question n'y figure pas. Elle est donc postérieure à 179. — à moins, ce qui est encore possible, qu'elle n'ait été transférée d'un autre édifice dans le temple d'Apollon.¹

Je n'ajouterai que peu de mots aux excellentes observations de F. Dürbach.

Il n'y a point à s'arrêter à la dédicace faite, en 188, par Πτολεμαῖος Αυσμαχον, et mentionnée d'abord dans l'inventaire de *Démétris* et les textes contemporains (ci-dessus, 1-6). Ce personnage ne pouvant évidemment être le fils du roi Lyimaque — il est son arrière-petit-fils selon moi,² le neveu de Ptolémée Évergète, selon E. von Stern — l'absence du titre royal avant Αυσμαχον est parfaitement normale.

Nous devons pareillement faire abstraction de la dédicace rappelée dans l'inventaire de *Phaidrias* (ci-dessus, 10). Il est impossible d'en suppléer la partie manquante et de savoir quel en est l'auteur.

Le texte qu'il convient d'examiner avec soin est l'inventaire de Kallistratos (ci-dessus, 8), rapproché de l'inventaire anonyme 505 (ci-dessus, 9). Comme l'a justement noté F. Dürbach, on y trouve, une fois de plus, la preuve que, dans les inventaires *sièrés* de Délos, les dédicaces jointes aux offrandes ont été, le plus souvent, résumées sommairement, à la hâte, sans un suffisant souci d'exactitude. Le principe trop hardiment posé par E. von Stern (*Hermes*, *ibid.*, 443) — "ich gehe dabei von der Voraussetzung aus, dass in einem offiziellen Verzeichnis, das von einer Hand hergestellt ist, die Titulaturen nicht willkürlich und nach Gutdünken gesetzt oder weggelassen sein können" — ne sera admis d'aucun de ceux qui ont la pratique de ces documents. Celui de Kallistratos y apporte un démenti formel.

La dédicace de la première offrande enregistrée (8, ll. 8-9 : εἰς αὐτὴν χαλαστὴ βασιλῆος Ἀρσινόης) est ainsi libellée : ἀνέθετο Πτολεμαῖος (l. 9). L'abréviation est évidente, puisque l'inventaire anonyme (9) donne (ll. 24-25) : ἀνέθετο Πτολεμαῖος τῷ βασιλεὺς Αυσμαχον.³ Pour les dédicaces de la seconde et de la troisième offrandes (8, ll. 9-10 : ἀγάλμα λίθινον κ.τ.λ. ll. 12-13 : ἄλλος (πίνακας) κ.τ.λ.), nous avons : ἀνέθετο Πτολεμαῖος τῷ βασιλεὺς Αυσμαχον. Libellé identique de la troisième dédicace dans l'inventaire anonyme (9, ll. 27-28). — Pour la quatrième offrande (8, ll. 13-14 : ἄλλος (πίνακας) ἐλάττω κ.τ.λ.), on lit, comme sans doute aussi dans l'inventaire anonyme (9, ll. 28-29) : βασιλεὺς Αυσμαχον. D'accord avec F. Dürbach, je ne doute guère qu'il n'y ait là une omission, d'autant que la chute de ἀνέθετο est inexplicable, et qu'on ne doive suppléer (ἀνέθετο Πτολεμαῖος τῷ) κ.τ.λ. — Les *θηραῖ*, l'un *ισχυόν*, l'autre *περικύον*, qui forment la cinquième et la sixième offrandes, ont été certainement consacrés en même temps. Cependant, on lit, d'une part (8, l. 25) : ἀνέθετο βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος τῷ Αυσμαχον,⁴ et, de l'autre (ll. 26-27) :

¹ Il le doit être nécessairement, dès qu'on fait de Ptolémée 'l'Épigon' le fils du roi Lyimaque (cf. *B.C.H.* 1904, 415-416). C'est de quoi E. von Stern se montre mal satisfait (*Hermes*, *ibid.*, 442), sans que l'on comprenne la raison. Ce qu'il appelle à tort 'une nouvelle hypothèse' n'est que la conséquence inévitable d'une supposition qui, plausible ou non, peut seule prêter à controverse. On s'étonne de trouver ainsi ombreux un critique dont

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toute l'argumentation implique l'existence, indémontrée, indémontrable et nullement nécessaire, d'un neveu d'Évergète, fils du prince Lyimaque.

² Pas plus que F. Dürbach, je ne pense qu'on puisse mettre en doute la restitution du nom Αυσμαχον.

³ Selon E. von Stern, il s'agirait ici de Ptolémée, fils de Lyimaque, à l'époque où il était prétendant au trône de Macédoine (*Hermes*, *ibid.*, 443).

ἀνθήμα Πτολεμαίου βασιλέως Λυσισμάχου comme pour la première (cf. 9, ll. 24-25), la seconde et la troisième offrandes. La seconde leçon est vraisemblablement la bonne.—Dans ces conditions, il ne paraît pas douteux que la dédicace de la septième offrande (8, ll. 29-30: ἄλλος (χίτων) — μεσόλειον) n'ait été arbitrairement simplifiée, et que ἀνθήμα Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λυσισμάχου ne soit une abréviation, au lieu de ἀνθήμα Πτολεμαίου τοῦ βασιλέως Λυσισμάχου.

Je tiens donc pour certain que toutes les offrandes énumérées aux ll. 9-10, 12-14, 24-27, 29-30 de l'Inventaire de *Kallistratos*² proviennent d'un même donateur, lequel s'intitulait Πτολεμαῖος βασιλέως Λυσισμάχου. Il s'agit, chaque fois, de Ptolémée, fils de Lysimaque et d'Arsinoé II; et, chaque fois, le titre de βασιλεὺς a été joint au nom de Lysimaque.—Dès lors les conséquences divergentes que E. von Stern, d'un côté, et moi, de l'autre, nous avons pensé tirer de la présence, aux ll. 29-30, des mots Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λυσισμάχου ne sont point légitimes. C'est à tort que von Stern a cru que ces mots désignaient, non le fils du roi Lysimaque, mais Πτολεμαῖος Λυσισμάχου donateur à Délos en 188. À mon tour, je me suis mépris³ quand j'ai voulu voir dans ces mêmes mots, qui ne sont qu'une abréviation, une répétition de la formule Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λυσισμάχου que donne le décret de Telmessos: le titre royal, omis dans ce décret, ne faisait jamais défaut dans les dédicaces de Délos. Autrement dit, Ptolémée, dans ces dédicaces composées par lui-même, a toujours pris soin de rappeler que son père était le 'roi' Lysimaque. Mais il est clair que les Telmessiens n'étaient point tenus de faire comme lui.

² Les sept offrandes peuvent être à peu près contemporaines. La première, l'ἱεὸν χαλκὸν βασιλευσσι Λυσισμάχῳ, est nécessairement antérieure à 270, et pourrait remonter à

l'époque où Arsinoé n'était point encore reine d'Égypte.

³ B.C.H. 1904, 415, 3.

THE CRYPTO-CHRISTIANS OF TREBIZOND

WHILE the number of crypto-Christians among the heterodox tribes of Asia Minor has probably been considerably exaggerated,¹ it cannot be denied that crypto-Christians exist or that cases of forced conversion affecting large sections of the population can be cited.² But under the Ottoman Turks at least there is very little historical evidence for conversion on a large scale in Asia Minor.

Exceptionally in the district of Trebizond we have both a credible legend of conversion and an existent population, outwardly Mahomedan, which seems in some cases to retain something from the more ancient faith and in others to practise it in secret. Of the first category may be cited certain villages in the district of Rizeh, which, though Mahomedan by profession, preserve some memories of the rite of baptism and speak, not Turkish, but Armenian.³

Crypto-Christians proper, belonging to the Greek rite and Greek by speech, also existed till recent years in the neighbourhood of Trebizond: they were known generally as 'Stavriotao,' from a village Stavra in the ecclesiastical district of Gumush-khane. They are said at one time to have numbered 20,000 in the *vilayets* of Sivas, Angora, and Trebizond: now all have returned to the open profession of their faith.⁴ The local authorities refer these populations to a persecution which arose at the end of the seventeenth century and resulted in the conversion of 8000 families and the flight of many others to the Crimea and elsewhere. Of the converted Greeks some were till lately to be found in the mining district of Kromna and were only outwardly Musulman; but most reverted to open Christianity about 1860.⁵ Others are settled in the regions of Rizeh and Ophis;⁶ all retain their language and some, in spite of their changed religion, jealously preserve their Christian sacred books.

¹ Cf. my 'Heterodox Tribes of Asia Minor' in the forthcoming *Journ. R. Anthr. Inst.*

² Individual conversions are in a different category and have probably at all times taken place to a greater or less extent. Cf. Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria* (London, 1822), p. 197, who cites the case of a Meccan *sheik* family, which, being entrusted with the rule of the mountain, became crypto-Christians in order to have more hold over the Christians of Lebanon. Sir R. Burton (in Lady Burton's *Inner Life of Syria*, p. 146) records wholesale local conversions in Syria on account of government or private oppression.

³ Comst. *Turq. d'Asie*, I. 121. These people seem to be identical with the Armenians of the Batumi district, who were converted 'two hundred years ago' (Smith and Dwight, *Missionary Researches in Armenia*, 1834, p. 457).

⁴ R. Janin in *Échos d'Orient*, xiv. (1912), 495-505. Guinet (*Turq. d'Asie*, I. 12) says there are 12,000 to 15,000 Kramla, living in nine villages not far from Trebizond.

⁵ S. Ioannides, *Ἱστορία Τραπεζούντας*, pp. 134-5.

⁶ For the Ophites cf. M. Deffner, *Notes Épigraphiques sur les églises byzantines de l'Ophi*, in *Erria*, 1877, No. 87, pp. 547-50.

All the traditions of the persecution at Trebizond seem to go back to one source.⁷ The date (c. 1656) is fixed rather arbitrarily after the building-date of a certain famous house which is supposed to mark a 'high-water mark' of Christian⁸ prosperity, and more particularly by the transformation of two churches (S. Sophia and S. Philip) into mosques a few years later. But the real dates of these transformations is given by Evliya⁹ as 1573 and 1577 respectively, while the date of the house is irrelevant. It thus seems probable that we have to reckon with two outbursts of anti-Christian fanaticism in the sixteenth and seventeenth¹⁰ centuries respectively. We may surmise, but cannot prove, that these were due to political circumstances, the earlier perhaps to the battle of Lepanto¹¹ and the later to the Russian aggressions,¹²

⁷ Apparently S. Ioannides, *Trevizda Tetrastis*, p. 132 ff., which is followed by Triandaphyllides, *Hararad*, p. 50, and preface to the same author's *Of Smyrna*. E. I. Kyriakides, *Trevizda vñi Maris Ioupean* (Athens, 1898), p. 91 ff., adds a reference to Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Fonete Hist. Trebiz.*, I, 150-163, for a contemporary poem. Davul's history of Trebizond may be the source of all. For the Christian practices of the Stavriotas of Lazistan (the Ophite crypto-Christians?), see Peart, *Turkey*, p. 266 f.; Ramsey, *Impressions*, p. 241.

⁸ The Trapezuntine crypto-Christians are also mentioned casually by Hamilton, *Asia Minor*, I, 340; Smith and Dwight, *op. cit.*, p. 463; Flindin et Costo, *Voyage en Perse* (1840-1), I, 38, who call the sect *Kroumi* (from Krouma, one of their villages) or *Mouss-Mouss* ('half-and-half'). The best and most recent account of them is given by Jamn in *Echos d'Orient*, xiv. (1912), 495-505. He draws for their early history on the Greek authors mentioned above, and for recent events on local sources, describing the gradual return of the crypto-Christians to open profession of their faith. They are now said to be undergoing a forced re-conversion to Islam (Harpis, April 16, 1915).

⁹ Dr. von Hammer, II, 45-6. Evliya wrote about the middle of the seventeenth century.

¹⁰ Two Cappadocian villages near Nevşehir are said by Oberhammer to have been converted to Islam 'a hundred and eighty years ago' (*Durch Syrien und Kleinasien*, p. 143). There was an unsuccessful Turkish campaign in 1677 against the Russians. It is to be noted that Trebizond is particularly accessible to Russian agents.

¹¹ See my 'Mosques of the Arabs'

(B.S.A. xxii, 192). Cf. also Holthouse, *Journey through Albania*, II, 976.

¹² About the same time Thomas Smith at Constantinople mentions that 'a certain Prophecy, of no small Authority, runs in the minds of all the People, and has gained great credit and belief among them, that their Empire shall be ruined by a Northern Nation, which has white and yellowish Hair. The Interpretation is as various as their Fancy. Some fix this character on the *Moscovites*; and the poor *Grecs* flatter themselves that they are to be their Deliverers. . . . Others look upon the *Sweeds* as the persons describ'd in the Prophecy' (Ray's *Voyages*, II, 80 f.). This is the 'Yellow Race' of the Prophecy of Constantine (Carnoy et Nicolaites, *Folklore de Constantinople*, 48 f. etc.) current already in the sixteenth century (cf. Gerlach, *Togo-Buck*, 102). The text was said to have been found in the tomb of Constantine and to have been interpreted by the patriarch Gemadius, according to the regular machinery of apocryphal 'discoveries' (see my 'Graves of the Arabs' in B.S.A. xxi, p. 190). As the Russians are Orthodox and the Swedes Lutheran, the prophecy more probably refers to the former and may have been concocted about the time we first hear of it, as Ivan the Terrible was then showing that the Russians would one day be dangerous. It probably revived regularly when Russia threatened: for instance, Volney (*Voyage en Syrie*, Paris, 1825, I, 42) found the prophecy common among the Turks about 1784 during the Turko-Russian war to which the Treaty of Kainardjik put an end. Similarly, Holthouse heard it during his wanderings in Turkey. The eighteenth-century K. Dapentes speaks of the *'Kastades vñi Euboea syriakes Boudikrom* (Kires Xapitov, p. 195), presumably with

The Greek authors give some curious details of the secret Christianity of their compatriots in the Trebizond district. They kept the Orthodox fasts strictly. Their children were baptised, and habitually bore a Christian and a Turkish name for secret and public use respectively: such Turkish names as 'Mehmet' and 'Ali' were, however, avoided. As to marriage, they never gave their daughters to Turks, but the men were not averse to taking wives from among their Turkish neighbours. In this case the parties were married secretly according to the Christian rite in one of the monasteries before the consummation of the marriage. If pressure were necessary, the bridegroom threatened to leave his bride. When a crypto-Christian died, the burial service was read for him in a Christian church while he was being interred. Mollahs were sent to the crypto-Christian villages in Ramazan, but were got out of the way when services were held.¹²

the prophecy in mind. In his time Burckhardt found that the Syrians made no mystery of it: the 'Yellow King' was merely another way of saying 'Emperor of Russia' (*Travels in Arabia*, London, 1822, p. 40). According to Polites (*Napabases*, ii. 668, drawing on Du Cange, *Glossar*, s.v. *flamma*), the prophecy appears first in Roger de Hoveden, who says that a prophecy written up over the Golden Gate of Constantinople stated that a Yellow King, who was a Latin, should enter by it. As the Flavian Theodosius built the Golden Gate, there may have been a long Latin inscription, full of abbreviations and containing the word *Flavias* over the gate. This misread may have originated the idea. It is interesting that the prophecy should have been applied first to a conqueror rather than a deliverer. Something of the same confusion as to the Yellow Race appears in the tenth-century *Opuscula* of Daniel (Polites, *Basiliensis*, ii. 665 ff.; Migne, *Dict. des Apocryphes*, ii. 188), alleged to have been found by Leo the Wise in the tomb of David, the Daniel in question having been a monk, later confounded with the Biblical prophet. The *Opuscula* may thus be merely another name for Leo's oracles. Such discoveries of magic books in graves are rather interesting: they add prestige to the books in question: the 'discovery' sounds genuine owing to the practice of burying books with the dead; cf. L. Cahm, *Excursions sur les Bords de l'Eufrate*, p. 263, who found a copy of the Koran in a sheikh's tomb he had opened. I myself heard the same tale at Manisa. In such cases the Koran is possibly intended to help the dead in

the examination he undergoes from the two angels after death, for which see especially d'Ohsson, *Tableau de l'Empire Ottoman*, i. 239, and Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, ii. 265. The practice among Moslems may derive ultimately from Jewish custom. Jewish rabbis are frequently buried with a pentateuch (a perfect copy is never used): hence discoveries of holy books in Jewish prophets' graves are numerous (cf. Loffius, *Travels in Chaldæa*, p. 36, and Migne, *Dict. des Apocryphes*, ii. 1300; Emile Deschamps, *As Pays d'Aphrodite—Chypre*, p. 230, and Tischendorf, *Terre-Sainte*, p. 201, both mention a gospel found in the tomb of Barnabas in Cyprus). In the Jewish instance, the book, not the holy man, is the essential: as they prohibit images and are eager for knowledge to which the sacred book is the key, this book becomes almost an object of adoration with them. At Tellif near Aleppo a certain synagogue was greatly venerated by Jews on account of an ancient manuscript kept there (Pococke, *Voyages*, Neuchâtel, 1772, iii. 495). A pentateuch written by Esdras was preserved in a synagogue of Old Cairo: it was so holy that people could not look on it and live (Carmoly, *Itinéraires de la Terre Sainte*, pp. 527, 542-3; cf. Pierotti, *Légendes Racontées*, Lausanne, 1869, p. 39). A glance at the half stone; half flesh image of the Virgin in the Syrian convent of Suluway had the same fatal effect (J. L. Porter, *Five Years in Damascus*, p. 130; cf. Ludolf, *De itin. Terræ Sanctæ*, p. 96 ff., Mandrell, *Voyage*, Utrecht, 1705, pp. 220-1, and Baronius, s.o. 870).

¹² Triandaphyllides, *Thesaur* (Athens, 1866), pp. 55-62.

I mention here for the curiosity of the subject a community of crypto-Jews alleged to exist in the neighbourhood of Pergamon, at a village named Trachalla. This village was visited by MacFarlane in 1828-9:¹⁴ according to his account, the inhabitants betray their Jewish origin by their physical type, and though in externals Mahomedans by religion, keep Saturday as a holiday. We can only suppose them to be an offshoot of the Turco-Jewish (*Dunneh*) community of Smyrna,¹⁵ probably attracted to the Pergamon district by its prosperity under the rule of the Karaosmanoglou family during the eighteenth century.¹⁶

¹⁴ *Constantinople*, II. 335 ff.

¹⁵ The heresy of Sahatai Sevi, the seventeenth-century Messiah whose followers turned with him to Islam, had much hold in Smyrna, though its chief connexions are now with Salonica. A follower of his, Daniel Israel, was expelled by the cadi from Smyrna in 1703, but seems to have been still living there in 1717 (G. Cuper, *Letters*, Amsterdam, 1742, pp. 396, 398).

¹⁶ Crypto-Christians are recorded elsewhere also. Walpole mentions a group of five such Albanian villages in the Morea (*Travels*, p. 292). Professor R. M. Dawkins heard in Crete that during the Greek revolution of 1821 many Cretan crypto-Christians declared themselves openly for Christianity and were massacred accordingly. A long article by R. Michell in the *Nineteenth Century* for May, 1908, describes the Lino-Vamvaki (*lin*, 'linen-cotton') of Cyprus. Hahn cites the Karamunadhes of the middle Voyussa in Albania as recent and partial converts to Islam (*Albania*, *Stud.*, p. 36). The alleged date (1760) of their conversion squares well with the accounts of the Valachadhes in S.W. Macedonia, for

whom see Wace and Thompson, *Nomads of the Balkans*, p. 20, and Bérard, *La Macédoine*, p. 1107. Their turning seems to have been part of a considerable movement in the Balkans during the eighteenth century, when the Russian danger caused the Turks to put pressure on their *ingah* populations to convert. It may be noted that the Valachadhes preserve their churches as they were, especially at Vrotsana, Brontiza, and Vmanit, and frequent them at certain seasons—or so my informants assert. A community of some 400 souls exists at the present day in the heart of Constantinople itself, in the Top Kapou Serai quarter, which lies between the east end of S. Sophia and the Serai walls: outwardly they are Moslems and attend the mosque, but in secret they have sikons; they are very poor and live by making beads. Crypto-Christians are mentioned in Bosnia by Boué (*Turquie d'Europe*, III. 407), and in S. Albania (*ibid.*, III. 407-8). On the phenomenon in general in Islam see G. Jacob, 'Die Bektaschijje,' p. 20 (in *Abh. L. Bayer. Ak.* xxiv., 1909).

F. W. HASLUCK.

ARCHAIC TERRA-COTTA AGALMATA IN ITALY AND SICILY.

[PLATE IX.]

Votive statues of the gods placed in the temples, forecourts or *temene* were common in Greece at an early period, and material evidence has proved that in Sicily and even in Italy there were numerous examples of the same custom. In Greece, a land rich in marbles, the sculptor's art rapidly developed and flowered into masterpieces which became the models for the western world. In Sicily, and even more markedly in Italy, regions which in the archaic period produced little marble or good, workable stone, the material chiefly used was clay; hence, owing to their perishable nature, comparatively few of the creations of these early masters have come down to us. Yet the Sicilian School had a great reputation and led the van for daring initiative and mastery of technical difficulties.

Although most of the marvels credited to Daedalos must be imaginary, yet the very fact that his works were put almost upon a par with those of Hephaistos shows how great was his reputation in antiquity. He was the founder of the Sicilian School, but his successors were also men of note. To Perillos was attributed the bronze bull in which the tyrant Phalaris roasted his victims. Pausanias (III. xvii. 6) mentions Klearchos of Rhegion 'who (according to some) was a pupil of Dipoinos and Skyllis, but according to others of Daedalos himself,' but in another passage (VI. iv. 4) he states that he was the pupil of Eucheir, the artist who followed Damaratos, the father of Tarquin, to Etruria.

An examination of the earliest plastic works found in Sicily¹ show that those in stone kept close to the traditions of that school which seems to have had its origin in Crete,² whereas those in terra-cotta developed a line of their own and embodied more directly the ideals of native artists.

The first great problem to overcome was the difficulty of baking evenly a figure of any large size and then withdrawing it intact from the oven. Investigations among uncivilised tribes to-day have shown the remarkable results which can be obtained in the most elementary ovens; among the Ila-speaking tribes in Rhodesia the women bake pots of considerable dimensions, perfectly spherical in form, in fires made of logs and bark piled up cone-fashion.³

The earliest Sicilian statues are rudely modelled, of badly purified clay,

¹ Bugno Paen, *Mem. R. Accad. Lincei*, cccxiv. (1917), pp. 304-37, especially p. 532.

² E. Loewy, "Typenwanderung," in *Oesterr. Jahressh.* xii. (1909), pp. 243-304; xiv. (1911), pp. 1-34.

³ E. W. Smith and A. Murray Dahn, *The Ila-speaking People of Northern Rhodesia* (London, 1920), I. p. 194; Fig. in text.

malformed owing to shrinkage in unexpected places, and with a surface too rough to hold the colour applied to it, which has consequently almost entirely flaked off. These defects were soon remedied, and eventually figures were produced which have nothing to fear from a comparison with contemporary Greek marble statues.

In Sicily and Magna Graecia the earliest statues were usually female, possibly partly because the enveloping drapery concealed the faulty anatomy, but chiefly because the dominant cults were those of goddesses, Aphrodite at Eryx, Persephone at Henna, Hera at Lokroi. In Latium and Etruria, on the contrary, Apollo was portrayed at Veii, Zeus at Satricum and on the Capitol.



FIG. 1.—SEATED GODDESS, GRANNICHELE.

For our present purpose we must define *ἀγάλματα* as votive or cult statues of gods or heroes erected outside the temples, within the *temene*, and exclude all statues or statuettes found in tombs or sepulchral in meaning, and all ex-voto or figurines, thus eliminating the splendid series of busts from Gela, the ex-voto from Agrigentum, Rosarno Medina and many other sites.

Cicero (*In Verrem*, II, iv., xlix., 110) relates how Verres wished to carry off the terra-cotta statues of Ceres and Triptolemos, '*pulcherrima ac perompla*,' which stood before the temple of Ceres at Henna. But their cumbersome size was their salvation, and Verres had to content himself with removing the Niké whom Ceres bore on her right hand.

The earliest example of these figures which has come down to us is the seated goddess found at Grannichele, possibly the ancient Echetla¹ (Fig. 1).

From the feet of the throne to the crown of her head the figure measures cm. 75: it is made of clay mixed with volcanic particles to give resistancy to the walls, and a layer of very pure clay was spread over the surface to hold the colour with which the whole statue was decorated. It was worked freehand and the surface was polished with a tool, but the imperfect baking, insufficient inside and excessive on the surface, has produced many cracks. She sits, clad in a long *chiton* with short sleeves, with her open right hand resting vertically upon her knee and her left closed to hold some cylindrical object. Her large, flat face with bulging eyes, straight mouth and small, highly placed ears,

¹ P. Orsi, *Mon. Ant. d. Lincei*, vii. (1897), cols. 217-21, Plate III.; xvii. (1906), col. 573; *N.S.*, 1903, p. 424; *Donna, Statue*

de Terrecotte dans l'antiquité, pp. 45-48; Winter, *Typen d. fig. Terrak.* p. xcvi.

is framed by the long locks which hang down upon her back. The base of the throne projects to provide a support for her feet; the sides of the throne were painted with geometrical patterns, and although there are arm-rests, there is no back, which is also the case with the enthroned goddess of Prink. The works which most nearly resemble this goddess (although somewhat later and far better finished) are the seated man found in a tomb at Caere and now in the Museo dei Conservatori,⁵ with his two female companions in the British Museum.⁶ The Sicilian statue, however, reveals where the artist of the Caere figures derived his inspiration. Other fragments found at the same time show that similar statues were also grouped around: part of a head adorned with a diadem; the left shoulder and long curls of a female figure; a closed right hand; a male right leg, bent at the knee, and pieces of a throne. Like the goddess, they cannot be dated later than the middle of the sixth century.

Less rude is the goddess from Lokroi, ht. cm. 53.5, now in the Museum at Reggio, Calabria,⁷ seated stiffly on a high-backed throne, her hands upon her knees. On her head is a low *polos*, and, although she has no attributes, Persephone alone can be intended, for the type is always repeated with only one exception. The extraordinary similarity of the types has caused Pick⁸ to suggest that, since in Tarentum no goddess played any particular rôle in the cult, the Lokrian traders or colonists there set up a statue of their own goddess, a copy of the one in her temple at Lokroi. The Tarentine makers of statuettes who imitated this statue introduced sundry small changes, such as the three locks over the shoulders, but in the main they adhered closely to the Lokrian prototypes.

Far more advanced, artistically speaking, is the fine seated goddess from the Predio Ventura, Grammichele,⁹ which belongs to the end of the sixth century (Fig. 2). The part most damaged was the face, which was cracked in antiquity



FIG. 2.—SEATED GODDESS FROM PREDIO VENTURA, GRAMMICHELE.

⁵ C. Albizzati, *Atti Pont. Accad. Rom. d'Arch.* Serie II. xiv. (1920), pp. 6-14, Platos I., II. pp. 207 ff., Fig. 4; Winter, *op. cit.* pp. 121, Fig. 9.

⁶ *Cal. Terrac.* D. 219, 226.

⁷ B. Pick, *Jahrb. d. Inst.* xxxii. (1917),

⁸ Pick, *op. cit.* p. 212.

⁹ *Orsi, Mon. Ant.* xvii. (1906), col. 573; xviii. (1907), cols. 136-45, Platos IV., V. and Fig. 3; Pace, *op. cit.* p. 521.

and is now remodelled in plaster. Her height is cm. 98, and she wears a *chiton* with close, vertical folds and loose elbow-sleeves, a wide *himation* and thick-soled sandals. Her left forearm is broken, but on the right which is pressed against her breast are eight coils of a serpent bracelet; an earring is preserved in her right ear and on her head is a *stephané* adorned with bosses and a little *sakkos* which covers her crown. Her hair is waved on either side of the forehead and hangs over her shoulders in narrow strands divided horizontally into innumerable overlapping sections. She sits solemnly upon her lion-footed throne, the seat of which is covered with a cushion with tasselled corners, her feet resting upon a stool. The statue is hollow and consists of a rough core worked freehand, the various parts being soldered together before firing; details were carefully worked out with a tool over a second layer of clay and finally the whole was covered with a slip and then painted. The delicacy and charm of the work are such that the only comparison one can make is with the seated marble figure in the Berlin Museum,¹⁰ also from Southern Italy, which embodies the ideal to which the creator of the goddess of Graniochele, working in a humbler material, strove to attain.

The earliest of the standing figures is one broken at the hips from Megara Hyblaea, formerly in the Melilli Collection, but now in the Syracuse Museum.¹¹ It measures about cm. 40, and was found in one of the city sanctuaries. It belongs to the early sixth century and is scarcely evolved from a *zoomorphos*, the body being merely blocked out in harsh planes, the arms hanging straight against the sides. Attention has been focussed upon the face with its large heavy features and immense triangular eyes without lids, and the elaborate coiffure, consisting of flat disc-like curls round the forehead; over the back of the head the hair is divided geometrically, bound at the nape of the neck and hangs over the shoulders in thick locks cut up into overlapping sections; a band encircles her head and is kept in place by a flat disc on the very crown of the head. She wears a closely fitting garment, girt at the waist, with triangular pieces over the shoulders which form short sleeves. The whole figure recalls the early Sicilian works in stone of Cretan type, and shows none of the Ionic or Attic influence evinced by later examples. Fragments belonging to two, possibly to three, statues were also found at Megara Hyblaea: the folds of a *chiton*, a mass of hair divided into sections, a life-sized hand with very long cylindrical fingers which once held a flower or metal object.¹² In the recent excavations Professor Orsi discovered a fragment of the back hair of some figure, treated in narrow vertical waves, and also part of a beard or fringe of drapery, both of red clay.

The hands of the statue from Megara Hyblaea are missing, but what their position must have been is shown by a fragment from Bituntini, Gela,¹³ where the arm is pressed to the side and the closed fist is pierced to permit the insertion

¹⁰ *Ant. Denks.* iv. 3, Plates XLII-L. *Arch. Anz.* xxxii. (1917), cols. 118-51.

¹¹ *F. Orsi, Mem. Ant.* xvii. (1906), col. 573; *Kekulé, Terrak. v. Sic.* p. 7, Fig. 1; *Winter, op. cit.* i. p. 193, Fig. 10; *Doonua,*

op. cit. pp. 48 f.; *Benndorff, Oesterr. Jahrb.* i. (1898), p. 6.

¹² *Orsi, op. cit.* col. 573; *B.C.H.* xix. (1895), pp. 308-11, Figs. 1-3; *Doonua, op. cit.* pp. 51 f.

¹³ *Orsi, op. cit.* col. 691, Figs. 517, 518.

of a tubular object, a flower or ear of grain. With it was found another roughly modelled hand, also closed. Yet another hand with the fingers stretched straight out and too thin for the hand—which is life-sized—comes from Akragas and is a work of the fifth century: the clay is cream-coloured.¹⁴

Very different is the large fictile torso, probably from Mamerina and now in the Museo Biscari, Catania.¹⁵ Although broken off just below the waist, we can easily restore the figure by reference to the Korai of the Acropolis. She stood solemnly erect, both arms hanging by her sides, clad in a *chiton*, a belt elaborately marked out in squares and a *chlainé* or scarf over her shoulders. Below the high *stephané* her hair is elegantly waved and hangs in long strands over her breast. Her face is sharply oval, with obliquely set eyes and a slight smile hovering round her bow-shaped mouth.

The influence of quite a different school of art is manifested by the maiden from Inessa, now in the Museo dei Benedettini, Catania.¹⁶ She stands, ht. m. 1.19, with her draperies falling in long severe folds; her battered condition has destroyed much of her charm and unfortunate restorations have further contributed, but most detrimental of all is the fact that the hair, which was parted, smoothed back in heavy masses and gathered into a knot behind, was worked separately and then put on in detached parts; this has now fallen away, giving the head a most unpleasant appearance. She wears a Doric *peplos* with *apophygma* reaching to the waist, and her bare feet rest upon the original square base. Her right arm is broken off at the elbow, but the left, although broken off, is preserved as far as the wrist and shows that the forearm was bent at right angles to hold some object. The head resembles the statues of the Olympian pediments and certain coins of about 460 B.C. The figure belongs to a series of maidens wearing the *peplos* discussed by Arndt and Mariani;¹⁷ but it is of especial importance since it is the only one of the group whose arm has been preserved, thereby demonstrating that the bent arm was used to break the long, straight lines of the drapery and to give vivacity to what might otherwise have been too rigidly architectonic.

The lower part of a figure which goes back to the first half of the fifth century is almost analogous with the Inessa maiden. It was found in the Mandra Lauretta, Camarina, where the deposit of terra-cottas suggests a sanctuary.¹⁸ The fragment measures cm. 72, and shows the Doric *peplos* with a rather longer *apophygma*.

There are a whole series of feet placed in such a position that they must have formed part of statues very near to or slightly more evolved than the

¹⁴ Syracuse Mus., Room XVI. Gerg. No. 16929.

¹⁵ Orsi, *Mon. Ant.*, xvii. (1906), col. 573, note 4; Kekulé, *op. cit.*, p. 58 Plate I.; Winter, *op. cit.*, p. 196, Fig. 6; Deonna, *op. cit.*, pp. 40 f.; Boudier, *op. cit.*, p. 6; Gachard, *Ann. Inst.*, vii. (1835), p. 42; Pottier, *Sarcophages de Terrecotte* (Paris, 1890), p. 200, Fig. 64.

¹⁶ Rizzo, *Atti Acc. Napoli*, xxiii. (1905), pp. 163-89, Plate XXIII, and Figs. 1-3;

Orsi, *op. cit.*, col. 573; Furtwängler, *Sitzungsberichte . . . Bayer. Akad.*, ii. (1899), p. 289; 30^a *Berliner Winckelmannschr.* (1890), p. 130, n. 22; Kekulé, *op. cit.*, p. 57; Deonna, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-61, Fig. 1.

¹⁷ *Olyptothek Ny Carlsberg*, pp. 49 ff.; *Bull. Com.*, xxv. (1897), pp. 169-95, Plates XII-XIV.; xxix. (1901), pp. 71-81, Plate VI.; Boudier, *Oschers. Jahresh.*, xv. (1900), p. 243.

¹⁸ *N.S.* 1909, p. 280, Fig. 35.

Inessa figure. One such pair was found in the Deposito dei Cavallucci, Rosarno *Medina*;²⁸ they stand upon a rectangular base, the left a little in advance, and the lower part of the *peplos* covers the ankles. The feet are well worked, but somewhat bony in structure. Other minor fragments of the figure to which the feet belonged—bits of the back and drapery—were found with them. This bony structure is discernible also in the life-sized right foot from Bitelini, Gela, in hard greyish clay, mixed with volcanic particles.²⁹ It measures cm. 21.5 in length, but the heel is missing; the rest of the foot, with its long slim toes, carefully marked nails and highly arched instep, is beautifully modelled. A



FIG. 3.—GORGON FROM TEMPLE OF ATHENA, SYRACUSE.

fold of drapery falls over the ankle, and a thick-soled sandal was bound in place by thongs which passed between the toes. At the same time numerous fragments of drapery were found, but they seem of rougher workmanship than the foot, and the quality and tone of the clay denote several different statues.³¹ At the necropolis of S. Anastasia, Randazzo, on the slopes of Mount Etna,³² another base came to light. Upon it rested two feet which measure cm. 15 in length and must have belonged to a statue more than two-thirds life-size. This fragment is now in the Collection Vagliasindi. The toes only

²⁸ *N.A.* 1917, p. 59, Fig. 34.

²⁹ *Orsi, Mon. Ant.* xvii. (1906), cols. 690-1, Fig. 514; xxv. (1918), col. 628.

³¹ *Orsi, Mon. Ant.* xvii. (1906), col. 691, Figs. 515, 516.

³² *Röm. Mitt.* xv. (1900), p. 243.

of a well-modelled life-sized foot of red clay were discovered in the excavations at Akragas and are now in the Syracuse Museum.

Rather larger than life are the admirably modelled feet discovered at Arden,²³ all that remains of a large statue of the close of the fifth century. It evidently portrayed a god, because the feet are coloured red, and the statue must have been a very fine one, for the feet testify accurate observation of nature, the nails and veins being minutely indicated with a tool. The whole surface was delicately polished and the sandal straps must have been painted; only the border of the garment remains. The fragment was presented by the Duca Sforza-Cesarini to the Museo di Villa Giulia.

We must now discuss a series of figures which, although fragmentary, are among the finest examples of the school of early Sicilian masters. They are sixth-century works which formed groups depicting mythological scenes. Foremost among these remains are those found at Syracuse in the great bank of *breccia* from the early temple and not far from the north-east corner of the actual temple of the Deinomenidai. The best preserved is the arresting figure of a Gorgon advancing to left in the archaic running manner with one knee touching the ground (Fig. 3).²⁴ Her legs are in profile, but her trunk and face are fully frontal, so that she stares at the beholder with great round eyes. Her features are so conventionalised that they are treated almost like a decorative pattern; her forehead is framed by six spiral curls and four large 'pearl-locks' hang over either shoulder. Her gaping mouth, with its double row of strong square teeth, is rendered monstrous by the addition of two pairs of tusks and by the pendant tongue which covers her whole chin. She wears a red *chitoniskos* enriched by elaborately patterned borders and *endromides* furnished with recurved wings instead of tongues. The great wings which spring from her waist rise up on either side of her face and make a vari-coloured background to her figure. Under her right arm she clasps the little winged Pegasos which sprang from her blood, and her left arm is bent sharply down at the elbow with stiffly extended fingers in the attitude of the archaic runner. The dark background of the relief must have formed an effective contrast to the gaily coloured Gorgon, and the whole figure produces a wonderful impression of force and impetus. A small piece which is apparently the hip of a similar Gorgon, covered with a *chitoniskos*, decorated with elaborate chequer pattern in red and black, was found at the archaic temple, Gela, and there is also part of a shin with the top of the *endromides*. These groups appear to be of too small dimensions to have served an architectonic purpose, and if they were placed even at a short height from the ground much of the delicate minutiae of the treatment would be lost. Most likely they were placed on a level with the spectator, and, if they were not *ἀγάλματα* complete in themselves, they formed part of some larger work which, as a whole, is lost to us.

In the excavations at S. Mauro various small bits evidently belonging

²³ *N.S.* 1900, p. 63. Fig. 4; Hellög. *Fuhrer*, 3rd ed., n. p. 348, No. 1785a.

²⁴ *Orsi, Mon. Ant.* xxv. (1919),² vols. 614-22, Plate XVI; *N.S.* 1913, pp. 177 f.

Fig. 1; E. Galassi, *Atti R. Acad. Palermo*, Serie III, xl. p. 10, Plate II, 3; R. Pace, *Memorie R. Acad. Lincei*, cccxiv. (1917), p. 329, n. 3.

to a group were discovered.²⁵ They consist of a double curved wing, cm. 29 x 23.5, without plastic relief: the end feathers are painted alternately red and black on a cream ground. The piece is hollow, but the walls are very thick. One cannot say if a fragment of the left side of a very archaic face was in the round or in high relief, for all the back of the head is missing, but the muzzle of a horse was certainly in the round, as also the head of a small serpent. Further lesser fragments are a piece, cm. 14 in length, of uncertain destination, but suggesting the hair of a Gorgon by the pearly strands radiating from the centre, and two pieces of imbrication, seemingly part of the *chiton* covering the thigh of a large figure. None of these pieces fit together, but a consideration of them



FIG. 4.—FOOT AND FINGERS, SYRACUSE.

all induces one to think that they may once have embodied such a group as the Gorgon from Syracuse, moving swiftly in the ancient running scheme with bent knee, clad in an embroidered tunic with serpent girdle, embellished with curving wings and clasping under one arm the little Pegasus. Yet this group must have been an advance upon the one from Syracuse, because it was in the round, and therefore needed no slab as background. Professor Gabrici has shown how beloved a form of decoration the Gorgon was in archaic times and in those regions,²⁶ and it is quite probable that, apart from the temple sculptures, a Gorgon group figured among the *ἀγάλματα* of the precinct.

To another Syracusan group belong the leg and paw of a lion, ht. cm. 35; also a hind leg placed horizontally and a portion of the right thigh of the beast.²⁷

²⁵ Orsi, *Mon. Ant.* xx. (1910), cols. 792-5, Figs. 52-5, Plate VII, 2. (1919), pp. I-15, Plates I, II.

²⁶ Orsi, *Mon. Ant.* xxv. (1919), cols.

²⁷ *Ant. R. Acad. Palermo*, Serie III, xi. 622-3, Figs. 212-14.

Even more suggestive is a left hand grasping a horn and another almost flat piece with brown circles on a cream ground,²⁸ part of a bull's flank spotted like the panthers of the pediment of the early temple of Athene on the Acropolis. Orsi recalls the toreadors of the Tiryns fresco or Herakles with the Marathonian bull: indeed, to the latter subject one's thoughts naturally turn, and even preferably to the hero's contest with Aheleus as figured on the *arula* from Lokroi.²⁹ With these are connected the fragments of an animal's leg, lit. cm. 17.5, painted with lines to indicate muscles, with dots to denote the hide;³⁰ the cheek and eye-socket of an animal with round, widely open eye; all the details of the muscles are marked by black lines as on the leg. The eye has a black pupil and a reddish-brown iris encircled by a black outline. There is also part of a limb covered by a dark red *chiton* with a border of tongue pattern in red and black which may be the bent knee of Herakles with which he holds down the bull.

Interesting because it links up with a whole series of similar fragments is a right foot (lit. cm. 17) shod with elaborate *endromis*, a pointed boot with thick sole, fastened with crossed laces (Fig. 4).³¹ With it were the four fingers of an open right hand, length cm. 7, the nails marked by a black outline. Besides these, there is the calf of a right leg (length cm. 18) with the top of the *endromis* outlined black and adorned with two cream rosettes on a red field,³² but this seems on a larger scale than the foot. The boot is identical with the footgear of the rider on the akroterion from Camarina,³³ and is similar to that worn by the Gorgon from Syracuse, a resemblance so greatly enhanced by the fingers held in the same rigid manner as the left hand of that monster as to suggest that here we have the *idolox* of another group figuring the same subject. At Gela another foot of this type, as yet unpublished, was found. From as far north as Caere comes a right foot with part of the plinth, cm. 17 x 23.³⁴ Only the toes rest on the ground, so that the person was apparently in motion. With it were found the lower part of a woman's leg shod similarly; the nude right foot of a man, for it was painted dark red; fragments of drapery with traces of red and black; the smooth horns of an animal in relief (cm. 16 x 14), also with vestiges of colour. In the excavations at Velitras a foot three-quarters life-size was discovered, wearing a shoe with pointed, upturned toe.³⁵ The coarse clay is covered by a cream slip, and as there is no trace of a base, the foot must have projected, perhaps from a narrow pedestal upon which individual statues were erected. In this connexion, although it must be dated towards the end of the fifth century, mention must be made of a woman's foot, about half life-size, shod in a soft shoe from which the colour has been entirely obliterated,

²⁸ *Ibid.*, cols. 629-30, Figs. 220-1.

²⁹ *Mus. Syracuse*, N.S. 1917, p. 119, Fig. 24.

³⁰ *Orsi, Mus. Ant.* xxv. (1919), cols. 624, Fig. 217.

³¹ *Ibid.*, cols. 628-9, Figs. 218-19.

³² *Orsi, Mus. Ant.* xxv. (1919), Plate XVIIa

³³ *Bull. d'Arts*, LV (1907), fasc. III, p. 7, Fig. 1.

³⁴ *Antiquarium, Berlin*, A.Z. 1871, pp. 123 f.; Rizzo, *Bull. Com.* 1911, p. 54; Deonna, *Statues de Terre cuite dans l'Antiquité*, pp. 101 f.

³⁵ *Mus. Civico, Velletri*.

The edge of the long *chiton* falls over the instep, and to one side sits an owl which identifies the fragment as part of a large statue of Athene, set up in some temple precinct.³⁶

One further scrap of terra-cotta from the Olympieion, Syracuse, is interesting because it is so archaic that it has been dated in the beginning of the sixth or even in the seventh century. It is the lower part of a beard of black hair, the surface furrowed by deep incisions to give the effect of strings of pearls in accordance with the early artistic convention, and it must have formed part of an almost life-sized statue.³⁷ Near it was found a bit of drapery, long tabs ending in a fringe; the clay is red, but all vestige of colour has disappeared.



FIG. 5.—HOUSE AND RIDER FROM CATANIA.

In the excavations at Gela the statues were found reduced to miserable fragments, but among them is the beautifully modelled neck of a female figure, the upper part of the red *chiton* adorned with hammer pattern in red and black; there is also part of a shoulder (?) with cream drapery and a border of black meander, and another portion of the same drapery also with the border. There is, moreover, a bare foot with the toes a little upturned.

The left side of a very beautiful life-size female face from Metaurum is now in a private collection in Naples.³⁸ It is well modelled, but intensely individual in type, for the almost square chin is cleft by a dimple, and the

³⁶ Mus. Nazionale, Roma.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, N.S. 1902, p. 128, Fig. 3, Nos.

387 f., Fig. 5.

³⁸ *Ori. Mon. Ant.* xii. [1903], cols. 2, 6.

large almond eye is fringed by painted lashes. The cream slip is so fine and highly polished that it gives the effect of soft flesh. Possibly the statue represented Athens, for with it was found the head of a serpent which may have reared its coils beside the shield of the goddess.

A most remarkable monument was for long in private possession at Catania,



FIG. 6.—APOLLO, FROM VITE.

where it is stated to have been found (Fig. 5).³⁰ It represents a rider on horse-back, but all that remains of the rider is the piece from waist to thigh, showing the very full *chiton* which flows out all round like a ballet skirt. The horse's head, foreleg and tail are broken: he prances forward with one leg raised and has a barrel body, very long legs and a hogged mane, in fact the type of horse found on archaic terra-cotta friezes or on Dipylon vases. The group stands on a

³⁰ Mus. Syracuse, Room XV., Cat. No. 41668.

square base and the solid slab under the horse's body gives a disagreeable effect, because want of skill prevented the artist from cutting away the ground of the relief, so that it is only the upper part of the work which is really in the round. In the base are holes for the nails which fixed it down. The clay is very dark grey mixed with volcanic particles. From the waist of the rider to the ground measures cm. 41; the length of the base is cm. 38.

Further north the *temenos* at Veii was adorned with a splendid group depicting the contest of Apollo and Herakles for a stag, assisted by Artemis and Hermes (Plate IX., Fig. 6).³⁹ The figures (ht. m. 1.75) stand erect each on its own base and were juxtaposed in a line, a simple but effective arrangement (Fig. 7). The supports are cleverly masked by palmettes enclosed between broad spiral bands. The deities with their lively poses, strong, rich colouring and graceful drapery are full of force and animation. Our admiration is excited by the skill of the artist who could ensure the equally distributed firing of such large and complicated figures. The discovery of these statues has lent credence to what the ancient writers relate in praise of Vulca of Veii and the school of workmen who adorned the earliest Roman temples with notable works in terra-cotta.

The sanctuary at Satricum was another shrine rich in ἀγάλματα of the sixth and fifth centuries, too damaged, unfortunately, to permit of the reconstruction of whole groups, but sufficiently preserved to give a vivid impression of the strength and realism of this flourishing art. Among the finest specimens are the *debris* of a statue of Zeus, especially the bearded head with broadly modelled features which betoken dignified calm (Plate IX.). The long hair is treated in a solid mass which ends in spiral curls round the forehead; the eyes were originally filled with some vitreous paste which intensified the liveliness of the expression.⁴⁰ He once held the stylised thunderbolt of which only a small piece now remains. An irregular plinth supports the lower limbs of a male and female figure who advance to right with rapid steps. Only the man's right foot remains, but his companion is preserved almost to the knees. She wears a long *chiton* and over her back hangs a heavy mantle, or rather, the back part of the aegis which in front merely covered her breast. She must therefore be Athene in the attitude of Promachos, and her companion was Zeus.⁴¹ Part of the head of Athene is also preserved, covered with a helmet with raised cheek pieces. Beneath the helmet her hair peeps out in small straight locks.⁴² The fragment of Athene's torso gives us the *chiton* partly covered by the aegis adorned with a large Gorgoneion in low relief, with wrinkled forehead, little crossed eyes, squat nose, gaping mouth with protruding tusks and pendant tongue.⁴³ Yet another female head with hair waved over the forehead must be that of Hera:⁴⁴ it is of the same dimensions and style as the head of Zeus, and evidently the three gods were here grouped together, one of the earliest examples of the Capitoline triad. Yet it is not certain that they formed a self-contained group, for with them was found the right side of a male

³⁹ G. Q. Giglioli, *N.S.* 1910, pp. 13-37, Platen I-VII.

⁴⁰ Idelle Seta, *Cor. Mus. di Villa Giulia*, No. 9982, p. 275, with full bibliography.

⁴¹ *Op. cit.* No. 9981.

⁴² *Op. cit.* No. 9984.

⁴³ *Op. cit.* No. 10020.

⁴⁴ *Op. cit.* No. 9983.

head covered with interlaced bands.⁴⁵ This head, however, although archaic, seems to be rather later in style than the others.

Numerous eyes, ears, mouths, fragments of hair and limbs prove the existence of at least four other statues. Besides bits of drapery, a hand grasping the hilt of a sword, etc., there is the fine torso of a warrior with a cuirass decorated with bands of meander pattern; ⁴⁶ the shoulder pieces were in relief and were fastened by crossed cords passed through rings on the flaps and breastplate. There are, moreover, remains of animals—a pair of bovine eyes, a horse's hoof, a lion's paw—which may have been the feet of a throne or similar ornamentation.⁴⁷



FIG. 7.—RECONSTRUCTION OF THE TERRA-COTTA VOTIVE GROUP FROM VELL.

To the beginning of the fifth century belongs a group from the Larger Temple, Falerii.⁴⁸ One of the figures is a woman who moves to left. Her *chiton* has been pushed aside and merely covers her back with a loose edge rising over the shoulder. The other, whose nude trunk only is preserved, with a beast's skin hanging from one shoulder, seems to be a Centaur. If the two were really combined together, the group depicted the rape of a nymph by a Centaur, a subject less frequent than the more common one of the dance of nymph and Satyr.

These early groups in humble material were the precursors of the works in bronze or marble, or the chryselephantine statues of a later age: but although

⁴⁵ *Op. cit.* No. 9980.

⁴⁶ *Op. cit.* No. 10021.

⁴⁷ *Op. cit.* No. 10028-31.

⁴⁸ *Op. cit.* No. 7297, pp. 180 f.

they were despised in the Capital, yet in the country districts the art lingered on and produced numerous fine works in the fourth and later centuries, the splendid pediment groups of the temple of Apollo, Falerii, those from Luni and Telamone, and the recently discovered heads from Arezzo ⁴⁰ and Orvieto. In Sicily the art vanished more completely, being replaced by the delicately wrought works in marble and bronze which fell a prey to the rapacity of Verres, so that only the earliest monuments, safely buried in the kindly earth, escaped the ravages of vandal conquerors.

E. DOUGLAS VAN BUREN.

Rome, May 1921.

⁴⁰ L. Pernier, *Dedalo* I (1920), fasc. II., pp. 78-85.

AN OVERSEER'S DAY-BOOK FROM THE PAYOUM

[PLATES X., XI.]

At the Library of the University of Michigan there is a waxed diptych from the Fayoum, secured for the University by Professor Kelsey while in Egypt in 1919. The leaves of the diptych are of wood, about 11½ inches long and 8½ inches wide, slightly hollowed out and coated with black wax on the inner sides. These inner sides are shown in the photographs which accompany this article (Pls. X., XI). In explanation of the photographs, it should be said that they were taken with the aid of a strong artificial light coming from the left at an angle of 45 degrees. This has caused the incisions and depressions on the wax to reflect the light in such a way that they seem to stand out above the general surface of the wax. Thus the white blotches which appear on the first leaf are really hollows and not projections, as they seem to be in certain lights. It should also be stated that a transcription was made of this leaf before the wax crumbled away, probably owing to unfavourable atmospheric conditions, along the edge of the crack in the lower part of the leaf.

The photographs also show how the diptych was held when in use. The two leaves were turned back to back, *i. e.* with the wooden surfaces touching, the edges with the two pairs of holes being at the left. When all the space on the waxed surfaces of the upper tablet was filled, the writer turned the diptych over vertically and not horizontally, and began to write on the other waxed surface. The result was that, when the two waxed faces subsequently were folded together, the top of one leaf was opposite the bottom of the other, and the writing on one of them would appear upside down.

The diptych contains a series of accounts written in uncial letters, in roughly parallel columns which are at times separated by vertical lines and regularly divided by horizontal strokes to indicate the transition to new items or new dates. There is no indication of the year to which these accounts belong, but, on the basis of the forms of the letters, β , ϵ and ς , they are probably to be assigned to the third century A.D. In preparing the accompanying transcription of the diptych I have had the collaboration of my colleague, Assistant Professor F. E. Robbins.

The accounts for the most part deal with a series of harvest operations—reaping and threshing—carried on between Pauni 2 and Epeiph 30. In addition there are three short entries, the relation of which to the foregoing

is not clear. The work referred to was performed on several holdings, partly at a place called the Island (*ἡ Νῆσος*) and partly at another called Bachiās, which is very probably the village of Baechiās in the Heraclid section of the Arsinoite nome. The accounts form a series of day-by-day entries of the names of labourers, the place at which they worked, the character of the work performed, and the total return from each operation.

At the top of leaf I the series opens with the *λόγος γεωργίας Πετεΐριως καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ*,—*κριθῆς, θεριστ(αῖ) ἐργάτ(αι)*. This account covers the whole of column i. and lines 4-17 of col. ii., running from Pauni 2 to 7. On col. i., l. 26, the number of workmen is given as twelve, a number which corresponds to the names listed for Pauni 2 and 3, *Ἰσιδωρος* taking the place of *Κωθων* on the latter date. The work done up to Pauni 5 must have been reaping, for on that date the labourers were engaged in threshing (*ἀλωόντες*). On l. 17, col. ii., we have the total amount of barley threshed—(*ἀρτάβας*) μζ'. Apparently the next entry is the *λόγος γεωργίας τῆς Νήσου*, dated Pauni (?) 25 and beginning on l. 7, col. iii. Here the names of seven labourers are given, but there is no reference to the character or amount of work performed. The lower right half of this leaf is occupied by a single column, equal in width to both of the columns in the upper right half. Here is entered the *λόγος γεωργίας Ἀρτεμᾶτος τῆς Νήσου* for Pauni 26 and 27. The work is reaping (*Σωχῶτης θερίζων*). The position of the date κζ' (27), far to the right of the line under Ptolemaios, seems to indicate that it belongs to the list of names below that line. This is confirmed by the recurrence of the name Ptolemaios directly under the line and the absence of any other date to accompany this fresh list of names.

The record now passes to the second leaf. There, dated Pauni 29, is the *λόγος γεωργίας ἀλωνίας Ἀρτεμᾶτος*. This account occupies ll. 1-14 of col. i., covering the four days from Pauni 29 to Epeiph 2. As we see from the heading of this account, the grain just mentioned as harvested on the holding of Artemas was threshed out on his threshing floor, and the number of *artabas* obtained is given in l. 14.

A fresh account, the *λόγος περὶ Βαχιάδας θερισμοῦ*, opens with l. 16 of the same column, filling the rest of this and the whole of col. ii. The harvesting of this crop took from Epeiph 7 (col. i., l. 18) to 17 (col. ii., l. 27). A peculiarity of the entry for Epeiph 9 is that the six labourers are grouped in pairs, possibly because of the character of the work done on that date, and the names of each pair are followed by a numerical symbol, which probably indicates the amount of their joint labour.

At the top of col. iii is the entry *λόγος ἀλωνίας*, which runs over into col. iv., and must be connected with the date (Epeiph) 17, indicating that the threshing of the harvest at Bachiās began on the day on which the reaping ended. The threshing continued till Epeiph 19 (col. iii., l. 13), and the result is indicated in ll. 5-7 of col. iv.—*Βαχιάδος κριθῆς (ἀρτάβας) θγ ιβ'*. On l. 17, col. iii., a new account begins—the *λόγος ὀρέβου*, which occupies the rest of this column (to l. 27), and also ll. 9-20 of col. iv. This account contains entries for the dates Epeiph 19, 20, 21, 27, and 30, and the amount

of this crop is given in the last line of the account— $\alpha\rho\acute{o}\beta\alpha\nu$ ($\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\acute{\alpha}\beta\alpha\iota$) $\beta^4 \alpha\beta$.

The two short entries which follow in col. iv. do not show any clear connexion with the foregoing accounts. The names of the workers recorded in them occur in previous entries, but nothing is said with reference to the place or character of their tasks. Furthermore, the days mentioned here ($\gamma^?$) and (δ) have no indication of the month, and so cannot be brought into relation with the dates given above. The significance of the numeral signs placed after several of the names in these lists is also obscure.

Finally, col. iv. closes with the $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ $\theta\eta\tau\alpha\rho$ $\tau\alpha\upsilon$ $\epsilon\rho\gamma\alpha\zeta\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$, consisting of a list of three names, each of which is followed by the symbol for one obol. How this entry should be interpreted is also problematical.

For the explanation of the accounts on the diptych I am indebted to Mr. H. I. Bell of the British Museum. He suggests that the tablet was the day-book of an overseer, who kept thereon a detailed record of the daily work performed by the various labourers employed on the estates under his supervision. This record he would use as a memorandum for the calculation of the wages to be paid these workmen, and also for the compilation of a report of expenditures to be presented to his employer, the owner or lessee of the estates. Mr. Bell calls attention to a report of this character in P. Lond. 1170, verso (III. 193 ff.), where there is a record of the number of workmen employed, without their names, and of the wages paid.

Besides the accounts on the wax faces, the diptych has some writing on the wood of the first leaf. Some letters, probably with a numerical significance, were scratched in a vertical line across the top of the inner side, with the leaf held on its side. However, only two of these letters, an α and a ζ , are legible. Then, across the outer side of the same leaf run two lines of incised letters from $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{7}{8}$ in. high. They read as follows:

$\alpha \phi \ N \ \epsilon \ \varsigma \ \epsilon$
 $\alpha \ \lambda \ \rho \ \iota \ \lambda - \tilde{\alpha}$

Taken numerically, as Mr. Bell points out, the first line, without the final ϵ , might be either 50,555 $\frac{1}{2}$ or 15,555 $\frac{1}{2}$, and the second, without the final $\tilde{\alpha}$, would be 11,111. However, there does not seem to be any connexion between these figures and the accounts contained in the diptych, and the former may be mere idle scratchings.

TRANSCRIPTION OF THE DIPTYCH.

I.

1.	Παννι β ο		
2.	λο[γος] γεωργίας (Π)ετειρεως και του [ἀ]δελ.		
3.	φου ——— κριθης θειριστε εργατε.		
4.	Γαιων	ἀλωντας Παννι ε	
5.	Ίουλις	Γαιων	
6.	Πετερεως	Χαριδημος	
7.	Πνεφερος	Παννι ε	λογος γεωργίας
8.	Σισοις	Γαιων	της Νησον κε
9.	Πετεσους	Χαριδημος	Γαιων
10.	Ήρας	Πεθευς Σαβες	Πτολεμαιοι.
11.	Σαταβους	Πνεφερος	Πετεσους του β.
12.	Χαριδημος	Παννι ξ	Χαρηδαιμος
13.	Κωθων	Γαιων	Όνησιμος
14.	Σωχωτης	Χαριδημος.	Πακυσις
15.	Παννι γ	Πεθευς	Γαιων(ι)
16.	Γαιων	Πνεφερος	
17.	Ίουλις	κριθης — μζ	
18.	Πετερεως	— — — — —	
19.	Πνεφερος	λογος γεωργίας Ἀρτεματος	
20.	Σισοις	της Νησον Παννι κε	
21.	Πετεσους	Σωχωτης θειριζων	
22.	Ήρας	Πτολεμαιοι ο ς εζ	
23.	Σαταβους	Πτολεμαιοι ο ς Πηριτις	
24.	Χαριδημος	Πετεσους Σαβες	
25.	Σωχωτης	Πεθευς Σ	
26.	Ίσιδιωρος εργαται ιβ	Σισοις	
		Χαριδημος	
27.	Παννι δ	Ἀργης	Ίσιδιωρος
28.	Γαιων	Ὠριων	
29.	Πασιων	Πεθευς	
30.	Κωθων	Πτολεμαιοις	
31.	Σισοις		

II.

1.	Παννι κθ
2.	λογος γεωργίας ἀλωντας Ἀρτεματος.
3.	Πακυσις
4.	α Πακυσις ιβ Γαιων λογος ἀλωντας ιζ

Notes: Col. i., l. 3, θειριστε εργατε for θειριστα εργαται; II. 5, 17, Ίουλις for Ίουλιος. Col. II., l. 4, ἀλωντας for ἀλιωτας. Col. III.,

l. 7, γεωργίας (also II., col. i., l. 2) for γεωργια; l. 12, Χαρηδαιμος for Χαριδημος.

5. Ἐπιπ α	Χαριδημος	Χαριδημος	Βαχιαδης
6. Πακυσιν	Ἀχιλλας Πουτις	Πνεφερωσ	κραιθην
7. Πτολεμαι(ο)ς	Σαταβους	Σισοις Πουτις	ο θγ ιβ
8. β Πακυσιν	Ἀφροδισις	ιη Ἰσιδωρος	
9. Πτολεμαι(ο)ς	ιδ Γαιων	Σαταβους	κζ Γαιων
	Πουτις		
10. Ἰουλις	Ἰσιδωρος	Πτολεμαιος	Χαριδημος
11. Χαριδημος	Κωθων	Πνεφερωσ	Κωθων
	Ταβατω(σις)		
12. Πετεσιν	Ὠριων	Χαριδημος	Πετεσιν
13. Πτη . σονε .	Εὐτας . α	Σισοις Πουτις	λ Γαιων
14. ο ι η	Ἡρας	ιβ Πνεφερωσ	Πετεσιν —(—
15. _____	Σωχωτης	Χαριδημος	Πνεφερωσ
16. λογος περι	ιε Γαιων	Γαιων	Πετεσιν
	Βαχι-		
17. αδς θερισμου	Ἰσιδωρος	λογος ὀρεβου	Σωχωτης
18. Ἐπιπ ζ	Κωθων	ιβ Σωχωτης	Πακυσιν
19. Πτο(λ)εμαι(ο)ς	Εὐτ α . . ε α—α	Ἡρας	Σισοις Πουτις
	Πουτις		
20. Ἰσιδωρος	Σωχωτης ο	Γαιων	ὀροβου α β ιβ
21. Ἡρας	Σισοις Πουτις	Πνεφερωσ	γ Σωχωτ
22. θ	Σαταβους	Πτολεμαιος	Ὠριων Λ ε δ
23. Γαιων και	ιγ Γαιων	ε Γαιων	Πετεσιν τδ
24. Ἰσιδωρος ε	Χαριδημος	Πνεφερωσ	ιδ Ἡρας Λ ε β
25. Χαριδημος	Ὠριων	κα Γαιων	Πετεσιν τδ
26. και Ἀυτης υιος	Σαταβους	Χαριδημος	Πτολεμαιος
	ε		
27. Σισοις και	ιζ Χαριδημος	υ θιασα—α	
	Πτολε . . .		
28. υιος δ	Πνεφερωσ	λογος θησαρ . του	
29. ια Γαιων	Πετεσιν εθαιος	ιργαζεσθαι	
30. Χαριδημος	Ὠριων . . . ε	Ἀφροδισιν δ α	
31. Ἀφροδισιν	Ὠριων Εὐδατος	Χαριδημος α	
32. Ὠριων	Σισοις Πουτις	Κωθων α	

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Notes: Col. i., l. 31, Ἀφροδισιν, here and elsewhere for Ἀφροδισιος, cf. Ἰουλις and Πτολεμαί. Col. ii., ll. 13, 19, apparently the same name occurs in each line, but the — appears in l. 19 only. There is a somewhat similar word in col. iii., l. 27. What the

sixth letter is in col. ii., l. 19 and iii., l. 27, I cannot say, unless a peculiarly formed ζ, ll. 30, 31, ἄμα in two successive lines is strange, but certain. Col. iii., l. 17, ὀρεβου for ὀρεβος. Col. iv., l. 28, ις θησαρ . του to be read θησαρῶν του?

SOME VASES IN THE LEWIS COLLECTION

[PLATES XII-XVI.]

ON March 31st, 1891, died Samuel Savage Lewis, librarian of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and one of the original members of the Hellenic Society. To his college he left a large collection of coins, gems and miscellaneous antiquities, among them the following vases:

- (1) Red-figured kotyle, from Castellani Collection.

Castellani Sale Catalogue (Rome 1884), p. 12, No. 67 (not figured).

- (A) Goddess running off with youth, who holds a large lyre.

304A4 KAΛΩ? (Plate XIII.)

- (B) Two youths in attitudes of alarm; one holds a double flute.

KAΛΩ? (Plate XIV.)



FIG. 1.—RED-FIGURED KOTYLE.

Under each handle is a large double palmette from which spring elaborate palmette and tendril ornaments on either side (Fig. 1).

Purple is used for the letters, the cord of the lyre on (A) and the hair fillets of the youths on (B).

Details are represented in the main by black relief lines: the less important body muscles of the youths by brown glaze lines.

The vase is entirely free from breakages or restorations, but some of the finer

details have been partially obliterated by excessive cleaning.

The style is that of the late archaic period, c. 480 B.C.: the drawing of the eye already shows signs of departure from the archaic usage, though entire correctness has not yet been attained. The drawing is on the whole careful, though a few lapses are noticeable; thus one of the youths on (B) has six toes

on his right foot, and their tips are cut off by a carelessly drawn ground-line. The faces, especially on (A), are the least satisfactory feature; that of the female figure is especially inadequate. On the other hand, meticulous care has been expended on the folds of her chiton, and on the musculature of the two nude bodies.

The strings of the lyre, as on both the vases shortly to be mentioned, are in black relief, with the result that they are only visible against the black background in certain lights.

The palmette and tendril ornaments recall those affected by Douris in his later years: a curious feature is the projection of the central petal of the flanking palmettes of one group only beyond the encircling tendril.

The subject, from the analogy of a vase in the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale¹ on which the figures are inscribed, is presumably the kidnapping² of Tithonos,³ though the winglessness of Eos is unusual.⁴ Save for this latter detail the type is not rare.⁵ The two figures on (B) undoubtedly form part of the same scene; they are the victim's companions, interrupted in the midst of a musical party, as the flutes held by one of them show. It is no rare thing, on kotylai especially, to find pursuer and pursued occupying opposite sides of a vase; it is but the logical extension of the same process to find the chief and the secondary figures in an incident thus distributed.

(2) Red-figured kylix, from Lecuyer collection.

Terres Cuites Antiques; *Collection Camille Lecuyer*, PL E 5 (interior and part of (B) only), with notice by Cartault (before 1885); Froehner, *Lecuyer Sale Catalogue*, pp. 62-4 (same figures repeated) (1883); Wernicke, *Arch. Anz.* 1889, p. 149; P. Hartwig, *Meisterschalen*, pp. 326-7 (quotes Wernicke's description) (1893); J. D. Beazley, *Vases in America*, pp. 93-4 (1918); J. C. Hoppin, *Handbook*, i, p. 458 (wrongly given as in Oxford: corrected ii, p. 494) (1919).

Interior: a bearded bald-headed man reclines on a couch and blows furiously on the double flutes; on the edge of a table beside him sits⁶ a nude boy holding a long stick, swinging his legs and beating time with his left hand. A large lyre hangs up (Fig. 2).

Inner border: three (or in two cases four) separate interlocking meanders, to one 'Dourian cross-square'.

¹ The Ridder, 846 (ii, p. 497, Fig. 120 and PL III.). This is another kotyle, of the developed fine style contemporary with Polygnotos (the vase painter). The subject is continuous all round, two of Tithonos' companions, a muscian and a huntman (the latter through confusion with the Kephalos legend?), being named Priamos and Dardanos, thus showing that the artist definitely had the Tithonos legend in mind.

² On a contemporary lekkythos in Madrid (Lecoux, 139; Osorio, PL XXXVI.) the youth is named Kephalos. Such a figure,

however, is imputed to the Kephalos legend, and the ascription is probably a painter's error.

³ Another instance is a kotyle in Florence (4228), contemporary with the Paris vase.

⁴ E.g. the New York stemless kylix, *A.J.A.* 1915, p. 405, Fig. 5, and the twist-handled amphora (present whereabouts unknown), *Mon. In. in.* PL XXIII.

⁵ In the British Museum 'Pillpos' kylix, E 68, a similar figure is dancing. This may have been intended here, though the effect is rather that of sitting.

Exterior: (A) Four bearded banqueters forming two groups which are as follows:

a. Two on one couch, one with his head on his hand being sick on the floor, the other raising his kylix to pledge nobody in particular. The first-named is bald-headed; a foot of the second is wrongly drawn as a hand. Under the couch is a pair of shoes.



FIG. 2.—RED-FIGURED KYLIX (*interior*).

b. Two on separate couches, one handing a kylix to the other, whose couch is shown as end on, back towards us.^a A table, from which hangs a fillet with vine twigs in the ends, stands beside the first-named, who holds, also, a kylix shown in black silhouette against his body. He wears a scarf round his head under his vine wreath. At each end of the scene a cross-handled staff leans against the vase handles; three baskets, a lyre and an oinochoe hang up (Plate XV.).

^a Cf. similar representations on B.M. E 38 (F.R. 73), by Epiktetos, and B.M. E 40 (W.F. vi. 10), by Demris.

(B) A naked hetaira with bobbed hair stands playing the double flute between two couches, on each of which recline two bearded banqueters. Those to her right are bald-headed; one holds two kylikes; the other, with head thrown back, appears to be hiccuping. The foot of the latter is here correctly drawn. The other two appear to be waving their arms in time to the music, one brandishing a kylix (he is probably not playing kottabos, as Cartault thought), the other a kylix and oinochoe. A lyre and basket hang up; a knotted staff leans against one handle (Plate XVI.).

Diameter 29 cm.

The vase is in perfect preservation, free alike from breakages or restorations. Purple is used for vine wreaths and the cords of lyres; other details are shown by black relief lines. A cushion on (B) is covered with a yellow glaze wash. Imitation inscription in the field of (B).

Hartwig (*Meisterschalen*, p. 326) attributed this vase to 'Brygos'; Beazley (*l.c.*) to his 'Foundry Painter,' the artist of the famous kylix⁷ Berlin 2294 with the kalos-name Diogenes and representations of a bronze statue-caster's workshop. The relationship in style between this and the other vases Beazley groups with it and the best of the signed Brygos vases is patent; on the other hand, there are differences in detail and handling of the subject which betray the work of an inferior artist very susceptible to external influence. While such distinctively 'Brygan' details occur as the baskets on the wall and the bobbed hair and cross-legged pose of the flute-playing hetaira on the vase under discussion, various other features are no less characteristic of Douris or the 'Panaetios Master'—the painter of most of the vases signed by Euphronios as maker.

Thus the couch shown end on, head towards us, was inherited by Douris from Epiktetos, and a certain woodenness about some of the figures is a failing shared with Douris' later efforts; on the other hand, the angular poses, suggestive of the angularity of old age, and bald heads of several of the banqueters are to be paralleled on such productions as the Boston komos kylix signed by Euphronios as potter.⁸

Commonplace though it may appear at first sight, the subject matter of the scenes has bearing on at least one interesting problem, which has received but scanty attention in the past, namely the interrelation of the exterior and interior pictures of kylikes.

In the earliest red-figure kylikes, *e.g.* those of Epiktetos which have external designs, and those of the various painters who worked for Pamphaios and Chachrylion, no thought whatever seems to have been given to the matching of the scenes on even the opposite sides of the exterior. Thus in the two kylikes by Epiktetos in the British Museum, E 37 and E 38⁹ a mythological

⁷ F.R. 125.

⁸ Best published in the 1888 *Burlington Club Catalogue*, No. 8, Pls. IV-VI; also Hartwig, Pls. XLVII, XLVIII. = Hoppin, *l.c.* p. 387. The much-restored kylix in St.

Petersburg (Hartwig, Pls. XLVIII and XLIX.) is also interesting in this connexion.

⁹ Hoppin, *l.c.* pp. 310-11; F.R. 73 = Hoppin, *l.c.* p. 313.

scene—Theseus and the Minotaur: Herakles and Busiris—is opposed on the exterior to a symposium scene, the break being marked by large handle ornaments, while the interiors of both bear convivial scenes of a type not specially harmonising with those on the exterior. Approximately contemporary with these are the Corneto kylix by Euxitheos and Oltes¹⁰ and the Florence Theseus kylix of Chachrylion,¹¹ both of which show advance, inasmuch as the handle ornaments are suppressed and the design carried without a break right round the exterior, forming in one case a continuous scene,¹² in the other six scenes forming a continuous narrative. In neither case, however, has the internal figure-subject, in one case a young warrior, in the other a flying love-god, the slightest possible connexion with the rest.

Nor is there any advance in the Munich kylix painted by Euphronios for Chachrylion,¹³ nor in the Berlin Sosias kylix,¹⁴ also probably painted by Euphronios; nay, rather a retrogression, as composition is not that great artist's strongest point. Here the external scenes must be conceived of as forming a straight frieze bent round to form a circle, the break between the beginning and end of which is marked by a more or less irrelevant detail under one handle, in the first case a palm tree, in the second a female head in a curious reserved medallion.

Taking these cases as typical of countless others, we may generalise and say that, up to about 500 B.C. or thereabouts, it had not occurred to the leading kylix painters to evolve one comprehensive scheme of decoration for the whole vase,¹⁵ and when, as occasionally does occur, in battle, athletic and thiasos scenes, the interior design does happen to be of the same nature as the others, it is a pure accident.

It is in the workshop of Euphronios in the latter part of his career, and in those of his contemporaries Hieron and Douris, that we first meet with undoubted attempts to bring interior and exterior designs into close relationship. Thus the New York Herakles kylix,¹⁶ painted by the 'Panaitios Master' for Euphronios, and the Louvre Menon kylix,¹⁷ G 115, painted by Douris for Kallides, each bear three scenes from a single group of myths, the exploits of Herakles and the Trojan War. More to the point as regards the vase under discussion are the numerous products of both these artists with scenes of a genre character, athletic, convivial, Dionysiac, or military, not to mention the innumerable 'conversations' and thiasos scenes painted for Hieron by Makron, in which exterior and interior tally exactly in character, assuredly of set purpose. To quote a few instances accessible in excellent publications, we may mention the Boston komos kylix already mentioned, the Munich Hieron

¹⁰ *Mus. In. v.* Pls. XXIII, XXIV. — Hoppin, ii. p. 251.

¹¹ *Museo Italiano*, iii. Pl. II. — Hoppin, i. p. 153.

¹² The presence of a small and inconspicuous palmette under each handle hardly influences the general unity of the design.

¹³ P.R. 22 — Hoppin, i. p. 391.

¹⁴ P.R. 123 — Hoppin, ii. p. 422.

¹⁵ Thus the Panphaios kylix, which is

adorned outside and in with eleven running warriors, all exactly alike save for their shield device, can hardly be quoted as an instance of design at all. It merely betokens lack of ideas on the part of the artist.

¹⁶ *A.J.A.* 1916, Pls. II-VI. — Hoppin, i. p. 393.

¹⁷ *B.C.* vi. Pl. VII. — Hoppin, i. p. 245, from photos.

kylix¹⁸ with seven similar pairs of Silenoi and Maenads, the New York specimen¹⁹ with seven 'loving couples,' and the Vienna kylix painted by Douris for Python²⁰ with arming scenes. In all these the closest correspondence may be noted between external and internal scenes.

No less is this the case among the vases attributed by Beazley to his 'Foundry Painter,' to an unusually large proportion of which, as compared with the works of the artists just cited, this criticism applies with full force. Besides the Berlin foundry kylix itself we may instance B.M. E 78²¹ with boxers, etc., Berlin inv. 3198²² (komos scenes), and, finally, the vase under discussion itself.

All of which leads up to the main point of our discussion: how far, in cases where the external and internal scenes of kylikes do show close correspondence, are we to consider them merely separate scenes intended to match like a modern 'pair of pictures,' and how far should they be considered actually one picture, distributed, like the frieze of the Parthenon, by force of circumstances, over various positions not all visible at once, but yet, by an artistic convention, to be thought of as if they were so?

Foreign though the latter notion may seem to modern minds, yet I think it will be admitted on considering the evidence that it is probably correct. Its origin may be as follows. In all spontaneous art—mediaeval no less than ancient, non-European no less than European—it is usual to represent successive stages in a story side by side in one picture without indication of a break. Should space not permit of this plan being adhered to, what more natural course could be hit upon than to depict each incident separately in a series of smaller spaces, if such are available? From this to a further subdivision, the spreading of the component parts of each scene over a series of separate spaces, is but a step. Its extreme development may be seen in the sculptured porches and coloured windows of mediaeval churches, where vast and elaborate compositions are depicted by great series of single figures, each occupying its separate niche or light.

To a Greek, for whom the rules of perspective, which form an integral part of our sense of vision, could scarcely be said to exist, it would probably appear just as obvious a way to represent a complicated subject from the point of view of an internal spectator, to whom the whole is only visible by turning about, as from that of an external spectator with a bird's-eye view of the whole at once.

This is just exactly what seems to have happened on the vase under discussion. The artist, or that of the model he had in mind, seems to have imagined himself standing in the middle of the *andron* of some Athenian house with couches arranged on three sides—probably—close to the walls, leaving the centre of the room clear. We will imagine the flute-playing girl of (B) to be somewhere near the spectator in this central space. Looking straight past

¹⁸ F.R. 40 = Hoppin, II, p. 63.

¹⁹ A.J.A. 1917, Pls. I—III. = Hoppin, II, pp. 68–9.

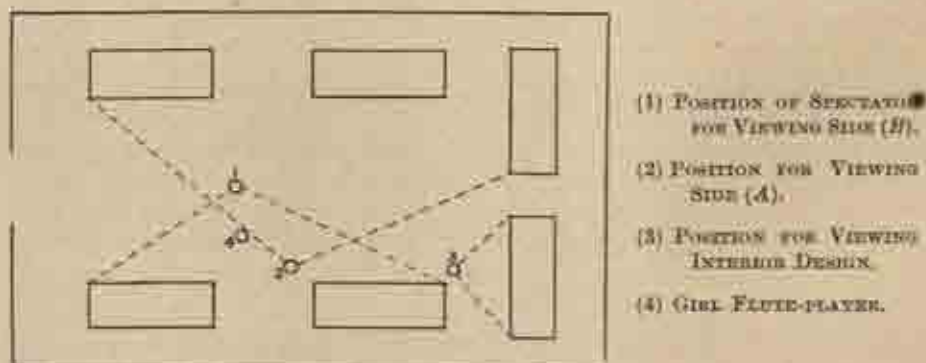
²⁰ F.R. 53 = Hoppin, I, pp. 206–7.

²¹ J.H.S. xxvi. (1906), Pl. XIII. (outside only); Murray, *Designs*, Pl. XIV. 55 (inside only).

²² *Arch. Anz.* 1892, p. 101, Fig.

her to the far side of the room, all that would probably be visible of its contents would be the two couches shown one on either side of her on (B). Should he turn about and look towards the opposite side of the room, presumably further away from him, and thus coming rather more into his range of vision, in addition to the two couches ranged along it he will get a diagonal view of the couch in the furthest corner of the room, at right angles to them. But as the art of the day is incapable of depicting an object seen corner-wise, to distinguish it from the others seen from the side it is shown as end on. Thus we get the scene on side (A). This accounts for five out of the six couches with which the room is furnished, presumably.

The sixth our spectator will see directly before him should he cast his eyes straight along the room to its far end. Doubtless in reality he would see both couches at this end of the room from his original position, but as one has been depicted already on (A), and the artist did not wish or had not space to represent it twice, we must imagine him taking a step or two nearer the end of the room so as to narrow his range of vision to include only this; the larger scale of the interior drawing lends additional colour to this latter supposition. The possible point of view of the artist when drawing the various sides is illustrated in the appended diagram:—



Probably a similar scheme could be made out with more or less completeness from any other symposium kylix of the time; such, for instance, as the British Museum 'Pilippos' kylix (E 68)²² attributed to the 'Brygos Painter' himself. Here in addition the fourth side of the room is indicated by boy attendants leaning against the columns which may be supposed to separate it from the courtyard of the house.

Probably, too, most of the komos and thiasos scenes on the kylikes of the time must be conceived of as beheld by a spectator in their very midst, the figures on the two sides of the vase being to his right and left, and those of the interior, perhaps, immediately in front of him. How far, of course, the actual artists whose works we are dealing with were conscious of this convention is hard to say; but it looks very much as if they were conscious of

²² Hartwig, *Meisterschalen*, Pls. XXXIV., XXXV.

it and that it was a new and delightful invention in their time. The idea, of course, reaches its apotheosis in the Parthenon frieze, which must be imagined as depicting the procession as beheld by some participant in its midst, perhaps Athene herself, the presiding genius of the whole, as impersonated by the statue in the temple it encompasses. On this supposition the whole scheme of the frieze becomes easily intelligible. The spectator has only to imagine himself in the midst of the ranks of horsemen riding ten or a dozen abreast, those of the north side being to his left, those of the south to his right. The groups not yet lined up on the west frieze we must imagine dotted irregularly behind him; the heads of the horses we must imagine as all facing east, the reason for their all facing north being merely that to represent them end on would be unsuited to the nature of the relief, while to show some as facing north and some south would be contrary to fact when all are really supposed to be facing one way. Ahead of us is the central scene of all, the ceremonial folding of the peplos, and behind this group and facing us is the semicircle of enthroned gods. What scheme could be more natural or convincing, once we dissociate ourselves from modern conventions of perspective?

We have already seen, on the Tithonos kotyle, a mythological scene distributed over two separate spaces on opposite sides of a vase; surely, bearing this additional fact in mind, we can employ the facts we have adduced by studying the composition of the symposium kylix, for the final solution of a problem which has baffled very many archaeologists, the subject of the exterior of the Boston Kephelos kylix,²⁴ round which Hartwig constructed his 'Baldhead Painter.' Here we have in the interior a very ordinary representation of Eos flying off with Kephalos, such as, by itself, would call for little or no comment. Running all round the outside we have a scene by itself frankly unintelligible. A warrior with one foot on the bottom of a rocky mass gazes skywards, while behind or around him a crowd of men in civilian attire, several old and baldheaded, one with a hunting net over his shoulder, run aimlessly backwards and forwards, in most cases obviously perturbed by something up above them. Surely that something is the group in the interior of the kylix; the men with nets are no other than Kephalos' companions²⁵ on his unlucky hunting trip; whether he is to be imagined as still actually visible in the clutches of the winged goddess or whether he has merely suddenly vanished skyward to the bewilderment of his companions matters little. Either supposition is sufficient to explain their attitude more than adequately. And yet a recent writer²⁶ has succeeded in convincing himself that the subject is the seizure of Salamis by the Athenians under Solon, a representation of a recent historical event such as is hardly to be paralleled in early art, Greek, Japanese or mediaeval!²⁷ Who has not seen a mediaeval 'Ascension' in

²⁴ Hartwig, *Meistertumskunst*, Pls. XXXIX., XL. = Hopph, II. p. 47.

²⁵ This was suggested by Van Brongheghem as long ago as 1883.

²⁶ E. Petersen, *Jahrbuch*, xxxii. (1917), pp. 127-43, Pl.

²⁷ Such subjects as the murder of Thomas J.H.S.—VOL. XLII.

A Becket and the life of St. Francis form no exception to this rule, as they had become an accepted part of the religion of the age, no less than the legends of such saints as St. Catharine and St. Margaret, by the time they found their way into art. The same can hardly be said of the occupation of Salamis)

which the Apostles gaze skyward in the direction whence the Saviour has vanished or his feet are disappearing in a cloud? and surely the art of an age when the victors of Greco were commemorated as tiers of saints and angels is no bad analogy for that of one which typified the downfall of the Mede by the victories of deified ancestors over Centaurs and Amazons? Surely the final proof that ensures conviction is in this case supplied by the totally independent evidence of the kotyle, in which the young musician snatched away by the goddess occupies one side of the vase, while on the other, and entirely separate, are his two companions left to their confusion.

(3) Red-figured stemless kylix, from Barone collection (Plate XII.).

Minervini, *Bulletino Napoletano*, new series, vi., p. 33, Pl. IV. (all subsequent publications are reproductions of this); A. Furtwängler, *50th Winkelmannsprogramm* (1890), p. 163 (no illustration); Roscher's *Lexikon*, iii. 1 (1897-1902), s.v. *Orpheus*, p. 1178, paragraph 103, Fig. 3; A. Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, iii. p. 248, Fig. 139 (1900); J. Harrison, *Prolegomena*, p. 467, Fig. 145 (1903); Robert, *Jahrbuch*, xxxii. (1917), pp. 146-7, Fig.

Interior unpainted; an impressed pattern of concentric circles.

Exterior: (A) The head of Orpheus giving oracles, under the direction of Apollo, to a seated youth who takes them down with stylus and tablets.

(B) A Muse with a lyre; another stands by with a taenia. Under handles large tendril ornaments. One handle and adjoining portion of the bowl missing and restored; (A) is broken across and clumsily mended. The surface of the ancient parts of the vase is practically undamaged and untampered with.

The taenia held by the Muse on (B) seems to have been originally painted in white, which has nearly all flaked off; it is only visible on close examination. Diluted glaze is used for various details, e. g. hair and the tufts on Apollo's robe, all other details are in black relief lines.

This famous vase was seen by Furtwängler in the Barone collection in Naples in 1877; how or when it came into the Lewis collection is not recorded. As Furtwängler remarks,²⁸ the old illustration, so often reproduced, gives no idea of the style, of the excellence of which he carried away an exaggerated idea. Fine and delicate it certainly is, betraying the hand of a highly skilled artist, should he care to do himself justice, but is careless and listless to a degree.

The composition is not by any means lacking in dramatic effect, though the truncated proportions of the figures detract sadly from their dignity. A further serious defect in the general effect of the vase is the disproportionately large size, compared with the figures, of the tendril ornaments around the handles. They are of the type usual in the period immediately preceding Meidias, of whom the artist was certainly a contemporary; the pose and drapery of the girl with the taenia on (B) are especially reminiscent of such figures as the 'Lipara' on the lower zone of the Meidias Hydria.²⁹

²⁸ *50th Wpm.* (1890), p. 163, note.

²⁹ *F.R.S.*

(4) Early Cycladic multiple vase ('kerchnos')³⁰ (Fig. 3).

Unpublished; origin unrecorded.

Cf. Bosanquet, *B.S.A.* iii. pp. 57-61 and Pl. IV.; J. Harrison, *Prolegomena*, p. 160, Fig. 16; Edgar, in *Phylakopi*, pp. 23 and 102, Pl. VIII. 14 (1904); Dussaud, *Les Civilisations Préhelléniques*, p. 87, Fig. 62.

Greatest diameter 18 cm.; height 15 cm.

The central bowl is an upward continuation of the foot; eight small cups are joined to it by projecting arms and to one another by cross-pieces. The whole was originally covered by a whitish slip; the outer sides of the small cups and connecting cross-bars are painted with a black net pattern, now almost obliterated.

This is the smallest and most primitive of a small series of early vases all of which, so far as their provenances are recorded, which is unfortunately not always the case, appear to come from Melos, and probably from Phylakopi, where one specimen was found intact by the British School explorers. The specimen is only about half the size averaged by the others. It was probably brought from Melos by some French explorer in the second quarter of last century at the same time as the two specimens in the Sèvres Museum, and was acquired by some private collector; unfortunately no record exists as to how it came into Mr. Lewis' possession.

In concluding I must express my sincerest thanks to the Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi College for a generous grant towards the cost of the illustrations for this article, and, above all, to Sir Geoffrey Butler, Librarian of the College, for his kindly co-operation, without which its preparation would have been impossible; to Mr. A. B. Cook, for many helpful hints; to Mr. J. D. Beazley of Oxford for much invaluable advice and criticism; and, finally, to Miss E. T. Talbot for the patience and care she has lavished on the drawings for the illustrations.

C. D. BICKNELL.



FIG. 3.—EARLY CYCLADIC KERCHNOS.

³⁰ For undoubted kerchnoi from Eleusis see Phillips, *Ep. Arch.*, 1885, Pl. IX., Nos. 5, 7, 8, and 9. Miss Harrison, in her *Pro-*

legomena, talks as if the Melian vases were identical with those, which is, of course, not the case.

HELLENISTIC SCULPTURE FROM CYRENE

[PLATES XVII., XVIII.]

EXACTLY 122 years ago the Italian Government wrested the territory of Tripolitania from the Turks, and the hope was at once entertained that archaeology, safe from the blind fanaticism that had so seriously hindered former expeditions, might reap a rich harvest from the ruins of the famous cities of the Pentapolis, and especially from Cyrene. This hope has not been disappointed. I do not intend to study here the recent discoveries under the Hellenistic Temple of Apollo or the remains of the Temple celebrated by Pindar, nor to anticipate the prospects of discovering its *stips volivæ*, or of finding the site of the earliest necropolis. To study the former we must await the completion and publication of the excavations: to justify the latter a far more settled state of the country is indispensable. I will therefore limit myself in this paper to the discussion of some of the numerous statues discovered that can be ascribed to the Hellenistic age.¹

On the night of the 27th of December, 1913, a torrential downpour flooded the platform of the Temple of Apollo and broke down part of the retaining wall at the N.E. corner. The next morning the soldiers of the garrison found, still glistening with the element from which she had been born, the beautiful statue of Aphrodite Anadyomene. Under such favourable auspices began the archaeological exploration of Cyrene. Excavations were started at once at this spot, and the work was rewarded by the discovery of the *Thermae*.² This building, if perhaps not actually erected, was extensively restored and modified by Hadrian, who decorated it with many statues of earlier date which had been injured by Semitic fanaticism during the great Jewish insurrection of A.D. 116.³ Most of these statues bear traces of having been restored in antiquity, certainly on this occasion, thus proving that they were already in Cyrene and were not imported but merely restored by Hadrian.⁴ The preservation of the statues, some twenty in all, is due to the violence of the

¹ The excavations at Cyrene are directed by Dr. Ghislanzoni, and are sumptuously published by the *Ministero delle Colonie* in the *Notiziario Archeologico*, of which two volumes have already been published, and a third is in preparation. To this publication I shall constantly refer.

² For an account of the architecture and technical details of these *Thermae*, see Guastini: *Prime note sulla struttura e*

architettura della Terme di Cirene, *Notiziario*, vol. II, pp. 129-151.

³ See *Notiziario*, II, p. 155, for an interesting epigraphical document of this insurrection.

⁴ *Notiziario*, II, p. 108. The same restorations are noticeable in many of the statues from Cyrene in the British Museum, e.g. *Catalogue of Sculpture* II no. 1403, 1404, 1405.

earthquake which destroyed the building almost to the very foundations, thus preserving its contents from human vandalism.⁵

By far the finest of the sculptures is the Aphrodite (*J.H.S.*, vol. XI, Plates IX., X.), a cast of which was at once despatched to the Colonial Exhibition held at Genoa in 1914.⁶ Yielding to the universal desire, the Government made an exception to the rule that the works of art should remain in Africa, and brought it to Rome, where it is exhibited in the Museo delle Terme.⁷ Prof. E. A. Gardner's article in the last volume of this *Journal* saves me from describing the statue at length; I trust, however, I may be allowed to examine a few points which must have escaped him owing to the insufficiency of the material at his disposal.⁸ It is hardly possible, merely



FIG. 1.—TWO GROUPS OF THE GRACES FROM CYRENE.

(a). From the Issus.

(b). From the Thermæ (small group).

on the grounds of style, for the statue to have any connexion with the fresco of Apelles, and it is very probable that the type of Aphrodite Anadyomene is older than the famous painting.⁹ A very important contribution to the study of the statue has been made by the discovery in the Thermæ of a small group of the Three Graces (Fig. 1, b). Dr. Ghislanzoni at once pointed out the striking analogy between each of the Graces and the Aphrodite. To use his own words, 'Had we found one alone of the figures we would have

⁵ *Notiziario*, II, pp. 13, 147. This earthquake evidently destroyed the whole city. In the recent excavations at the *Isopod* we have found three skeletons, the remains of victims of the cataclysm.

⁶ E. Ghislanzoni: *La Mostra Coloniale di Genova*, 1914, 2nd ed., pp. 169 ff.

⁷ R. Paribeni: *Il Museo Nazionale Romano*, 3rd ed., 1920, p. 119 n., 357.

⁸ The articles of Ghislanzoni in *Notiziario*,

I, p. 192, and of Prof. L. Mariani in *Bollettino d'Arte*, 1914, p. 171, and in *Annuario della R. Accademia di S. Luca*, 1914-15, are indispensable.

⁹ See Mariani's articles mentioned above for a detailed criticism of the Apelles theory. While some of his conclusions must be modified in view of the discovery of the group of the Graces, his remarks on the style of the statue are of the greatest value.

thought it a reduced copy of the Aphrodite.¹⁰ Now the position of the head of the central figure proves beyond a shadow of doubt that the group is a copy of a relief or painting,¹¹ and therefore the sculptor could not have copied the Aphrodite. On the other hand, the great artistic difference between the Aphrodite, a masterpiece worthy of the greatest sculptors, and the very second-rate execution of the group excludes the possibility of their being both from the same hand. Thus the only explanation of this extraordinary analogy is that both sculptures are derived from the same original, a painting of the Three Graces of the middle of the fourth century.¹² This work, probably by one of the most famous Greek masters,¹³ was copied both by a mere artisan who limited himself to the faithful translation of the picture into the round, and also by an artist of the highest order who, by isolating one of the figures and giving it an entirely new meaning, can be said to have created an original masterpiece. Such a development of an earlier artistic ideal is characteristic of the Hellenistic age, and the Venus de Milo is an excellent example.¹⁴ In this period, moreover, sculptors frequently copied reliefs and paintings in order to enrich their repertory of types. A Maenad, found in these Thermæ,¹⁵ is certainly derived from a pictorial motive.

The many points of contact between the Cyrene and the Louvre Aphrodites, both of which represent the same severe and dignified feminine ideal in direct contrast to the sensual derivations of the Cnidian type,¹⁶ induce me to look for other works that might be attributed to the sculptor of the Anadyomene. The great and beautiful statue of Apollo from Cyrene now in the British Museum can, I think, be from the same hand. A close resemblance has been noted between this statue and the Venus de Milo,¹⁷ who would thus serve as a connecting link between the Apollo and the Anadyomene. Since the Aphrodite lacks any distinctive drapery, the attribution of the Apollo to the same sculptor is ever likely to remain hypothetical, but a careful examination of the originals has led me to see a close resemblance in the artistic inspiration of both statues; a considerable realism held in check by a striving after monumental grandeur. Again the relation of the Apollo to the works that preceded it is the same as that of the Aphrodite, a modification of a fourth-century original.¹⁸ Lastly, they are both approximately of the same date and from the same site, and are both the work of a great artist. The most recent excavations at the Temple of Apollo confirm Mr. Lethaby's supposition that the Apollo and the Venus de Milo are contemporary. The ancient fifth-

¹⁰ *Notiziario*, II, p. 58 and Figs. 29, 30, where the statues are placed side by side.

¹¹ *Notiziario*, II, p. 60.

¹² Although most authorities consider that the Graces were first represented in relief in Hellenistic times (Froster: *Pausanias*, vol. v, p. 176; Roscher: *Lexicon*, vol. I, p. 883), I can see no reason for supposing them later than the Cnidian Aphrodite, and Cyrene, 'ἡ τῶν Χάριτων ἀγαθή', would be among the first to possess a group in the new style.

¹³ By supposing the original painting to have been by Euphranor, Mariani's attractive theory, based on an admirable study of the style of the statue, might still be retained. See *Boll. d'Arte*, 1914, p. 184.

¹⁴ Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, 384 ff.

¹⁵ *Notiziario*, II, p. 37.

¹⁶ Mariani: *Boll. d'Arte*, 1914, p. 183.

¹⁷ W. R. Lethaby in *J.H.S.*, xxxix, (1910), p. 206.

¹⁸ *Catalogue*, II, p. 223. Helbig: *Führer*, 3rd ed., p. 482. *Asien*, III, p. 133.

century temple was destroyed by fire and rebuilt in a late Hellenistic epoch; therefore the middle of the second century B.C. is certainly a limit *ante quem* the statue could not have been executed.

Dare we go still further and ascribe to the same sculptor the original of the charming statuette of Aphrodite Euploia, also in the British Museum? ¹⁹ The thick and somewhat massive legs and ankles and the conical and divergent breasts are noticeable in this as in the Anadyomene. It is true that the execution is very coarse, but the original status of which this is a reduced copy might well be the work of our sculptor.

Besides the group of Graces mentioned above, another and larger group,



FIG. 2.—LARGE GROUP OF THE GRACES FROM THE THERMAE AT CYRENE.

fortunately in a remarkable state of preservation, was found in the Thermae (Fig. 2),²⁰ and a third group has recently been found in an Iseum on the Acropolis (Fig. 1, a.). The three groups that have been recovered from 'the Hill of the Graces' have nothing in common except the subject, and are thus of considerable interest in furnishing three independent renderings of the same subject. The larger group derives, like the smaller, from a relief or painting, but the sculptor has taken more care in avoiding the unpleasant features that such copies usually present. The head of the central figure is in its natural position, while in a group that has just been discovered by Prof. Amelung in the *Magazzino* of the Vatican, and that much resembles our group, especially in the position of the arms, the head is turned in the same

¹⁹ *Catalogue*, ii. p. 236. Smith and Porcher: *Discoiresis*, p. 85, Plate LXXI.

²⁰ Ghislanzoni: *Notiziario*, ii. pp. 60-60. Mariani in *Tiro*, Anno xiv. (1917), n. 1.

unnatural way as in the smaller group from the Thermenae. The sculptor has even gone so far as to alter the natural shape of the faces in order to correct certain optical illusions to which the spectator is subject.²¹ The original of this group is undoubtedly much later than that of the smaller one. In the latter the figures are somewhat stiff and badly knitted together, they all stand in exactly the same position, and are totally devoid of any movement, either real or apparent. In the larger group, on the other hand, the sculptor has successfully varied the attitudes of the three figures and linked them together in an harmonious whole, skilfully suppressing as far as possible the unsightly props. The original of the earlier group is, as I have said, of the fourth century, while that of the later one presents all the characteristics of advanced Hellenistic, or even Graeco-Roman, art. The third group is again very different, inasmuch as it does not derive from any pictorial representations of the Graces, but has been formed by joining together three modified copies of the Cnidian Aphrodite.

These three groups are sufficient to prove that no artist ever produced a canonical representation of the Graces, such as Phidias made of Athena and Praxiteles of Aphrodite. The subject lent itself to pictorial treatment, and the earliest efforts were made in painting. In the fourth century there is a general tendency to represent the various goddesses naked, a tendency that culminates in the Cnidian Aphrodite. This goddess was so intimately connected with the Graces that all subsequent representations of the latter were more or less directly influenced by the standard type of the former, which would naturally form the basis of any directly sculptural attempt to represent them. This actually occurs in the group from the Iseum, the only replica that has no painting as a model. The smaller group is a very accurate copy of the original painting, for there is no attempt to disguise the defects which become very noticeable in the round. Although the sculptor of the larger group is far more skilful, we can get a very good idea of the painting which he copied from two frescoes from Pompeii, which are almost contemporary with the group.²²

It is not without much hesitation that I advance the theory alluded to above about the early picture of the nude Graces, which served as a model to the sculptors of the smaller group and the Aphrodite. Its approximate date can easily be fixed; it is earlier than the Aphrodite of Cnidos, which is usually dated about 350 B.C.²³ Had it been later its painter could not have remained so completely indifferent to its influence, which can even be traced in the eclectic later groups and paintings. On the contrary, the proportions of the figures, both in the group and in its derivative the Aphrodite, are very peculiar; the severity so characteristic of the Peloponnesian school with a lengthening of the arms and legs. The only head preserved, that of the central Grace,²⁴ is of considerable size in comparison to the body, and, although of very poor workmanship, slightly resembles the well-known head in Munich

²¹ *Notiziario*, ii. p. 73 and Figs. 35, 36.

²² *Denkmäler der Malerei*, Plates XLIX-L.

²³ Collignon: *Histoire*, ii. p. 272.

²⁴ I am regretfully obliged to contradict the rumour that the head of the Aphrodite has been found.

which certainly belongs to a non-Praxitelean conservative school of the fourth century.²⁵ The legs are long, and the knees and ankles singularly defective. All this agrees perfectly with the little we know of the style of Euphranor, who was the connecting link between Polyclitus and Lysippus. We must remember that he was a Corinthian by birth, and that there must have been active intercourse between Corinth and Cyrene, both Doric cities. The beginning of Euphranor's activity may be placed shortly after the hundredth Olympiad (380 B.C.)²⁶ and I would attribute the picture of the Graces to the earlier part of his career, before he went to Athens. A youthful work of this artist of second rank could easily have been forgotten in the days of Pliny, especially as it was in a decaying city of N. Africa. The fact that an artist who could sculpture the Aphrodite took the painting as a model proves that it must have been from some celebrated hand. Euphranor may well have been induced to represent his Graces naked as a contrast to those, probably clothed, with which his great predecessor, Polyclitus, had decorated the crown of the Argive Hera.²⁷ Since we are in almost complete darkness regarding this sculptor and painter, no attribution can claim to be more than a very tentative hypothesis, but I think that the original of the Graces and of the Anadyomene is much closer to Pliny's description of his style than many of the somewhat fantastic and self-contradictory attributions of Furtwaengler.²⁸

The central niche in the great hall of the *Thermae* was occupied by a colossal statue of Alexander the Great which has been recovered in a nearly perfect condition²⁹ (Plate XVII, 1). The king is leaning on the lance and is represented as one of the *Dioscuri*, as is shown by the horse's head at his feet. The back of his head was originally covered with a bronze *pilos* and the right hand should be restored as holding a sword. The head is an extraordinarily fine portrait of the monarch, and takes its place midway between the realistic Azara head in the Louvre and the much exaggerated later portraits, such as the one in the British Museum. It presents all the characteristics enumerated in the descriptions of the famous statue by Lysippus of Alexander with the lance.³⁰ On the other hand, the body bears almost throughout the distinctive character of the Polyclitan school with the solitary exception of the knees, where some traces may be seen of Lysippean influence. Although the right leg is bent and drawn slightly backwards, the position is more like the *Doryphorus* than the *Apoxyomenus*: there is no trace of that restless movement so characteristic of Lysippus and especially noticeable in the bronze statuette in the Louvre, usually supposed to be a copy of the statue by Lysippus.³¹ I am absolutely unable to see any relation whatsoever, except in the subject,

²⁵ Reinach: *Recueil de Plâtres*, Plate CXXI, p. 178, but he goes too far in attributing it for certain to Silanion.

²⁶ Brunn: *Geschichte der Künstler*, i. p. 314.

²⁷ Pausanias, II. xxvii. 4.

²⁸ *Masterpieces*, pp. 348-364.

²⁹ Marini: *Rendiconti del Istituto*, xlii.

pp. 93-97. Ghislanzoni: *Notiziario*, II. pp. 105-122.

³⁰ *Notiziario*, II. p. 116. Miss Taylor has rightly pointed out the analogy with the *tem-cotta* Apollo in *Villa Giulia*. *P.B.S.R.*, viii. p. 9.

³¹ Collignon: *Lysippe*, p. 51.

between the Cyrene statue and this bronze, although Dr. Ghislanzoni goes so far as to consider them both copies of the same original. The rhythm in the two statues is entirely different, as can be seen even in the drawings on which Dr. Ghislanzoni bases his theory.³² My opinion has been further strengthened by a recent inspection of the Louvre bronze. As to the head, it is obviously impossible to institute any comparisons between a much-corroded statuette a few inches high and a marble statue over life size.

The dating of this statue presents considerable difficulty. Dr. Ghislanzoni claims it for the age of Hadrian mainly on account of the use of the drill in the working of the hair.³³ This element does not seem to me sufficient to bring it down to such a late date. The use of the drill is to be found in many Hellenistic statues; it can even be noticed about the feet and toes of the Aphrodite Anadyomene. The mixture of Polyclitan and Lysippean elements is often to be found in Hellenistic sculpture and is also visible in the Aphrodite. The *sfumato* noticed even by Dr. Ghislanzoni is the characteristic mark of the school of Alexandria,³⁴ and would hardly have been so pronounced in the second century A.D. It seems unlikely that Alexander would be taken to represent a Dioscurus in Hadrian's time, when the intended flattery would be meaningless, but it would be quite intelligible in the Ptolemaic period. Finally, the statue bears considerable traces of ancient repairs. Now if we accept, as we have every reason to do, Dr. Ghislanzoni's own theory about these repairs, they prove that the statue must have been at Cyrene before the insurrection of A.D. 116, that is, before the time of Hadrian. We may therefore consider the statue an original product of the late Ptolemaic period, only indirectly, and in its general motive, influenced by the statue of Lysippus.

In connection with the statue of Alexander should be studied the colossal statue of Zeus αἰγίοχος that has been discovered in a temple near the ἀγορά.³⁵ (Plate XVIII., 1). The statue was found lying in front of a large base that bears a long dedicatory inscription to the Emperors Hadrian and Antoninus Pius.

Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι, Θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ
νιῶ. Θεοῦ Νεροῦ νιωνῶ, Τραιανῶ Ἀδριανῶ Σεβαστ[ῶ],
αὐτοκράτορι τὸ Β', ἀρχιερεὶ μεγίστῳ, δεμαρχί-
κῃς ἐξουσίας κβ', ὑπάτῳ τὸ γ, πατρὶ πατρίδος,
σωτῆρι καὶ κτίστῃ, καὶ αὐτοκράτορι Τίτῳ Αἰλίου Καί-
σαρι Ἀντωνεῖνῳ, νιῶ Ἀδριανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ,
ἡ Κυρηναίων πόλις κοσμηθεῖσα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
καὶ ἀγάλλουται.

The titles of Hadrian fix the date of the inscription between the 25th of February and the 10th of July, A.D. 138.³⁶

This temple had already been partly explored in 1861 by Smith and Porcher, who found there a headless statue of Athena and another headless female statue. The indications given in the text of *Discoveries at Cyrene* (p. 75) are

³² *Notiziario*, II, p. 119 and Figs. 53, 64.

³³ *Notiziario*, II, p. 122.

³⁴ *Dickins: Hellenistic Sculpture*, p. 21 ff.

³⁵ Ghislanzoni: *Notiziario*, II, pp. 195-216.

³⁶ *Notiziario*, II, p. 138.

not very precise, but a careful study of Smith's reports to Panizzi and Newton has convinced me that they were undoubtedly found in this temple. I intend to discuss these two statues in detail in a forthcoming volume of the *Notiziario*. We may therefore consider all three of them decorations of this temple, which was probably dedicated to the Capitoline Triad. Dr. Ghislanzoni notices a very strong resemblance between the Zeus and the Alexander, and, notwithstanding the numerous analogies that he himself observes with Hellenistic sculpture, assigns it to the age of Hadrian and confidently identifies it with the statues mentioned in the inscription. I do not think this theory can be maintained. In the first place, the inscription on the base has nothing to do with the statues that stood on it. The *καὶ ἀγάλμασιν* in the last line means that the city had been decorated by Hadrian 'and also' with statues. Had they meant the actual statues in the temple and on the base they would have said so. In fact the inscription seems to me to prove decisively that other statues are intended, and in any case laudatory inscriptions should always be taken *cum grano salis*, especially in Africa. Then this identification is disproved by the statues themselves. The Athena in the British Museum (Plate XVIII., 2)³⁷ is undoubtedly an original of late Hellenistic times. It has considerable affinity, for instance, with a statue in the Capitol, which is usually attributed to the school of Pergamon.³⁸ Thus in any case one of the statues that stood on the base is much more ancient than Hadrian, and therefore that part of the argument that founds itself on the inscription falls to the ground. There remains the part founded on the alleged late style of the Zeus. Now the aegis of the Athena closely resembles that of the Zeus. The gorgoneia are practically identical and both the aegides are fringed with little serpents in exactly the same way. In the British Museum statue they have all been broken off, but have left clear traces. They are, however, present in a replica of the statue at Newby Hall.³⁹ Even the technical treatment of the hair is the same. Then, again, the attitudes of the two statues are very similar and are both the same development of the Polyclitan type, in which the forward motion is only apparent and not real.⁴⁰ The right hip is thrust forward in a very pronounced manner, and the position of the right arm was the same in both. It was supported at the elbow by a large prop, which is still preserved in the Zeus, and has left an unsightly mark on the Athena. The right hand of the Zeus holds a thunderbolt, in the Newby Hall copy Athena holds an owl. The way the *himation* is thrown over Athena's left shoulder is exactly similar to the position of the aegis of Zeus. Athena must certainly have held a spear in her left hand, and, when complete, must have presented much the same appearance as the Zeus, so much so as to make me believe that they might

³⁷ *Catalogue*, II. p. 255 n., 1479. It is in the Graeco-Roman basement. I publish a photograph of it as a sample of the fine sculpture from Cyrene which is in the British Museum.

³⁸ Helbig: *Führer*, 3rd ed., I. p. 497 n., 883. *Capitoline Museum Catalogue*, p. 340, Plate LXXXV.

³⁹ Clarac, *Plato* 462a, 888n-Roinach, 229, J. Michaelis: *Ancient Marbles*, p. 529 n., 23. I must thank Miss Hutton for obtaining, and Lady Alwyne Compton-Vynne for granting, permission to photograph this statue. It will be published in the *Notiziario*.

⁴⁰ *C. Anti: Bollatino d'Arte*, 1920, p. 75.

both be from the same hand. The resemblance noticed by Dr. Ghislanzoni to the Alexander really supports my thesis, for we have seen that the latter statue is a work of the Hellenistic period.

But does the Zeus resemble the Alexander? Dr. Ghislanzoni says that it is so marked that both statues must come from the same workshop. I must confess that, after a careful examination of the statues themselves, I am quite unable to see it. In the Zeus all the muscles are tremendously emphasised in comparison with the Alexander. Especially noticeable is the little triangle of fat between the two pectoral muscles and the great and somewhat unpleasant prominence of the lower part of the abdomen from the navel to the pubes. The fleshy masses of the trunk and the segments of the *rectus abdominis* are very exaggerated, in contrast with the refined and somewhat flat treatment of this part of the body in the Alexander. The same can be said of the intercostal spaces and the prominent *serratus magnus*. Even the hair, which is always for Dr. Ghislanzoni the most important characteristic, is very different in the two statues. The curls of Zeus are quite different from the locks of Alexander. A definite proof can be found in the treatment of the pubic hair, which in the Zeus is in little curls and in the Alexander in tufts.

But all this does not mean that the Zeus is Hadrianic, only that it is later than the Alexander. We know enough about the state of art at Cyrene under Hadrian to say definitely that no such work could have been produced there at that time. For example, the statue of Hadrian in the British Museum⁴¹ which, as the recent excavations show, decorated the temple dedicated to him near the Temple of Apollo, is a very inferior work. It is not even all of one piece, but the head has simply been inserted on to a trunk. Surely for the cult image of their emperor and benefactor the Cyrenaeans exerted themselves to the utmost, and we may consider that statue as the best that could be produced. And Dr. Ghislanzoni asks us to believe that the Zeus is contemporary!

Finally, we must examine what has been supposed to be the signature of the sculptor of the Zeus. On one of the sides of the great base that supported the three statues there is cut the name *Ζηπίος Ζηπίανος*. This name has been placed by Professor Mariani in connexion with the names of sculptors of the school of Aphrodisias, who flourished under the reign of Hadrian.⁴² If we are to refer this name to the statues that stood on the base we must refer it to *all* of them: *all three* must be the work of this Zenion. But the other statue in the British Museum⁴³ is certainly a Roman work. It very probably represents a lady of the imperial house, and its place as Juno in the Triad may be due to a piece of gross flattery. It is quite possible that the lady thus honoured is Sabina.⁴⁴

⁴¹ *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, II, p. 224 n., 1381.

⁴² *Nomenclario*, II, p. 216 and note.

⁴³ *Catalogue*, II, p. 255 n., 1478. It is at the bottom of the staircase of the King Edward VII's Galleries. My thanks are due to Mr. A. H. Smith for leave to have this and the Athena statue photographed and for a great deal of help in my work.

⁴⁴ It bears a close resemblance to the statue in the Loggia del Lanzi in Florence. Dutschke, 389. An undoubted portrait of Sabina in the National Museum in Rome has the mantle drawn over the head in the same way. *Paribeni: Quarta* (3rd ed.), n. 387.

A fragment of the head of this statue was found during the excavations of the temple. It agrees both in marble, technique, and size with the British Museum statue. All its traits show that it is a portrait, especially the nose and the fat throat. The fragment is far too small to allow me to identify it with any certainty, but it certainly does not exclude the possibility of its representing Sabina. In fact it seems to me to resemble considerably her profile on the coins.

In any case a comparison between this certainly Roman, and possibly Hadrianic, work and the Athena and the Zeus is all that is required to prove that the two latter must be of an entirely different period. Thus the artist who made the one could not have made the others, and the name on the pedestal belongs perhaps to the actual workman who built it.

The statue of the Athena, however, cannot have been intended by the sculptor to stand with the Zeus. The attitudes are so much alike that together they must have presented an unpleasant parallel effect. My own theory is that when the temple of the Capitoline Triad was built or extensively restored by Hadrian, the people of Cyrene took as cult images a Zeus and an Athena of the same late Hellenistic sculptor which stood in different buildings in Cyrene but were both of suitable size. Even after the insurrection there must have been a superabundance of statues in the city. Hadrian was probably content to restore and distribute them anew among the principal buildings. Naturally a certain number of portrait statues of the Imperial family would be erected by the grateful population, but bringing sculpture on a large scale to the cities of North Africa was like carrying coals to Newcastle. To complete the Triad they executed a statue of Sabina and dedicated the whole to the glory of the Emperor who had shown such signal interest in their welfare.

Of entirely different character but of the same age is the statue of a Satyr carrying the infant Dionysus.⁴³ The subject makes one think at once of the Hermes of Praxiteles, but there is a complete difference in style. The movement is most characteristically Lysippean; compare it with the Louvre bronze mentioned above, which has almost identically the same motion. Yet this motion is more apparent than real; it is the motion in repose created by Lysippus which influences all Hellenistic art.⁴⁴ We shall not be far wrong in attributing the creation of this type to a modification of the Hermes or of some similar statue of Praxiteles by a Hellenistic sculptor very much under the influence of Lysippus. The statue is also noteworthy on account of the considerable traces of red colour on the prop and panther-skin. The sculptures from Cyrene have fortunately preserved to a remarkable extent their polychromy, and a statuette of an oriental divinity recently found in the Iseum is more perfect in this respect than any other statue I know of. The overturned vase upon which the panther rests its paw is pierced, and it must therefore have decorated a flow of water in the *Thermae*. But the statue was executed a considerable time before Hadrian, and the question therefore arises whether it belonged to the Hellenistic building repaired by that Emperor or whether it was taken from another part of the city altogether. We have not

⁴³ Ghidolanzoni: *Notiziario*, I, p. 200.

⁴⁴ Loewy: *La Sculptura Greca*, p. 112.

got, at present, sufficient data to warrant an answer, but I take the opportunity to point out that the Aphrodite was also used in the *Thermae* as a fountain decoration. The shape of the base is Roman and is due to an alteration of the original one in order to make it fit a niche.

The discovery in the *Thermae* of a fine replica of the well-known statue of Eros bending the bow (Plate XVII, 2; Fig. 3)⁴⁷ raises some interesting problems of Greek art and antiquities. I feel quite justified in examining it at some length, as it has usually been attributed to Lysippus, whom we may well consider the founder of Hellenistic sculpture. The principal value of this new copy lies in its very perfect state of preservation, which allows us



FIG. 3.—EROS STRINGING HIS BOW, FROM THE THERMAE AT CYRENE.



FIG. 4.—THE CAPITOLINE EROS.

to restore the exact position of the bow. In the Capitoline copy (Fig. 4), which has been usually considered the best, the restorer has made Eros string his bow by drawing it towards himself with the left hand, while forcing the two ends nearer together, the upper end with the right hand, the lower by pressing it against the right thigh. This restoration has been supported in general by the evidence of two gems⁴⁸ and of traces of the end of the bow on various replicas.⁴⁹ This restoration is impossible, both on physical and monumental grounds. How could Eros, unless he had a third hand, get the bow-string into the notch? Such a position is only possible with a straight

⁴⁷ Ghislanzoni: *Notiziario*, II, pp. 42-51; Mariani: *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1918, pp. 1-4.

⁴⁸ Furtwängler: *Die antiken Gemmen*, Platen XIV., 9; XLIII., 80.

⁴⁹ *Capitoline Catalogue*, I, p. 87; Helling: *Führer*, 3rd ed., I, p. 426.

bow. The famous English long-bow was strung by one extremity being placed on the ground against the foot, and when the bow was bent by the pulling of the left hand, the right, holding the bow-string, slipped along the upper extremity till it reached the notch. But the ordinary Greek bow was not straight. The usual epithet for a bow is *παλιπτορος*, which can only apply to the Scythian bow whose extremities curved away from the archer, and which is the weapon placed by the restorer in the hands of the Capitoline Eros.⁵⁰ In the copy from Cyrene the lower end of the bow is preserved; it passes *behind* the right thigh and its extremity is curved right up against the left leg. This makes everything clear. The right hand alone holds the upper end of the bow, the left is pulling at the bow-string; the bow is being bent chiefly by the pressure of the legs, the right one pressing down and the left up, while the hands tend to unite. This position is entirely confirmed by the few representations we have of people stringing bows. In the well-known Naples vase a youth is bending a bow by pressing his knee on it, but it is uncertain whether he wants to string it or merely render it more supple.⁵¹ But no doubt is possible in connexion with the figures on a vase in the Louvre⁵² and on a silver vessel from the Crimea (Fig. 5).⁵³ Here the position is identical with that of the Cyrene Eros, and we must infer that in antiquity this was the usual way of stringing the bow. How, then, was the Capitoline type created?



FIG. 5.—SCYTHIAN STRINGING BOW.

If we imagine the Cyrene copy restored we can see that the bow would not present a very satisfactory appearance to a spectator who faced the statue squarely. He would see it, so to speak, from the inside and in perspective, the bow-string and the bow forming two almost coinciding straight lines. This seems to prove that the statue is not designed to be seen from this point of view, but rather that it should be seen from the side, when the spectator would look on the god full-face. Eros, then, from this point of view would appear to be preparing to shoot the spectator himself, and they would thus be brought into the most direct and intimate relationship, while from the front the statue presents exactly the same defect as the group of the Tyrannicides;⁵⁴ it is not self-contained, but must be completed by the addition of an imaginary mark at which the god is preparing to aim. The position I have suggested is the one mentioned by Ovid, who almost certainly had the original of our statue in his mind as he wrote:—

⁵⁰ Darenberg and Saglio, *sub voce* Arcus. Jabl on *Trachiniae*, v. 511.

⁵¹ Schreiber-Anderson: *Atlas*, Plate LXXX. 7.

⁵² Darenberg and Saglio: *Dictionnaire*, i. p. 389, Fig. 472.

⁵³ Romash: *Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien*, p. 85, Plate XXXIII. Friedländer: *Amor mit dem Bogen des Herkules* in 27^{te} *Wunderkammerfestprogramm*, 1867.

⁵⁴ Lechat: *Les sculptures attiques avant Phidias*, p. 448.

... pharetra cum protinus ille soluta
 Legit in exilium spicula facta meum
 Lanacitque genu sinuosum fortiter arcum
 "Quod" que "canos, vates, accipe" dixit "opus!"⁵⁵

This is almost a description of our statue and of the effect it was designed to produce. It adds an interesting detail for the restoration of the original. While the tree-trunk is an addition of the copyist, the quiver, '*pharetra soluta*,' was certainly present in the bronze original, perhaps lying on the ground, whence it was taken to disguise the prop in the marble copies. But to return to the study of the development of the type. The great popularity of the original inspired at once a host of reproductions, and, since we find it on gems, we can be certain that it was copied in paintings. In pictorial art, however, the reproduction of the Eros in what I believe to be the correct position is of considerable difficulty. Drawing, far more than sculpture in the round, tends to present figures in their broadest aspect,⁵⁶ and I think we may confidently attribute to painters and to the necessities of their technique the alteration of the position of the statue from the lateral to the more traditional frontal, a position which, as there would be no need of foreshortening, was far easier and more satisfactory. From the usual point of view the statue has almost the appearance of an archaic relief in which the head is in profile, the torso full-face, and the legs inclining again to the profile. Moreover, in this position it takes up much more room—no trifling consideration for an artist who had to decorate large expanses of wall-surface. The bow, however, was a great obstacle to painting the statue in this position, for of course it would not be seen in its broadest aspect. In the two examples I have given above in which the stringing of the bow is correctly shown, the artist has quite arbitrarily drawn the bow in profile. Such an ingenuous way out of the difficulty is not to be thought of for artists of the Hellenistic age, so the only thing to do was to alter the entire movement of the statue and make Eros string the bow in quite a different fashion, possibly the way to string the long straight bow, uncommon but not unknown in antiquity.⁵⁷ Neither the Greeks nor the Romans were archers, and they were probably just as unfamiliar as we are with the niceties of toxophily. These pictorial copies, on their part, influenced in course of time sculpture in the round, and insensibly the original point of view was lost and the more easily copied frontal aspect became predominant. The great interdependence between sculpture and painting can never be sufficiently emphasised, especially in the Hellenistic age.

Let us now see what value these brief observations have for determining the style of the statue. It has been up till now almost universally attributed to *Lyxippus*, but recently Prof. Amelung⁵⁸ has, on a pretended analogy with the portrait of Menander, given it to Kephisodotos and Timarchos, the sons of Praxiteles, and Dr. Ghislanzoni thinks that the statue from Cyrena supports

⁵⁵ *Amores*, l. l., vv. 21-24.

⁵⁶ Loewy: *Nature in Greek Art*, p. 12.

⁵⁷ Darczewski and Eglio, l. p. 390.

⁵⁸ Helbig: *Führer*, 3rd ed., l. p. 428.

this theory.⁵⁰ [Prof. Mariani, on the other hand, still clings to the older attribution, and I am firmly convinced that this is the correct view. If the restorations I have outlined above are carefully considered, the figure of Eros obtains a degree of movement that could only have been thought out by Lysippus. The arms and legs are all in varied and contrary motion, and the play of the muscles, '*Muskelspiel*,'⁵¹ the real characteristic of the master, becomes remarkably emphasised. Seen in what I believe to be the correct position, it acquires more markedly than any other statue the tridimensionality which Lysippus first introduced into Greek sculpture. Loewy described the Eros as the Apoxyomenus seen sideways⁵²: seen from the correct angle it becomes almost identical with the Apoxyomenus not only in rhythm but also in position. The right shoulder is advanced in the same way as in the so-called Jason in the Louvre. Even if we admit the traces of Attic influence in the head, this is no reason for rejecting the Lysippean character of the whole. Those critics who consider both the Agias and the Apoxyomenus the work of the same master⁵³ have much more to explain. Finally, the great popularity of the Eros (there must be now some forty copies in existence) is sufficient evidence that the original cannot have been by the sons of Praxiteles, or else Pliny⁵⁴ would hardly have failed to mention it. Moreover, Pliny considers them as essentially sculptors in marble, while there is no need to enumerate all the reasons that prove the original of the Eros to have been in bronze.]

The new statue from Cyrene is a remarkably accurate copy. Not only has it preserved unaltered the original position, but its technical execution shows, especially in the treatment of the hair, a careful copying from bronze. But this general excellency is marred by the removal of the wings, which are present in all other replicas. The artist has not stopped here, but has thickened the dorsal muscles to such an extent that the back is quite deformed. This proves that the copy is an accurate one, for the copyist was no real artist, but merely a marble cutter who, had he departed from his model in any other particular, could not have produced such a pleasing work. The reason the wings were removed is probably that the copy was meant to stand against a wall, and we may therefore suppose that in the original they were not spread out as far as in the Capitoline type, but were much closer together.

Is the Eros with the bow a copy of the famous statue by Lysippus which stood in Thespiae? This is a far more difficult problem. The only positive evidence in its favour is its great popularity. If the Eros in Naples is a copy of the statue of Praxiteles,⁵⁵ we might consider the Eros with the bow to have been executed almost in emulation. It represents the Eros of Naples in action; the motive of the bow places him in more direct connexion with the spectator, but since the former attribution is very hypothetical, the latter must remain still more so.

In this paper I have no space in which to notice many other discoveries

⁵⁰ Notinaccio, ii. p. 50.

⁵¹ Loewy: *Lysippus*, p. 26, *passim*.

⁵² *La Sculpture Grecque*, p. 112.

⁵³ Collignon: *Lysippus*, p. 31. Poulsen:

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Delphi, p. 286.

⁵⁴ xxxvi. 24.

⁵⁵ Collignon: *Histoire*, ii. 267. Furtwängler: *Masterpieces*, pp. 317 ff.

of interest, but I hope the few I have described are sufficient to make the English archaeological public realise the great importance of the excavations in Libya. In the exploration of this region Englishmen in the past have taken an honourable place, and it is much to be regretted that the results of Smith and Percher's excavations at Cyrene in 1860 have received so little attention from archaeologists. Over a hundred statues from this site are now in the British Museum, many of them of great merit, and yet they are nearly all unknown. Perhaps when they alone represented Cyrenean art this indifference could be excused, but now that a regular archaeological exploration of the region has begun they acquire a far greater value. The sculpture from Cyrene should be studied as one indissoluble whole; only thus will we be able to understand the artistic activity of this remote Greek colony. The rise, greatness and fall of ancient civilisation in Africa is a subject of equal interest to the archaeologist, to the historian, and to the philosopher.

GILBERT BAGNANI.

Rome, 1921.

ON A MINOAN BRONZE GROUP OF A GALLOPING BULL AND
ACROBATIC FIGURE FROM CRETE.

WITH GLYPHTIC COMPARISONS AND A NOTE ON THE OXFORD
RELIEF SHOWING THE TAUROKATHAPSIA.

THANKS to the kindness of its owner, Captain E. G. Spencer-Churchill, I am able to describe a remarkable Minoan bronze object found in Crete, in the shape of a galloping bull with an acrobatic figure turning a back somersault over his back, both modelled in the round. Views of the group as seen in its original state from the front and side are given in Figs. 1 and 2.

The length of the bull at full stretch is 0.156 m., and the height of the group is 0.114 m. Beneath the forehead of the animal is a metal attachment of angular form, upright in front. It must in some way have served the same purpose of holding the bronze in position as the tangs or nail-like projections visible in the case of many figurines of the votive class. The bull may have been held in some kind of framework, and it is probable that the hind-legs were fixed in a similar way.

The high action and skilful modelling of this animal is altogether unique among the relics of Minoan metallurgic craft. The bronze bulls and other animals frequent in the votive deposits of the Cretan caves, from the closing Middle Minoan Period onwards, are uniformly represented in a standing position, and cannot compare with the present example for excellence of execution. At the epoch when this object was made it is clear that the art of bronze casting was already very far advanced, indeed the casting of the acrobatic figure above in one piece with



FIG. 1.—FRONT VIEW OF GROUP.

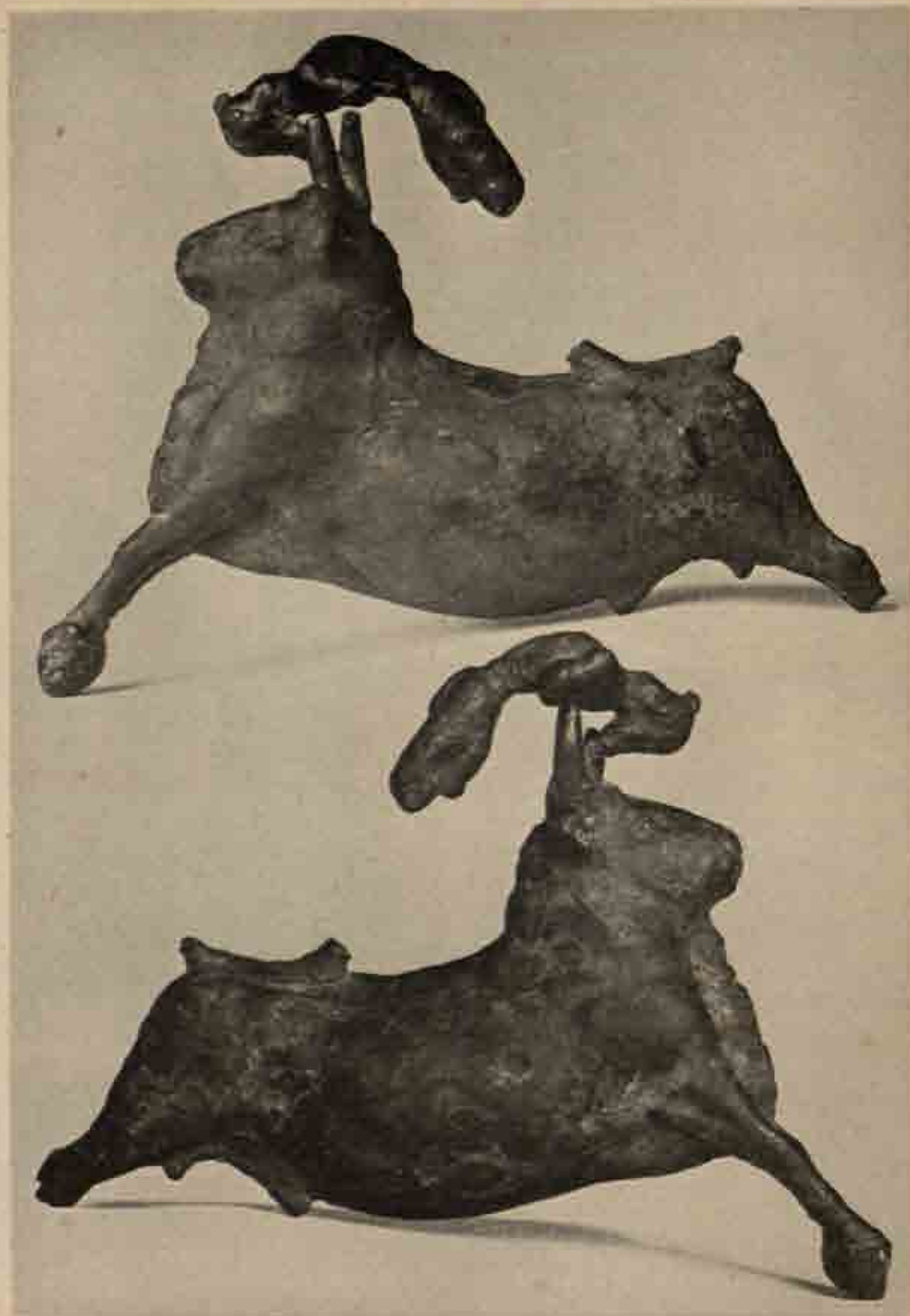


FIG. 2—*a, b.* SIDE VIEW OF BRONZE GOAT. (Scale 1:1.)

the bull must be regarded as a real *tour de force* of the early metal-worker's craft. The figure itself is attached to the animal both by the feet and by the long tresses of his hair, which are drawn together into a kind of pigtail for the purpose.

Though, as is noted below, the arrangement has been simplified by the stamping off of the acrobat's fore-arms, it is still so complicated that we must



FIG. 3.—a. GALLOPING BULL AND ACRBATIC FIGURE ON TIRYNS FRESKO.
b. "OFFERTORY" BULL ON PAINTED SARCOPHAGUS, HAGIA TRIADA.

suppose that the whole group had been first very carefully modelled in some plastic material, such as wax. The bronze is not hollow as in the later *cire perdue* process; on the other hand, there is no trace of a joint such as is often left by a double mould. The surface, as is usual in Minoan bronze figures, is somewhat rough and certain features lack definition.

The full stretch of the bull's legs conforms to the 'flying gallop' scheme¹

¹ See S. Reinach, 'La représentation du galop dans l'art ancien et moderne' (*Rev. Arch.*, 1900-1901).

very characteristic of painted representations of this class, and of which we have examples in the fresco panels of the Knossian Palace and at Tiryns (Fig. 3a). It is well illustrated by a bull on one of the Vapheio cups. It is also frequent on seals and seal-impressions exhibiting such subjects. This 'flying gallop,' as I have elsewhere shown,² was already a feature of Cretan Art by the close of the Second Middle Minoan Period. In Egypt, however, it only comes into vogue, in the wake apparently of Minoan influences, under the New Empire.³

That this was in fact regarded as the typically sacred attitude is shown by the small figures of bulls borne by ministrants as offerings to the departed on the Hagia Triada sarcophagus (Fig. 3b), which, as Dr. Paribeni has well observed, are simply copies of the standard Minoan type of galloping bull



FIG. 4.—a, b, c. ACRYATIC FIGURE.

on the frescoes.⁴ For sacrificial victims borne in the hands of votaries such an attitude is in itself quite out of place.

As is so generally the case in such Minoan representations, the human figure performing the acrobatic feat—marvellous as that feat seems to us—is from the artist's point of view a secondary consideration. The sacred animal—for such he must be regarded—is, as usual, rendered on a proportionately larger scale and in a grander manner.

The small human figure itself (see Fig. 4 a, b, c) apart from the conventional attenuation of the waist, is, however, finely executed and even the features of the face, though abnormally diminutive and incompletely brought out by the casting, were carefully rendered by the artist. The sinewy development of form, due to athletic training, is also well indicated. As is often the case with Minoan figures, the legs are disproportionately long, and measure from the sole

² *Palace of Minos*, Vol. I, p. 714, *seqq.*

³ *Mon. Ant.*, xix (1908), p. 28.

⁴ *See loc. cit.*

to the waist-band 62 mm. as compared with 45 for the upper part of the body. The lower parts of the legs from the knee to the ankle are wanting.

It must, however, be observed, that, mainly, no doubt, owing to the limitations of metal technique—still far from mature—the freedom of execution in this case does not by any means attain to the *élan* visible in the leaping youth from the Ivory Deposit at Knossos, which must be regarded as a more or less contemporary work.

As to the male sex of the figure there can be little doubt, though, so far as these feats of the Minoan taurokathapsia in its various aspects were concerned, the performers seem to have been, almost indifferently, of either sex. On the best preserved of the fresco panels from Knossos a girl, distinguished by her white skin, is seen seizing the horns, while a youth, coloured red according to the invariable convention, turns a back somersault over the bull's back, and a second girl behind seems to be about to catch him. On what must be regarded as the most artistic fragment of these frescoes¹ we again see a female figure, as well as on a fragment of a miniature group from the Queen's Megaron. The figure, moreover, seizing the bull's horns on the Tiryns fresco, from its pale colour must unquestionably be recognised as a girl. In these cases the drapery round the waist of the female performers, in all its arrangements, even in the indications of the sheathed member, is made to conform with the male fashion. The coiffure, too, of the young performers of both sexes, with its side locks and flowing tresses behind, at first sight leaves little to choose. At the same time the regular arrangement of small curls over the forehead, such as is seen, for instance, in the case of some of the Knossian figures, may be regarded as a female characteristic. Otherwise the slim athletic bodies of the two sexes present few points of difference, a female breast, however, being clearly rendered in the case of the hindmost figure in the Knossian panel referred to above.

In the designs of similar figures to be found in metal-work and on a numerous series of seal-types, where we have no colour conventions to guide us, the difficulty in distinguishing the sex of the performers becomes much greater. It appears certain, however, that the figure clinging to the bull's horns in the scene on one of the Vapheio cups is that of a girl. Compared with that of the cowboy falling beneath the animal, not only is a certain pectoral development manifest, but the tresses of the hair are much more luxuriant, and here, too, we remark the characteristic row of short curls across the forehead. In the case of the youth the flowing tresses behind are replaced by a single pigtail.

There is a kind of bunched forelock in the bronze figure of the present group, but there is no trace of the formally arranged curls. About the arrangement of the hair behind there is nothing distinctive, two main side-locks are traceable, and the whole is drawn together with the technical object of affording an attachment to the top of the bull's head. The chest is male, the pectoral muscles themselves showing only a slight development. Altogether we are bound to conclude that the figure in this case is that of a youth.

¹ To be published in Vol. II of *Palace of Minos* and in my forthcoming *Knossian Atlas*.

The girdle is rather broad,* and the drapery about the loins with the flap behind, just covering the buttocks, conforms to that of the figures on the Knossian scenes referred to and of the Vaphio cups. The costume, in other words, answers to that in vogue in the First Late Minoan Period among those who took part in such sports.

At one point indeed, as already observed, the craftsman's resources altogether failed him. The requirements of plastic art in the round made it necessary to find the support for the upper as well as the lower part of the figure in the acrobatic position in which the artist caught it, and this, as we have seen, was obtained by bunching together the hair so as to form a kind of stem rising in one piece from the bull's head. This expedient was resorted to in order to give a second support to the revolving figure of the boy, since it is necessary to suppose that his hands had already released their hold of the bull's horns, and that the arms could not therefore be legitimately used for attachment.

At the same time the arms, with a backward direction after losing contact with the bull's head, would have crossed the line of the connecting stem formed by the youth's hair, and this complication of the design was clearly beyond the artificer's powers. He therefore solved the difficulty by stumping off the arms at the elbows.

The point in the acrobat's course which the bronze group aims at illustrating may be best understood by means of the annexed diagrammatic sketch† (Fig. 5).

- (1) Shows the charging bull seized by the horns near their tips.
- (2) The bull has raised his head in the endeavour to toss his assailant, and at the same time gives an impetus to the turning figure.
- (3) The acrobat has released his grip of the horns, and after completing a back somersault has landed with his feet on the hinder part of the bull's back. This is the moment in the performance of which a representation is attempted in the bronze group, but the upper part of the body is there drawn much further back and dangerously near the bull's head, owing to the technical necessity of using the bunched locks of hair as a support.

In (4) he makes a final leap from the hind-quarters of the bull—a most difficult feat, as he would naturally be thrown violently forward. This part of the performance, indeed, would have been so likely to cause broken limbs that it seems to have been usual to station an attendant to catch the leaping acrobat and thus arrest his fall.

On the best preserved of the Knossian panels a female figure is seen about to catch the youth, who is turning a back somersault from the bull's back, and essentially the same arrangement occurs on a remarkable agate lentoid

* A curious little knob is visible on the right side of the figure. It is possibly an indication of a loop such as those on the sides of the girdle seen in the case of the Minoan bronze statuette in the British Museum

recently published by Mr. F. N. Pryce (*J.H.S.*, xli. Pt. I. Pl. I.; and cf. p. 88).

† Executed, in accordance with my suggestions, by Mr. Theodore Fyfe, F.R.I.B.A.

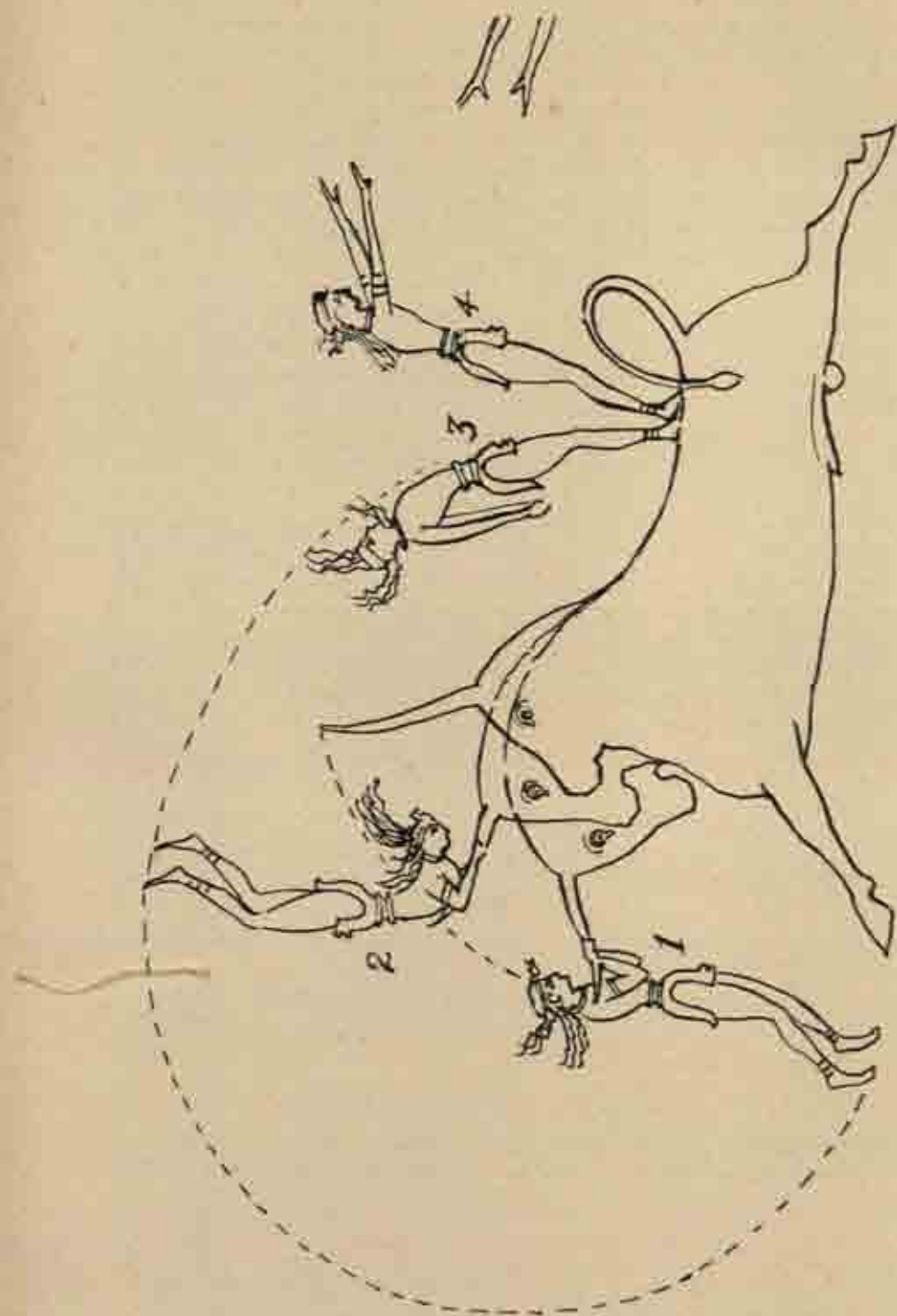


FIG. 2.—Diagrammatic Sketch, showing successive Postures of Acrobat after Grasping Bull.

from the Peloponnese.⁸ It is also illustrated, moreover, by a clay seal impression from the Temple Repositories at Knossos in connexion with an acrobatic performance more nearly corresponding with that of which we see the penultimate phase in the bronze group (Fig. 6).⁹ In this representation the acrobatic figure, the position of which is somewhat affected by the amount of field available on the signet, is performing a back somersault over the bull's head, and may have been intended to alight on its hind-quarters in the same way as in the bronze group, previous to his final leap into the arms of the attendant. It is possible, however, that in this case the intermediate position of rest was omitted, and the acrobat landed without a break after his release from the bull's horns. This, at any rate, he seems to have done in a scene on another seal impression from the Knossian Palace (Fig. 7).¹⁰ It is noteworthy that both these seal-impressions occurred in deposits dating from the close of the Third Middle Minoan Period (M.M. III. b.).

The nearest approach to the actual attitude of the youthful performer



FIG. 6.—CLAY SEALING FROM TEMPLE REPOSITORY, KNOSSOS.



FIG. 7.—CLAY SEAL IMPRESSION, CORRIDOR OF BAYS, KNOSSOS.

in the bronze group is supplied by a clay impression, of approximately the same date as the others, from the Zakro Hoard (Fig. 8).¹¹ though here again we must allow for a certain lowering of the upper part of the performer's body due to space conditions of the gem, in this case apparently a lentoid. As I have shown elsewhere,¹² this representation belongs to an interesting series in which a record is preserved of the 'triple gradation' such as that which supported the painted reliefs on the walls of the Great East Hall at Knossos. In this case the globules below give a further architectonic indication of a dado border, either with round coloured disks reminiscent of the beam ends beneath an architrave, or of their decorative equivalent, the linked spirals, such as are fully shown on some Minoan gem types. These

⁸ To be published in *Palace of Minos*, etc., Vol. II. The gem is in my own collection.

⁹ See *Palace of Minos*, Vol. I. p. 694, Fig. 514.

¹⁰ From a hoard of sealings found by the entrance of the Corridor of the Bays. *Op. cit.* I. p. 686, Fig. 504, d.

¹¹ See *op. cit.* p. 686, Fig. 504 a. This impression has been re-drawn for me from a cast kindly supplied by Dr. Hogarth. In the original publication, owing to a misinterpretation of the acrobat's arm, the animal had been described as a goat.

¹² *Op. cit.* I. pp. 687, 688.

features are of great interest as indicating that the scheme, of which we have a small version executed in the round in the bronze group, belongs to a class of painted reliefs that had, as we know, already appeared on the Palace walls of Knossos in the last Middle Minoan Period.

It will be seen that the bronze group with which we are at present concerned, and the representations of the seal-types and painted stucco panels above described, belong to a special branch of the Minoan taurokathapsia, to be distinguished from that which concerned itself with the capture by trained 'cowboys' of either sex, of wild or half-wild bulls in the open. We have here to do with much more artificial performances, which clearly took place in some 'arena' prepared for the purpose. The course of the bull in these cases can only be conceived in an area of round or oval shape enclosed by barriers. What we witness, in fact, are the feats of the Circus, performed in honour of the great Minoan Goddess, and doubtless overlooked by her pillar shrine, such as we see it in the Knossian Miniature Fresco. That on either side of this were grand stands crowded with spectators, appears, moreover, not only from the fresco panel but from the introduction of the characteristic pillars of these stands between representations of scenes of the taurokathapsia on steatite rhytons.¹²

It further appears that the remarkable painted stucco fragment found by Schliemann in the area of the tomb circle at Mycenae, in which women are seen looking out from a sanctuary window—connected, as we now know, with the cult of the Double Axe—stood in relation to a spectacle of the same kind.¹³ With it, in fact, was found another fragment in the same semi-miniature style, showing part of the back of a bull with the hands of a turning acrobatic figure above its back.¹⁴

Another interesting conclusion may be drawn from the characteristic incident of the tumbler caught by the figure who emerges at the critical moment with outstretched arms. It is evident that such immediate aid, necessary in these cases to avoid broken limbs, could only have been given if a relay of 'catchers' had been set at close intervals, possibly in some recesses arranged for the purpose along the borders of the course.

The acrobat, however, may not always have been caught in this manner. One of the Knossian frescoes referred to shows a youth springing down behind the bull with his right arm thrown back and the left forward, almost touching the border of the panel on that side, without any sign of another performer ready to catch him. So, too, on another very beautifully executed fragment we see an alighting female figure by herself in a somewhat similar attitude. The border of the panel is not shown, however, in this instance, and it cannot be regarded as certain in either case that no trained assistance was rendered.



FIG. 8.—CLAY SEALING, ZAKRO.

¹² See *op. cit.* p. 688, *seqq.*

PL. IX. (*cf. Palace of Minos*, I. p. 344,

¹⁴ Rodenwaldt, *Alt. Mitth.* xxxvi. 1911. Fig. 320).

¹³ *Ibid.*

It is noteworthy that in the two representations of the Knossian fresco panels in which a female 'taureador' is seen grappling the horns of the charging bull, the action seems to be performed by a dash from the side—indeed it is difficult to see how anyone standing in the direct course of the animal could avoid injury.

To the same group with these Circus scenes,—at least as regards the artificial arrangement of the surroundings,—must be referred the remarkable *tour de force*, illustrated by a gem, of a small acrobatic figure springing down from some coign of vantage to grapple the head of a bull while he is engaged in drinking at a high square basin. The palatial connexions of this scene are well brought out by the remarkable fact that the decoration of the tank, consisting of a lattice-work square with diagonals, corresponds with that of the painted stucco preserved on two recesses on either side of the North entrance of the Central Court at Phaestos.¹⁴

The actual enclosure of the Circus round which the bulls ran in the usual type of those 'Corridas,' may well have been, as generally in Spain and Southern France to-day, a wooden palisade. In that case it is hardly probable that the actual remains of such will come to light.

That these artificial sports of the 'bull-ring' standing in a sacral connexion go back in Crete at least to the beginning of the Middle Minoan Age, is made probable by the subject of two M.M. I. rhytons in the form of a bull found in the early ossuary tholos of Messari. There we see three small acrobatic figures clinging to a bull's head and horns in a symmetrical manner more suggestive of Circus performances than of the grappling of the wild animal.¹⁵ It appears indeed from a cylinder impression on a sealed clay envelope from Cappadocia,¹⁶ dated by Sayce at about 2400 B.C., that sports of a similar nature had existed at a still earlier epoch on that side. A bull is there seen kneeling, with a throne-like structure on his back. A man appears in front, with his face on the ground and feet in the air, falling on his left arm and with his right stretched out backwards, while to the right is a man standing on his head.

One fact that is clearly brought out by the bull rhyton with the acrobatic figures is, that by the epoch to which it belongs, that is c. 2000 B.C., the long-horned *Urus* breed of cattle was already introduced into Crete. The earlier indigenous class, a form of shorthorn, *Bos Creticus* of Boyd Dawkins, was indeed not well adapted for such a form of sport.

The *Urus*, or *Bos primigenius*, is the characteristic wild ox of prehistoric Europe. But its range certainly extended over a large Western Asiatic tract. Varro speaks of wild bulls in the Troad in the first century B.C.¹⁷ Already in the Sumerian period, moreover, as appears from the copper bulls' heads of Tello and other evidence, it was found on the Mesopotamian plains. The struggles of Gilgamesh and Ea-Bani, as seen on early cylinders, are, in fact,

¹⁴ See on this *Palace of Minos*, i. p. 377 and Fig. 274.

¹⁵ *Palace of Minos*, i. p. 189 and Figs. 1376, c, d. Cf. *Museo, Scavi di Creta*, p. 184, Fig. 85.

¹⁶ Pinches, *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, i. p. 76 seqq., No. 23.

¹⁷ Also in *Thucydides* (*De Re Rustica*, ii. 11).

a real anticipation of sports which in the ensuing age make their appearance in Cappadocia and Crete.

The Circus performances themselves must be regarded as a secondary offshoot of the prowess of early hunters and herdsmen. And this more primitive class of cowboy feats not only continued to co-exist with the other, but formed, as we know from the Vaphio vases and other sources, an almost equally favoured theme of the Minoan artists. It had, indeed, much grander potentialities and was also more fertile in tragic episodes.

It is noteworthy that the Greek traditions of the bull-grappling feats of Theseus and Herakles clearly acknowledge a Minoan source. It was at the behest of Eurystheus, King of Mycenae, that Herakles captured the Cretan bull, received by Minos from Poseidon. In the case of the Marathonian bull, the feat which, according to the Athenian legend, had been unsuccessfully attempted by Androgeos, son of Minos, was achieved by the national hero, Theseus.



FIG. 2.—OXFORD MARBLE RELIEF OF TAUROKATHARSIA.

It is true that in the later versions of the bull-grappling sports, whether in the open or in the arena, horses play a part. But with an equestrian race this may well have been a natural development.

The feats indeed, *mutatis mutandis*, were much the same. Thus one particular method of using a coign of vantage to spring at the bull's head, and so to overthrow the monster by a dexterous twist, of which we have hints in Minoan representations, was a well-known *tour de force* of the Thessalian horsemen. This feat entered into the programme of the Circus sports of the 'taurokathapsia,' introduced by Claudius,²⁰ when the Thessalian riders first wearied the animals by driving them round the arena, and then brought them down by jumping on them and seizing their horns. A special class of gladiatorial *taurokathapsia* thus sprang up, recorded in inscriptions.²¹ The best

²⁰ Suetonius, *Claud.* 21. Thessalos equites qui feros tauros per spatia agunt insiluntque defessos et ad terram cornibus detrahunt. Cf. Dio Cass. lvi. 9. According to Pliny (*H. N.* viii. 172) Caesar, as Dictator, first introduced the sport. The action of the *taurokathapsia* is described in detail

by Heliodorus (*Aethiop.* x. 30), writing in Theodosius' time, and in an epigram of Philippos (*Anth. Pal.* ix. 543 Did.). Cf. Max. Meyer (*Jahrb. d. arch. Inst.* vii. 1893, pp. 73, 76).

²¹ *C.I.G.* iii. 114.

illustration of these Circus sports is to be seen in the Greco-Roman relief from Smyrna, in the Ashmolean Museum,²² illustrating a scene of "the second day of the taurokathapsia." The riders are represented by boys, wearing round the middle part of their bodies the leather bands, or *fasciae*, that distinguished the aurigae of the Roman Circus. The relief is for the first time photographically reproduced in Fig. 9.

I am informed that the method of the sport here illustrated exactly corresponds with certain cowboy feats still practised in the Wild West of America. Young bulls or steers are there pursued on horseback till the rider, springing at their horns, throws them over and, as is shown in the relief, pins the animal down by sitting on its head. According to Pliny,²³ however, in the case of the Thessalian sport the performer was able by a violent twist of the

neck to kill the animal. Such a termination of the encounter would have eminently suited the taste of the Roman spectators.

It appears, moreover, that the earlier practice of tackling the bull on foot was still a recognised form of the sport. On the obverse of fifth-century coins of Larissa and other Thessalian cities, though the national emblem, a galloping horse, is seen on the reverse, a youth appears on foot grappling with a bull's horns and head and endeavouring to overthrow it. This earlier Thessalian version is practi-



FIG. 10.—CLAY SEALING L.M. II. DEPOSIT, KNOSSOS, WITH COUNTERMARK OMITTED.

cally identical with that which recurs in some representations of Theseus and the Minotaur. But the Herculean feat—matched by those of Gilgamesh in his struggles with Ea-bani—very closely recalls a scheme of which we have more than one version on late Minoan seal types.

The most characteristic of these designs are seen on some lentoid gems, or their clay impressions, showing a convoluted arrangement that marks the full adaptation of such subjects to a round field. This class of intaglio is very characteristic of the closing phase of L.M. I. and of the last Palace Period at Knossos (L.M. II.). A very good example of the type is supplied by a clay seal impression belonging to the Fifth Magazine there, which is countermarked by a barred Σ sign and endorsed with sign groups of the linear Class B.

²² Chandler, *Marmora Oecumenica*, II. p. 58 (cf. Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles*, etc., p. 573, No. 136).

²³ Plin. *H. N.* viii. 172: "Thessalorum

gentis inventum est, equo iuxta quadripedante, cornu intorta corvix tauros occidit."

The countermark somewhat interferes with the effect of the design,²¹ which is, however, clearly shown in a sketch, made for me by Mr. Fyfe, in which this feature is omitted, Fig. 10. A man wearing the usual peaked helmet, doubtless adorned with rows of boars' tusks, and exhibiting the usual loin attire and foot-gear, has one arm over the bull's nearer horn, which he grasps close to its root, while with the other hand he presses on the animal's lower jaw.

On a banded agate lentoid from Mycenae we see a much weaker version of a similar scheme in a reversed position (Fig. 11),²² and a similar design, in this case boldly cut, appears on a green jasper lentoid from the same site (Fig. 12).²³ Here the man holds the tip of the bull's further horn with his left hand and grasps the nozzle with his right.

The very prominent nose of the Knossian seal impression, Fig. 10,



FIG. 11.—Banded Agate LENTOID, MYCENAE. FIG. 12.—GREEN JASPER LENTOID, MYCENAE.

which is still further accentuated in the hooked type seen on the last-mentioned gem, recalls the proto-Armenoid physiognomy of what appears to have been a Minoan priest-king, represented on a seal-impression from the Hieroglyphic Deposit at Knossos, of M.M. II. date.²⁴ This, indeed, may have a real significance in showing that such feats were a special tradition of the old Anatolian stock in Crete.

Herculean feats such as the above, repeated thus in Minoan gem types, may well embody the traditional prowess of some godlike hero of the ancient stock. The Athenian tale of the great athletic champion Androgeos, the son of Minos, who grappled—in this case to his ruin—with the Marathonian bull, may well refer to the original subject of these designs. ARTHUR EVANS.

²¹ For the seal-impression as counter-marked, see *Scripta Minoa*, I. p. 43, Fig. 20.

²² Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, iii. p. 40, Fig. 28.

²³ Drawn for me by Gilliéron: See, too, Perrot, *Grèce primitive*, vi. Fig. 426, 24 (and cf. Furtw. loc. cit. Fig. 28); A. Reichel, *Ath. Mitth.* 1909, Pl. II. 5. A poor design

on a corinthian 'flattened cylinder' from Phaeacia (Savignoni, *Mon. Ant.* 1905, p. 625, Fig. 97 b) may be also cited. A half-kneeling man seizes a bull by the tips of both horns. The bull stands in an attitude like the conventional minkling cow.

²⁴ *Palace of Minos*, I. p. 8, Fig. 3a.

ARCHAEOLOGY IN GREECE, 1919-1921

THE following report has been compiled at the request of the Editors of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* and has been made as complete as the short notice given has allowed. I have to thank my colleagues of the Greek Archaeological Service and of the other foreign schools in Athens for the information, which they have so courteously placed at my disposal. Thanks are also due to the Managing Committee of the British School for permission to give a brief account of its latest work.

AMERICAN SCHOOL.

In the spring of 1920 Miss Walker conducted careful and scientific excavations at Corinth, on and around the hill where stands the Temple of Apollo, in the hope of obtaining further stratified evidence to illustrate the prehistoric inhabitation of the site. The area dug had been considerably disturbed by the building of the temple and by Roman alterations. On the south side of the temple in the lowest stratum, amid the debris of what were probably rude huts, were found quantities of pottery resembling that of the First Thessalian Period, and in the upper portions there appeared wares more closely related to the Second than to the First Thessalian Period. On the north side the deposit produced no pottery resembling that of the First Thessalian Period, but wares contemporaneous with the Second and an almost equal quantity of Early Helladic pottery. To the south-west of the Temple Hill other trial pits produced principally Early Helladic ware, though there were occasional fragments related to the Second and Third Thessalian Periods. All the areas yielded obsidian knives and stone implements of the usual types, and one piece of a marble vase similar to those of the Cyclades was also discovered. The publication of these finds, which are very important for determining the relative dates of the first three Thessalian periods and the Early Helladic Age, will be awaited with great interest.

In 1921 an expedition of the school under the leadership of Dr. C. W. Blegen, who very kindly invited members of the British School to take part, conducted excavations on the mound of Zygouries near the village of Hagios Vasileios in the plain of Kleonai, and to the east of the site of the ancient city. Here remains of all three Helladic periods were found, though the mound had been somewhat telescoped and had suffered from Christian, probably Byzantine, occupation. On the top the ruins of a considerable Early Helladic settlement were laid bare, including part of a narrow street and several houses. The houses are in plan generally rectangular, and seem to have had flat roofs with walls of crude brick resting on a low stone foundation. Some had more than

one room, though the largest was apparently a one-roomed house. But it, like many of the others, had in one corner a row of three or more pithoi for keeping produce or household stores. The street was paved with gravel mixed with potsherds and off it there seemed to be one or two small alleys. The pottery of this settlement was all Early Helladic, and a large number of complete vases were found including several with simple painted decoration, two 'sauceboats' with spouts in the shape of a ram's head, and innumerable specimens of the ordinary coated and uncoated Early Helladic wares. Other small finds comprise a bronze dagger blade, a terra-cotta seal with signs that resemble some of the earliest Minoan characters, and a small terra-cotta figurine of a woman. Above this settlement there had been one of the Middle Helladic Period, but the ruins of this seem to have been swept away in Late Helladic times, and most of the Late Helladic buildings had in their turn suffered similarly in Christian times. One or two Middle Helladic graves were found of the usual cist type known at Orchomenos and elsewhere. In one of these were two small matt-painted vases and a necklace of crystal and paste beads. In the Third Late Helladic Period a large and important house was built on the east side of the mound, where two basement rooms were cleared, which were full of unused pottery. There were so many vases that one can only assume they were intended for trade rather than for household purposes. One room yielded five store jars, one of which was extracted complete, and a mass of broken kylikes. Of these latter some thirty with painted decoration have been put together and many more will probably be restored, when the detailed study of the pottery is undertaken. They make a most interesting series and well illustrate the development of the Mycenaean kylix from the Minyan goblet through Ephraean ware. In the other room were not far short of three hundred cooking pots of a casserole type, which had been piled in rouleaux upside down, and been telescoped into one another by the collapse of the roof. In spite of this, ten were extracted unbroken. The same room produced three gigantic and six smaller stirrup-vases in fragments and quantities of unpainted pottery, small saucers, scoops, jars and so on, very many of which are still unbroken. In a drain trap just above were found a bronze knife with an ivory handle and a small gem, while near by many fragments of wall paintings came to light, unfortunately all too small for any design to be made out. The importance of this excavation lies in the discovery of the Early Helladic houses, the first so far found, and in the fine series of Late Helladic III. domestic ware.

Recent exploring work has brought to light a neolithic mound in Arcadia, between Mantinea and Tegea, with pottery of a northern type very similar to that from Corinth. It thus seems that the so-called Thessalian or northern culture was spread all over Greece in neolithic times, and that the Bronze Age people of the Early Helladic Period were intruders from Crete or the islands, to judge by the close kinship between the different kinds of pottery. This, coupled with the finding of Early Helladic ware near Vaphio and Old Phaleron, shows that the background of the Mycenaean Age on the mainland is daily growing wider.

BRITISH SCHOOL.

In 1920 and 1921 excavations were undertaken at Mycenae on the suggestion of Sir Arthur Evans in an attempt to solve in the light of the Cretan evidence some of the problems propounded by Schliemann and Tsountas. The success of the excavations was partly due to the courtesy of Mrs. Schliemann, who lent for reference her husband's original notebook of his excavations, and to Professor Tsountas, who most unselfishly gave up his rights on the site in favour of the School. The new investigations have been directed to three main spheres, the Grave Circle, Lion Gate and surrounding area, the Palace on the summit of the Acropolis, and the cemeteries.

The six Shaft Graves later enclosed within the Grave Circle were once part of a cemetery, which lay on the hillside at this point just below where the hard limestone stops and soft rock begins sloping down to the valley. Thus, this was the nearest spot to the Acropolis rock suitable for a cemetery, as graves could not be dug in the hard limestone. The cemetery began to be used in Middle Helladic times (1800-1600 B.C.), for within the Circle on the east Schliemann¹ found several and Stamatakes² found four Middle Helladic graves; and now to the south underneath two Late Helladic III. houses (Ramp and South Houses) four certain and three probable such graves have been discovered. To the north of the Circle underneath the building known as The Granary, which lies between the Lion Gate and the entrance to the Circle, another Shaft Grave was found. The contents of this had been removed in ancient times, but it still contained nineteen gold discs, some worked boars' tusks, six beads of glass paste, and two crushed vessels of lead. This grave seems later than the other six, but is probably not much later than the beginning of the Second Late Helladic Period. It cannot be later than that period because the Granary is an L.H. III. building. At the beginning of the Third Late Helladic Period, when the great Cyclopean wall of the Acropolis was laid out, the later palace built and the whole citadel replanned, it was found that the intended line of the wall running south-west from the Lion Gate would pass through the Royal Graves. Consequently the wall was made to bow outwards so as to avoid them, and at the same time the Grave Circle itself was constructed to enclose them within a kind of *temenos* and to preserve their sacred character. A careful study of the levels recorded by Schliemann has shown approximately the level of the sloping surface before the Grave Circle was built and the area enclosed was terraced. That the Grave Circle was an open space and not the base of a tumulus is proved by the finding of a line of pavement slabs laid against the upright slabs on the inside and by the erection of the *stelai* over the graves. These *stelai* are considered by Sir Arthur Evans, Dr. Kurt Mueller and other authorities to be contemporaneous with the interments; they must therefore have been lifted to the higher level when the Grave Circle was made. The Ramp, the Granary, the House of the Warrior Vase and other houses lying south of the Grave Circle are consequently

¹ Schliemann, *Mycenae*, pp. 162 ff.

² Tsountas-Manatt, *Mycenaean Age*, p. 97.

later in date than the creation of the latter and the building of the Acropolis walls, as Late Helladic III. pottery has been found below the floors of the Granary and South House. Below the Ramp House a large number of fragments of fresco came to light with L.H. I. and II. pottery. These fragments are identical in style and subject with the fresco fragments found by Schliemann,² the exact provenance of which was unknown. One interesting piece shows part of a bull against a blue ground, another two acrobats or bull-baiters, and there are many pieces of a large frieze of iris or lilies, while the commonest pattern is an imitation of wood graining which seems to indicate a Victorian tendency in Mycenaean art.

On the summit of the Acropolis the palace found by Tsountas³ has been re-explored with most interesting results. Beneath the existing palace, which seems to date back to the beginning of the Third Late Helladic Age, are the scanty remains of an earlier building, probably that in which lived the kings who were buried in the Shaft Graves. The fine staircase of approach from the south had at least two flights with lobbies and landings, was lighted by a window, and was on the whole no unworthy successor of the Grand Staircase at Knossos. From the top of this one enters a room, which probably served the same purpose as the Throne Room at Knossos, and the court, whence the megaron and domestic quarters are reached. The hearth in the megaron proves to have had ten layers of painted stucco and more fragments of the frescoes from the walls were found badly burnt, but on the best preserved can be seen an elaborate architectural background before which stands a lady with auburn hair. The domestic quarters which lay higher up the hill—the palace is built on a series of terraces and had at least two stories—have almost vanished, but at one point are the remains of a stepped tank coated with red stucco, which may have been a bath like the Knossian examples. On the other side of the court a corridor leads to the Western Portal, a massive threshold of conglomerate flanked outside by ashlar walls of poros. This entrance was probably approached by a sloping passage through a propylon situated to the north-west. Unfortunately on this side the palace ruins have suffered from Hellenistic disturbance just as on the summit they were partly destroyed by the foundations of the Doric temple. Interesting minor finds include a series of small clay cups with different coloured paints—the palette of some long-forgotten artist—a table of offerings of painted stucco on a backing of clay, and part of a bull's head rhyton in steatite. Fragments of two more such rhytons were found in a well which also yielded a clay sealing showing a sacred pillar guarded by two quadrupeds. Over them fly two doves, while a third is perched between the horns of consecration which crown the pillar. This sealing is the first of its kind to be found on the mainland and shows that more such sealings are to be expected, and perhaps also inscribed clay tablets like those of Knossos.

A re-examination of the famous relief of the Lion Gate shows that the main lines were cut out with saw and drill and that the figures thus blocked out

² *Abh. Mitt.* 1911, pp. 222 ff., Pl. IX.; ³ *Περὶ τῆς*, 1886, pp. 59 ff., Pls. 4, 5. *Jahrbuch*, 1919, Pl. IX.

were finished with the chisel. The entrance to the Lion Gate has been cleared of the fallen Cyclopean blocks, and the architectural appearance is now much more imposing. It has also been discovered from the evidence of dowel holes in the top blocks of the wings that the gate was roofed over inside, in the same way in which modern entrance gateways in Greece are roofed. One of the grave *stelai* found *in situ* by Schliemann⁵ over the Fifth Shaft Grave has been practically completed by two more pieces. The *stela* has a flat and not a gable top and was divided into three registers of equal height. The upper and lower registers contained purely decorative patterns (rosettes and spirals) and between them was framed the central register representing a man in a chariot. This fresh evidence for the shape and composition of the *stelai* is most important.

Efforts to find earlier tombs outside have been most successful. In a hitherto unexcavated area on the north slope of Kalkani hill, a cemetery which dates back to Late Helladic I times has been discovered. One tomb has no less than eight strata of interments. The first stratum is represented by the remains of at least six skeletons swept into a pit in the floor of the chamber. With them were some fine glass beads and a blue faience cylinder said to be a Mycenaean copy of an Anatolian imitation of a type derived from Mesopotamia. The pottery associated with them is of L.H. I and II types; there is a fine rhyton similar but superior to the splendid example from the Second Shaft Grave, a typical L.H. I saucer and three small alabaster. With the third interment was a stirrup-vase of the Tell-el-Amarna style showing that this and the later interments are of L.H. III. date. The fourth interment, presumably a woman, had a long necklace of white crystal, cornelian and paste beads. Of another tomb only the entrance passage has been cleared, but here were found a set of seven painted clay alabaster, a large terra-cotta spindle-whorl with a fine design of iris, a granulated gold bead, and six gems of which five are of the finest style. One, an onyx, has a magnificent lion, two other onyxes show respectively a cow suckling her calf—a scene full of sympathy—and two couchant oxen. Two cornelians have identical representations of the Mother Goddess arrayed in the usual flounced skirt and open bodice, with a fine rampant lion on either side. Below her feet three lines make a kind of exergue—an unusual feature—and above her head is a ritual object, formed apparently of snakes, from the centre of which rises the sacred symbolic double axe. In view of Hesychius' equalisation of *πέλας* with *κύβηλις* we may see in her the goddess Kybele or Rhea. Since one of these gems was found on the west and the other on the east, they may have been so placed with the intention of giving her protection to the dead amid the shades below. These and the other objects found in the entrance dromos are archaeologically of the same date as the Vaphio tomb, and so there are great hopes that when in the coming excavations the chamber itself is cleared, really important objects will be found.

A re-examination of the Treasury of Atreus, the Tomb of Clytemnestra and the other tholos tombs goes to show both from the finds and on architectural

⁵ Schliemann, *Mycenae*, p. 86, Fig. 141.

grounds that these two tombs and the smaller perfect tholos tomb fall towards the end of the series about the beginning of the Third Late Helladic Age.

This is naturally only a brief summary of the more interesting results, but the amount of fresh information that has been collected is very great. Mycenae was first inhabited in the Early Helladic Age, but does not seem to have been very important. In Middle Helladic times it advanced in civilisation and towards the end of this period arose the dynasty whose princes were laid in the Shaft Graves. About this time Mycenae rose to a high pitch of power and wealth, and it is an open question whether this was due to conquest and colonisation from Crete or to peaceful penetration by trade and the like. Whatever the cause, the Middle Helladic culture of the mainland suddenly became saturated with Minoan influence. In the first two phases of the Late Helladic Age the underlying mainland element began by degrees to affect more and more the imported Minoan style. The earlier beehive tombs are probably those of the dynasty which succeeded the Shaft Grave dynasty. Then with the Third Late Helladic Period Mycenae reached the zenith of its dominion and riches, so well illustrated by the rebuilding of the palace, the replanning of the city and the laying out of the gigantic fortifications, corresponding so well with those at Tiryns, which the Germans have now proved to be of the same date. The Treasury of Atreus agrees so well architecturally with the Lion Gate that it is possible that the great king who built the Cyclopean walls, built also for himself the Treasury of Atreus as his tomb, in the same way in which in Egypt the pyramid building kings constructed each for himself a tomb pyramid. The prominent features of this time were great accuracy in architectural planning, and amazing mechanical and technical skill in cutting hard stone and moving gigantic blocks: it was an age of monumental engineering. It was a late period it is true, but the walls, palaces and tombs of Mycenae and Tiryns prove that it was not degenerate.

The two campaigns at Mycenae have been an unqualified success; but after another season's work in 1922, principally on the tombs, it has been decided to suspend the excavation of this Homeric site in favour of a classical one.

Two minor excavations were also carried out under the aegis of the School in 1921. Professor P. N. Ure, assisted by his wife, made some additional researches in the cemetery at Ritsona in Boeotia, which yielded such an abundant harvest to the late Dr. Ronald Burrows and himself in 1907-1909. Some forty more graves were discovered, of which the earliest belongs to the 'Geometric' period, a considerable number show various phases of Corinthian pottery, and the richest series were furnished with late black-figured vases, Boeotian kylikes of the latest phase of the style, and innumerable black-glazed kantharoi. In the latest graves the vases were almost all black-glazed cups with occasional floral black-figured kylikes and small Proto-Corinthian skyphoi. Terra-cotta figurines were fairly frequent in all types of graves except the earliest, while beads, rings, strigils and other objects were also found. The modes of burial were various and there were many cremation graves. The evidence continues to point conclusively to single interments as the normal

practice, and there is every prospect that the new series of graves will throw further light on the chronology both of the pottery and the figurines, with which they are so abundantly furnished.

The other was an experimental excavation on behalf of a research committee of the British Association conducted by Mr. S. Casson at Tsalousitsa in Macedonia. This site, which the excavator identifies with Kalindolia, is large and complex, and has yielded objects ranging from neolithic to Roman times.⁸ This year a cemetery was examined on a low mound where some burials came to light during military excavations in the war. Fifteen graves in all were found which yielded a large number of spiral armlets, pins, beads and spectacle fibulae of bronze, iron knives, and several vases of strongly contrasted types. Some of the vases are plain red jugs with cutaway necks; others have simple geometric ornamentation and are compared to the earlier geometric or Marmariene-Theotokou ware of Thessaly; and some are ribbed wheel-made vases of grey-black ware. The excavator thinks that no very great period of time is covered by the burials on the mound, and dates the culture they represent to between 1100 and 650 B.C. It is proposed to continue the work in the spring, when scientific excavation should solve some of the interesting problems raised by these finds, which the excavator associates with the Dorians and Makednoi.

FRENCH SCHOOL.

In Argolis in 1920 the Mycenaean acropolis of Asine⁷ near Tolon, seven kilometres from Nauplia, was planned. The ancient fortifications were studied and preparations made for the excavations which will be carried out there in March 1922 by a Swedish archaeological expedition under the patronage of H.R.H. The Crown Prince of Sweden.⁹

The exploration has been begun of a Pre-Mycenaean and Mycenaean site near Schoinochori, which should be perhaps identified with Lyrkeia mentioned by Pausanias. The human occupation of this site probably goes back at least to the Middle Helladic Age, as Minyan ware was found. In the cemetery five rock-cut chamber-tombs with short *dromoi* yielded vases, figurines and gems of the Late Helladic Period, and some interesting observations on the funeral customs of the age were also made.

In central Greece supplementary researches have been made at the sanctuary of the Muses near Thespiai and at Thebes to prepare for the publication of the results of the excavations of Jamot and de Ridder on these sites.

At Delphi work was carried on in 1920 and 1921, when studies of certain portions of the *hieron* were continued and completed, especially with regard to the Portico of Attalos and the terrace of the Apollo temple, while the Altar of Chios has been partially reconstructed through the generosity of the modern authorities of the island.⁹ At Marmaria the exploration of the lower archaeo-

⁸ *B.S.A.* XXIII, pp. 29 ff., 36 ff.;
Antiquaries Journal, I, pp. 209 ff.

⁷ *Bull. de la Soc. des Lettres de Lund*,
1920-21, p. 17 ff.

⁹ *Revue de B.C.H.*, 1921, pp. 295 ff.
Pls. VIII-XII.

⁹ *Revue de B.C.H.*, 1920, pp. 388 ff.

logical strata has resulted in a fortunate series of finds which completely change our ideas about the arrangement of the *hieron* of Athena Pronaia. A new part of the enclosure has been found with a new entrance on the south-east, thus enlarging the *temenos* to the east of the archaic altars; and bronzes, vase-fragments and ruins of curved houses have been found on this side below the stratum of the seventh century B.C. The two buildings hitherto considered to be *heros* (of Phylakos and possibly Antonoos) belong to a terrace of treasuries analogous to those at Olympia. The *temenos* of Phylakos was probably to the north of Marmaria where excavations will be undertaken. A collection of votive offerings has been found in the second temple of Athena in *poros*. New documents have furnished quite new material for the study of the two treasuries,¹⁰ the Doric and the Aeolian, while to the west of the fourth century *tholos* an archaic crypt has been discovered which was destroyed when the limestone foundations of the temple of Athena were laid down. The foundations of the Sikyonian Treasury in the *hieron* itself, which are largely composed of the remains of rectangular and circular buildings, have been subjected to a new examination to determine better the character of these earlier constructions. MM. Colin and Courby have completed the publication of the monuments of the temple terrace, and fresh soundings have been made in the theatre in preparation for definite plans. By the way leading to Marmaria from the east a necropolis of the sixth century was discovered; and one tomb here has produced among other vases a fine alabastron signed by Pasiades and similar to the example in the British Museum which was until now unique.

Delos.—An important inscription at Mykonos, a consular law passed by the *comitia* in 58 B.C., which regulated the financial situation of Delos after the war with the pirates, has been copied and commented upon. On the north-east of the southern slope of Mount Kynthos a *temenos* of Artemis Eileithyia has been cleared, together with an altar of the fifth century, and a small temple and a series of marble votive reliefs of the third century. New discoveries have also been made in the theatre in connection with the stage. The exploration of the hippodrome has been resumed and the tribune has been cleared. In the neighbourhood several small sanctuaries have been found; one of them with a central row of columns is archaic. The vase-fragments have enabled the Archegeion to be identified, and further to the south the clearance of an avenue leading from the *hieron* to the gymnasium has been commenced.

Macedonia and Thracian Archipelago.—Round Philippi and at Philippi itself important results have been obtained. Exploration of Mount Pangaeon, the plain north and south of Philippi, and the valley of the river of Nevrokop has enabled the prehistoric sites of the Drama-Kavalla district to be mapped, and eighty-six Greek and Latin inscriptions have been found, among which may be noted a milestone of the Via Egnatia, the oldest yet known. At Philippi excavations have brought to light the *temenos* of the Egyptian gods, consisting of five parallel *cellae* with many inscriptions, and the shrine of Silvanus, which is thirty metres west of the rock with the dedication of P. Hosti-

¹⁰ *B.C.H.*, 1920, pp. 316 ff.

lius Philadelphus. In the theatre the orchestra has been cleared and the general plan of the basilica has been verified, but it does not agree very well with that given by Strzygowski.¹¹ Shafts sunk in the prehistoric mound known as Dikili Tash have yielded quantities of prehistoric pottery and many figurines, especially animals. The study of the stratification of the pottery from this important mound should provide a good sequence to form the basis of a classification of Macedonian prehistoric wares.

At Thasos the excavations interrupted by the war have been resumed, and on the Acropolis the study of the fortifications has been completed. Here a gigantic statue of Apollo Kriophoros three and a half metres high was discovered; it is unfinished, but is one of the largest examples of an archaic Apollo yet found. In the lower town the general arrangement of the porticoes in the *agora* has been determined, and in the northern portico an interesting fragment of the medieval walls of the Gattelusi came to light. In the theatre the stage buildings and the orchestra have been begun, and the arrangement of the *analemma* and the *koilon* has been made out and a study of the monumental inscription of the orchestra balustrade has been undertaken. Near the spring Archouda outside the walls the *temenos* of Archouda has been identified, with a large archaic altar and a sixth century temple.

Asia Minor.—At Notion the interrupted work has been taken up again, although the excavation house had been destroyed during the war. On the Acropolis the general topography has been ascertained. In particular the discovery of the Athenaeion to the west fixes for us the division of the city, of which the eastern half even at the end of the fifth century was still occupied by the Persians. Certain buildings are repeated on either side of the *diaterichisma* mentioned by Thucydides;¹² there were, for instance, two *agorai*. The Athenaeion has been completely cleared and its identification is verified by an inscription. It has a closed *peribolos* with an entrance to the north-east, four Doric porticoes, a sacrificial altar and a temple, which in its present state is of Roman date and of the Corinthian order. Many votive figurines of terracotta were found and some fragments of the cult-statue. The necropolis has been located, and an exploring journey between Teos and Lebedos has yielded a bag of about eighty new inscriptions, while the Proto-Ionian site of Poyteichides has been identified.

Crete.—At Mallia, some nine hours east of Candia on the north coast of the island, operations have been commenced at Kato Chrysolakkos, some four hundred and fifty metres north-east of the palace (Ano Chrysolakkos) found by Dr. Chatzidakis in 1917-18.¹³ So far attention has been directed to a square building with thick ashlar walls of the same date as the palace and with an opening to the west. This was perhaps a sanctuary: in it has been found still *in situ* a column of clay coated with red stucco with flutings of a novel type. Many small objects of obsidian, stesbite, marble, a Minoan seal, and pottery of the Middle and Late Minoan Periods were found. To the same periods

¹¹ *Baukunst d. Armenier*, pp. 843, 846.
Fig. 798.

¹² III. 34.

¹³ *Λογ. Δελτίου* IV. (1918), Παράρτημα, pp. 12 ff.

belong vases of stone and clay found in the adjoining houses and in the cemetery, though some specimens reach to a post-Minoan period. Three polychrome *larnakes* were also unearthed.

GERMAN SCHOOL.

The only excavation actually undertaken was a small trial by Professor Studniczka near the Monument of Lysicrates in Athens, which was afterwards carried on by Dr. Philadelphes with the assistance of Dr. Welter. Dr. Noack continued his work on the fortifications of Acarnania and Aetolia, and his researches into the history of the Telesterion at Eleusis. This latter study produced important results and throws further light on the plans of Kimon and Iktinos. It appears that the latter's plan was never carried out by him, as he was probably relieved of the work when Phidias and the Periclean party fell into disfavour, and its completion was then entrusted to the three architects mentioned by Plutarch. This would account for many of the peculiarities and shows that the original plan of a large columnar hall goes back beyond the time of Pericles, probably to that of Kimon. This fact, taken in connection with the discovery of the Odeion of Pericles in Athens, gives a fresh aspect to Athenian architecture of the fifth century. It was also found that the earlier roadway did not follow the line taken by the later entrance through the Roman propylaea, but ran more to the south-east. At Tiryns Dr. Kurt Mueller has been continuing his study of the walls in view of the forthcoming publication. The citadel of Tiryns, it now appears, had three periods. To the first belong the earliest entrance below the propylaea of the outer court of the palace and the walls running from it westwards and south-eastwards, so as to enclose the highest part of the hill. To the second period belongs the upper and middle citadels, except for the galleries, the south-east tower, the great gateway and the ramp. To the third period are to be assigned the galleries and other additions to the upper citadel, the great gate and ramp and the whole of the lower citadel. In the north wall of the second period there seems to have been a kind of gallery or store chamber with a flat roof supported on wooden beams. The first period is probably L.H. I. or II. in date, but the second and third are without doubt Late Helladic III. That the famous galleries of Tiryns should be shown to belong to a comparatively advanced date in the L.H. III. period is a further proof, if any were needed, that this was not a degenerate age.

GREEK ARCHAEOLOGICAL SERVICE.

Athens and Attica.—In 1921 Dr. Kastriotis resumed his excavations in the Odeion of Pericles, which he had begun in 1914.¹⁴ As a result of his two campaigns on the traditional site of the Odeion at the south-east corner of the Acropolis and directly adjoining the theatre of Dionysos on the east, he has found a building which must be identified with it, although it does not conform

¹⁴ *Αρχ. Εφ.* 1914, pp. 143 ff.

to the plan which all authorities prophesied for it. He has cleared the north side and parts of the east and west sides of a large hypostyle hall, for the rest of the area is occupied by small houses which are to be expropriated. On the north the wall is preserved to a height of three metres and is built against the rock, which has been cut away to accommodate it, and is composed of *poros* and crystalline limestone in ashlar work. It was originally faced with marble slabs. Above this ran the *diakoma*, the so-called *peripatos*, behind which were rows of seats as in the *bouleuterion* at Priene. The foundations of the east entrance were also laid bare and a large substructure on the west is in all probability that of the western entrance, which was closely connected with the theatre, for as we learn from Andocides¹⁵ the conspirators entered the orchestra from the Odeion. The seats were of marble and had in front sculptured owls, and some have been found in the Zappeion garden in the ruins of a Roman bath. The north-west angle of the Odeion adjoins the north-east supporting wall of the theatre, and ran into it far enough to cut off the upper parts of three wedges of seats. Apparently, from what we know now, both buildings were planned in the time of Pericles; although the theatre seems to have been completed by Lykourgos. Within the area of the Odeion only four column-bases were found *in situ*, but the places where the others stood are quite clear. They were six metres apart and there were in all, it is calculated, six rows of six columns each. These marble columns probably belonged not to the Odeion of Pericles, which very likely had wooden columns, but to the Odeion as it was restored by Ariobarzanes of Cappadocia, after its destruction during the siege of Athens by Sulla in 86 B.C. The column drum with the dedication to Ariobarzanes,¹⁶ which stands near the temple of Dionysos below the theatre, was one of them, as it is of the same marble and has the same diameter. It very probably supported a statue of the king, the head of which has been recognised.¹⁷ Between the columns the floor was paved with slabs probably of marble; none of these have as yet been identified and none found *in situ*, and the discovery of three large limekilns of later times within the area explains their disappearance. The restored Odeion seems to have perished by fire, for a thick stratum of wood ash was found during the excavations.

The most important result of this excavation has been to show that the Odeion of Pericles was not a circular building as most authorities have hitherto assumed,¹⁸ according to a misinterpretation of the passage of Plutarch describing its likeness to the tent of Xerxes. The Odeion was certainly a large rectangular hypostyle hall cut on the north side into the rock and on the south built upon an artificial terrace. Plutarch's reference to the tent of Xerxes applies only to the roof, which was sloping and possibly round. Dr. Kastriotis, who is much to be congratulated on the success of his patient efforts, compares the relations of the Odeion and the Theatre to those of the Thersilion with the theatre at Megalopolis. Dr. Doerpfeld and all other archaeologists who

¹⁵ *De Myst.* 38.

¹⁶ *Apex Ep. loc.* Fig. 17.

¹⁷ *Apex Ep. loc.* Fig. 20.

¹⁸ Cf. Weller, *Mon. of Athens*, pp. 200 ff.

have seen the excavations are in entire agreement with him that he has at last solved a very interesting problem of Athenian topography.

Dr. Leonardos' latest work at the Amphiareion has already been described elsewhere.¹⁹

As remarked above, Dr. Philadelphis continued, with the assistance of Dr. Welter of the German School, the excavations begun by Professor Studniczka by the Monument of Lysicrates. At a depth of three metres the pavement of the Street of Tripods appeared, and by it the foundations of two other choragic monuments, probably like that of Lysicrates, while on the north side also a similar foundation was cleared. Trials were made to trace the line of the Street of Tripods towards the theatre, and in the course of these some parts of the Odeion of Pericles came to light.

Argolis and Corinthia.—In 1919 and 1920 Dr. Philadelphis excavated five chamber-tombs at Priphiani south of Mycenae and two at Mycenae itself. All were of the Third Late Helladic Period. The Priphiani tombs yielded principally vases of well-known types, but one of the Mycenae tombs contained an interesting gem. This, an onyx, shows three female figures dancing with their arms akimbo. The central figure is larger than the others and probably represents a goddess. The same archaeologist has also commenced operations at Sikyon with the assistance of Dr. Welter. Near the theatre he has cleared a stoa and a rock sanctuary, probably of the nymphs, a spring and a cistern whence water was led in pipes to the *agora* and town. Near by has been discovered a hypostyle hall with three rows of seats and sixteen columns, which is probably the *bouleuterion* mentioned by Pausanias. North-east of the theatre, beside a building cleared by the Americans many years ago, the excavator found the substructure of an important building which he thinks may be either that of the temple of Artemis Limnia or of the Stoa of Kleisthenes, both mentioned by Pausanias.

Achaia.—In the summer of 1921 Dr. Kyprissis began excavations in the cemetery of the ancient Olenos near the modern village of Kato Achaia, where local tradition reported great treasures had been found. In fact a rich tomb, well constructed with *poros* slabs and one and a half metres long by one broad, was excavated. This had belonged to a wealthy family of the third century B.C. and had contained several bodies. It seems certain at least that there were buried in it a man, a woman, and a child, to judge by the gold ornaments recovered. These ornaments principally consist of wreaths in the form of leaves of many different kinds, olive, oak, myrtle, etc. The wreath with oak leaves and that of the child have in the centre a head of Medusa probably with an apotropaic object. There were several diadems of curious form, but only one was complete. The grave-clothes consisted of some stuff woven partly with gold thread, for in the earth of the tomb was found a great quantity of fine gold thread, which, being metallic, had survived when the rest of the stuff perished. There were also sewn on to the clothes small gold ornaments with various figures such as small Erotes, Pegasus, Helios and so on. Other finds include

¹⁹ *Arch.* 26. 1919, pp. 99 ff.

earrings with winged Nikai or three-legged designs, a necklace from which hung myrtle leaves, several finger-rings, and bracelets in the form of snakes. Beside the gold objects there were some fragments of bronze and silver, and a few poor clay vases, one of which contained rouge so that the deceased could still beautify herself in the other world.

Boeotia and Phocis.—Dr. Papadakis has completed his excavation at the monastery of the Taxiarches near Koroneia, and found many very important inscriptions. Apart from the usual crop of grave *stelai*, there is one dealing with the sale of a large estate to a sanctuary of the Egyptian gods, and a series of five long imperial rescripts from Hadrian, Antoninus Pius and M. Aurelius relating to the construction of dykes in the west part of the Kopais basin, towards which funds were contributed from the imperial privy purse. On Mount Oeta at a place called Marmara (on the Xerovouni of Pavliane) he has continued his excavation of the shrine of Herakles. Apart from the great rectangular pit of burnt debris, full of bones of oxen, pigs and rams, clay vases and bronzes, a small Doric shrine has been cleared. This, which stands on the remains of a yet older shrine of *poros*, has two unfluted columns *in antis* at each end and store-chambers closed by gratings constructed between the columns and the *antae*. There was an altar in front and some distance away a long *stoa* of seven rooms dating from the times of the Aetolian League, though to judge by the deeper finds it was first built at an earlier period. Among the burnt debris were a few fragments of black-figured vases, but the most noticeable finds are two bronze statuettes of Herakles striding forward with upraised club, several bronzes bearing votive inscriptions to Herakles, a bronze and an iron club, and tiles from the *stoa* with the inscriptions IEPAIH [PAKAEOTΣ] or IEPOCH [PAKAEOTΣ]. There are a few coins of the fourth century, many of the times of the Aetolian League, and of imperial times down to Maximinus.

At Thebes Dr. Keramopoulos continued his exploration of the House of Kadmos with great success. It is now clear that there were two palaces, to the earlier of which belong the frescoes representing a frieze of ladies with elaborate dresses and carrying flowers or ivory pyxides. Below this earlier palace there are strata of the Early and Middle Helladic Periods. The later and upper palace dates from the Third Late Helladic Period, and of this a few rooms are preserved though not in very good condition. A corner wall built of large ashlar blocks is the only trace of any large room, but there are a number of small rooms and corridors, mostly store-rooms apparently. In two of these excavated this year, Dr. Keramopoulos has found a great number of stirrup-vases. One deposit of about thirty seems to have consisted of inscribed vases, for the only two unbroken specimens both have inscriptions in the mainland variety of the Cretan script similar to the well-known examples from Orchomenos and Tiryns. Many of the fragments are also inscribed, and the inscriptions, instead of being written at random on the side of the vase, form part of the design. This find of what we may term Kadmean letters at Thebes is most interesting, and the marked difference between the mainland script (as shown by Thebes, Orchomenos, Tiryns and Mycenae) and the Minoan (which is of course the parent

of the other) very likely indicates, as Sir Arthur Evans has suggested, a difference in language.

Thessaly.—Dr. Arvanitopoulos has made a small trial excavation at the Kastro of Volos which is usually held to be the site of Iolkos. Here on the neolithic stratum he has found a building (a 'palace') with a floor of stucco, and painted stucco on the walls, but as the site is covered with modern houses no details could be ascertained. At Pherai, some twenty minutes west of Velesinos on the right bank of a small torrent, he has found a large temple of the fourth century B.C. On the east side the stylobate is preserved with the two lower steps of white local marble; of the other sides the foundation is only partly preserved. The temple was Doric and hexastyle with columns of *poros* coated with stucco. Some fragments of the cornice with carved and painted decoration have also come to light. At the north-east corner are four fluted columns of *poros* of an archaic type, which with various other finds prove that there was an earlier temple built about 650 B.C. This seems to have been burnt about 400 B.C. and replaced by the building found, which was in its turn destroyed by fire. To judge by inscriptions it was dedicated to Zeus Thaulios. The finds are very numerous; there are inscribed bronze plates with proxeny decrees, bronze libation vessels, many archaic bronze figurines of animals, bronze rings, lead figurines, couchant ivory animals, terra-cotta statuettes and many bases and other fragments of statues. The vase-fragments range from the neolithic age to the third or second century B.C.

Attolia, Kerkira, etc.—At Alyzia, in searching for the temple of Herakles, Dr. Romaos has found an interesting *mausoleion* of the second century A.D. This enclosed a sarcophagus and stood on a foundation 9.30 metres square resting on four steps, the uppermost of which ended at the four angles in vultures' heads. Above the steps comes an ashlar wall topped with an Ionic frieze and cornice. Above this was a row of low *orthostates* crowned at the corners with *akroteria* of an acanthus design, in the midst of which rises an eagle holding a wreath in its beak. The whole construction had the form of an altar, and as yet no trace of a door or any other entrance has been made out, nor has the position of some Ionic columns discovered in the excavation been determined.

At Kerkira more work has been done on the great temple which yielded the famous pediment sculptures with the Gorgon and lions during the excavations of 1911-1914. The west side has now been uncovered and the results confirm Doerpfeld's restoration of the temple, and add a few fresh details. Over the *prodomos* ran a continuous sculptured frieze, and the Gorgons, which adorn the centres of the east and west pediments, were true pendants, as the western Gorgon advances her left foot and the eastern her right. Another discovery confirms the view that this was a temple of Artemis, for a pamphlet of 1812 by a native of Corfu called Vrakliotes says that a dedicatory inscription to Artemis²⁰ was found on this site.

At Thermos the continued examination of the temple of Apollo has given new and important details. The existing stylobate is archaic dating from the

²⁰ *I.G.*, IX, 1, No. 706.

end of the seventh or the beginning of the sixth century B.C., and only a few blocks were replaced after its destruction by Philip V. in 218 B.C. The long narrow building below this is clearly a temple, probably of the 'Geometric' age, and is much better preserved and more important than the early temple of Artemis Orthia at Sparta. The *cella* was divided into three as in Sicilian temples, and was surrounded by a colonnade which was curved at one end. Technically this temple is connected with the apsidal houses of the second millennium B.C. (Middle Helladic Period).

Macedonia.—Dr. Pelekides has actively carried on his researches in Salonika and the neighbourhood. Outside the western walls of the city he has found a cemetery of the time of Constantine the Great with built graves covered either with slabs or vaults. In them were vases of late Roman times, glass vessels, and many bronze ornaments such as crossbow fibulae and buckles: some of the latter are of silver and some gilt. In the Vardar quarter he has found a temple dedicated to Sarapis and other Egyptian divinities, which seems according to the evidence of an inscription to date from the very end of the pre-Christian era. This has yielded a sphinx in black stone, a statue of Athens (a copy of an original of the fifth century), and a copy of the well-known *Venus Genetrix* type, which some consider to represent the Aphrodite *de xypotoc* of Alkamenes. At the mound of Hagios Elias²¹ he has found a settlement of the six and fifth centuries B.C., perhaps the site of Therma with a cemetery near by. The finds include Corinthian and black-figured vases, female terra-cotta figurines of an archaic type, and ornaments of gold, silver and bronze. At Amphipolis an early Christian basilica with three aisles has been cleared, and also on the far side of the Strymon on the hill called Nkrantista foundations of houses of the fifth century which perhaps mark the site of Thucydides' Kerdylon.

Epirus.—Dr. Philadelphis resumed his work at Nicopolis in the summer of 1921. He completed the excavation of the temple of Poseidon and Ares found in 1913. Then he proceeded to examine the space north of the spring and great reservoir of the city. Here two adjoining buildings of the Christian period were found, one of which he thinks was a *Bouleuterion* from the presence of two marble *larnakes* or fonts. Both buildings are assigned to the fifth or sixth century A.D., because the construction and the mosaics resemble closely those of the Basilica of Dometios. With the co-operation of an officer lent by the Fifth Army Corps, he was also able to make a plan of the site, which had not previously been done.

Crete.—In 1919 Dr. Xanthoudides excavated at Niron Chani some thirteen kilometres east of Candia on the coast. Here he has cleared a large Minoan house rectangular in shape and measuring about thirty by thirty-four metres. The entrance was on the east through a porch with two columns. Within there are some forty different divisions of the house—rooms, courts, corridors, etc. Many rooms have gypsum slabs on the floors and interior walls, while the majority of the walls were covered with painted stucco. A staircase led to an upper floor which generally seems to have been divided like the ground floor. In plan and construction the house is a much smaller version of the palaces

²¹ *H.S.A.*, XX, p. 127, B 1; *H.S.A.*, XXIII, p. 20.

of Knossos and Phaestos, for there are corridors and light wells, halls with gypsum seats, rows of store-rooms with big pithoi and other details. The most important finds are four enormous double axes of bronze plate found in a room on the ground floor; one measures 1.20 metre across, and the other three .90 to 1.00 metre. In two small rooms was a store of some fifty altars or tables of offering, of painted stucco on a clay backing, with three feet. Four steatite lamps were found and some fifty vases of the First Late Minoan Period, which enable us to date the house. It seems to have been the residence of the chief of the seaside settlement, traces of which are to be seen on the beach and to the east with part of an ancient mole. The number of ritual objects found seems to exclude the possibility that they were all for use in this one house. Are we therefore to assume that the minor priest-kings of Minoan Crete kept in their hands the monopoly of supplying ritual objects, such as tables of offering, to their dependents?

Aegean Islands.—In Lesbos Dr. Evangelides has excavated at Klomidados in search of the temple of Apollo Napaïos located there by Koldewey.²² No ruins, however, of the temple were found and it seems that the ancient architectural fragments on the spot had been brought there in Byzantine times to build the church of the Taxiarches. In 1921 in continuation of his search he excavated at a place called Keramidote west of the village of Hagia Paraskeve. Here he found the foundations of a large temple very much destroyed, among and near which were discovered four column capitals of Koldewey's Aeolic type and fragments of others, so that this may be the Temple of Apollo Napaïos. In Samos the same archaeologist has commenced the excavations of the ancient cemetery of Glyphada, and cleared so far thirty tombs, which have not, however, yielded anything very striking.

Ionian.—Dr. Oikonomos has begun work at Klazomenai and has discovered the cemetery whence come the famous painted terra-cotta sarcophagi that adorn so many museums. The place, called Monasterakia, is on the east side of a small plain opening to the north-east to the Gulf of Smyrna, and the whole surface is covered with the fragments of vases and sarcophagi. About forty graves with painted terra-cotta sarcophagi not later in date than the second half of the sixth century were excavated. The burials were made without any system or arrangement and the sarcophagi were often placed one above the other, so that sometimes there are as many as six layers of them. This shows the long period during which the cemetery was in use, and ought to assist in arranging a chronological series of the sarcophagi. As in the case of those already known, the upper edges are decorated with a great variety of patterns, wavy lines, triangles, meanders, friezes of flowers and lotus buds alternately, and finally animals such as sphinxes, lions and oxen. In them nothing was found, but all around in the soil were quantities of vase-fragments. Each sarcophagus contained one skeleton, and only in one case were two skeletons found in one sarcophagus. They were usually covered with slabs of poros, and in one case with a big terra-cotta slab. On the island of Hagios Ioannes

²² Koldewey, *Lesbos*, pp. 44 ff., Pl. 16.

which formerly served as a quarantine station and lies in the bay of Klazomenai, excavations have revealed a street of the ancient city. This has been uncovered for a distance of about one hundred and fifty metres, and here and there side-streets diverge from it. It is paved with stone slabs and is four metres wide. In one of the houses at the side a fine mosaic came to light. On this within a polychrome border Amphitrite is shown riding a hippocamp advancing to the left. This central circular picture is set in a square, the corners of which are occupied by white seabirds with red legs and beaks. This in turn is surrounded by another broad decorative border, and near the door is a pretty scene of a Psyche trying to defend herself against an Eros armed with a spear. On the east side of the island another mosaic floor has been cleared. The design of this is mainly decorative, but at one point are two peacocks drinking out of a crater. The character of the building to which this belongs cannot yet be determined, but it is apparently of the Roman period. Finally on the rocky summit of the island excavations have been begun in what seems to be a shrine of Athena partly cut in the rock and partly supported by a terrace wall.

Byzantine Excavations.—In 1919 Dr. Soteriou began work at Chios in the church of St. Ildors and St. Myrope outside the city. The church in plan is cruciform with a central dome, and in the centre of the north side was a crypt with the graves of the martyrs. This church belongs to the beginning of the second millennium A.D. and is built above an older church (of the seventh century A.D.?) of which only the *atrium* could be made out. In the citadel of Chios the ruins of an early Christian basilica were found. In 1921 the same archaeologist began at Thebes the examination of the supposed site of the church of Hagios Gregorios, a building of the ninth century known from inscriptions. Part of the *diakonikon* was uncovered, and many architectural members were decorated with sculptured designs.

In Asia Minor, on the hill of Agiasoulouk, near Ephesos, Dr. Soteriou has begun to clear the great church of St. John the Theologian. This was built in the reign of Justinian, was cruciform with five domes, and largely constructed of marble blocks taken in all probability from the Artemision. There were arcades between the colossal piers that supported the domes. The excavation of this important Christian monument will be continued.

ITALIAN SCHOOL.

The Italian School has not yet been able to undertake any excavations since the war, but its members have been actively engaged in exploring the coasts of Caria and Lycia, and it is hoped that in 1922 it will be possible to begin operations on some Carian site, perhaps Mylasa.

A. J. B. WACE.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

Baalbek. Bd. I. By BRUNO SCHULZ and HERMANN WINNEFELD. Edited by THEODORE WIEGAND. Pp. 130, 89 illustrations; also Atlas of 135 plates. Berlin and Leipzig: Vereinigung Wissenschaftlicher Verleger, W. de Gruyter & Co., 1921.

This first and very splendid part of the German Oriental Society's publication of Baalbek is devoted almost exclusively to architectural technicalities: but we must wait for the second volume before the actual temples will be published. The present instalment deals first with outlying remains—the Town Walls and Gates, the Water Conduits, the Quarries, the Cemeteries and the Theatre. Then it describes the gigantic Podium of the Temple block as a whole, and finally, the Propylaea, the Forecourt and the Main Court, containing the Altar and the finely preserved tanks. This arrangement clears the way for the second volume, which will treat of the great Temple of the Heliopolitan God and the lesser Temple of Bacchus. There is reserved also all historical discussion, e.g. the dating of the various parts of the block, with which Dr. Wiegand himself is to deal. The first instalment envisages hardly any archaeological question that is not a constructional technicality: for example, it offers no precise date for the Town Walls and Gates, perhaps because they have been so largely reconstructed in Arab times that certainty is unattainable. Also it publishes almost no non-architectural finds. A rude sculpture of the Heliopolitan God and some rude terra-cotta versions of the type, all found in the 'Klarbassin' (filter-tank) of the chief Water Conduit, which comes down from Anti-Lebanon; one or two sepulchral stelae from the Cemeteries, and a mutilated statue of a seated goddess found in the Temple Court, exhaust the list. We believe that there are not many more non-architectural objects to be published even in the second volume. The operations, which Koldewey began and the ex-Kaiser blessed on his visit in 1898, continued to the end to be more in the nature of clearance than of excavation. The chief work was done from 1902 to the end of 1905, and this, as Dr. Heberdey once told the writer, was from first to last more an engineer's job than an archaeologist's, and resulted in very few plastic or epigraphic discoveries. The restoration and the reconstitution of architectural remains of the later classical times, which appealed strongly to the grandiose imagination of Wilhelm II., and have claimed most of the resources and energy of German and Austrian excavators during the past generation, constitute a great work and a great advantage not only to architectural students, but also to the sightseer: but one sighs that so little effort should have been made to explore the earlier strata of the great sites cleared superficially at such enormous expense. Our regret has been shared by more than one of the excavators themselves, notably by the late Dr. Beudert in respect of Ephesus. But, after all, we have as yet only a first instalment of the Baalbek publication before us, and perhaps in the second Dr. Wiegand, who is as interested as any one in early things, may throw light on a sanctuary and a cult, which can hardly not have been of much greater antiquity than the extant remains of the 'Kalaa' attest. This Atlas is apparently not the only one that we are to have. About a third of the 135 plates are plans, architectural drawings and restorations of the remains treated of in Volume I. of the Text. The balance is made up by splendid views of Baalbek as a whole from various points, and by photographs of remains in general and in detail. As examples of photographic reproduction the plates could hardly be surpassed. It is refreshing to be so amply assured that this sort of thing can still be done in Germany.

D. G. H.

Motya, a Phoenician Colony in Sicily. By JOSEPH I. S. WHITAKER. Pp. 357, with frontispiece, maps, and 116 text illustrations. London: G. Bell & Sons, 1921.

The small island of San Pantaleo, north of the modern Marsala, has long been recognised as the site of Motya, one of the oldest and probably after the Greek invasion the most important of all the Phoenician *emporion* in Sicily. Stormed and sacked by Dionysius of Syracuse in 397 B.C., it was not recaptured on his retreat by the Carthaginians, who, instead, established themselves at Lilybaeum on the mainland, probably because, as Mr. Whitaker suggests, the island was too cumbered with ruins. There is thus probably no Phoenician site which offers greater promise to the excavator; and the author of the book under review, after having for forty years cherished the project of excavation, had at length the satisfaction of becoming sole proprietor of the island. One could wish all ancient sites were equally fortunate. Digging was at once commenced, but then came the war and the work had to be suspended; and pending its resumption, Mr. Whitaker was well advised to publish this book, which will call attention to the site and its possibilities.

The book is, of course, only a preliminary report, and most of the problems of the town still await solution; but useful work has been done on the fortifications, the dock or 'cothun,' and the burial-grounds. The individual finds are well illustrated; nothing seems as yet to have appeared which might modify the low value set nowadays on Phoenician art. We find the usual Punic stelae, and masses of deadly dull pottery; and all finer pieces are Greek importations. A curious mosaic (Fig. 24) deserves mention; it obviously derives its inspiration from South Italian red-figure vases. We await with interest the final report which Mr. Whitaker will give us some day, after the completion of the excavation.

Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen des deutsch-türkischen Denkmalschutz-Kommandos. Herausgegeben von TH. WIEGAND. Berlin and Leipzig: W. de Gruyter & Co., 1921.

Heft 2. **Die griechische Inschriften der Palaestina Tertia westlich der 'Araba.** By A. ALT. Pp. 62, 10 illustrations.

Heft 3. **Petra.** By W. BACHMANN, U. WATZINGER, TH. WIEGAND. Pp. 94, 2 plates, 79 illustrations.

These two works form the second and third parts of Wiegand's report of the activities during the War of the German Commission for the protection of Ancient Monuments on the Palestine front. The first part, dealing with the ancient sites of the border region lying between the desert of Sinai and the hills of Southern Palestine, was reviewed in this *Journal* about twelve months ago. Part II. is a collection of the Greek inscriptions found within the same area. It must be confessed that the material is poor and unpromising; beyond a tariff inscription from Bir Saba, previously edited, there is little but Byzantine epitaphs; still the editor has striven diligently to squeeze from them such scraps of information as they contain with regard to the social conditions of this little-known Debatable Land.

Part III. is of more general interest; it is a report of a lengthy re-examination of Petra, and contains much that is new. The high dates assigned to some of the monuments will, we think, hardly commend themselves; it is startling, for instance, that the Hasné, which the late Sir Mark Sykes has somewhere aptly likened to a colossal drawing-room clock, is considered to be of the early Hellenistic period. An appendix, 'Zur Erklärung der Petrischen Felsfassaden,' by K. Wulzinger, propounds a novel explanation of the peculiarities of Petraean architecture; it is suggested that the architects, forced by the exigencies of the site to build perpendicularly instead of horizontally, developed a perspective style as in scene-painting for the stage, and that the piled-up stories with their broken pediments and adonia are meant to represent the normal domestic architecture of the period with fore and back colonnades brought into the same plane. The illustrations of some of the monuments are inadequate, but the work is of course not designed as a definitive publication of the Nabataean capital.

Muzakchia und Malakastra. By CAMILLO PRASCHNIKER. Pp. 235, 131 illustrations. Vienna: The Austrian Archaeological Institute, Alfred Holder, 1920.

An archaeological survey, made under war-time conditions, of the district of central Albania centring round the ancient sites of Apollonia and Byllis: the unfamiliar title is taken from the modern Albanian names for the area. A general survey of Albania was undertaken by Prasn timer in 1916 and published under the style of *Archaeologische Forschungen in Albanien u. Montenegro*. In late 1917 he returned for more detailed work on the Apollonia sector, 'at once the richest in antiquities and the most exposed to damage by its proximity to the fighting line.' This laudable activity was, however, brought to an abrupt end, and many of the finds were lost. Before this, however, the site of Apollonia was mapped and the walls were examined; some remains of an ornate Flavian temple had been laid bare; the western end of the Via Egnatia was visited; and a collection of miscellaneous finds of sculptures and inscriptions was installed at Durazzo. Of the sculptures mention may be made of a fifth-century relief with a wrestling scene and of a group of third-century stelae from Apollonia with Erotes and rosettes which surely must be copied from Hellenistic earrings. A mosaic from Durazzo reproduces on a gigantic scale the female head seen on Apulian painted vases; and among the inscriptions we observe the epitaph of Robert de Montfort, banished from England in 1107.

Epilogomena to the Study of Greek Religion. By JANE ELLEN HARRISON. Pp. 40. Cambridge: The University Press, 1921. 3s. 6d.

This little volume is the sequel to the *Prolegomena* and *Themis*. Very briefly and simply Miss Harrison summarises the results to which her long work on the origins of Greek religion have led her. There are three chapters; the first two show that both primitive ritual and primitive theology spring from one common source—the impulse to the conservation of life. Chapter I, 'Ritual,' emphasises the group idea as the base of religious notions—first the totem-group, arising out of the social conditions of the early human family, according to Durkheim's view; indissolubly connected with the practice of exogamy in its origin, and bearing in the embryo form of tabu all later notions of sin and sanctity. Then follows the wider idea of the tribal group with its consequent of initiation rites. Out of these groups arises the individual in the shape of the medicine-man or king-god, the ruler and yet the servant of the tribe; lastly there is to be considered the expression of the tribal wish to live, the fertility play or dance, emphasising the sequence of seasons and harvests, of death and resurrection. Chapter II, 'Theology,' traces the development of the idea of a deity; out of a succession of leaders of ritual dances comes the hazy notion of a daimon of the dance; the ritual decays or is no longer believed in, but the daimon lingers on, becoming more dehumanised, more isolated, and thus finally an Olympian deity. Chapter III, 'The Religion of To-day,' compares the primary motives which produced Greek religion with the Immanentist movement of to-day.

La Religione di Zarathustra nella Storia religiosa dell' Iran. By RAFFAELE PETTAZZONI. Pp. xix + 260. Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli, 1920. L. 15.

The outstanding feature of Professor Pettazzoni's clear and interesting sketch of the position of Zoroastrianism in the religious history of Iran is the attempt to show that Zarathustra's teaching in its closely allied features of monotheism and universalism was strange to the genius of the people of Iran, and that it was not until the Sassanian period that Zoroastrianism was able, by a process of acceptance of polytheism and nationalism, to attain the rank of the religion of the Persian people. These characteristics of the history of the faith have suggested to the author the further conclusion (pp. 82, 83) that Zarathustra drew his inspiration from a foreign source, which may be found in the teaching of Israelites, deported by the King of Assyria to Media after the fall of Samaria to Sargon II. in 722 B.C. The deportees may have sought to propagate their monotheistic views, and

the intellectual ferment thus set up may have evoked the monotheism of Zarathustra and his attacks on the *daevas* worshippers. This view renders it natural to hold that the scene of the prophet's early work lay in Media, and leads the author to deny the traditional view that Zarathustra's patron, Vistaspa, ruled in Bactria, and to hold that Bactria was a late acquisition of the Iranians (p. 75).

Ingenious as the theory is, it may be doubted if it can stand serious investigation. That the deportees from Samaria were monotheists anxious to spread their faith is a pure conjecture, and by no means convincing. Moreover, if we accept it, we are bound to adopt a late date for Zarathustra. Now, it is true that one line of tradition would place the activity of Zarathustra in the period 600 B.C., but the value of this tradition is rendered minimal by the fact that we can see the ground of its coming into being, the certainly erroneous identification of Vistaspa, the prophet's patron, with the father of Darius. Every other consideration, and beyond all the extraordinary closeness of the language of the *Gāthās* to that of the Vedic hymns, tells in favour of a date not later than 800 B.C. and possibly a couple of centuries earlier.² Nor does it seem wise to seek to trace the Iranian movement as predominantly one from west to east; later history strongly supports the natural assumption which holds that in the Indo-Iranian period Bactria was occupied by pro-Iranians. There is also some measure of exaggeration in deducing (p. 60) the universal character of Zarathustra's faith from his seeking to win Turan over to it; Turan denotes merely the nomad Iranians, and Zarathustra's teaching, despite its nobility, is clearly dominated by conceptions directly due to local surroundings, which must from the first have made it far more difficult to spread his doctrines outside Iran than it was to extend the circle of followers of Buddhism.

It is difficult also to follow Professor Pettazzoni in his distinction between the status of Zoroastrianism under the Achaemenidae (pp. 125-130) and its position in the Sassanian kingdom. Whatever may be said of Darius's predecessors, that king was emphatically a devotee of Auramazda, and if, like his successors, he believed also in other gods, the Sassanians were in similar case. Moreover, Zarathustra himself had left the way open for the recognition of inferior deities in his own acceptance of the Amesha Spenta, and at no time can we suppose that his monotheism was ever fully appreciated except in a select coterie. The attempt, which was made by the last Persian dynasty, to associate the revival of the old faith with the new national kingdom evidently failed to extend effectively the sphere of Zoroastrianism, as is proved by the success of the Nestorians and the Manichaeans, even when the kingdom could use its temporal power against heresy, and the rapid passing over of Persia to Islam when the Arabs overwhelmed the state. But, whether we accept Professor Pettazzoni's conclusions or not, recognition must be accorded to the value of his discussion and to his command of the literature.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium. By R. REITZENSTEIN. Pp. xii + 272.
Bonn a. Rh.: A. MARCUS & E. WERN, 1921. M. 45.

Dr. Reitzenstein's latest work vindicates for Iran an important part in the development of the ideas of immortality and of a Saviour in the Jewish and Christian beliefs, thus negating in essentials the results attained by Dr. J. Scheffelewitsch in *Die altpersische Religion und das Judentum* (1920). The author's views have been largely influenced to his new conclusions by study (pp. 2-10) of a Zoroastrian fragment which seems to him to contain ideas which afford a clue to the ultimate source of the doctrines expressed by Paul in 1 Cor. xv. An elaborate examination of Manichaean fragments and of the Mandaeen Book of the Dead (pp. 43-92) is made to yield the conclusion that it is fundamentally erroneous to seek in Greek philosophical developments the source of dualistic views, which can far more easily be derived direct from Zoroastrianism, and a determined attack is directed (p. 106) against Leisegang's effort to derive the doctrines of Philo from a Greek

² Compare J. H. Munier, *Early Zoroastrianism*, pp. 18 ff.; H. Oldenberg, *Die Religionen des Ostens*, p. 91.

sources. The author's arguments suffer from complication and lack of orderly presentation, but they serve to show that it is unwise to ignore the existence of the Zoroastrian creed as an important factor among the causes which brought forth early Christian doctrine. It may be feared, however, that in his enthusiasm for his cause Dr. Reitzenstein has fallen into the error of underestimating the evidence which can be adduced on the other side. Thus he traces the distinction in Philo of the *eterna substantia* and the *visibile substantia* to the Iranian distinction between the soul and the spirit, the latter embodied in matter, while the former comes from the world above; and Paul's views he would refer to the same ultimate source. Yet it must be remembered that there was ready in the *De Anima* (iii. 5) the germ of a similar distinction. If, as it is open to argue, the *visibile substantia* is inseparably combined with the body, whose form it ultimately is, then the *eterna substantia* may come from without and be divine.¹ We may believe that the Iranian doctrine may have affected Philo, but there is no reason to suppose that the conception which it suggested was in any way incompatible with the development of Greek philosophy.

In somewhat loose connexion with the main object of his work stands a treatise of considerable length (pp. 151-250) on the conception of the Aion and the eternal city, ideas which are carried back through Iran to India itself. The speculations of the *Brâhmanas* culminate in the conception of Prajapati as the year and the symbol of eternity: in Zoroastrianism there appeared at an uncertain date the conception of Zervan Akarana, time as uncreated and eternal; from this comes the conception of Aion in the Hellenistic period, and the treatment of the Aion in the Epistle to the Ephesians and in I Cor. ii. 6. In Babylon (p. 207) the Immian idea took shape in the form of the conception of the eternal city, an idea which is to be discerned in the Roman doctrine of Janna and of the *aeternitas imperii*. The theme is expounded with much curious learning and ingenuity, but the Iranian origin is very far from being proved. There is much also in the attempted demonstration that is obviously wrong: to assert (p. 175) that the seven-day week is derived from the progress of the moon through her twenty-eight stations goes far beyond the available evidence, and ignores the fact that India for centuries held the doctrine of the moon stations without thinking of a seven-day week. To suggest that the conception of a thirty-day month or 360-day year is later again contradicts the Indian evidence, which shows this division as obviously primitive. Nor is there any plausibility in the suggestion (p. 249) that the conception of the Aion as a charioteer is to be derived from the Indian view of the horse as the symbol of the sun.

A. BERNHARD KEITH.

Sanctuaires de Byzance. Recherches sur les anciens trésors des églises de Constantinople. By JEAN KREMER. Pp. 158, 24 illustrations. Paris: E. Leroux, 1921.

In this learned monograph the writer gives us a careful study of the relics preserved at Constantinople in the centuries before the sack of 1204, and so puts vividly before us an interesting side of Byzantine faith and practice. The book consists of two parts: in the first, *Les anciens sanctuaires de Constantinople*, the author discusses the most notable collections of relics preserved in the churches of Constantinople, and in the second, *La dispersion des trésors des sanctuaires*, the types of Byzantine reliquaries as they are known from the examples preserved in the churches of Europe, to which a certain number found their way after the sack of 1204. This second part gives him occasion to remark upon the influence which these examples of the art of the Byzantine goldsmiths and jewellers exercised upon western Europe.

So complete has been the dispersion of the relics and reliquaries and the destruction of the churches in which they were stored, that the first part of the book has to rest almost entirely upon literary sources. Of the churches whose treasures are, as it were, reconstituted only S. Sophia, S. Irene and the church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus are now standing; of Vlachernaï and of the Pigi nothing is left but the sacred springs over which they

¹ *In Gen. An.* ii. 3, 736 h 27: *ἀσώτῳ δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ σώτῳ διότι οὗτος ἐκείνου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων σώτης*

were built. All the others have disappeared, unless indeed the mosque known as Kilissi Mesjedi is the church of Agia Anastasia Pharmakolytria, a point on which the author would have done well to consult Van Millingen's *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople*. The second part finds its material in the actual relics and reliquaries of Byzantine work scattered about in Europe, many of which can be directly traced to the depredations of the Crusaders. And even amongst these much has been lost; many examples, formerly preserved in France, disappeared at the Revolution, and are now known only from earlier descriptions.

The study of these sanctuaries is carefully documented throughout, and affords striking evidence of the part played by relics in the popular and official worship of the church at Constantinople. This is all the more valuable, as a change has come about in this matter owing to the wholesale dispersal of relics by the crusaders and Turks. Conspicuous relics are now comparatively few in the Christian east, and the popular devotion which was formerly spent upon them is now mainly directed to wonder-working icons. The present book reminds us that this was not always the case; the city was full of relics, and these were regarded as its protection against enemies, and received on fixed days the ceremonial visits of the emperor and the Court. Finally, mention must be made of the very interesting illustrations of the cult of relics drawn from the *Mimologion* of Basil II.

R. M. D.

Mission archéologique de Constantinople. By JEAN EBERSOLT. Pp. 79, 6 illustrations in text, 40 plates. Paris: E. Leroux, 1921.

This book contains five papers and an appendix, the results of the author's archaeological studies in Constantinople in 1920, of which the first and the third are of the greatest general interest.

The first deals with a series of sarcophagi at Constantinople, now brought together in the Imperial Museum. First we have a series of seven and fragments of two more, all in porphyry, datable by their shape to the fourth and fifth centuries. Literary authorities tell us that nine emperors, from Constantine the Great to Marcian, were buried in such porphyry sarcophagi. Although no individual sarcophagus can be traced, there is a strong probability that we have here a series of imperial sarcophagi of this period. Next, there are five sarcophagi of verd antique, a material known to have been used for the sarcophagi of six emperors from Leo I. to Basil I., and lastly other sarcophagi of various marbles. Since the violation of the imperial tombs by the Latins in 1204, the sarcophagi have been so much moved about that no definite identifications are possible, but there is no doubt that this collection now in the museum represents as a whole the tombs of the earlier emperors. The second paper records observations made amongst the ruins of the great palace of the emperors, now made possible by fires which have destroyed the houses by which they were until recently concealed. The third paper deals with the Arabjani. F. W. Hasluck wrote a paper (*B.S.A.* XXII, p. 157) on the traditions connected with the building and on its present name, a point upon which Ebersolt does not touch, and traced its existence back into the Genoese period, when it was dedicated to St. Paul and belonged to the Dominicans. A recent restoration has now cast fresh light on its history. Besides traces of frescoes, a series of sculptured slabs have been found, which date some of them to the fifth and sixth, some to the tenth or eleventh century. The position in which they were found we are not told, and they have now been removed to the museum. They are shown on the Plates, and the author points out that they go to show that there was possibly a church on the site in the fifth century, reconstructed in the tenth or eleventh, or that in a church built at the later date use was made of earlier materials. The flooring slabs with Latin inscriptions and Genoese coats of arms, mentioned by Hasluck, have also been removed to the museum. Of the twelve Byzantine inscriptions 'inédites ou peu connues,' published in the fourth paper, eleven are funeral epitaphs in Greek of no great interest, but the twelfth, a 12-line metrical epitaph in bad Latin elegiacs dated to 351, is of a kind less common in Constantinople. The last paper

consists of notes on Greek MSS. preserved in the library of the Seraglio. It is curious that no one who goes there seems to see all the MSS., so that each visitor's list differs a little from that of his predecessor. It is gratifying to see that the unique MS. of Critoboulus' 'History of Mahommed II.' is still there. The short appendix is devoted to a fragment of a sculptured column.

The appearance of this fully illustrated volume is very welcome, especially as it shows that it is now possible to do archaeological work in Constantinople, and it is to be hoped that this fair promise will be continued.

R. M. D.

Ikongraphische Miscellen. By FREDERIK POULSEN. Pp. 94, 21 illustrations in text, 35 plates. Kgl. Danske Videnskaberne. Selskab. Historisk Meddelelse. IV. 1. Copenhagen: Ny-Carlsbergfondets Direktion, 1921.

Dr. Poulsen's good fortune in discovering so much new material is only equalled by the skill with which he handles the now hackneyed subject of Greek and Roman iconography. His little book opens with a discussion of two unpublished portrait heads at Steengård, one a new replica of the head of Hypereides, the other a rather poor copy of that of Chrysippus, distinguished from all other replicas by the spirited turn of the head to the right, which gives new life and meaning to the figure as we know it in the Paris statue, now wrongly restored with the head of Aristotle.

With the two unpublished portraits in the National Gallery of Edinburgh, interesting as they are, the reviewer is less concerned than with the admirable vindication of the Naples Zeno as the Stoic as against those who hold that the owner of the famous Villa at Herculaneum was too fanatical an Epicurean to admit the head of a rival school into his collection; and with the extremely lucid and interesting discussion of the Menander of Studniczka in connexion with other Hellenistic portraits of the same character. The discussion of the double herm of Menander and the Pseudo-Seneca is both interesting and profitable, and Dr. Poulsen is certainly right in regarding the latter as the portrait of a poet earlier than the second century A.C. In the present writer's opinion, based on the replica, larger than life-size, in the British Museum, the poet in question must not only be earlier, but much earlier, as no author of the fifth or fourth centuries could conceivably be imitated after this fashion. Hesiod, the one inexplicable gap in our poetic iconography of Greece, seems to fulfil this condition sufficiently well, and the combination with Menander on the double herm of the Villa Albani might be explained by the fact that both were essentially gnome poets, and quoted as such over the whole Hellenic world.

Of the seated Borghese poet of the Ny-Carlsberg collection, of the famous Caligula there and the almost equally well-known statue of Metrodorus, Dr. Poulsen has much to say, and the admirable effect of the Athens head of the philosopher when added to the torso makes us wish that a similar experiment could be made with the Louvre Chrysippus and the new head discovered by Dr. Poulsen, who justly contrasts the stately bearing of Epicurus on his cushionless *epistole* with the comfortable lounge of his disciple. 'Der Meister thronet wie ein Prophet, während Metrodorus es sich ganz menschlich bequem macht.'

The tentative identification of two portraits, Nos. 619 and 628, in the Ny-Carlsberg as Antonia and Agrippa Postumus is bold but not unjustifiable; and the further identification of another perplexing portrait known to us from two replicas (Hekler 191 and the Ludwigshafen bust here reproduced) as Mark Antony is of the first importance; if we imagine the head placed more upright, as on the coins, the likeness to the issues bearing the head of Antony is remarkable, and the suggestion merits careful consideration.

The final essay on Technical Innovations in the Portraits of the Hadrianic Age is of great interest, and points the way to a fuller treatment of the subject of the artistic rendering of the pupil of the eye, the polishing of the surface, and the use of the drill in the hair. Perhaps Dr. Poulsen will see his way to producing the treatise on the beginnings and cause of the new technique which he urges on others in his concluding sentences. Meanwhile we must note that thirty-five plates and twenty-one drawings, all well reproduced,

add to the attraction of his luminous and entertaining pages, one of the few works on the subject which we could wish longer. How much of interest has been omitted from this brief review the student who consults the book will soon discover.

Die Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen im Altertum. By MARGARETE BIBER. Pp. 212, 142 illustrations in text, 100 plates. Berlin & Leipzig, 1920: Verlagung Wissenschaftlicher Verleger, W. de Gruyter & Co., 1920.

A greater service could hardly be rendered to students of the Greek drama than the gathering into one volume of all the scattered archaeological evidence, which can be reproduced in illustrations, bearing upon the history and external setting of the Greek Drama. In the present volume this task is very well carried out, and its 100 plates and 142 illustrations in the text leave out very little that is important. The illustrations are well executed, and the accompanying explanations short and clear. In the summaries, given at different points in the book, of the history of the various types of drama there is inevitably much that is disputable; for instance, Dr. Biber takes in the main Dörpfeld's view of the place occupied by the actors, and follows the conventional theory of the relations of Tragedy and Satyric drama; but whatever may be said on these obscure matters, she shows excellent judgment and self-restraint in drawing conclusions, e.g. from vase paintings; as regards the history of the drama, she is well aware of the limits of this method, and not infrequently differs with good reason from Robert and others of her predecessors. The illustrations of the remains of extant theatres, which are particularly good, are followed by a long series bearing upon the costumes worn in Tragedy, Satyric drama and Comedy. Dr. Biber shows a special interest in questions of costume (as those who are acquainted with her article on the Dresden Relief would expect), and these are more fully discussed in the text than are some other subjects. After these come a large number of reproductions of Phrygians-vases and Terracotta illustrations of Comedy, and the work concludes with a brief treatment of Music. There is a good bibliography, but the third (1900) edition of Haigh's *Attic Theatre* should have been cited, not the second (1898), and there is no mention of the writings of Flickinger and J. T. Allen; there are, in fact, very few references to English or American work. On p. 194 ('Böotische Poesie') Mr. A. B. Cook's paper in the *Classical Review* for 1895 should have been mentioned. By an odd slip of the pen, 'Andromeda' for 'Andromache,' occurs twice on p. 111, but the work as a whole is thoroughly careful, and will be valuable to scholars, not only for the time that it will save them, but for the brief and clear indications of questions at issue and (often) of the chief arguments which have been used in the solution of them.

A. W. PITCHARD-CAMBRIDGE.

The Prometheus Bound of Aeschylus. Represented in English and explained. By EDWARD GEORGE HARMAN. Pp. 111. London: E. Arnold, 1920. 10s. 6d. net.

This book seeks to prove that the *P.V.* is a political allegory. Zeus represents the sovereign Athenian democracy; the foolish marriage points at Themistocles' naval policy; Prometheus is the poet himself, with some reference to Aristides; the oppressed mortals are the subject-allies.

Mr. Harman's treatise has very few of those exciting details which one has learned to expect from critical alibusterings of this kind. But there is one good example; on p. 16 he maintains that Oceanus represents the old landed aristocracy, as is shown 'by the play on the traditional Eupatrid claim to be γένεσθαι and ἀνέχθαις — ἀνέχθαις ἀνέχθαις' *large* (vv. 308 sq.).

Any one who essays to show that a literary work does not aim at its ostensible object, but possesses a quite different meaning, must obviously prove not only that the work suits the supposed allegory but also that it does not fit the ostensible object. Mr. Harman fails even more markedly in the latter respect than in the former. His only relevant

suggestion here is that the conception of *Zens* in the *P.V.* differs from that found elsewhere in *Aschylus*. This argument most people would answer by referring to our considerable knowledge of the companion-plays. Mr. Harman, however, does not believe that the *P.V.* formed part of a trilogy; indeed, he will have it that the play was never performed on the stage. His proof of these two contentions is entirely unconvincing.

GILBERT NEWBOLD.

Our Hellenic Heritage. Part I.—*The Great Epics.* Part II.—*The Struggle with Persia.* By H. R. JAMES. Pp. 408, 12 illustrations in text, 12 maps. London: Macmillan & Co., 1921. 6s. net.

Mr. James has made an experiment which should excite the interest of all phil.Hellenes. He accepts the 'Greek-less' school as an established fact, but far from losing courage he recognises that nothing is lost irretrievably so long as Greek civilisation continues to be studied, and he believes that this civilisation can be salvaged from the wreckage of the old linguistic curricula. In the present volume the author surveys the life of Greece from the earliest days down to the 'great deliverance' from Persia. In his introductory chapters he summarises the distinctive features of the Greek land and people, not forgetting the people's achievements and sufferings from *Chersonesia* to *Navarino*. He next illustrates Homeric Greece with translated extracts from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* and an explanatory chapter on the archaeological background of Homer. The third section of the book contains a brief description of the age of colonisation, and of Spartan and early Athenian institutions. The remaining chapters tell the story of the Persian wars, interwoven with numerous excerpts from Herodotus.

In regard to the author's choice of subjects our only regret is that he did not find room for a passage or two from the *Argonautica* to illustrate the adventures of the age of Discovery; apart from this, his selection could hardly be improved upon. His treatment of the subject-matter is uniformly scholarly and up-to-date. He is unduly reticent about the blind violence of the Homeric heroes and the crass parasitism of Sparta. He decidedly over-emphasises the distinction between Dorians and Ionians. He does not always make clear his attitude to Herodotus' good stories, e.g. whether Xerxes really brought along 1,500,000 men. Nevertheless his picture of early Greece is true in all essentials, and it is drawn in clear outlines. The chapter on prehistoric archaeology is conspicuous for its lucidity, and the narrative of the Persian wars reproduces Herodotus' own sober enthusiasm.

We shall look forward with interest to Mr. James' second volume, which will deal with Greek art and literature, and (let us hope) Greek science.

The Greek Renaissance. By P. N. URE. Pp. 175, 12 plates. London: Methuen, 1921. 6s. net.

In this volume Prof. Ure provides for the general reader a brief and bright account of the most momentous of the world's many renaissances. He begins by setting off the civilisation of historic Greece against the dark background of the 500 years that followed upon the collapse of the prehistoric culture of Greece. He then proceeds to discuss the causes of the great revival of the seventh and sixth centuries. Among these causes he emphasises (1) the slow resumption of settled industry, as typified by Hesiod, in place of the 'city-sacking' habits of Homer's heroes; (2) the stimulus of contact with Lydia and other foreign powers; (3) the growth of wealth consequent upon colonisation, and the resulting political upheavals which ended in the establishment of a progressive type of government under the so-called 'tyrants'. Prof. Ure makes comparatively little use of the striking parallel between the Greek renaissance and the last three centuries of the Middle Ages; and he does not define the contribution of the Homeric school of poetry towards the regeneration of Greece.

Nevertheless his treatment of early Greek life and thought is both comprehensive

and sharply defined. Of the many felicitous remarks in Prof. Ure's book it will suffice here to single out two. Prof. Ure aptly points out that the comparative failure of the Greeks in the field of natural science had two really serious effects: it retarded political co-ordination and it prevented that diffusion of knowledge which might have made the world safe for Greek culture. Best of all, he reminds us that to the Greeks tradition was a guide but not a strait-jacket, and that early Greek art and literature were anything but 'classical' in the bad sense of that word. Altogether, *The Greek Renaissance* is a thoughtful and a thought-compelling book, and it certainly should realise the author's hopes of 'bringing ancient Greece nearer to us than to our fathers.'

Greek History. By E. M. WALKER. Pp. 165. Oxford: Basil Blackwood, 1921.

This booklet contains a reprint of Mr. Walker's contributions to the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. A full third of it is devoted to a discussion of sources and authorities; in the remaining part the author characterises the principal epochs of Greek history down to the death of Alexander and discusses the key problems of each period. Mr. Walker has nothing to say on the important question whether Philip and Alexander were foreign oppressors or legitimate successors in the hegemony of Sparta and Athens over Greece. But apart from this omission he makes reference to all the chief topics of Greek political history. We may mention, *honoris causa*, his refutation of Beloch's heresies concerning the Dorians, his defence of the tyrants and of the Peloponnesian League, and his excellent summary of the strong and weak points of Athenian democracy. But the whole book is a storehouse of close-packed argument, and a model of method to students who desire to think things out.

Olympen. En framställning av den klassiska mytologien. Vols. I. and II. By MARTIN P. NILSSON. Stockholm: H. Geber, 1918-19.

This is a popular book, but it includes in its short chapters nearly all the important results of recent researches in ancient mythology. The facts are placed with sure appreciation of their importance, and are frequently illuminated with parallels or observations from the religions or superstitions of other peoples.

The first chapters describe the different sources of art and poetry, from which knowledge of Greek religion is derived, and trace the scientific treatment of the myths from the logographers down to modern scholars. Of great interest is the chapter on Cretan-myceæan survivals in Greek religion and myth, a field of research to which the author has lately contributed an excellent little study, *Ueber Die Aufzucht der Göttin Athina* (Meddelelser af Kgl. danske Vidensk. Selsk., 1921). Subsequent chapters deal with the myths of the creation of the world, the great Greek gods, the gods of the Romans (with many valuable observations), the cult of the Roman emperors, personifications and allegories in Roman belief, and the Oriental and German gods.

The second volume contains the legends of the Greek heroes, so far as they are not told in relation with the gods, the Roman myths, and finally a list of genealogies. The whole book is finely and copiously illustrated, and well deserves translation for the benefit of other than Scandinavian readers.

F. PORLES.

Fishing from the Earliest Times. By WILLIAM RADCLIFFE. Pp. 478, with numerous illustrations. London: John Murray, 1921. 28s. net.

Mr. Radcliffe's net is of fine mesh, and he has cast it very wide. He has pursued the history of fishing from A.D. 500 to its earliest recorded origins not only among the Greeks and Romans, but in Egypt, Judaea, Assyria, and China, with sidelights from other

quarters of the world. The book is written with zest and industry, with an ample equipment of scholarship, and with a practical knowledge of angling and pisciculture. The abundant illustrations, chiefly from archaeological sources, are not merely a delight to the eye, but have been chosen with a strict regard to the elucidation of the argument. Besides a few misprints (as *Tuncus* for *Juncus*, *hirundinibus* for *hirudinibus*), the chief blemishes are a fondness for following irrelevant issues and a forced and slangy jocosity.

The four historic methods of fishing are by the spear, net, hand-line, and rod; fish-weirs and other fixed engines, and the use of poisons and explosives, may be regarded as subsidiary. The earliest fishing implements that we know of are the harpoon or spear, and the gorge—the primitive ancestor of the fish-hook. Strangely enough, there is no record of the fish-spear or the rod having been used in Mesopotamia; and it is even more remarkable that the rod appears not to have been used by the Jews, though it was familiar in Egypt. Physical conditions may partly explain these diversities of practice. Fish-spearing requires either such a firm bank over deepish water as is afforded by our own salmon-rivers, or calm water, neither too deep nor too turbid, if practised from a boat. The rod is fundamentally a device for projecting a line beyond a screen of vegetation on the river-bank, or far enough to reach deep water, and secure a certain amount of concealment, when the fisherman is perched on a rock, as in the lively representation attributed to Chalcidylion, and reproduced on p. 131.

It has already been observed that nearly all Homer's references to fishing occur in similes; and this is natural when his main narratives are of war and adventure rather than the pursuits of civil life. Mr. Radcliffe discusses at length the only passage (*Od.* xii. 250-4) in which Homer definitely mentions a fishing-rod. There seems here a point in the description of the fisher as fishing for 'little' fish; for it is probable, as Mr. Radcliffe suggests, that Greek fishermen preferred the hand-line for catching heavier fish, as did all our own sea-fishermen until very lately. Sea-fishing with a rod, now growing popular, is a development not of commercial fishing, but of sport. Mr. Radcliffe quotes, on the other hand, 'the contention of modern fishermen (that) the value of the rod as an implement increases in proportion to the weight of the fish on the hook.' This surely applies only to the powerfully elastic modern rods, equipped with reel and running line—these last an improvement since Isaac Walton's time. In the same passage, as well as in *Il.* xxiv. 80-3, occurs the much-disputed problem of the 'horn of the field-ox' which the fisher casts into the water. Mr. Radcliffe inclines to the view that this was a horn lure, like a metal pike-spoon, and states that horn spoons are now used in England in pike-fishing. But the Greek says definitely 'a horn,' not any fragment of horn; and in the passage in the *Iliad*, Iris plunging into the sea is compared to a piece of lead fastened to a horn. It seems clear that the horn and the lead formed a sinker, like leaden weights, or split shot, to-day. Perhaps an ox-horn was chosen as a common and convenient receptacle into which molten lead could be poured.

Aristotle's recognition of at least the elements of the recently developed science of scale-reading is justly quoted as another example of his superiority to all other naturalists for nearly 2000 years. Passing to authors of the Roman period, Mr. Radcliffe claims to find in Martial the first mention both of the use of the fly in angling, and of the jointed rod. The first of these contentions is the sounder, and the more interesting if accepted as true. Martial (*Ep.* v. 18, 7) asks who does not know that the eager *scorus* is deceived by the fly it devours. Since all the MSS. read *musco*, there is no need to substitute *musco*, in the sense of *alga*, and understand that a bait for the *scorus* was a piece of weed. But there is here no hint of an artificial fly; the first mention of this is still *Alia*'s, who not only describes its use on the river Astræus in Macedonia, but gives precise directions for trying it. As for the jointed rod, the crucial line (*Ep.* ix. 55, 3) is *Aut crescente laevis traheretur harundinis proda*; and neither here nor in the lamp-design illustrated on p. 149 is there any indication that the prey was fish and not birds. The three rods of the grotesque fowler on the lamp need no more be meant to be fitted together than three arrows, though Mr. Radcliffe affirms the contrary 'past peradventure.' *Crescente*, and *crescit* in *Ep.* xiv. 218, seem simply to mean 'quietly lifted'—unless *crescens* can possibly mean 'tapering'—with the form of the growing reed, as a 'crescent' is the form of the waxing moon.

Greek Medicine in Rome, with other Historical Essays. - The Fitzpatrick Lectures in 1900-10. By Sir T. CLIFFORD ALLART, N.C.B., M.D., etc. Pp. 633. London: Macmillan & Co., 1921. 20s. net.

The editor of *Dioscorides* has shown that a philologist can write excellent treatises on Greek medicine. This book proves, what is perhaps more remarkable, that distinguished labours in the practice of the art may be combined with accurate and scholarly knowledge of its history. But the monographs of Wellmann and others serve only as paving-stones—duly marked—for a footpath along the Roman road which stretches through more than a millennium of human history, and the numerous necessary deviations add to the interest of the journey. After an account of thurgic and folk medicine in early Rome, and elsewhere, the author makes 'a long digression' to the Ionian and Italo-Sarban schools of philosophy and medicine. He lays much stress on the naturalism of the Ionians, their *akrotaismos*, and points out that Greek science is derived directly or indirectly from them. Some may be surprised by the statement, 'Coe and Cnidus were Ionian,' yet it may be fairly argued that the Hippocratic writers, as well as the Cretan Diogenes and Empedocles of Acragas, had their spiritual homes in Ionia, though the physician who gave science her first watchword against superstition, *eidos eni phusos* *zestereis*, probably thought himself a good Dorian. Another long digression deals with the Alexandrian schools, and we return to Rome fairly well acquainted with early Greek philosophy and medicine. The achievement of the latter is well portrayed in one of the lucid summaries which abound in the book.

In spite of 'the manifold doxies spun by Greek ingenuity . . . there were for the wise physician three factors of safety. He was free from magic: he was a master of hygiene, and, whatever his abstract notions, he never forgot to treat the individual.'

From the second century B.C. all roads led to Rome, and we may safely conclude that Rufus, Soranus, Antyllus and Philumenus sojourned there, as well as Asclepiades, Archigenes, Heliodorus and Galen. The reader will find no better combined account of these and other remarkable men than that which is given in the seven following chapters, where the author shows himself at home with the latest German monographs and competent to pass an independent judgment, as for example the Marx-Wellmann-Hilberg controversy on the sources of Celsus. Greek medicine in the East from Oribasius to John Actuarius is set forth in a chapter on Byzantine medicine, while an essay on Salerno joins western Rome to the Middle Ages. Fragments which may remain are gathered up in essays or addresses on the ancient doctrines of the pulse and generation, hygiene, infectious and other notable diseases, and pharmacology, while others deal with later episodes in scientific and medical history down to our own day.

This method involves some amount of repetition, but the reader is left asking for more, since by a little straightening out and filling-in of gaps we should get an admirable and complete history of Greek medicine, legitimately continued to the author's own time, for, as he tells us, his teachers retained 'no little remnant of Galenism.' Ionian Maeander, however, was probably a pleasanter river than 'the swift Hebrus,' and a copious index directs the reader to any desired point.

In dealing with so vast a subject some oversights and doubtful statements are inevitable. No one, for example, can carry in his mind all the voluminous works of Galen: which probably accounts for the statement (p. 42), 'Galen does not mention it [Asclepiadian worship] even to attack it,' and for what is perhaps the only serious oversight in the book (p. 1481), which the author shares with another distinguished scholar, the failure to notice that the mysterious but 'learned and distinguished Alexandrian physician' of Dr. Budge's *Syriac Book of Medicines* is none other than Galen, large portions of whose *De locis affectis*, including all the 'cases,' are clearly visible through the double translation.

Aristotelis Meteorologicorum Libri Quattuor. Recensuit Indidem Verborum Addidit F. H. FONES, Cantabrigiae Massachusettensium e Typographiae Academicæ Harvardianae. MDCCCXVIII. 15s. net.

What Mr. Fones on his title-page professes to have done he has done so well and so thoroughly that we cannot help regretting that he has not done, nor apparently contemplated doing, a little more. The contents of Aristotle's *Meteorologica* are so interesting in themselves, and make so strong an impression of the author's wide knowledge, wide research, and wider curiosity, that a few notes from a scholar so competent as Mr. Fones would have been very welcome, at least in those places where his emendations of the text imply an alteration in the meaning. His discussion in the *Classical Review*, 1916, of a difficult passage in the second book shows how valuable a commentary he could have made in a small space; but when we turn to the passage we find nothing but a brief intimation in a foot-note that the text has been changed. And surely a diagram might have been inserted at the two or three places where the author employed one.

Mr. Fones retains not only Bekker's division into chapters, but also his paging, so that comparison is easy. He has also given us a list of all the passages in which he has made any considerable alteration in Bekker's text. It will be found that he is chary of suggestion; for example, in 371a, 4, he rejects *εὐκαίριος ὥρα* in favour of *εὐκαίριος ἔχρησεν* without any hint as to the meaning of the unusual word thus restored to the text. In another passage, 376 b, 23, where Bekker's *καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὅτι ἀντιμαχόμενοι* is not very satisfying, he does indeed hint in a note at a possible solution, but contents himself with printing in the text the unmeaning and improbable MS. word *ἀντιμαχόμενοι*. A peculiarity of the volume is that *αἰῶνας*, *αἰώνος*, *αἰῶν* are always spelt *αιωνας*, *αιωνος*, *αιων*. If I understand Mr. Fones aright, he regards this unusual spelling as merely a freak of the scribe of his favourite MS., and if so, one hardly sees why the familiar forms should not be retained. Mr. Fones gives a very clear and very full account of the many MSS. he has examined, and a most valuable 'notitia litteraria' containing a list of commentaries on the *Meteorologica*, ancient and modern. There is also an *index verborum*, the more valuable because the vocabulary of the fourth book in particular is extraordinarily rich. Altogether he has given us in a beautifully-printed and very portable volume a most satisfactory edition of a most remarkable book.

Figurative Terracotta Revetments in Etruria and Latium in the VI and V. Centuries B.C. By E. DOUGLAS VAN BUREN. Pp. 74, 32 Plates. London: John Murray, 1921. 16s. net.

This attractive volume will be welcomed on many grounds, and especially by those readers whose appetites were whetted by the articles on Italian architectural terra-cottas by Mrs. Strong and Mrs. Van Buren in Vol. IV. of the *Journal of Roman Studies*. The authoress expresses, almost too modestly, the hope that 'a simple catalogue of the figurative terra-cotta revetments from Etruria and Latium in the earliest periods may be found useful,' for this is much more than a simple catalogue and will prove not only useful but indispensable. In scale and sumptuousness it does not, naturally, rival Koch's *Dochterterracotten aus Campanien*—a pre-war publication—but it provides a handy and lucid collection of similar material from Etruria and Latium, collating duplicate examples of types, quoting helpful parallels, and revealing an extensive acquaintance with a wide range of material.

Thirty-two plates of good photographs—many of which reproduce several pieces—are a generous but not excessive allowance for the seventy-four pages of text, for so little of this material is easily accessible to students in this country, and it is somewhat of a revelation to see how many museums have been drawn upon for the purpose.

The catalogue is divided into three sections—*Antefixes*, *Acroteria* (which includes a variety of other architectural members), and *Friezes*—and each is prefaced by a short

introduction. When we observe that on pp. 31-35 there comes a brief, but clear and scholarly discussion of the ancient authorities for the fictile decoration of Italian temples, we realise that the book is an accretion of three articles, which might with advantage have been rearranged so that all the introductory matter preceded the catalogue proper under its three headings; indeed the miscellany appended to the *Acroteria* might well have formed a fourth and separate section. We feel also that the usefulness of the book would have been increased by even a short discussion of these terra-cottas on a chronological basis, to justify the bald statement of dates, e.g. 'VI century,' 'VI-V. centuries,' etc., given without further explanation, which may puzzle readers who are naturally less familiar with the material. Certain other omissions can hardly pass without comment: (1) references to the Plates at the end should have been inserted in the text as well as in the elaborate table on p. ix, f.; (2) the scale of the illustrations is not given; (3) the dimensions of all fragments, not merely of a selection from acroteria and friezes, should have been furnished. Scarcely less serious, and perhaps more irritating, is the inadequacy of the press-correction. Misprints occur rather too frequently for a book of reference of only 74 pages. We note *antefixae* (p. 3, twice), *satyr sand* *Pana* (p. 25), *Stroticium* (for *Satracum*, p. 36), and *Keldewey* and *Loeschke* (pp. 57, 69, 71) among authorities cited; Pl. XXXI represents Type V., not VI., of the friezes. The foot-notes seem to have been inexcusably neglected, as witness the four citations of the excavations at Gordion by the brothers Körte:

- p. 35 (note 8): G. A. Körte, *Jahrb. d. Inst., Ergänzungsheft*, v (1904),
 p. 57 (note 2): G. u. A. Körte, *Jb. d. Inst. Ergänzungsheft*, v (1903),
 p. 65 (note 1): Körte, *Jb. d. Inst. Ergänzungsheft*, v (1904),
 p. 66 (note 2): G. u. A. Körte, *Jb. d. Inst. Ergänzungsheft*, v (1904).

We hope that the descriptions and references have been checked with more care than this inaccuracy and inconsistency indicates. The descriptions given are usually clear and ample, though 'height, cm. 8 by 10.5' (p. 16, note 3) is a rather Thucydidean construction, and the 'lateral akroterion of a horse' (p. 59) is mystifying without the context. It has not been possible to check the completeness of the catalogue, but surprise may be expressed at the omission of the large series of architectural terra-cottas from Lanuvium presented by the late Lord Savile to the British Museum; in fact the antefix 'Division IV., Type XX.' (= *B. M. Terracottas*, B 605, of which there is another slightly different example in the Museum at Leeds, unknown to the authoress), is almost the only type figured from this site. But perhaps the other pieces would not come under the title 'Figurative,' of which the reviewer unfortunately does not know the literal meaning. And after all, even this rather formidable list of minor blemishes, mostly easy of remedy in a subsequent edition, does not seriously impair the value of this attractive book, and we offer congratulations to the authoress on the successful completion of a laborious but clearly congenial task.

Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher. *Internationales wissenschaftliches Organ unter Mitwirkung zahlreicher Fachgenossen.* Herausgegeben von Dr. Phil. NIKOS A. BEES (Bresl.). Berlin-Wilmersdorf, Weimarsche Strasse, 19: Verlag der Byzantinisch-Neugriechischen Jahrbücher.

This new periodical, of which the first volume was published in 1920, and the first half of the second in September 1921, deserves a hearty welcome. An introduction by Dr. Bees lays down the lines which it is to follow. The war put an end to several periodicals on Byzantine matters; thus *Byzantia* and the *Neos Hellenismos* and the two Russian journals, the *Vizantijskij Vremennik* and the *Journal of the Russian Archaeological Institute at Constantinople* have all disappeared, and if Byzantine studies are not to fall behind, their place must be filled. It is remarkable that neither in this list nor in any part of the introduction is any mention made of the most important of all these periodicals,

the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, founded by Karl Krumbacher at Munich, carried on after his death until August 1914, and begun again in 1920 with the third and fourth parts of Volume XXIII. This omission cannot pass without notice in view of the great services rendered to Byzantine studies by Krumbacher, and it is in this case all the more curious as the new periodical follows exactly the admirable arrangement of the *Zeitschrift* in dividing its contents into three parts, original articles, reviews and short notices. The present undertaking is purely private—the editor writes, 'Das Unternehmen ist—ich betone dieses ausdrücklich—nicht von irgendeiner Regierung angeregt, sondern rein privat.' It is published by Dr. Bees himself, and the necessary expenses have been found first by Mr. George Pianos, a Greek of Dresden, and then by subscriptions from a number of Greeks, all resident in Germany. A very wide field is to be covered; the new periodical is to deal with Byzantine literature both learned and popular, internal and external history, language, folklore, art, religious life, the geography, topography and ethnology of the lands which formed part of the Byzantine empire, epigraphy, numismatics, sigillography, jurisprudence, medicine, and other departments of Byzantine and modern Greek science. In addition the editor lays stress on his intention to deal with papyri and manuscripts, the *Leite*, early Christian art, the Greek *diaspora*, and the influence upon other peoples exerted by the Greeks both in the Middle Ages and in modern times. The character of the periodical is to be international, and articles will be admitted in Greek, Latin, German, French, English, and Italian, although everything at present has been in German, except two articles and two reviews in Greek and one review in French, which is, however, by the Greek Professor Andreades. The future of the periodical largely depends upon whether it can obtain the support of Byzantine scholars outside Germany and Greece, but to this beginning a warm welcome can be extended. All readers of the old *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* know how much such a periodical is needed, and Dr. Bees will have all good wishes with him in his enterprise. The articles published are various and interesting, and it will be especially gratifying to members of the Hellenic Society to read the editor's warm appreciation of the work of the late Mr. F. W. Hasluck and his wish for a complete edition of all his papers. In conclusion the price is moderate; for this country 25 French francs for each annual volume, and this first volume contains 456 pages.

R. M. D.

Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality. The Gifford Lectures delivered in the University of St. Andrews in the year 1920. By LEWIS RICHARD FARNELL. Pp. 434. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921. 18s.

"This," says Dr. Farnell of a somewhat foolish theory, "is ingenious, but much that is ingenious is not worth saying." To the Thucydidean ideal of scientific investigation here implied he remains himself true. He is not concerned to make a demonstration of dexterity nor to balance inverted pyramids of hypothesis upon some random analogy, and his investigations start inductively from a collation of all the facts ascertainable about particular problems.

The result of this method is deadly to the assumptions of most schools of mythologists, from the champions of the solar myth to those who would read into every legend an hieratic meaning. The only assumption upon which Dr. Farnell insists, and here the trend of modern scholarship is with him, is that saga, whatever accretions of folklore it may have collected, contains a nucleus of historical tradition. Not that he believes in any single master key which will unlock the mysteries of the origin of all Greek hero cults. The Greeks themselves supposed that all their heroes had once been mortal men: Usener, on the other hand, was sure that they were all faded deities. Dr. Farnell gives unritical adherence to neither view, but his bias is rather towards the Greeks. He recognises a small group of *lunoi*, *Trophonias*, *Lincol* and the like, who appear to have their origin in cult, and he acknowledges the existence of some functional heroic powers. But of the other five classes into which he divides the heroes of cult, all consist of persons who at the time of their canonisation were, rightly or wrongly, believed to have once been living men.

Opinion may perhaps be divided as to the assignment of particular heroes to particular categories, but the broad lines of Dr. Farnell's classification would appear difficult to shake. *de la vie épique: remplace dans certains de ses aspects admette à l'égard des divinités épiques*
symboles de ces divinités: replace les traits des divinités

The most important cults considered are those of Herakles, the Dioskouroi and Asklepios, to all of whom a heroic origin is assigned. The weakest case is that of Asklepios, for here the most certain of Dr. Farnell's tests fail. The meaning of the name is unknown and the evidence of cult, appropriate equally to a hero or a chthonian deity, is inconclusive. The case rests ultimately upon general probability and the fact that Homer appears to consider Asklepios the human father of Machaon and Podaleirios. The analogy between Asklepiadae and such professional patronymics as Talthubadae, Homeridae and the like supports upon the whole the heroic theory. But though doctors are from Homer onwards the 'sons of Asklepios,' the remarkable thing about the cult is the lateness of its emergence as a Pan-Hellenic worship of the first importance and the extraordinary success which it then achieved. From the fifth century B.C. to the end of Paganism its popularity steadily increased. Although Trikke was the original home of the cult, this expansion was certainly due to Epidaurus. It is true that various cults, both in the Peloponnese and elsewhere, derived directly from Thessaly, but we know very little about them before the period of Epidaurian influence and nothing about the parent cult, except that it had a subterranean origin. Perhaps the most satisfactory feature of the discussion of the cults of Herakles and the Dioskouroi is the clearing away of much obscuring lumber. The criticism of solar and stellar explanations is ruthless and convincing. Throughout Dr. Farnell rightly emphasises the importance of historical perspective and the chronological sequence of the evidence. It is important that Kastor and Polydeukes are not called Dioskouroi earlier than the Homeric Hymns, and that not before Euripides is there any trace of their stellar associations. Similarly the apotheosis of Herakles in the flames of Oeta is unknown to Homer and Hesiod, and therefore points not to the Phoenician origin of Herakles, but to a confusion resulting from the identification in historical times of the Greek hero with the alien Sandan and Melgart. The advisability of treating evidence in its chronological sequence may seem too obvious to need emphasis, but in practice it is often ignored.

The book is full of matter which demands reflection, and most readers will find that postulates, which they have uncritically held, need re-examination. For example, it may come to others also as a surprise to find that the distribution of the cult of Herakles has little or no connexion with the movements of the Dorians; the facts which Dr. Farnell adduces appear conclusive upon this point. But upon the whole the very great value of the evidence of cult upon questions of tribal movements is once more demonstrated in this volume, and interesting results would be likely to follow a systematic examination of the religious material from the ethnographical standpoint. Boiotia would seem here as central a point of importance as in the Catalogue.

In view of the mass of material which is contained in the book, it is perhaps a pity that the index is not more elaborate. There is no entry, for example, under 'Minyans,' though there is much in the text which throws light upon the distribution of that people. There are one or two misprints, chiefly caused by the difficulty of maintaining consistency in the transliteration of Greek names upon an uncompromising system of letter for letter. Praises upon p. 159, where the allusion is clearly to the Hagia Triada sarcophagus, must be a slip for Phaistos. The most notable omission as regards subject matter is the absence of any reference, whether for praise or blame, to Sir William Ridgway's theory of the origin of tragedy.

La Religione nella Grecia antica fino al Alessandro. By RASFALE PRITAZIONI. Pp. 416. Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli, 1921. L. 20.

This little book suffers by comparison with Dr. Farnell's *Outline History of Greek Religion*. The author has read widely, but may be suspected of a better acquaintance with theories both ancient and modern than with the actual facts of Greek cult. His work lacks the

clarity, caution and grasp of essentials which distinguishes the English book, and his generalisations are too often based upon disputable assumptions. In this respect the earlier part of the book is particularly weak. It is stated as a fact that the Mycenaeans in the period of the shaft graves spoke Greek, which the Minoans did not. Inhumation, and with it the worship of the dead, was abandoned by the invaders of Asia because they had perforce left behind them their ancestral graves in Greece. Greek polytheism developed from the reaction of the poems of the Asiatic Homer upon mainland Greece, and the new Olympian gods of Homeric mythology absorbed the pre-existing *Sondergötter* as cult titles. The importance of the cult of the Nature goddess in the Bronze Age is not sufficiently appreciated; the emphasis is laid upon the worship of the dead and its continuity. It is therefore surprising to find that Adrastus and Melanippus are assumed to be faded deities of vegetation. The claim of Delphi, which is surely inconsistent with the facts, that the policy of the oracles had been consistently opposed to tyrants, is made the basis for argument. The initiate of Euripides' *Orestes* would be surprised to learn that it was by the words *ταῖς ἐν ἀνθρώποις βασιναί τεσσας* that he proclaimed his conversion to vegetarianism (proclaimi di aver posto fine ai pasti cruenti).

The assumption that the worship of Demeter was in origin peculiarly the property of an agricultural as opposed to an urban class suggests a misapprehension of the size and economic conditions of early Greek communities. It is of course true that Greek religion absorbed, sobered and civilised wilder elements, both native and foreign. But this is true not only of Athens but of Greece, and the attempt to show from the peculiar political and social history of Attica that the process is connected with the acquisition of political power by the lower classes will not carry universal conviction.

If indeed one is to philosophise upon the history of Greek religion, the forces which call for analysis seem rather to be those centrifugal and centripetal tendencies which characterise Greek civilisation throughout—Pan-Hellenism and particularism, civic religion and individualism. Eventually, and here the tendencies of the later pagan philosophies and religions prepared the way for Christianity, the middle term of these pairs of opposites, based as it was upon a political fact which had ceased to exist, became eliminated. Religious thought in its various manifestations tended to become universal in its scope, embracing not merely Hellenes but mankind, and individualistic in its absorbing interest in the hopes, fears and needs of the individual soul.

**The Church of Our Lady of the Hundred Gates (Panagia Hekaton-
tapyliani) in Paros.** By H. H. JEWELL and F. W. HASELUCK. Pp. 78, 14 Plates.
Published on behalf of the Byzantine Research and Publication Fund. London:
Macmillan & Co., 1920. 50s.

The Byzantine Research and Publication Fund has added to its previous volumes on S. Irene and the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem this study of the Church of our Lady of the Hundred Gates in Paros. The description and discussion of the architecture, the drawings and the bulk of the photographs are the work of Mr. Jewell, a travelling student of the Royal Academy of Arts, who visited Paros in 1910, and later completed his researches by a second visit to the island; the late Mr. F. W. Haseluck has contributed chapters on the history of the church and on the inscriptions, while Mr. H. A. Ormerod, a member of the British School at Athens, rendered assistance in recording the inscriptions.

The church is situated at Parochia, the capital of Paros, and is indisputably the finest in the Cyclades. In the earliest records the church is known as Katapoliani, which is, it seems, the adjective derived from the place-name *Κατάπολις*, probably from *κατά* and *πολίς*, for both at *Κατάπολις* in Amorgos and in Naxos with their churches named *Κατάπολις*, as here in Paros, the church is built on lower ground than the adjacent village. Even in Paros the old name remains the common spoken form; the new name, appearing first according to Mr. Haseluck in the *Παροικία* of Meletios 1661-1714, reflects the pride of the islanders in their church. The new name is accounted for by the legend that the great

church had a hundred doors (πύλαι, which common sense compels the Parians to construe doors and windows), of which ninety-nine are visible, and the hundredth is to be revealed when the Greeks take Constantinople' (cf. Kambanis in the Athenian periodical *Εβδομάς* iii. [1896] p. 345).

Apart from local legend (see pp. 1-3) we possess no history of the church during the Byzantine period, but Mr. Hasluck refers to the account of the political mission of Niketas (Magister) to the Saracens of Crete in A.D. 902. This account is contained in the *βίος τῆς ἁγίας αὐτοῦ ἡμετέρας τῆς ἁγίας τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ σωτηρίας ἐν εὐαγγελίῳ Παρῶν* written by Niketas himself. 'Niketas on his way to Crete, being detained by contrary winds,' to quote the summary of Mr. Hasluck, 'put into Paros, and being there, thought well to make his prayers at the Church of the Virgin. He found the island entirely uninhabited save for a hermit, who told him the story of S. Theoktiste the Lesbian; the saint, carried off by Arab pirates from a convent in her native island, had eluded them in Paros, and for the rest of her life lived as an anchoress in the abandoned church, where she was discovered by a hunter from Euboea and eventually died in the odour of sanctity.' Mr. Jewell suggests that the crypt in the present church situated under the holy table (11 ft. × 3 ft.) is apparently the traditional retreat of S. Theoktiste (see pp. 43-4). Niketas describes the deserted church as ἀκαθάρτου καὶ λείαντα οὐκ ἔχοντος τῆς τοῦ παλαιῦ ἀφαιρέτου οὐρανοῦ καὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τῆς ἐκ βασιλείας ἡρώδου λίθου, ἐπὶ τῇ καὶ λίθῳ εἰς ταύτης ἡρώδου κατακλινῶν τοῦ κινῶν. Εἰς ταύτην δὲ τὸν λίθον λειοῦντος ἔχοντος ὁ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐκ βασιλείας ἡρώδου τῆς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐκβασιλείας ἡρώδου; and praises the τῆς εὐλασίας καὶ θέας τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἡρώδου ἡρώδου αὐτοῦ τῆς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ lately broken by Nisiris an Arab raider who had tried unsuccessfully to carry it off: καὶ τὸν ἡρώδου . . . τῇ εὐλασίᾳ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τῆς Ἀγίας ἡρώδου ἐκβασιλείας.¹ This account of Niketas may be illustrated by the fact that the original cupola of the ciborium has perished, and been replaced by cement.

Since the Byzantine inscriptions give us only the names of two bishops, Hylasius and Georgius, both otherwise unknown, the sole means of dating the construction of the church is thus the architecture of the building itself. The great church has incorporated an earlier church of S. Nicholas which stands to the N. of the bema and to the E. of the N. transept. This small church was, Mr. Jewell argues, originally of a basilica type planned as a simple nave with aisles; to this the dome and cruciform upper structure were added at a later date, probably at the time of the building of the great church. With the original form of the church of S. Nicholas Mr. Jewell compares the plan of the church at Bin-bir-kilise (cf. Strzygowski: *Kleinasiensien*, p. 104). The great church itself is of cruciform plan with a single dome and transepts; a baptistery adjoins the church on the S., and is approached both from the aisle and the transept. Although in type and character the great church at Paros seems to be unique, Mr. Jewell argues that it probably dates from the reign of Justinian, and is perhaps contemporary with the church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople. The baptistery would seem to have been built soon after, possibly in the latter part of the sixth century.

This is no place to enter into the detailed considerations by which Mr. Jewell supports his views (cf. pp. 49-52): two points of special interest in the church may, however, be accentuated here. The columns, bases, capitals and lower screen of the original iconostasis are still intact, and with the exception of the columns are all of Parian marble. Mr. Hasluck notes that a stone screen preserving so much of its original form is rarely met with in Greece; as probably the best example he cites the screen at Torcello. In Greek lands the absence of such screens is attributable partly to the transformation of churches into mosques and the consequent removal of the screens as obstructions, and still more to the vogue of carved and gilded wooden screens dating in particular from the eighteenth century. Further, the ciborium, praised by Niketas and apparently contemporary with the foundation of the church, which still stands, is probably unique in the East, for here even in churches which have remained in Christian occupation the stone ciboria have been replaced, like the stone screens, by others of carved wood.

Students of Byzantine architecture have every reason to be grateful to the Research Fund for this valuable study of a most interesting building. N. H. R.

¹ Of this *βίος* the best text is published by Ioannou in his *N. καὶ τῆς Ἀποστολῆς*, Venice, 1884, from which the citations are made, pp. 4, 5, 7.

A Short History of Antioch, 300 B.C.-A.D. 1268. By E. S. BOUCHIER. Pp. 324, 4 Plates. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1921. 12s. 6d.

Mr. Bouchier's sketch of Antioch on the Orontes is in his own words 'an attempt to gather together a few leading points regarding the history, life, manners and interests of this great centre of population' from its first foundation down to its devastation in 1268 at the hands of the Sultan of Egypt. 'I am quite conscious,' he writes, 'that such a book, like its predecessors, will be open to a charge of superficiality.' But teachers, at any rate, will be slow to raise the charge. Such general sketches of a city's life will help them in accounting the continuity of historical development as well as the individuality of the centres of Hellenistic civilisation, while they may readily awake in students an interest which will only be satisfied by further detailed work upon special aspects of the city's story. It is for this reason that one could have wished that the bibliographies given at the close of chapters could have been more adequate: thus the reader hears of Julian at Antioch, but he is not reminded that a large part of Julian's works is now translated in the Loeb Library, there is no reference to King's useful collection of translations in the Bohn Library, nor to any of the recent studies (e.g. by Geffcken or Bidez) on the apostate emperor; a picture is drawn of the rhetoricians of Antioch with Libanius at their head, but there is no mention of Walden's book with its valuable chapters on the later Greek rhetoricians, nor to Missong's recent study of the paganism of Libanius. It would also have been well if some hints could have been given to the reader of the contents of the books cited, a mere title, though adequate for the specialist, is often an insufficient guide for the uninitiate. A well-written popular book is an admirable thing, but its greatest achievement is surely that it should stimulate curiosity and itself supply some direction towards the satisfaction of that curiosity.

In a work like the present every student will naturally find omissions which he regrets; the reviewer looked in vain for a mention of the long-lived legend of S. Mercurius and the death of Julian (cf. W. R. Halliday in *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, vii. pp. 89-106), he would have welcomed some account of the life of S. Simeon the Younger (the Vita printed in the A. SS. is mentioned in a footnote, but cf. now Engelbert Müller: *Studien zu den Biographien des Styliten Simeon des Jüngeren*. München dissertation Aachaffenburg, 1914). In the treatment of Jewish hostility to the Christians in Antioch in the seventh century it is a pity that the frank confession of James the Newly Baptised was not utilised (cf. the edition of N. Bonwetsch in *Abh. d. Kön. Gesellschaft d. Wiss. phil.-hist. Klasse*, N. F. xii. No. 3, Berlin, 1910, p. 391), while there is apparently no reference to the influence of Syrian traders in western Europe (cf. L. Bréhier: *Les Colonies d'Orientaux en Occident au commencement du moyen âge*. B. Z. xii. (1903), pp. 1-39, and papers in *Chambre de Commerce de Marseille. Congrès français de la Syrie: Séances et Travaux*, Fasc. II, Marseille, 1919). The list could of course be prolonged, but it would serve no purpose. Mr. Bouchier's book, let it be repeated, will be of real use alike to the teacher and the general reader.

N. H. B.

Aus der Offenbarung Johannis. By E. BOLL. Pp. 151. Leipzig: Teubner, 1914.

THIS small book of 151 pages is the most original contribution to the study of the Apocalypse of John that has been made for many a long day. The author, Professor Boll of Heidelberg, is the chief living authority on the Astronomy and Astrology of the Graeco-Roman world. He is engaged in making a Catalogue of all ancient astronomical and astrological MSS., and some readers of this JOURNAL may know his book *Sphaera*. In the work before us he has turned aside to tell us the impression made by the Apocalypse in the New Testament on one whose special business it is to be familiar with what men thought in the first century A.D. about the sky.

The result is startling. The late Dr. Cumming (who predicted the end of the world in 1867), Ferdinand Christian Baur the Tübingen theologian, and Canon Charles, are found

on one side, Professor Boll on the other. Baur and Charles and Dr. Cumming differ very widely, but they agree in this, that the Apocalypse is a book of cryptic history. Dr. Cumming and old-fashioned scholars thought it contained future history, Baur and Charles think it contains history now past, but they all assume that the word-pictures painted in the Apocalypse refer to events on earth—a Parthian invasion, a flight of Christians to Pella, etc. Prof. Boll will have none of this, or very little of it. He believes that there is very little reference in the book to current events on earth, but that the seer supported his belief in the imminent trials and miraculous vindication of his fellow-Christians by literal signs from Heaven, signs in the stars and constellations as interpreted in current myths and beliefs about the heavenly bodies. Do we suddenly hear about the Altar in heaven (Rev. vi. 9), under which are the souls of the Martyrs? Naturally, says Prof. Boll (p. 33), the Altar is in the Milky Way; you can find it if you look for it on the Celestial Globe. And of course the Martyrs are underneath it, i. e. nearer the horizon: does not even Cicero tell us in *Scipio's Dream* that the souls of the virtuous dwell in the Milky Way?

Possibly the astrological key will not unlock all the difficulties to which Prof. Boll applies it, but in certain cases this new method of interpretation sheds at least some light and order where all before was confusion, and in no case is this more so than in his explanation of the woman clothed with the Sun (pp. 98-124). In Rev. xii. the Seer sees a great sign in heaven, a woman arrayed with the Sun and the Moon at her feet; she is about to bear a child, and a great red Dragon stands in front of her to devour it when born. The child is born, but is caught up to God: there is war in heaven, and Michael casts the dragon down to earth, who proceeds to persecute the woman, now transferred herself to earth: the monster casts a river of water out of his mouth to carry her away, but the earth swallows the river, and the Dragon goes off to make war with the woman's seed, which 'hold the testimony of Jesus.' It is not too much to say that no explanation has ever before been given of this famous word-picture (or rather moving panorama) that has been even plausible.

Prof. Boll regards it as an adaptation of the myth of Isis and Typhon by the Christian writer, who turned it into a myth of the birth in heaven of the pre-existent Messiah. A sign in heaven in touch with Sun and Moon must, says Prof. Boll, be in the Zodiac; we naturally think of *Virgo*, below which is *Hydra*, the sea-monster. The name notwithstanding, '*Virgo*' was connected with Isis running Horus (p. 110). Further, when both the 'Dragon' and the 'Woman' come down to earth, the image of the earth swallowing the Dragon's river to help the woman fits the Isis-myth, for the land of Egypt swallows the Nile.

Yes, it may be said, the Isis-myth fits the imagery of Rev. xii. well enough, but what is the Christian application? How did the Apocalyptist come to put it in his book? This question also is considered by Prof. Boll, and he suggests that the Apocalyptist regarded the Isis-myth and the Constellations connected with it as a mystery or type of the cosmic drama of Redemption, particularly of the pre-mundane birth of the Messiah. He points out that we must not think of the Apocalyptist and his first readers as acquainted with our Gospels, or as familiar with the doings on earth of 'Christ after the flesh.' Jesus indeed had come to earth, died, and had risen again and was about to come to reign in glory over the Saints, but little more than this can be gathered from the Book of Revelation. When, therefore, the Christians began first to ask themselves what was the origin of their Lord, it was not in every place that they were well instructed in all things from the beginning by those who were eye-witnesses (Luke i. 2, 3), but they had the text from Isaiah, 'Behold, the Virgin shall conceive.' Revelation, chap. xii., seems to show that there were some Christians of Asia Minor who interpreted this of a birth from a heavenly Power or Being, whom the heathen had corrupted into Isis, the Queen of Heaven.

This interpretation of the passage is not without difficulties, but at least it gives some sort of a sense, which in my opinion no previous explanation has given, and for that reason it should not be lightly rejected because of its strangeness. In fact, I venture to think that no one should reject Professor Boll's conclusions, novel as they are, without a careful study of his book as a whole.

F. C. BURKITT.

Greek Vase-Painting. By ERNST BUSCHOR. Translated by G. C. RICHARDS, with a preface by PERCY GARDNER. Pp. 180, 160 illustrations. London: Chatto & Windus, 1921. 25s.

Ever since its appearance in 1913 (second edition 1914), Dr. Buschor's book has been recognised as the best consecutive account of Greek vase-painting. Wide knowledge, and a wide outlook; a love of beauty, but none of verbiage: the essential facts seized, and expressed tersely and vividly: the illustrations well chosen, and nearly all from excellent drawings or photographs. Not a book for beginners: or rather the best kind of book for beginners, one which is not for beginners only.

The book was hard to translate, and Mr. Richards' translation reads like a translation; it seldom breaks into English. Nearly all foreign sentences need to be recast, and not merely constrained before they begin to be English: the translator must observe English sentence-order and English idiom, or his rendering will be not only cacophonous, but often obscure as well.

In his interesting preface (pp. ix-x), Prof. Gardner speaks as if there were no beauty in Greek vases before the middle of the sixth century, but only historical interest. Happily this is not Dr. Buschor's view. He finds beauty, of form and of decoration, in Minoan and in geometric vases, in protocorinthian, in early Attic and elsewhere. Prof. Gardner also states that 'German scientific writers aim at an exactness in the use of terms which we seldom attempt.' This is not true of chemists or mathematicians; and I trust it is not true of archaeologists.

A short bibliography might have been added to the translation, since the chief defect of Dr. Buschor's book was that the series to which it belonged did not allow footnotes. Pl. LXXXIX has been retouched, and some of the illustrations are fainter than in the German edition. The gilt tondo on the side-cover is an error of taste, but excusable if it helps to sell this excellent book.

J. D. B.

Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum. Vol. II. Sculpture and Architectural Fragments. By STANLEY CASSON, with a section upon the Terra-cottas by DONOVN BROOKS. Pp. 429. Cambridge: The University Press, 1921.

The first volume of this Catalogue, containing the archaic sculpture, by the late Guy Dickins, appeared in 1912. It should have been followed at a short interval by Mr. Casson's volume on the sculpture of the fifth century and later, and the MS. of this work was actually ready in 1914, when the War intervened to delay its publication for seven years. Mr. Dickins had set a very high standard in his admirable Catalogue; and Mr. Casson has not fallen below it, though the material he has had to deal with and the problems he has had to face are of a very different nature. It has not been practicable in this volume, as in the other, to give an illustration of almost every number in the Catalogue; but the need for this is to a great degree met by the publication of series such as the fragments from the Parthenon in the British Museum plates, or of the Erechtheum frieze in the Antike Denkmäler.

It was not to be expected that many new discoveries or identifications could be made in material so often worked over by different archaeologists. But a careful account is given of the assignment of various fragments in Athens to their place in the metopes or frieze of the Parthenon, the frieze and balustrade of the temple of Nike, the Erechtheum frieze, and other compositions. Some new joins are recorded, and some new identifications made—notably the fine female head from a metope, published for the first time on p. 86. Another interesting point is that Mr. Casson thinks, from the style of the work, that repairs of late Greek or Roman date can be recognised in some of the sculptures, notably in No. 27 from the Nike Balustrade and in some of the wings from the Parthenon pediment. Such repairs are known at Olympia, but have only been recognised in one or two doubtful cases at Athens.

The descriptions and references appear, so far as can be judged without using the

Catalogue in the Museum, to be very accurate. The numbering as previously marked on the figures and fragments has been preserved, but this causes little trouble to the reader, thanks to the index given at the end. The only omission I have noticed is No. 1044, which is described as part of the recently reconstituted slab of the frieze on p. 101. The two horses of Selene on the East pediment of the Parthenon have now been transferred to the Museum; it is stated that these are perhaps the middle two. But, according to Prof. Sauer's investigations, the lost fourth horse was that nearest to Selene, and the two in Athens were at the extreme end. In the unfinished statue, No. 1325, the grooved lines are said to be 'cut with a gouge.' A sculptor has assured me that the instrument used was a round chisel. That it should be worth while to mention such minor points is a testimony to the general accuracy. There are two or three oversights in details. On p. 284 '5th century' is a misprint for '6th century' (date of Andokides); and on p. 321 'terminus post quem' should read 'ante quem' (in the section on terra-cottas).

The section on the architectural fragments is interesting, particularly in the suggestion that the painted architectural fragments, which are all stated to be in Pentelic marble, are later than the painted terra-cotta fragments—probably about the first decade of the fifth century, and that in earlier buildings the terra-cotta simas and antefixes were actually replaced by marble ones. The date suggested, however, seems later than necessary, especially if, as stated, the painted fragments from the Pisistratid peripteral building are also in Pentelic marble.

In the treatment of the terra-cottas, Mrs. Brooke (Miss Dorothy Lamb) acknowledges her indebtedness to Dr. Winter's type catalogue and to Miss Hutton's discussion of the reliefs. Here, as in the sculpture, an introduction summarises the evidence as to the various types and technical questions. It is noted as unfortunate that there is little record as to where, on the Acropolis, the various terra-cottas were found.

The whole volume will be a most useful work of reference for all who are making a detailed study of Attic art.

E. A. G.

Grundfragen der Homerikritik. By PAUL CANER. Dritte ungeschnittene und erweiterte Auflage. Erste Hälfte. Pp. 406. Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1921. M. 68.

The third edition of this well-known handbook is welcome. Paul Caner has always distinguished himself among Homeric scholars by his candour, impartiality, clear reasoning and competence, more especially on the philological side. The third edition, of which this, the first half, contains Book I, 'Textkritik und Sprachwissenschaft,' and Book II, 'zur Analyse der Anhalte,' augmented by a chapter on the Homeric hexameter, takes account of recent literature up to the date of publication without megalomania or *compositionalis*. With all this openmindedness Herr Caner does not seem to have materially altered his own position, e.g. with regard to Ithaca, the Homeric dialect, or the reality of the Trojan war. And indeed, in face of such distances of time and the possibly impending new evidence, we must be content to say *ταῦτα αἰὲς ἔσονται: τοὺς ἀντιπαραρρητὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ τὰς ἱλίας λόγον ἐπιμένει*.

T. W. A.

Homerische Poetik. Edited by ERNEST DICKHOF. Vol. I., Das Homerproblem in der Gegenwart. By E. D. Pp. 511. Vol. III., Die Rhapsodien der Odyssee. By FRANK STÜRMER. Pp. 632. Würzburg: Becker, 1921.

As much cannot be said for this book. The first volume, of 510 pages, contains a farrago of people's opinions on all subjects connected with Homer except the MSS. Information may be obtained from it, but the utility of the information is qualified by the value of past and present Homeric criticism. It is pathetic to see Herr Stürmer to the tune of 627 pp.

thinking by an effort of the intelligence to recover the original sections of the *Odyssey*. Herr Drerup will apply the same process to the *Iliad* in Vol. II as yet unpublished. This is understood to be a defence of the Unitarian position. *Non tolli ascribitur*. This book, and *Homer and the Iliad* by Wilamowitz (1916), show that the leopard does not change his spots, bricks do not wash, and the Germans, like the Bourbons, have learned nothing. *On passera outre*.

T. W. A.

Recueil Milliet. Textes grecs et latins relatifs à l'histoire de la peinture ancienne. By ADOLPHE REINACH. Vol. I. Pp. 430. Paris: Klincksieck, 1921. Fr. 30.

MR. MILLIER having presented a sum of money to the Association des Études grecques for the publication, with translation and commentary, of the passages in ancient writers which treat of art, the work was entrusted to Mr. Adolphe Reinach, who had completed a great part of his task when the war broke out. After Mr. Adolphe Reinach's heroic death, the duty of publishing his manuscript fell to Mr. Salomon Reinach. The first volume deals with Greek painting from the earliest times to the Hellenistic period, and supersedes the corresponding section in Overbeck.

'Il s'agissait,' as Mr. Salomon Reinach truly says in his preface, 'moins de commenter des textes que de les établir et de les interpréter.' The value of this volume, however, lies chiefly in the comprehensive and interesting commentary. The translation is not free from errors; and the treatment of the text is unsatisfactory: there is no critical apparatus; conjectural readings, certain and uncertain, are admitted without warning; the manuscripts are sometimes quoted, but not always correctly. The punctuation is erratic, and misprints very numerous. It would be unjust to impute these faults to the author: we may be sure that he would have removed many of them in his final revision.

In the translation: p. 8, l. 2, *rustica* . . . *discriptae* is 'gathered by the attentive rustic': p. 25, 37, *βούλει* is not 'il veut': p. 36, 18, *vitiū indecentiae* go together: p. 44, 12, *tenentes ordinem inventae artis* is not 'observant les règles d'un art perfectionné,' but 'observing the sequences in which the processes were discovered' (the idea Aristotelian, see no. 37): p. 44, 18, the *line apothē* is not 'lignes propres traits': p. 46, 4, *σῆμα* is 'and then': p. 46, 24, *τὰς λεγόμενας εἰκας* is translated as if it were *τὰς λεγόμενας*: p. 75, 18, *εἰκαστα* means 'attitudes': p. 82, 17, *αἰὲν ἡρώεα* is not 'to enjoy a reputation': p. 112, 17, *ὑπὸ στήθεσιν*, under his body, not under his feet: p. 132, 3, *συνετῆρα* is not 'tomber': p. 146, 10, *εἰκας* plural: p. 168, no. 163, *τὸ ζῆλον* is simply the statue (of Zeus), not 'the wooden parts of the statue': p. 208, 10, the subject of *παλαίμαχος* is *ἡ πόλις*: p. 218, 15, *πολλὰς ὑπομνήσας* is contrasted with the *ἀνέμων*'s *βοῆας* of no. 172: p. 229, 10, *multa contulit* is not 'made many works,' but 'contributed greatly' to the progress of the art: p. 234, 7, *ἐπεὶ* mistranslated: p. 248, 3, *παράδειγμα* is passive: p. 280, 8, the subject of *dixit* is Euphranor: p. 286, no. 363, the translation misses the point of the anecdote: Nikias was so fond of his work that he would often ask his servants, 'Have I had my bath? Have I had breakfast?': p. 294, 7, *τὸ ἐκείνου* is not 'such a subject' (that is, cavalry engagements), but 'Subject': p. 300, 12, *ἀσχεπὴς* is not 'grave': p. 301, 20, *manu* and *brevior* go together, 'too small for his hand': p. 302, note 2, *ἐν τῷ τάξει* must mean 'of the same rank as Zeuxis': p. 336, 27, *artificia* and *Col* together: p. 340, 15, *χρῶμα* goes with *χάρος*: p. 354, 24, *nulla in Apellis tectoris pictura erat* is not 'il n'y avait aucune peinture à fresque d'Apelle': p. 356, 1, *quam* . . . *jactat* is 'on which he particularly prides himself.'

In the text: p. 191, note 3, the manuscript reading, *ταὶ εὐφροναί τῶν*, is not ascertainable from the critical note: p. 111, note 4, *τὸ ἐκείνου ἔργον* is the reading of all, not some, manuscripts, in 39 (not 31): p. 142, no. 118, no MS. reads *ἐχέρας ἐς*: p. 242, no. 297, 'Overbeck écrit locum': so do the MSS.: p. 268, no. 342, *Aristidi* is not the reading of some MSS., but a conjecture: p. 307, note 5, the readings of the better MSS. are not given: *tectoris* is printed in the text, and *pictoris* translated.

Misprints: p. 4, l. 3, read *experiment*; 6, 8, *quum*; 15, 37, *penicilli*; 16, 10, *proce* printed as *verso*; 19, 43, read *reliqua*; 20, 1, *igni*; 26, 3, *marmorea mada*; 26, 8, *inimicus*; 28, 1, *mini*; 28, 14, *autem* (not *ad*); 30, 5, VII; 34, 37, *verè*; 38, 14, *Protopenis*; 44, 35, *illita*; 46, 22, a whole line of Plato is omitted: 48, 5, read *olon*; 49, last, *disimilantique*; 52, 32, *μὴ* not *μὲν*; 58, 10, *παρὰ* *ἀλλήλους*; 60, 17, 3; 60, 29, *γῆρας*; 72, 6, *μαχίστε* (the misprint is taken from Overbeck). 80, 13, *doesso* is missing. 85, 24, read *θῶνος*; 117, 22, *f. r.*; 122, 22, *ἐπὶ* *ἀνδρῶν*; 128, 1, *κατὰ*, 5, *Αἰθῶ* and *γυνεὶ*, 8, *Φρῆγαι*, 9, *εργαίαι*, 13, *τὸ* *ψῆφον*, 15, *τροπῶν*; 132, 15, *ἴα*, 23, *ἐκπεριμένει*; 135, 28, *inlita* (not *inclita* as here, nor illi as on p. 158 in the same passage); 135, 36, *εχέον* and *ἔσπε* and *δύναμιον*; 148, 9, *χρῆ* (an emendation anyway for the MS. *ἐκλε*); 150, 2, *Thespiis*; 150, 17, *ποθὲν* *παλαιοὶ* (not *παλαιῶν*); 160, 3, *θρηνησάντων*, and 175, 33, *διερεθόμενοι*; 166, 34, *ἐκείναι*; 174, 25, *ἔργων*; 188, 3, *ἡδόμενοι*; 188, 19, *poetes* (not *poeta*); 192, 14, *riai* (misprint after Overbeck); 196, 22, *καί* *οὐρα*; 214, 18, *utroque*; 222, 2, *εὐ* *εἰ*; 231, 35, *προπετασσομένης*; 234, 9, *καὶ* *εἰ*; 234, 13, *nobilissimas*; 240, 23, *quas*; 246, 12, *addidisset*; 254, 23, *ἐμπερι*; 280, 3, *est* (not *et*); 298, 3, *aliquando*; 302, 19, *visit* is missing. 306, 19, read *ἐκείνους*; 308, 39, *ἀγνοῦντα*; 309, 31, *εἰ* not *εἰ*; 312, 7, *εἰς*; 316, 20, *quo*, 27, *vindicturum*; 336, 2, *effingere*; 336, 27, *est* is omitted. 346, 4, read *εἰ*; 358, 17, *obnoxia*; 358, 23, *signata*; 366, 7, *philosophi*; 378, 2, *ἐπὶ* *τοῖς*; 380, 5, *μὲν* (not *μὲν*); 381, 14, *Εἰς*; 404, 2, *εἰς*; 420, 6, *attollit*; 420, 15, *ἰδόμενος*, 25, *εἰ* *εἰς*; 421, 26, *ἀνδρῶν* and *ἑκ* and *ἐπερμέναι*; 341, 21, *θῆγαν*.

By the omission of a stop, or the deft insertion of a comma in the wrong place, the difficulty of a sentence may be considerably increased; yet the object of punctuation is to facilitate reading, not to impede it. P. 4, 3, read *permanentes, quod calx*; 3, 2, *fahrum, cerne*; 22, 14, colon after *est*, question-mark after *facis*; 23, 39, comma after *ἀναμῶν*; 24, 14, *ἑκάδα* *καὶ*; 26, 27, *quaque, transfunduntque*; 46, 3, *καλῶς* *ἔργων*, *ἀντιπρὸς* *ἑαυτῶν*; 46, 27, *καί* *ἐν* *αἰσ*, *ἐκ*; 58, 110, *ποῶν* *οὐ*; 72, 7, *εἰς* *ἐκ* *αἰσ*; 86, 18, *ἀμφοτέρω* *καὶ*; 122, 15, *ἀγίστε* *εἰ*; 151, 30, *nubila cristae, et*; 208, 8, full-stop after *ἐκ* *ἀντιπρὸς*; 228, 17, *ἐκ* *ἐν* *αἰσ*; 240, 19, comma after *οὐδαμῶς*; 276, 33, *εἰς* *αἰσ*, 34, *καὶ* *ἐν* *αἰσ*; 288, 1, colon after *Danaen*, 21, comma after *Olympi*; 342, 6, *καὶ* *ἐν* *αἰσ*; 344, 20 and 40, full-stops after *hūt* and *crinem*; 358, 17, *aderat nullis*; 376, 11, *εἰ*, *εἰ*; 382, 17, *tabellis, utraque*. In the Vitruvian passages, Choisy's extraordinary punctuation is usually retained, but not consistently.

The commentary deals at length with the historical, technical and other questions suggested by the text. It shows wide reading, and the material collected will be useful to students of ancient painting.

In the commentary: p. 7, l. 4, is obscure: we do not know that all monochromes were on marble. P. 44, no. 31, for *splendor* and *lumen*, see Seneca, *Epp.* 2, 9, 2. P. 65, note 4, most of the Clazomenian sarcophagi, if not all of them, are much later than the beginning of the seventh century; p. 75, on no. 785, it is doubtful whether any such painting existed in the time of Timachidas, and the inscription is almost certainly a fabrication; p. 77, note 2, the metopes of Thermos must be earlier than the middle of the sixth century; p. 88, no. 106, refers to the Diaparsis at Athens, and should be placed with no. 116; p. 113, note 2, the 'vase de l'Italie du Sud' is the Attic vase in Vienna; Dike is not covered with spots; her clothing is: p. 125, note 4, Pausanias does not say that the lyre was at the foot of Thamyris in the statue; p. 141, note 4, if the artists had meant Theseus to be receiving a ring, they could and would have made their meaning quite clear; p. 147, note 12, the youth on the cup *Mos*, II, 33, which must be earlier than 469, is not seizing a spear but holding one; that the subject is Achilles in Scyros is improbable: the 'hydria' in Munich is a neck-amphora, the style singularly unlike that of the Brygos painter; the new publication in Furtwängler-Reichhold should have been mentioned, also Hauser's discussion of the Nausicaa vases, and of Polygnotos' Nausicaa, in volume 8 of the *Jahreshefte*; the Berlin vase mentioned next is not a *hl.* fragment, but a *cf.* Nolan amphora; p. 167, the reference to Winter unintelligible; p. 175, note 3, Chalkyites dated too late; pp. 180-1, Robert's publications of nos. 3 and 4 should have been cited; p. 199, note 3, the vase is Faliscan not South Italian; p. 229, note 3, the vase belongs to the third quarter of the fifth century, not to the fourth: what is the seated type of Philoctetes found from the beginning of the fifth century? p. 236, there is no ground for calling the terra-cotta

nurses Thracians; a Thracian nurse (tattooed) is represented on the early Lucanian fragment, *B.M. Cat. Vases*, 3, p. 308; p. 270, note 5, the principal publication of the Alexander mosaic is Winter's; p. 271, the text no. 344 does not mention *portraits of women*; p. 272, the abridgment of the passage from Quintilian makes it unintelligible; p. 360, note 2, there is no reason to suppose that the archaic representatives of the Births of Athena or Dionysos are meant to be caricatures; p. 380, note 2, doubtful if the signature of Aetion is genuine; pp. 420-21, note 1, the Polybian passages do not refer to animal painting, and the last not even to painting.

Mr. Salomon Reinach states in his preface that a second volume, dealing with the later painters, is ready for the press: we hope that its appearance will not be long delayed, but we hope also, that Mr. Salomon Reinach, or some other scholar, will make himself responsible for giving it these finishing touches which it doubtless deserves.

J. D. B.

Linguistique historique et linguistique générale. By A. MEILLET. (Collection linguistique: publiée par la Société de Linguistique de Paris, VIII.) Pp. 334. Paris: E. Champion, 1921.

Of this collection of twenty-two papers on the study of language two appear for the first time; the others, written since 1905, are collected from various periodicals. They find a unity in the point of view of the author. To the medieval mind, as he remarks, grammar appeared as a branch of logic, and it was only in the nineteenth century that this way of looking at the matter gave way to scientific observation and to an impartial collection of the facts. Professor Meillet would now carry the study a step further and co-ordinate these facts in accordance with certain 'règles générales que déterminent les conditions universelles de toute langue.' This can only be done in one way, by taking into consideration that language exists as a product of society, and that therefore 'les causes dont dépendent les faits linguistiques doivent être de nature sociale, et que seule la considération des faits sociaux permettrait de substituer en linguistique à l'examen des faits bruts la détermination des procès' (p. 232); that is, to arrange facts in their real sequence of development. Until recently the study of language was confined in the main to the physical factor, itself generally unconscious, and to the examination of the physical mechanism of the production of sounds; to these must be added the social factor. It is in the perpetual variation of social conditions that the author sees the causes of linguistic development; for which the physiological and mental factors, owing to their fixed nature, cannot satisfactorily account; although whether these two factors are really 'partout ensemble les mêmes' is perhaps not so certain as he would have us believe. That it is not easy to set down the precise nature of the action of this social factor is a difficulty inseparable from the problem, but it none the less remains that the author lays himself open to the charge of invoking a factor as an explanation on no other ground than that it undoubtedly accompanies the phenomenon to be explained, avoiding the very difficult task of showing that they have any causal connexion. To many readers in this country the whole book will perhaps seem rather too deductive in method, with occasionally what looks like an attempt to force the evidence. For example, on p. 100 the possibility of the existence of mixed languages gets in the way of the view that borrowed elements can always be readily distinguished from the native in a language; but to say that they are the languages 'de populations inférieures; ils ne survivent généralement pas,' is not to get rid of the fact, and to go on to say 'au cas où ils survivraient, il est permis de se demander si l'on en pourrait faire la théorie: les faits seraient beaucoup trop compliqués,' is to set a theory above the facts upon which all theories must be based. Space does not allow us to do more than mention the fundamental principles which underlie all the author's treatment of the subject. The book is full of the most suggestive ideas, and this insistence on the social aspect of language marks a real advance, as well as the resolute aiming at the disengagement of general ideas of universal validity. Some of his views cut very deep into

generally accepted notions. If, for example, we follow him in his paper on *Les parentés des langues* in admitting that similarities in kindred languages may proceed not from a period of linguistic unity, but from parallel and independent developments due to similar tendencies in the daughter languages spoken in similar social conditions, not only are we forced to grant, as he says, that the idea of 'latin vulgaire' is a fallacy, but many beliefs as to the character of the *Ursprache* must disappear also. And certainly long and similar but quite independent developments, provided an original source of the impulse existed in the period of linguistic unity, seem in no way impossible. But all depends upon the exact nature of a 'tendance générale' (p. 74), and thus it is not easy to grasp precisely, nor is it easy to see what social conditions will produce what 'tendance.' That these deep problems are raised shows that Professor Meillet has given us an important and most stimulating book, and it is because of the interest of his theoretical views that we have devoted space rather to the chapters on general questions than to the latter part of the book which treats of special subjects. But these are no less worthy of attention; in particular we would call attention to the two papers on the problems of gender and to the paper *Comment les mots changent de sens*. The last paper, *La religion indo-européenne*, shows us what is left of the once so rich contributions of comparative philology to the early religion of the Indo-Europeans after the evidence has passed through Professor Meillet's sieve.

R. M. D.

Balahish. By G. A. WAINWRIGHT. With Preface by T. WHITTEMORE. Pp. 78, 28 plates. *Thirty-seventh Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Society*. London: Allen & Unwin, 1920.

This small memoir describes the results of an excavation undertaken in 1915 by the American branch of the Egypt Exploration Society (then the Egypt Exploration Fund) under the direction of Mr. G. A. Wainwright, one of the British archaeologists working for the Fund. Prof. Thomas Whittimore, the American representative on the Committee of the Fund, was charged with the general oversight of this special work on behalf of the American subscribers, and he explains the circumstances of the excavation in a preface to the scientific part of the work, which is written by Mr. Wainwright. Tombs were excavated at various dates from the predynastic period to the New Kingdom, and yielded a fair amount of archaeological material of the usual kind for the contributing American museums.

Mirone d'Eleutere. By SALVATORE MIRONE. Pp. 136, 11 plates, containing 64 illustrations. Catania: F. Tropea, 1921.

Our knowledge and appreciation of Myron and his work have been increased in the most remarkable way in recent years; and therefore Signor Mirone's monograph upon his namesake appears very opportunely. The identifications of the Athena at Frankfurt and Dresden and of the head of Perseus at Rome have placed the artistic character of Myron in a new light; and in addition to these there are numerous other suggestions and attributions, some of them less convincing, that are scattered throughout archaeological literature. The author has collected and criticised this material with great care and thoroughness, and all students of Greek sculpture will be grateful to him. If he is sometimes too ready to discover or to accept Myronic qualities on scanty evidence, this may readily be forgiven to the author of such a monograph, especially since he states the evidence in every case.

The work is clearly arranged; it opens with a discussion of the ancient authorities as to Myron's art and as to his various works, together with such extant sculptures as can be connected with them. As these are in all cases copies and not originals, the question of

the fidelity of the copies to the style of Myron is important. Signor Mirone discusses this carefully in each case; among the copies of the Discobolus he regards the new example from Castel Porziano as the most trustworthy. But he is somewhat too ready to accept an attribution to Myron where little or no evidence exists in its favour. For instance, the fine group of Heracles wrestling with the lion, which appears on many coins of the fifth century and later, may be worthy of Myron; but there is no proof that he designed it. And it is a strange oversight to associate the triple Hecate on coins of Aegina with Myron's statue, which Pausanias expressly says had only one head and one body. Again, the poor reproduction of two warriors from an Athenian lead tessera does not suggest at first sight the *ἀνδρες ταυρῶν ἐν μάχῃ* whom Pausanias describes as Erechtheus and Immarradus. A discussion of works wrongly attributed to Myron, or really belonging to a later Myron, is useful. Among these the drunken old woman is assigned to the Pergamene age. The dates of Myron's career are fixed. There is also a discussion of the character of Myron's art, especially in relation to the ancient criticisms quoted by Pliny. Here the much-disputed 'numerusior' is interpreted on the supposition that the Latin 'numerus' is a translation of *ἀριθμῶς*.

Finally, there is a list of such other works as may be attributed directly or indirectly to Myron and to his pupils; most of these are now generally recognised as showing his style. In general, Signor Mirone points out the great influence exercised by Myron on his contemporaries and successors, and even on such works as the sculptures of the Parthenon. In contrast to Phidias and Polyclitus, who were the leaders of traditional schools, Myron was especially the master of those who showed their individuality by breaking away from tradition. The plates are useful as serving for the identification of the various works mentioned in the text; but the reproductions are far from clear, especially in the case of coins.

Man's Descent from the Gods, or the Complete Case against Prohibition.

By ARTHUR M. LUDOVICI. Pp. 255. London: Wm. Heinemann, 1921.

It is a bewildering task to present to readers of this austere JOURNAL an adequate summary of the work under review, so wondrously is it compounded of Greek mythology, dietetic values and Nietzschean misogyny. Let us, at all events, make a beginning with the mythology.

The *vol evē*, whence Mr. Ludovici essays to move a universe of Puritans and Professors, is Herbert Spencer's dictum that ancient deities are traceable back to human origins. Armed with this explanation, we attack the myths of Prometheus and Dionysos. Zeus is a chief of a Cro-Magnon tribe which has seen better days and is now reduced to mixing with Aryan Greeks, people so ignorant that they cannot make fire for themselves, but must beg it of Zeus. Prometheus, desiring to usurp the place of Zeus and thinking to gain the support of the Greeks, reveals the secret. But the result is unexpected; having now fire at their disposal, the foolish Aryan Greeks use it to cook the meat which they had hitherto eaten raw; and, rolling in dyspeptic agonies, they gladly witness the righteous punishment inflicted on Prometheus by Zeus. But the evil gift once imparted cannot be recalled; and mankind suffers all the woes of malnutrition until a great teacher arises, Dionysos, who restores health and vigour by a regimen of raw meat and fermented drinks.

We confess that this bald summary hardly does justice to the fresh enthusiasm of Mr. Ludovici's style, or the rigorous detail of his method, which is seen at its best in the section on the Prometheus myth. The chapter on Dionysos is not so good; Mr. Ludovici has made a great mistake in admitting the existence of the 'miraculous or supernatural'; it suggests that after all there may be more things in Greek mythology than were dreamed of in the Spencerian philosophy. But it was with regret that we concluded these thrilling chapters of mythological discovery and plunged into the disquisition on food values and vitamins.

The general conclusion of the argument is that beer is a prime necessity of life under civilised conditions. It may be objected that this great truth needed no illustration from ancient myths, but all the same we are grateful to Mr. Ludovici for his book. Nor is the conclusion the only aim part about it. For example, the section on the value of traditional memory would be accepted by most historians nowadays; in fact, while Mr. Ludovici persistently damns the archaeologists, he does not always seem acquainted with the more recent developments of archaeological thought, and thereby misses more than one opportunity. It is waste of powder to bombard poor Max Müller and his solar myths; they have been dead this many a day; but we would have read with much interest Mr. Ludovici's views on the Zeus of Mr. A. B. Cook or on the *Enkantos-Daimon*.

Dynamic Symmetry: the Greek Vase. By JAY HAMBRIDGE. Pp. 161, with 16 plates and numerous figures in the text. Yale: The University Press, 1920.

Dynamic Symmetry: A Criticism. By EDWIN M. BLAKE (*The Art Bulletin*, an illustrated Quarterly published by the College Art Association of America, Vol. III, pp. 107-127).

The system of proportion called by its discoverer, Mr. Jay Hambidge, Dynamic Symmetry has already been made known in this country by papers read by Mr. Hambidge before the Hellenic Society, November 10th and October 16th, 1919, and March 1st, 1921, and reported in *J.H.S.* xl. p. xxxvi, xli. p. xxi, and by a journal devoted to the subject, called *The Diagonal*, of which we have seen the first number only. An account of the theory, based upon these sources, was given also in the *Times Educational Supplement* in 1920. We have now in addition the present book, in which his system is applied in elaborate detail to the shapes and proportions of Greek vases. The author has devoted so much labour and enthusiasm to this study, his views have gained so much acceptance, and cut so deeply into the fundamentals of artistic design, that we welcome the appearance of this book, in which the theory is for the first time applied to a definite class of objects on a comprehensive scale.

Dynamic Symmetry Mr. Hambidge opposes to what he calls Static Symmetry. In the chapter devoted to the latter in this book he does not describe it as clearly as might be desired, but it appears that Static Symmetry is a system of designing the proportions of a work of art, resting on squares and equilateral triangles and their inscribed and escribed circles. A notice of a paper on this system which Mr. Hambidge read before the Hellenic Society in November 1902 will be found in *J.H.S.*, xxiii. For the present purpose it is enough to say that the essence of the static system is that the underlying circles have radii in the proportions of 1:2:4:8, etc., and therefore the measurements of works of art designed on this system will be, if not confined to these ratios, at all events numerically commensurable. On this system in 1902 Mr. Hambidge was ready to analyse not only numerous natural forms but also the Parthenon. This latter point is of interest, because increased study has now shown him that this view must be abandoned, for he tells us that dynamic symmetry, the system which he is now expounding, was borrowed by the Greeks from the Egyptians in the 6th or 7th century B.C., and continued to be used by them for some three hundred years, and not only for the pottery with which the book deals, but also for their temples. 'There is no essential difference,' we are told on p. 7, 'between the plan of a Greek vase and the plan of a Greek temple or theatre, either in general aspect or in detail. The curves found in Greek pottery are identical with the curves of mouldings found in Greek temples.'

The Dynamic Symmetry which Mr. Hambidge now finds in Egyptian and Greek works of art, but except in nature nowhere else, is based not upon any such system of dimensions of commensurable length, but upon the proportions of certain rectangles, which he calls the (square) root-two rectangle, the root-three, and the root-five rectangle, and the 'rectangle of the whirling squares, the basis of dynamic symmetry,' which is closely connected

with the root-five rectangle. These rectangles are those of which the shorter side is to the longer in the proportion of 1 to the square root of 2, 1 to the square root of 3, and so on: beyond the root-five rectangle the Greeks seldom went. The result of using these rectangles as a basis for design—that is, of fixing the main points of a design in accordance with a group of rectangles of one of these types and the forms based upon it—is that the proportions of the work will not be commensurable relations of numbers but incommensurable, involving, that is to say, the irrational ratios of unity to such surds as the square root of 2, and so on. What will be commensurable in dynamic symmetry is not the linear measurements of the work, which are not in the relations of numerical units to one another, but the areas of the squares erected upon these measurements, naturally in the corresponding ratios of 2, 3, etc. We quote *The Diagonal*, p. 48: "Both nature and Greek art show that the measurableness of symmetry is that of area and not line. . . . That is the secret. Dynamic symmetry deals with commensurable areas." It is thus utterly opposed to the system of design by *moduli*, according to which it may be laid down, for example, that the human figure is so many heads in height. In this book, after a few preliminary chapters, in one of which is an attempt to apply the method to the proportions of the leaf of the American maple, Mr. Hambidge gives us a series of profile drawings of vases in the Museum of New York and Boston, and their analysis according to the principles of his symmetry. Rectangles of his proportions are applied to the profiles of the vases, and it is shown that all the leading points of the profile coincide with the angles in certain arrangements of these rectangles: one vase is therefore called 'A theme in three root-two rectangles'; another, 'A theme in three whirling-square rectangles,' and so on. The groups of rectangles derived in this way from study of the vase are supposed to be those used by the original designer in planning out the shape: he worked from the rectangles to the vase, Mr. Hambidge the converse way from the vase to the fundamental rectangles.

These applications of the system show that a great deal of manipulation of the rectangles by subdivisions is allowed, and although the analysis of each vase is confined to one set of rectangles, root-two, root-three, etc., yet the division of these rectangles gives so much latitude that the reader is apt to think that with an equal amount of ingenuity almost any work of art could be got into such very elastic moulds, so much more accommodating than the bed of Procrustes, that they can be made to fit any patient really almost painlessly. And the attempt to apply the same system to the maple leaf makes the reader who is aware of the irregular development of leaves pause very seriously.

Mr. Blake's criticism in the *Art Bulletin*, which we only read after Mr. Hambidge's book, is much on these same lines. He remarks that the number of rectangles which can be used for an analysis on the Hambidge system is very great, indeed theoretically unlimited, although he very fairly does not press this point; but according to the examples shown so great that any design can be analysed in many different ways and according to any system. By figures calculated on the root-five and on the root-thirteen rectangle, and lastly on a rational system, that is on a system of commensurable linear measurements, he shows that it is possible to analyse the design of one and the same vase not only by the use of the Hambidge root-five rectangle, but also by another rectangle of the same class, the root-thirteen, and finally on a basis which is not 'dynamic' at all. Space forbids any detailed repetition of Mr. Blake's work, but any one who reads his pp. 112 to 121 will not, we think, escape from the conclusion that any vase can be analyzed in any way, and that there is no proof, and can hardly be any proof, that any one of these systems was actually used, whilst from the absence of any literary evidence there is every probability that they were not. We may add that the statement that Lysippus reduced the size of the head and made it about one-eighth of the total height of the figure instead of like Polykleitos one-seventh, is directly against the use in sculpture of the dynamic system.

In dealing with the claim that dynamic symmetry is the method of nature, amongst many interesting points Mr. Blake touches on the one which we have made above about the maple leaf: he points out the great variety in the proportions of human skeletons, 'quite out of harmony with the exactness and incommensurability which distinguish dynamic symmetry' (p. 123). In the point made by Mr. Blake, that this, or we gather any system of design, has no very clear connexion with aesthetic impression, we cannot alto-

gether follow him. If it were proved that in the works of nature or in the more admirable of the works of men this or any other system were followed, we too should do well to follow it, and that without knowing why the results were pleasing. But the practical examples given by Mr. Hambidge have made it to our mind so little likely that the Greeks knew of this system or that nature uses it, that the further question need not occupy us.

Professor Rhye Carpenter (*A.J.A.* xxv. 1921, pp. 18-36) has discussed Mr. Hambidge's theory with much the same results. His mathematics are very plain, and lead to a condemnation stronger than his very moderate conclusion that Mr. Hambidge's evidence is ingenious but ambiguous, and his theory *a priori* improbable. From the artistic standpoint he observes that dynamic symmetry does not touch the important element of beauty afforded by the shape of the curves of the vase, and that it can therefore at most be only a contribution to the beauty of the whole.

In conclusion we should like to see both Mr. Blake and Professor Rhye Carpenter turn their able attention to *Ad Quadratum*, a Study of the Geometrical Bases of Classical and Medieval Religious Architecture by F. M. Lund (Batsford, 1921). The author, primarily interested in the Cathedral of Trondheim, takes occasion to explain the design of Greek and mediæval religious architecture in general by means of diagrams made up of the square and the pentagon, and involving, we might almost add of course, the golden section. By this system he analyses the beauties not only of the Norwegian Cathedral but also of the Parthenon, which yields up its secrets to Mr. Lund, just as it did twenty years ago to Mr. Hambidge's earlier system and now again does to his dynamic symmetry.

R. M. D.

The Stylistic Influence of the Second Sophistic on the Panegyric Sermons of St. John Chrysostom. A Study in Greek Rhetoric. By Rev. THOMAS E. AMERINGER, O.F.M., M.A. Pp. 103. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1921.

A DISSERTATION submitted to the Faculty of Letters of the Catholic University of America in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

The Art of Transition in Plato. By GRACE HADLEY BILLINGS. Pp. 103. Chicago: University of Chicago Libraries, 1920.

A DISSERTATION submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Arts and Literature in candidacy for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Recherches sur l'Éphébie attique, et en particulier sur la date de l'institution. By ALICE BENOÎT. Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, Sciences Historiques et Philologiques, 229^e Fascicule. Paris: E. Champion, 1920.

The Greek Orthodox Church. By Rev. CONSTANTINE CALLINICOS, B.D. With a Preface by the Right Rev. J. E. C. WELLDON, D.D. Pp. 60. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1918.

A SCHOLARLY and impartial account of the history of the Greek Orthodox Church, its geographical extent, its doctrine, worship and organisation, its present state and its relations with the Anglican Church.

The Agamemnon of Aeschylus. Translated by RUSHWORTH KENNARD DAVIS. Pp. 70. Oxford: B. H. Blackwell, 1919.

The Redemption of Saint Sophia. By Rev. J. A. DOUGLAS, B.D. Pp. 79, with coloured illustrations. London: The Faith Press, 1919.

THIS book, which is an appeal to the British people to insist upon the restoration of S. Sophia to Christian worship (without, however, giving offence to Indian or Arabian Moslems), contains a popular account of the fall of Constantinople, the ancient monuments of the city, the history and legends of the cathedral, and the misdeeds of the Turk.

Theory of Advanced Greek Prose Composition. Part I. By JOHN DONOVAN, S.J., M.A. Pp. 124. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1921. 5s. net.

THIS work is designed for the use of students preparing for University scholarships or taking the Honours Course in Greek at a University. The present volume presents more than half the treatise on the 'Functions and Equivalents of the Subordinate Clause and of the Parts of Speech,' together with a corresponding 'Digest of Greek Idioms.' The large collections of examples, which the author modestly claims to be 'possibly unique,' are a valuable feature.

Aristoteles über die Dichtkunst. By A. GUDEMANN. Pp. 91. Leipzig: Felix Weimer, 1920. M. 10.

A NEW translation into German of the *Poetics*, with an introduction and an explanatory index of names and subjects.

Aus der Geschichte und Literatur der Palaiologenzeit. By A. HEISENBERG. (Sitzungsberichte der Bayer. Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosoph.-philolog. u. hist. Kl., Jahrg. 1920, 10 Abh.) Pp. 144. 4 Plates.

THE subjects are: I., A MS. of Georgios Pachymeres (Cod. Monac. gr. 442). II., The two-headed eagle of the Byzantine Emperors. III., On the Records of Monemvasia. IV., A *Protagonis* of the Emperor Michael VIII. Palaiologos. V., The court eunuchial of *Peripatus* and *Prokypsis*.

The Second Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians. By WILFRED H. ISAACS. Pp. 87. Oxford: The University Press, 1921. 7s. 6d. net.

THIS is a new translation 'intended to comprise an exact transference of the Apostle's thought from Greek to English,' with some critical notes upon the text, and an introduction dealing with translation generally.

Humanismus und Jugendbildung. By WILHELM JÄGER. Pp. 43. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1921. M. 3.

A PAPER on education read to a meeting of supporters of the Humanistic Gymnasium in Berlin.

Le Origini del Romanzo greco. By BRUNO LAVAGNINI. Pp. 104. Pisa: F. Mariotti, 1921.

The Subject Index of Periodicals. I. Language and Literature. Part I., Classical, Oriental and Primitive. London: Issued by the Library Association, 1921. 2s. 6d. net.

Speeches from Thucydides, selected from Jowett's Translation. With an Introduction by GILBERT MERRAT. Pp. 78. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1919.

THE introduction indicates some parallel political conditions in Greece at the time of the Peloponnesian War and now in Europe.

Flosculi Graeci, vitam et mores antiquitatis redolentes quos ex optimis auctoribus deiecit A. B. POYNTER. Pp. 162. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1920. 7s. 6d. net.

Homer, Iliad, Book XXI. With Introduction, Notes and Vocabulary, by A. C. PRICE. Pp. 60. Cambridge: The University Press, 1921.

Rhetorische Studien. Edited by E. DUNN. Paderborn: F. Schoeningh.

3 Heft (1914). *Ionians Διανοητικὴ Ἔρευνα*. By A. BAUER. Pp. 106.

4 Heft (1915). *De scholasticarum declamationum argumentis et historia petiti*. By R. KOLL. Pp. 116.

5 Heft (1916). *Alexander Numen in exilium in seinem Verhältnis zu Kallipos, Tiberius und seinen späteren Schützern*. By T. SCHWAB. Pp. 119.

6 Heft (1917). *Die Monodie des Michael Psellus auf den Einsturz der Hagia Sophia*. By P. WEINLE. Pp. 108.

9 Heft (1921). *Über die pseudodionysianische 'Abgesandte' Bakarcha*. By G. STAM. Pp. 134.

10 Heft (1921). *Die Stimmbildung des Redner in Allectum bis auf die Zeit Quatillians*. By A. KEUMBACHER. Pp. 108.

Freiwilliger Opfertod bei Euripides. By JOHANNA SCHMIDT. Pp. 106. (Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten, XVII Band, 2 Heft.) Gießen: A. Töpelmann, 1921.

Athenian Political Commissions. By FREDERICK D. SMITH. Pp. 89. Chicago: University of Chicago Libraries, 1920.

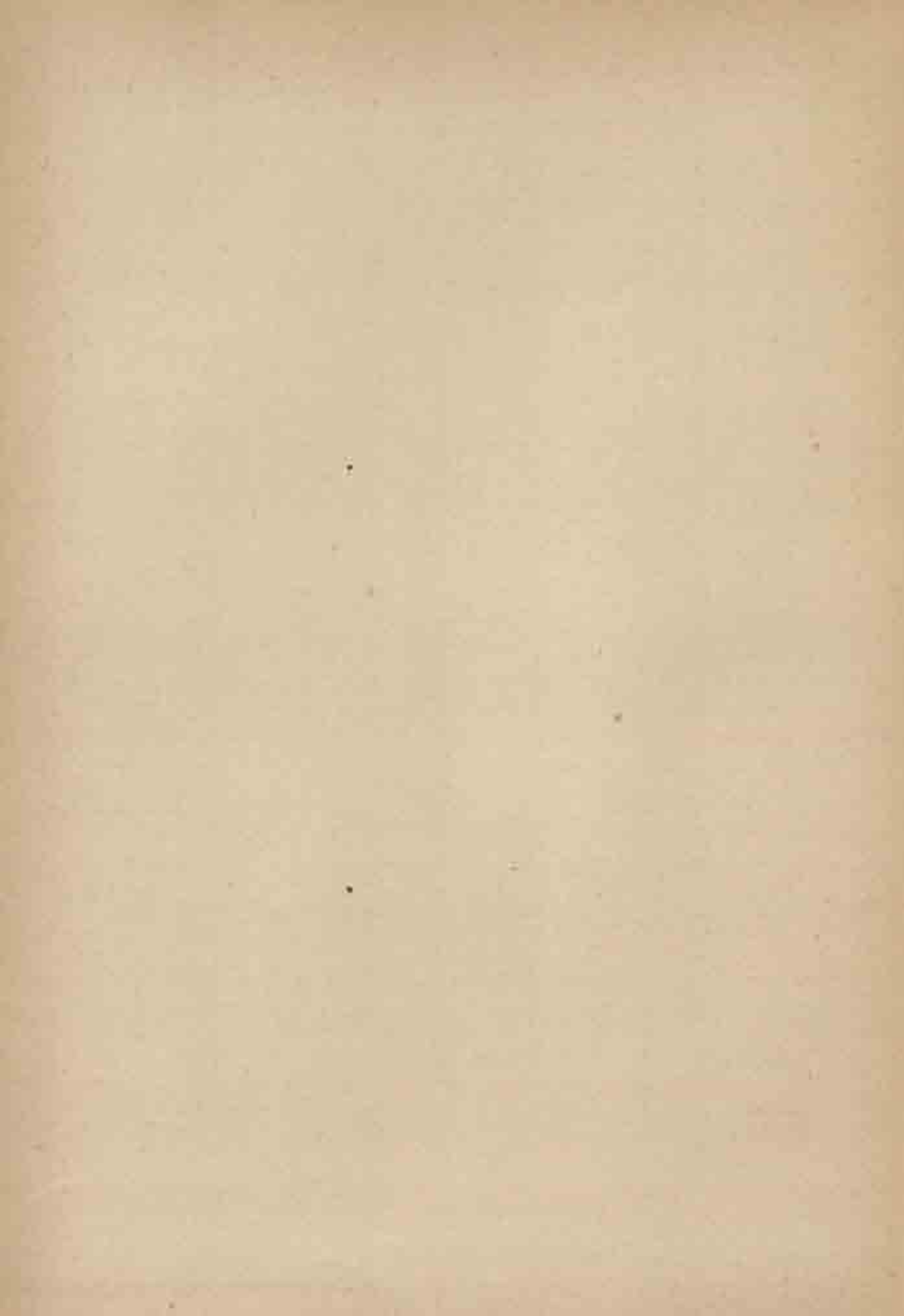
A DISSERTATION submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Arts and Literature in candidacy for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Oxford after the War, and a Liberal Education. By J. A. STEWART. Pp. 35. Oxford: B. H. Blackwell, 1919.

Studien zu attischen Festen. By F. J. TAVSEND. Pp. 37. Würzburg: C. J. Becker, 1920.

Observaciones acerca de los Fragmentos de Esquilo. By R. J. WALKER. Pp. 20. Privately printed, and published by the Author, 1920.

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RULES

OF THE

Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies.

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

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

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

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

2. The Society shall consist of a President, Vice-Presidents, a Council, a Treasurer, one or more Secretaries, 40 Hon. Members, and Ordinary Members. All officers of the Society shall be chosen from among its Members, and shall be *ex-officio* members of the Council.

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

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

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

6. In the absence of the Treasurer the Council may direct that cheques may be signed by two members of Council and countersigned by the Secretary.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

26. The Annual Subscription of Members shall be one guinea, payable and due on the 1st of January each year; this annual subscription may be compounded for by a single payment of £15 15s., entitling compounders to be Members of the Society for life, without further payment. All Members elected on or after January 1, 1921, shall pay on election an entrance fee of one guinea.

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

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

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

30. If at any time there may appear cause for the expulsion of a Member of the Society, a Special Meeting of the Council shall be held to consider the case, and if at such Meeting at least two-thirds of the Members present shall concur in a resolution for the expulsion of such Member of the Society, the President shall submit the same for confirmation at a General Meeting of the Society specially summoned for this purpose, and if the decision of the Council be confirmed by a majority at the General Meeting, notice shall be given to that effect to the Member in question, who shall thereupon cease to be a Member of the Society.

31. The Council shall have power to nominate 40 British or Foreign Honorary Members. The number of British Honorary Members shall not exceed ten.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES.

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LIST OF MEMBERS.

This List includes members elected during the year 1921 only.

Considerable misapprehension still exists over the long list published in the last volume of the *Journal* (*J.H.S.* XL). That list, as stated on its opening page, was the list of members elected since the publication of *J.H.S.*, Vol. XXXVIII, and not the complete list of members of the Society.

- Allan, Miss Gladys B., 19, *Manor Road, Bishops Stortford.*
 Antonius, G., *Dept. of Education, Jerusalem, Palestine.*
 Atkinson, Rev. A. V., *St. Luke's Vicarage, Mervoy Park, Birkenhead.*
 Barton, Rev. Walter John, *Epsom College, Surrey.*
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 Birkett, Daniel M., J.P., *Leigh House, Hastings Road, Bexhill-on-Sea, Sussex.*
 Bradley, L. J. N., *Stormary, Chorlton-cum-Hardy.*
 Brown, A. D. Burnett, *Greenhurst, Beaconsfield, Bucks.*
 Brundrit, D. F., *Wadham College, Oxford.*
 Buncher, Llewellyn, 2, *Caroline Place, Mecklenburgh Square, W.C. 1.*
 Carbery, Mary, Lady, *Stafford Hotel, St. James' Place, S.W.*
 Caskey, Dr. L. D., *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.*
 Chorem, A. D., *c/o Davies Benachi & Co., Orleans House, Edmund Street, Liverpool.*
 Clarke, D. Harcourt, *Stamcliffe Hall, near Matlock, Derby.*
 Cole, S. C., 30, *Regent Park Square, Strathbungo, Glasgow.*
 Cotterell, Miss M. F., *Royal School, Bath.*
 Dillon, Gerald D., *Balliol College, Oxford.*
 Elliot, Mrs. Scott, 19, *Allen House, Allen Street, W. 8.*
 Errandonea, Rev. Ignatius S.J., *Campion Hall, Oxford.*
 Evans, Mrs. L. Conway, *Woodbury Lodge, Eaton, Essex.*
 Farrington, B., *The University, Cape Town, S.A.*
 French, the Lady, 45, *Lower Holgrave Street, S.W. 1.*
 Fitzpatrick, J. F. J., *Kabba, Northern Provinces, Nigeria.*
 Flecker, H. L. O., *Deau Close School, Cheltenham.*
 Francis, Miss F. G., 40, *Callcott Road, Broudsbury, N.W. 6.*
 Gatehouse, Miss R., *Abbot's Grange, Bedington, Cheshire.*
 Gandet, Miss C., 120, *Cheyne Walk, Chelsea.*
 Gidney, Mrs., 31A, *Kingsbury Street, Marlborough, Wilts.*
 Goddard, B. R., *The Training College, Winchester.*
 Gurner, C. W., I.C.S., *c/o Messrs. King, Hamilton & Co., Calcutta, Bengal, India.*
 Gutman, P., 47, *Keepsford Gardens, Earl's Court, S.W. 5.*
 Harvey, J. D. M., 42, *Castelmau Mansions, Barnes, S.W. 13.*
 Haydon, J. H., *The Grove, Mill Hill School, N.W. 7.*
 Jolowicz, Herbert F., 70, *Compayne Gardens, West Hampstead.*
 Kerr, R. Browne, *The University, Edinburgh.*
 Le Roux, Prof. Th., *The University, Cape Town, S.A.*
 Levy, Miss G. R., 40, *Rotherwick Road, Golder's Green, N.W.*
 Lorimer, W. L., 19, *Murray Park, St. Andrews.*

Elected 1921 (continued)

- Lynam, A. E., *School House, Bardwell Road, Oxford.*
 Manning, F., *Edenham Bourne, Lincs.*
 Martin, Robert F., 18, *Crauley Gardens, Muswell Hill, N. 10.*
 Montgomery, Marshall, 302, *Woodstock Road, Oxford.*
 Ogden, H. L., *Alproham, Torporley, Cheshire.*
 Pierce, Miss Elizabeth D., *Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, New York, U.S.A.*
 Powell, Miss M. H., *St. Michael's Hostel, Grove Park, Lee, S.E. 12.*
 Reynolds, Miss R. M., *Bingleaves House, Weymouth.*
 Riches, T., *Kitwells, Shenley, Herts.*
 Russell, Miss Phyllis, 17, *Manor Court Road, Hanwell, W. 7.*
 Sawaki, Professor, *Keto University, Tokyo, Japan.*
 Shackle, K. J., *The Wardens, Feltham Avenue, East Molesey, Surrey.*
 Spencer, Col. Maurice, C.M.G., *The Old Rectory, Lower Hardres, Canterbury.*
 Stobart, J. C., *Elmdene, Ruislip, Middlesex.*
 Woodhouse, R. K. E., *110 Commercial Banking Co. of Sydney, 18, Birchin Lane, Lombard Street, E.C. 3.*

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 Preston, The Library of The Park School, *Preston.*
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FRANCE.

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 " The Library of the Catholic University of America, *Washington, U.S.A.*

PROCEEDINGS

SESSION 1920-1921

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

October 13th, 1920. Mr. A. J. B. Wace: *Mycenae, with some account of the recent excavations of the British School at Athens.*

November 9th, 1920. Mrs. S. Arthur Strong: *The imagery of the recently discovered basilica near the Porta Maggiore, Rome.*

December 15th, 1920. Mrs. S. Arthur Strong: *Recent archaeological research in Italy* (see below, p. xviii).

February 8th, 1921. Mr. H. B. Walters: *Red-figured vases recently acquired by the British Museum* (see *J.H.S.*, xli. pp. 117-150).

March 1st, 1921. Mr. Jay Hambidge: *Further evidences for Dynamic Symmetry in ancient architecture* (see below, p. xviii).

March 15th, 1921. Mr. G. F. Hill: *The Greek theory of portraiture* (see below, p. xix).

May 10th, 1921. Sir Arthur Evans and Mr. F. N. Pryce: *Two recently discovered Minoan bronzes* (*J.H.S.*, xli. pp. 86-90).

THE ANNUAL MEETING was held at Burlington House on Tuesday, June 28th, 1921.

Mr. George A. Macmillan, Hon. Treasurer, moved the adoption of the following

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR THE SESSION 1920-21.

In one way only, but that the most important of all, can the efforts made last year to put the Society on a firmer basis be counted a success. Whether tested by its many meetings, the use made of its library and slide collections, its publications, or the mere numbers on its roll, Hellenic Studies have been more actively promoted during the past session than heretofore.

But the Society suffers from its old difficulty, and for that the Council can only recommend its old remedy. Though the position is eased for the time by Sir Basil Zaharoff's donation of £1000, expenditure still exceeds regular income by £300 a year. The best remedy still seems to be, not to curtail this or that activity, but to make them all easier in working, larger in scope and more fruitful in result by increasing our resources, *i. e.* by adding more and more members to our list. Exclusive of our subscribing Libraries we have now 1370 members, double the number with which we were left at the end of the war. Another 300 would make us safe and solvent. Something is done daily officially in this direction, but the best and surest foundation is the approval and interest of our existing members and their consequent efforts for fresh recruits. If there are fewer learners of the Greek language in England to-day than last year, there are more people who are appreciative on general grounds of the legacy that Greece has left us. We have, anyhow, a cause worth the pleading—the retention, as a permeating influence in a sick and troubled world, of the immemorial freshness and charm of ancient Hellas.

Changes in the Society.—Among the losses by death which the Society has sustained, special mention should be made of Dr. C. B. Heberden, formerly Principal of Brasenose, Dr. F. Imhoof-Blumer, Mr. W. R. Paton, Prof. E. Petersen, Prof. G. G. Ramsay, Mr. Arthur Sidgwick and Mr. W. Warde Fowler.

Mr. E. R. Bevan, Mr. F. M. Cornford, and Prof. Flamstead Walters have retired from the Council. To fill the vacancies so caused, and that resulting from the death of Dr. R. M. Burrows, Mr. H. M. Last, Mr. F. H. Marshall, Mr. J. T. Sheppard and Prof. W. Rhys Roberts have been nominated for election. Mr. Penoyre has returned to his duties as Secretary and Librarian, and the Council wish to place on record the Society's great obligation to their Hon. Secretary, Miss C. A. Hutton, for having carried on the work at Bloomsbury Square during his absence.

The Council recently circulated a formal enquiry among ex enemy hon. members asking whether they wished again to receive the Society's publications. The answer was unanimously in the affirmative, and the *Journal* will accordingly be sent to them as from January 1920.

Meetings.—Seven Meetings have been held in the course of the Session.

On Oct. 13th, 1920, at the first Students' Meeting, Mr. A. J. B. Wace delivered a lecture on 'Mycenae,' with some account of the recent excavations of the British School at Athens.

On Nov. 9th, at the first General Meeting, Mrs. Arthur Strong read an illustrated paper on 'The imagery of the recently discovered basilica near the Porta Maggiore, Rome.' This paper will appear in the Society's *Journal*. Sir Frederic Kenyon (who presided), Sir Rennell Rodd,

Mr. Arthur Smith, Mr. Hill, and Sir Arthur Evans took part in the discussion which followed.

On Dec. 15th, at the second Students' Meeting, Mrs. Strong gave particulars of recent archaeological research in Italy. The slides, lent for the purpose by the Italian authorities, illustrated letters in the Press from the Director of the British School at Rome, Dr. Ashby. They included views of the recent excavations at Veii; 5th-century walls of a Lucanian hill fortress; photographs from aeroplane of Ostia, showing interesting details of the streets with blocks of flats and a 'bar'; the recent excavations at Cyrene, including a photograph of the Nike; the Sepolcreto San Paolo in Rome; plans for the excavation of the imperial fora in Rome; and the fine series of 4th-century terra-cotta figures from Falerii, now in Florence.

On March 1st Mr. Jay Hambidge, at a Special Meeting, gave an illustrated communication on 'Further evidences for Dynamic Symmetry in Ancient Architecture.' This was a joint meeting of the Society and of the Royal Institute of British Architects, and was held at the Royal Institute.

After introductory remarks by Sir Charles Wulston, who presided, Mr. Hambidge began by arguing that with the Greeks of the classic period it was customary to study arithmetic with the aid of simple geometrical diagrams. Plato, in the *Theaitetos*, supplied a lesson in this method of study wherein root rectangles are used. If we used this method of arithmetical study, and the same diagrams, the result was the same dynamic symmetry as the speaker had worked out from the best examples of ancient Greek architecture and general craftsmanship.

During the past year some of the most important of the classic buildings in Greece had been re-measured and examined in detail for the purpose of determining precisely the methods used by the ancient master builders in fixing their proportions, or, as they termed it, symmetry. These buildings included: The Parthenon at Athens, the temple of Apollo Epikurius at Bassae in Phigaleia (both by the Periclean architect Iktinos), the Zeus temple at Olympia, the temple at Samion, and the temple of Athena Aphaia at Aegina. It is the speaker's belief that the results of this labour showed conclusively that we had recovered the classic Greek method of fixing building proportions.

An interesting situation was revealed by a comparison of the two buildings designed by Iktinos—the Parthenon at Athens, and the temple of Apollo at Bassae. The symmetry of the Parthenon was characteristic of the building; it was subtle, refined, and modified in many ways by the introduction of curvature. The building at Bassae was without curvature, except that of the circular columns and their capitals. The Parthenon column has an extremely delicate entasis, while that at Bassae is perfectly straight. Of all examples of Greek design so far found to conform to dynamic symmetry, that furnished by the Bassae temple was the simplest.

As was explained in lectures of last year, the highest type of symmetry was furnished by areas which are fixed by a diagonal to two squares in relation to a side of one of the units.

If a side of one square equals 1, two sides equal 2.

And a diagonal of the two units equals 2.23606 plus, or root 5.

The mystery of classic Greek proportion will, therefore, be found in an area the end of which is 1, and the side 2.23606 plus.

Iktinos seemed to have thoroughly understood this, as the nave, the column centring, and the placing of the statue of Athena were arranged in strict accord with the proportions inherent in this peculiar figure. The proportions of the Parthenon unfolded from the centre of the statue of the goddess like those of a flower.

The proportions of the Bassae temple were another evolution of this basic form of .236.

The overall plan at Bassae was 2.236 plus .236 or 2.472, i. e. four whirling square rectangles or .618 multiplied by 4.

The stylobate proportion was 2.618 or 1.618 plus 1.

The naos proportion was 3.236 or 1.618 multiplied by 2.

The cella proportion was 2.472 or a similar figure to the whole.

If they divided the length of the temple by 2.36 they obtained the length of the cella. If they divided the width of the temple by 2.36 they obtained the width of the cella.

The Zeus temple at Olympia and the temples at Aegina and Sunion showed variations of the same basic ideas of proportion found in the Parthenon and the temple at Bassae. It should be remembered that the proportions of all details in these buildings conformed strictly to their general proportions.

The lecture was illustrated by particularly beautiful lantern slides, a selection from which have been presented to the Society.

The paper was discussed by Sir Charles Walston, Mr. P. W. Hubbard, Mr. George Hubbard, Mr. Cloudesley Brereton, and Mr. Theodore Fyfe. Thanks were accorded to Mr. Hambidge for his paper, and to the Royal Institute for kind hospitality.

On Feb. 8th, 1921, at the second General Meeting, Mr. H. B. Walters gave an illustrated description of the red-figured vases recently acquired by the British Museum. Mr. Walters' paper, which will be published in the *Journal*, was discussed by Sir Frederic Kenyon (who presided), Professor Ernest Gardner, Sir Henry Howorth, and Sir Charles Walston.

On March 15th, at the third Students' Meeting, Mr. G. E. Hill read a paper to illustrate "the Greek theory of portraiture." He thought that portraiture made its appearance in ancient art at an earlier period than was generally supposed. Early portraits were not now easily recognised as such, partly because the artist had not developed the power of seizing individual traits, but also because we were unfamiliar with his method of giving them expression. He was, further, critical of another widely held opinion, that the art of the 5th century expressed

character, and that of the 4th century passion. In the 5th-century heads associated with the name of Polyclitus pathos was, if anywhere else, discernible; while the 4th-century Demeter of Knidos could hardly be more ethical.

With portraiture he would give an earlier date than was generally assigned to the rise of naturalism generally. The fact was the greater arts had been studied to the exclusion of the minor, and it was in these latter that its early appearance was found. Returning to portraiture, he pointed out that it was earlier and better developed in the countries where the Hellenic element was partly barbarised or subjugated.

Among the illustrations discussed were a fine 5th-century male head from Copenhagen, which might be an Apollo, an athlete, or, as he was inclined to think, an early portrait; coins of Cos on which the head of Herakles showed some resemblance to the head of Mansollos, in whose principate they were struck; the 4th-century bronze head of a Berber prince in the British Museum; and the bronze head of an old man recovered from the sea at Cerigotto.

On May 10th, at the third General Meeting, Sir Arthur Evans and Mr. F. N. Pryce offered illustrated papers on 'Two recently discovered Minoan bronzes.' The papers, which will be published in the *Journal*, were discussed by Sir Frederic Kenyon (who presided), Mr. Hogarth, Dr. Leaf, Mr. Seager, Mr. Forsdyke, and Prof. Ernest Gardner.

The Joint Library and Photographic Collections.—The following figures indicate the scope of the Society's work in this department for this session and its predecessor.

	1919-20	1920-21
Visitors to the Library	1,564	2,000
Books taken out	815	1,382
*Books added to the Library	387	315
Slides hired	3,709	6,125
Slides sold to members	672	621
Photographs sold to members	110	127
Slides added to the collection	283	213

The accommodation for books in the Main Library continues adequate, additional space having been provided in the premises on the top floor. Here a room has been made ready for the Society's collections of larger drawings: this will be open in the course of the session. The reference collection of larger photographs is also being transferred thither. A complete outline index to the *Journal* has been added to the Library, and an index of the individual essays in collective *in honorem* works is in preparation. Improvement has been made in the arrangement of pamphlets, opuscula and current numbers of periodicals.

* Exclusive of periodicals.

Among the more important accessions are the following: Antoniadès, *Ἐκφρασις τῆς Ἁγίας Σοφίας*; the Byzantine Research Fund's publication of the *Church of Our Lady of the Hundred Gates at Paros*, by H. H. Jewell and F. W. Hasluck; the definitive publication of the excavations at Miletus; the records of the Princeton archaeological expeditions to Syria; the facsimile reproductions of the papyri in Berlin, Giessen and Strassburg; and Strzygowski, *Die Baukunst der Armenier und Europa*.

The Library has added the following to the periodicals which it receives in exchange for the Society's publications: The *Antiquaries Journal*, the *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique Bulgare*, the *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher* and the French Government publication on research in Syria. All the series of foreign periodicals which were interrupted by the war are now complete to date.

The Council acknowledge with thanks books from H.M. Government of India, the Trustees of the British Museum, the Chief Secretary of the Government of Cyprus, the British Academy, the Museum of Fine Arts at Boston, L'Association Guillaume Bude, and the University Presses of Oxford, Cambridge, California, and Columbia.

The following have also kindly given books: Messrs. J. T. Allen, W. C. F. Anderson, Prof. A. Andreades, Signor G. Bagnani, Messrs. E. R. Bevan, W. H. Buckler, S. Casson, Prof. E. Drerup, Mr. A. W. Gomme, Prof. B. P. Grenfell, Prof. W. R. Halliday, Mr. J. Hambidge, Mrs. F. W. Hasluck, Sir T. L. Heath, Messrs. G. F. Hill, M. Holleaux, Miss C. A. Hutton, Rev. Gifford H. Johnson, Dr. K. F. Kinch, Messrs. L. Laurend, J. G. Milne, Mrs. J. G. Milne, Signor S. Mirone, Mrs. Ludwig Mond, Prof. J. L. Myres, Messrs. E. T. Newell, M. P. Nilsson, Dr. F. Poulsen, the Hon. Misses Russell, Messrs. R. B. Seager, G. A. S. Snyder, Dr. F. Studniczka, Dr. J. Sundwall, Messrs. W. W. Tarn, M. D. Volonakis, A. J. B. Wace, Dr. J. Wackernagel, Mr. R. J. Walker, Prof. T. Wiegand, Dr. A. Wilhelm, Prof. P. Wolters, and the Librarian.

The following have also presented copies of recently published works: Messrs. G. Bell & Sons, B. H. Blackwell, Butterworth & Co., H. Champion, Chatto & Windus, Jacob Dybwad, G. Franz, P. Geuthner, W. Heinemann, S. Hirzel, A. Holder, Macmillan & Co., F. Meiner, Picard, F. Schoningh, Seemann, Topelmann, and Weidmann.

The Library is specially indebted to Mr. W. H. Buckler and Mr. and Mrs. Grafton Milne for the gift of valuable books.

The collection of lantern slides increases in utility, over 6000 having been lent during the session. Members are reminded that they can now borrow slides in two ways. They can make their own selection from the pictures arranged for the purpose in the Library, which is the better way for detailed scientific purposes, or, for more general lectures, they can order one of the special sets that have been compiled for the purpose. Recent additions to these sets comprise Ancient Life (a second set); Greek Papyri; Greek Architecture; and the travels of St. Paul. The Roman Society has similar sets in preparation. Difficulties in the photo-

graphic trade continue to hamper the production of slides for sale to members, but the Council have kept the charge for hire at its pre-war figure of 1d.

Gifts to the collections are acknowledged from the British School at Athens, Prof. H. E. Butler, Mr. T. Fyfe, Prof. Ernest Gardner, Mr. Jay Hambidge, Mr. M. Holroyd, Miss C. A. Hutton, Mr. H. Lang Jones, and Dr. Whatmough.

The reference collection of photographs has received large additions and is being rearranged on the top floor. There is no more attractive or informing task than the turning over a large number of photographs and original drawings, arranged in a strict subject order, illustrating the results of excavation and museum research. This collection has involved considerable cost and labour, and the Council think that, when it is more accessible in its new home, it should be of greater use and enjoyment to members.

It will be within the recollection of members that, to cope with the Society's increased activities without multiplying officials, a rota of voluntary workers was established in the Library. The Society is indebted in this way to generous help given by Mr. E. P. Baily, Mrs. Culley, Miss M. Davidson, Miss C. A. Hutton, Miss A. Lindsell, and Mrs. Grafton Milne. Unfortunately the Library has lost its most constant helper, it is hoped only temporarily, by Miss Davidson's illness. Meantime there is very much to do and few to do it. Any member who can spare a morning or an afternoon regularly once a week, and does not mind what she or he does for the good of a good cause, will be very welcome.

Finance.—The last financial year has been a critical one in the history of the Society. With every effort at economy, the preceding year had ended with a deficit of over £250 on the ordinary Expenditure and Income account. But, encouraged by the response to the appeal for the War Emergency Fund, which was inaugurated to provide means for the immediate future, it was decided to adopt a bold policy. The *Journal* has again been issued in two parts, while in other departments the aim has been to recreate and extend all former activities. To raise the revenues to meet the necessary increase in expenditure, effort was made to obtain new members and increased subscriptions. It was felt that if the objects and aims of the Society justified its existence, funds would be forthcoming to enable it to carry on the work it had undertaken.

The result has been good as far as it goes. The membership roll has been raised to 1370, and the list of subscribing libraries to 280, bringing an increase to the revenues for the year of between £600 and £700. Further donations to the War Emergency Fund have provided £181. (New members paying life compositions have contributed a total of no less than £393, but this of course cannot be treated as revenue, and a sum has been invested to cover this and contributions to the Endowment Fund.) The

Council desire to express their best thanks to all the members who have contributed to bring about this result.

But the expenditure during the year has necessarily been heavy, the cost of the *Journal* overshadowing everything else. Other headings show considerable increase, some part of which has been incurred in the effort to extend the list of members. The net result is that the increased receipts of £700 have failed to balance the increased expenditure of £800, and the Society is left with a slightly larger deficit than last year.

A further annual income, therefore, of about £300 is still required to ensure relief from financial embarrassment. It is hoped that every effort will be exerted to bring about this desired result, and to this end members are earnestly invited to (1) introduce new members; (2) increase their subscriptions wherever possible; (3) contribute to the War Emergency Fund, which provides additional funds during the present unsettled times; or (4) send donations to the Endowment Fund, which is intended by investment to provide a source of permanent revenue.

Mr. Angelo Hayter seconded the motion for the adoption of the report which was formally put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

The Vice-Presidents of the Society and the members of the Council retiring by rotation (Messrs. J. D. Beazley, W. H. Buckler, M. Cary, E. J. Forsdyke, E. N. Gardiner, H. R. Hall) were re-elected, and Messrs. H. M. Last, F. H. Marshall, J. T. Sheppard, and Prof. W. Rhys Roberts were elected as members of the Council.

Votes of thanks to the auditors, Messrs. C. F. Clay and W. E. F. Macmillan, were moved by Sir Charles Walston and Mr. Penoyre.

The President, Sir Frederic Kenyon, K.C.B., P.B.A., D.Litt., then delivered the following address on "The Requirements of a Law of Antiquities."

It is impossible to begin an address to-day to a gathering of students of the classics without reference to the loss which British scholarship has sustained through the death of Mr. Warde Fowler. It is true that his mark was made in connexion with Roman rather than Hellenic literature; but the provinces cannot be strictly demarcated. A Virgilian scholar is necessarily a Hellenist as well as a Latinist; and Mr. Warde Fowler knew and loved the literature of Greece as well as that of Rome. There are some men who to the knowledge which other scholars possess add a certain spirit which we instinctively recognise as that of the true humanist, of the "happy warrior" of scholarship, whom every scholar would wish to be. Such a one was Henry Butcher, and such was Warde Fowler. In men of this temper lifelong familiarity with the classics has given a peculiar insight into their spirit, so that they are able to interpret them to others with something like prophetic strain. Warde Fowler exemplified this, not only in his writings on Roman religion, of which his sympathetic knowledge made him an unequalled interpreter, but perhaps especially in that Virgilian trilogy which was his reaction from the strain of the years of war. One had hoped that there might be more of them; for it is seldom that there arises a scholar who has in himself so much of the delicate charm, the *curiosa felicitas*, of the poet whom he interpreted.

I pass now to some general considerations on the work of our Society, and to a particular topic which I wish to lay before you.

The past year has been for our Society, as for so many other institutions, a year of attempted reconstruction. We have been trying to accommodate ourselves to the new conditions, and this is for us, as well as for the world at large, a slow process. One cannot yet say that the conditions have reached stability. We do not yet know how or when we shall reach economic equilibrium; we cannot judge what will be the value of money six months hence. Finance is necessarily at the bottom of everything. Before we can tell what we can do to promote Hellenic studies, we must know with some approach to accuracy what our income is likely to be, and what is the amount of our office expenses. Next after them comes the expenses of the *Journal*; for the production of the *Journal* is the form of our activities which takes precedence of all others. In this respect the prospects are improving. The cost of paper has already begun to come down, and it is difficult to believe that wages in the printing trade will escape from the general downward tendency as the cost of living falls. When we have reached stability in our office expenses and in the cost of the *Journal*, we shall be able to judge what balance we have in hand for the other departments of work.

Finance therefore is the key to the whole position, and it is finance which has been the first concern of our officers. No words of praise can be too high for the exertions of our Secretary and Librarian, Mr. Penoyre (very efficiently seconded by our Sub-Librarian, Mr. F. Wise), to bring in fresh subscribers. I hope the Society realises, as those who are most closely associated with its work realise, that without Mr. Penoyre we should have been in danger of extinction. He has devoted the energy, which during the war was directed to the well-being of our soldiers, to setting the Society on its legs again. It has been a laborious and uphill task, and he has strained himself to the utmost limit of his powers, and at serious risk to his health. I should not be doing my duty to the Society if I did not put in the forefront of my annual address an expression of our gratitude to him.

The extent to which these efforts, which have been loyally backed by the personal influence and ungrudging services of our Honorary Secretary, Miss Hutton, have been successful, has been set out in the Report, and I will not dwell further upon them here. I want rather to look forward, and to consider what shall be the programme which we should put before us.

As I have said already, our first duty is the *Journal*. It is the main organ of classical archaeology in this country, and without it our scholars in this field of learning would be voiceless. I believe I am right in saying that there is no lack of material to fill its pages. Our archaeologists have now returned from the war duties which so many of them performed with such conspicuous success, and are getting to work again with all the more zest because of their enforced abstinence. The men (and the women too) are there, and are ready to work, if the material is forthcoming.

That is the problem which we now have to solve. We shall not have restored our pre-war standard until the machinery for archaeological field-work is again in working order, and is again putting out its full quota of results. That is not yet the case. It is only slowly that the regions affected by the war are becoming once more open to the explorer and the excavator. Mesopotamia, in which valuable work was done during the concluding stages of the war, has been closed for two years through the unsettlement of the political situation. No work has been possible during the past autumn and spring at Carchemish, which lies in the debatable area between the French and the Angora Turks. On the other hand the Palestine Exploration Fund has been able to begin work at Ascalon, and the Egypt Exploration Society at Tell-el-Amarna. But Asia Minor is still closed, pending some settlement between the Greeks and the Turks, and labour difficulties, we are told, prohibit the resumption of exploration in Crete. The British school at Athens has got to work at Mycenae, and the results of the past season have been recounted to us by Mr. Wace; but we can hardly say yet that the School has resumed its full

activity. The supply of students, arrested by the war, is only beginning to flow again, and it will necessarily take a year or two before we have the necessary numbers of trained directors and enthusiastic learners. The same is the case with the School at Rome.

This then is the ideal which we have to keep before us, and for the present we must be content to record advance rather than achievement. Work has been begun and projects put forward; it is our duty now to see that the work begun is maintained, and that projects are considered and brought to feasibility. Two projects in particular may be mentioned. One relates to the site of Colophon. In this neighbourhood the French are already proposing to work; but Mr. Wace, recalling from the past a somewhat nebulous scheme of excavations there by the British Museum, has put in a claim for leave to revive it, and has ascertained that the French are quite willing to agree to a division of the area, which would leave Old Colophon to us, while they would undertake New Colophon, or Notium. All recognition is due to the courtesy of our French friends in this matter; whether we shall be able to take advantage of it is another question. So far as the Museum is concerned, there are two rather serious fences to be surmounted. In the first place it is doubtful whether any funds would be forthcoming; for if the country is ever to be relieved from a six-shilling income tax, the Civil Service Estimates will have to be cut down rather drastically, and it may well be that little or nothing will be forthcoming for such luxuries as excavations. And secondly there is some obscurity as to the conditions under which excavations would be made in the part of Asia Minor which has been placed under Greek administration by the Treaty of Sèvres (if it is ever ratified). On this point I shall have something to say presently.

The other project which has been brought to our notice is a more ambitious one. It is no less than the excavation of Constantinople. A high political and diplomatic authority, and a good friend of art and the classics, has urged that the time is opportune for the excavation of the Hippodrome of Constantinople, the site where stood the famous monument of Plataea. In one sense the time is indeed opportune for excavation at Constantinople; for the extensive fires which ravaged the city during the war have laid bare great areas which before were covered with buildings. On the other hand, the political conditions are still so unsettled that it might be very difficult to obtain authority for the work, even if we could obtain the funds for so extensive and costly an undertaking. If the work is to be done by any one, we have a good claim to priority, since a concession of the site had been given before the war to Dr. van Millingen, who was anxious that England should undertake it; nor could there be any justification for international jealousies, since there is room and to spare in Constantinople for all the countries that are likely to want to work there. But finance and diplomacy stand as two lions in the path.

Now as to the desirability of our allied institutions, the Hellenic Society and the British School at Athens (with or without the co-operation of the British Museum) resuming active field-work, I do not think there can be two opinions. Activity is the life-blood of a Society, and field-work is the basis of Archaeology. The discovery of new material, the training of a new generation of workers must go hand in hand with the study of the materials discovered. Each is essential to the other, and healthy progress is only possible if both flourish. On the other hand, the possibility of it, as I have said already, depends upon finance. But while the desirability is admitted and the possibility doubtful, I should like to take this opportunity to consider under what conditions archaeological work ought to be regulated in regions such as those of which we are speaking.

The treaty of peace with Turkey imposes on that country the duty of abrogating its existing Law of Antiquities, and of enacting a new law upon lines which are laid down in a series of eight propositions. These propositions, which were drafted by an international sub-committee, after consultation (so far as this country was concerned) with the Joint Archaeological Committee, indicate what, in the opinion of the Western Powers, shall be the principles of archaeological administration in

the historic lands of the Near East. The Powers cannot, without stultifying themselves, lay down one set of principles for Asia Minor, and another for Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and Mesopotamia. The essential conditions are in each case the same. In each case the inhabitants are either indifferent to antiquities altogether, or are interested in them solely as a potential source of wealth. In each case the land contains antiquities of the highest interest to those Western countries whose civilisation is based upon the civilisation of which they are the record. It is therefore necessary, first, that the inhabitants should be enlisted on the side of the preservation and scientific investigation of these antiquities, and next that the scientific investigation of them by trained Western archaeologists should be encouraged and facilitated. These are the two principles which underlie the provisions of the Treaty of Sévres; and it is because British officials do not always appreciate them and their implications that it appears desirable to take any opportunity that presents itself to explain and enforce them.

First with regard to the inhabitants of the lands in which we desire to dig. They have a material interest, which they fully appreciate, and a moral interest, which for the most part they do not. Their material interest is to be allowed to make as much money as they can out of the antiquities which their land contains, just as if they were a crop which the land produced by nature. This interest is best served by allowing free traffic in antiquities: by permitting foreigners to buy any objects that are brought to light by the searches of the natives, and by encouraging foreign tourists and explorers to come and spend money freely in the country. There is no question, and experience has amply proved it, that the interest of the native, as he himself sees it, lies in the fullest freedom of traffic.

On the other hand the moral interest of the native lies in his education to take a higher view of the records of the past history of his country. It is the duty of every country which holds another in tutelage to educate it up to a higher appreciation of moral and intellectual values. The tutor country is bound to look forward to a time when the pupil country will have reached a higher stage of development, and to see that the heritage of its past is not destroyed meanwhile. When a people arrives at years of discretion, it should not find that during its minority its guardian has allowed it to be plundered of the possessions which it has too late learned to prize. This is a consideration which tends to action in a direction exactly contrary to that which has previously been put forward, and, if pressed to extremes, would lead to the retention in the country of every object of antiquity which might come to light in it. The moral and material interests of the country appear therefore to be at odds with one another.

At this point, as another factor in the problem and as a contribution towards solving the apparent antinomy, may be brought in the consideration of the interests of countries other than the country of origin. A people that inhabits a given area of the earth's surface is not merely the proprietor of the objects found therein; it is a trustee for them in the interests of humanity, just in proportion as they are of value for the well-being of humanity. It is not entitled to preserve solely for its own use the goods of which it is the fortuitous possessor, although it is entitled to make a profit out of them. The moral claim of foreign nations varies according to the closeness with which the objects desired are associated with the population which now inhabits the land in which they are found. If the Greek race had been obliterated by a Mongol invasion, the claim of the Western nations which derive their civilisation from ancient Greece to the possession of the antiquities found in the soil of Greece would be much greater than that of the Mongol residents. The claim of the modern inhabitants of Mesopotamia to an interest in the Mohammedan antiquities of the country is very much greater than their claim to an interest in the Sumerian and Babylonian antiquities which throw light on the books of the Pentateuch.

However this may be, it is clear that the Western nations have a very legitimate interest in the antiquities of the Near and Middle East, both as elements in the advance of knowledge in general, and particularly as monuments of the civilisation

on which their own is based. It is plain, also, that their interest in connexion with the administration of antiquities in the lands of which we are speaking lies, first, in the preservation and scientific investigation of these antiquities, so that no portion of their evidence or their significance may be lost; and next in having them placed where they can best be studied, and where they are accessible to the largest number of persons who can profit by the sight and examination of them. The vote of this interest would be in favour of the removal of antiquities from the country of origin just in proportion to the inaccessibility of that country from the centres of modern civilisation, and the absence of inhabitants capable of studying them and making their value known to the civilised world.

We have therefore three forces to take into account in framing a just Law of Antiquities in lands of archaeological importance: first, the material interests of the country of origin; secondly, the moral (or intellectual) interests of the country of origin; and, thirdly, the moral (or intellectual) interests of countries other than the country of origin, which may be more compendiously described as the advancement of knowledge. A settlement which ignores any of these claims will be defective, and it is the business of archaeologists and official administrators to endeavour to find a solution which will satisfy all of them to the fullest extent possible.

I do not think that a satisfactory solution is hard to find, if only intelligence and toleration could be presupposed among administrators and scholars. I believe it is possible to satisfy both the interests of the country of origin and the interests of other countries in the advancement of knowledge. But it seems necessary to repeat what to many, if not all, here are almost truisms, because we know by bitter experience that they are by no means always realised by those in whose hands important decisions lie.

In the first place, there are certain solutions which should be ruled out at once as incompatible with the principles which have been laid down. A law which prohibits all export of antiquities is only defensible—if at all—in countries which are able to make the fullest provision for their preservation, for their accessibility, and for their study. The best example, perhaps, is Greece. Greece is well aware of the moral, as well as the material, value of its antiquities; it makes good provision for their exploration and for their preservation: it permits excavation (though not exportation) by foreign scholars; and it is reasonably accessible to the nations most vitally interested in the study of these antiquities. Nevertheless I do not think it can be denied that the world would have been the sufferer if such a law of exclusion had always existed and been enforced. Greece has been and is the schoolmaster of the world because the products of its great age went abroad to Italy in the past and to Europe and America now; and although Greece may at times lament over its vanished treasures, the name of Greece stands higher, and even its political position is stronger, because the influence of its artistic genius has been spread throughout the civilised world.

A policy of exclusiveness is bad for the world, and bad for the country which practises it. How much does not Italy owe, in reputation and in the affection of other peoples, to the fact that its pictures have been spread broadcast in Europe and America? On the other hand, the artistic reputation of England has suffered because our artists are so poorly represented in the galleries of France and Italy. Except in rare isolated instances, I do not grudge the migration of English pictures to America; not merely because America has a right to a share in England's past, but because I believe that the increased appreciation of English art and literature adds strength to the bonds which unite England and America. What is needed is not exclusiveness, but an equitable balance between the claims of the mother country and of other lands.

And if exclusiveness is a doubtful policy in the case of countries like Greece and Italy, which possess trained scholars of unquestioned competence and educated publics which fully appreciate their artistic treasures, it is wholly bad in the case of less advanced countries. I enumerated just now three interests which have

to be taken into account—the material interest of the country of origin, the moral and intellectual interest of the country of origin, and the advancement of learning. In the case of such countries as Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, two of these interests suffer by a policy of exclusion, and the third does not benefit. The material interest of the country of origin suffers; and consequently one invariably finds the natives, in whose interest the law of exclusion is supposed to be enforced, using all their ingenuity to evade it, and joining hands with the smuggler and the foreign agent against their own government. The interest of the advancement of learning suffers, because scientific exploration is discouraged, while smuggling, which obscures the history and significance of the objects found, is encouraged. Finally, for the moral and intellectual interest of the country of origin exclusiveness is not necessary, because there are in all these countries a supply of antiquities amply sufficient to meet the needs of the country and at the same time to supply a good representation of its art to lands outside.

It is very hard to get this truth into the minds of administrators who have little knowledge of archaeology; and therefore I would ask the members of this Society to use all their influence to spread the light, and to make it a matter of common knowledge. Museum officials and excavators who preach this doctrine are apt to be suspect, and to be regarded as plunderers who would cloak their nefarious designs under a specious veil. It is those whose motives are recognisably disinterested who can best convince the suspicious; and when they have, as members of this Society have, sufficient knowledge of the facts to support their doctrine by concrete instances, their testimony will carry weight, and may eventually discredit the error which is so full of danger to archaeology and civilisation.

Another error which should be ruled out at the start is the delusion that a Law of Antiquities works best by terrorism. It is a matter of common knowledge that in the past, both in Egypt and in Mesopotamia, the law has tried to work by permits and prohibitions. One would be glad to think that this procedure was wholly extinct now. Some penalties no doubt there must be; but they should be kept in the background. The consequences of terrorism are wholly bad. If a native realises that the possession of an antiquity may lead him into trouble unless he conforms to a procedure which he does not understand and which may be inconvenient to follow, he will either hide what he has found or destroy it. If he preserves it, he will expect a higher price for it to compensate him for the risk. Either way, science suffers.

It is for this reason that the first of the principles laid down in the Annex to article 423 of the Treaty of Sévres runs as follows: 'The law for the protection of antiquities shall proceed by encouragement rather than by threat', and this is amplified by the provision that 'any person who, having discovered an antiquity, reports the same to an official of the competent Department, shall be rewarded according to the value of the discovery.' If this provision (to which it is legitimate to add the warning that 'any person who maliciously or negligently destroys or damages an antiquity shall be liable to a penalty') can be carried into effect and become generally known, the interests of the native population will be enlisted on the side of the preservation and notification of antiquities, and we may hope that the sad tragedies which have been recorded in the past will not be repeated.

The first principle of a Law of Antiquities therefore is to secure the preservation and notification of objects found. The second is to encourage the finding of them by scientific methods. And the third is to secure that they be so disposed of as to satisfy the needs alike of the country of origin and of the advancement of knowledge in general. The securing of these two latter principles depends on the regulations which may be made to govern the distribution of the results of excavation. This is a somewhat delicate matter, but it is of vital importance that a clear understanding should be arrived at with regard to it by those who are responsible for the areas in the Near and Middle East which are now under civilised administration.

What is needed is to reconcile two conflicting interests. It is desirable that

excavation by competent archaeologists should be encouraged; and it is right that the country of origin should have first consideration in the disposal of the objects discovered. If the excavator is allowed to take everything, the country is denuded of the relics of its past history; and if the country of origin is too grasping, foreign archaeologists and societies will not dig, except in those rare instances where the honour and glory of discovery and publication are likely to be sufficient compensation for their labour and expenditure.

The Treaty of Sévres does not undertake to lay down any very precise ruling. It says merely that 'the proceeds of excavation may be divided between the excavator and the competent Department in a proportion fixed by that Department. If division seems impossible for scientific reasons, the excavator shall receive a fair indemnity in lieu of a part of the find.' The main principles are, however, indicated: the right of the excavator to a part of the proceeds; the right of the Department representing the country of origin to determine what objects must be retained for the local museum; and the right of the excavator to be compensated if the needs of the local museum leave him too small a residue.

In Egypt, for many years past, the working understanding has been that the proceeds of excavation should, so far as possible, be divided equally between the excavator and the Cairo Museum, the latter having the power to claim objects of special importance for its collections, but being expected to see that the excavator nevertheless receives an approximate half of the value of the total finds. This understanding has worked satisfactorily on the whole, so far as so rough-and-ready a rule can; and I think it indicates a correct apportionment between the two interests concerned. The museum is secured in the possession of the objects most needed by it; and the excavator receives a sufficient share of the results of his labour and expense to make it worth his while to undertake the work. Any apportionment which departs widely from this proportion is likely to defeat its own object; for if the excavator does not receive enough to induce him to dig, excavation will not take place (except surreptitiously, by the natives) and the museum consequently will not benefit, while the cause of science will suffer. I therefore regarded with some apprehension the draft ordinance of antiquities for Palestine, which enacted that the local museum should first take all that it required, and then that the residue should be divided equally between the museum and the excavator. Unless the museum was very moderate in its initial claim, the excavator would be likely to come off very indifferently under this regulation. The ordinance has been the subject of discussion, and I hope it will be modified so as to admit of an approximate half-and-half division, while preserving the right of the museum to a first choice.

The Palestine ordinance is of special importance, because it is the first to be drawn up for the territories recently liberated from Turkish rule, and is likely to serve as a model for the others. It is therefore satisfactory that it has been based upon, and in most respects conforms with, the recommendations of the Archaeological Joint Committee. The Committee, after consultation with the Director of Antiquities at Jerusalem, has suggested certain modifications in details, and there is reason to hope that they will be accepted. We trust that similar regulations will be enacted by our French friends in Syria. With regard to Asia Minor, it is impossible to speak with precision in the present indeterminate position of affairs. It may, however, be presumed that part of it will remain under Turkish administration, and possibly part under that of the Greeks. We are, I think, entitled to hope that the area which may be placed under Greek administration will be treated on the same principles as the areas which come by mandate under British or French control. The doctrine of exclusive ownership, which Greece is entitled to apply to the territory which belongs to it in full ownership, can hardly be claimed as applicable to territories of which it is, in effect if not in name, the mandatory.

This brings me to the last principle to which it seems necessary to call attention in connexion with the administration of antiquities. It is embodied in the final words of Article 421 of the Treaty of Sévres:

'The Turkish Government undertakes to ensure the execution of this law on a basis of perfect equality between all nations.'

In matters of archaeology, international jealousies should be ruled out. The civilisations of the ancient world are the common heritage of the modern nations. The fact that a European nation is administering a portion of Asia or Africa does not give it the right to exclude members of other nations from all share in the work of exploration or in the products of such exploration; and if any nation were to claim such exclusive rights in the territories under its control, that should be a sufficient reason for refusing to allow it the privilege of working in the areas controlled by other nations. In Asia Minor, in Syria, in Palestine, in Mesopotamia, in Persia, in Egypt, there should be a fair field and no favour, and similar Laws of Antiquities should regulate exploration and excavation in each of them. So far as I have had communications with the representatives of the other nations concerned, I believe that this principle would be accepted by them; but it is important that it should be laid down clearly at the outset, and put into force without reserves or qualifications. We in this country, who have control in areas so important as Palestine and Mesopotamia, have the opportunity of setting a good example, and I trust and believe we shall make use of it. The only ground on which the exclusion of the representatives of any country could be justified would be if archaeological exploration were made a cloak for political designs; and this is only a particular case of the general principle that archaeology must not be made the cat's-paw of politics. It has been so sometimes in the past. Let us do what we can to guard against it in the future.

I have taken the opportunity given to me to-day to deal with principles of international archaeology which concern all civilised nations. I would conclude with a corollary which concerns ourselves alone. Our duty is not ended when we have thrown open the gates for international activities in the areas committed to our charge. It is likewise our duty to be foremost in undertaking such activities ourselves. It would be a shame to us if we permit other nations to do all the work in countries such as Palestine and Egypt and Mesopotamia, or if we failed to do our share in the further exploration of Greek lands. The times are difficult for all work which needs money, and our Government does not take the same view as other European Governments of the value to a nation of such contributions to knowledge and civilisation. All the more is it the duty of societies such as our own, on which falls the representation of our country in these spheres of activity, to take up the burden courageously, and to lose no opportunity of bringing home to others the greatness of the need, and the high privilege of assisting to enlarge the heritage of the past, and to increase the intellectual wealth of the human race.

After a question from Mr. N. H. Baynes on the archaeological position in Rhodes the proceedings terminated.

	£	s.	d.
To Printing and Paper. Vol. XI.....	693	12	6
Plates	53	15	0
Drawing and Engraving	22	17	7
Editing and Reviews	77	6	2
Packing, Addressing, and Carriage to Members	144	5	6
	<hr/>		
	2091	10	9

LANTERN SLIDES AND PHOTOGRAPHS ACCOUNT, FROM JANUARY 1, 1920, TO DECEMBER 31, 1920.

	£	s.	d.
To Slides and Photographs for Sale.....	64	0	4
“ Slides for Hire	5	47	5
“ Photographs for Reference Collection	1	7	3
“ Balance to Income and Expenditure Account.....	9	49	64
	£81	4	64

LIBRARY ACCOUNT; FROM JANUARY 1, 1920, TO DECEMBER 31, 1920.

To Purchases	£	s.	d.
" Binding	116	7	4
"	45	14	6
By Received for Sales of Catalogues, Duplicator, &c.			
" Balance to Income and Expenditure Account			
	£102	1	10

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT. FROM JANUARY 1, 1920, TO DECEMBER 31, 1920.

[illegible]

WAR EMERGENCY FUND

To Balance from Income and Expenditure Account.....	£	s.	d.
By Balance brought forward.....	254	3	1
By Balance.....	648	14	11
	<u>£902</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>12</u>

BALANCE SHEET. DECEMBER 31, 1920.

<i>Liabilities.</i>		<i>Assets.</i>	
£	s. d.	£	s. d.
To Debts Payable	680 17 11½	By Cash in Hand—Bank	1088 14 0
" Subscriptions paid in advance	47 0 0	Assistant Treasurer	29 7 11
" Endowment Fund	799 8 0	Petty Cash	41 69 5½
(includes legacy of £200 from the late Canon Adam Farrar and £200 from the late Rev. H. V. Torser)			1160 1 10½
" Emergency Fund (Library fittings and Furniture)		Debts Receivable	476 12 10
Total Received	394 13 0	Investments (Life Compositions)	1384 3 11
" Life Compositions and Donations—		" " (Endowment Fund)	779 9 0
Total at Jan. 1, 1920	1878 9 0		2154 3 11
Received during year	393 15 0	Less Reserved against Depreciation	100 0 0
	2272 4 0		2054 3 11
Less carried to Income and Expenditure Account—		Emergency Fund—Total Expended	426 0 0
Member deceased	10 10 0	Valuations of Stocks of Publications	447 4 0
	2261 14 0	" Library	390 0 0
Surplus Balance at Jan. 1, 1920	5 0 7	" Expenses 'Strabo' carried forward	1 1 00
Add Balance from War Emergency Fund	948 14 11	" Paper in hand for printing Journal	118 5 6
Surplus Balance at December 31, 1920	953 15 0		
			24833 9 11½

XXXIII

Examined and found correct.

(Signed) C. F. CLAY.
W. E. F. MACMILLAN.

INCREASED SUBSCRIPTIONS

As a result of the information communicated last year the following members have increased their annual subscriptions.

Abercromby, Lord	McKenzie, Rev. H. W.
Anastasiadi, P.	Macmillan, George A.
Barge, Mrs. M.	Mavrogordato, J. J.
Baring, Thos.	Millingen, Mrs. A. van
Beck, Horace C.	Minet, Miss Julia
Bell, Edward	Orpen, Rev. T. H.
Berry, James	Petrocchino, D. P.
Bevan, E. R.	Richter, Miss Gisela
Churchill, E. L.	Ridley, The Rt. Hon. Sir Edward
Cookson, C.	Robinson, W. S.
Corning, Prof. H. K.	Rotton, Sir J. F.
Courtauld, Miss S. R.	Seager, R. B.
Dickson, A. G. M.	Seeborn, Hugh
Dobie, M. R.	Seligmann, Prof. C. G.
Eumorfopoulos, N.	Shewan, Alexander, M.A., LL.D.
Fleeming-Jenkin, Mrs.	Tarn, W. W.
Ford, P. J.	Ure, Prof. P. N.
Gidney, A. R.	Vellenoweth, Miss
Greene, H. W.	Vlasto, Michael P.
Hogarth, Miss M. I.	Walston, Sir Charles
Kipling, Mrs.	Ward, W. Henry
Lamb, Miss W.	Wood, J. R.
Laurie, G. E.	Woodhouse, Prof. W. J.
Lindsell, Miss Alice	Woodward, A. M.
Lloyd, Miss M. E. H.	Wynne-Finch, Miss Helen
MacIver, D. Randall	Wyse, W.

DONATIONS

The following have sent donations to help the Society through the financial crisis caused by the War.

1920

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Anderson, James	1	1	0	Henn, The Hon. Mrs.	1	10	0
Baker-Penoyre, Miss	1	1	0	Holroyd, Michael	13	15	0
Barr, Mark	3	0	0	Jones, T. E.	10	0	0
Booth, His Hon. Judge	2	2	0	Kemion, T. D.	3	0	0
Buckler, Miss L. R.	1	1	0	Lethaby, Prof. W. R.	1	1	0
Buckler, W. H.	100	0	0	Low, Miss Janet L.	3	0	0
Burns, Mrs. Van	2	3	0	MacIver, D. Randall	10	0	0
Caton, Richard, M.D.	1	1	0	Murray, Miss S. W.	2	2	0
Chitty, Rev. G. F.	1	1	0	Myers, Ernest	2	2	0
Courtauld, Miss S. R.	3	3	0	Oldham, J. B. S.	1	0	0
Cripps, Reginald	4	4	0	Ormerod, H. A.	1	1	0
Davies, John	1	1	0	Rose, Prof. H. J.	1	1	0
Esdaile, Mrs. A.	10	0	0	Sharpe, Miss C.	3	0	0
Eumorfopoulos, N.	1	0	0	Swallow, Canon R. D.	1	1	0
Hazidaki, Dr. J.	1	0	0	Walters, W. H.	10	6	0

The following additions have been made to the permanent Endowment Fund.

1920

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Berry, James	1	1	0	Popo, Mrs. G. H.	3	0	0
Lamb, Miss W.	10	0	0	Scott, G. F.	1	1	0

The Council consider this permanent Endowment Fund of the greatest importance to the Society, and would welcome further donations to it.

EIGHTEENTH LIST OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

ADDED TO THE

LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY

SINCE THE PUBLICATION OF THE CATALOGUE

1920—1921

With this list are incorporated books belonging to the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies. These are distinguished by R.S.

NOTE.—The supply of the original Catalogues (1903) is now exhausted, but copies may be had on loan. The accession lists can still be purchased on application.

- Adai.** See Liturgy of Adai and Mari.
- Adams (L. E. W.)** A study in the commerce of Latium [Smith. Coll. Class. Stud. 2.] 9 × 6. Northampton, Mass. 1921.
- Aeschylus.** Eschyle I. Les suppliantes—Les Perses—Les sept contre Thèbes—Prométhée enchaîné. Ed. and transl. P. Mazon. [Assn. Guillaume Budé.] 8 × 5½. Paris. 1920.
- Aeschylus.** The Oresteia. Agamemnon, Choephori, Eumenides: the Greek text as arranged for performance at Cambridge with an English verse translation by R. C. Trevelyan. 7½ × 5. Cambridge. 1920.
- Aldenhoven (C.)** Gesammelte Aufsätze herausgegeben von Dr. A. Lindner. 9½ × 6½. Leipzig. N.D.
- Allbutt (T. C.)** Greek Medicine in Rome. 9 × 5½. 1921.
- Allen (T. W.)** The Homeric catalogue of ships edited with a commentary. 9 × 6. Oxford. 1921.
- Allison (R.)** Translations into English verse mainly from the Greek anthology. 7 × 5½. 1921.
- Alt (A.)** Griechische Inschriften der Palaestina Tertia. See Denkmalschutz Kommandos.
- American Numismatic Society.** American Journal of Numismatics. From vol. 45 (1911). 11 × 8½. New York. *In Progress.*
Numismatic Notes and Monographs. From No. 1 (1920). 6½ × 4½. New York. *In Progress.*

R.S.—the property of the Roman Society.

- Andreades (A.)** De la population de Constantinople sous les empereurs byzantines. 9 x 6½. S. L. 1920.
- ²² *Id.* Another copy.
- ²² **Antiquaries Journal, The.** From Vol. 1 (1921). 10 x 6½. *In Progress.*
- Antiquaries, Society of.** A short account of some particulars concerning Domesday Book.
A short account of Danegeld.
An account of the copper table discovered, 1732, near Heraclea. By P. C. Webb.
The Latin inscription on the copper table. By J. Pettingal.
A dissertation upon the Tascia. By J. Pettingal.
[Five dissertations, 9 x 8, 1756-73, bound together.]
- Apelt (O.)** *Translator.* See Diogenes Laertius.
- Apicius.** *Apici. Cui de re coquinaria libri decem.* Edited by C. T. Schuch. 8 x 5½. Heidelberg. 1867.
- Aristotle.** *Atheniensium Respublica.* Ed. F. G. Kenyon. [Script Class. Bibl. Oxon.] 7½ x 5½. Oxford. 1921.
- Aristotle.** *Oeconomica: Atheniensium Respublica.* Translated into English by E. S. Forster. 9 x 5½. Oxford. 1920.
- Aristotle.** *Politica.* Translated by B. Jowett. 9 x 5½. Oxford. 1921.
- Aristotle.** *Aristoteles über die Dichtkunst* (German translation by A. Gudeman). 7½ x 5. Leipzig. 1921.
- Athens.** *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum, Vol. II.* By S. Casson. With a section upon the terra-cottas, by D. Brooke. 7½ x 5. Cambridge. 1921.
- ²² *Id.* Another copy.
- Aufhäuser (J. B.)** *Das Drachenwunder des Heiligen Georg in der griechischen und lateinischen Ueberslieferung.* [Byzant. Archiv. 5.] 10 x 6½. Leipzig. 1911.
- Aurelius (M.)** *Μάρκος Ἀντωνίου Ἀεροναύτης τῆς εἰς τὰς ἐνὶ βῆλῳ ἱστ.* 5½ x 3½. Glasgow. 1744.
- ²² **Avramow (V.)** *La voie de Trajan du Danube jusqu'à Philippopoli.* (In Bulgarian, with French précis.) 10½ x 7½. Sophia. 1915.
- Baalbek.** *Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen in den Jahren 1898 bis 1906.* Herausgegeben von T. Wiegand. Vol. I. By B. Schulz and H. Wiersfeld and others. Text and Plates. 14 x 11. Berlin and Leipzig. 1921.
- Bachmann (W.)** *Petra.* See Denkmalschutz Kommandos.
- Bauer (A.)** *Λυκίανος Δημοκρίτου Ἐγκύριον.* 9 x 6. Paderborn. 1914.
- Bent (J. T.)** See Hakluyt Society.
- ²² **Bericht der römisch-germanischen Kommission.** [Deutsches Archäolog. Institut] From Vol. 1. (1904). 11 x 7½. Frankfurt. *In Progress.*
- Berlin, Archaeological Institute.** *Geschichte des deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, 1829-1879.* 9 x 7. Berlin. 1879.
- Berlin, Royal Museums.** *Ägyptische Urkunden aus d. K. Museen; Griechische Urkunden, Vols. I-IV.* 12½ x 11. Berlin. 1894-1912.

- Berlin, Royal Museums.** *Inscriptiones von Priene.* Herausgegeben von F. F. Hiller von Gärtringen. 13½ × 10. Berlin. 1906.
- Biblica.** *Commentarii editi a Pontificio Instituto Biblico.* From Vol. I. 1920. 10 × 6½. Rome. *In Progress.*
- Bieber (M.)** *Die Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen im Altertum.* 11 × 8½. Berlin and Leipzig. 1920.
- Blackman (A. M.)** *The rock tombs of Meir.* See Egypt, Archaeological Survey. 24th Memoir.
- Blackman (A. M.)** *Les temples immergés de la Nubie.* Temple of Bigeh. See Cairo, Supplementary Publications.
- Bohn (R.)** See *Jahrbuch d. Kais. deutsch. archäol. Instituts*, Suppl. publ., No. 2.
- Boissonade (J. F.)** *Editor.* See *Poetae Graeci gnomici.*
- Boston.** *Museum of Fine Arts, 1870-1920.* 9 × 6. Boston. 1920.
- Bouchier (E. S.)** *A short history of Antioch, 300 B.C.-A.D. 1268.* 7½ × 5. Oxford. 1921.
- Braeunlich, A. F.** *The Indicative Indirect question in Latin.* 9½ × 6½. Chicago. 1920.
- Bréhier (L.)** *Sculpture Byzantine:—Études.* [Nouvelles Archives, No. 3.] 9½ × 6½. Paris. 1913.
- Bréhier (L.)** *Sculpture Byzantine:—Nouvelles recherches.* [Nouvelles Archives, No. 9.] 9½ × 6½. Paris. 1913.
- Brenot (A.)** *Recherches sur l'Éphébie attique.* [Bibl. de l'École des Hautes Études, 229.] 10 × 6½. Paris. 1920.
- Brooke (D.)** See Athens, Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum.
- Brusa.** *Catalogue des Sculptures grecques, romaines et byzantines du Musée de Brousse.* 10 × 6½. Athens. 1908.
- Buletinul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorie.** From Vol. I. (1908). 12½ × 9½. Bucharest. *In Progress.*
- Bulletin de la Société Archéologique Bulgare.** [In Bulgarian with short précis of the articles in French.] From Vol. IV. (1914). 10½ × 7½. Sophia. *In Progress.*
- Burns (C. Delisle.)** *Greek ideals, a study of social life.* 2nd ed. 7½ × 5½. 1919.
- Butler (H. E.)** *Translator.* See Quintilian.
- Bywater, I.** See Jackson, W. W.
- Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher.** From Vol. I. (1920). 9½ × 6. Berlin. *In Progress.*
- Cagnat (R.) and Chapot (V.)** *Manuel d'Archéologie Romaine.* II. 9 × 5½. Paris. 1920.
- Cairo.** *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire.* Manuscripts Coptes by H. Munier. 13½ × 10. Cairo. 1916.
- Naco.** By G. Roeder. 15½ × 10. Leipzig. 1914.
- Royal Mummies.** By G. Elliot Smith. 13½ × 10. Cairo. 1912.
- Cairo.** *Supplementary publications of the Service des Antiquités.* Les temples immergés de la Nubie. Temple of Bigeh, par A. M. Blackman. 13½ × 10. Cairo. 1915.

Temple de Kalabchah, par H. Gauthier. Pt. III.

13 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 10. Cairo. 1914.

Cartault (A.) *Editor and translator.* See Persius.

Casson (S.) See Athens Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum.

Cauer (P.) Grundfragen der Homerkritik. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 6. Leipzig. 1921.

Chapot (V.) See Cagnat (R.).

Cicero. Cicéron. Discours I. Pour P. Quinctius, Pour Sex. Roscius d'Amérie, Pour Q. Roscius le comédien. Ed. and trans., H. de la Ville de Mirmont [Assn. Guillaume Budé.] 8 x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$. Paris. 1921.

Cichorius (C.) See Jahrbuch d. Kais. deutsch. archäol. Instituts, Suppl. publ., No. 4.

Constantinople. Musées impériaux Ottomans. Catalogue des Sculptures grecques, romaines et byzantines. By G. Mendel. Vol. II. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 7 $\frac{1}{2}$. Constantinople. 1914.

Constantinople. Publicationen der Kaiserlich Osmanischen Museen. I. Zwei babylonische antiken aus Nippur. By E. Unger. II. Reliefstele Adadnirari III aus Saba'a und Semiramis. By E. Unger.

III. Die Stele des Bel-Harran-Beli-Ussur, ein Denkmal der Zeit Salmanassars IV. By E. Unger.

IV. Die beiden 'Sasanidischen' Drachenreliefs (Grundlagen zur Seldschukischen Skulptur). By H. Glück.

V. Die Reliefs Tiglatpileser III aus Nimrud. By E. Unger. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 6 $\frac{1}{2}$. Constantinople. 1916-17.

Katalog der Babylonischen und Assyrischen Sammlung III. By E. Unger.

9 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 6 $\frac{1}{2}$. Constantinople. 1918.

Conze (A.) See Jahrbuch d. Kais. deutsch. archäol. Instituts, Suppl. publ., No. 9.

Corell (J.) See Hakluyt Society.

Croiset (M.) *Editor and translator.* See Plato.

Cyprus. Annual Report of the Curator of Antiquities, 1914, 1915, 1916. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 7. Nicosia. 1916-17.

Dallam (T.) See Hakluyt Society.

Delehaye (H.) Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum graecorum Monasterii S. Salvatoris nunc Bibliothecae Universitatis Messanensis.

Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum graecorum bibliothecae D. Marci Venetiarum.

Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum graecorum bibliothecae comitis de Leicester Holkhamiae in Anglia.

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[Extracted from the Analecta Bollandiana.]

10 x 6 $\frac{1}{2}$. Brussels. 1904-9.

Delehaye (H.) Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae a codice Sirmundiano. [Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum 1902, Nov.]

10 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 11. Brussels. 1902.

Denkmalschutz-Kommandos. Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen des deutsch-türkischen

1. Sinai. By Th. Wiegand.
 2. Die griechischen Inschriften der Palaestina Tertia westlich der 'Araba. By A. Alt.
 3. Petra. By W. Bachmann, C. Watzinger and Th. Wiegand.
 4. Damaskus die antike stadt. By C. Watzinger and K. Wulzinger.
13 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 10 $\frac{1}{2}$. Berlin. *In Progress*.
24. **Devizes.** Catalogue of the Antiquities in the Museum at Devizes.
2 Parts. 8vo. Devizes. 1896-1911.
- Diest (W. von).** See Jahrbuch d. Kais. deutsch. archäol. Instituts,
Suppl. publ. No. 10.
- Diogenes Laertius** Leben und Meinungen berühmter Philosophen.
Übersetzt und erläutert von O. Apelt. 2 vols.
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25. **Dodd (P. W.) and Woodward (A. M.)** Excavations at Slack, 1913-
1915. [Yorkshire Arch. Journ., 26.] 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 6 $\frac{1}{2}$. N. D.
- Doerpfeld, (W.)** Die Bestattung der Toten bei Homer.
9 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 6 $\frac{1}{2}$. Munich and Leipzig. 1917.
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9 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 6 $\frac{1}{2}$. Athens. 1905.
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- Donovan (J.)** Theory of Advanced Greek Prose Composition with
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- Ebersolt (J.)** Mission Archéologique de Constantinople.
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- Ebersolt (J.)** Rapport sommaire sur une mission à Constantinople
(1910). [Nouvelles Archives, 3.]
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- Ebersolt (J.)** Sanctuaires de Byzance. 10 × 6 $\frac{1}{2}$. Paris. 1921.
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12 × 10 $\frac{1}{2}$. 1891.
- Kahun, Gurob and Hawara.** By W. M. Flinders Petrie,
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12 × 10 $\frac{1}{2}$. 1890.

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- Ehrenberg (V.) Die Rechtsides im frühen Griechentum.
9½ × 6½. Leipzig. 1921.
- Endres (H.) Die offiziellen Grundlagen der Alexanderüberlieferung und das Werk des Ptolemäus.
8½ × 5½. Würzburg. 1913.
- Εφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική. Text and Atlas of plates.
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- Epictetus. La traduction française du Manuel d'épictète d'André de Rivaudéau.
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 * Denotes a reproduction of the picture subject only from an adequate illustration.

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 B1042 " " partly restored. Domitian period (Joslin Coll.).
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 B1073 " " *id.*
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 B1061 " " " " (Joslin Coll.).

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 c 328 " " " " " "
 c 329 " " " " " "
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 B5371 **Carausius** *N.* London. **Allectus** *N.* London.
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 c 337 **Philip IV.** *R.* : **Alexander III.** *N.* and *R.* (*New Chron.*, 1919, p. 8).
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6300	" " restored.	9843	Olympian pediment, restored.
5814	" " N.E. angle.	A. 31	Coloured decoration in Doric
7007	The Thesion, colonnade.	A. 61	architecture.
5182	Paestum, temple of Poseidon.		

Ionic.

7606	Erechtheion, N. porch.	3940	Erechtheion, N. Porch, decoration.
8949	Temple of Nike Apteros.	1024	" " detail of.
8235	Temple at Aezani, Asia Minor.	7129	" " Porch of the Maidens.
4589	Ionic capital at Elousia.		

Corinthian.

6535	Acanthus growth.	4568	Olympion, fallen capital, continued.
1957	Capital from Epidaurus.	5721	Bealisk, octagonal temple.
682	Olympion at Athens.	5760	" details of decoration.
4567	" fallen capital.	5751	" " "

ROMAN MODIFICATIONS.

R. 472	The Pantheon, exterior view.	R. 473	The Pantheon, interior.
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RENAISSANCE ADAPTATIONS.

4830	St. Paul's Cathedral.	4837	The old Trinity Schools.
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ANCIENT ARCHITECTURE OTHER THAN TEMPLE BUILDING.

1180	The walls of Argosthena.	B. 53	The Pont du Gard.
B9101	The Forum at Pompeii.	B. 523	" " " nearer view.
1954	Theatre of Epidaurus.	B9014	Arch of Constantine.
1956	" " " nearer view.	B9044	Column of Aurelius.
4693	Stadion at Delphi.	8268	The Mausoleum, restored.
B9046	Coliseum, distant view.	B. 661	Roman bath at Bath.
B. 451	" interior.	B9118	Pompeii, House of the Veii.

SET XV.

GREEK PAPYRI.

(1) INTRODUCTORY: GREEK WRITING OTHER THAN THAT ON PAPYRI.

- 1378 Pedestal (marble) of a lost statue by Bryaxis. Athens, Nat. Mus.
- 2233 Helmet (bronze) dedicated by Prince Hieron of Syracuse at Olympia.
- 6640 Slab (bronze) recording a treaty for 100 years between Elis and Hieron. B.M.
- 983 Fragments (terra-cotta) with painted inscriptions in the Corinthian alphabet.
- c 16 Inscription on a vase caricaturing the style of the painter Demris.
- 1302 Inscription (mosaic) from Delos in honour of Apollo Kynthios.
- 9337 A Greek fortune-teller's signboard, from Egypt.

(2) WRITING MATERIALS, ETC.

- c 122 Specimens of wooden and wax tablets, an ostrakon, pens, stylil, etc.
- 2173 Sherd with spelling exercise: tablet with multiplication table and reading lessons.
- 2086
- 2174 Larger views of these. For details see B.M. *Guide to Greek and Roman Life Exhibition*.
- 2087
- 977 School scene: music and reading lessons. (Vase painting by Demris)
- 4998 The writing master. (Vase painting.)

(3) THE PAPYRUS ROLL.

- c 124 A group of papyrus plants at Kew Gardens.
- c 120 Sample of prepared papyrus (end column of the *Pecore* of Timotheus).
- c 121 Papyrus rolls, opened, and sealed: sealed letters.
- c 117 Roman sarcophagus, with group of figures holding books closed and open.
- c 116 Egyptian anthon with their books. (Relief.)
- c 118 Attic tombstone: a boy reading.
- c 123 Roman ostraophagus: a reader in his library.

(4) PAPYRI FOUND BY EXCAVATION.

- c 128 Sketch map of Egypt showing where the papyri were discovered.
- 2742 Dr. B. P. Grenfell directing the excavation of papyri in the desert at Oxyrhynchus.
- c 126 Aristotle: a page of the *Constitution of Athens* (1st cent. A.D.).
- c 103 *Bacchylides* (1st cent. A.C.).
- c 101 *Comedy*, anon. (3rd cent. A.C.).
- c 113 *Euripides'* lost play, the *Cretes* (2nd cent. A.C.).
- c 115 *Herondas*: a page of the *Mimes*.
- c 111 *Hesiod* and *Homer*: fragments (1st and 2nd cents. A.D.).
- c 105 *Homer*, *Iliad* II., 770-803 (2nd cent. A.D.).
- c 105 " *Id.*, the printed text.
- c 110 " *Iliad*, minuscule on vellum, A.D. 1431.
- c 104 " *Odyssey* III., 437-467 (1st cent. A.C.).
- c 104 " *Id.*, the printed text.
- c 107 *Magic formularies* (4th cent. A.D.).
- c 102 *Plato*, *Phaedo*, pp. 68a-69a (3rd cent. A.C.).
- c 114 " anon: commentary on *Theaitetos* (2nd cent. A.D.).
- c 119 *Timotheus*, *Pecore*: portion showing author's name.

- c 127 A letter from one Nearchus describing his travels up the Nile.
- c 177 *Id.*, the printed text.
- c 112 A soldier's letter from the Egyptian front.
- c 102 *Id.*, free translation (H. L. J.).

- c 108 *Codex Alexandrinus*: closing words of the *Acts* and beginning of *Epistle of St. James*.
- c 109 Gospel in minuscule (9th or 10th cent. A.D.).

- c 106 Part of one of the newly recovered "Sayings of Jesus" from Oxyrhynchus.

SET XVI.

ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

- 4521 Coins of Philip II., father of Alexander: Olympian Zeus and Macedonian cavalry.
 743 Head of Demosthenes.
 5318 Coin of Thebes (inscribed Epameinondas).
 848 Bust of Aristotle.
 8496 Coinage of the Great King.

- 7101 Sketch map illustrating the Eastern campaigns of Alexander.
 5001 Troy, the walls.
 5590 " the great ramp.
 3702 Ephesus, sculptured pillar from the great temple of Artemis: the return of Alceus.
 0434 " head of Hermes from the above.
 0435 " head of Thanatos " " "
 C 73 " the theatre.
 1300 Halikarnassus: the mediaeval castle.
 8268 " the mausoleum.
 3090 " mausollos.
 339 " chariot: from the mausoleum.
 2007 Afun Karahissar (Nicomedia).
 2983 Cilician gates.
 1085 Battle of Issus: mosaic from Pompeii.
 1083 *Id.*, detail, figure of Darius.
 59143 " " " " Alexander.
 1081 Damascus.
 1002 Among the cedars of Lebanon.
 1072 Shepherds at Gaza.
 1045 Gaza, during inundation.
 7118 Scene in the desert.
 5789 Euphrates, bridge near Kalkha.
 5782 " " " "
 5805 " at Khaffat.
 2281 Tigris, circular boats made of skins (*cf.* Herod. I. 194).
 6294 Babylon, gate of Ishtar: frieze in moulded brick.
 6293 *Id.*, detail.
 5277 Susa, procession of archers: frieze in mosaic brick.
 1047 Persepolis, Palace of Darius: gateway.
 1051 " Royal tomb.
 1053 " Propylaea of Xerxes.
 1664 The Khyber Pass.
 7103 View in the Hindu Kush mountains.
 7186 Kashmir, view on the Canal of Sweet Waters.
 7102 Amritsar, the Golden Temple of the Sikhs.
 1661 Mount Abu, Jain temple, interior.
 1663 Badlior, Indian temple.
 1642 Coin of Antimachus, Bactrian with Greek inscription.
 1636 Coin of Ptolemy I., Soter.
 8497 Coins of Seleucus I.

- 7597 Alexander, the Louvre herm, profile.
 3707 " the B.M. bust, full face.
 7124 " hunting: sarcophagus from Sidon.
 1087 " " head of the king.
 4678 " coin of Lycimachus, with idealised head of Alexander.

SET XVII.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE TRAVELS OF ST. PAUL.

8471	General map.	2614	Ephesus, coin, the statue of Artemis in her temple.
2015	Attaleia (Adalia), the city wall.	2599	Icenium, monastery near.
7473	" detail of the arch of Hadrian.	4468	Jerusalem, from Mount of Olives.
3710	Antioch: statue of the city of Antioch by Eutychides; her foot rests on the river god Orontes.	1082	Lebanon, the cedars of.
5453	Assos, restoration of market-place.	3760	Myra, cliff of rock-cut tombs.
8943	Athens, Acropolis, from Pnyx.	3759	" theatre.
6561	" " nearer view, restored.	2400	Nespolis (Kavalla), aqueduct.
4451	" " Acropolis and Thesalon from Acropolis.	2542	" (near), a forest village.
5710	Corinth, early temple of Aphrodite and Acro-Corinthus.	B9005	Rome, the Forum: view across the house of the Vestals.
4491	" view from Acro-Corinthos towards Peloponnesus.	B9042	" the Arch of Titus, slab showing the candelabrum.
3734	Cnidus, the ancient mole.	B 294	" the Colosseum, exterior.
1402	" Sir C. Newton removing the Lion of Chidus.	B 430	" " interior.
1802	Cyprus, Famagusta (near ancient Salamis).	B9623	" bridge on the Appian Way.
1061	Damascus, view in the town.	2017	Salonica, the E. walls.
3100	Ephesus, general view seawards.	2376	" interior of S. Demetri.
3209	" the theatre, view of the stage.	7082	" S. Sophia, exterior.
7375	" angle of the Temple of Artemis, restored.	2392	" " mosaic in dome.
3702	" sculptured pillar base: the resurrection of Alcestis.	7059	" " restored.
		B7145	Sidon, coins showing the meteoric stone of Astarte in its sacred carriage.
		7124	" sarcophagus of Sidon: detail showing Alexander hunting.
		5410	Syracuse, coin of Queen Denarete showing the nymph Arethusa and a victor's chariot.
6107	Restoration of the great altar at Pergamon (possibly the " throne of Satan where thou dwellest "), dedicated by King Eumenes after his victories over the Galatians, Galatæi or Gauls.		
3711	The dying Gaul.		
7397	" " " head of.		Part of a similar dedication by King Attalus of Pergamon.
1445	Characteristic pictures of village and nomadic life in Syria and Asia Minor.		
4330			
1446			
1072			
1447			
B7403	Augustus, upper portion of a statue found at Prima Porta, Rome.		
B 279	Tiberius, portrait head on a coin.		
B7415	Nero, marble head of (Forme Mus., Rome).		

SETS OF SLIDES ISSUED COMPLETE WITH LECTURES

With a view to the further popularisation of Classical Studies there have been added the following sets which are issued with printed lectures specially written for the purpose by recognised authorities.

Set XVIII.	Pompeii.	By A. W. Van Buren.
Set XIX.	Horace.	By G. H. Hallam.
Set XX.	The Roman Campagna.	By T. Ashby.

Other sets in preparation are: *The Palatine and Forum*, by Dr. Ashby; *The Beginnings of Rome and Sicily*, by Prof. H. E. Butler; *The Via Appia*, by Mr. R. Gardner; *Roman Portraiture and Roman Sculpture*, by Mrs. S. Arthur Strong; *Roman Britain*, by Dr. Mortimer Wheeler.

The Societies are greatly indebted to Mr. G. H. Hallam both for the idea of the new sets and for practical help given in their compilation.

NOTICE TO CONTRIBUTORS.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Quotations from Ancient and Modern Authorities.

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

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

or—

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

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

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

Num. Chr. = Numismatische Chronicle.

Num. Zeit. = Numismatische Zeitschrift.

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

Philol. = Philologus.

Rev. Arch. = Revue Archéologique.

Rev. Et. Gr. = Revue des Etudes Grecques.

Rev. Num. = Revue Numismatique.

Rev. Philol. = Revue de Philologie.

Rh. Mus. = Rheinisches Museum.

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

Roucher = Roscher, Lexicon der Mythologie.

T. A. M. = Tituli Asiae Minoria.

Z. f. N. = Zeitschrift für Numismatik.

Transliteration of Inscriptions.

- [] Square brackets to indicate additions, i.e. a lacuna filled by conjecture.
-) Curved brackets to indicate alterations, i.e. (1) the resolution of an abbreviation or symbol; (2) letters misrepresented by the engraver; (3) letters wrongly omitted by the engraver; (4) mistakes of the copyist.
- < > Angular brackets to indicate omissions, i.e. to enclose superfluous letters appearing on the original.
- . . . Dots to represent an unfilled lacuna when the exact number of missing letters is known.
- - - Dashes for the same purpose, when the number of missing letters is not known.

Uncertain letters should have dots under them.

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

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

Quotations from MSS. and Literary Texts.

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

- () Curved brackets to indicate only the resolution of an abbreviation or symbol.
- [] Double square brackets to enclose superfluous letters appearing on the original.
- < > Angular brackets to enclose letters supplying an omission in the original.

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

THE BRITISH ACADEMY

CROMER GREEK PRIZE

With the view of maintaining and encouraging the study of Greek, particularly among the young, in the national interest, the late Lord Cromer founded an Annual Prize, to be administered by the British Academy, for the best Essay on any subject connected with the language, history, art, literature, or philosophy of Ancient Greece.

The Prize, which is ordinarily a sum of £40, is awarded annually in March, under the following Rules:—

1. Competition is open to all British subjects of either sex who will be under twenty-six years of age on 31 December preceding the award.
2. Any such person desirous of competing must send in to the Secretary of the British Academy on or before 1 June of the year preceding the award the title of the subject proposed by him or her. The Academy may approve (with or without modification) or disapprove the subject; their decision will be intimated to the competitor as soon as possible.
3. Preference will be given, in approval of subjects proposed, to those which deal with aspects of the Greek genius and civilization of large and permanent significance over those which are of a minute or highly technical character.
4. Any Essay already published, or already in competition for another prize of the same nature, will be inadmissible. A candidate to whom the Prize has been awarded will not be eligible to compete for it again. But an Essay which has not received the Prize may be submitted again (with or without alteration) in a future year so long as the writer remains eligible under Rule 1.
5. Essays of which the subject has been approved must be sent in to the Secretary of the Academy on or before 31 December. They must be typed (or, if the author prefers, printed), and should have a note attached stating the main sources of information used.
6. It is recommended that the Essays should not exceed 20,000 words, exclusive of notes. Notes should not run to an excessive length.
7. The author of the Essay to which the Prize is awarded will be expected to publish it (within a reasonable time, and after any necessary revision), either separately, or in the Journals or Transactions of a Society approved by the Academy, or among the Transactions of the Academy.

The Secretary of the Academy will supply on application, to any person qualified and desirous to compete, a list of some typical subjects, for general guidance only, and without any suggestion that one or another of these subjects should be chosen, or that preference will be given to them over any other subject of a suitable nature.

Communications should be addressed to 'The Secretary of the British Academy, Burlington House, Piccadilly, London, W.'

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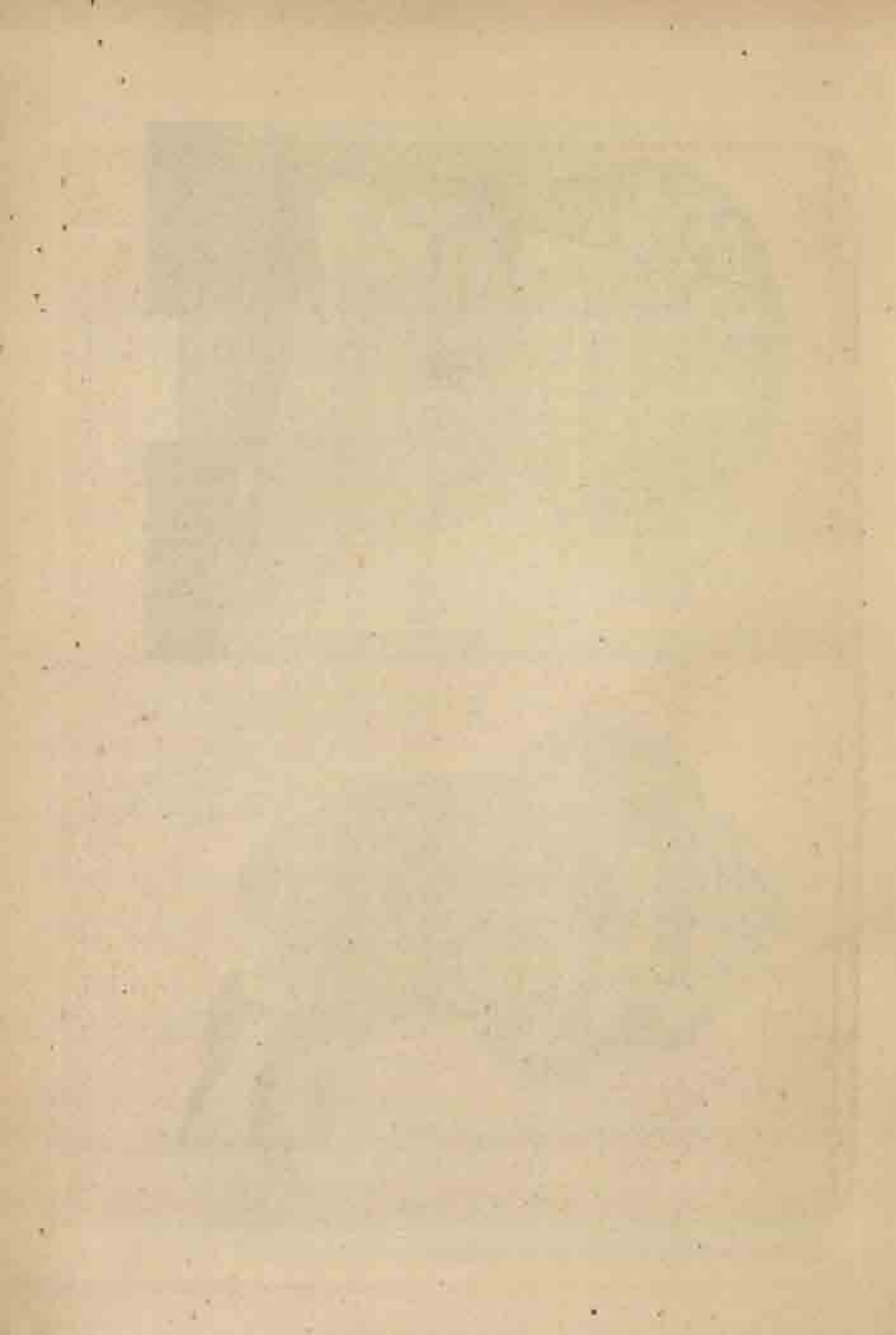


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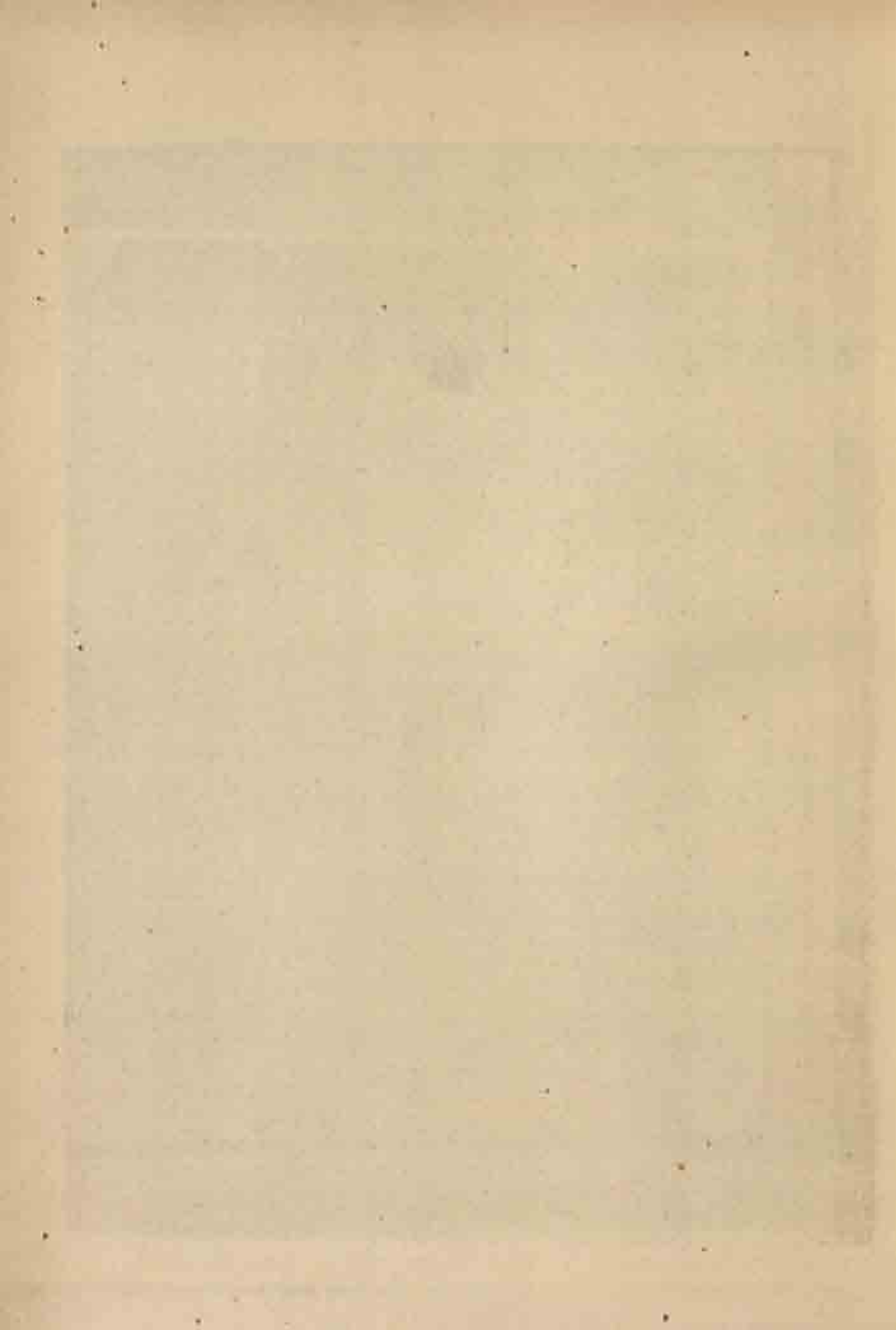
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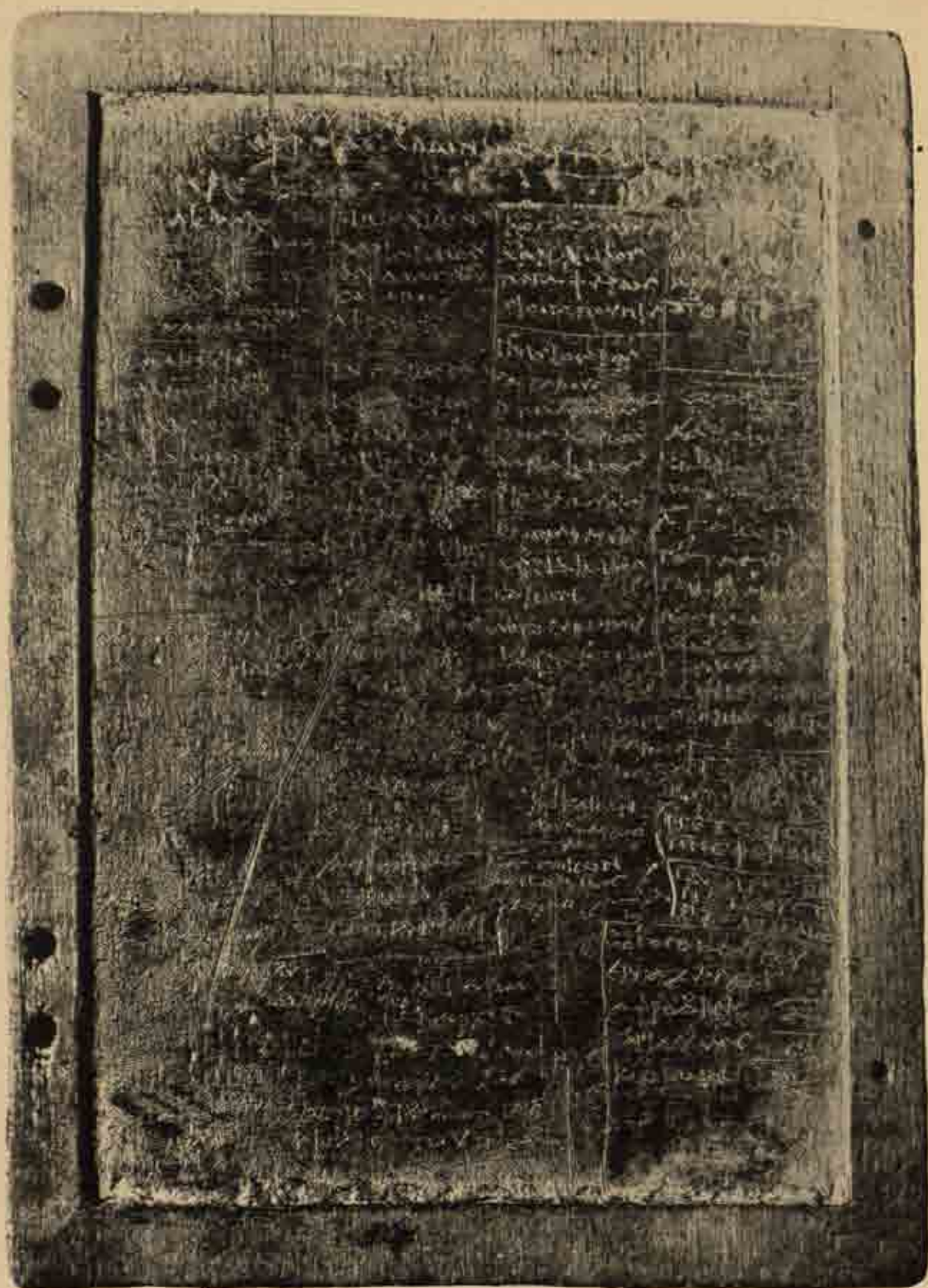
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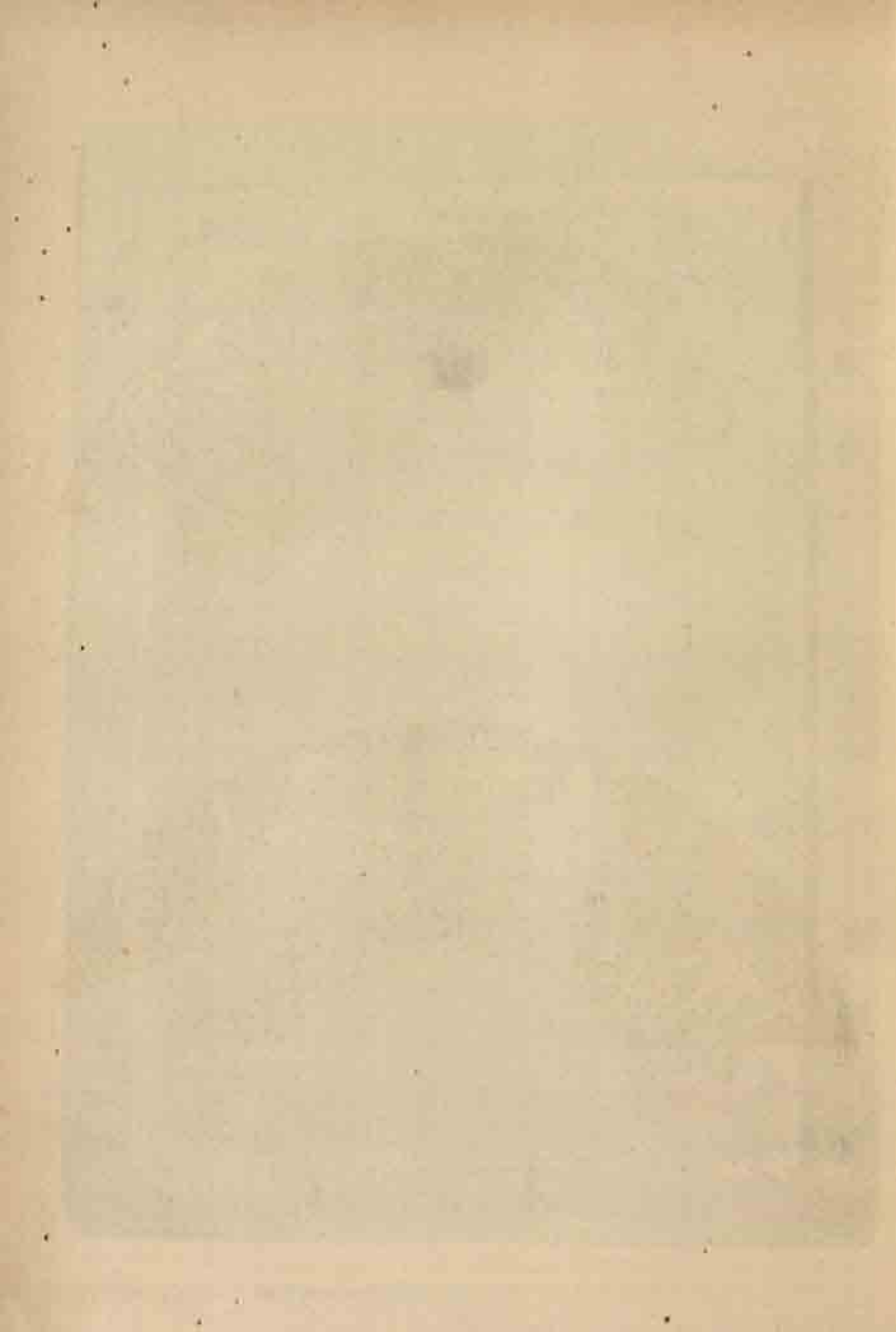


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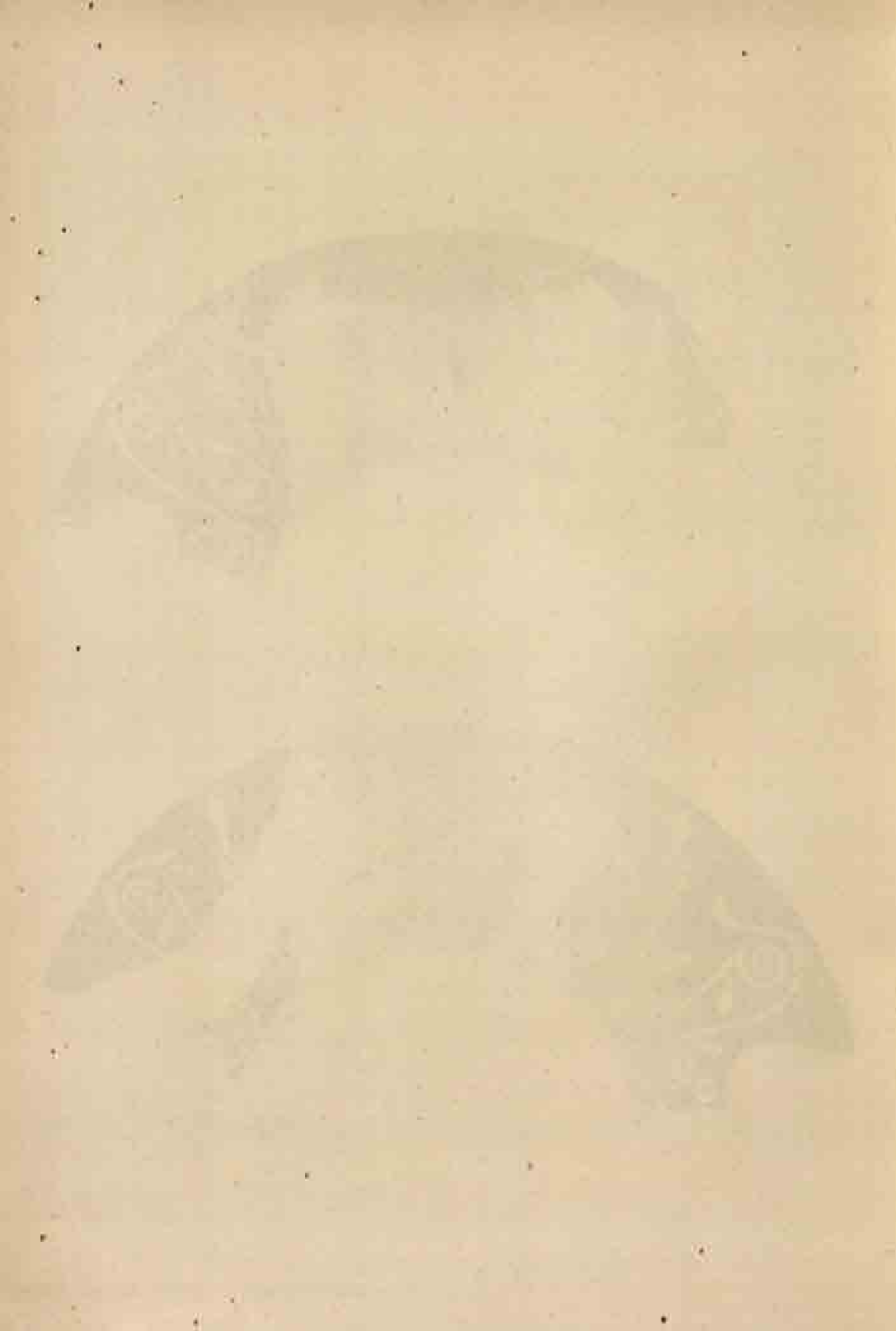


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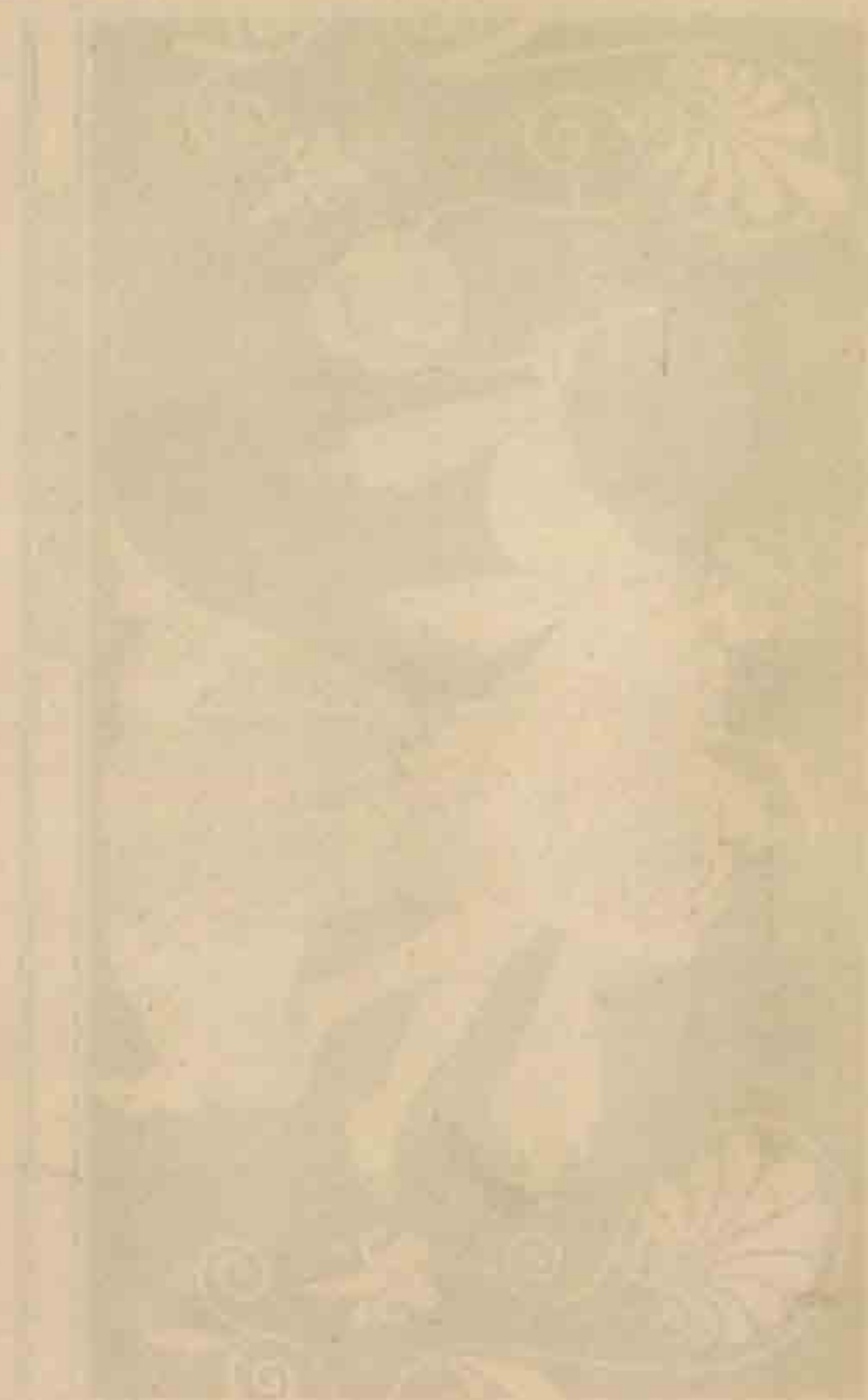


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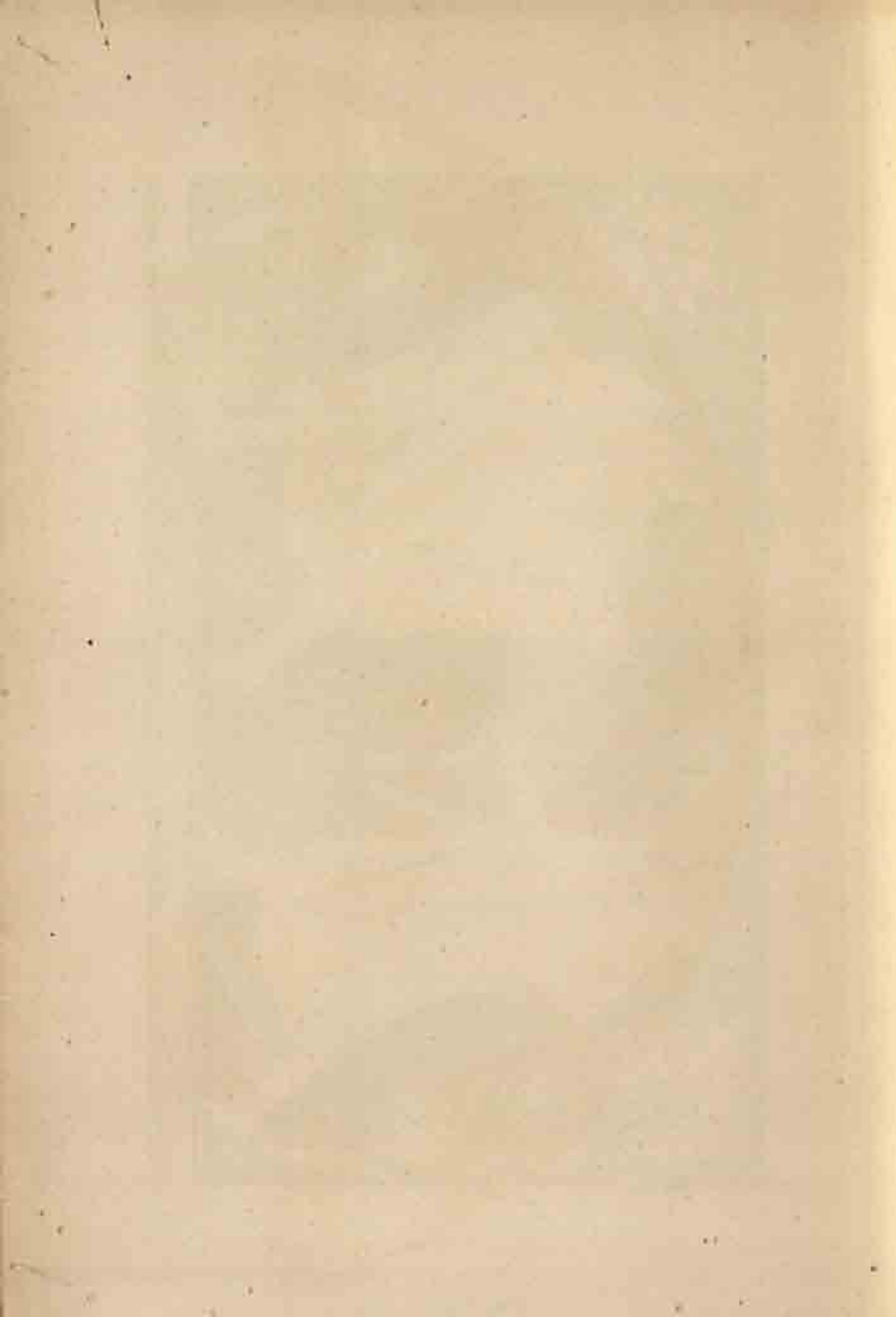


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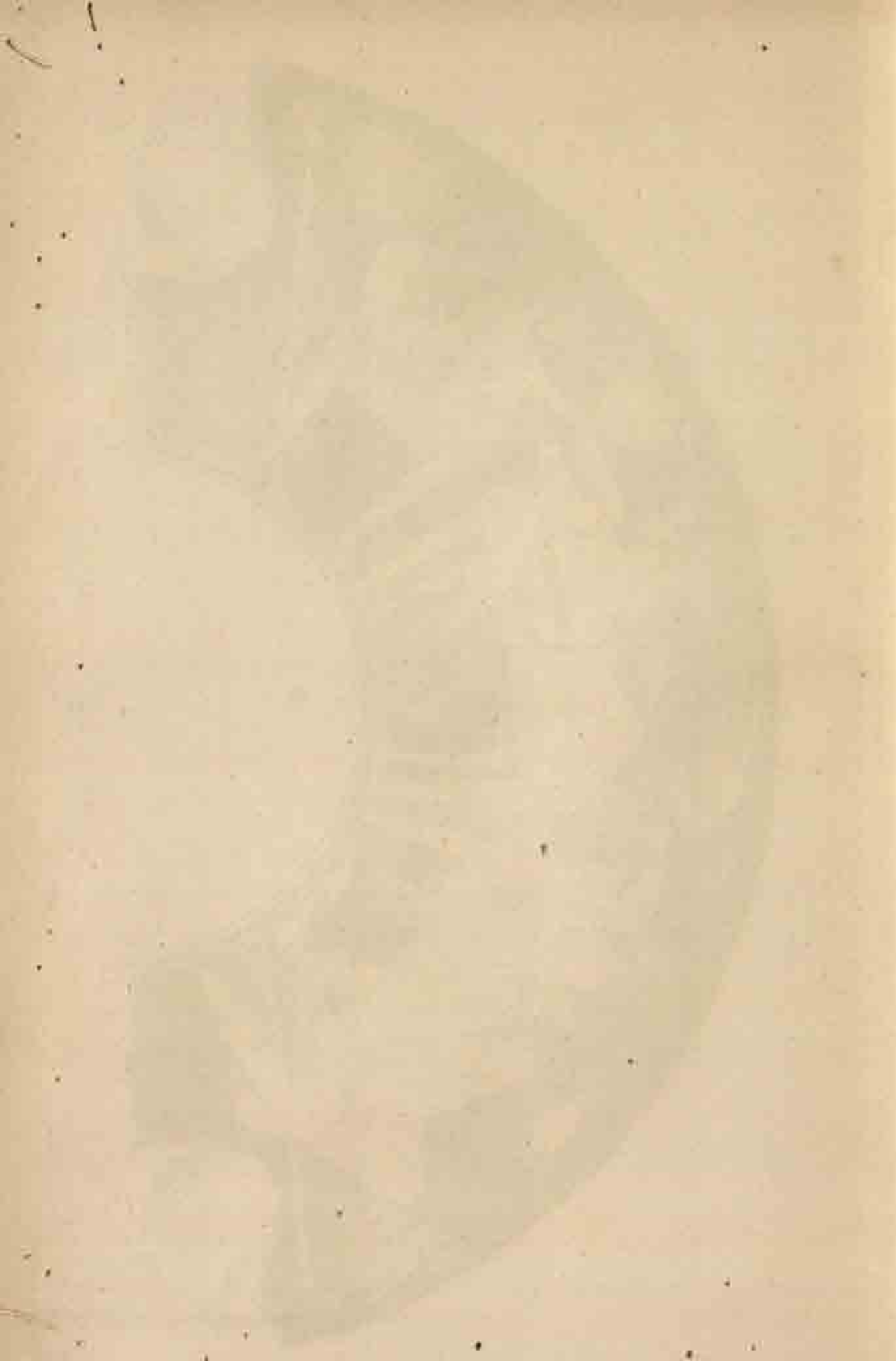


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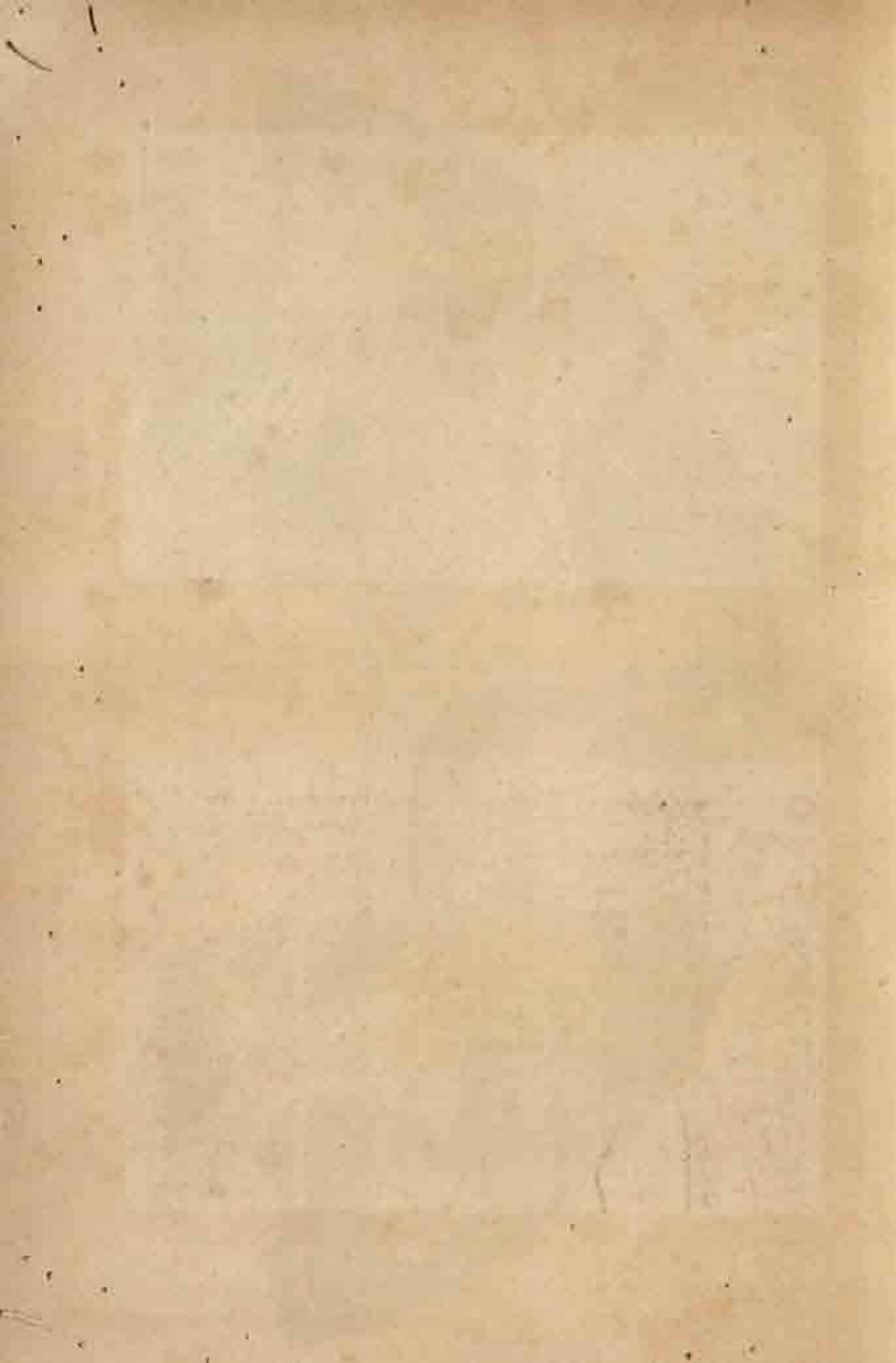


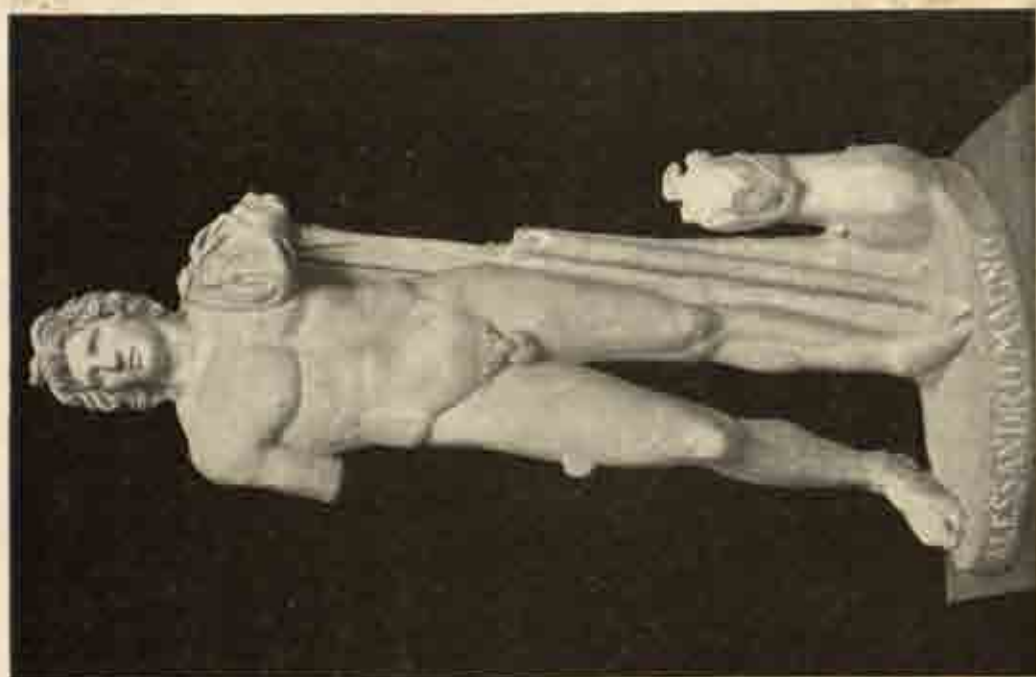
RED-FIGURED KYLIX: SYMPOSIUM (A)





RED-FIGURED KYLIX. SYMPOSIUM. (B)





1. ALEXANDER THE GREAT.



MARBLE STATUES FROM THE THERMAE AT CYRENE

2. EROS STRINGING BOW.





1. ZEUS, BENCASI.

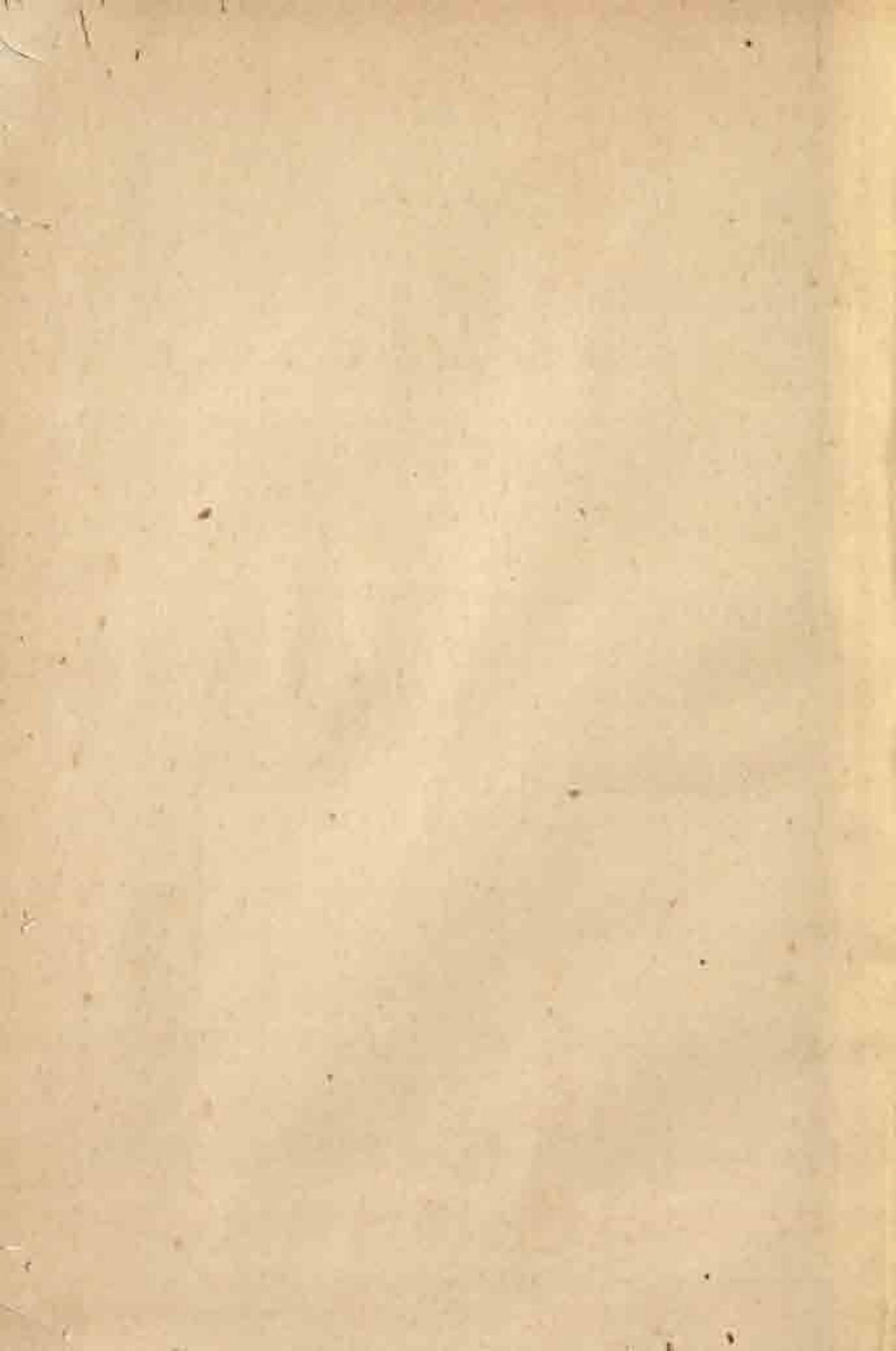
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(87)





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