

THE JOURNAL
OF
HELLENIC STUDIES

THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES

THE JOURNAL

OF

HELLENIC STUDIES

VOLUME V

PUBLISHED BY THE COUNCIL, AND SOLD ON THEIR BEHALF

BY

MACMILLAN AND CO., 29, BEDFORD STREET, STRAND
LONDON

MDCCCLXXXIV

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RULES AND LIST OF MEMBERS.

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 archæological and topographical interest.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

RULES FOR THE USE OF THE LIBRARY.

I. THAT the Library be administered by the Library Committee, which shall be composed of not less than four members, two of whom shall form a quorum.

II. That the custody and arrangement of the Library be in the hands of the Librarian, subject to the control of the Committee, and in accordance with Regulations drawn up by the said Committee and approved by the Council.

III. That all books, periodicals, plans, photographs, &c., be received by the Librarian or Secretary and reported to the Council at their next meeting.

IV. That every book or periodical sent to the Society be at once stamped with the Society's name.

V. That all the Society's books be entered in a Catalogue to be kept by the Librarian, and that in this Catalogue such books, &c. as are not to be lent out be specified.

VI. That the Library be accessible to Members on all week days from eleven A.M. to six P.M., when either the Librarian, or in his absence some responsible person, shall be in attendance.

VII. That the Society's books (with exceptions hereinafter to be specified) be lent to Members under the following conditions :—

- (1) That the number of volumes lent at any one time to each Member shall not exceed three.
- (2) That the time during which such book or books may be kept shall not exceed one month.
- (3) That no books be sent beyond the limits of the United Kingdom.

VIII. That the manner in which books are lent shall be as follows :—

- (1) That all requests for the loan of books be addressed to the Librarian.
- (2) That the Librarian shall record all such requests, and lend out the books in the order of application.
- (3) That in each case the name of the book and of the borrower be inscribed, with the date, in a special register to be kept by the Librarian.
- (4) Should a book not be returned within the period specified, the Librarian shall reclaim it.
- (5) All expenses of carriage to and fro shall be borne by the borrower.

IX. That no book falling under the following categories be lent out under any circumstances :—

- (1) Unbound books.
- (2) Detached plates, plans, photographs, and the like.
- (3) Books considered too valuable for transmission.

X. That in the case of a book being kept beyond the stated time the borrower be liable to a fine of one shilling for each additional week, and if a book is lost the borrower be bound to replace it.

The Library Committee.

PROF. PERCY GARDNER.
 MR. WALTER LEAF.
 MR. GEORGE MACMILLAN (*Hon. Sec.*).
 MR. ERNEST MYERS.
 REV. W. G. RUTHERFORD, LL.D.

Librarian.—MR. W. S. W. VAUX, 22, *Albemarle Street, W.*

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SESSION 1885.

Meetings will be held at 22, Albemarle Street, at 5 P.M. on the following days, the Council meeting at 4.30 on each occasion :—

Thursday, March 12.

Thursday, May 7.

Thursday, June 25. (Annual.)

HONORARY MEMBERS.

- His Majesty the King of the Hellenes.
 Mr. Alfred Biliotti, *H.B.M. Consul at Trebizond*.
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LIST OF MEMBERS.

* *Original Members.* † *Life Members.*

The other Members have been elected by the Council since the Inaugural Meeting.

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 Abbott, Rev. E. A., D.D., 32, *Abbey Road, N.W.*
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 Armstrong, Prof. G. F., *Queen's College, Cork.*
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- *Balfour, A. J., M.P., 4, *Carlton Gardens, S.W.*
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 Bell, Rev. William, *The College, Dover.*
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 Bigg, Rev. Charles, D.D., 28, *Norham Road, Oxford.*
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 Blomfield, A. W., 6, *Montagu Place, Montagu Square, W.*
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- Bull, A. E. C., *Jesus College, Cambridge.*
 Bullen, Rev. R. A., 2, *Barton Street, Westminster, S.W.*
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 Bury, J. B., *Trinity College, Dublin.*
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 Channing, F. A., 3, *Brunswick Square, Brighton.*
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 †Chawner, W., *Emmanuel College, Cambridge.*
 †Chester, The Right Rev. the Bishop of, *Chester.*
 Chettle, H., *Stationers' School, Bolt Court, E.C.*
 *Christie, R. C., *Glenwood, Virginia Water, Staines.*
 Christian, Rev. G., *Redgate, Uppingham.*
 *Church, Very Rev. R. W., D.C.L. (V.P.), *The Deanery, St. Paul's, E.C.*
 Clark, P. E., 2, *Culverden Park, Tunbridge Wells.*
 Clarke, Henry, 14, *Ludbroke Grove, W.*
 †Clarke, Hyde, 32, *St. George's Square, S.W.*
 Clarke, Rev. R. L., *Queen's College, Oxford.*
 Clay, C. F., *Trinity College, Cambridge.*
 Clinton, E. Fynes, *Grammar School, Wimborne, Dorset.*
 Cobbold, Felix T., *Holywells, Ipswich.*
 *Cobham, C. Delaval, *H.B.M. Commissioner, Larnaca, Cyprus.*
 Colby, Rev. Dr., *Litton Cheney, Dorsetshire.*
 Collins, Rev. C. B., 8, *Mornington Road, Leytonstone, E.*
 *Colvin, Prof. Sidney (V.P.), *British Museum, W.C.*
 Comyn, John S., M.D., 32, *Dawson Place, Bayswater.*

- *Constantinides, Prof. M., *Hellenic College*, 84, *Kensington Gardens Square, S.W.*
- †Contostavlos, Otho, *Abonnés Case*, 642, *Marseilles*.
- Conway, W. M., *Savile Club*, 107, *Piccadilly, W.*
- Conybeare, C. A. V., 40, *Chancery Lane, W.C.*
- Cook, E. T., 85, *Park Street, Grosvenor Square, W.*
- Coolidge, Rev. W. A. B., *Magdalen College, Oxford*.
- Corgialegno, M., 21, *Pembridge Gardens, W.*
- Corrie, E. K., 19, *Old Square, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.*
- Cotterill, H. B., 11, *Liebig Strasse, Dresden*.
- Courtney, W. L., *New College, Oxford*.
- Courtenay, Miss, 34, *Brompton Square, S.W.*
- Cowper, Earl, K.G., 4, *St. James' Square, W.*
- Craik, George Lillie, 29, *Bedford Street, Covent Garden, W.C.*
- Creighton, Rev. M., *Embleton Vicarage, Chathill, Northumberland*.
- Crossley, Prof. Hastings, *Queen's College, Belfast*.
- Cruikshank, Rev. J. A., *Harrow, N.W.*
- Cruttwell, Rev. C. T., *The College, Matvern*.
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¹ This Society has agreed to contribute £5 5s. annually to the funds of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies.

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 The School Reading Room, *Rugby*.
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 The Library of King's College School, *Strand, W.C.*
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 The Free Library, *Sydney, New South Wales*.
 The University Library, *Toronto*.
 The Public Library, *Winterthur*.
 The Free Library, *Worcester, Mass., U.S.A.*
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LIST OF JOURNALS, &c., RECEIVED IN EXCHANGE
 FOR THE JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES.

- The Athenaeion, *Athens*.
 The Parnassos Philological Journal, *Athens*.
 The Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique (published by the
 French School at *Athens*).
 The Publications of the Archaeological Society, *Athens*.
 The Mittheilungen of the German Institute at *Athens*.
 The Journal of the Historical and Ethnological Society of
 Greece, *Athens*.
 Bursian's Jahresbericht für classische Alterthumswissenschaft.
 The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
 The Archäologische Zeitung, *Berlin*.
 The Revue Archéologique, *Paris* (per M. Georges Perrot, 45,
rue d'Ulm).
 The Numismatic Chronicle.
 The Publications of the Evangelical School, *Smyrna*.
 The Annuaire de l'Association pour l'Encouragement des
 Études Grecques en France, *Paris*.
 The Publications of the German Imperial Archaeological
 Institute, *Rome*.
 The Journal of the American Archaeological Institute, *Boston*,
U.S.A.
 The Publications of the Imperial Archaeological Commission,
St. Petersburg.
 The Transactions of the Cambridge Philological Society.
 The Journal of Philology.

THE SESSION OF 1884.

The First General Meeting was held at 22, Albemarle Street, on *Thursday, March 13*, at 5 P.M., when PROFESSOR SIDNEY COLVIN, V.P., was in the chair.

MR. WALTER LEAF read a paper on certain details in the construction and harness of Homeric Chariots, with especial reference to *Iliad*, Book xxiv. (l. 265-74). (*Journal*, Vol. V. p. 185.) His main object was to show that Homer's account of the yoking of the mule-car was in substantial agreement both with the details found on Greek vases, and with the necessities of practical use.

PROFESSOR PERCY GARDNER read a paper on "Banqueting Scenes on Greek Tombs," pointing out that three views of their significance had been maintained by rival archaeologists: (1) that the banquet belonged to the past life of the person buried, being an ordinary event of every-day life, (2) that it stood for the sepulchral feast, or the offerings brought to the tomb of a dead man by his surviving family, (3) that it represented the sensual pleasures of the Greek Hades (*Journal*, Vol. V. p. 105).

The Second General Meeting was held at 22, Albermarle Street, on *Thursday, May 17*, at 5 P.M., PROFESSOR C. T. NEWTON, V.P., in the chair.

MR. THEODORE BENT read a paper on a recent visit to the Cyclades (*Journal*, Vol. V. p. 42), pointing out that in

these islands might be studied (1) the great pre-historic empire of which traces have been found at Santorin, (2) the great age of Greek history, (3) the times of the Crusades, and (4) the character, customs, and language of the modern Greeks, nowhere so pure as here. Mr. Bent then proceeded to give an account of the pre-historic objects which he had found. The Chairman described the paper as of great interest, especially to the Society, as carrying out the kind of researches which it was especially intended to promote. He hoped that Mr. Bent would be able to carry his researches further. The pre-historic remains were particularly remarkable, because the little images, of which specimens had been shown, were always considered to belong to a very early period, and in these examples a certain gradation in skill was more evident than in any previous case. Again, these rude images were here for the first time associated with equally rude pottery. Hitherto, the pottery found in connection with them had been decidedly later in character. This was a distinct advance of our knowledge of this pre-historic civilization.

MR. D. B. MONRO, Provost of Oriel, read a paper on the Epic Cycle, in continuation of one which appeared in Vol. IV. of the *Journal*. Of the Cyclic poems represented in the abstract of Proclus, Mr. Monro sketched the character and contents of the *Aethiopes* and *Iliion Persis* of Arctinus, and of the so-called *Little Iliad*, showing how they carry on the story of the *Iliad* with interesting differences in detail, introducing some incidents and ideas of a distinctly post-Homeric character, and in some cases giving variant versions of incidents used by the Tragic poets (*Journal*, Vol. V. p. 1). The Chairman pointed out that the study of the Epic Cycle was of peculiar value in connection with the study of vases, where subjects taken not only from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, but from the other poems, are of frequent occurrence. Professor Jebb said that the chronology of the Cyclic poems was specially interesting, as giving the only clue to the inferior limit of the date of Homer.

THE ANNUAL MEETING

Was held at 22, Albemarle Street, on *Thursday, June 26*, when the chair was taken by the BISHOP OF DURHAM, President of the Society. The following Report was read by the HON. SEC. on behalf of the Council:—

It was pointed out in the Report of last year that the resources of the Society did not as yet admit of much being done towards the fulfilment of its object other than the publication of the Journal. The fourth volume of the Journal—containing an unusually full and varied collection of papers—must still be regarded as the chief fruit of the Society's labours in the year now ended. With the second part of the volume were issued three coloured plates, the exceptional cost of which seemed to the Council to be fully justified by the beauty of their workmanship and the unique interest of the paintings there reproduced.

The publication in the volume of 1883 of several more of the valuable series of papers in which Mr. W. M. Ramsay has from time to time recorded the results of his researches in Asia Minor, suggests a reference to the remarkable success of his work, with which the Society has from the first been at least indirectly associated. The Report issued by the Committee of the Asia Minor Exploration Fund some months ago was a most satisfactory proof of the results which the well-directed energy of the explorer has been able to achieve with comparatively small resources. So encouraging was this Report, and so strong was the testimony borne to the value of Mr. Ramsay's work by some of the leading scholars and archaeologists of Europe, that the greater part of the further sum of £500 required for the continuation of the work was raised within a few weeks of the publication of the Report. Towards this sum the Council of this Society voted a contribution of £50. Mr. Ramsay has now started again into Phrygia, and has been joined by another member of the Society, Mr. A. H. Smith, who has contributed more than one paper to the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*. Towards the expenses of Mr. Smith the sum of £100 has been voted from the Worts Fund by the University of Cambridge.

In last year's Report reference was made to a project for establishing a British School at Athens. In accordance with the intention there expressed, the Hellenic Society was last autumn invited to nominate two representatives to serve on the Executive Committee in charge of the scheme. In answer to this invitation Mr. Newton and Mr. Macmillan, who, with a good many other members of the Society were already members of the Committee in question, were, at the General Meeting of October 18, chosen to represent the Society.

The reproduction by photography of the Laurentian Codex of Sophocles, which was undertaken two years ago under the sanction, though not upon the responsibility, of the Society, has been delayed longer than was anticipated. But the work is now far advanced, and it is confidently hoped that the copies may be ready for issue to the subscribers in the course of the coming autumn.

The financial position of the Society, as shown by the Balance Sheet now submitted, may be regarded as decidedly satisfactory. The total income of the year amounts, with last year's balance of £993 os. 11d., to £1,840 2s. 6d., while the expenditure, which covers the total cost of two numbers of the Journal, and a considerable part of the cost of a third, amounts to £939 os. 6d., leaving a balance in the banker's hands of £901 2s. But this expenditure includes £105 of Life Subscriptions invested in Consols during the year, thus raising the sum so invested to the sum of £493 10s. Against the balance of £901 2s. should be set liabilities—including the cost of printing Vol. IV. Part 2 of the Journal—amounting to about £235. On the other hand there are arrears of unpaid subscriptions amounting to about £150. The increase of members is decidedly greater than last

year, 74 against 49. This is no doubt partly due to the issue of a circular describing the position and objects of the Society, and inviting the candidature of all persons interested in Hellenic Studies. Copies of this circular may still be obtained from the Hon. Sec. by members who are willing to use their best efforts to obtain further support for the Society. It should be remembered that every year, by death or resignation, a certain loss occurs which must be made good. In the past year such loss amounts to 23.

Besides the 568 individual members, there are now 49 Libraries subscribing to the Journal, of which 17 have been added to the list since the last Annual Meeting. But satisfactory as its progress has been so far, much yet remains to be done if the Society is to fulfil all the objects which it professedly has in view.

The Council therefore, in conclusion, once more express the hope that members will lose no opportunity of making the Society known, and securing for it continually increasing support among all who have at heart the promotion of Hellenic Studies in this country.

This Report having been unanimously adopted on the motion of the Dean of Llandaff, seconded by Prof. Lewis Campbell, the President read out the list of Officers and Council for the ensuing year, which was duly confirmed. The only change in the constitution of the Council was the appointment of Prof. L. Campbell, Mr. C. Waldstein and Mr. James Gow, in the place of Mr. Chenery deceased, and Mr. Peile and Prof. Mahaffy who retire. The President then delivered an address upon the work that had been done by the Society hitherto, and that might be done in the future. After expressing regret that he was only now for the first time appearing in the office which he felt it a high honour to hold, the Bishop of Durham sincerely congratulated the Society upon its achievements so far. The Journal, for its originality and scholarship, for the interest and variety of its articles, might challenge comparison with any similar periodical, whether English or foreign. Referring to the forthcoming reproduction by photography of the Laurentian Codex of Sophocles, the President said that the reproduction of any unique manuscript was of essential importance, in the case of its loss by fire. It was satisfactory to note that the Society had taken an active part in promoting the scheme for a British School at Athens. It was hardly creditable that England should be so far behind her neighbours in the establishment of such a school, considering her close political connection with Greece, and her really wide interest in Greek literature. Until there was such a centre of work established on Greek soil Hellenic studies in England would be at a decided disadvantage. Referring to the Society's work in the field of exploration, the Bishop of Durham said that, perhaps, to most scholars Hellas proper presented greater attractions, but for his own part he ventured to think that the ground which had actually fallen to the lot of the Society would yield even richer results. Beneath the soil of Asia Minor lay hidden the key to many an interesting problem in history and ethnology. As an example might be cited the light recently thrown upon the remarkable extension of the Hittite empire. Referring to his own special line of study, the President dwelt in some detail upon the value of Mr. Ramsay's discoveries as illustrating the early history of the Christian Church in Phrygia, and showed by several examples how much might be learnt even from the finding on an inscription of a single name. Mr. Ramsay had still before him important and numerous discoveries, and it was greatly to be hoped that his work would not be hindered by lack of funds. The President, in conclusion, threw out two suggestions for the Society's work in the future. In the first place might be undertaken by competent persons the thorough investigation of the monastic and other libraries in the East. The investigators should be competent in every branch of Hellenic study, or some manuscripts of great value might escape if they chanced not to belong to their special department. Thus the invaluable manuscript of the Epistle of Clement of Rome was found only a few years ago in a library at Constantinople which had been already examined by three trained scholars, English, French and German, all of whom were no doubt concentrating their attention on the discovery of classical manuscripts. But from any point of view the discovery of a piece of genuine Christian literature of the first century A.D.—

that great crisis in the world's history—was surely of the highest importance. Another work that might usefully be undertaken by the Society was the mapping out of subjects to be worked upon by competent young scholars who would devote time and labour to their solution. Many vexed questions might be cleared up in this way. While congratulating the Society upon its achievements in the past, the President trusted that its ambition would not stop there, but push on its conquests to regions yet unconquered.

Mr. Gardner stated that the next number of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* would not be published until the autumn, by which time an ample supply of papers would be forthcoming. He thought that if the excellent advice of the President as to the mapping out of subjects for investigation could be followed at Oxford and Cambridge, the greatest benefit would result both to the individual workers and to the cause of learning at large. Mr. Newton, in moving a vote of thanks to the auditors, took occasion to refer both to the work of the Society and to the general progress of archaeological research during the past year. He was peculiarly glad to hear from so great an authority as the President of the Society so high an estimation of Mr. Ramsay's work, for he had himself been concerned in appointing Mr. Ramsay as a travelling Fellow to the University of Oxford and in indicating his field of labour. Under extraordinary difficulties and in a comparatively short time Mr. Ramsay had established important historical results. Alluding to Mr. Wood's discoveries at Ephesus, Mr. Newton said that the inscriptions published in his book gave no idea of the store of facts contained in the mass of Ephesian inscriptions at the British Museum. In these, which had been carefully examined by Mr. Hicks and would be published next year, a new and most instructive light was thrown upon the constitution of the great hierarchy which governed the Temple of Artemis. It was a shameful thing, said the speaker, that when the Government grant had been exhausted Mr. Wood's frequent appeals to the British public for funds to carry on his researches had been practically unheard; whereas when the grant made by the German Government for the excavation of Olympia had been exhausted, a sufficient sum was at once raised by private subscription to complete the excavation of the Altis. The great hope was that young men were now being trained at our Universities who would be in time competent to carry out the work of exploration. For twenty years past, in France and Germany, there had been a constant succession of young scholars first sent to the schools at Athens, then upon special missions, and in course of time promoted to Chairs of archaeology at the different Universities. Such a supply of men, and such means of steady promotion, we might one day hope to see in England. After pointing out that much help might be given to exploration by wealthy Englishmen who went year after year to the Mediterranean in their yachts, Mr. Newton concluded with a rapid survey of the discoveries of the year, dwelling especially upon the remarkable tomb of a Seleucid monarch found by the Germans in Kurdistan. In Greece the plan of the Temple at Eleusis had been finally established, and at the entrance of the Temple of Aesculapius at Epidaurus had been found a set of inscriptions recording in detail how certain miracles were worked.

The proceedings were concluded by a vote of thanks to the Chairman, moved by Mr. D. B. Monro, Provost of Oriel, and seconded by Mr. Henry Jackson.

BALANCE SHEET FOR THE YEAR ENDING MAY 31, 1884.

"THE JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES" ACCOUNT.

		£	s.	d.
1883-				
July 12.	To Clay & Co., Printing Vol. iii, Part 2	147	0	9
	" Century Company, Electros	4	0	9
	" Dickinson & Co., Paper Account	40	0	9
Oct. 2.	" Autotype Company	22	14	6
	" Kell, Lithographing and Printing	54	16	0
" 4.	" Praetorius, Drawing	1	10	0
" 5.	" Steinbock, (on account) Plates	60	0	0
Nov. 11.	" Typo, Etching Company	12	13	0
Dec. 13.	" Weller, Drawing and Lithographing	6	2	0
1884.				
Jan. 14.	" Du Jardin, for Plates	9	2	6
Mar. 31.	" Clay & Co., Printing Vol. iv, Part I	123	1	0
	" Drawing Account	10	10	0
Jan. 14.	" Steinbock, (Balance of Account) Plates	140	0	0
	" Autotype Company, for Plates	19	10	9
		£551	2	0

CASH STATEMENT.

		£	s.	d.
1883.				
May 30.	To Balance, per Statement	993	0	11
	" Dividends on Consols	12	18	7
1884.				
May 31.	" Members' Subscriptions	679	6	7
	" Library Subscriptions	96	12	0
		775	18	7
		£1,781	18	1
1883.				
July 12.	By Clay & Co., Sundries, Printing Account	14	7	10
	" Stationery, Postage, Advertising, &c., to June 1883	1	13	9
" 4.	" Consols	20	14	4
" 12.	" Petty Cash	105	0	0
Nov. 20.	" Rent of Rooms	9	18	8
1884.				
Jan. 14.	" Stationery, Postage, Advertising, &c., to Dec. 1883	12	10	0
	" Binding Account	4	0	6
Mar. 13.	" Rent of Rooms	12	10	0
" 31.	" Sundry Printing, Clay & Co.	2	9	6
April 1.	" Grant to Asia Minor Exploration Fund	50	0	0
	" W. S. W. Vaux (Librarian)	40	0	0
May 31.	" Balance of Journal Account	592	17	7
	" Cheque Book and Commission	901	0	8
	" Balance, at Bankers	901	0	8
	" Petty Cash	1	4	1
		£1,781	18	1
1884.				
June 1.	To Balance, at Bankers	901	0	8
"	" Petty Cash	1	4	1
		902	0	0

THE POEMS OF THE EPIC CYCLE.

IN an article published in the last volume of this Journal I endeavoured to show (1) that the extant fragments of the 'chrestomathy' of Proclus represent the Trojan part of the 'Epic Cycle' more completely than has been maintained by eminent scholars; and (2) that, on the other hand, they are less trustworthy than they appear to be as a source of knowledge of the so-called 'Cyclic' poems. That is to say, the notion of a considerable *lacuna* in Proclus' abstract is not borne out by a more thorough examination of the only extant manuscript. But that abstract does not always give a full or accurate account of the several poems from which the Epic Cycle was made up. And this incompleteness is found (1) when two of the poems dealt with the same part of the story—in which case the abstract leaves out one of the two versions altogether;—and also (2) when the incidents of a poem are not in harmony with the accepted mythological narrative. In the latter case the abstract gives the version which was recognised as historically true. We have, in short, an account, not of the original poems, but of so much of their contents as served for a continuous and complete history of the world.

It is difficult to determine whether these omissions and alterations were made in the poems themselves—so that the 'Epic Cycle' consisted (to some extent at least) of *extracts*—or only in the account of them given by Proclus. On the latter view—which is supported by the high authority of Welcker—the Epic Cycle would be little more than a *canon* or accredited list of the most important ancient epics.

I have indicated a preference for the opinion that the 'poems of the Epic Cycle' had themselves undergone some process of mutilation to fit them for their place in the poetical chronicle. But for the purpose of the inquiry now before us it is immaterial how this question is decided. It will be enough if we bear in mind that the portion of narrative assigned to each poem in the abstract of Proclus does not always represent the plan and argument of the original work; consequently that the continuous and consistent narrative of the abstract is not due to the ancient 'Cyclic' poets themselves. And with this notion of a strict chronological sequence in the matter of the original poems, we must dismiss from our minds the unfavourable view which it implies of their merit as works of art. It cannot be too clearly understood that the *scriptor cyclicus* of Horace has nothing to do with the ancient epic poets now in question.

THE CYPRIA.

The first of the poems which composed the Trojan part of the Epic Cycle was the *Cypria*. It was in eleven books, and was generally attributed to Stasinus of Cyprus, sometimes to Hegesias, or Hegesinus, of Salamis in Cyprus. The argument as given by Proclus is as follows:—

Zeus having consulted with Themis as to the lightening of the earth from the burden of its increasing multitudes, and being advised to bring about a great war, sends Discord to the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, and by means of the golden apple causes a quarrel between the three goddesses, Here, Athene, and Aphrodite. The victory of Aphrodite by the 'Judgment of Paris' leads to the voyage of Paris to Sparta, in which he is accompanied by Aeneas, the son of Aphrodite. The voyage is undertaken in spite of prophetic warnings from Helenus and Cassandra. On the return journey, according to Proclus' abstract, a storm was sent by Here, and Paris was driven out of his course as far as Sidon, which he took; but in the original poem, as we know from Herodotus (2. 117), he reached Troy in three days, with a fair wind and smooth sea. The story then returned to Sparta, and related the war of the Dioscuri with the Messenian twins, Idas and Lynceus, the death of Castor, and the alternate immortality granted by Zeus

to Castor and Pollux. Then come the preparations for the war. Menelaus goes for advice to Agamemnon, and then to Nestor, who relates the stories of Epopeus and the daughter of Lycus, of Oedipus, of the madness of Hercules, and of Theseus and Ariadne. They then make a circuit of Greece, and assemble the chiefs for the expedition against Troy. Ulysses, feigning madness to avoid serving, is detected by Palamedes. The fleet is mustered at Aulis in Bocotia, where the incident of the sparrows takes place, with the prophecy of Calchas founded upon it (*Il.* 2. 300 ff.). The Greeks then set sail, but land by mistake in Teuthrania, where they encounter the Mysians under Telephus. In this combat Telephus is wounded by Achilles. On leaving Teuthrania the fleet is scattered by a storm, and Achilles is cast on the island of Seyros, where he marries the daughter of Lycomedes. Telephus, on the advice of an oracle, comes to Argos, is cured of his wound by Achilles, and undertakes to serve as guide to the Greeks. The fleet is again assembled at Aulis, and this time we have the story of Iphigenia—ending, however, not with her death, but as in the version of the *Iphigenia in Tauris*. On the way to Troy Philoctetes is wounded by the serpent, and left behind on the island of Lemnos. Achilles quarrels with Agamemnon on a question of precedence at the banquet. On the Greeks landing in the Troad there is a battle in which Protesilaus is killed by Hector: then Achilles puts the Trojans to flight and slays Cycnus, son of Poseidon. Then follows the embassy mentioned in *Il.* 3. 205 ff.: then an attack on the walls of Troy (*τειχομαχία*): after which the Greeks ravage the Troad and take the smaller towns. Achilles desires to see Helen, and the meeting is brought about by Aphrodite and Thetis. He restrains the Greeks from returning home, and performs various exploits mentioned or implied in the *Iliad*, ending with the taking of Thebe and the division of spoil in which he obtains Briseis as his prize. Next comes the death of Palamedes, and the resolve of Zeus to aid the Trojans by withdrawing Achilles from the Greek side. Finally there is a catalogue of the Trojan allies.

The number of fragments given in Kinkel's edition is twenty-two (besides three doubtful references). About half of them are quotations, amounting in all to more than forty lines. The

fragments add something to our knowledge of the details of the poem, and they serve (with the important exception of the passage of Herodotus mentioned above) to confirm the outline given by Proclus. Thus the opening lines (fr. 1 Kinkel) describe the 'counsel of Zeus' for the relief of the too populous earth (*ἦν ὅτε μυρία φύλα κ.τ.λ.*). Two fragments (3 and 4) in Athenaeus probably describe Helen arraying herself for the judgment of Paris. Another in the same author (fr. 6) relates how Nemesis, the mother of Helen, was pursued by Zeus, and changed herself into many and various shapes to avoid him.

Several fragments (5, 7, 9, 14) belong to the episode of the Dioscuri: from one of them we learn that Lynceus was endowed with superhuman powers of sight, so that he could see from Taygetus over the whole Peloponnesus, and through the trunk of the oak in which the Dioscuri were hiding. Fr. 11 refers to the son born to Achilles in Scyros, and tells us that the name 'Pyrrhus,' which does not occur in Homer, was given by Lycomedes, the name 'Neoptolemus' by Phoenix. In fr. 16 we have the account given by the *Cypria* to explain how it happened that Chryseïs, being a native of Chryse, was taken by Achilles in the sack of Thebe (*Il.* 1. 369). Regarding the death of Palamedes fr. 18 related that he was drowned while fishing by Diomedes and Ulysses. There are also references in the fragments to the spear given by the gods to Peleus (fr. 2), the quarrel of Achilles and Agamemnon (fr. 13), the slaying of Protesilaus (fr. 14). There is also a notice (fr. 17) of a curious piece of mythology which does not appear at all in the argument of Proclus, viz. the story of Anius of Delos and his three daughters, called *Οἰνώ*, *Σπερμώ*, and *Ἐλαίς*. These names were given to them on account of their magical power of producing an infinite quantity of wine, seed (*i.e.* corn), and oil; so that once when the Greek army was threatened with famine, Agamemnon (on the advice of Palamedes) sent for them, and they came accordingly to Rhoeteum and fed the Greek army.

The 'purpose of Zeus to relieve the Trojans,' with which Proclus ends his abstract of the *Cypria*, was obviously intended to lead up to the opening lines of the *Iliad*, and in particular to the famous words in the fifth line—*Διὸς δ' ἐπέλειετο βουλή*. If so, the whole poem must have been composed as an introduc-

tion to the *Iliad*, like the *Ante-homerica* of the later epic poets. It may be doubted, however, whether this extreme subservience to Homer can be attributed to the original poet. He begins his work, as we have seen, with a 'purpose of Zeus' to bring about the war—

ὄφρα κενώσειεν θανάτῳ βάρος, οἳ δ' ἐνὶ Τροίῃ
 ἥρωες κτείνοντο, Διὸς δ' ἔτελείετο βουλή.

Here there is a no less evident echo of the words of the *Iliad*, but with the effect of putting a different meaning upon them. The question therefore arises—Is it likely that the author of the *Cypria* would *twice* make use of the notion of a purpose of Zeus, in both cases clearly pointing to the βουλή Διός of the *Iliad*, but involving two entirely different interpretations of that phrase? If not, we must suppose that the βουλή Διός placed at the end of the *Cypria* by Proclus does not belong to the original poem, but was introduced (like the expedition to Sidon) for the sake of agreement with Homer.

Of the plan and structure of the *Cypria* we learn something from the *Poetics* of Aristotle, where it is given as an example of the poems that have 'one hero, one time, and one action, consisting of many parts' (περὶ ἓνα καὶ περὶ ἓνα χρόνον καὶ μίαν πράξιν πολυμερῆ). The hero is evidently Paris; the main action is the carrying away of Helen (Ἑλένης ἀρπαγή). The 'one time' is more difficult to understand, in a poem which begins with the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, and comes down to a late period in the Trojan war. Possibly the time was shortened by the device of introducing the earlier part of the story in the form of an episode (as in the *Odyssey*), but of this there is no trace in our authorities. A further element of unity however is furnished by the agency of Aphrodite, which has very much the same prevailing influence over the course of events in the *Cypria* that the agency of Athene has in the *Odyssey*. This may be seen even in minor incidents, such as the visit of Achilles to Helen, and in the prominence given to Aeneas. The hero, accordingly, is the favourite of Aphrodite, just as the hero of the *Odyssey* is the favourite of Athene. We may gather, therefore, that the poem was characterised by a distinct *ethos*, or vein of moral feeling. On the other hand, it

is proved by the testimony of Aristotle that the *Cypria* had much less unity of plan than the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. It was not indeed one of the poems in which all the adventures of a hero are strung together, as in the later *Thestids* and *Heracleids* of which Aristotle speaks in another place (*Poet.* c. 8). But the several parts of the action had an independent interest and artistic value, such as we do not find in the Homeric poems: they were not so completely subordinated to the main action as to be lost in it. In support of this criticism Aristotle points to the fact (noticed in the previous article, see vol. iv. p. 317) that the story of the *Cypria* yielded a great many subjects for tragedies, whereas the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* did not lend themselves readily to this mode of treatment. Other reasons may have contributed to this result; it may be urged, for instance, that the battles and debates of Homer were beyond the resources of Greek stage machinery, and that most of the adventures of Ulysses are without interest of a tragic kind. But this need not affect the conclusion which Aristotle wishes to enforce, viz. the difference, in respect of unity of structure, between the *Cypria* and the Homeric poems. On such a matter his judgment can hardly be disputed. Moreover, it is confirmed by the argument of Proclus, and the fragments. The events which we there find in outline cover a space of several years, and are enacted in many places—the scene changing from Thessaly to Mt. Ida and Troy, then to Sparta, and back to Troy; then to Messenia, then over Greece and so to the meeting-place at Aulis; then to Mysia, Scyros, Argos, Aulis again, and so once more to the Troad. As regards the external unities of space and time, it is clear that the *Cypria* was formed on a different model from either of the Homeric poems.

Turning from the plan and structure of the *Cypria* to consider the details, we find in the first place, that there is clear evidence that the poem was composed with direct reference to the *Iliad*, to which it was to serve as an introduction. Thus the account of the βουλή Διός at the outset (fr. 1), as has been observed, is evidently founded upon the Homeric Διός δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή (*Il.* 1. 5), to which it gives a meaning which was certainly not intended by the poet. The story that when Thebe was taken by the Greeks Chryseis had come thither for a sacrifice to

Artemis (fr. 16) is clearly a device to reconcile an apparent contradiction in the first book of the *Iliad*. So the taking of Lyrnessus and Pedasus (fr. 15) is suggested by *Il.* 2. 690., 20. 92; the giving of a spear to Peleus at his marriage (fr. 2) by *Il.* 16. 140; the embassy to Troy by *Il.* 3. 205; the portents seen at Aulis by *Il.* 2. 301 ff. We might add the slaying of Protesilaus (fr. 14), the landing of Achilles in Scyros, and birth of Neoptolemus (fr. 11), and the incident of Philoctetes; but in these cases it is possible that the story was part of a legend which survived independently of Homer. The catalogue of the Trojan allies, however, must have been intended to supplement the list given in *Il.* 2. 816 ff., which is so much briefer than the catalogue of the Greek army. Such an enlarged roll would be the natural fruit of increased acquaintance with the non-Hellenic races of Asia Minor.

On the other hand, it is no less apparent that a large proportion of the incidents of the *Cypriu* belong to groups of legend unknown to Homer.

1. The train of events with which the poem opens — the purpose of depopulating the earth, the Apple of Discord, &c. — seems to be a post-Homeric creation. The only incident in the series to which there is an allusion in Homer is the Judgment of Paris, of whom it is said in *Il.* 24. 29, 30 —

ὃς νείκεσσε θεὰς ὅτε οἱ μέσσαυλον ἴκοντο,
τῆν δ' ἤνησ' ἢ οἱ πόρε μαχλοσύνην ἀλεγεινήν.

Aristarchus obelised the passage on the ground (among others) that *νείκεσσε* is inappropriate, since it does not mean 'decided against,' but 'scolded,' 'flouted.' This however would rather show that the lines belong to a different version of the incident; and the same thing is suggested by *ὅτε οἱ μέσσαυλον ἴκοντο*, and the ambiguous phrase *πόρε μαχλοσύνην*. We must imagine Paris visited in his shepherd's hut by the three goddesses, spurning the two first and welcoming Aphrodite. This, we may reasonably conjecture, was the local form of the legend. It is parallel in some respects to the legend of Anchises (given in the Homeric hymn to Aphrodite), and to other stories, told especially in Asia Minor, of 'gods coming down in the likeness of men.' It is evident that the ordinary

version of the Judgment of Paris is less simple, and might be created by the wish to fit it into the main narrative of the Trojan War. It should be added that the 24th book of the *Iliad* is probably later than the rest, and that in any case there is no hint in Homer that the action of Paris towards the goddesses had any connection with his expedition to Sparta. Everything, in short, tends to show that the story was recast in post-Homeric times, with the view of enhancing the importance of Aphrodite in the Trojan story.

2. The episode of the Dioscuri appears to be a piece of local Spartan or perhaps Messenian legend. The Messenian Twin Brethren, Idas and Lynceus, are unknown to Homer. The apotheosis of the Dioscuri is inconsistent with the language of the *Iliad* (3. 243 τὸν δ' ἤδη κάτεχεν φυσίζοος αἴα), and moreover belongs to a distinctly post-Homeric order of ideas.

3. The landing in Mysia, with the story of Telephus, has all the appearance of a graft upon the original story, probably derived from local Mysian tradition. The awkward expedient of a second muster of the fleet at Aulis was evidently made necessary by this interpolation. The miraculous healing of Telephus by Achilles is not in the manner of Homer, and the representation of him as guiding the fleet to the Troad is at variance with the *Iliad*, which assigns this service to Calchas.

4. The story of Iphigenia is non-Homeric. The daughters of Agamemnon, according to Homer (*Il.* 9. 145), are—

Χρυσόθεμις καὶ Λαοδίκη καὶ Ἰφιάνασσα·

Some later authorities supposed Iphigenia to be another name for Iphianassa, but the author of the *Cypria*, as we learn from the scholiast on Sophocles (*El.* 157), distinguished them, thus making four in all.¹ This may be regarded as an attempt to reconcile the account of Homer with the legend of the sacrifice of Iphigenia.

The version given in the *Cypria* (if we may trust the argument of Proclus) was that of the *Iphigenia in Tauris* of Euripides, according to which Iphigenia was not put to death,

¹ This is the meaning of the words ἢ ὡς ὁ τὰ Κύπρια ποιήσας τέσσαράς φησιν, Ἰφιγένειαν καὶ Ἰφιάνασσαν, *i.e.* 'counting Iphigenia and Iphianassa.'

With this punctuation it is unnecessary to emend as Elmsley proposed (reading δ' as διαφόρους, instead of the numeral τέσσαρας).

but was carried off by Artemis to be the priestess of her Taurian altar, and as such to be immortal. This form of the story is necessarily later than the Greek settlements on the northern coasts of the Euxine; possibly, however, it was not in the original text of the poem.

5. Cygnus, the 'Swan-hero,' son of Poseidon, is a non-Homeric figure. In later accounts he is invulnerable, and can only be despatched by being forced to leap into the sea. According to another version he is changed into a swan, like the *Schwan-ritter* of German legend. As the argument of Proclus merely says that he was killed by Achilles, we cannot tell how much of this marvellous character belongs to him in the *Cypria*. In any case he is a being of a fantastic kind, such as we might meet with in the adventures of Ulysses, but certainly not among the warriors who fought in the battles of the *Iliad*.

6. Palamedes is an important addition to the Homeric group of *dramatis personae*. In the *Cypria* he detects the feigned madness of Ulysses (Procl.), and is drowned while fishing by Ulysses and Diomedes (fr. 18). In later writers he appears as a hero of a new type, one of those who have benefited mankind by their inventions; and his fate thus acquires something of the interest of a martyrdom. As the enemy of Ulysses he represents the higher kind of intelligence, in contrast to mere selfish cunning; he is *sollertior isto sed sibi inutilior*, in the words which Ovid puts into the mouth of Ajax (*Metam.* 13. 37). It is impossible to say how far this view of the character of Palamedes was brought out in the ancient epic poem. The story of his death certainly assumed a much more highly-wrought and pathetic form, familiar to us from the reference to him in Virgil (*Æn.* 2. 81 ff.)—

quem falsa sub proditione Pelasgi
Insontem, infando indicio, quia bella vetabat,
Demisere neci; nunc cassum lumine lugent.

But the germ of all this, the contrast between the wisdom of Palamedes and the wisdom of Ulysses, with the consequent lowering of the character of Ulysses, is fairly to be traced to the *Cypria*. We must feel at least that the murder of Palamedes by Ulysses and Diomedes would be as impossible in Homer as it is in harmony with some later representations.

7. The prophecies in the *Cypria* deserve some notice. When Paris builds ships for his expedition, the consequences are foretold by Helenus. Again, before he sails he is warned by Cassandra, whose gift of prophecy is unknown to Homer. Telephus comes to Argos to be cured *κατὰ μαντείαν*. Finally, as Welcker pointed out, the prophecy of Nereus in Horace (*Od.* 1. 15) probably comes from the *Cypria*. The words—

Ingrato celeres obruit otio
Ventos

agree with the 'fair wind and smooth sea' of the quotation in Herodotus (2. 117). The passage from which this quotation came is omitted (as we have seen) in the argument of Proclus; hence we need not be surprised if the prophecy of Nereus is also unnoticed.

8. The statement that Helen was the daughter of Nemesis is peculiar to the *Cypria*. It may be connected, as Welcker thought, with the local worship of Nemesis in Attica. It is to be observed, however, that the author of the *Cypria* is fond of treating personifications of this kind as agents: compare the consultation of Themis, and the sending of Discord with the apple. Such figures occur in Homer, but are much more shadowy and impalpable. The notion of a 'purpose of Zeus' as the ground-work of the whole action shows the same tendency to put moral abstractions in the place of the simpler Homeric agencies.

The Protean changes of Nemesis when pursued by Zeus belong to a category already noticed as characteristic of the *Cypria*. Other examples are, the Apple of Discord, the healing of Telephus, the marvellous sight of Lynceus, the supernatural powers of the daughters of Anius. The notion of *magical* efficacy residing in certain persons or objects is one which in Homer is confined to the 'outer geography' of the *Odyssey*.

The attempt which has now been made to ascertain the relation between the *Cypria* and the Homeric poems has turned almost entirely upon points of agreement and difference between the *Cypria* and the *Iliad*. This however is only what was to be expected, since the *Cypria* and the *Odyssey* lie too far apart in respect of matter to furnish many points of comparison. Subject to this reservation the result seems to be to show, with cumulative and irresistible force, that between the

time of Homer and the time of the *Cypria* great additions had been made to the body of legends and traditions available for the purposes of epic poetry; that that increase was due, in a large measure at least, to the opening up of new local sources of legend; that concurrently with it a marked change had come over the tone and spirit of the stories; and finally, that all this change and development had taken place in spite of the fact that the author of the *Cypria* wrote under the direct influence of Homer, and with the view of furnishing an introduction to the events of the *Iliad*.

THE *AETHIOPIS* OF ARCTINUS.

As the *Iliad* was introduced by the *Cypria*, so it was continued in the *Aethiopsis* of Arctinus of Miletus, a poem in five books, of which Proclus gives the following argument:—

The Amazon queen Penthesilea, daughter of Ares, comes as an ally of Troy. After performing great deeds she is killed by Achilles, and duly buried by the Trojans. There was a rumour that Achilles in the moment of victory had been seized by a passion for the fallen Amazon, and on this ground he is assailed in the Greek assembly by Thersites. He kills Thersites, and the deed provokes a quarrel in the army; thereupon Achilles sails to Lesbos, and having duly sacrificed to Apollo, Artemis, and Leto, is purified from the homicide by Ulysses. Then Memnon, son of Eos, arrives to aid the Trojans, with a panoply made by Hephaestus, and Thetis reveals to her son what the fortune of this new ally will be. Memnon slays Antilochus, and is slain by Achilles; thereupon Eos obtains for him the gift of immortality. In the rout of the Trojans which ensues, Achilles enters the city after them, and is killed in the Scaean gate by Paris and Apollo. His body is brought back after a stubborn fight by Ajax, who carries it to the ships, whilst Ulysses keeps off the Trojans. Then follows the burial of Antilochus, and Thetis, with the Muses and the Nereids, performs a lamentation for her son. When he has been placed on the funeral pyre she carries him off to the island Leuce. The Greeks having raised the sepulchral mound hold funeral games, and a quarrel arises between Ajax and Ulysses for the succession to the arms of Achilles.

The tablet known as the *Tabula Veronensis*¹ (now in the Louvre) gives the following brief summary of the *Aethiopsis*:—
 Πενθεσίλῃα Ἰαμαζῶν παραγίνεται. Ἀχιλλεὺς Πενθεσίλῃαν ἀποκτείνει. Μέμνων Ἀντίλοχον ἀποκτείνει. Ἀχιλλεὺς Μέμνονα ἀποκτείνει. ἐν ταῖς Σκαιαῖς πύλαις Ἀχιλλεὺς ὑπὸ Πάριδος ἀναιρεῖται. It seems very probable that these five sentences answer to the five books into which we know that the poem was divided. If so, the argument may be distributed somewhat as follows:—

I. Arrival of Penthesilea—her ἀριστεία.

II. Slaying of Penthesilea—interval of truce, occupied on the Trojan side by her burial, on the Greek side by the Thersites-scene and the withdrawal of Achilles.

III. Arrival and ἀριστεία of Memnon—he slays Antilochus.

IV. Achilles returns to the field, slays Memnon, and puts the Trojans to flight.

V. Death of Achilles in the gate—battle for the recovery of his body—θρῆνος and apotheosis of Achilles—funeral games and contest for his arms.

From the statement of the scholiast on Pindar (*Isth.* 3. 53), that according to the *Aethiopsis* Ajax killed himself about dawn, it would appear that the story was brought down a little further than Proclus gives it. The reason for the omission would be that the contest for the arms and death of Ajax fell within the story of the *Little Iliad*.²

The Townley scholia on the *Iliad* contain the statement, that in the place of the line which ends the poem in all MSS.,

ὡς οἳ γ' ἀμφίεπον τάφον Ἐκτορος ἵπποδάμοιο

some copies had the two lines,

ὡς οἳ γ' ἀμφίεπον τάφον Ἐκτορος, ἦλθε δ' Ἰαμαζῶν
 Ἄρηος θυγάτηρ μεγαλήτορος ἀνδροφόνοιο.

These lines are evidently meant to introduce the story of the *Aethiopsis*, and were believed by Welcker to be the opening words of the poem itself (*Ep. Cycl.* 1¹. p. 199). Others, as

¹ Welcker, *Ep. Cycl.* ii. p. 524; Jahn, *Bilderchroniken*, Tab. iii. D'.

² The quotation of eight lines as-

signed by Kinkel to the *Aethiopsis* (fr. 3 in his edition), seems to me to belong to the Ἰλίου πέρις; see p. 28.

Bernhardy, have thought that they were framed for the purpose of connecting the two poems in a collection or compilation, such as the Epic Cycle. The latter view is probably nearer the truth. There is a very similar passage of four lines at the end of the *Theogony* of Hesiod :—

αὐται μὲν θνητοῖσι παρ' ἀνδράσιν εὐνηθεῖσαι
 ἀθάνατοι γείναντο θεοῖς ἐπιείκελα τέκνα·
 νῦν δὲ γυναικῶν φύλον αἰείσατε, ἡδνέπειαι
 Μοῦσαι Ὀλυμπιάδες κούραι Διὸς ἀγχιόχοιο.

These lines are in the form of a transition to the lost Hesiodic *Κατάλογος Γυναικῶν*, and accordingly they have been thought by some commentators to be in fact the first four lines of that poem. Two MSS., however, omit them altogether, and several others omit the last two of the four, thus leaving the clause *αὐται μὲν κ.τ.λ.* without an apodosis. Comparing these facts with the case of the two lines at the end of the *Iliad*, we see that the circumstances are almost exactly parallel. The single line which stands in our copies is incomplete. Like all the sentences in Homer that begin with *ὡς οἷ γε*, and the like, it is the first half of a formula of transition. The Townley scholia have preserved the original form of the couplet. The difference between the two cases is that no MSS. of the *Iliad* (so far as our *apparatus criticus* extends) omit the formula altogether. It only remains, then, to consider the probable source and date of transitions of this kind between two different poems. The opinion that the lines in the *Theogony* were the beginning of another Hesiodic poem is rejected by Marckscheffel (*Hesiodi &c. fragmenta*, p. 100). He is doubtless right, and in any case the two lines of the Townley scholia cannot have been the original opening of the *Aethiopsis*. Apart from the silence of the scholia, and the difficulty of understanding why the lines should ever have appeared in manuscripts of the *Iliad*, it is impossible to suppose that the *Aethiopsis* began with words which would be meaningless unless the hearer remembered the end of the *Iliad*. This would be something quite different from the general knowledge of and subordination to Homer which we trace in the 'Cyclic' poets. Both in the *Iliad* and in the *Theogony* the lines in dispute have the appearance of a sort of *catchword* added to prepare the reader for the next poem, as

in printed books the heading of a chapter used to be placed at the foot of the preceding page. Such catchwords imply of course that the poems were read in a recognised order. The habit of inserting them may have begun in the Alexandrine age, when the chief works in each branch of literature were collected and arranged in a 'canon' or accepted list. After the formula had been confused with the text of the author, it was an easy further step to leave out the latter part of it, as being wholly irrelevant to the subject of the poem.

In passing from the *Cypria* to the *Aethiopsis* we are struck at once with the greater simplicity and unity of the poem. The action falls within nearly the same limits of space and time as that of the *Iliad*. There are two days of battle, separated by an interval which need not be supposed to be a long one. The second battle is quickly followed by the funeral games, with which the concluding events are immediately connected. The hero of the poem is Achilles; the main event is his death, and to this the rest of the action, as far as we can judge, is kept in due subordination.

While the plan of the *Aethiopsis* may claim to be of the Homeric type, the proportion of incidents founded upon references in Homer is comparatively small. The death of Achilles takes place as foreshadowed in the prophecy of Hector (*Il.* 22. 359, 360) :—

ἦματι τῷ ὅτε κέν σε Πάρις καὶ Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων
ἔσθλόν ἔόντ' ὀλέσωσιν ἐνὶ Σκαιῆσι πύλῃσι.

This, however, is a circumstance which may well have been part of the ancient myth, anterior to the *Iliad* itself. Antilochus is said in the *Odyssey* (4. 187), to have been slain by the 'son of Eos,' but there is nothing in Homer to connect Memnon with the Ethiopians. The Amazons, again, are mentioned in the *Iliad*, but (like the Ethiopians of the *Odyssey*) they belong to a distant and fanciful region. The funeral games held in honour of Achilles, and the lament for him performed by Thetis and the attendant Muses and Nereids, are described in the last book

of the *Odyssey* (24. 36-97). The burning of the body, mentioned in the same passage of the *Odyssey* (24. 71-79), was replaced in the *Aethiopis* by a species of apotheosis in harmony with later religious and national feeling.¹

These are perhaps the only cases in which Arctinus can be thought to have directly borrowed the matter of the *Aethiopis* from Homer. Nevertheless the whole course of the events on which the poem is founded is closely parallel to the story of the *Iliad*. The hero is the same, and he again quarrels with the Greeks and leaves them for a time. Thetis has the same part as in the *Iliad*—that of consoling her son and warning him of the future. Antilochus apparently takes the place of Patroclus as the friend of Achilles. Like Patroclus, he is the warrior whose fate comes next to that of Achilles in tragic interest, whose death at the hands of the Trojan champion is immediately avenged by Achilles himself. Achilles, again, when he has pursued the Trojans into the city, is killed by Apollo and Paris; as Patroclus, drawn too far in a like victorious course, was killed by Apollo and Hector. The contest which follows for the recovery of the body of Achilles is a repetition of the contest in the seventeenth book over Patroclus. Compare especially the passage (*Il.* 17. 715 ff.) where Menelaus and Meriones raise the body aloft, while the two Ajaxes keep the Trojans at bay, with the similar parts taken in the *Aethiopis* by Ajax and Ulysses respectively. The armour of Achilles has its counterpart in the armour of Memnon, which is equally the work of Hephaestus. Achilles gives up the body of Penthesilea, as he gave up Hector to Priam. There is once more a scene with Thersites, and the battles of the poem are wound up by a *θρῆνος*, a funeral, and funeral games.

In these points we have to recognise not so much borrowing as *imitation*, that is to say, a close adherence to the *motifs* and artistic forms of the *Iliad*. It has been already pointed out that the plan of the *Aethiopis* is essentially Homeric in type, and this observation may now be extended to the characters and incidents. The ancient tradition that Arctinus was a

¹ It will be remembered here that the twenty-fourth book of the *Odyssey* is very commonly thought to be later than the bulk of the poem. But the

discrepancy noticed in the text (with regard to the body of Achilles) seems to show that it is at least older than the *Aethiopis*.

disciple of Homer ('Ομήρου μαθητής, Suid.), is fully borne out by what we know thus far of his work.

It may be objected here that the correspondences now insisted upon between the *Aethiopsis* and the *Iliad* go to show that the two works belong to the same age or school, but not that the *Iliad* is the original of which the other is an imitation. This defect may be supplied by an examination of the various post-Homeric elements in the *Aethiopsis*:—

1. As has been already noticed, the episode of the Amazons is unknown to Homer.¹

2. The episode of Memnon and the Ethiopians is also substantially post-Homeric, though the *Odyssey* speaks of Nestor as weeping for his son Antilochus (*Od.* 4. 187)—

ὄν ῥ' Ἡοῦς ἔκτεινε φαεινῆς ἀγλαὸς υἱός.

But the Ethiopians of the *Odyssey* are far too remote from the known world of Homer to have taken part in the Trojan War. Both the Amazons and the Ethiopians are nations of a fabulous type that we do not meet with in the *Iliad* at all. Their appearance in the *Aethiopsis* is evidently due to an inclination towards the romantic and marvellous, of which several examples have been already noticed in the *Cypria*.

3. The carrying away of Achilles to the island of Leuce is an incident which reminds us of the death of Sarpedon in the *Iliad* (16. 450, 667), but the gift of immortality is new. It is connected with the custom of hero-worship, the absence of which is so distinctive a mark of the Homeric age. The choice of Leuce as the abode of Achilles is also significant. It was an island in the Euxine opposite the mouth of the Danube, and in historical times we find the worship of Achilles widely spread on the neighbouring coasts. Thus Alcaeus addresses him as presiding hero of Scythia,² and Herodotus (4. 55) describes the strip of land called Ἀχιλλήϊος δρόμος near the mouth of the Borysthenes. This diffusion of Greek traditions and Greek religious ideas must have been mainly brought about by the numerous colonies of Miletus, which

¹ Strabo (xii. 24, p. 552) speaks as if it were an established fact that the Amazons took no part in the Trojan war. He was probably unacquainted

with the poems of Arctinus: see the remarks on p. 36.

² Ἀχιλλεῦ δ' τῆς Σκυθικῆς νέμεις (Alc. fr. 49).

occupied the coasts of the Euxine in the early prosperous times of Ionia; it is therefore no accidental coincidence that a poet of Miletus should be the earliest witness of the fact. It has been doubted, indeed, whether the Leuce of the poet is the real island afterwards so called. According to the received chronology the period of Milesian colonisation is rather later than Arctinus. The original Leuce may have been purely mythical, the 'island of Light,' like the Elysian plain in the *Odyssey*. The name would naturally be attached in course of time to a real place, especially a place in the centre of a region over which the worship of the new hero extended. If we accept this view, which however is only necessary on the assumption that Arctinus is of the eighth century B.C., and therefore anterior to the Milesian settlements, the evidence of the *Aethiopsis* is transferred to Miletus itself. The mention of Leuce will then serve at least to connect the *Aethiopsis* with the time when the Ionian trading cities, of which Miletus was chief, had begun to adopt the new religious practices that grew up, after the Homeric age, in honour of the national heroes.

4. The immortality granted to Memnon is a further exemplification of the new ideas. It is true that two similar instances are found in our text of the *Odyssey*, viz., the immortality of Menelaus in the Elysian plain (*Od.* 4.563), and the apotheosis of Heracles (*Od.* 11. 601). The latter however is almost certainly spurious, since it is inconsistent with all that is said of Heracles elsewhere in Homer. The passage about Menelaus may also be an interpolation; in any case it stands alone, and the *Iliad* (as we see especially from the case of Sarpedon) shows no trace of the notion.

5. Another incident of a post-Homeric kind is the purification of Achilles from the guilt of homicide, after sacrifice to Apollo, Artemis, and Leto. There are references in Homer to compensation paid to the relatives of the slain man, but never to any purification by means of ritual, nor is Apollo ever represented as deliverer from guilt (*καθάριστος*), which afterwards became one of his most prominent characters. The whole idea of *pollution* as a consequence of wrong-doing is foreign to Homer.

It seems to follow from these considerations that the *Aethiopsis* of Arctinus, like the *Cypria*, was a work of considerably later

date than the *Iliad*. As to its relation to the *Odyssey* the evidence is (in the nature of the case) too scanty to justify a definite conclusion; and while it is apparent that the *Aethiopis* was materially different from the *Cypria* in point of artistic structure, and probably in style and spirit, we cannot but see on the one hand that it was influenced in the same degree by the example and authority of Homer, on the other hand that it showed equally decisive traces of change and progress, both in external circumstances and in moral and religious ideas.

THE *LITTLE ILIAD*.

The abstract of the *Little Iliad* given by Proclus represents it as a poem in four books, which related the events of the Trojan War from the award of the arms of Achilles to the bringing of the Wooden Horse into the city. The original poem, as was shown in the former article (vol. iv. p. 318), brought the story down to the departure of the Greeks, and thus came into competition with the Ἰλίου πέρσις (*Sack of Troy*) of Arctinus. Proclus accordingly passes over the latter part of the *Little Iliad*—either because it was not taken into the Epic Cycle, or (on Welcker's view) because his object was to give the series of events rather than the contents of the different poems. The want is supplied in great measure by the statement of Aristotle (already quoted) about the tragedies taken from the *Little Iliad*, and still more by the passage in Pausanias (x. 25—27) describing the celebrated paintings by Polygnotus in the *lesche* at Delphi. These paintings represented scenes from the capture of Troy, and we are expressly told by Pausanias that in them Polygnotus followed the account of the *Little Iliad*. From this source we learn more of the details of the poem than is known of any other part of the Epic Cycle.

The *Little Iliad* was generally ascribed to Lesches of Mitylene (or Pyrrha), but by some to Thestorides of Phocaea, by others (among whom was the historian Hellanicus of Lesbos) to Cinaethon of Sparta, by others to Diodorus of Erythrae.¹ There was

¹ C. Robert *Bild und Lied* (p. 226) points out that the authority of Hellanicus tells strongly against Lesches. Had there been an old tradition of the

also a story (like the one told of Stasinus and the *Cypria*) that Homer was himself the author, and gave it to Thestorides of Phocaea in return for lodging and maintenance (*Ps. Hdt. Vit. Hom.*, § 15 ff.).

Of the ten tragedies said by Aristotle to be founded upon episodes of the *Little Iliad*, the first six cover the same ground as Proclus' abstract of the poem. The order of the titles, too, as they stand in the Aristotelian list agrees exactly with the order of events as given by Proclus. The account of Proclus therefore is verified by the high authority of Aristotle, down to the point at which Proclus—or the compiler of the Epic Cycle—deserted the *Little Iliad* for the *Iliupersis* of Arctinus. In the earlier part of the poem, accordingly, the incidents were as follows:—

(1) The *Judgment of the Arms* (κρίσις ὀπλων). The arms, by the influence of Athene, are adjudged to Ulysses; the madness and suicide of Ajax follow.

(2) The *Philoctetes*. Ulysses having taken Helenus prisoner, and obtained from him an oracle about the capture of Troy, Philoctetes is brought from Lemnos by Diomedes, is healed by Machaon, and kills Paris. The dead body of Paris is treated with indignity by Menelaus, then given up to the Trojans and buried. Deiphobus becomes the husband of Helen.

(3) The *Neoptolemus*. Ulysses brings Neoptolemus from Scyros and gives him the arms of Achilles. The shade of Achilles appears to him.

(4) The *Eurypylus*. Eurypylus, the son of Telephus, now comes as a fresh ally of the Trojans. After doing great deeds he is slain by Neoptolemus. The Trojans are now closely besieged, and the Wooden Horse is made by Epeius, under the guidance of Athene.

(5) The *πτωχεία*. Ulysses maltreats himself, and enters Troy in beggar's disguise. He is recognised by Helen, with whom he confers regarding the capture of the city, and fights his way back to the camp.

(6) The *Λάκαιναί*. The Palladium of Troy is carried off by Ulysses and Diomedes.¹ The Greeks then man the Wooden

Lesbian origin of the *Little Iliad*, Helanicus as a Lesbian would probably have given it his support. It is worth notice that the poem is ascribed to

authors belonging to all the great divisions of the Hellenic race.

¹ We have no express statement as to the subject of the *Λάκαιναί*, but there

Horse with the chief warriors and make their feigned retreat, the Wooden Horse is taken into the city, and great rejoicings are held by the Trojans over their fancied deliverance.

The remaining plays mentioned by Aristotle are :—

(7) The *Sack of Troy* (Ἰλίου πέρσις).

(8) The *Departure of the Greeks* (ἀπόπλους), which is also the last incident in the *Iliupersis* of Arctinus.

(9) The *Sinon*—doubtless founded on the same story as is given in the argument of the *Iliupersis*, and with full detail in the *Aeneid*.

(10) The *Troades*, in all probability the extant play of the name, which turns upon events that immediately followed the capture.

It is worthy of notice that the two last plays are out of their chronological order, since they turn upon subordinate incidents belonging to the subject of the seventh, the *Sack of Troy*. This is not the only indication that they stand on a different footing from the rest—that they are of the nature of an after-thought. Aristotle begins by saying that there were ‘more than eight’ plays taken from the *Little Iliad*. We may gather that he had eight in his mind that were clearly taken from the poem, besides others that had been more or less altered in the process of fitting them for the stage.

About twenty lines of the *Little Iliad* survive, besides numerous references. The opening lines were—

Ἴλιον ἀείδω καὶ Δαρδανίην ἔϋπωλον,
ἧς πέρι πολλὰ πάθον Δαναοὶ θεράποντες Ἄρηος.

It was therefore an *Iliad* in the proper sense of the term. The subject was the fall of Troy, and the various episodes were necessary steps towards that end.

The next in the series of quotations (fr. 2) has the interest of being referred to by the poet Aristophanes, in a passage of the *Knights* (1056). It comes from the first part of the poem, the *Judgment of the Arms*. According to the *Little Iliad* the Greeks, on the advice of Nestor, sent spies to listen under the walls of Troy for some saying that would enable them to decide

is no room for doubt. The play is evidently named from the Chorus, which consisted of the Spartan maidens in the service of Helen.

the quarrel. The spies heard the Trojan maidens disputing on the question at issue. One said that Ajax was by far the bravest—

*Αἴας μὲν γὰρ ἄειρε καὶ ἔκφερε δῆϊοτήτος
ἦρω Πηλεΐδην, οὐδ' ἤθελε δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς.*

To which another answered, by the inspiration of Athene—

*πῶς ἐπεφωνήσω ; πῶς οὐ κατὰ κόσμον εἶπες ;
καί κε γυνὴ φέροι ἄχθος, ἐπεὶ κεν ἀνὴρ ἐπιθείη
ἄλλ' οὐκ ἂν μαχέσαιτο.*

These words were reported to the Greek assembly, and the decision given accordingly in favour of Ulysses. The last line and a half are actually quoted in the text of Aristophanes; the rest comes from the scholiast on the passage. The *Little Iliad* is also quoted (fr. 3) for the statement that owing to the anger of Agamemnon the body of Ajax was placed in the coffin without being duly burned.

Two lines (fr. 4) relate how Achilles was driven by a storm to the island of Scyros. This is evidently to introduce the bringing of Neoptolemus. The words describing the spear of Achilles (fr. 5) may belong to the same part of the story.

Four lines (fr. 6) are quoted from the history of a famous golden vine, which the author of the *Little Iliad*—differing somewhat from Homer—represented as having been given by Zeus to Laomedon by way of compensation for the loss of his son Ganymede :

*ἄμπελον, ἣν Κρονίδης ἔπορέν οἱ παιδὸς ἄποινα,
χρυσείην φύλλοισιν ἀγανοῖσι κομώσαν
βότρυσί θ' οὐς Ἥφαιστος ἐπασκῆσας Διὶ πατρὶ
δῶχ', ὁ δὲ Λαομέδοντι πόρεν Γανυμήδεος ἀντί.*

These four lines probably come from the episode of Eurypylos. The vine appears to be referred to in the *Odyssey* (11. 521 ff.), where Ulysses relates how Eurypylos son of Telephus fell, 'and many Ceteians were slain around him, all because of a woman's gift' (*γυναίων εἵνεκα δώρων*). The scholiasts on this passage tell us, on the authority of the ancient historian Acusilaus, that Priam sent a golden vine to Astyoche the mother of Eurypylos, and thus persuaded her to send her

son to the aid of the Trojans. This explanation is borne out by *Od.* 15. 247, where the same thing is said of Amphiaraus,—

ἀλλ' ὄλετ' ἐν Θήβησι γυναιῶν εἴνεκα δῶρον,

that is to say, he was forced to take part in the war of Thebes, in which he fell, because of the necklace given to his wife Eriphyle. If then the golden vine given to Astyoche was the same as that which Laomedon received from Zeus, it becomes easy to understand how the four lines in question came into the episode of Eurypylos. The poet of the *Little Iliad* had to relate the story of Priam sending the ornament as a bribe to Astyoche, and was naturally led to give its history in a short digression (after the manner of the *σκήπτρον παράδοσις* of *Il.* 2. 101–108). On this view we can almost complete the fragment. The next line would be something like—

αὐτὰρ Λαομέδων Πριάμῳ λίπε . . .

and the apodosis (which is required by the grammatical form of the passage) must have said, ‘this vine, then, Priam now gave to Astyoche, mother of Eurypylos.’ The poetical value of a parenthesis of this kind is evident. It must have heightened the pathetic effect of the story to represent Priam, in the extremity of his need, giving away one of the great heirlooms of the royal house to buy the alliance of the Mysian king.

Among the deeds of Eurypylos was the slaying of Machaon (fr. 7). Other details to be added to this part of the narrative are the wounding of Ulysses by Theas (fr. 8), and the name Anticlus in the list of the warriors who were in the Wooden Horse (fr. 10). The scholars who sought to determine the exact date of the capture were aided by the mention of a full moon (fr. 11)—

νῦξ μὲν ἔην μέσση, λαμπρὴ δ' ἐπέτελλε σελήνη.

The line comes from the description of Sinon giving the preconcerted signal to the Greek army.

The remaining fragments (12–19) relate to the final book and the division of the spoil. The picturesque incident of Menelaus letting fall his sword at the sight of Helen, referred to by Aristophanes (*Lysistr.* 155), came from this part of the *Little Iliad* (fr. 16). A quotation of five lines (fr. 18) relates

that Neoptolemus obtained Andromache as his prize, and threw the young Astyanax from the wall of Troy. Pausanias adds that Aeneas also was given to Neoptolemus, and that the death of Astyanax was the act of Neoptolemus alone, not authorised by the decree of the army. Other incidents of more or less interest are derived from the chapters of Pausanias already mentioned (x. 25-27). From this source we learn that according to the *Little Iliad* (fr. 15) King Priam was not killed by Neoptolemus as he clung to the altar of his palace (as in Virgil), but at the door. Helicaon, son of Antenor, when wounded in the night battle was recognised by Ulysses, and his life saved (fr. 13). Aethra, the mother of Theseus, who was one of the attendants of Helen, made her way to the Greek camp, and was recognised by her grandsons Demophon and Acamas; into whose hands Agamemnon, having first obtained the consent of Helen, delivered her free from her long bondage (fr. 17). Ajax, son of Oileus, was represented as taking an oath to purge himself of the sacrilege which he had committed in tearing Cassandra from the altar of Athene so that the image of the goddess was dragged after her (Paus. x. 26, 1). Besides these there are various details, such as form the staple of the minor Homeric battles. Meges is wounded by Admetus, Lycomedes by Agenor (fr. 12); Admetus is slain by Philoctetes, Coroebus by Diomedes, Axion by Eurypylus (fr. 15); Astynous is struck down by Neoptolemus (fr. 14), and Eioneus and Agenor also fall to him (fr. 15). In the *Little Iliad* the wife of Aeneas is named Eurydice (as also in the *Cypria*)—not Creusa.

Such, then, were the multifarious events and personages of which the story of the *Little Iliad* was composed. For the plan of the poem and the degree of artistic unity which it possessed we must recur to the piece of Aristotelian criticism already quoted in reference to the *Cypria*. The *Little Iliad*, like the *Cypria*, is said by Aristotle to be about one person (περὶ ἓνα), one time, and one action consisting of many parts (περὶ μίαν πράξιν πολυμερῆ). The 'one action' is evidently the taking of Troy. The 'parts' of which it consists are the subordinate events, such as the arrival of Neoptolemus, the healing and return of Philoctetes, the theft of the Palladium. Each of these parts is necessary to the main action, but is also a story with a

interest of its own, capable of furnishing the subject of an independent work; whereas in Homer the different episodes have not this independent character; their interest lies in their relation to the whole, and is lost when they are detached from it. The 'one hero' of the *Little Iliad* is somewhat less obvious; but a review of the chief incidents leaves no doubt that Ulysses holds that place. The poem begins with his victory over Ajax, which means that he is now acknowledged by the Greeks as their greatest warrior; and he is the chief actor, or at least the chief adviser, in most of the other affairs. His character (as in Homer) is that of the champion of stratagem and adventure; and as such he is contrasted with warriors of the type of Achilles and Ajax. With a hero of this stamp we should naturally assume that the poem was of a comparatively light and cheerful cast; and this impression is amply confirmed by the details, so far as they are known. Such scenes as the debate of the Trojan maidens on the wall (in the ὄπλων κρίσις), or Menelaus letting fall his sword at the sight of Helen, have an unmistakable air of comedy. This will be brought out still further when we come to compare the *Little Iliad* with the treatment of the same narrative by Arctinus.

The *Little Iliad* is distinguished among the Cyclic poems by the large proportion of matter which may be regarded as directly derived from Homer. Thus, to take the first five episodes in Aristotle's list—

(1) The *Judgment of the Arms* is described in *Od.* 11. 543-562. It has been noticed above (in speaking of the *Acthiopsis*, p. 15) that the representation of Ajax carrying the body of Achilles, while Ulysses covered the retreat, is apparently taken from the battle over Patroclus in the 17th book of the *Iliad*: compare especially vv. 717-719, where Ajax says, addressing Menelaus—

ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν καὶ Μηριόνης ὑποδύντε μάλ' ὄκα
νεκρὸν αἰείραντες φέρετ' ἐκ πόνου· αὐτὰρ ὄπισθεν
νοῖ μαχησόμεθα Τρωσίν τε καὶ Ἐκτορι δίῳ.

The rescue of Achilles is also referred to in the *Odyssey* (5. 310). The fanciful story of the spies overhearing the words of the

Trojan maidens seems to be contrived to give a meaning to *Od.* 11. 547—

παῖδες δὲ Τρώων δίκασαν καὶ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη,

a line of which other explanations were current (see p. 35).

(2) The bringing of *Philoctetes* from Lemnos is alluded to in *Il.* 2. 718, and his presence with the army is implied in *Od.* 8. 219.

(3) *Neoptolemus* is mentioned in *Il.* 19. 326, as in Scyros: his coming to Troy in *Od.* 11. 506 ff.

(4) His victory over *Eurypylus* in *Od.* 11. 506 ff.

(5) The *πτωχεία*, with the meeting between Ulysses and Helen, is sketched in *Od.* 4. 240–264.

Again, the capture of Troy by means of the Wooden Horse was told in the song of Demodocus, *Od.* 8. 492 ff. Anticlus as the name of one of the heroes in the Wooden Horse (fr. 10) occurs in the story told in *Od.* 4. 285. That Deiphobus became the husband of Helen seems to be implied in *Od.* 4. 276., 8. 517. The recognition of Helicaon son of Antenor by Ulysses (fr. 13) is suggested by *Il.* 3. 207 ff., where Antenor is said to have entertained Ulysses and Menelaus. It is an example of *ξενία*, like the meeting of Diomedes and Glaucus. Coroebus coming as a suitor for the hand of Cassandra (fr. 16) seems to be a repetition of Othryoneus (*Il.* 13. 364)—

ὅς ῥα νέου πολέμοιο μετὰ κλέος εἰλήλουθεν,
ἤττε δὲ Πριάμοιο θυγατρῶν εἶδος ἀρίστην
Κασσάνδρην.

The death of Astyanax, as it is related in fr. 18—

παῖδα δ' ἔλῶν ἐκ κόλπου εὐπλοκάμοιο τιθήνης
ρίψε ποδὸς τεταγὼν ἀπὸ πύργου,

is suggested by the words of Andromache in *Il.* 24. 734—

ἢ τις Ἀχαιῶν
ρίψει χειρὸς ἐλῶν ἀπὸ πύργου, λυγρὸν ὄλεθρον.

The sacrilege of Ajax son of Oileus may have been suggested by *Od.* 4. 502, where his death is connected with the hatred of Athene: cp. the reference to the anger of Athene as the cause of the disasters of the return, *Od.* 3. 135.

Of the additions made by the *Little Iliad* to the Homeric narrative the following are of interest:—

(1) The Palladium of Troy is unknown to Homer. It has been already observed more than once that objects endowed with magical virtue are not Homeric. It would be especially unlike Homer to make the fate of a city depend upon anything of the kind.

(2) Sinon is not one of the Homeric *dramatis personae*, if we may argue from the silence of the *Odyssey*.

(3) Aethra, the mother of Theseus, was said to have been carried off by the Dioscuri in their invasion of Attica. Accordingly in the *Little Iliad* she is in bondage to Helen, and is set free by her grandsons Demophon and Acamas, as is related in the passage of Pausanias quoted above (fr. 17). The only apparent trace of this in Homer is in *Il.* 3. 144, where the two attendants of Helen are—

Αἴθρη Πιτθῆος θυγάτηρ, Κλυμένη τε βοῶπις.

It is impossible however to suppose that the poet of the *Iliad* knew the story of Aethra. There is no trace in Homer of acquaintance with the group of legend to which the story belongs. The two sons of Theseus are not among the warriors of the *Iliad*, and the few references to Theseus himself are probably interpolations. Even supposing Theseus to be known to Homer, he belongs to an earlier generation than the heroes of the *Iliad*, and the chronological difficulty of bringing his mother into the story of Troy is manifest. Hence, as Aristarchus pointed out, we have to choose between two suppositions. Either the line is an interpolation, inserted to suit the story of Aethra; or it is genuine, and the coincidence of name is accidental. Considering the freedom with which Homer introduces unimportant proper names into his descriptions, the latter seems the more probable alternative. It might seem, indeed, that the whole story of Aethra was based on the line of Homer: but Aethra, as the name of the mother of Theseus, more probably belongs to the local tradition. Naturally the later poets who found the name in Homer took advantage of it in order to find a place for the Attic heroes in the main body of epic narrative. Thus the story, as told in the *Little Iliad* (and also, as we shall see, in the *Iliupersis* of

Arctinus), is an attempt to connect the Trojan war with the local Attic mythology,—a mythology which was singularly late in finding its way into literature.¹

Besides these we find only a few such matters as the slaying of Machaon by Eurypylos (fr. 7), the slaying of Priam (fr. 15), the division of the spoil in which Andromache and Aeneas fall to Neoptolemus (fr. 18), the name Eurydice for the wife of Aeneas (fr. 19), the incident of Menelaus and Helen (fr. 16), with the minor incidents of the night-battle.

In style and character the *Little Iliad* followed the *Odyssey* rather than the *Iliad*. The spirit of adventure which runs through it, especially in the earlier part, is clearly inspired by the picture of Ulysses in the *Odyssey*. In the *Iliad*, indeed (with the marked exception of the Doloneia), this side of his character is not brought out. He is wise and eloquent, but hardly adventurous. On the other hand it is the most prominent feature in the Doloneia (which is almost certainly later than the rest of the *Iliad*): and so doubtless in the *πτωχεία*, the theft of the Palladium, and other parts of the *Little Iliad*. On the whole it would seem that if we imagine the *Little Iliad* as a poem of no great length,—there were only four books according to Proclus,—consisting of episodes in the manner of the Doloneia, we shall not be far from the truth.

THE *ILIUPERISIS* OF ARCTINUS.

According to Proclus the *Iliupersis* or 'Sack of Ilium' in the Epic Cycle was a poem in two books, the work of Arctinus of Miletus. The contents were as follows:—

The Trojans surround the Wooden Horse, and hold anxious debate. Some are for throwing it from the height of the city-wall, or burning it up: others say that it must be consecrated as an offering to Athene, and this opinion at length prevails. They then give themselves up to rejoicing over their deliverance.

¹ In the bronze figure of the Trojan Horse on the Acropolis of Athens, the heroes represented as peeping out of it were Menestheus, Teucer (who ex-

presses the Athenian claim to Salamis), and the two sons of Theseus (Paus. i. 23, 10).

At this point two serpents appear, and kill Laocoon and one of his two sons. Alarmed by this portent, Aeneas and his followers withdraw to Mount Ida. Then Sinon lights the signal-fires, as agreed with the Greeks. They return from Tenedos, the warriors sally from the Wooden Horse, and the city is taken. Neoptolemus kills Priam in his house, on the altar of Ζεὺς ἐρκείος. Menelaus takes Helen to the camp, killing her husband Deiphobus. Ajax son of Oileus, in attempting to drag Cassandra from the altar of Athene, drags away the image of the goddess; upon which the Greeks are ready to stone him, and he escapes by taking refuge himself at the altar. The Greeks burn the city, and determine the fate of the prisoners: Polyxena is sacrificed at the tomb of Achilles: Ulysses kills Astyanax, and Neoptolemus obtains Andromache as his prize: Demophon and Acamas find Aethra and take her with them. The fleet sets sail, and Athene prepares disaster for them on their return.

This argument represents the *Iliupersis* as taking up the story of the siege nearly at the point where the argument of the *Little Iliad* left it, viz. the bringing of the Wooden Horse into the city. But as the *Little Iliad* is known to have included the later events, down to the departure of the Greeks, so it is possible that the poem of Arctinus began at an earlier point than the account of Proclus would lead us to suppose. Unfortunately the references to the *Iliupersis* are extremely few; but they go far to show that it gave some account of the events between the death of Ajax and the making of the Wooden Horse.

The scholia on the *Iliad* (11. 515) tell us that according to some critics the two Homeric *ιατροί*, Machaon and Podaleirius, followed the two branches of the healing art,—Machaon dealing with wounds, Podaleirius with disease. In support of this they quote a remarkable fragment from Arctinus' *Sack of Ilium* (ἐν Ἰλίου πορθήσει), which runs as follows:

αὐτὸς γὰρ σφιν ἔδωκε πατήρ . . Ἐννοσίγαιος
 ἀμφοτέροις, ἕτερον δ' ἑτέρου κυδίου' ἔθηκε·
 τῷ μὲν κουφοτέρας χεῖρας πόρην, ἔκ τε βέλεμνα
 σαρκὸς ἐλείν, τμηῆσαι τε καὶ ἔλκεα πάντ' ἀκέσασθαι·
 τῷ δ' ἄρ' ἀκριβέα πάντα ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ἔθηκεν

ἄσκοπά τε γινῶναι καὶ ἀναλθέα ἰήσασθαι·
ὅς ῥα καὶ Αἴαντος πρῶτος μάθε χωρόμενοιο
ὄμματά τ' ἀστράπτοντα βαρυνόμενόν τε νόημα.

It has been generally supposed, from the reference to Ajax, that these lines come from the *Aethiopsis*, the scholiast having confused the two poems of Arctinus. This however is not necessary. The two lines about Ajax have rather the appearance of a parenthesis, brought in to illustrate a later point of the story. If so, it is highly probable that the context of the passage is the healing of Philoctetes. The poet takes occasion to contrast the surgical skill of Machaon with the art of Podaleirius, and adds by way of example that it was Podaleirius who first perceived the symptoms of madness in the former case of Ajax (ὅς ῥα καὶ Αἴαντος . . .). This view perhaps derives some further support from the fact that in Quintus Smyrnaeus (who doubtless follows earlier accounts) Philoctetes is healed by Podaleirius; so that the drift of the passage of Arctinus may be to explain why he, rather than Machaon, should deal with so obscure a case. Quintus Smyrnaeus, again, ascribes the oracle about the bringing back of Philoctetes to the seer Calchas,—not Helenus, as in the *Little Iliad*. Further, the *Philoctetes* of Sophocles does not agree with the *Little Iliad*, in which Philoctetes is brought back by Diomedes, before Neoptolemus has come to Troy. We may reasonably suppose that Sophocles took his version of the story from the *Iliupersis* of Arctinus. All this points to the conclusion that the story of Philoctetes was given in the *Iliupersis*, and with details which differed materially from those of the *Little Iliad*. Again, if the recovery of Philoctetes, according to the *Iliupersis*, was an exploit of Neoptolemus, it is difficult to resist the further inference that the poem began with the coming of Neoptolemus from Scyros. On this view it would embrace his whole career as the real captor of Troy.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus says that according to Arctinus the Palladium which was carried off by the Greeks was only a copy of the real one. Hence it is inferred that the theft of the Palladium was related in the *Iliupersis* (see the note on p. 34). A few details may be added, more or less conjecturally, from other sources. Virgil is said to have followed Arctinus in the

description of the sack of Troy which fills the second book of the *Aeneid*. We may assume that the part played by Aphrodite in the *Aeneid* was based upon the *Iliupersis*.

It appears, then, that the story of the *Iliupersis* is to be reconstructed somewhat as follows. Neoptolemus, who is the destined conqueror in the Trojan war, is brought from Scyros (perhaps accompanied by a contingent of the islanders, the *Seyria pubes* of Virgil, *Aen.* 2. 477). He succeeds to the arms of Achilles—takes the leading part in bringing Philoctetes from Lemnos—and kills the new Trojan champion, Eurypylos. Thus all the important steps towards the capture of Troy are due to him—the Palladium having been a deception. In the division of the spoil he receives the chief γέρας, the possession of Andromache. He is evidently, therefore, the hero of the poem. His character, as we should expect from the poet of the *Aethiopsis*, is in many points a repetition of the character of Achilles. He is a triumphant Achilles—πατρός εὐτυχέστερος, τὰ δ' ἄλλ' ὁμοῖος. He stands to his father, poetically speaking, as the Epigoni to the heroes of the *Thebaid*.

With the fortunes of Neoptolemus for the main interest of the *Iliupersis*, we find, as a kind of underplot, the story of the flight of Aeneas. The death of Laocoon is not, as in Virgil, a warning to those who would destroy the Wooden Horse, but a sign of the approaching fall of Troy. The escape of one of the two sons—a trait peculiar to this version—was doubtless meant to signify that one branch of the Trojan royal house—that represented by Aeneas—might still survive the fall of the city and the extinction of the family of Priam.¹ Thus the prophecy of Poseidon would be fulfilled (*Il.* 20. 397–8),

νῦν δὲ δὴ Αἰνείαο βίη Τρώεσσιν ἀνάξει,
καὶ παίδων παῖδες τοί κεν μετόπισθε γένωνται.

—a prophecy which has long been recognised as a piece of local or family legend, connecting the later inhabitants of the Troad with Aeneas. The divine agents in these events were probably Aphrodite (who is also associated with Aeneas in the *Cypria*), and Cybele, the Idaean Mother, to whose sacred mountain the fugitives betook themselves. A trace of this remains in the

¹ C. Robert, *Bild und Lied*, p. 193.

statement of Pausanias (x. 26, 1) that Creusa, the wife of Aeneas, was said to have been delivered from slavery by Aphrodite and the mother of the gods: and the same account is given in the words of Creusa, *Aen.* 2. 785—788:

Non ego Myrmidonum sedes Dolopumve superbas
Aspiciam, aut Graiis servitum matribus ibo,
Dardanis et divae Veneris nurus;
Sed me magna deûm genitrix his detinet oris.

As Pausanias adds that according to Lesches (*i.e.* the *Little Iliad*) and the *Cypria* the wife of Aeneas was called Eurydice, we can hardly be wrong in assigning the story of Creusa to the *Iliupersis*.¹ Thus it becomes a link of connexion between the Aeneas-legend and the local worship of Cybele, in which Creusa was doubtless a subordinate figure—taken into her service as Ganymede by Zeus, or Iphigenia by Artemis. Another indication of local influence may be seen in the assertion of Arctinus that the Palladium taken by Ulysses and Diomedes was a copy. The real Palladium was doubtless carried off by Aeneas, and remained in the possession of the royal house that claimed descent from him.

Although the *Iliupersis* ended with the victory of the hero and the success of his cause, it had a distinctly tragic character. The Nemesis of good fortune makes itself felt. When the Greeks set sail Athene has withdrawn her favour, and has resolved to send disaster upon them in the course of their voyage (*φθορὰν αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὸ πέλαγος μηχανᾶται*, Procl.). The misfortunes of the return were therefore indicated at the close of the poem. The thought that ‘satiety breeds insolence’ evidently coloured the representation of Arctinus, and gave the key-note to the treatment of the subject in later Greek literature.

The comparison of the *Iliupersis* with Homer need not detain

¹ Pausanias never mentions Arctinus, and seems not to have known of either the *Aethiopis* or the *Iliupersis*. He refers to Arctinus’ version of the death of Priam, and of Astyanax (x. 25, 9), simply as the account from which Lesches differed. Similarly, when Pau-

sanias (x. 27, 1) says that Coroebus was killed *ὡς ὁ πλείων λόγος* by Neoptolemus, but according to Lesches by Diomedes, the ‘common account’ doubtless is that of the *Iliupersis*, of which Neoptolemus was the hero.

us long, as most of the points have been already noticed in connexion with the *Little Iliad*. As to the plan and structure there are no grounds for a positive opinion. If we are right in thinking that the story took in the whole career of Neoptolemus, it can hardly have had the almost Homeric unity which we found in the *Aethiopis*. On the other hand, the fact that the *Little Iliad* was taken by Proclus (or the compilers of the Epic Cycle) as the authority for the events down to the making of the Wooden Horse would indicate that in the *Iliupersis* the interest was more concentrated on the actual capture. Possibly the earlier part of the story was brought in (as in the *Odyssey*) in the form of a narrative put into the mouth of one of the characters.¹ The shortness of the poem points to the use of some such device.

The incidents of the *Iliupersis* which appear to be taken from Homer—the Wooden Horse, the death of Deiphobus, the sacrilege of Ajax, the death of Astyanax, the disasters of the return to Greece—were all to be found also in the *Little Iliad* (see p. 25). Of the new or post-Homeric matter some portions are common to the two poems, viz. the treachery of Sinon, the slaying of Priam by Neoptolemus, and the story of Aethra. On the other hand the most important addition to the Homeric account, the story of the flight of Aeneas and his followers,—of which the story of Laocoon is an integral part,—is peculiar to Arctinus. According to the *Little Iliad* Aeneas fell to the share of Neoptolemus, and was carried into slavery by him. The sacrifice of Polyxena, if we may argue from the silence of our authorities, was related in the *Iliupersis* only. It is one of the indications of the hero-worship of Achilles.

The points now enumerated will furnish data for comparing the *Iliupersis*, not only with Homer, but also with the *Aethiopis*, as a work of the same poet, and with the *Little Iliad*, as a different and (as is generally supposed) later treatment of the same subject.

In the *Iliupersis*, as in the *Aethiopis*, we have recognised the addition to the Trojan story of a considerable amount of legendary matter. Two main sources of new legend may be

¹ The digression about Podaleirius and Machaon (p. 28) would be part of such a narrative. The style of the lines seems to favour this hypothesis.

discerned. It was doubtless in the native traditions of Asia Minor that Arctinus found the figures of Penthesileia and Memnon, as well as the legend of Aeneas and the Trojan settlement on Mount Ida. In these matters we trace the influence upon the Greek colonists of the races with which they were brought into contact. And though this influence is perceptible in other 'cyclic' poems—*e.g.* in the story of Telephus in the *Cypria*, and Eurypylos in the *Little Iliad*—the most striking examples seem to be those which we find in the *Aethiopis* and the *Iliupersis*. Other post-Homeric elements in Arctinus receive light from the circumstances of the Ionian colonies, and from their religious ideas and practices, especially the practice of hero-worship. Under this head fall such things as the immortality of Memnon, of Achilles, of Creusa,—the purification of Achilles from the guilt of homicide,—his removal after death to Leuce, in the region of the Milesian settlements,—and the sacrifice of Polyxena at his tomb.

The comparison between the poems of Arctinus (especially the *Iliupersis*) and the *Little Iliad* turns chiefly on points already noticed. It may be worth while however to bring together the incidents which appear to have been treated somewhat differently by the two poets.

1. In the *Iliupersis* Neoptolemus kills Priam at the altar of Zeus Ἐρκείος: as also in Virgil (*Aen.* 2. 663),—

Natum ante ora patris, patrem qui obruncat ad aras.

In the *Little Iliad* (fr. 15) Priam is dragged from the altar and killed at the door of the palace: the poet probably wishing to diminish the horror of the scene.

2. According to the *Iliupersis* Astyanax was killed by Ulysses (fr. 2): according to the *Little Iliad* he was thrown from a tower by Neoptolemus, οὐ μὴν ὑπὸ δόγματός γε Ἑλλήνων (Paus. x. 25, 9). In the *Iliupersis*, then, it appears that the Greeks came to a solemn decision, carried out by Ulysses, and doubtless also advised by him, founded on the maxim νήπιος ὃς πατέρα κτείνας παῖδας καταλείπει. The author of the *Little Iliad* altered the story, evidently in order to exonerate his hero.

3. According to the argument of the *Iliupersis* the sons of

Theseus found their grandmother Aethra in the division of the spoil: whereas in the *Little Iliad* (fr. 17) Aethra escaped from the city before or during the capture (*ἡνίκα ἠλίσκετο Ἴλιον*), and found her way to the Greek camp. In this version we may recognise the invention of the later poet.

4. The stealing of the Palladium, which in the *Little Iliad* was an important exploit of Ulysses, was probably not related at length in the *Iliupersis*. All that we are told by Dionysius of Halicarnassus is that according to Arctinus the true Palladium was in Troy to the time of the capture, kept in a secret place, and that there was a copy of it exposed to view, which the 'Achaeans' took.¹

5. In the *Little Iliad* (and in the *Cypria*) the wife of Aeneas was Eurydice: in the received account, doubtless going back to the *Iliupersis*, she is called Creusa. The name, as we have seen, is part of the local legend connected with Mount Ida and the worship of Aphrodite and Cybele.

6. It has been shown (p. 29) that there is some ground for thinking that the story of Philoctetes, as told in the *Philoctetes* of Sophocles, was derived ultimately from Arctinus. The substitution in the *Little Iliad* of Diomedes for Neoptolemus, of the oracle of Helenus (procured by Ulysses) for the advice of Calchas, and of Machaon for Podaleirius, is in accordance with the desire to exalt Ulysses, as well as the general fondness for changes in detail which we have noticed in the *Little Iliad*.

7. The incidents connected with the 'Judgment of the Arms' were told in two or three different versions, some part of which may be derived from Arctinus.

The representation in the *Little Iliad* of Ajax carrying the body of Achilles, and Ulysses protecting the retreat, seems to be taken from *Il.* 17. 715, ff., where however it is Ajax with his Locrian namesake who keeps Hector and the Trojans at bay. The scholiast adds the remark (probably made by Aristarchus) that if Homer had related the death of Achilles

¹ Arctinus certainly mentioned the true Palladium, probably in connexion with the flight of Aeneas; but the rest of the notice may possibly be due, as in some instances given by C. Robert

(*Bild und Lied*, p. 231), not to the poet himself, but to commentators who sought to harmonise his account with the *Little Iliad*.

he would not have made Ajax carry the body. Another account seems to have exchanged the parts played by the two heroes: for on *Od.* 5. 310, where Ulysses speaks of 'the day when the multitude of Trojans poured their spears on him, over the fallen Achilles,' the scholiast makes the comment, ὅτι ὑπερεμάχησαν τοῦ σώματος Ἀχιλλέως Ὀδυσσεὺς καὶ Αἴας· καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐβάστασεν, ὁ δ' Αἴας ὑπερήσπισεν, ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ Πατρόκλω. In this version Ajax remains true to his Homeric character, and we naturally suspect that it must have been the original account of Arctinus in the *Aethiopsis*, though in the argument of Proclus the *Aethiopsis* is made to agree with the *Little Iliad*.¹

Regarding the 'judgment' itself, the scholiast on the *Odyssey* tells us that in the line (11. 547),

παῖδες δὲ Τρώων δίκασαν καὶ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη,

the reference is to the Trojan prisoners, who being asked whether Ajax or Ulysses had done them most harm, decided the question in favour of Ulysses. This form of the story does not connect the 'judgment of the arms' in any especial manner with the combat over the body of Achilles, and altogether it is of a simpler and graver stamp than the version which comes to us from the *Little Iliad*. These considerations are perhaps not sufficient to justify us in attributing it to Arctinus, especially as we have no direct statement that the details of the κρίσις ὄπλων were given in the *Aethiopsis* (p. 12). In any case the construction which it put upon the words παῖδες Τρώων δίκασαν is more natural than that which makes them maidens overheard by Greek spies: and although the passage in the *Odyssey* may be an interpolation, it is probably of considerable antiquity. The version of the *Little Iliad* is very different in character; it is elaborate and fanciful, and at the same time wanting in epic dignity. Indeed it has very much the air of a burlesque of the older story.

The result of our examination is that the poems of Arctinus

¹ It is an objection to this inference that Aristarchus—if we may argue from the silence of the Venetian scholia—does not seem to have known of any post-Homeric account except that of the *Little Iliad*. Possibly the account of

the scholia on *Od.* 5. 310 is a mere misunderstanding of Aristarchus; the remark that Homer *would have* told the story in such and such a way being twisted into a positive statement that that was the true account.

were composed in the tragic style of the *Iliad*, combined with a vein of romance which belonged to the soil of Asia Minor: while the *Little Iliad* treated the same series of events in the lighter epic style, largely tempered by the romantic and adventurous element which is represented by the *Odyssey*, and within the *Iliad* by the 'Doloneia.' Thus the *Little Iliad* carried the Ulysses of the *Odyssey*, so to speak, back into the Trojan war: the *Aethiopsis* and *Iliupersis* gave the chief place to Achilles and the heroes who were akin to him, Ajax and Neoptolemus. Finally, while Arctinus admitted much new matter, the growth of Ionian history, the author of the *Little Iliad* confined himself in general to the Homeric circle of myths, and sought rather for novelty in his manner of treatment and in the details of his narrative.

The *Aethiopsis* and the *Iliupersis* are almost the only epics never attributed to Homer, and Miletus is almost the only important city which never claimed him. Perhaps the reason is simply that Arctinus was not sufficiently popular to give rise to a legend of the kind. His poems are not mentioned by any writer earlier than Dionysius of Halicarnassus; apparently they were unknown to Strabo (p. 16) and Pausanias (p. 31). Probably the name of Arctinus would not have survived at all if he had not been the earliest poet who related the escape of Aeneas from the destruction of Troy. Thus he became a witness to the Roman national legend, and the *Iliupersis* gained a species of immortality in the second book of the *Aeneid*.

THE *NOSTI*.

The poem called the *Νόσται*, or 'Returns' of the heroes from Troy, was in five books, and was generally ascribed to Agias of Troezen.¹ The contents as given by Proclus were these:—

Athene having stirred up a quarrel between Agamemnon and

¹ Eustathius (p. 1796, 53) quotes 'the author of the *νόσται*, a Colophonian,' for the statement that in the end Telemachus married Circe, and Telegonus Penelope. It has been thought that this refers to another poem on the

subject of the 'returns,' by a Colophonian poet. There is so much about Colophon, however, in the cyclic *Nosti* that it seems more natural to suppose that the author was thought by some authorities to be a Colophonian.

Menelaus on the subject of the voyage home, Agamemnon delays his departure in order to propitiate the goddess. Diomede and Nestor are the first to start, and return safely: Menelaus follows them, but encounters a storm which drives him to Egypt with five only of his ships. Calchas with Leonteus and Polypoetes goes by land to Colophon, where he dies and is buried. As Agamemnon is preparing to start with his followers, the shade of Achilles appears and warns him of the future. The fate of the Locrian Ajax is then described. Neoptolemus, on the advice of Thetis, goes home by land through Thrace, meeting Ulysses in Maroneia; Phoenix dies on the way and is buried: Neoptolemus reaches the Molossian country, and is recognised by Peleus; the death of Agamemnon at the hands of Aegisthus and Clytaemnestra is avenged by Orestes and Pylades, and Menelaus returns to Sparta.

According to Pausanias (x. 28, 7), the *Nosti* contained a *νέκυια*, or descent into Hades, of which Proclus says nothing. Several of the references to the *Nosti* seem to belong to this part of the poem, especially a version of the story of Tantalus, quoted by Athenaeus (fr. 10), and three lines about Medea restoring Aeson (fr. 6); perhaps also the genealogical notices about Clymene (fr. 4), and Maera (fr. 6). Eustathius (p. 1796, 53) says that the author of the *Nosti* made Telemachus eventually marry Circe, and Telegonus, son of Circe, marry Penelope. This piece of eschatology lies beyond the period covered by the story of the poem, but may have come in incidentally, in the form of a prophecy, just as the final immortality of Menelaus is prophesied in the *Odyssey*.

The death of Calchas at Colophon was the subject of a story told by Hesiod, and also by the logographer Pherecydes (Strabo, xiv. p. 643). It had been foretold that he would die when he should meet with a mightier seer than himself, and such a seer was found in Mopsus, grandson of Tiresias, who presided over the oracle of the Clarian Apollo. It may be gathered that some form of this legend was adopted by the author of the *Nosti*.¹

¹ The MS. gives *Τειρεσίαν ἐνταῦθα τελευτήσαντα θάπτουσι*, where *Τειρεσίαν* must be a false reading for *Κάλχαντα*. The name *Τειρεσίας* must have occurred

in the poem, and been put for Calchas in this place by mistake—perhaps by the grammarian who made the summary in Proclus.

The subject of the *Nosti*, according to the reference in Athenaeus (vii. p. 281*b*), is the 'return of the Atridae' (ὁ γοῦν τὴν τῶν Ἀτρειδῶν ποιήσας κάθοδον), and this phrase is evidently a correct description of the main argument. The poem opened with the separation of Agamemnon and Menelaus, and ended with the return of Menelaus, just as his brother's murder had been avenged by Orestes. Thus it contained two chief threads of narrative—the diverse fortunes of the two Atridae—which are brought together at the close. In subordination to these there are two land journeys in opposite directions: Calchas going to Colophon, and Neoptolemus by Thrace to Epirus. Room is found also for the fate of Ajax the Locrian, who accompanies Agamemnon, and the uneventful return of Nestor and Diomedes. The arrangement of these episodes is worth notice; it follows the Homeric rule of filling up pauses or intervals of time by a subordinate piece of narrative, and so avoiding any sensible break in the action of the poem. Thus the pause made by the quarrel of Agamemnon and Menelaus is taken advantage of to introduce the return of Nestor and Diomedes, just as the pause after the quarrel at the beginning of the *Iliad* is filled by the episode of the return of Chryseis. Again, the sailing of Menelaus to Egypt is immediately followed by the journey of Calchas, and the sailing of Agamemnon by the journey of Neoptolemus, because without such a change of scene a long voyage would have the effect of a blank space in the picture. So (*e.g.*) in the third book of the *Iliad*, when heralds are sent from the armies into Troy (l. 116), the scene changes to the walls, and the time during which they are on the way is filled by the *τειχοσκοπία* (ll. 121-244). By these contrivances, then, the *Nosti* doubtless attained a degree of unity not much inferior to that of the Homeric poems. The crisis is evidently the murder of Agamemnon, which is speedily followed by the vengeance of Orestes.

The moving force in the poem seems to have been the anger of Athene; as her favour and the anger of Poseidon are the moving forces in the action of the *Odyssey*. This is indicated, as we have seen, in the closing scenes of the *Iliupersis*; the general tone and character of the *Nosti* was evidently in keeping with this *motif*. The main events were essentially disastrous, and the playful and fanciful elements associated with the figure

of Ulysses were wanting. Thus we may regard the *Nosti* as a tragic *Odyssey*—an *Odyssey* which marks the transition from Homer to the *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus.

Of the incidents of the *Nosti* a large proportion appear to be taken directly from Homer. Such are:—The quarrel caused by the anger of Athene between Agamemnon and Menelaus (*Od.* 3. 135 ff.); the return of Diomedes and Nestor (*Od.* 3. 166, 182); the voyage of Menelaus and his arrival in Egypt with five ships (*Od.* 3. 299, ἀτὰρ τὰς πέντε νέας . . . Αἰγύπτῳ ἐπέλασσε); the fate of the Locrian Ajax (*Od.* 4. 499 ff.); the story of Agamemnon and Orestes. In one or two cases we can trace the growth of new detail from Homeric suggestions:—

(1) Megapenthes is said in the *Odyssey* (4. 12) to be the son of Menelaus by a slave (ἐκ δούλης); in the *Nosti* (fr. 2) the name of the slave was given.

(2) The meeting of Neoptolemus with Ulysses in Maroneia is suggested by *Od.* 9. 39, 197 ff., where Ulysses is said to have been in that part of Thrace.

The chief additions to the Homeric account are the journeys of Calchas and Neoptolemus; the former of these is essentially post-Homeric in its character. The city of Colophon, like all the cities founded or occupied by the Ionian colonists, is quite unknown to Homer. The oracle of the Clarian Apollo belongs to the time when the Greek settlers in Asia Minor had adopted to some extent the religious ideas and practices of the native tribes: as a local oracle too, it is an institution of a post-Homeric kind. Its seer, Mopsus, claimed descent from Teiresias,—just as the kings of the Ionian cities are found to claim descent from Homeric heroes, such as Agamemnon and Nestor. In this part of the *Nosti*, therefore, we trace the same relation to the history of Colophon which we found to subsist between the *Aethiopsis* and the history of Miletus, and again between the *Iliupersis* and the later settlements in the Troad.

In the story of Neoptolemus we may recognise a post-Homeric element in the ethnical name of the Μολοσσοί, which implies some extension of geographical knowledge. It is the first indication of the claim of the kings of Epirus to the honour of descent from Achilles.

Of the remaining names the most important is that of Medea, whose magical powers were set forth (fr. 6). The notices in Pausanias (fr. 4, 5) and Apollodorus (fr. 1) refer to genealogical details which it is not easy to connect with the story of the poem. The mention of the mother of Megapenthes (fr. 2) is a fact of the same kind. It may be inferred that the author of the *Nosti* was one of the poets who made it their business to furnish the genealogies connecting the Homeric heroes with each other, and with the leading families of later times.

The prophetic warning given by the shade of Achilles is an incident of a post-Homeric type; we may compare the appearance of Achilles to Neoptolemus in the *Little Iliad*. The immortality of Telemachus and Telegonus follows the precedent of Achilles and Memnon in the *Aethiopsis*, the Dioscuri and Iphigenia in the *Cypria*.

THE *TELEGONIA* OF EUGAMMON.

The *Telegonia* was a poem in two books only, by Eugammon of Cyrene, the last of the 'cyclic' poets. It was evidently composed as a sequel to the *Odyssey*, and conclusion of the heroic story. The argument in Proclus is as follows:—

After the burial of the suitors Ulysses goes to Elis, where he is entertained by Polyxenus. The stories of Trophonius, Agamede and Augeas are related. After returning to Ithaca to perform certain sacrifices, Ulysses goes to the country of the Thesprotians, marries their queen Callidice, and leads them in a war against the Brygi, in which Ares, Athene, and Apollo take part. On the death of Callidice, Polypoetes, son of Ulysses, becomes king, and Ulysses returns to Ithaca; then Telegonus, son of Ulysses by Circe, who has been seeking for his father, makes a descent upon Ithaca. Ulysses comes to repel the attack and is killed by his own son. Telegonus finds too late what he has done, and takes his father's body, with Telemachus and Penelope, to his mother, who makes them immortal. Finally, Telemachus marries Circe, and Telegonus Penelope.

It is evident that this story was framed partly to satisfy curiosity as to the fate of the chief characters of the *Odyssey*, and partly to find a place for the genealogies of various families,

that claimed descent from Ulysses. The Thesprotian episode is clearly due to the latter of these motives.

The story of the cave of Trophonius is given by the scholiast on Aristophanes (*Nub.* 500). It is a variant of the Rhampsinitus story. The incident of the death of Ulysses at the hands of his son is equally familiar from the story of Sohrab and Rustum. In these stories we have fresh instances of the kind of attraction by which a dominant group of legend, such as the *Troica*, draws in materials from other circles of popular mythology.

There is some uncertainty as to the manner in which the personages are disposed at the end of the poem. According to Eustathius (p. 1796, 47) the *Telegonia* made Telegonus the son of Calypso,—thus contradicting the *Nosti* (see the note on p. 36). The argument of Proclus only mentions Circe; but this may be in deference to the authority of the *Nosti*. In any case the general character of the closing scene is evident: and we cannot but regret that the curtain should be made to fall in this strange and burlesque fashion on the stage so long filled by Homeric gods and men.

D. B. MONRO.

RESEARCHES AMONG THE CYCLADES.

ABOUT a year ago I paid a hurried visit to the Cyclades, with the purpose of ascertaining how far they would repay a more lengthened sojourn ; and having satisfied myself that no part of Greece offered a better field for examination than the islands of the Aegæan Sea, this last winter I undertook to visit the Cyclades one by one—no trifling matter when we consider that there are twenty-two of them, and only two of them have anything like hotel accommodation.

The objects of interest there to be studied may be conveniently classed under four distinct heads, and every one of these interests is essentially due to the position of the islands, as the stepping-stones used in all ages before the invention of steam between Europe and Asia.

Firstly, comes that interest in connection with a prehistoric empire in the Aegæan Sea, the existence of which was unknown ten years ago, and has yet been but slightly investigated by the French School at Athens, in the island of Santorin and the adjacent Therasia. Dr. Schliemann's excavations at Hissarlik bear also on the same subject, but the prehistoric inhabitants of Troy, and the prehistoric inhabitants of the Cyclades had wide differences between them.

In every island of the Aegæan Sea, on almost every barren rock I might say, are found abundant traces of a vast prehistoric empire ; and if the race was not far advanced in the arts of civilisation, it must at all events have had great numerical force ; and when I say that there are now twenty-two inhabited Cyclades, some of them having a population of only a few hundreds, I may as well add that in those prehistoric times, there must have been at least fifty thickly inhabited islands,

most of which are now visited only in summer by herdsmen with their flocks.

The second interest in connection with the Cyclades of course arises from their history and associations with the great days of Greece, and without going into details about the better known centres of attraction such as Delos, Naxos, Paros, Melos (all of which islands are by no means exhausted subjects, but still we know more about them than the others), I will make a few remarks on what I saw on a remote island like Amorgos. On this island there are the extensive remains of three powerful cities, and of these Arkesini is the most interesting, and during an excursion of two days to this point of the island, I saw much that stimulated me to return at some future period. The town itself is built on a rock overhanging the sea. There are the remains of ancient steps down to the beach; the walls are very extensive, and the ruins are continually producing all sorts of treasures to the old farmer who owns the place. Ancient tools, vases, and statuettes are turned over every time he ploughs, and from him I obtained an interesting little collection of jar handles, stamped and inscribed. Most of them bore the well-known stamps of Rhodes and Cnidos, but some had on them the stamps of Amorgos and Paros, which I believe are an addition to the series, also a clay plummet, inscribed with the owner's name, marble polishers, &c. The old man's son, a priest at the capital, has an excellent collection of inscriptions, coins, memorial tablets, etc., all of which his father has dug up whilst working at Arkesini. At the village of Brutzi just above are some curious archaic inscriptions on a cliff, with those half Phœnician half Greek letters, common to the islands. One of these is cited in Roehl's *Inscr. Græcæ Antiquissimæ*, No. 391, pp. 109, 183.

Next morning we walked to a well-preserved Hellenic tower which commands a fertile valley, and which Ross has described in his book, but owing to some recent digging a large extension of fortifications has been opened out in connection with the tower. This tower and one on Andros are the best specimens we have of Hellenic military art, and well merit a closer study. Close to the tower I found a long inscription on the wall of a church, which I copied, describing an agreement between certain husbandmen and the priests of a temple of Zeus Temenites, for

the letting of certain sacred land. On our way back we passed by another rock inscription upon the hill side, OP for ὄρος and a monogram of which B for Boreas was a prominent feature, doubtless the northern boundary of the State of Arkesini. My other expeditions to the other towns of Amorgos were of equal interest, and offered great archaeological attractions.

To give another instance of the archaeological wealth of the islands, I will mention Keos. Here there are the remains of four large cities, one of which, Karthaia, offered rich prizes to Brönsted fifty years ago. Since then nothing has been done except quite recently to prop up the well known colossal lion which was slipping down, and in doing so the discovery was made that the lion had originally been placed at the end of a stadium (112 by 14 strides), the seats of which can still be distinguished. This was apparently a winter stadium facing south. There is another one just across the ravine facing north where the inhabitants of Ioulis amused themselves in the summer. Besides the towns, Keos is covered with ruins of villages, temples, towers, &c., and then there are the miltos mines from which the Athenians made their red paint with which we are all so familiar. Keos was in fact the Syra of ancient Greece, the centre of commerce between Europe and Asia, and of necessity would well repay a little excavation. At the town of Poiessa I discovered an inscription which forbade the cutting down of trees on the lands belonging to a temple. A similar inscription from Greece, but without the word δένδρα, has been taken to mean a prohibition against cutting the wood of the temple; this however clearly points to trees on the sacred property.

Passing over the Roman period, during which we have little of interest in the Cyclades, saving that the islands formed a favourite place of banishment, we come to our third interest, namely, the period of the Crusades and the Latin power in the East, when most of those fortress towns were built, one or two of which exist on every island under the indefinite name of palaiocastro. Our resources for studying the long history of the Latin Dukes of the Aegæan Sea is certainly meagre and jesuitical for the most part, but lately M. Sathas has unearthed many interesting facts concerning this period in the Venetian archives.

Fourthly, I will briefly allude to what is perhaps the principal interest to be gained from a sojourn among the Cyclades, namely,

the excellent field that they offer for a study of the modern Greek in his most primitive form. The facts which have conduced to this are obvious. The islands were never extensively overrun by barbarous tribes, and the inhabitants consequently have purer blood in their veins than most of the inhabitants of the mainland. This is especially noticeable in the island of Andros, the most northern and the most accessible of all the group from the mainland by way of Eubœia. The northern portion of this island is exclusively Albanian, in speech, manners, and customs. The Greeks in the South are highly influenced by this intermixture, which has in a measure destroyed the identity of the continental Greek, but here the Albanian wave has ended, there is not a trace of it in any other of the Cyclades.

Again, the Italian influence is supposed to have had the same effect during the Latin rule in the islands, but it soon becomes apparent to the traveller, that this influence extends very little beyond the larger towns on the sea coast. The Italian rule seems to have been at once weak and unpopular, the westerners succeeded in imbuing the Greeks with but few of their customs, religious feeling ran too high for that. At Naxos for example, at the seat of government in the Chora or chief town, most of the best families are of Italian origin, and still maintain their religion, but the Greek families treat them with suspicion and dislike. The sailors speak a *patois* with almost more Italian words in it than Greek, yet up in the mountains of Naxos, a few hours' distance from the chief town, the villages are inhabited by Greeks of the most undoubted pedigree. It is the same at Santorin, where the Italian influence was perhaps even more pronounced. If you leave the town and go into the villages, you find customs existing, the very nature of which stamps them with antiquity.

Again during the Turkish times, the islands were but little interfered with, and to small islands such as Ios, Sikinos, Pholegandros, which appear to have been uninhabited or nearly so during the Latin rule, refugees came and settled about this time, from all parts of the Turkish dominions, Crete, the Peloponnese, Asia Minor, and they built walled villages up on the hills to protect themselves from pirates, and there they have maintained their customs undisturbed ever since. From these facts it will be obvious that the islands of the Aegæan

Sea, especially the smaller ones, offer unusual facilities for the study of the manners and customs of the Greeks as they are. Here many characteristics exist which are obsolete on the mainland, and not a few of those customs which exist on the mainland and have been put down as Greek are distinctly barbaric. The test of an interest in a Greek custom as far as I see is not so much its quaintness as it is the pedigree of the custom. The value of one derived from Sclavic origin is not much for the study of Hellenism. As an example I will merely state that it interested me far more to hear that the inhabitants of southern Andros take their sickly children to get cured at the church of Hagios Artemidos, and there change their clothes and put on fresh ones blessed by the priest, than to learn that the inhabitants of northern Andros still exhume the body of a man who is supposed to haunt the place at nights, burn his body and scatter the ashes to the winds. The one custom is traceable to the ancient worship of Artemis, the protectress of children, Artemis *παιδοτρόφος* as her epithet was,—even the name of Artemis is retained in the Christian ritual,—whilst the other custom is distinctly of barbaric origin. Whilst on this subject I cannot pass over a fact which has had but little attention paid to it as yet, namely, the separate value of each island as a connecting link between the old world and the new as regards phraseology. Each one can supply numbers of words which appear in no modern glossary, but which are distinctly classical. There exist tolerably perfect glossaries of words from Syra, Andros, Lesbos, and Santorin, but it is in the remoter islands that the philologist will find a rich harvest.

By way of example I will just state the existence at Anaphi of the word somewhat rare even in classical times *κατάλυμα* for an inn or halting place; it is here applied to the houses by the shore as opposed to those of the town on the hill above. At Santorin a peasant will say *κοττόβολλο* for anything sudden, compare the old word *κοττός*, a dice, and *βάλλω*; whilst at Amorgos the peasants still trim their vines with a *δίκλα*, an obvious contraction of the two-pronged hoe *δίκελλα* which Sophocles mentions, and which I saw nowhere else in the Cyclades, though I believe Mr. Newton saw it in use at Mitylene.

I will now return to the first object of interest to which I

alluded, and say a few words more in detail about the prehistoric remains which I found at Antiparos, some specimens of which have been engraved to accompany this paper.

It is first of all necessary to state why I chose Antiparos as a basis for investigation on this point: firstly, because during historic times we have hardly any reference to the existence of a population here, in fact the only account that I can find of Antiparos, under its old name of Oliaros, is in the late author Stephanos Byzantinos, who tells us, "Oliaros, one of the Cyclades, about which Heraclides of Pontus, in his description of the islands, says, 'Oliaros, a Sidonian colony, is distant from Paros nine (?) stadia.'" This notice gives us a possible solution of the vexed question as to who these inhabitants were; they may have been early Phoenicians. The existence of calamine in this island may have been known to them, and have attracted large numbers. Only a few years ago calamine mines have been opened here; whether calamine and its properties were known to the Phoenicians it is impossible now to say. I could find no trace of any ancient works here, but they may have taken their mineral from near the surface and have left no trace of holes. Beyond a Venetian fortress and the present wretched village, the inhabitants of which are chiefly descended from reclaimed pirates, and a few houses near the above-mentioned mines, there are no traces of habitations on the islands at all; certainly nothing of Hellenic work.

Secondly, I was induced to dig at Antiparos, because I was shown extensive graveyards there. Of these I visited no less than four on the island itself, and heard from natives of the existence of others in parts of the island I did not visit. A rock in the sea between Antiparos and the adjacent uninhabited island of Despotico is covered with graves, and another islet is called Cemeteri from the graves on it. The islands of Despotico and Antiparos were once joined by a tongue of land, which was washed away by the encroachment of the sea on the northern side, and in the shallow water of the bay, between the islands, I was pointed out traces of ancient dwellings, and with the help of the telescope, that is to say a can with a glass bottom, which the sponge fishermen use here to see the bottom of the sea, I was able to discern a well, filled up with sand, an oven, and a small square house. It would be interesting to compare these

with the prehistoric houses found at Therasia and Santorin by the French School at Athens and with that on Salamis. Unfortunately the ruins were too much covered with sea-weed for me, with the rude appliances at hand, to form any opinion or take any measurements. A clever fisherman who knows every inch of the bay, told me that pottery, similar to that I found in the graves, was very plentiful at the bottom of the sea near the houses.

It is on the slope of the mountain, about a mile above the spot where the houses were, that an extensive graveyard exists; it is not unlikely that the submerged houses form the town of which this was the necropolis.

Lastly, I was further induced by the fact that the adjacent island of Paros was a great centre for settlements in all ages from various nations and languages, owing to the marble quarries, but Antiparos had the advantage over Paros for excavating, owing to the non-existence of historic remains, so that we could start with a fair supposition that the extensive graveyards belonged to a period prior to history.

During my stay at Antiparos I was assisted in everything by the kindness of my friends the Messrs. Swan, who conducted the calamine mines on the island, and with the aid of their workmen I opened some forty graves in two of the graveyards. One of these cemeteries, namely, the one over the submerged houses already referred to, was greatly inferior to the other, in the character of the graves themselves, and in the nature of the finds therein, though they all belonged to the same class of workmanship.

Firstly, we will speak of the graves themselves. Most of those in the poorer graveyard were very irregular in design, some oblong, some triangular, some square; they generally had three slabs to form the sides, the fourth being built up with stones and rubbish. There was always a slab on the top and sometimes at the bottom of the grave. They were on an average three feet long, two feet wide, and seldom more than two feet deep. In every grave on this western side we found bones chiefly heaped together in confusion, so much so that it seems impossible that the bodies can have been buried even in a sitting posture, and most graves contained the bones of more bodies than one. In one very small grave, so small that to get the

remains of two people in they must have cut up the limbs, we found two skulls so tightly wedged together between the side slabs, that they could not be removed without smashing them; from this we may possibly infer, that the flesh had been removed in some way before interment, differing essentially from what Dr. Schliemann found at Hissarlik, where, as he says, "all prehistoric peoples who succeeded each other in the course of ages on the hills of Hissarlik used cremation of the dead." This at once argues a great difference between the prehistoric inhabitants of Hissarlik and Antiparos. In the graves in the cemetery to the south-east of the island, I found only one body in each, they were considerably larger and better built; some of them had graves beneath, and in every case a slab or pillow on which the head was rested. One graveyard was essentially inferior to the other in point of wealth and advance in art, yet the nature of the finds in each was the same.

I will firstly discuss the marble finds in these graves. In the poorer graves I found the rudest representations of the human form in marble, those which somewhat resemble a violin (Figs. 1, 2), both of which were in one grave and were probably meant to



FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.

represent man and wife. In one grave here I also found some flat round bits of marble which I threw away as mere pebbles at the time, but after consideration makes me inclined to believe that they were intended for the same purpose.



FIG. 3.



FIG. 4.



FIG. 5.



FIG. 6.

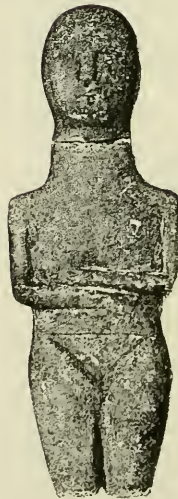


FIG. 7.

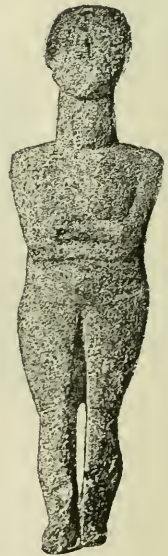


FIG. 8.

Secondly, as to the cemetery to the south-east; the representations of the human form which I found here were certainly better and show considerable advance in artistic skill; they have apparently been made by rubbing the marble with stone, so as to leave the nose and eyes.

There is always special attention paid in the female figures to the vulva triangle, doubtless pointing to a worship of procreative power, and in one figure found here the idea of the sitting posture is cleverly given, and there is a successful attempt to give the roundness of the calves and limbs (Fig. 8). Two similar figures I got from Paros, perhaps indicating a further advance, the one with pointed legs I take to be a man by comparing him with a similar figure in the British Museum (Figs. 6, 7). From Amorgos I got a still more advanced specimen of these quaint figures, being a group of which only the trunk of a woman's body is left, with the arm of another person round her back, probably a further representation of man and wife (Fig. 9). In the museum at Athens, there

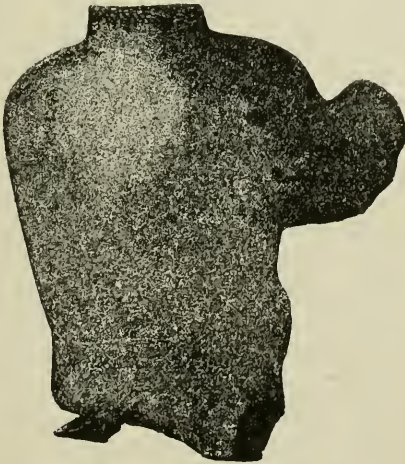


FIG. 9.

exists one of these figures of wonderfully advanced execution; it represents a man sitting in a chair playing a lyre, and is really a work of fair execution, but they have always the same curious pointed shape of the head, and unnaturally long

neck, and it is puzzling to divine why, when they could round and finish off other parts of the body, the head was invariably pointed like the blade of a stone implement.¹ In some graves I found marble legs all alone, in another a headless silver figure, covered with so heavy an oxide that the form was almost destroyed; they probably must have had some religious purport, *ex voto* or otherwise; and from the excess of female figures over male, it is presumable that the people were worshippers, though not exclusively, of some female deity.

Besides the figures there were a good many other marble things in the graves; large marble bowls, with vertical holes for suspension, are frequently found in similar graves in the Cyclades, and are called *λυχνάρια* by the natives. One that I found in a grave at Antiparos, had a collection of shells from the sea shore at the bottom of it, evidently put in at the time of burial as an offering to the dead.

I found also several marble plates well rounded, and with an idea of ornamentation in the rim round the edge, another dish with bits of marble left on the edge for ornamentation, and a neatly made phial with a lip to pour out of. Marble of course is a speciality of the Cyclades, and especially so of the neighbouring island of Paros, and doubtless was an object of commerce to these very people, so we need not be surprised at the skill displayed in working it.

We will next discuss the obsidian implements which I found. In the poorer graves in the first cemetery there was not a trace of volcanic glass implements, whilst in the richer ones obsidian flakes or knives were very common, but here again I found no arrow heads, which occur in great quantities in other places where obsidian implements are found in Greece. Here in Antiparos the inhabitants had their obsidian close at hand, for a hill about a mile from the south-eastern graveyard is covered with it. I take it that the graves must date from the very first introduction of the knowledge of making these instruments, as there were none in the poorer graves, and flakes only in the richer ones.

Obsidian, of course, is found in abundance in other parts of

¹ This, if comparison goes for anything, points strongly to a Phœnician origin. Cf. bronze figures found at

Beyrouth with similar pointed heads, engraved in S. Merrill's *East of the Jordan*.

the world, and old graves on continental Greece produce many similar specimens. Obsidian cores come from Hungary, Mexico, Terra del Fuego, &c. Cerro de Navajos is an obsidian hill in Mexico, formerly the Sheffield of that country, where they made all their knives prior to the Spanish invasion. Quantities of obsidian implements are picked up now in the fields around there. When Cortes invaded Mexico he found the barbers of the Aztec capital shaving the natives with razors of precisely the same nature as the obsidian flakes I found at Antiparos.

The art of making them has perished but the theory is plain; any maker of gun flints could do it. The Indians still have a plan of working obsidian, by laying a bone wedge on the surface of a core, and tapping it till the stone cracks; their productions are exactly similar to the flakes I found in Antiparos, as I have certified by comparing them in the British Museum.

In the next place I found a considerable number of metal ornaments in the graves at Antiparos. I have in my possession a narrow twisted torque of silver with a large percentage of copper, rings of silver with the same oxide on as certain rings found in Etruria, which oxide cuts like horn, a band of bronze with about seventy-five per cent. of copper in it, and covered with an incrustation of red oxide and green carbonate of copper, and that little silver figure I mentioned above, with a thick incrustation of chloride of silver, thus giving us silver, copper, and bronze in use at the time of these graves.

Lastly, we will treat of the pottery, which after all is the most important item, and demands our chief attention. Pottery such as I found at Antiparos is now for the first time associated with the marble figures and marble household utensils, thus giving us some little further insight into the advance the people who made these figures had made in domestic art. On none of this pottery is there any visible trace of writing or inscriptions, thereby suggesting that the people were not Phoenicians or Sidonians, as the legend says, for most Phoenician remains have traces of inscriptions on them.

In the poorer graves we seldom found anything else but pottery: it is all of a rude character and frequently incised with rude patterns. The vase shaped like a sea urchin (Fig. 10) is covered with a sort of herring-bone pattern, and stands about a foot high.

This pattern is common on very early Hellenic glass, and is the same as we often see on ancient British vases. Most of the vases are very true, too much so to be hand-made, and consequently we may presume that many of them were turned on a potter's wheel. There is no trace however of a pattern from animal or vegetable life on these vases, all being herring or criss cross: this would place our pottery anterior to that of

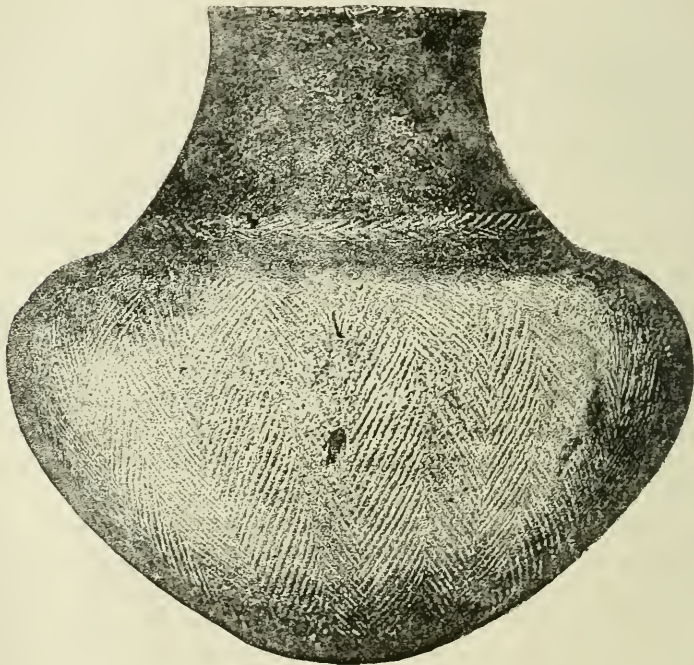


FIG. 10.

Hissarlik, on which we see attempts at the representations of eyes, noses, and breasts.

The clay is very poor and very slightly baked; much of it is black inside, as if the pots had been dried in a closed place, so that the smoke has penetrated the clay. Then again, we have frequent specimens with bits of marble in the clay to prevent it contracting. As to shape, the specimens are very varied: there

were lids without their bottoms, and frequent vases with a rim for a lid which was missing; most of them had vertical or

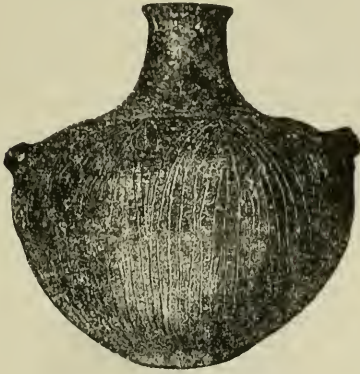


FIG. 11.

horizontal holes through which a string had been passed for suspension (*vide* Figs. 10, 11, and 13).

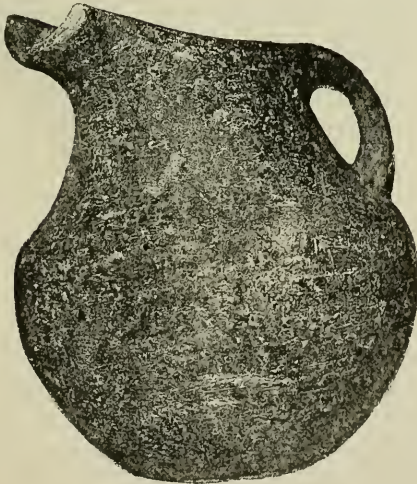


FIG. 12.

Of course no importance can be attached to the following facts, but it is worthy of remark that in a cavern in Andalusia a

fragment of a vase, now in the museum of St. Germain-en-Laye, was found with vertical tubular holes for suspension exactly like some I found at Antiparos (Fig. 11). Similar ones have been found in Breton dolmens, and in the museum of Nordiske Oldsager there exists a vase found in a Danish barrow, covered with a lid, and having on each side corresponding perforations through which strings could be passed, exactly like one I found in the richest grave I opened in Antiparos. The holes for suspension Dr. Schliemann associates with his Trojan discoveries. As to the jug (Fig. 12) Dr. Schliemann thinks that

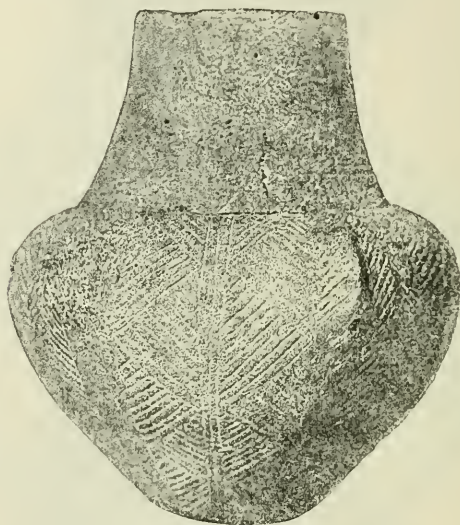


FIG. 13.

it resembles some he has recently found at Tiryns, only those at Tiryns are more elegant in form. Curiously enough this grave was the only one I opened in which I found no trace of bones. I thought that perhaps traces of cremated bones might be found in the earth which filled the vase, but there were found to be none, and the earth had evidently made its way into and filled the pot through a crack in the side.

A vase in the British Museum from Porth Dafarch in Anglesea has exactly the same pattern on it as one I have (Fig. 13), and bits of marble, or quartz probably, in the clay to prevent

contractions are very commonly found in ancient British vases. These points are merely speculations of course, and prove nothing, but still they are curious as prehistoric coincidences.

One further point with regard to this pottery I must mention which perplexed me considerably at the time. About two hundred yards from the poorer graveyard, I opened a small isolated grave, evidently that of a child; in it I found a lamp and a mug of much more recent date, probably at the most three centuries B.C. The grave was formed in exactly the same way as the others, and the only solution to the problem is this, that a child died on a boat which was storm-bound in the harbour and was buried here, the materials and method for making the grave being taken from the neighbouring graveyard. Even now barques are frequently storm-bound down here, and wait for weeks for a favourable wind to take them to their destination.

The notes appended to this paper by Dr. Garson show his opinion on one skull I brought home; if, as I hope shortly will be the case, more skulls can be obtained, some definite conclusion may be arrived at on this point.

Nothing can be decided without the aid of geology as to the dates of these graves, and with the aid of geology something might possibly be done, and it would turn on two points. Firstly as to the time of the submersion of the houses at Antiparos by the encroachment of the sea, which has evidently been brought about by the wearing through of the narrow slip of land between Antiparos and Despotico, and secondly, as to the date of the first great convulsion of nature, which changed Santorin from a lovely island, called ἡ Καλλίστη, into a mass of pumice.

No tradition or allusion to this stupendous event is made by Herodotus or other writers, and Herodotus gives us the traditions of Santorin as far back as the 16th century B.C. M. Fouqué, the French geologist, who went to Santorin to study the recent eruption, stated it as his opinion, that the first convulsion took place twenty centuries B.C. Tradition by its silence, and geology by its surmises, combine in placing this eruption before the 16th century, and the finds of the French School in Santorin and Therasia were of a date prior to this eruption, for the prehistoric villages were covered with the layer of pumice which resulted from that eruption, which in its magnitude must have equalled the recent calamity in the Sunda Straits.

Now, with the one exception of marble, my finds at Antiparos are inferior in artistic merit to both those of Santorin and Hissarlik, and hence doubtless anterior, for it can hardly be supposed that a knowledge of making superior pottery existed on one island and was unknown on another so close to it as Antiparos is to Santorin, especially as M. Fouqué proves that there existed considerable commercial intercourse between these islands.

By this vast population which inhabited the islands of the Aegæan Sea we are carried back into the remotest antiquity, and a vast population it must have been, for every island is full of these graves. In our travels we found lots of the marble figures and bowls in the peasants' houses, which they had found whilst digging in their fields, but from observations I may state that the great centre of this population was Paros, for the eastern side of the island is a perfect necropolis, whereas the richest finds and the best designed figures have come from Amorgos, and the rudest ones I have seen are those I found at Antiparos. I am convinced that a further study of this subject, under a more vigorous system of excavation than I was able to bestow on it would result in many interesting facts becoming known about this primitive race of mankind.

J. THEODORE BENT.

NOTES ON AN ANCIENT GRECIAN SKULL OBTAINED BY
MR. THEODORE BENT FROM ANTIPAROS, ONE OF THE
CYCLADES.

By J. G. GARSON, M.D., *Royal College of Surgeons.*

The skull from the Greek tombs at Antiparos placed in my hands for examination by Mr. Bent is that of an adult male of middle age. In general appearance it is of rounded form, broad in proportion to its length, and particularly deep from above downwards at the posterior or occipital region. This gives it a peculiarly massive look, and is due to the rapidity with which the posterior part curves downwards towards the *foramen magnum* from the middle parietal region. The shortness of the cranium is as it were counterbalanced by the fulness of the cerebellar region. The cephalic index (the relation of breadth to the length, the latter being taken as 100), is 80·9, it is therefore brachycephalic. The basio-bregmatic height index (the relation of the height to the length) is 79·2. The breadth and height in proportion to the length are therefore very nearly the same. The alveolar index, which indicates the degree of projection of the lower part of

the face, is 87.1, which places it in the orthognathous group. The form of the nasal aperture is mesorhine, the index being 51.0. The orbits are fairly large and open, the orbital index, or the relation of the height to the width of the orbit, being 84.6, which shows them to be mesosene. The parietal tubera are well marked, the mesial frontal suture is persistent, and the glabella is fairly prominent.

Comparing this skull with the other Greek skulls in the College of Surgeons' Museum, we find it most nearly agree in general character with one obtained from an ancient tomb at Ruvo in Magna Grecia, which was found to be rich in Grecian relics. This latter however is considerably more dolichocephalic (its length-breadth index being 74.3), as are also the other Greek skulls in the Museum, with the exception of one from Nola, a Chalcidic colony.

For the sake of comparison, I place side by side with the measurements of this skull, those of what is usually considered a typical Grecian skull obtained from Cuma, an Eolic colony, from which it will be seen that the skull from Antiparos differs considerably.

	Skull from Antiparos.	Skull from Cun.a.
Length (maximum)	178 mm.	188
Breadth (maximum)	144	139
Length-breadth Index.....	80.9	73.9
Height	141	129
Height-length Index	79.2	68.6
Circumference (horizontal).....	510	525
Basio-Nasal length	101	105
Basio-Alveolar	88	102
Alveolar Index.....	87.1	97.1
Nasal length	51	53
Nasal breadth	26	25
Nasal Index	51.0	47.2
Orbital width	39	37
Orbital height	33	35
Orbital Index	84.6	86.7

The small amount of material we possess of this once great and famous nation renders this addition very valuable. It is very desirable that more skulls, and if possible skeletons, or at least the long bones, be obtained, so that their osteological characters may be more fully studied. I cannot too strongly impress on those interested in Grecian history and archaeology the importance of obtaining and preserving the human remains as well as the works of art. At present the data from which to base conclusions as to the osteological characters of the ancient inhabitants of Greece are totally insufficient. Mutual co-operation between those interested in Grecian art on the one hand, and physical anthropology on the other, will be certain to extend our knowledge of this most interesting people who once inhabited the earth.

NOTE ON THE INSCRIPTION FROM PRIENÉ.

(VOL. IV. p. 237.)

I HAVE been favoured with a letter from M. Haussoullier, Professor of Greek Antiquities at Bordeaux, respecting the Prienian decree which I published in the last number of this *Journal* from the MS. copy of Mr. Murray. M. Haussoullier, whose valuable contributions to Greek epigraphy are well-known, especially to readers of the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, tells me that he visited Prienè in 1879 and took an impression and copy of this same inscription. He has very kindly communicated to me the readings in which his impression differs from Mr. Murray's MS. The comparison proves the general accuracy of Mr. Murray's copy.

Line 9.—Murray τὸν χρόνον: Haussoullier τὸν χρόνον.

Line 19.—Murray ὅπως δαμη, from which I restored ὅπως δ[ε]μή: Haussoullier ὅπως δ'ά... only.

Line 21.—Murray μαθωνοντων ΔΙΑ—his first ω looked equally like α; and so I read it, suggesting μα[ν]θανόντων. But ω is right, for Haussoullier has ΘΩΝΟΝΤΩΝ only.

Line 22.—Murray κοινον, apparently corrected from κοινων. The latter is confirmed by Haussoullier, who has [κ]οινῶν.

It will be observed that Mr. Murray seems in several cases to have succeeded in reading one or two more letters than appear in M. Haussoullier's impression. As Mr. Murray visited Kelibesch in 1870 and M. Haussoullier in 1879, it is very likely that the edges of the stone had sustained some damage during the nine years' interval. This should be borne in mind when we pass from the unimportant readings given above to the reading of line 2, which I reserve to the last as involving the name of a Prienian month.

In line 2 Mr. Murray has **ΤΑΥΝ**, and begins line 3 **ΟΥΛΥΣΙΑΣ**. I imagined **ΤΑΥΝ | ΟΥ**, of which I could make no sense, to be a false reading for **ΠΑΝΗ | [Μ]ΟΥ**, the known name of a Prienian month. The accuracy of Mr. Murray's copy is, however, confirmed in part by M. Haussoullier's impression, which reads in line 2 **ΤΑΥΙ**, but in line 3 **ΥΣΙΑΣ** only. It is certain, therefore, that our inscription gave the name of a month not mentioned in any other Prienian document. How is it to be restored? Probably I was right at first in suggesting *Ταυρεών* (Vol. IV. p. 238). If not *Ταυρεών* it might be *Ταύρειος*. The latter would make the genitive in **ΟΥ** agree with Mr. Murray's reading of line 3; while *Ταυρεών* is a well-known name of an Ionic month at Kyzikos (Böckh, *C. I.* 3658). In either case we must suppose Mr. Murray to have mis-read the **P** as **N** at the end of line 2.

The minute accuracy upon which the study of inscriptions depends can seldom be assured except through the repeated examination of a marble, if possible by different eyes. Thus letter by letter do we recover the relics of ancient Greek civilization.

E. L. HICKS.

ORNAMENTS AND ARMOUR FROM KERTCH IN
THE NEW MUSEUM AT OXFORD.

PLATES XLVI., XLVII.

WHEN Mr. Newton, in 1874,¹ was writing about Greek art in the Kimmerian Bosphoros, he was obliged to refer his readers for a sight of the objects he was describing to the Ermitage at St. Petersburg, and to the two magnificent Russian publications² in which are reproduced some of the recent acquisitions of that museum. If any are desirous of learning what is the place in the history of Greek art which is filled by the discoveries in the Crimea, and of gaining a general view of the history and results of the excavations carried on in that region by the Russian government, it is needless to say that Mr. Newton's article will still meet their requirements; but for a view of some specimens of the objects therein referred to it is no longer necessary for an Englishman to travel to St. Petersburg, for there is now in the New Museum at Oxford a collection of gold and other ornaments, vases and weapons, which, though of course comparatively insignificant both as to numbers and the magnificence of individual articles, yet offers samples of most of the principal classes of objects discovered in the neighbourhood of the Crimea. The objects of which it consists were all found near Kertch, the ancient Pantikapaion, which has now for some time been famous as the chief centre of the Russian excavations; they were presented to the University of Oxford by Dr. C. W. Siemens. Drawings have been made of the most important specimens by Mr. Julian Drummond, and these we

¹ *Portfolio*, Nos. 58, 60. *Essays on Art and Archaeology*, ix. *Rendu de la Commission Impériale Archéologique*. See also Ouvaroff, *Antiquités de la Russie Méridionale*.

² Gillé and Stephani, *Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien*: Stephani, *Compte*

are now enabled through the kindness of Sir H. W. Acland to reproduce.

The collection is formed from the spoil of five Greek graves. Both from the nature of the ornaments discovered, and also from the skeletons themselves, it has been ascertained that in one of these graves a warrior was buried, while the other four contained the remains of women. The graves were all inclosed within small tumuli, some of which occur arranged in rows, others solitary. The floors of the graves, which were protected by hewn slabs of limestone, twelve inches in thickness, were usually excavated about two feet below the level of the surrounding soil, a tumulus being piled up above them to some considerable height—eighteen and twenty-four feet in two recorded instances. The human remains were in each case inclosed in coffins of walnut wood, but these fell to dust on exposure, as also did the bones themselves; the only exception among them was one skull, that of the warrior, which was protected by his helmet. This is now duly preserved in the Oxford Museum, in a series of crania, opposite the case where his belongings are displayed. The bodies were in each case placed with their heads towards the east.

Besides the ornaments, arms, and other articles for use or display usually found in the tombs, there seems to have been in one case a further attempt to provide for the employment and comfort of the deceased. Outside the coffin in the fourth tumulus were a chair and a spindle, as well as two cups, all of wood. Of these, however, nothing is now to be seen, as they completely crumbled away on exposure to the air. The warrior buried in the first tumulus was provided with the services of his horse and his dog in the region of the dead. The skeletons of both these animals were discovered outside the grave, and lying by the horse's head was an iron bit, so completely corroded as to fall to pieces. It appears that this custom of burying animals, especially horses, with their master, was by no means unfrequent in the neighbourhood of Kimmerian Bosphoros, as similar remains have, in numerous cases, been discovered in the graves of that region.

Before describing in detail the various articles reproduced in our plates, it will perhaps be as well to give a short general list of the things found in each grave, and briefly to consider, where

necessary, those to which we shall not again have occasion to refer.

In the first tumulus was the grave of the warrior above mentioned. The tumulus itself was twenty-four feet in height; within it, and outside the grave, were the remains of the dog and the horse. The grave itself yielded the richest find of all this series; in it were all the articles reproduced on Pl. XLVI. Hence it will be seen that the warrior was provided with a helmet and other armour, that around him were arrows, a mirror, and a pair of earrings, and that his dress was covered with numerous small plates of gold. At Oxford there are also bits of woollen stuffs and skins in which he was wrapped, a sponge, a heavy bronze ladle, a gold ring without any intaglio design, and a massive gold collar or torque, tapering from the middle towards the two ends, which are not joined together; thus it could, from its elasticity, easily be put on or taken off. This torque is a perfectly simple piece of gold, without any ornament whatever, like that represented in the *Compte Rendu* for 1876, Pl. iv. 6. It is recorded that there were also found in this grave the remains of two small marble and earthenware vases, of the kind formerly called 'lachrymatories,' two swords, one shorter than the other, and eight pieces of gold forming a necklace, but none of these are now in the collection.

The second tumulus, which was eighteen feet high, contained the grave of a woman. The coffin was painted red and white. Here were found the ring, necklace, and a pair of clasps represented on Pl. XLVII. 11, 12, 13, and also three plain bowls, each with two handles, a variegated glass alabastron, a flat round platter without handles, raised upon a high foot, and three other vases. Two of these last are of the form called by Gerhard 'askos';¹ they have the mouth at one side, and the handle running from it right across to the other side; both are painted with red figures. On one are a hare and a dog,² on the other two satyrs, each carrying a horn, and one an amphora. On the third vase, an aryballos, are two does and a tree. All these are now in Oxford.

¹ Or 'askion,' *Ann. Inst.* 1836. Guhl and Koner, *Life of the Greeks and Romans*, Fig. 198; 32.

² Cf. *Compte Rendu*, 1876, p. 130; a vase of similar shape, with lion and hare.

The third and fifth tumuli, in both of which women were buried, seem not to have yielded very many articles. From the third came the necklace and armlets reproduced on Pl. XLVII. 9, 10; from the fifth, the ring, Pl. XLVII. 7.¹

The fourth tumulus, again containing a woman's grave, was much richer in its yield. Numerous gold plates had served to ornament the dress of its occupant (Pl. XLVII. 23), and a necklace, a pair of armlets, a pair of clasps, two rings, and an amulet of chalcedony (Pl. XLVII. 1, 4—8), were among her ornaments. In this grave were also found a small silver bowl with two handles, a sponge, a perforated bronze wine-strainer, described as an incense-vase, and a small copper-gilt mirror with a handle: these form part of the Oxford collection. Here too were the wooden chair, spindle, and cups above referred to.

Having thus given a general sketch of the nature and quantity of the objects discovered, it now remains for us to consider somewhat more in detail those more important ones among them which have been selected for reproduction in our two plates, taking them after the order of their numbers.

XLVI. 1 is a piece of armour discovered in the first tumulus: this, as well as 3, would be called scale-armour by M. Stephani, though only the latter corresponds to the more ordinary type. No. 1 consists of bars of bronze, riveted together by bronze wire, and fastened upon a lining of tough hide, which is still in a wonderfully good state of preservation. In the *Compte Rendu* for 1876, Pl. ii. 11, 12, 15, 16, 20, are represented several fragments of scale-armour, some of them almost exactly resembling this piece in construction. It is hard to see what part of the armour was formed either by this,² or by No. 3, for both have the hide turned over them at the edge in such a way as to indicate that they were more or less separate pieces. From the shape of the former piece, one may conjecture that it was one of the plated pteryges which are usually seen hanging from the waist of a thorax; the chief objection to this is that scale breastplates were not generally made after this customary pattern.

XLVI. 2 is a helmet of bronze. Unlike the merely ornamental head-pieces often found in tombs, this was evidently made for actual use. It is quite plain, and without decoration of any sort;

¹ It is uncertain whether this ring belongs to the fifth grave or the first.

² This is called a gauntlet in the description.

a flat ridge runs over the top of the crown. On the front of it, visible in our illustration, a plate of bronze had been riveted on to it by three nails. Opposite this is a corresponding space left free from the series of holes which surrounds the rest of the rim; in the centre of this space are two holes, one above the other. On each side of the helmet is a short slit. It is not clear what was the purpose of all these small holes; they may have been for the attachment of a lining.¹ Other protective metal plates can hardly have been fastened to them, as if so some remains of these must have been found.

XLVI. 3 is a piece of scale-armour of the ordinary fish-scale type (λεπιδωτός). In the *Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien*, Pl. xxvii., and also in the *Compte Rendu* for 1876, Pl. ii. 18, 19, are numerous examples of these scales; indeed, as many as 2,500 are recorded to have been found even at the time of the earlier publication,² whence it would appear that this kind of armour was much in use amongst the Greeks in the neighbourhood of the Crimea. Yet a special interest attaches to the Oxford example, for in it we find the scales still fastened by leather thongs to a lining of hide, thus showing exactly the construction of the coat of mail. The lining has in other cases perished, though in one instance it is recorded to have been found upon opening the tomb, and to have crumbled away on exposure. By some fortunate chance this piece of leather has survived, and with it the arrangement of the bronze scales. Here, as in the case of No. 1, it is hard to see the exact destination of this piece of armour; perhaps this may be a shoulder-piece.³

XLVI. 4 is a bronze ornament in the form of a camel's head; it is about five inches long, and has a small staple for attachment at the back. It seems to have served the same purpose as the

¹ More probably they may have served for fastening a leather brim to the helmet. The cavalry of Northern Greece often wore a helmet somewhat in the form of a modern sun-helmet, such as Eueratides, King of Bactria, wears on his coins. Such a helmet, in metal, is at Rugby, in the possession of Mr. Bloxam; but it seems likely that the rim would usually be made, for lightness, of leather.

² 1854-55.

³ Mr. A. J. Evans suggests that No. 3 is the lid of a quiver. The hole at the lower corner would well suit a shoulder-piece, for these often had thongs attached to them and tied lower down. On the other hand, I have not found an example on monuments of a scale-armour made with shoulder-pieces of the ordinary type.

object represented in the *Compte Rendu* for 1876, p. 126, and there described by M. Stephani as a harness ornament. The appearance of the camel in Greek art is so rare as to call for some remark. It is a somewhat singular coincidence, at least, that the earliest instance known occurs on a vase found in this region, and published in the *Compte Rendu* for 1875, Pl. v. 1. M. Stephani,¹ in commenting on this, enumerates the other instances in which the animal is found, and these form by no means a long list;² he generally traces either some reference to Bacchanalian triumphs, or to the local characteristics of hot regions. Hence the occurrence here, apparently as a purely decorative form, is very peculiar.

XLVI. 5 represents specimens of a series of arrow-heads; the one of simpler form, without a socket to cover the end of the shaft, is of bone; only one of this material was found here. Of the other and more elaborate pattern twenty-five were found; these are of copper and are gilt, as also are the arrow-heads on Pl. xxvii. of the *Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien*; ³ none of those, however, are so elaborate as these in design. When found, the shafts of these arrows could also be seen; they were made of reeds.

XLVI. 6 is one of a pair of gold earrings, of very peculiar construction and design. In the *Compte Rendu* for 1876, Pl. iii. 42, is an earring of very similar shape, there described by M. Stephani as 'ganz einfach.' Here, however, there is a further modification of this shape, which seems to have struck the artist as similar to that of a cock. He has accordingly increased this resemblance by adding a cock's head to it, the body being still ornamented by ordinary jewellery designs, such as a wreath, and a zig-zag produced by alternating granulated triangles; the place of the tail-feathers, too, is taken by the long pin curling round towards the head. Indeed, the resemblance to a cock seems merely to be felt and indicated by the introduction of the head, without being carried out into any further details.

XLVI. 7 gives specimens of eighty-four small gold plates in the

¹ *C. R.* Text 1875, pp. 95-100.

tury B. C.

² A camel mounted by a driver occurs as type of a coin of Phœnicia or Judæa (uncertain) of the fourth cen-

³ Those in the *Ant. Bosp. Cim.* are bronze with remains of gilding.

form of rabbits, which were found scattered over the breast, having evidently once served as the ornaments of a piece of clothing which has now disappeared. Such plates, often called bracteae, (*πέταλα*), are well known to be among the most frequently discovered objects in the tombs of this region, whence we may assume that its inhabitants were fond of dresses decorated with them (*χρυσόπαστοι, διάχρυσοι ἐσθῆτες*). On the breast of this warrior were also found two hollow gold bosses, of which one is represented in I. 8.

XLVI. 9 is the handle of a mirror, whose plate, also found, though broken away at the part where it was attached to the handle, was of copper gilt; the decoration consists of spirals and vegetable forms. It seems somewhat surprising to find either a mirror or earrings in the tomb of a man, together with armour and weapons. They may have been objects endeared to him by association.

With this ends the list of objects found in the first tumulus; the rest of the graves, being those of women, contained mostly articles of female ornament: these will all be found on Plate XLVII.

No. 1 is one of a pair of armlets; such ornaments were often used by the Greeks, and these are too small for the neck, and too large for the wrist. They seem to have no clasp, but to have kept in their place by their own elasticity; the ends of them terminate in rams' heads, a frequently recurring form. These heads, as well as the casing of the rings themselves, are made of thin plates of gold; the ring has a core of solid bronze; and over this the gold plate is laid in such a way that its join can be clearly traced all along the inner side. The rams' heads are merely hollow cases of gold fitted over the ends of this core. The bands of ornament which surround the ends of the ring just below the heads are interesting, as one may clearly see in them that method of fabrication which is supposed to have led to the predilection for spirals in goldsmiths' work. The spiral decorations here consist of fine gold wire, coiled into the requisite form and then soldered on to the ground. Some of these coils have become loose, and thus the manner of their application is evident.

XLVII. 2 and 3 are specimens of those small gold plates which we have already met in tumulus I. and which were used for the

decoration of the dress ; only one was found like No. 2, with the representation of a full face, and holes pierced for attachment to the material of the dress. Similar full-faced heads¹ are often found on the plates of the Russian publications ; sometimes they seem to be Gorgoneia, but more frequently they have no distinctive characteristics. They may often be regarded as amulets, especially when, as here, only one of them is found among numerous plates of different design.

No. 3, on the other hand, is one of forty-nine similar plates found scattered over the body. All are in the form of a lion, a rather favourite device;² and each has three holes in it for attachment. These holes are, however, not quite identically placed on all, so it is clear that all were not pierced at once, and that the holes are independent of the stamp by which the design was produced.

XLVII. 4 is a part of a gold necklace, which consists of alternative links of two different kinds, with a pendant from each. Half the links are in the form of rosettes, the other half in that of two crescents back to back ; a hollow tube for threading runs at the back of each link. These rosettes and double crescents, doubtless because of the adaptability of their form to one another, are also seen combined in the decoration of a gold-mounted whet-stone³ discovered in this neighbourhood, and we find too links⁴ of a necklace in the form of two crescents back to back, with two tubes running at the back for the cords. The pendants consist of hollow gold ; those from the rosettes are elaborately worked to resemble acorns, and are very much larger than the others.

XLVII. 5 is one of a pair of objects whose purpose can hardly be said to have been as yet clearly ascertained ; it consists of bronze gilt, and its ends terminate in granulated pyramids. Many similar specimens have been found in the neighbourhood of Kertch ; one much resembling this is represented on Plate xxxii. 14, of the *Antiquités du Bospore Cimmérien*. In that publication fourteen⁵ others are referred to, in various materials, gold, silver, and bronze gilt. A suggestion is there made that

¹ Ouaroff, *op. cit.* Pl. vi. 3 ; *Antiquités du Bosp. Cim.* Pl. xiii. 10 ; xxi. 16, 21, &c.

² *Ant. du Bosp. Cim.* Pl. xx. 2 ; *C.R.* 1876, Pl. iii. 9.

³ *Ant. du Bosp. Cim.* Pl. xxx. 7.

⁴ *Ibid.* Pl. xxiv. 9.

⁵ In 1854-55. Several more have been found since.

these were used as agraffes, for fastening the chiton on the shoulder. Again, we find one represented in the *Compte Rendu* for 1876, Pl. iii. 32, and in commenting on this, M. Stephani observes that these objects are invariably found in pairs, and always on the breast, not on the shoulder, and that they are worn by men and women alike. This seems to be all we can learn about them, and their exact use must still be left in doubt; they probably served in some way as clasps to keep the dress in position; may they have been connected with the girdle, and held it in its place?

XLVII. 6 is a gold signet ring with what seems a portrait head, somewhat roughly cut in intaglio, in the metal itself, as in the case of the bronze ring represented in *Ouvaroff*, op. cit. Plate xvi. 17.¹

XLVII. 7 is a gold ring with a design cut in intaglio in the metal itself; this design is a youthful head, full-face, with horns and long hair; a chlamys over the shoulders is fastened by a brooch beneath the chin. Above the head is an uncertain object, which may be a bee or fly, possibly a bud. If we are desirous of finding the meaning of this device, the type is one which might well represent the young Dionysos or a River-god.

XLVII. 8 is a chalcedony, bored through its greater diameter; on it is cut in intaglio an oriental animal, winged and mitred; it has the body, head, and fore-paws of a lion, but its hinder legs end in bird-like talons. This gem was probably used as an amulet; it was found near the neck and breast of the woman's skeleton in the fourth tumulus. In the *Antiquités du Bospore Cimmérien* Pl. xvi. 2, 3, 5, 6, 10, 14, we find Babylonian or Assyrian devices, on cylinders and on gems attached to swivel-rings or chains; this may have had, as a substitute for a chain, a thread which has now disappeared, and so have been hung round the neck.

XLVII. 9 is a portion of a gold necklace, consisting of alternate larger and smaller squares, each divided by one horizontal, and three vertical depressions; the larger ones are also adorned with rosettes. Pendants hang from the links, one from each in this part of the necklace; the five rosette-squares nearest to the centre of the whole have two pendants each. The pendants

¹ Cf. also *Ant. du Bosp. Cim.* Pl. xviii.

from these squares are ornamented only with plain ribs; those from the smaller ones have beaded ribs, and also, perhaps, a decoration of crossing lines between the ribs.¹ At one end is a clasp for fastening the necklace on, but how this worked is not now apparent.

XLVII. 10 is one of a pair of armlets or bracelets; these are of silver, with heads of thin gold plate at the ends. These heads are those of panthers or lions, of a very conventional oriental type. Below the heads is a plain band, encircled by a wreath at each end.

XLVII. 11 is a signet ring of gold with a sphinx crouching, cut in intaglio in the metal itself; in front and behind are buds which serve to fill up the space of the field.

XLVII. 12 gives three views of a specimen of twenty-six rams' heads, in hollow gold, all pierced through the neck so as to be strung together to form a necklace; a granulated triangle is introduced as an ornament, possibly representing wool, above the forehead of each.

XLVII. 13 is one of a pair of hollow gold clasps, the fastenings of which are still to be seen. The two ends are covered with plain caps, but the ring is ornamented with flutings which run in the form of a spiral, starting in reverse directions, from the middle towards the ends. These clasps may have served to fasten the chiton together upon the shoulders.

Such are the objects selected as specimens of the collection now at Oxford; and in these are included all the pieces of jewellery or armour which are of any importance. In that collection those who have not seen the vast store of similar treasures now in St. Petersburg may find some specimens to illustrate the nature and workmanship of the contents of the tombs in southern Russia; and at the same time it is highly valuable as filling some gaps even in the rich series of the Hermitage.

There does not seem to be among the articles now in the Oxford Museum any one which possesses such distinctive characteristics of style or subject as would enable us to assign a definite date to itself, and to the other objects found with it. No grounds are apparent for making any distinction in this

¹ This is by no means so certain as visible on most. Perhaps it is merely accidental. appears on the plate; the cross is not clear on any, and no trace of it is

respect between the five graves; they seem all to belong to the same period, and their contents show much similarity both to one another and to numerous other objects found in the same region. This period is that of Alexander the Great, a time during which Pantikapaion, and other Greek colonies in this region, were at the summit of their prosperity, and to which are generally assigned the majority of the graves recently excavated in southern Russia. Nothing in them points to the style of an earlier period; nor, on the other hand, is there any trace of that deterioration in taste and workmanship which we might expect in products of later date.

The style of the articles in the Oxford collection does not differ from that of most of the others found in the same neighbourhood, and now in St. Petersburg. This has been already discussed by Mr. Newton,¹ but it will not be amiss here briefly to refer to a few of its chief characteristics. The art of the Greek Crimea was, in its origin at least, that of Athens. Many of the most magnificent objects discovered were probably imported from that city; but there they had been manufactured with a special view to this market, so that even in them some reaction of local taste and influence may be expected. Most of the smaller articles, such as those found in our five graves, may well have been the work of local goldsmiths. But these would copy Athenian models and work under Athenian influence, and hence the importance to us of the metal-work found in the Crimea, in the scarcity of other specimens which can be assigned to purely Hellenic art. Other influences must of course be allowed for: oriental types are not of infrequent occurrence, especially in the case of rings, cylinders, and gems which may have served as amulets; but instances in articles of a purely ornamental nature, such as the armlets, XLVII. 10, are sometimes to be found. Nor can the barbarism of the neighbouring Scythians have been without all influence, though it does not frequently obtrude itself. Many of the articles may have been made for the use of these barbarians, and even the Greek colonists probably did not keep themselves untainted from the taste of those among whom they dwelt. But even after allowing for all these foreign influences, enough of purely Hellenic art is left to be of the utmost value to us, since by it we may see how

¹ *Art. cit.*

the refined taste of the Greeks could adapt itself to the delicacies of goldsmiths' work no less than to the grandeur of a colossal statue. Before the Russian excavations, the knowledge of Greek metal-work was most scanty; but for them, and for a few isolated specimens found upon the islands or other Hellenic soil, we should be reduced to drawing uncertain and inadequate inferences from the products of Etruria and of Rome, imitative indeed of Greek art and subordinate to its influence, but totally unable to preserve to us the spirit of the models after which they were formed. Therefore it is that any acquisitions from a region of more purely Hellenic influence are of the utmost value for a truer appreciation of Hellenic art in England.

E. A. GARDNER.

THE BELL AND THE TRUMPET. (ΚΩΔΩΝ, ΣΑΛΠΙΓΞ.)

THE bell, as is well known, plays in Hellenic life a very limited part. From prose authors, describing the actual facts of life, *οἷς χρώμεθ', οἷς ξύνεσμεν*—to use a phrase of Aristophanes closely connected with this topic—we hear of *κώδωνες* or *bells* in two functions only, I think. They are the attribute of the crier, and of the sentinel on the wall. The first use of them was familiar enough to create a proverb *διαπράσσεσθαι τι ὡς κώδωνα ἐξαψάμενος*, 'to do a thing like a crier with a bell tied to him,' *i.e.* ostentatiously, a proverb roughly corresponding to our 'be one's own trumpeter,' which the lexicon cites with it. Of the second use, which, we may observe, was confined, for anything that appears to the contrary, to times of special apprehension, we have a well-known example in the last chapter of the fourth book of Thucydides. Brasidas, in the course of his brilliant campaign *ἐπὶ Θράκης*, made a daring though unsuccessful attempt to convert the instrument of precaution into an occasion of surprise by scaling part of the wall of Potidaea at the very moment when a sentinel watching it had gone to the end of his beat 'to pass the bell' to the next man. The object of the round was of course to give a noisy proof to the authorities and the inhabitants that at the fixed hour the sentinels were all at their posts. Sometimes, as we see from Aristophanes, *Birds*, 842, a different way was used—a tour of inspection being made by one bellman: *κώδωνοφορῶν περίτρεχε καὶ κάθευδ' ἐκεῖ* is one of the glib commands which *Peithetairos* pours out upon the long-suffering *Euelpides*. The ironical hint that he should take a nap on the way suggests the dangers of trusting so much to one functionary. The tour of *Euelpides* is properly speaking an inspection of the works in course of building, not of sentries, and it is very probable that 'the bell' was then, as it is still, a familiar voice where large parties of

workmen are employed over a considerable area, whether in civil or military constructions. Later in the same play (1160) the carrying of the bell is duly mentioned among the protections of the new-built Nephelokokkygia against surprise on the part of the hostile gods.

Such was the bell in daily Greek life. But the poets give us glimpses of a different 'bell,' not carried but worn as a military decoration and instrument of terror, whether on the personal armour, the shield or the helmet, or on the chariot and gear of the horses. It is with this smaller decorative *κώδων* that we are now concerned. As I have already said, the most noticeable thing about it is that it is not a truly Greek decoration—or at least not, if one may so say, classical. In the *Frogs* of Aristophanes *Euripides*, it will be remembered, takes credit to himself and his type of tragedy, in comparison with the manner of Aeschylus, for having made poetry of the real facts of life, *οἷς χρώμεθ', οἷς ξύνεσμεν*, and contrasts the bearded, scowling, mock-Titanic militaires formed by the old teaching with the supple and dexterous politicians of his own school (*Frogs*, 964).

γνώσει δὲ τοὺς τούτου τε κᾶμονς ἐκατέρου μαθητάς·
 τουτουμενὶ Φορμίσιος Μεγαίνετός θ' ὁ Μανῆς,
 σαλπιγγολογχυπηνάδαι, σαρκασμοπιτυκάμπται·
 οὐμοὶ δὲ Κλειτοφῶν τε καὶ Θηραμένης ὁ κομψός.

It is interesting to note that the thing selected by Euripides as the type of the poetry which sought dignity and impressiveness in the unfamiliar is the *armour-bell*. 'I did not,' says the poet of culture (*σοφία*), 'I did not tear my audience from thought to bombastic noise, I did not startle them with representations of a Kyknos or a Memnon with bells upon the harness of their steeds.'

ἄλλ' οὐκ ἐκομπολάκουν
 ἀπὸ τοῦ φρονεῖν ἀποσπάσας, οὐδ' ἐξέπληττον αὐτοὺς
 Κύκνους ποιῶν καὶ Μέμνονας κωδωνοφαλαροπώλους.

'No,' he says, 'I invited reflexion, sober judgment, by keeping to objects which my hearers knew well enough to criticise.'

ξυνειδότες γὰρ οὗτοι
 ἤλεγχον ἄν μου τὴν τέχνην.

If we refer to the extant specimens of tragedy, this position is fully justified. The *κώδων* is not apparently mentioned in Euripides. Whether Sophokles actually introduced it upon the stage we cannot say. It is not upon the stage in the fragment cited by Plutarch (738), where the *κωδωνόκροτον σάκος*, the shield with clashing bells, is mentioned as an accoutrement of the Trojans, *φίλιπποι καὶ κερουλκοὶ σὺν σάκει δὲ κωδωνοκρότῳ παλαισταί*. It is impossible to mistake the depreciatory tone of these words, which bring the empty terrors of a barbarian chivalry, the *τοξόδαμνον* Ἄρη of men who drew the bow-tip, into comparison with the grim earnest of the Greek spearman on foot. Once in the extant tragedies of Sophokles we find a *κώδων*. To the voice of the brazen-mouthed Italian *κώδων* is compared the clear voice of Athena, caught by the ready ear and mind of her faithful Odysseus (*Aias* 14).

ὦ φθέγμ' Ἀθάνας, φιλτάτης ἐμοὶ θεῶν,
ὡς εὐμαθὲς σου, κὰν ἄποπτος ἦς, ὅμως
φώνημ' ἀκούω καὶ ξυναρπάζω φρενὶ
χαλκοστόμου κώδωνος ὡς Τυρσηνικῆς.

The traditional interpretation of this passage, descending from the scholia, would exclude it from our theme, by giving to *κώδων* the unusual sense *τὸ πλατὺ τῆς σάλπιγγος*, 'the broad end of the trumpet.' This explanation seems however somewhat doubtful. A 'special meaning' is a common device of careless commentators, and the epithets *χαλκόστομος* and *Τυρσηνική*, both proper to the trumpet, would be quite sufficient to provoke the note. Really they prove nothing. The bell was as certainly a foreign thing by origin as the trumpet, and may well have been also Italian, or so supposed; and when we see that the armour-bell was to Sophokles a characteristic of Troy, we are reminded that a legend of unknown antiquity, which derived from later history an unforeseen importance, did connect Asia with Italy, the Lydian allies of Troy with the 'Tyrrhenian' Tiber. Going back to Aeschylus, we see from Aristophanes that the actual bell, as a part of theatrical costume, was employed by the poet to add the effect of a strange terror to such heroic and imaginary figures as Kyknos the son of Ares, and Memnon the son of the Dawn—with the advantage, as *Euripides* kindly suggests, that the unwonted noise saved the

accompanying words from the animadversions of a reflecting spectator. The author of the *Rhesos*, who imitates all the triad in turn, has imitated Aeschylus in the entry of the Thracian monarch, the ally and kinsman, by the way, of the Trojans. When a messenger announces his approach, we are told that bound on the foreheads of his horses, as on the goddess' aegis, is a brazen Gorgon, 'ringing terror with many a bell' (*Rhes.* 308): and when he arrives, the soldiers shout in admiration of his armour bound with gold, and the proud rattle of his bells (*Rhes.* 383):

ἴδε χρυσόδετον σώματος ἀλκῆν
κλύε καὶ κόμπους κωδωνοκρότους
παρὰ πορπάκων κελαδοῦντας.

Here we are given another 'special meaning,' for the lexicon will have it that *πόρπαξ* is not *πόρπαξ* here but *πόρπη*, though why or how a bell should be attached to a buckle-pin rather than to the handle-bar which crossed the interior of the shield is a question to be asked. Wherever they were fixed, these bells of Rhesos are the expression of that feeling so peculiarly detestable to the Hellenic mind, the noisy and unsober pride which goes before a fall. It is again in this aspect that the bell is presented in the *Seven against Thebes*. If this were a proper place, it might be shown that the whole colouring of the military descriptions in that play is archaic, while those of the proud invaders, doomed to the punishment of pride, are designedly offensive and it may be said non-Hellenic. For the present we are concerned only with the wild and wicked Tydeus, whose taunts against his too unworthy associate in arms, the calm and pious Amphiaraus, are significantly followed by the description of his umbrageous triple crest and his intimidating bells.

λόφοι δὲ κώδων τ' οὐ δάκνουσ' ἄνευ δορός,

is the comment of *Eteokles*. A question of some interest arises upon the details of this description, which runs as follows (*Theb.* 384)—

τοιαῦτ' αὐτῶν τρεῖς κατασκίους λόφους
σειεί, κράνους χαίτωμ', ὑπ' ἀσπίδος δὲ τῷ
χαλκήλατοι κλάζουσι κώδωνες φόβον
ἔχει δ' ὑπέρφρον σῆμ' ἐπ' ἀσπίδος τόδε, κ.τ.λ.

and so follows his arrogant device of a nocturnal sky, moon, and stars. It would thus appear that the bells are fixed in some way *under* the shield, to the handle (*πόρπαξ*), perhaps, where Rhesos wore some of his. But on a closer examination there is reason for a different view. The replies of *Eteokles* to the successive descriptions given by his scouts are throughout close commentaries upon those descriptions. Now, in his remark, above quoted, on the harmless gauds of Tydeus, it will be noticed that the bell is associated not with the shield but with the crest. I add the context :

κόσμον μὲν ἀνδρὸς οὔτιν' ἂν τρέσαιμ' ἐγὼ
οὐδ' ἔλκοποιὰ γίγνεται τὰ σήματα.
λόφοι δε κώδων τ' οὐ δάκνουσ' ἄνευ δορός.
καὶ νύκτα ταύτην ἦν λέγεις ἐπ' ἀσπίδος, κ.τ.λ.

and so follows the refutation of the emblematic boast. The first two lines point to the whole description: the fourth, with those that follow it, refer specially to the shield; it would certainly be natural to refer the second to the helmet, more especially as the phrase *οὐ δάκνουσι* *do not sting*, is plainly aimed at the comparison of Tydeus to the *δράκων*—

μεσημβριναῖς κλαγγαῖσιν ὡς δράκων βοᾷ—

the serpent whose 'hairy mane terrific' is celebrated by Milton, following ancient fable with his usual preference of literary colouring to natural fact, and is represented in the armour of Tydeus by the *λόφος* or *κράνους χαίτωμα*. If the harsh sound of the *κώδων* is not to be associated with this comparison, half the point of *Eteokles'* retort is lost. Noticing this, if we go back to the description, we see that it has a flaw. After the words *ὑπ' ἀσπίδος* in 385, the occurrence of *ἐπ' ἀσπίδος* in 386 is not only poor in sound, but pointless in sense, for *ἔχει δ' ὑπέρφρον σῆμα τόδε* requires no explanation, and to give any emphasis to the difference between *ἐπὶ* and *ὑπὸ* is rhythmically impossible. To which it may be added, that if *τῷ* in 385 stands for *Τυδεῖ*, as it must, the pronoun, despite its prominent place, is wholly superfluous; the sentence would have the same meaning without it. I draw the conclusion that in the true text *τῷ* stood not for *Τυδεῖ*, but for *κρίνει* or *λόφῳ*, and

that ὑπ' ἀσπίδος is a patch to supply the place of some word signifying 'attached to,' and governing the dative pronoun, which in that case could not conveniently be omitted. Thus the bells and the crest are alike decorations of the helmet and the joint reference of *Iteokles* is justified. If a word has been lost, the presumption is that it was lost through a repetition of letters. Can we find a word which satisfies this condition for the present case? The passage just cited from the *Rhesos*, which exhibits a minute imitation of the phrase κλάζουσι κώδωνες φόβον in the passage of Aeschylus before us, will furnish the unique word which we want,

Γοργῶ δ' ὡς ὑπ' αἰγίδος θεᾶς
χαλκῆ μετώποις ἰππικοῖσι πρόσδετος
πολλοῖσι σὺν κώδωσιν ἐκτύπει φόβον.

Write in Aeschylus

πρόσδετοι δὲ τῶ
χαλκήλατοι κλάζουσι κώδωνες φόβον—

and the origin of the MS. text is clear. The somewhat strange looking πρόσδετοι was robbed of its two last syllables ΔΕΤΟΙ by the repetition ΔΕΤΟΙ or ΔΕΤΩΙ, and the impossible remnant was conjecturally replaced by ὑπ' ἀσπίδος. We may compare the precisely similar corruption of another passage in the play (Aesch. *Theb.* 122), where the syllables required by the metre after διάδετοι have been properly replaced by the repetition of δέ τοι.

Upon the facts respecting the κώδων as above stated a question arises which others may perhaps assist me to answer. The dramatists represent the κώδων as a savage and generally as a non-Hellenic decoration. That it was not used by Athenians of the fifth century is clear. Is there any evidence that it was used by Greeks of an earlier period, or by less civilised Greeks? Are the bells of Tydeus a piece of genuine Greek antiquity, or an imaginary decoration attributed to Greeks whose behaviour is barbarous?

It has been already noticed that in its traditionally foreign and Italian-Asiatic character the κώδων is allied to the σάλπιγξ, and it is significant that though the *Euripides* of the *Frogs*

does not, of course, make the blunder of separating from 'the familiar things we use' the instrument whose note invited the families of Athens to the dearest feast of the year—

ἀκούετε λεῶ . κατὰ τὰ πάτρια τοὺς χόας
πίνειν ὑπὸ τῆς σάλπιγγος (Arist. *Ach.* 1001),

and whose solemn and 'Chthonian' sound preceded the reverend meeting of the Areopagos, nevertheless we find he is not afraid to sneer at the trumpet and the *σαλπιγγολογχυπηνάδαι* who admired it; and it seems certain that the trumpet, as a military instrument, was at Athens at all events not popular. Nowhere I think is there a trace of that enthusiasm for the trumpet-call which breaks out so often in modern poetry. Tydeus is indeed likened to 'a horse that waits panting for the sound of the trump,' but then we have already seen how far we are meant to sympathise with the feelings of Tydeus; moreover the trumpet of the simile is probably not the trumpet of battle, but that which started both horses and chariots in the national games. Aeschylus, in his immortal picture of the nation's victory at Salamis, is careful to note that *the trumpet* inflamed the ardour of 'the other side.'—(*Pers.* 395).

σάλπιγξ δ' αὐτῇ πάντ' ἐκεῖν' ἐπέφλεγεν.

In Sophokles, the anxious *Tekmessa* reminds Aias, as he goes out upon his fatal errand, that this time it is not the trumpet which calls him from her side (*Ai.* 291). Euripides in the *Phoenissae* (1377), following the *Seven against Thebes* in treatment as in theme, places the trumpet among the proud emblems of an unholy war; it is the trumpet which in the *Troades* (1267) is to apprise the Trojan captives that the final moment of expatriation has arrived; and twice in the *Rhesos* (144, 989) the Trojan *Hektor* names the trumpet as the signal of his attempt, so nearly successful, to burn the Greek ships and destroy their hope of return, emphatically warning his men not to neglect it. In the *Herakleidae* (381) the 'Tyrrhene trumpet' is the prelude to a scene so horrible that the narrator declines the task of describing it and appeals to the imagination of his hearer. Certainly it is not without significance that the

dramatists of Athens direct the attention of their audience so frequently to the birth-place of this barbarous instrument; nor are these traces of popular sentiment to be neglected, if we would read the Athenian poets in their own spirit.¹

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¹ The κώδων is not mentioned in Homer, though the mysterious κώδεια of Ξ 499 may perhaps be connected with it. The σάλπιγξ is mentioned twice. This evidence, in the uncertainty which rests upon the date and origin of any particular passage

in Homer, is scarcely sufficient for a conclusion. Among the earliest references to the war-trumpet, of which the date is certain, must be Bacchylides *Pæan* 9, pointed out to me by Mr. J. A. Platt.

HYGIEIA.

A BAS-RELIEF of Pentelic marble found about twelve years ago in Argolis portrays with much beauty the family of the God of Medicine awaiting, in the presence of their father, the approach of male and female suppliants.¹ In the two youths who form part of the group immediately behind Asklepios, it is easy to recognise his sons Machaon and Podaleirios; while the three maidens near them must be his daughters Hygieia, Iaso and Panakeia. One other female figure, who wears a veil and stephane, and is of more stately aspect, would seem to be Epione, the wife of Asklepios. Aegle and Akeso, who are also sometimes named as daughters of the god are here omitted.² Epione, in spite of her intimate relations with Asklepios, appears to have been chiefly honoured locally—at Epidaurus, and it is her eldest daughter Hygieia who is really the most important member of the Aesculapian family. The almost constant association of Hygieia with her father brought her into the fullest prominence as a medical divinity, though at the same time it, to a great extent, prevented her from attaining to an independent exercise of power. Most modern writers on Greek mythology and religion have generally suffered her to be absorbed in the greater and more interesting personality of her associate, and

¹ O. Lueders, *Annali*, vol. xlv. (1873), Tav. d'agg. M N, page 114 f.

² The five sisters are mentioned in Suidas, s. v. Ἐπιόνη; Pliny, N. H. xxxv. 40, 31 and in an Athenian inscription published in the *Ἀθήναιον*, vi. p. 143, No. 24, cf. Schol. Aristoph. *Plutus*, 701. Telesphoros, the companion of Asklepios and Hygieia, probably cannot be traced back, from existing works of

art, farther than the time of Hadrian (see *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1882, 'Telesphoros.') It is perhaps worth while to suggest that the *παῖς* in the *Plutus* (701) who attends Asklepios in his midnight visit to the patients in the temple may be a prototype of Telesphoros; unless indeed he is a mere invention of the poet.

have often had but little to tell of Hygieia, except that she was represented 'as a virgin dressed in a long robe, feeding a serpent from a cup.' Though it is certainly unnecessary to relate in connection with Hygieia details which may be just as well related in connection with the more important divinity Asklepios, there still seems room for a brief inquiry like the present, which, by causing us to concentrate our attention rather upon the Goddess of Health than upon the God of Medicine, may reveal more clearly the position of the former in ancient art and religion.

The only children of Asklepios mentioned in the Homeric poems are Machaon and Podaleirios. Asklepios himself is not yet a god in Homer; but legend soon began to busy itself about him, and told of his mother Coronis and his father Apollo. It required no great imaginative effort to assign to the God of Medicine three daughters, bearing the names of 'Health,'¹ 'Healing' and 'Panacea.' The name given to the eldest, 'Ἑγεία' (in the later writers and inscriptions generally 'Ἑγεία), probably conveyed to its hearers the notion of *physical* health, though of course it might also have connoted healthy conditions generally—*ὑγεία φρενῶν* (Aesch. *Eum.* 535)—*ἡ περὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ὑγεία* (Isocr. 234 B.).² Hygieia remained, so far as we know, the patron merely of bodily health, and differs in this respect from the Roman Goddess Salus, who not only protects the health of individual men, but has also a watchful eye upon the conservation and general prosperity of the State and its rulers. The first appearance of Hygieia in legend or cultus cannot be determined with exactness; but the inscriptions and votive offerings discovered in the Asklepieion at Athens prove that her worship, in conjunction with that of Asklepios, was in full vigour in the fourth century before our era.³ The

¹ Hygieia was almost invariably considered to be the *daughter* of Asklepios; see Paus. i. 23, 4; Suidas, s.v. Ἑπιόνη; Aristides (ed. Dindorf) i. 79; Plin. N. H. xxxv. 40, 31; Ἀθηναίων, vi. p. 143, No. 24: exceptionally, in *Orph. II.* 66, 7, she is called the wife of Asklepios, and in Proclus, *ad Plat. Tim.* iii. 158 is said to be the daughter of Eros and Peitho.

² For the employment of 'Ἑγεία as the name of an Athenian ship and, occasionally, as a woman's name, see Benseler-Pape, *Wörterbuch*, s.v. Ἑγείη, &c.

³ See P. Girard, *L'Asclépiéion d'Athènes*, passim. It is curious that the author of the *Plutus* makes no mention of Hygieia, especially as both Iaso and Panakeia are spoken of as accompanying their father.

fact of Hygieia's position being so thoroughly established at that period as well as other considerations lead us to infer that the goddess was known, and perhaps worshipped, in Greece at least as early as the preceding century. We read that among the statues made by the Argive artist Dionysios (B.C. 476--468), and dedicated at Olympia by Smikythos, were Asklepios and Hygieia;¹ and Pausanias² tells us that he saw at Titane near Sicyon an image of Hygieia of remarkably archaic form. The name of Hygieia occurs (as well as that of Panakeia) in the famous Hippocratic Oath, and there are extant various works of fifth century art which, as we shall shortly see, may possibly be claimed as representations of the Goddess of Health. But whenever Hygieia may have first appeared, it would seem that she owed her distinctive attributes, and almost her very being, not to the Poets but to the Artists; and it will be by discussing, as far as possible in chronological order, the works of art representing this goddess that we shall best learn what conception was formed of her by the Greeks. Though the ancient writers related more than one legend of Asklepios, they had nothing to tell of his daughter: indeed, it is extremely rarely that we find an allusion to Hygieia—apart from Asklepios—either in the authors or in inscriptions; and it was reserved for our seventeenth century verse-writers, like the author of *The Art of Preserving Health*, to pay their poetical addresses to the Goddess Hygieia. One ancient composition, however, a hymn or paean to Hygieia, written probably by the poet Ariphton of Sicyon, has been preserved for us by Athenaeus.³ Its subject-matter though rather commonplace is not inelegantly treated, and we may quote this short poem here, especially as it seems to have been popular in antiquity. Lucian speaks of it as already well known in his day, and as we also find it sculptured on stone⁴ (*circa* A.D. 200) together with a hymn to Asklepios and a hymn to Telesphoros, we may suppose that at some time or other it was

¹ Murray, *Hist. of Grk. Sculpt.* i. p. 136; Overbeck, *Gesch. griech. Plastik.* i. p. 107.

² Paus. ii. 11, 6.

³ Athen. xv. 702, A. See Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Gr.* (3rd ed.) pp. 1249-1250 and his remarks on Ariphton (whose

date is not certain) and Likymnios. Cf. Lucian, *De lapsu inter sal.* c. 6; Maxim. Tyr. xiii. 229.

⁴ Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*, No. 1027 = *C. I. G.* No. 511, and *addenda* p. 913.

actually employed in the temple-service of the divinities of Healing :—

‘Υγίεια, πρεσβίστα μακάρων, μετὰ σεῦ ναίοιμι τὸ λειπόμενον
βιοτᾶς, σὺ δέ μοι πρόφρων, σύνοικος εἶης·
εἰ γάρ τις ἢ πλοῦτου χάρις ἢ τεκέων,
ἢ τᾶς ἰσοδαίμονος ἀνθρώποις βασιληίδος ἀρχᾶς, ἢ πόθων,
οὓς κρυφίοις Ἀφροδίτας ἄρκυσι θηρεύομεν,
ἢ εἴ τις ἄλλα θεόθεν ἀνθρώποισι τέρψις ἢ πόνων ἀμπνοῶ
μετὰ σείο, μάκαιρ’ Ὑγίεια, [πέφανται
τέθαλε πάντα καὶ λάμπει Χαρίτων ἔαρι,
σέθεν δὲ χωρὶς οὔτις εὐδαίμων (ἔφν).

Another hymn, found at Athens in the Asklepieion, sculptured on stone in letters of the Roman period, contains allusions to Asklepios and his family, and especially mentions Hygieia, ‘the noble’ and ‘the most delightful.’¹

Our knowledge of the representation of Hygieia in art, previous to the fourth century B.C., is rather limited. At the head of such representations as are known to us must be placed the uncouth image seen by Pausanias at Titane.² It corresponded, he tells us, to one of Asklepios at the same place which was completely draped in chiton and himation, with only the face and the extremities of feet and hands exposed. The statue of Hygieia was, when he saw it, entirely covered with offerings of pious women-worshippers whose gifts consisted of votive locks of hair, and of what Pausanias terms *ἑσθήτος Βαβυλωνίας τελαμῶνες*. The early fifth century Asklepios and Hygieia made by Dionysios for dedication at Olympia, must have been of a much less primitive character than the Titane statues, and still more advanced in style must have been the figures of Asklepios and Hygieia with which Kolotes, the contemporary of Pheidias, decorated one side of the ivory table made by him at Olympia (Murray, *Hist. Gr. Sculpt.*, II, p. 137) : but of these representations there is nothing known in detail, and it is only when we come to the names of Polykleitos and Pheidias that we perhaps obtain some glimpses of the artistic presentment of the Goddess of Health. In the great theatre at Epidaurus, that important centre of Aesculapian worship, there have been

¹ Ἀθήναιον, vi. p. 143, No. 24.

² Paus. ii. 11, 6.

discovered two marble figures, one male, the other female. Their excavator, M. Kavvadias, sees in these figures Asklepios and Hygieia, and is even inclined to recognise in the Hygieia a work of the sculptor Polykleitos,¹ who is known to have been the architect of the theatre, though there is no actual record of his having made *agalмата* of Asklepios and his daughter. Unhappily, the head and the hands of the female figure are missing. She wears a chiton with diploidion, mantle and sandals. Kavvadias supposes that her hands held the serpent and patera. Another production of the great period of Greek art has also been declared to represent the God of Medicine and his daughter, namely, the male and female figures who are introduced, with a serpent placed between them, in the train of Athene in the west pediment of the Parthenon. In this group, in which the strong male and more delicate feminine forms are pleasingly contrasted, the female figure places her right arm round the neck of her companion, and seems to cling to him for protection. Petersen and others have with good reason seen in this pair divinities peculiarly connected with Attic soil—Pandrosos, and her father Kekrops, for whom the serpent would be appropriate; but Michaelis recognises in them Hygieia and Asklepios. The intimate connection of Asklepios and his daughter, and their joint worship—at least in the fourth century—as important divinities on the southern slope of the Athenian Akropolis render this interpretation plausible, though not absolutely convincing. The objection that the serpent is here on the ground and not, as is usually the case, coiled round the staff of Asklepios, Michaelis answers by remarking that the type of the God of Medicine had not become rigidly fixed, as it subsequently became, especially under the Roman Empire, when Asklepios is hardly ever to be seen without the snake encircling his staff.² We are still more or

¹ Ἀθήναιον for 1881, pp. 59-67.—
ἄλλως ἀπόλυτος ἡρεμία, μεγαλοπρεπῆς
παράστασις, ἄρμονία καὶ συμμετρία ἐν
τῷ σχηματισμῷ τῶν συστατικῶν τῆς
μορφῆς μερῶν, πάντα ταῦτα τὰ κατὰ
τοὺς ἀρχαίους γνωρίσματα τῶν ἔργων
τοῦ Πολυκλείτου, διακρίνουσι τὸ ἡμέτερον
εὔρημα. Kavvadias.

² On this group see Overbeck. *Gesch.*

d. griech. Plastik. i. p. 298; Michaelis,
Der Parthenon, p. 193, No. 2; Newton,
Brit. Mus. Guide to the Elgin Room,
part i. p. 28 f. and Michaelis's review
of the *Guide* in *The Academy*, for Oct.
1880, p. 280. For the Kekrops inter-
pretation see esp. Petersen, *Kunst des
Pheidias*, p. 152 and Murray, *Hist.
of Gr. Sculpt.*, II., p. 88 and p. 94.

less in the region of uncertainties when we turn to numismatics for some of the earlier examples of Hygieia. An interesting didrachm of Priansus in Crete,¹ probably of the end of the fifth century B.C., represents a female figure wreathed, and draped in chiton and mantle, sitting on a throne overshadowed by a palm-tree,² with her right hand placed upon the head of a serpent which rises up from the ground beside her. At the first glance 'Hygieia and her serpent' suggests itself as the subject of this coin-device. But though the serpent is a constant companion of Hygieia, not all serpents are Hygieian, and we must beware, as Stephani has remarked, lest we mistake some chthonic or other divinity for the veritable Goddess of Health.³ Though it is possible that the figure in question may be Hygieia, whose father was worshipped not far from Priansus, at Leben, it is much safer to adopt the interpretation proposed both by M. François Lenormant and Prof. Gardner, who have seen in the coin a representation of Persephone and of Zeus who visited the goddess under the form of a serpent, when he became by her the mother of the Cretan Zagreus. The same myth should also, no doubt, be employed to interpret the analogous type of a silver coin of the Sicilian town Selinus⁴—a draped female figure seated on a rock and resting one hand on the neck of a bearded snake, which advances towards her. In connection with these coins Mr. Gardner has mentioned a relief in the British Museum, of rude, though perhaps not of very late, style, brought

—Beulé and Stark proposed to name two figures among the divinities of the central portion of the Parthenon East Frieze, Hygieia and Asklepios, but these figures have been more correctly denominated by most recent archaeologists, Athene and Hephaistos: see Newton, *Guide*, pp. 66–67 and Flasch, *Zum Parthenonfries*, pp. 17–18.

¹ See Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, Pl. ix. 5, page 162; Lenormant, *Gazette Archéol.* 1879, p. 24; Wroth, *Cretan Coins*, p. 56 (= *Num. Chron.* 1884, p. 56); cf. a gem in Overbeck, *Griech. Kunstmythologie*, Bd. iii. Gemmentafel, iv. 9, called by him Demeter, *ib.* p. 507.

² The palm-tree is not merely an

ornamental accessory, for it appears by itself as the *type* of other coins of Priansus, and must have had some local religious significance.

³ *Compte rendu* (St. Petersburg), 1860, p. 102. 'Die Statuen sitzender Frauen mit Schlangen, die man gewöhnlich auf Hygieia bezieht, stellen ohne Zweifel wenigstens zum Theil, wie das ihnen verliehene Füllhorn beweist, vielmehr Ge da. Vergleiche Clarac, *Mus. de Sculpt.* Pl. 554, 1166; 557, 1186; 558, 1186, A. B. C. und eine ähnliche Statue in der Kaiserlichen Ermitage.'

⁴ Brit. Mus. Cat. Grk. Coins, *Sicily*, page 142, No. 39; cf. Nos. 40–43; Gardner, *Types*, p. 162.

by Lord Elgin from Greece. It represents a woman seated, draped in chiton and peplos, and having on her head a modius and a veil formed by the upper part of the peplos. In her left hand she holds an ivy-leaf—probably intended for a fan—and in her right a patera from which a serpent which appears to rest upon her shoulder is preparing to feed. Mr. Gardner suggests that here also we have a chthonic divinity, such as Persephone, rather than Hygieia. This is quite possible, and the modius and veil are certainly not usually worn by the Goddess of Health. She does, however,—at least once—appear in company with Telesphoros, on a coin of Hierapolis,¹ wearing the modius; and I think we should discriminate between the action of the female figure on the relief and the action of the figure on the coins of Priansus and Selinus. On the coins—where the Persephone and Zeus interpretation well applies—she is welcoming or fondling the serpent; on the relief, she is engaged in feeding the serpent from a patera, an action distinctly characteristic of Hygieia.² In the collection at Petworth House there is a Greek relief coarsely executed, with a very similar subject. A veiled female figure, seated, holds a cup, up to which a serpent rears its coils. Behind her stands a female attendant or suppliant also holding out a cup; on the right of the relief is an altar.³

On reaching the fourth century B.C., we find the monuments of Hygieia becoming much more abundant and more readily identifiable. A series of votive reliefs from the Athenian Asklepion, which on account of their fine style cannot be much later than the latter part of the fourth century, shows us how the Goddess of Health was at that period represented, at any rate in Attica. Four good specimens of these have been published and engraved by Von Duhn in the *Mittheilungen* of the German Archaeological Institute at Athens (II. pp. 214—225; Plates xiv.—xvii.). These representations of Hygieia, which recall the grace and dignity of the maidens of the Parthenon Frieze, show the goddess affectionately associated

¹ Waddington, *Voy. num. en As. Min.* Pl. iv. No. 18; Mionnet, tom. iv. p. 305, No. 634.

² For this relief see *Descript. of Anc. Marb. in Brit. Mus.* part ix. Pl.

xxxviii.; pp. 174, 175; cf. Wieseler-Müller, *Denkmäler*, No. 784; Gardner, *Types*, page 162.

³ Michaelis, *Anc. Marb. in G. Brit.* page 604, No. 13.

with her father and her sisters. On the relief reproduced in Von Duhn's Plate xiv. Hygieia, wearing chiton and mantle, places her left hand on her father's shoulder, and looks with mild aspect upon an approaching suppliant. Her right hand, which is lowered, holds an oenochoe. Behind her is one of her sisters—Iaso or Panakeia—who clasps her arm. Another relief (Von Duhn, Pl. xv.) represents a similar scene. Asklepios and two of his daughters are in their temple, an altar placed before them. Immediately behind the god is Hygieia wearing a chiton, and gathering about her with both hands the folds of an ample mantle. Behind her is Iaso or Panakeia, placing one hand upon her shoulder. Another temple-scene (Von Duhn, Pl. xvi.) reveals a company of men and women with their children, bringing offerings to the divinities of medicine. Asklepios is seated and Hygieia, standing beside the god, is resting one hand on the trunk of a snake-encircled tree. A fourth relief (Von Duhn, Pl. xvii.) shows Asklepios seated and Hygieia standing near him, stretching out her right hand to bless or welcome a suppliant who approaches to sacrifice at the altar.¹ With these reliefs from the Asklepieion must be classed one of fine style found in 1785, apparently on the Athenian Akropolis, and now at Brocklesby Hall, Lincolnshire. Two divinities, apparently Hygieia and her father, are receiving the adoration of worshippers; the goddess is veiled and holds in one hand a vase, lowered.² It will be observed that on these reliefs the type of Hygieia is somewhat varied,³ and that she is not represented with her distinctive attributes—the meaning of which I will touch on below—the serpent and the patera. The only attribute which at all indicates her functions is the vase or oenochoe.⁴

¹ On these reliefs see Von Duhn, *loc. cit.*; Girardin *Bull. de Corr. hell.* ii. pp. 65-95 ('Ex-voto à Esculape trouvés sur la pente méridionale de l'Acropole'); *cp. ib. i.* pp. 156-169, and Girard's *L'Asclépiion d'Athènes*, p. 101, *ff.*

² See Michaelis, *Anc. Marb. in Gr. Brit.* Brocklesby Hall, No. 10, who is no doubt correct in describing the divinities as Asklepios and Hygieia, though other names have been proposed; *cf.* Lebas, *Annali dell' Inst.*

1845, p. 240 (Zeus and Europa); Kekulé, *Hebe*, p. 47 (Zeus and Hebe); Overbeck, *Kunstmythologie*, ii. p. 576, note 110.

³ Von Duhn points out that on the earlier Athenian reliefs—those belonging to the best period—Hygieia has a more youthful and maiden-like appearance than on the later examples.

⁴ The oenochoe occurs on the Gortys relief, referred to below on page 90, note 3. Compare also an Athenian relief of Asklepios and Hygieia in the

It is to be remarked, however, that these reliefs are, after all, probably only the productions of the ordinary stone-cutter, and that they are perhaps to a great extent local. There were other sculptors not of this lowly reputation who were at work upon statues of Hygieia in the early part of the fourth century B.C., and who probably created or perfected a distinct Hygieian type. One of these artists was Skopas, who, probably during the period B.C. 394-377, made temple-statues of Asklepios and Hygieia at Gortys in Arcadia and also at Tegea.¹ His contemporaries, Bryaxis and Damophon, were also engaged upon statues of Hygieia;² and it was probably during this century that many of those *agalmata* of Asklepios and Hygieia which Pausanias saw in various Greek temples also first came into being. As to the style and attitude of these fourth century statues we have little or no detailed information. We know, however, that the *agalma* of Asklepios made by Skopas for Gortys presented the god in the very unusual form of a *beardless* figure, and Skopas's Gortynian Hygieia may likewise have been a type of marked originality.³ Perhaps the invention of the serpent and patera motive was due to him;⁴ or he at least may have brought that motive so prominently forward that it was henceforward generally accepted as the type proper for representations of the Goddess of Health. The feeding of the serpent would have been by no means unsusceptible of graceful treatment in the hands of a master, though to us it seems somewhat *banal*, on account of

Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, of tolerable style though rather coarsely executed (Michaelis, *Anc. Marb. in. G. B.* Cambridge, Fitz. Mus. No. 16), on which the goddess holds in her lowered right hand a cup: there being no sign of the presence of the serpent.

¹ Overbeck, *Griech. Plastik.* ii. p. 11.

² Overbeck, *op. cit.* ii. 68; ii. 142.

³ A relief from Gortys in Crete represents a bearded male figure seated, a female figure in chiton, mantle, and veil, holding an oenochoe, and a youth in a chlainys, who have been called by E. Curtius (*Arch. Zeitung*, 1852, p. 418 f. and Pl. 38, 1) Zeus, Hygieia and

Asklepios, youthful. He supposes that the last-named figure may recall the youthful Asklepios of Skopas made for the Arcadian Gortys. Overbeck, however (*Griech. Plastik.* note 10 to Book 4; cf. his *Kunstmythol.* ii. page 169 f.), names the female figure Hebe, and he certainly seems justified in refusing to call the young male figure Asklepios (cp. *Journ. Hell. Stud.* vol. iv. p. 46ff, 'A statue of the youthful Asklepios'). If, however, an Aesculapian interpretation is to be applied to this relief, the three figures may fairly be named Asklepios (bearded), Hygieia with oenochoe) and her brother Machaon.

⁴ See, however, above, page 86 on the 'Polykleitos' Hygieia.

its perpetual recurrence on works of inferior art, such as the Greek Imperial coins. Though we may reasonably conjecture that this type came into existence at least as early as the fourth century B.C., we cannot perhaps point with confidence to any extant monuments which embody it before the third century B.C. A copper coin of Rhegium, of tolerable style, belonging probably to the latter part of the third century, shows on its reverse a standing figure of Hygieia in chiton and mantle, holding in her right hand a patera, and with her other hand keeping back the folds of her mantle; a serpent, which we may suppose to be supported on her shoulder, is feeding from the patera.¹ A similar type occurs on one of the Athenian Tetradrachms of the latest period, *circa* B.C. 146-86.² The goddess is clad in talaric chiton with diplois; the serpent feeding from her patera is supported on her shoulder. Certain copper coins of Epidaurus,³ probably belonging to the third century B.C., must also be here adduced. On the reverse of these a female figure is seen standing, holding in one hand a patera, while her other seems to be occupied in placing some object (perhaps a drug) in the patera or in withdrawing something from it. Behind her, in the field of the coin, is the *σικία* or cupping-vessel. Epione has been suggested as a name for this figure, as it is known that she had an *agalma* at Epidaurus.⁴ It may, however, be simply intended for Hygieia.

But it is time to say something respecting the signification of the serpent and patera as attributes of the Goddess of Health. We need not indeed linger long over the pious explanation given by an antiquary of the last century: 'Pateram indicare

¹ Cat. Grk. Coins in Brit. Mus. *Italy*, p. 383, No. 100; cf. Nos. 113-115. The coin seems to be assigned to too early a period in the catalogue. I may remark that representations of Hygieia are rare on coins till Imperial times. Mention should perhaps be made of one of the Asiatic electrum *hectæ* (fourth cent. B.C.) *obv.*:—Head of Apollo, r. laureate; *rev.* Female head, r. with hair in sphendone; behind the head, serpent: the whole in linear frame. Wt. forty-five grains. Brit. Mus. Coll. The serpent seems

an integral part of the type, and the head, which has a youthful appearance not very suitable to Demeter, is therefore probably Hygieia. Cf. the *hectæ* with head of Asklepios, before which is a serpent (*Num. Chron.* 3rd ser. vol. ii. Pl. i. No. i.).

² Engraved, Benlé, *Monn. d'Athènes*, p. 259; a specimen is in Brit. Mus.

³ Brit. Mus. Coll. P. Lampros, *Νομίσματα τῆς νήσου Ἐπιδαύρου* (Athens, 1870) Plate, Fig. 28.

⁴ Paus. ii. 27, 5; 29, 1.

religione quaerendam esse salutem'; nor need we pay much attention to the common theory, according to which the Goddess of Health is engaged in nourishing the serpent as a symbol of health and of vigour perpetually renewed. We are more likely to seize the true meaning of this feeding of the serpent if we regard it not as a mere piece of more or less frigid symbolism, but as a manifestation of some actual religious ceremony connected with the goddess. Adopting, therefore, for Hygieia the explanation formerly given by C. A. Böttiger¹ of *Salus* we may consider her to be engaged in an act of serpent-divination (*τῶν δρακόντων ἢ μαντικῆ*), and to be taking an omen as to the future health of her suppliants from the manner in which the serpent receives the nourishment offered him. Certain rites described by Aelian are evidence that divination of this kind was not unknown in classical antiquity. There was at Lanuvium a grove to which the virgins of Latium were annually conducted, in order that their claims to chastity might be submitted to what we may call the Ordeal by Serpent. If the serpent accepted the food brought him by the maidens, their purity was regarded as established, and also a fertile season was expected:

‘Clamantque agricolae, “Fertilis annus erit.”’²

In Epirus, likewise, there was a grove in which sacred serpents were kept, and to which on the great festival of the year a virgin priestess repaired holding in her hand the *μειλίγματα*. If the serpents ate the food readily a fruitful and healthy year—*ἔτος ἄνοσον*—was to be confidently looked for, but their refusal to eat was a sign of impending misfortune.³ It is generally

¹ *Kleine Schriften*, 1837, vol. ii. p. 128.

² Aelian, *De nat. animal.* xi. 16; Propertius, *Eleg.* lib. iv. carm. 8.

³ Aelian, *De nat. anim.* xi. 2. Though omen-taking seems to be the action in which Hygieia is engaged, I do not wish to contend that every female figure in ancient art who is represented extending a patera to a serpent is necessarily performing the same function. For instance, on the relief in the British Museum (Ellis, *Townley Gallery*, i. p. 133) represent-

ing a woman—probably Medea—holding out a patera to a serpent coiled round a tree, on which is the Fleece, simple feeding and not omen-taking is perhaps intended. (Cf. the seated Pallas holding patera to serpent coiled round tree on a coin of Nicaea (Bithyniae), *Mion.* t. ii. p. 455, No. 240; Panofka, *Asklepios*, Pl. v. Fig. 3, and similar figures.) The feeding of a serpent on *Scpulchral* Monuments also calls for a special interpretation of its own.

said that Hygieia—as represented on coins and other monuments—is offering some kind of drink to her serpent. Though as a rule the artist gives no clue as to the contents of the patera, I believe that the goddess is supposed to be presenting to the serpent refreshment of a more substantial kind. The Lanuvian serpent was invited to give his omen from a barley cake (*μάζα*), and we not unfrequently find in the case of Hygieia's serpent that he is feeding from some cone-like object which is placed upon the patera, or, when the patera is not represented, held in the hand of the goddess. Instances of this occur on the Greek Imperial coins of several cities. For example, at Las¹ in Laconia, and Euippe² in Caria, the goddess holds a patera with the object in question upon it. On a coin of Aezanis³ (Phrygia), Hygieia (or, perhaps, the Empress Sabina as Hygieia) feeds the serpent from a patera on which are two of these objects. On a well-known Pompeian painting⁴ a woman—whether Hygieia or a priestess—feeds the serpent which is entwined round her body from a plate on which are various fruits, and in the centre one of conical form. In a group of Asklepios and Hygieia, on a Corinthian coin of Lucius Verus,⁵ the goddess holds the conical object in her hand, without a patera, as she does also on a Roman medallion of M. Aurelius,⁶ on a well-known ivory diptych, now in the Mayer Collection at Liverpool,⁷ and on other monuments. This object, which we thus find to occur not unfrequently as the food of Hygieia's serpent, has sometimes been called by archaeologists an egg, sometimes a fruit. It resembles a pine-cone, a fruit which a serpent could hardly eat, though it is met with in connection with the God of Medicine, and appears to have been regarded in antiquity as possessing some healing or life-giving properties. A statue at Sicyon, representing, according to Pausanias,⁸ the God of Medicine as a youth, held in one hand a pine-cone—*πίτυος καρπὸν τῆς ἡμέρου*: and a late votive-relief from the Asklepieion

¹ Æ. Caracalla. Brit. Mus. Coll.

² Æ. Lucilla. Brit. Mus. Coll.

³ Æ. Sabina. Brit. Mus. Coll.

⁴ Wieseler-Müller, *Denkmäler*, No. 782; O. Jahn, *Archäol. Beiträge*, pp. 221-224; Gell, *Pompeiana*, vol. ii. Pl. lxviii.

⁵ Æ. Brit. Mus. Coll.

⁶ Froehner, *Les Médaillons rom.* p. 86, Fig. 2.

⁷ Wieseler-Müller, *Denkmäler*, No. 792b; Maskell, *Ivories*, p. 21.

⁸ Paus. ii. 10, 3. Cf. Lenormant, *Les Origines de l'Hist. d'après la Bible* (2nd ed.) p. 84 (note); K. Koch, *Die Bäumen des alt. Griechenlands*, p. 32.

at Athens, with a dedication to Asklepios and Hygieia, has as its subject the snake-encircled staff with two large fruits on one side of it, and two pine-cones on the other.¹ The pine-cone also enters as an ingredient into one of the curious prescriptions ordered by the God of Medicine for a patient who probably frequented his temple on the Tiber Island at Rome.²

Before proceeding to notice the extant monuments of Hygieia which belong to Hellenistic or Roman times, we should say something of certain exceptional representations of a Hygieia who is apparently to be considered as distinct from the well-known goddess, daughter of Asklepios. A silver coin of Metapontum in Italy of the fourth century B.C. bears on its obverse a head of rather girlish appearance, bound with a double fillet and adorned with earring and necklace; it is accompanied by its name HYGIEIA (Ἕγίεια).³ The appearance on the Metapontine coinage of other female heads with descriptive legends, such as EOMONOIA (Ἐμόνοια) and NIKA inclines us to consider the Hygieia here portrayed as an allegorical personage rather than a goddess actually honoured with worship. 'Hygieia' also appears as the name of a female figure on at least three extant vases, assignable to the fourth century B.C. It is well known that Aesculapian subjects proper are not to be found among the vase paintings, and the vases on which this Hygieia occurs—such as the Meidias vase and the Ruvo Aryballos—are of exceptional character, distinguished by their delicate but somewhat mannered treatment of subjects lying outside the usual range of ceramographic composition. To vases of this class (as De Witte has well remarked) it is necessary to apply an interpretation which in other cases would seem fanciful; for the names which are inscribed near each of the personages represented prove that we are in the region of *allegory*: even when figures like Aphrodite and Hygieia are introduced, bearing names well known in the current mythology and religion of the Greeks, they are freely employed in an allegorical sense, and without regard to hieratic tradition. On the Ruvo vase⁴

¹ *Ἀθήναιον*, vol. v. p. 318; *C. I. A.* No. 181a; Sybel, *Katalog der Sculpturen zu Athen*, No. 4092.

² *C. I. G.* No. 5980, line 13.

³ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Grk. Coins, Italy*, p. 242, No. 62; cf. Nos. 63, 64, 65.

⁴ *Cat. of Grk. Vases in Brit. Mus.* vol. ii. No. 1263; Lenormant and De Witte in *Revue Archéol.* 1845, p. 550ff. and their *Mon. Céram.* ii. p. 61; iv. Pl. lxxxiv.

we have, according to the interpretation of Minervini as developed by Charles Lenormant and De Witte, a scene in Elysium where a mortal youth, just deceased, but henceforth under the name Polyetes to live in immortal happiness, is being received by Eudaimonia, Pandaisia and Eros—allegorical personages who may be supposed to correspond to the *καλαὶ ἐλπίδες* of the Eleusinian Epoptae. Behind Pandaisia stands Hygieia. Her hair is bound with an ornamented sphendone, and she wears a transparent chiton and an embroidered peplos, one side of which she holds up with her hand, towards her face, bending her head forward at the same time. Above her is written her name ΥΓΙΕΙΑ. The melancholy attitude of this figure seems, at first sight, but ill-suited to 'Health':—'mais un jour viendra où Hygie séchera ses larmes: elle usera du pouvoir qu'elle partage avec Esculape, de resusciter les morts.' Or, as M. François Lenormant¹ rather more neatly interprets this enigmatical vase, we have here the contest of two rival goddesses—'Happiness,' the goddess of the abode of the dead, who welcomes her new spouse Polyetes, and 'Health,' the goddess of terrestrial life, who 'expresses by her attitude and her gesture the grief which she feels at being separated from her lover.' One of the scenes on the Meidias vase² is the Garden of the Hesperides. Here, grouped near the Tree, are Lipara, Chrysothemis and Asteropê, daughters of Atlas, and to the left of them, seated on a rock, is the unexpected figure of 'Health'—ΥΓΙΕΑ. Her hair flows in ringlets and is bound over the forehead with a radiated ampyx; with one hand she draws forward over her shoulder the corner of an upper garment which she wears, with the other she holds a sceptre: she looks towards the central scene, while a youthful hunter, Klytios, extends his hand towards her. Aristides³ in his oration on the Asclepiadae speaks of Machaon and Podalcirios as having been brought up by their father in gardens of Hygieia—*τρέφει ὁ πατὴρ ἐν Ὑγείας κήποις*: though we cannot feel sure that he is alluding to any such scene as that depicted upon our Meidias vase. The fragment of a vase found at Kertch offers us a third

¹ *Contemporary Review*, vol. xxxviii. pp. 431, 432.

² Gerhard, *Abhandl. d. k. Akad. d. Wissenschaften*, Berlin, 1839, pp. 295-

303; *Cat. of Grk. Vases* in Brit. Mus. vol. ii. No. 1264.

³ Aristid. opera (ed. Dindorf.), vol. i. p. 73.

representation of Hygieia. Little unfortunately remains, except the seated female figure with her name ΥΓΙΕΙΑ and certain indications of the presence of another person who must have been Hermes.¹

Besides touching on this more or less allegorical Hygieia, we ought—in a paper on the Goddess of Health—to make some mention of Athene Hygieia. Most of the principal Greek divinities included the art of healing among their powers, but Athene—especially in Attica—assumed a distinct name to emphasise her medical functions. The original relations of Athene Hygieia, and Hygieia the daughter of Asklepios, are unknown to us, but perhaps they were goddesses independent of one another. According to the well-known story of Plutarch (*Pericl.* 13), Perikles caused a statue to be erected on the Akropolis to Athene Hygieia, because she had revealed to him a remedy for the injuries of one of his slaves: when this dedication was made the Athenians were already in possession of an altar of this goddess, situated on the Akropolis.² The basis of the statue of Athene Hygieia was found in 1839 *in situ* close to one of the columns of the Propylaea, and is inscribed 'Αθηναῖοι τῇ Ἀθηναίᾳ τῇ Ἑγείᾳ. Πύρρος ἐποίησεν Ἀθηναῖος.³ The presence of a hole in this basis, and a consideration of the types of certain other extant statues of Athene have led Michaelis to conjecture that this Athene Hygieia of the Akropolis held in one hand a spear upright and in the other some object indicative of her medical rôle—such as the patera.⁴ The restoration of the type of this goddess must however be considered as conjectural, and it has been doubted by R. Bohn⁵ whether the hole in the basis, in which, according to Michaelis, the spear of the goddess rested, was made in antiquity and for this purpose.⁶ The Athene Paionia mentioned

¹ *Compte rendu* (St. Petersburg), 1869, p. 11; 1870-71, p. 202 and the atlas for 1870-71, Pl. vi. No. 7.

² Plut. *Pericl.* iii.; Aristid. ii. p. 25c.; Michaelis, *Mittheil. d. D. arch. Inst.* i. p. 293; Bohn, *Mittheil. d. D. arch. Inst.* v. p. 331f. Cf. the article 'Athen' in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, page 204, col. 2.

³ *C. I. A.* No. 335; Ross, *Arch.*

Aufs. i. 185ff; Murray, *Hist. of Grk. Sculp.* ii. p. 232.

⁴ Michaelis, *l.c.* p. 284f.

⁵ *l.c.*

⁶ On Athene Hygieia see further, Panofka, 'Die Heilgötter der Griechen,' in *Abhandlungen d. k. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin*, 1843, p. 295f; Flasch in *Annali*, 1873, 'Statua d'Igia nel Belvedere del Museo Vaticano.' The

by Pausanias as having an image in the House of Polytion at Athens (i. 2, 4), and as being united on the great altar of the Amphiareion at Oropus with Aphrodite, Hygieia, Panakeia and Iaso (Paus. i. 34, 3), can hardly have differed from the better known Athene Hygieia.¹ It should be added that a bas-relief found in Rome (*Bulletino*, 1872, p. 228) represents Athene in the company of Hygieia who holds her usual serpent and patera.

Of the representations of Hygieia belonging to later Greek and to Roman times the most abundant are those upon coins. The copper money issued by Greek cities under the Empire shows that the worship of the Goddess of Health became everywhere familiar both in Greece and Asia, though we need not suppose that her frequent presence on the coins, dissociated from Asklepios, points to any special worship of her, apart from her father. The Hygieia types begin as a rule to appear on the coins, just as do those of Asklepios, about the time of Hadrian, and become very plentiful under the Antonines and under Septimius Severus and his family, continuing to occur with greater or less frequency till the time of Gallienus. The representation varies but little. We often find the familiar group of father and daughter—Asklepios standing on the right of the coin, and his daughter on the left, turned towards him, as if conversing, and feeding her serpent from the patera. The representation of Hygieia, alone, which is also very common, seems to be an abbreviation of this group: the goddess, though deprived of her companion, looks towards the right and feeds her serpent as usual. Her dress is sometimes the chiton and mantle, sometimes the chiton with diplois. She commonly holds in one hand the serpent, in the other a patera, though sometimes, as has been already observed, a pine-cone is held instead of the patera.² From the Greek Imperial coins with types

head of this statue, which does not belong to its present body, has a stephanos adorned with gorgoneion and two serpents. Flasch thinks it may be the head of a statue of Athene Hygieia; *C. I. A.* ii. 163 (Athenian sacrifice to Ath. Hyg.); Harpocration, *Ἑγεία Ἀθηνᾶ*.

¹ Of Athene Hygieia there was an altar in the deme of Acharnae, Paus. i. 31, 6.

² Imperial copper coins of Irenopolis in Cilicia, under Domitian and Trajan (*Brit. Mus.*), show Hygieia holding a branch as well as the serpent and patera (cf. the Pompeian painting referred to above, p. 93):

relating to Hygieia we pass naturally to the engraved gems—mostly of Roman times—which bear representations of the Goddess of Health. Here again we find the same group of Hygieia and Asklepios, or Hygieia alone, with her usual attributes.¹ Some varieties of no great importance occur, such as where Hygieia stands near a tripod (Toelken, No. 1203), as she does also on the Liverpool Ivory (Wieseler-Müller, *Denkm.* No. 792 *b*). One unpublished intaglio, a sard in the British Museum, from the Blacas Collection, presents however a type of some novelty and interest, and is reproduced in this article, enlarged to twice the diameter of the original. It represents



two female figures standing, draped in chiton and mantle. One of them holds a snake-encircled staff, and turns back her head to her companion, placing her arm on her shoulder. In the Blacas manuscript Catalogue (No. 267) these figures are called 'Nemesis and Hygieia': the serpent-staff is a very unusual attribute for Hygieia, but she is no doubt the goddess here intended to be represented. The name Nemesis is quite arbitrary, and it is more natural to see in Hygieia's companion one of her sisters, Iaso or Panakeia. Though this gem need not necessarily be of pre-Roman work, its style is decidedly pleasing, and the grouping

¹ Toelken, *Erklärendes Verzeichniss der ant. vertieft. geschnit. Steine* (Berlin) Nos. 1200—1208; Chabouillet, *Catalogue des camées et pierres gravées de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, p. 233, No. 1720 intaglio of Nemesis with serpent and patera of Hygieia, cf. No.

1722, and a similar gem in Brit. Mus. from Blacas Coll. On the sard engraved in King, *Handbook of Engraved Gems*, p. 367, No. 42, Hygieia feeds the serpent from a cone held in her hand: see also Tassie-Raspe and other sources.

to some extent recalls those representations of Hygieia with her sisters and father which occur on the Athenian reliefs of the fourth century (see above, p. 89).¹

From the extant statues of Hygieia it is extremely difficult to recover any of the plastic types of the goddess which prevailed in the fine period of Greek art. Though well-nigh every European Museum, whether public or private, can boast its 'Hygieia' or its 'Salus,' there are few divinities whose statues have suffered so much at the hands of the restorer, who to produce a Hygieia seems to have demanded nothing but a female torso to which he might affix a head, a serpent and a patera. Under these circumstances a detailed examination of the extant Hygieias is a task of small profit, and I confine to a note some references to various statues which seem for any reason noteworthy.² We must, however, here refer to one of the most remarkable of the extant statues, the beautiful figure in the Hope Collection at Deepdene, found at Ostia in 1797.³ This figure wears a long chiton and an ample mantle which is thrown back over the left shoulder. Her head is lowered, and the hair is bound with a kind of kerchief (*sakkos*)—an unusual head-dress for this goddess. A large serpent coils itself round her left shoulder and over her breast to the right fore-arm. The left hand, the right fore-arm with the cup and other parts of less importance are restorations. It seems certain that the head is antique, and really belongs to the statue, though the contrary was stated to be the case by Clarac. The marble appears to Michaelis to be Italian rather than Pentelic. Of this statue there is a replica

¹ This gem is set in a ring: it has unfortunately been broken in two, and has not been joined with perfect exactness.

² Michaelis, *Anc. Marb. in Gt. Brit.* especially 'Broadlands,' No. 14 (= Clarac, iv. 557, 1181); 'Oxford, University Galleries,' No. 30 (= Clarac, v. 978 D, 2524 I) and the 'Deepdene' (Hope) and Lowther Castle Hygieias; Clarac, Pl. 546, 1151 B. and text iv. pp. 5, 6 (group of Asklepios and Hygieia, a good deal restored, cf. *Bullettino*, 1870, page 36; Clarac, Pl. 556, 1174, text, iv. p. 17 = Brunn, *Descript. de la Glyptothèque* (Munich),

2nd ed. franc. 1879, p. 218, No. 174; and see others in Clarac, more or less restored; Fläsch in *Annali*, xlv. 1873, 'Statua d'Igia nel Belvedere del Museo Vaticano'; cf. *Bullettino*, 1872, pp. 11, 12, and 134; 'Αθήναιον', 1882, p. 542f. (Epidaurian statues, Roman); marble pedestal inscribed Σεβαστη Ἦγεια, Dyer, *Ancient Athens*, p. 380 (cf. Paus. i. 23). *Brit. Mus. Guide to Graeco-Roman Sculptures*, pt. ii. (1876) p. 9, No. 17, &c.

³ Michaelis, *Anc. Marb. in Gt. Brit.* 'Deepdene,' No. 7; Wieseler-Müller, *Denkm.* ii. 61, 780; Clarac, iv. 555, 1178.

at Lansdowne House, London,¹ but it is inferior both in size and execution. The extant statues do not seem to present any very important varieties in the type and attributes of the Goddess of Health, though we should notice an unusual combination in the collection at Lowther Castle,² in which Hygieia holds on her left arm a winged boy who is doubtless Eros.³ The goddess herself wears a close-fitting chiton and a mantle. 'The expression of the face is amiable, the hair in maidenly fashion tied together on the crown, while tresses fall down on the shoulders. A snake, of which the greater part is antique, curls itself round the lowered right arm.'

In conclusion, a few words may here be said upon the Roman goddess Salus in order to give greater completeness to our sketch of Hygieia. Salus, in spite of her resemblance to the Greek Goddess of Health, always maintained her own personality tolerably distinct. As the patroness of material prosperity, as the upholder of the Roman State and protectress of the sacred person of the Emperor, she had, as we have previously remarked, nothing in common with Hygieia; and though the Romans under the Empire were familiar enough with the Hygieia who everywhere appeared on the coins of the Greek cities, they reserved for Salus certain attributes of her own, and generally, though not invariably, kept her representations distinct from those of the Greek Goddess.⁴ A temple to the Salus Publica or Romana was, according to Livy, vowed in the year B.C. 307, by the censor C. Junius Bubulcus, on the Quirinal Hill.⁵ When Aesculapius was introduced into Rome from Epidaurus at the beginning of the third century B.C. we do not know that the Goddess Hygieia accompanied him; but if she did she would have found the Romans already acquainted with goddesses of medicine—such as the old divinity Meditrina—while she would have been unable to set herself up as a rival to Salus in the non-medical functions of that goddess. In B.C. 180, at the time of a pestilence, we find the Sibylline books commanding the

¹ Michaelis, *op. cit.* 'Lansdowne House,' No. 10.

² Michaelis, *op. cit.* 'Lowther Castle,' No. 4.

³ Cf. Wieseler-Müller, *Denk.* No. 792b.

⁴ The serpent of Salus seems, however, borrowed from the Greek representations of Hygieia.

⁵ See Marquardt and Mommsen, *Handbuch. d. röm. Alterth.* vi. p. 361; Preller, Pauly, &c.

presentation of gifts to Salus in union with Apollo and Aesculapius. A head of the Roman goddess appears on a denarius of the Junia gens (Cohen, *Méd. consul.* pl. 23, 7), struck probably in B.C. 89, and a denarius of the Acilia gens, B.C. 54 (Cohen, *op. cit.* pl. I. No. 3), represents Salus leaning against a column with her right hand raising up her serpent's head towards her face. The various representations of Salus under the Empire can be well followed on the Roman coins.¹ On an *aureus* of Nero 'Salus'—identified, as she generally is, by an accompanying inscription—is represented seated on a throne, holding in her right hand a patera, but without the serpent. On a coin of Galba the 'Salus generis humani' holds her patera over a lighted altar, and has the further attributes of a rudder and globe: the 'Salus Publica' (under Nerva) holds ears of corn. When Salus is represented with her serpent she is sometimes seen seated extending a patera to it as it coils round an altar, or she leans against a column feeding the serpent in the manner of Hygieia.

WARWICK WROTH.

¹ The coins which follow are all *aurei* in the Brit. Mus. Coll.

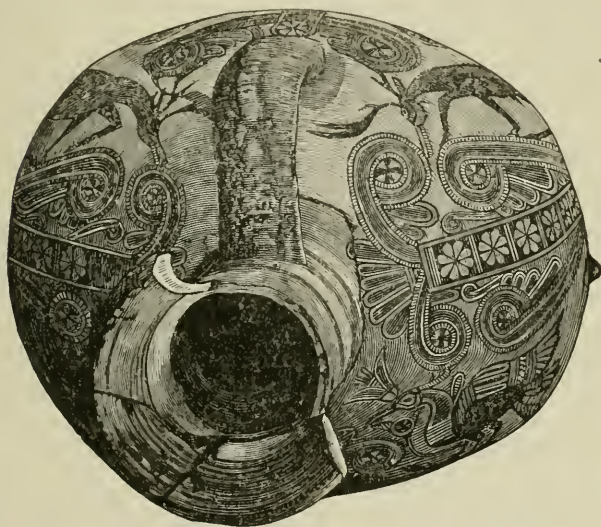
ON A PHOENICIAN VASE FOUND IN CYPRUS.

THE vase of which I here publish representations is barrel-shaped with round ends, and has at each end protuberances in the form of nipples. There is a small raised ring round the neck. The mouth is funnel-shaped, with edges slightly overlapping. The dimensions are as follows:—Circumference over nipples 2 ft. $7\frac{5}{8}$ in. Circumference of barrel 2 ft. 1 in. Height of neck $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. Total height of jar 1 ft. $\frac{1}{8}$ in. The vase was bought at Larnaca, and probably found near that place.

The vessel is of a purely Phoenician model, though not necessarily of pre-Hellenic times, of a kind occurring not only in earlier and later specimens made by the Phoenician race in Cyprus, but also in pottery manufactured by other races in places in the island where their influence predominated. The clay used in the composition of the jar is of a darkish cream colour, and has evidently been very carefully washed and prepared. The paintings were done in black and reddish brown on the natural ground shortly before firing, and to the painstaking of the artist is owing the remarkably perfect preservation. The neck is decorated inside and out with plain bands of different breadths, black, with the exception of two brown, one in and one outside. The handle is framed in broad black bands from which are drawn lines from side to side interrupted by a cross at the bend. The lines of the handle are continued round the neck in a wavy pattern. The painting on the opposite side to the handle was made first, as is shown by the symmetry of the drawing in comparison with the other figures, and has for a centre the sacred tree of design and richness of detail never before observed in works of this kind. This emblem is intended to represent ideally the human body in the shape of the goddess of Nature, worshipped under the symbol of a tree, which is



proved not only by the form of the drawing but also by other objects discovered in Cyprus and Hissarlik introducing the same idea. In this case the head is crowned with lotus flowers, and the arms and legs represented by scroll-work. Alexander di Cesnola brought from Idalium two jars (*Salamina*, Figs. 233 and 235), the first bearing the sacred tree, and the second, in the same position on the vessel, a curious figure with a lotus flower for a head and holding a combination of those symbols called in India by Prof. Max Muller 'Swastika' or 'Suastika.' The figure is simply an emphasised form of the tree. Between the



scrolls, standing for legs, is a small square containing a Swastika, probably painted with the same intention as in that on the leaden image found by Dr. Schliemann. From this square depends what may be mere ornament or another figure. The two stags and birds belong to this part of the design, and are facing the tree in the manner so often seen in other Phoenician objects. The bird on the left, shown to be a bird of prey by the talons, holds in one claw a small lotus flower and is surmounted by an Assyro-Phoenician rosette. The other, by the evidence of the legs and feet, is probably a wader; in front of it is a stalk with a flower, and it is crowned with a large lotus

flower. The stags also appear to carry lotus flowers and feed from the tree. The action of all the stags on the jar is remarkably lifelike for so primitive a design, and it is to be noticed that no two are in the same attitude.

The artist's intention was to draw the symbolic tree in symmetrical arrangement on every side, but having made the left-hand bird too large he could not retain the desired accuracy, and one of the trees in these end paintings got pushed slightly out of the line. In treatment these trees are to all intents the same. They have both six rosettes in a vertical line down the centre agreeing completely with those on the jar now in the Berlin Museum. (Plate IV., Fig. 1, Cesnola's *Cyprus*, German Edition; p. 55, English Edition.) The stags at the sides have no lotus flowers, and one of them is below the tree and has his head turned away for want of room, the others seem to be climbing; they are in many respects better and more freely executed, and their teeth are shown in a curious way.

The design under and in a line with the handle, always having the sacred tree for subject, was probably made only to fill up, the arms for want of sufficient space being of unequal length. There are no attendant animals, but some rosettes.

This vase is without a rival in its kind either in Cyprus or elsewhere for richness of design, accuracy of detail and lifelike drawing, and although made by Phoenicians, is interesting also from the Hellenic point of view; showing at once from what source the Greeks acquired many of the decorative designs which they applied to vases, and how the inventiveness of the Greeks reacted on the Phoenician potters, and stimulated their faculties.

MAX OHNEFALSCH RICHTER.

A SEPULCHRAL RELIEF FROM TARENTUM.

THE tablet which is the primary subject of the present paper, and which is depicted on the accompanying plate, has been for forty years in the British Museum, having been presented in 1845 by Mr. W. R. Hamilton, the secretary of Lord Elgin. It consists of a slab of close-grained white marble of oblong form 2 feet 9 inches in length and 1 foot 10½ inches in height in the middle where it is broadest. The right upper corner is restored. The tablet was evidently made to let into a wall; the back is rough-hewn, and at the top is a small oblong hole for a peg.

The inscription beneath the relief is obviously modern. It reads *Aesculapio Tarentino Salenius Arcas*, in letters which seem to date from the early part of the present century; apparently it was inserted by some person who considered the relief to represent Aesculapius, wrongly, beyond a doubt. But it is yet of some value as suggesting that the monument was found at Tarentum, and this is on all accounts probable.

The design of the relief, which is flanked by Doric pilasters, must be described. On a couch recline to the left two men clad in mantles (*himatia*); one is bearded and middle-aged, the other of ephebic age. The older man holds a patera in his left hand and lays his right on the shoulder of the youth, who turns to embrace him affectionately. A second youth enters from the left leading in a horse. He is clad in *chiton* and *chlamys*, and a *taenia* is wound about his head. Before the reclining men is a table covered with food and fruit; to the right is a naked servant holding an *oenochoc* and a patera or flat cup.

The art of the relief is good; not very early, but of times earlier than the Roman conquest of Tarentum. The figures of the youths remind one of Athenian sepulchral reliefs of the

fourth century. But the most distinctive part of the composition in this aspect is the horse. He is somewhat thin-legged, slightly built and tall, his head rising very high. He is just such a horse as is usually depicted on Tarentine coins of the latter part of the fourth century; ¹ on earlier Tarentine coins the horse is represented as far more compact and smaller in proportion to his rider. ² The horses on coins of northern Greece are also tall, but they are much more massive. ³ It would not be very easy to match the tall sharply-cut animal of our relief except at Tarentum, and it is likely that these qualities were conspicuous in the noted Tarentine breed of horses. The same character belongs to the horse's head from Tarentum published in these pages ⁴ by Prof. Michaelis. We may therefore venture to assign the present monument locally to Tarentum, and in time to the end of the fourth century B.C.

The subject of the relief is a matter of more complexity. I consider it to be one of the earliest examples of a remarkable class of sepulchral reliefs. But the more detailed explanation of it is postponed for the moment. ⁵ For I cannot content myself with discussing this monument by itself. It seems worth while to go into the matter at greater length, and not only to discuss this relief but to indicate what opinions have been held in regard to the class of monuments to which it belongs, those called by archaeologists *sepulchral banquets*. Few groups of ancient remains have aroused more frequent discussion than this; discussion in which the greatest names have been ranged in hostile camps. Yet we need recount the history of the dispute but summarily, since the question now, in consequence of recent discoveries, admits of definite solution. The scholar of to-day is enabled to take a higher stand in this matter than the giants of the last generation, and to overlook the whole field in which they waged a fluctuating war. No doubt when the *Corpus of Sepulchral Reliefs* projected many years ago by Prof. Conze is published the whole subject will receive fuller attention than I can bestow, and the facts of the case will be placed before readers in satisfactory and final form.

¹ Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, Pl. xi. 3, 4.

² *Ibid.* Pl. v. 8, 9, 34, 35.

³ *Ibid.* Pl. vii. 3-6, 39, 40.

⁴ *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1882, Pl. xxiv. p. 234.

⁵ I return to the subject under head iv. *ad fin.* at page 138



But in the meanwhile a slight skirmish on the ground hereafter to be occupied by the advancing army of knowledge may be not without its uses, at least to those English readers who are unable to follow closely the course of archaeological discovery.

I.

In almost all large museums are to be found Attic sepulchral monuments which bear a relief of the following kind: A pair, man and woman, are enjoying together a banquet, in the attitude usual to the Greeks; the man reclining on a couch, the woman seated at his feet; in front a slave serves the wine. This is the commonest species: but in the genus there are numerous varieties. Sometimes we have two men reclining with their wives, or these last are absent, and a multitude of accessories are added, as to which we shall presently speak. Is it wonderful that the appearance of a banquet on a tomb, the presence of sensuous enjoyment at the gate of death, should excite the interest of those who study antiquity? And amid the Athenian sepulchral reliefs which usually bear representations touched with sadness, scenes of parting and melancholy, they seem to form a class quite apart, and to indicate a different order of thought.

These reliefs are seldom of an early period. I believe that the earliest date claimed for one of the usual type is the fourth century B.C. And the great majority, if we exclude the Lycian reliefs as but half-Greek, belong to a much later period, to late Macedonian and Roman times. Then their type had become fixed and conventional, and accessories were added according to a routine and without special meaning. They are especially common in Attica, but specimens reach us from northern Greece, from Peloponnese, and from the coasts of Asia Minor.

This class of reliefs did not escape the observation of Winckelmann;¹ he indeed published one of them; but fell, as was not unnatural at the time, into the error that the representation was of a mythological scene, the amours of Poseidon and Demeter Erinnys. Zoega² was the originator of the view

¹ *Alle Denkmäler*, No. 19.

² *Bassirilieri* Pls. xi. xxxvi.

which sees in works of this class mere representations from ordinary Greek household life. Gerhard hesitates between two views; he sometimes speaks of the feast depicted on the monuments as of one enjoyed by the deceased in Hades, and sometimes seems rather to regard it as enjoyed by the survivors and celebrated by them in memory of lost friend or ancestor. K. O. Müller preferred the theory which sees in the scenes an allusion to the future happiness of the good, and the enjoyments which await them in the realm of Hades. Le Bas¹ adopted the same view, and was vigorously attacked by Letronne, between whom and Le Bas sprang up on some of the points involved a memorable controversy, which did much to clear the air and set matters in the true light, so far as it was possible in the existing state of knowledge. Letronne was considered to have the better of the controversy, and after this the more naturalistic explanation, which sees, as in the family groups on tombs, so in the feasts also, allusion to the ordinary events of daily life, found support from some of the ablest names. Friedländer, Welcker and Jahn all took this view, with but slight variations among themselves, and Welcker² in particular distinguished himself by a sharp and contemptuous criticism of those who held other views than his own. Meantime Stephani³ had appeared upon the scene with his great learning and wide knowledge of works of Greek art. He did not take the view of Welcker and Jahn, but was led mainly from a comparison of the mural paintings of Etruscan tombs to the belief that the Greek sepulchral reliefs frequently represent the physical enjoyments which were not wanting according to the belief of the ancients in the Elysian fields, and which there awaited the just as a simple continuation of the natural pleasures of the present life. In 1868 the French Institute selected banqueting scenes on Greek tombs as the subject for one of their prize competitions; and the result was the production of two valuable works on the subject; one by Pervanoglu,⁴ which has been published, and which proceeds on the lines of Friedländer and Welcker; and one of much greater length by M. Albert Dumont, which has I believe remained as yet unpublished. It is

¹ *Antiq. Figurées*, pp. 85, 599.

³ *Der Ausruhende Herakles*, 1854.

² *Alle Denkmäler*, pt. ii. Pl. xiii.
and text.

⁴ *Das Familienmahl auf altgriechischen Grabsteinen*.

however known that M. Dumont believes the feasts of the reliefs to be symbolical representations of those offerings to the dead which were so usual at fixed periods among the Greeks, and memory of which is still kept up in modern Greece by the relations of the dead who bring roses to their graves at certain festivals, and bestow on friends cakes called *κόλλυβα* made of pomegranate seeds and fruits.¹ There is also a short but careful and sensible paper dealing with the whole subject published by Hollaender² about 1864: this writer takes the same view as Dumont. Within the last ten years the number of important and instructive reliefs of this class has greatly increased, and notices have been elicited from many Continental archaeologists, such as Conze, Milchhoefer, Furtwängler, Wolters and Ravaisson. Some of these will be discussed in the course of this paper.

To sum up: Of the reliefs of this class three explanations have been offered: (1) That they are retrospective, and represent the enjoyment of the past life of the persons whose tombs they adorn. This view brings them in connexion with the ordinary Athenian grave reliefs which represent domestic scenes or out-door pursuits. This view was started by Zoega, and maintained with great vigour and success by Friedländer, Welcker and Jahn. (2) That they refer to the offerings of meat and drink brought by survivors at fixed periods to the grave, which the dead are thus represented as accepting and enjoying. This is the view of Hollaender enforced by M. Albert Dumont and many others. (3) That they represent the happiness of the deceased in Hades, and his enjoyment in the next life of delights of eating and drinking similar to those which he possessed in this world. This view, which represents the Greeks as imagining the next world to be a continuation of this, not in essentials merely, but even in gross and material enjoyments, has been advocated by Stephani, Le Bas and K. O. Müller.

Sepulchral monuments on which is a banqueting scene are very common. Mr. Pervanoglu in his work published in 1872 enumerates 212 examples known to him; M. Albert Dumont describes no less than 297 specimens; and neither of these

¹ See M. Dumont's notes on the *νεκύσια* in the *Révue Archéologique*, N.S. vol. xx. p. 247. Also, Newton,

Travels and Discoveries, I. 213.

² *De operibus anaglyphis, &c.*

lists is anything like complete. In such circumstances it is evident that I cannot here cite even all important varieties; I must content myself with describing a very few typical specimens.

We begin with a simple and ordinary class: Male figure reclining on couch; at his feet seated female figure; before the couch a tripod covered with eatables and drinkables, with a slave to serve them; while the man is feasting, the woman commonly draws her veil about her. Or the male figure reclines alone. It is evident that here we have nothing to give a colour or a flavour to the scene; the feast is to all appearance an every-day one. It is well known that the heroes of Homer sit at table; and the custom of reclining came in at some time between the age of Homer and historical times. The custom never spread to women, at least of the modest class, nor to boys. We are told that in Macedon boys were not allowed to recline at table until they had slain a boar, which sometimes did not happen until they were middle-aged; Cassander for instance had to sit like a boy until he reached his thirty-fifth year. When men dined together in Greece modest women were not present; but when a man dined at home his wife would naturally be present, not reclining with him, nor probably eating with him, but sitting by to entertain him with her talk while he dined. The group which I have described is therefore an ordinary scene from the private life of the Greeks. Sometimes the seated wife rests her head on her hand in an attitude which to the Greeks signified grief.¹ This may seem a jarring note at a feast; but we know that it was customary in Athenian grave-reliefs which represent scenes of daily life to introduce some such touch as this, to show that the beautiful picture has been spoiled by the hand of death, that it was not destined to last, and that already the shadow of coming change was thrown on to the happy scene. In the same way we may interpret another adjunct sometimes found in banqueting scenes which certainly come from actual tombstones, a snake twined round a tree in the background.

So far we find nothing to throw doubt on the theory of Welcker and Friedländer, that the daily banquet was introduced in sepulchral reliefs from the same motives as other scenes of

¹ Stephani, *Der Ausruhende Herakles*, Pl. vii. 1.

domestic life. What scene, they say, could be more characteristic of domestic felicity, what memory more pleasing to recall on a gravestone than these happy moments, when physical satisfaction of bodily needs went with pleasant talk and social enjoyment?

We may even go further and say that to certain reliefs of the class this view alone seems appropriate. For example, one of the earliest and most interesting among them is on a tomb in the celebrated Athenian cemetery on the Sacred Way.¹ It represents two men reclining on a couch, with food as usual set before them, and their two wives seated by; in the foreground is a galley, in which is Charon with his hand extended towards the feasters. A comparison with other Athenian reliefs leads us to think that this banquet, at all events, is one of every-day life. The sudden appearance in the midst of social enjoyment of one destined to summon to the next world is a striking fancy, rather in accordance, one would think, with the taste of the Etruscans than that of the Greeks, yet by no means unknown in Greek and even Athenian sepulchral reliefs. We may instance the well-known relief inscribed with the name MYPPINH where Hermes appears² leading by the hand the girl Myrrhina, from the midst of her family, to convey her to Hades.

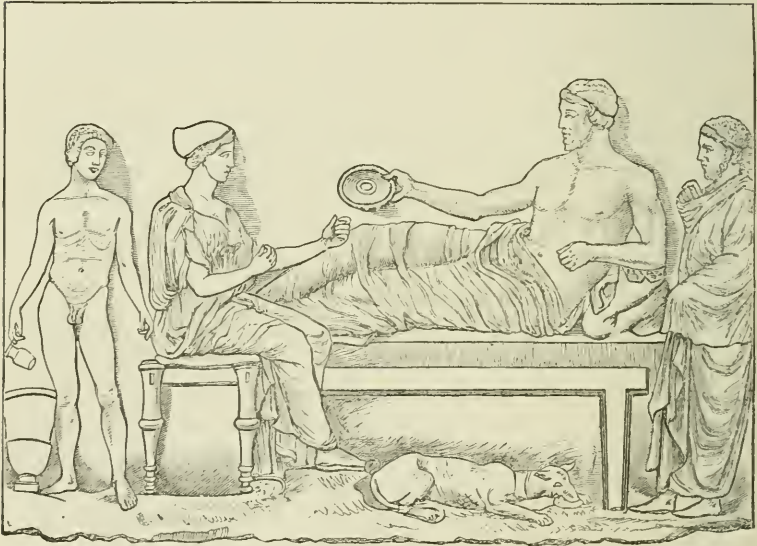
Indeed this simple explanation of the group is in almost all cases tenable where the monument is of Athenian provenience, and the relief belongs to an ordinary tombstone. In this case the relief is of square form, and carved on a stèle usually bearing the name of the deceased, and left rough at the bottom that it may be set up in the ground. But there is another class of reliefs easily distinguished from these by being oblong in form, of greater width than height, usually flanked by pilasters, and made to be let into the wall of a larger monument. Many writers have confused these with the reliefs of stelæ, but they are, as Stephani clearly shows, to be kept apart from them. Stephani, remarking the likeness of these reliefs to *ex voto* tablets dedicated to various deities, expresses the opinion that they were set up in private shrines as memorials of the dead, and used in the household worship of deceased ancestors.

¹ Salinas, *Monumenti Sepolcrali*, Pl. iv.

² Ravaisson, *Le Monument de Myrrhine*.

As to their provenience, it seems to be established that in some cases at all events they come from cemeteries, and the close neighbourhood of tombs; one published by M. Fränkel¹ for instance was found close to an actual tombstone. They must therefore be considered as a sort of supplementary memorial, set up near the tombs of the wealthy or distinguished, beside the ordinary inscribed stelae.

If we could in this paper maintain a strictly scientific order, we should treat them apart from the actual reliefs of tombs. This is, however, not altogether possible, because the two classes are confused in the lists drawn up by various writers, even in those of Stephani himself, as he is obliged to confess.



But in the main, all that here follows refers to the oblong class of reliefs. They are far more complicated, and introduce a number of additions to the simple banqueting group, which are found but seldom on the simple reliefs of square form. These additions we must briefly discuss in order. As they multiply, so do the difficulties of the naturalistic method of interpretation increase. In order to help the imagination of the reader, I

¹ *Archäol. Zeitung*, 1874, p. 148.

insert on the opposite page a woodcut of a typical specimen of the oblong reliefs.¹

It is the relief in the Theseium at Athens, commonly called "the death of Socrates." As to its date opinions differ; some, as Friederichs, assign it to the fourth century B.C., in which case it would be among the earliest reliefs of the class; some, as Stephani, consider it to date from so late a period as that of Hadrian. Certainly in many of the details and the general character of the work, we see proofs that the relief does not really belong to good Greek times. But if it be of eclectic and unoriginal type, yet the monument whence the type was borrowed must have belonged to days of Greek autonomy.

A dog is in this case seen lying under the couch.² It is true of course that dogs did, in Greek houses, lie under the couches and tables to be fed from the hand of master and mistress; nevertheless the dog was certainly an animal devoted to the shades below, the favourite of Hecate, and the common sacrifice to the infernal deities. Sometimes in the place of this dog we find a snake. Welcker and some of the more extreme advocates of what we may term the daily-life theory as to these reliefs have held that the snake appears in them by the same right as the dog, as a domestic animal, since we know that it was by no means unusual among the Greeks to have tame snakes, and to allow them the range of the house.³ But less extreme advocates have seen the absurdity of supposing that the snake was a common attendant at the ancient dinner-table, and have allowed that his presence in these reliefs must have reference to the widely-spread belief of ancient times, that snakes were either the companions or even the representatives of dead heroes. I need not surely bring forward proofs of this statement, but I may for a moment pause to point out how ancient science explained the fact. Plutarch tells us, that when the dead body of Cleomenes was hanging on the cross in Egypt, a large serpent was seen wound about it, repelling the attacks of the birds of prey who would have fed on it. This phenomenon, he says, terrified some of the Alexandrians as proving that Cleomenes

¹ Ἐφεση. ἀρχ. Pl. 269. Welcker, *Alte Denkm.* ii. No. 96; Stephani, *Ausruh. Herakl.* p. 81, &c. A cast in the British Museum.

Pl. xiii. 1; Zoega, *Bassirilievi*, Pl. xxxvi.

³ The story of Olympias, wife of Philip, and her tame snake is well known.

² Cf. Welcker, *Alte Denkmäler*, ii.

was a hero or of semi-divine nature, until it was pointed out, that as the dead body of a bull produces bees and that of a horse wasps, so the dead body of a man produces in the natural course of its decay, snakes.

A third animal of usual occurrence in these scenes is the horse, who either makes his appearance bodily,¹ or else is represented by his head only, which is seen, as it were, framed in the background, that is in a square inclosure which has been imagined to stand for a window, through which the head is seen. With regard to the horse, one of the fiercest contests in this whole war has been waged. One party have affirmed that his appearance is a sign of death. They have tried to establish a connexion between Hades and horses, and to show that the horse is a natural symbol of departure on a long journey, as the Greeks usually travelled on horseback. There has even been a suggestion that there must be an antique element in the modern Greek belief that Charos, or Death, rides on horseback about the mountains attended by a train of corpses, and with dead children hung at his saddle-bow. Letronne and Welcker are very severe upon this theory, declaring the legends of modern Charos to be of Slavonian origin. Welcker is also very angry with an unfortunate critic who imagines the term *κλυτόπῳλος*, as applied in Homer to Hades, to have something to do with riding on a horse.² He maintains that the horse who appears at banquets on tombs is merely an ordinary domestic animal, who has good right to share in the pleasures of his master, and by his presence testifies to the knightly rank of the person to whom the tomb belongs. Friedländer declares that the way to the next world for a Greek would lie across the waves, and that it would not occur to him to connect even in idea the last journey with a horse. To this question we shall return.

Finally, the scene of the banquet is, on the oblong more complicated class of reliefs, very commonly supplemented by an addition, which at once seems entirely to change its character: that is, by the approach to the feasting pair of some worshippers, represented as of smaller size than they, and therefore as of inferior rank or dignity. Sometimes they bring with them a pig, and frequently other offerings, with chaplets and other trappings of

¹ As in Zoega, *Bassirilievi*, Pl. xi.

² The epithet refers of course to the chariot, not the horse of Hades.

Greek cultus. The following relief from Argos may serve as an example:¹ Male figure reclining, and female seated, attendant in background; under the couch a serpent, and in the background a horse's head inclosed in a square frame. There enters a train of suppliants of small size, bringing with them a sheep for an offering. Another relief, also published by Welcker,² shows us a very similar scene, with a curious variety, that the reclining male figure wears on his head a modius, and holds in his hand a horn (*cornucopiae*). It is at once evident that the presence of worshippers takes these reliefs out of the class which can be explained as representations of ordinary domestic life. Even the most thorough-going of the advocates of the daily-life theory have seen this, and maintained, as does Welcker, that the reliefs where votaries appear belong to altogether another category from sepulchral reliefs; are indeed *ex voto* tablets dedicated to certain deities by persons whom they had aided and succoured. In the tablets where a snake appears by the side of the pair who are the objects of veneration, he calls them Asclepius and Hygieia; where the reclining figure wears a modius, he calls him Sarapis accompanied by his wife Isis or Persephone.

The recent excavations at the Asclepieion at Athens have resulted in the discovery of a large number of *ex voto* tablets dedicated to Asclepius and Hygieia. These however do not bear any very close resemblance to the class of reliefs under discussion. Asclepius and Hygieia appear on them³ either seated or standing, usually one seated and one standing. The snake, which specially belongs to the healing god, takes its place under his seat, or twined round a tree. Worshippers, of course of smaller size, approach bearing incense or fruits. But these tablets are of far earlier period than the sepulchral reliefs, and cannot fairly be compared with them. With greater fairness we may cite, as representing a late *ex voto* tablet to Asclepius, a remarkable coin of Bizya in the British Museum. Comparison with other coins of the same city and period, on which Asclepius very commonly appears, renders it certain that the representation does belong to his cultus. We may thus describe

¹ See Welcker, *Alle Denkmäler*, ii. Pl. xiii. 2. The horse's head here looks like that of an ox; this can scarcely be anything but the result of defective drawing. The monument

itself has disappeared.

² *Ibid.* Pl. xiii. 3.

³ *Mittheilungen Inst. Ath.*, vol. ii. Pls. xvi.-xviii.

the reverse type of this curious piece¹ which was minted in the reign of Philip the Arab:—BIZYHNΩN. Asclepius reclining on a couch and Hygieia seated in front of him; a tripod before the couch, also a serpent twining round a staff. A votary approaches bearing an amphora of wine, and on the other side a horse enters. In the background is armour hung on a tree.



This scene so closely resembles some of those cited by Welcker that we might naturally be disposed to accept the theory that these latter also were dedicated to Asclepius.

Welcker, however, does not seem to have been aware that some of the reliefs of the oblong class on which votaries make their appearance bear inscriptions which may perhaps help us towards ascertaining their meaning. Two such are cited by Stephani from Janssen's catalogue of the sepulchral reliefs at Leyden:—²

(1) A male figure reclines on a couch holding a patera, before him is a table laden with fruits; votaries are grouped about him; above, five square openings, in which are placed arms, a horse's head and three female figures. Inscribed:

. οφάνης Κυδρογένεως
 Κυδρογένει "Ηρωι

(2) A male figure reclines, holding horn and patera, a table before him as usual; behind, a snake wound round a tree; by the side an oenochoüs; votaries approach bringing a pig decked for sacrifice; in the corner above is a horse's head. The inscrip-

¹ *Cat. Gr. Coins in Brit. Mus.*
 Thrace, p. 90.

² Nos. 15, 16.

tion records that the tablet is dedicated by Diodotus, son of Antialcides, Prytanis for the second time, and his fellow-Prytanes to one Teiades [ΤΗΙΑΔΗ].

If we could change but a letter or two at the end of the inscription just cited, and read ΤΩΙΑΙΔΗΙ we might fairly see in the tablet an *ex voto* relief dedicated to Hades, and certainly the reclining male figure with his horn and patera would do very well for a representation of Hades. But we learn from Janssen that the reading as he gives it is clear and certain; we are therefore obliged to suppose that the tablet was set up in honour of a mortal hero, and that he was dead at the time is indicated by the whole scope of the relief, and in particular by the snake twined round a tree in the background, this being a well-understood sign of death. The first tablet also is set up in honour of a hero.

Another instance will be found in the *Archäologische Zeitung* for 1874.¹ On a relief there published we see a male figure reclining, with his wife seated as usual; votaries approach them. The inscription in this case is Ἡδύλος ἀνέθηκε Εὐκόλος. Eucolus seems to be the deceased hero, to whom Hedylus, presumably a relation, set up this tablet.

We seem then to have clear instances of votive tablets set up in honour of a mortal, with votaries and the symbols of snake and horse-head; but perhaps scarcely enough instances to enable us to lay down the rule that all the class of banqueting scenes on oblong reliefs were of this nature.

II.

Hitherto, I have been regarding Attic banqueting reliefs as a class of monuments apart, and considered them from the point of view which prevailed until recent years. But theories of development are of as great value in archaeology as in other branches of science. If we try not only to distinguish the classes of these reliefs, but to track them upwards in time and discover their original ideas and the artistic forms from which they are descended, we shall, I hope, be able to decide finally

¹ P. 148.

those questions which seem insoluble when we proceed from the mere classificatory point of view. To take this course would have been a few years ago impossible, as the monuments which will most assist our search had not then been discovered. But now it has become a possibility.

If we turn from Greece to the monuments of the semi-Greek countries of the east and west, to Lycia on the one hand and Etruria on the other, we shall at once see that the banqueting reliefs do not stand so far aloof as they appear to do when we confine our attention to works of Hellenic art only. On many of the Lycian tombs discovered by Fellows are reliefs of which the subject is a male figure reclining on a couch and holding a patera. On a tomb at Cadyanda,¹ for instance, the relief represents a man reclining, holding a bunch of grapes and a patera, a dog below his couch: suppliants approach him bearing grapes. The relief of a tomb at Myra² represents a reclining man and a seated woman who draws forward her veil: a dog is beneath her seat; and votaries are on either side. Both these tombs are of the native Lycian or pre-Greek class, and must therefore be older than the Hellenisation of the district, which took place probably in Seleucid times. And they appear to contain most of the essential elements of the later banqueting reliefs. Not very different in character are scenes depicted on still earlier monuments, such as the well-known tomb called the Nereid monument, which was erected according to a generally accepted theory in honour of Pericles, a king of Xanthus. On one pediment of this building we find an ideal battle-scene, on the other is a group representing the king after death receiving the homage of survivors. He is seated on a throne beneath which crouches a dog, his queen sits opposite, drawing forward her veil; between the two are their children, and on either side suppliants of smaller stature are represented as approaching the principal figures.³ Groups of a similar character are to be found on other Lycian monuments, that called the Chimaera-tomb for instance. Thus so far as Lycia is concerned

¹ Fellows, *Lycia*, p. 118.

² *Ibid.* p. 197.

³ Such is the interpretation suggested by Michaelis in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1875. I believe that it has been

generally accepted, and has superseded the theories which made of the group either a set of deities or mortals engaged in an every-day feast.

there can be no doubt that as early as the fourth century B.C. dead heroes were represented on their tombs as receiving homage from the living.

The same order of ideas prevails in Etruria. The well-known archaic sarcophagus of the British Museum furnishes us on its two sides with contrasted pictures of fighting and feasting. And that the feast here is a feast after death is shown by the analogy of the wall paintings of several of the large tombs of Etruria, in which the occupant of the tomb is seen eating, drinking, and making merry, as if he had but to continue in the tomb the life which while he was in the flesh he had found so pleasant.

But we must not delay over the representations in Etruscan tombs, partly because in character they are nearer to the art and the beliefs of Egypt than to those of Greece, partly because the question of their interpretation is not altogether an easy one. Let us pass on to Greek soil. And first we must mention a class of sepulchral reliefs common from the fourth century onwards, and more particularly usual in Boeotia, in which we see a hero of magnified stature, either riding on a horse or leading a horse, and receiving in a patera or cup the libation of some figures, usually female, who meet him.

A good instance of this large class may be found in a Theban relief, which represents a warrior of magnified stature, clearly a hero, standing beside his horse and holding out a patera to receive the offerings of some suppliants who approach, bringing him a pig, a bird and a vase. A similar relief exists in the Sabouroff Collection.¹ It is from Tanagra, but Furtwängler considers it to be of Attic work, and of not later time than the fourth century B.C. It represents a hero accompanied by his horse, holding out a patera into which a female figure is pouring wine or oil from a vase: at the side a man and woman and two children enter as suppliants. Above is the important inscription, ΚΑΛΛΙΤΕΛΗΣ ΑΛΕΞΙΜΑΧΩΙ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ, proving that the tablet was set up in honour of a deceased mortal. In a small stele from Rhodes in the British Museum, the hero advances on his horse towards a female figure who prepares to pour him a libation.

Italian excavations also have of late years largely illustrated

¹ Pl. xxix.

our subject. At Tarentum large numbers of terra-cotta reliefs have been discovered¹ which in their subjects approach closer to the Athenian monuments. These terra-cottas are usually found in fragmentary condition; but it is clear that in many cases they represent a deceased hero reclining at table, often accompanied by wife and child. Sometimes these groups bear the impress of archaic, sometimes of fully-developed, art. A remarkable specimen which presents exceptional features is engraved in the *Monumenti* of the Roman Institute (xi. pl. lv.). It represents a young man and woman engaged in feasting together, while behind them appears in the background a horse. The exact purpose of these terra-cottas has not as yet been ascertained, but all scholars who have written about them are agreed that they belong to the cultus of the dead in Tarentum, which was, it must be remembered, a Dorian colony. On others of these tablets heroes seem to be represented as riders.

But the best clue for the due interpretation of the Greek banqueting reliefs is furnished by those archaic Laconian reliefs the finding of which in recent years has so greatly increased our knowledge of art and archaeology. Some of the more important of these were brought before the learned world by Dressel and Milchhoefer in the second volume of the *Transactions of the German Institute at Athens*.² One stone bears a relief representing a man and woman seated side by side; he holds wine cup and pomegranate, she draws forward her veil. Another reproduces the same pair; but behind them stands erect a snake, while in front approach two votaries of the female sex bearing as offerings a cock, an egg, a flower, and a pomegranate. So soon as wonder at the very remarkable artistic style of these interesting reliefs so far subsided as to allow archaeologists leisure to consider their meaning, two opinions found advocates. The wine-cup naturally suggested Dionysus, and the first discoverers of the stones had supposed the tablets to be made in his honour, and to represent him seated with Ariadne (or perhaps Persephone), to receive the adoration and offerings of certain votaries.

¹ Wolters, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, p. 300; also Dümmler, *Ann. dell' Inst.* 1883, p. 192. They have been also found at Myrina.

² Engraved also in Overbeck's *Gr. Plastik*, 3rd edit. i. 85; Perry, p. 73; Murray, i. 94.

Messrs. Dressel and Milchhoefer in the above-mentioned Transactions discussed the matter at length and with much discretion. They declared that the reliefs must belong to some well-understood and widely-spread Peloponnesian cultus, deeply rooted in the feelings of the people, and possessed of a well-understood language of symbols, the wine-cup, the egg, and the pomegranate. It occurred to these archaeologists to compare the reliefs of Sparta with the reliefs representing banqueting scenes, but they maintained that whereas the personages represented in the ordinary banqueting scenes are mortal, those portrayed on the Spartan reliefs must be deities. They next asked what deities? and rejecting Dionysus as inappropriate and not known in Laconia in early times, decided that the figures represented must be Hades and his consort, and the whole set of reliefs an important evidence of the worship of Chthonic deities in Laconia in early times. The scene represented would thus be the homage done by votaries dead or living to the great powers of the unseen world.

The proofs, however, of the truth of this attribution were not numerous. That Hades sometimes on vases holds the wine-cup or kantharos of Dionysus is true. And there was found near Sparta a terra-cotta statuette of a seated man, inscribed ΑΙΔΕΥΞ, which word we may reasonably suppose to be a cross-form between ΑΙΔΗΞ and ΑΙΔΩΝΕΥΞ. But this figure being headless, and endowed with no attributes, furnishes but a very slight argument in favour of giving the name of Hades to so different a being as he in the reliefs. There was no doubt rife in the Peloponnese, or at least in all parts of it where Pelasgic traditions of cult were strong, a devoted worship of the Chthonian deities Demeter, Persephone, and Hades. But we do not know that Sparta was one of the seats of this worship; rather from the hostility shown by the Spartans to the Eleusinian mysteries, the celebration of which they on several occasions interrupted, we may conjecture that they did not care to countenance the cultus of the great nature-deities.

The reasons in the other scale of the balance were even at that time weighty. First, the only one of the Spartan reliefs of which the exact find-spot could be traced was found, it appears, standing erect in a tumulus composed of earth and

¹ *Mittheil.* ii. p. 299.

stones which was in all probability an early tomb, while near by was a stone inscribed $\Theta\epsilon\rho\mu\alpha\nu\omicron\xi$.¹ Secondly, the snake seems by his presence to afford a strong indication that the being whom he attends is rather a deceased hero than Hades the mighty ruler of the dead.

Thus even on the evidence before them Messrs. Dressel and Milchhoefer might with justice have ventured to reject the theory that Hades and his consort are represented in the reliefs. It is, however, always difficult on the discovery of quite a new class of works of art immediately to determine their character. Fortunately, not long afterwards, other Spartan reliefs came to light; of these some are figured in the seventh and eighth plates of vol. iv. of the Athenian *Mittheilungen*. One represents a male figure seated, closely draped, holding in one hand a wine-cup from which a snake drinks, in the other hand a pomegranate. This relief is on a stelè inscribed with the name of $\tau\iota\mu\omicron\kappa\lambda\eta\varsigma$; and another stelè which bears the name of $\alpha\pi\iota\xi\tau\omicron\kappa\lambda\eta\xi$ exhibits a similar figure though in a freer style of art. These reliefs readily attach themselves to the more archaic class of Spartan monuments, and throw a fresh light on their character, so that after seeing them Milchhoefer² retracted his previously expressed opinion, and no longer hesitated to believe that in all alike dead mortals held the post of honour, and that all referred to the cultus of ancestors.

Other fortunate discoveries made recently, both on the soil of Laconia and on that of Attica, have removed the last shadow of doubt in the matter, and by bringing the Spartan reliefs in line with the banqueting scenes on Athenian and other tombs have served to explain the character of these also, and to throw light beyond them, not only on other classes of sepulchral relief, but on the monuments of Lycia, Etruria, and other districts of semi-Greek art.

A Laconian relief was found at Chrysapha³ near Sparta. Its subject is a male figure, seated, fully clad, holding in one hand a wine-cup, in the other a pomegranate; at his feet is a dog leaping up, and in front is sculptured in low relief a horse.

¹ This would seem to be the genitive of $\epsilon\rho\mu\hat{\alpha}\nu$, a variant of $\epsilon\rho\mu\hat{\eta}\varsigma$. It seems to signify that the tomb was sacred to the Chthonian Hermes.

² *Mittheilungen*, 1879, p. 160.

³ Published by Furtwängler in the *Mittheilungen*, vol. vii. (1882) Pl. vii. This writer looks on the evidence furnished by the monument in the same way in which it is here accepted.

Neither Dionysus nor Hades is specially connected with dogs or horses, nor has Asclepius any connexion with a wine-cup or a pomegranate. It seems then that it cannot be a deity who is here represented. And every one who is acquainted with sepulchral reliefs knows that a dog leaping up and a horse in the background are among their most usual features. We can



scarcely resist the conclusion that our slab belonged to a tomb, and that the person there represented is a mortal, seated in state to receive the homage of his descendants or of passers-by.

If any doubt remained it would vanish on considering a stèle recently discovered in Attica, and ascribed to the latter part of the sixth century.¹ As to the sepulchral destination of this monument its inscription leaves no doubt, recording that it was

¹ *Mittheilungen*, iv. (1879) Pl. ii.

set up in honour of one Lyseas by his father. It is not a relief, but a flat slab, bearing a painting of Lyseas standing. This standing figure in general outline reminds us of the relief which presents a portrait of Aristion, and of other portraits of early Attic worthies; but the remarkable thing about it is that the hero bears in one hand what seems to be a laurel bough, in the other a wine-cup exactly similar to that carried by the seated figure in the Spartan relief. We thus gain an incontrovertible proof that a wine-cup or kantharos does not belong only to Dionysus and Hades, but may be held by a hero on his tomb.

It may then be considered as certain that the dead were figured on their tombs as seated in state, holding wine-cup and pomegranate. And this leaves no doubt that the pair, male and female, seated, who appear in the early Spartan reliefs, are the departed head of a family and his wife, and that the reliefs wherein they appear are of sepulchral character. Again, this pair, as we have already seen, is in some cases approached by votaries bringing offerings; this shows that, in Sparta at least, not only were the regular offerings to the dead held in great estimation, but that their presentation was considered a fit subject to adorn the tombs of departed heads of families. And the stelè of Lyseas shows that this general order of thought is not peculiar to Laconia, but that we may expect to find ideas not dissimilar in other parts of Greece and even in Attica.

In Boeotia stelae have been discovered which exhibit the prevalence in that part of Greece also of the same ideas. They are published in the third volume of the *Mittheilungen*. For instance, we have from Lebadeia a stelè of very early date, which was evidently fashioned with a view to being set up in the earth as a gravestone. The relief on this stone is as follows: On a seat rests an aged man clad in a himation; his feet supported by a stool. Both arms are extended; in one hand is a staff, in the other a kantharos. Here we distinctly find the dead hero grasping the cup of Dionysus.

According to Dressel and Milchhoefer the tablets at Sparta must be memorials of a widespread and deeply-rooted cultus. Willingly we accept this verdict; and the phrase happily expresses the character of that worship of the dead which was widely prevalent in ancient times, and which was a marked

feature of Greek religion, more particularly of the religion of the conservative races of the Peloponnese.

The worship of the dead can scarcely be said to lie on the surface of the great Attic literature. That literature, in fact, belongs rather to all time and to human nature than to a particular age and country; and what is local and temporary in Greek thought and feeling has ever a tendency to fall into the background in it. It represents the Greek mind in the same way in which the Doryphorus of Polycleitus, and the Apoxyomenus of Lysippus, represent the Greek body: they give us the better and nobler side, and put out of sight what is mean and unworthy. In the great age of Greece, and in the favoured city of the Athenians, religion meant the worship of the great deities of Olympus, the highest and noblest forms of the Greek religious consciousness. Primitive and patriarchal elements of religion still existed; but they were thrust into the background. Thus, as indeed a glance at Athenian sepulchral monuments will assure us, the worship of the dead did not occupy among the *élite* of Greece the same space in men's minds which at an earlier time it had held, and which it still held in the more conservative districts.

Nevertheless, a careful search will disclose many passages even in the Attic writers which illustrate this form of religion. The opening passage of the *Choephoroi*, for example, tells of cultus kept up at the tombs of deceased worthies. In the *Alcestis*, the heroine of the play is scarcely dead before she is invoked by the chorus as a spiritual power, able to give and to withhold favours:—

*νῦν δ' ἔστι μάκαιρα δαίμων,
χαῖρ', ὦ πόντι', εὖ δὲ δόσης.*

It is instructive to compare with such passages as these a class of vases peculiarly Athenian, the beautiful white *λήκυθοι*,¹ which bear paintings in almost all cases illustrative of the offerings brought to the tombs of departed ancestors by survivors. The abundance of these vases proves that the ideas which they illustrate were quite familiar to the Athenians.

¹ Cf. Pottier's useful work *Les Lécythes blanches antiques*, 1884, where these monuments are fully discussed from

the point of view of funeral customs as well as from that of art.

At a lower level than that of poetry, in the laws and the customs, more especially the burial-customs, of the Greeks, we find ample proof of the tenacity with which they clung to the belief that the dead desired offerings of food and incense, and were willing in return to furnish protection and aid. We must briefly trace the rise of this belief in the primitive mental tendencies of the ancient peoples of the East.

It is well known to be one of the most universal and deepest rooted convictions among barbarians, that the dead are not without feelings and perceptions, but remain keenly alive to the treatment they receive from their kindred and require of them much assistance. The dead man, living in his tomb as he had lived in his house, requires frequent supplies of food and drink, rejoices in the presence of armour and ornaments, such as he loved in life, and is very sensitive to discourteous treatment. These ideas were part of the mental furniture of the whole Aryan race, before it separated into branches, and are found in all the countries over which it spread. They were also fully accepted in very early times by the Egyptians. The belief of these latter in the existence of persons after death was so intense that it has created their art, given birth to their literature, and even now gives a strong colour to all that remains of the Egypt of the Pharaohs. The Egyptian grave consisted properly of three parts: first, the underground cell where were laid, carefully preserved and wrapped in spices, the mummies of the dead; secondly, an inner chamber filled with images; and thirdly, an outer chapel accessible to the friends of the departed. The last two require a word of explanation. The images were regarded as things in which the shade of the deceased might dwell, their number was increased in order that among so many one should please him well, and as long as one remained, so long it was supposed would the shade of the deceased find something to attract and bind him to the spot. The outer chapel was a place of resort of friends who brought offerings to the dead, burning incense, the fumes of which were allowed to pass through certain openings into the chamber of images. Even after the Egyptians had fully accepted the belief that the souls of the dead passed to a distant world, there to be judged by Osiris, they still, inconsistently enough, retained the customs of the tomb, and called it the eternal dwelling-

place, in opposition to that temporary dwelling-place, the house.

By no means dissimilar were the views of the Greeks, at least in earlier times. In the earliest of Greek graves, such as the so-called Treasury of Atreus, at Mycenae, and the building at Orchomenus,¹ we find a somewhat similar arrangement of an inner chamber devoted to the dead, and an outer chamber to which those who came to pay their respects to the tenant of the tomb probably had access, and which may have been stored with articles of pomp and splendour, set aside for his enjoyment. It is well known with what care the early Greeks provided in the chamber in which they placed a corpse all that was necessary for its comfort, I had almost said its life. Wine and food of various kinds were there laid up in a little store, a lamp was provided full of oil, frequently even kept burning to relieve the darkness; and around were strewn the clothes and the armour in which the dead hero had delighted; sometimes even, by a refinement of realism, a whetstone² to sharpen the edge of sword and spear in case they should grow blunt with use. The horse of a warrior was sometimes slain and buried with him that he might not in another world endure the indignity of having to walk. Even in Homeric days the custom survived of slaying at the tomb of a noted warrior some of a hostile race to be his slaves thereafter. After the fall of Troy, Coulanges remarks, the captives were distributed among the chiefs; but it was not thought right to deprive the dead Achilles of his share, and Polyxena was offered up at his tomb. According to the ingenious theory of a modern *savant*,³ the terra-cottas so commonly found in tombs in some parts of Greece are the successors and substitutes of these living victims, placed like their bodies in the grave of one who would in his future life require servants and companions. Every one knows that the custom of *sati*, whereby a wife is burned on the same pyre with her dead husband, is barely extinct in India.

And the care for the dead did not by any means cease at their burial. They had to be constantly tended thereafter, their bones preserved from violence, and their tombs from

¹ Described by Dr. Schliemann in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. ii.

³ Rayet, in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1875.

² At Mycenae, for instance.

spoliation; and at certain seasons food and drink had to be brought them and left by their tomb for their use. Sometimes even this did not satisfy their friends. There is in the British Museum a sarcophagus in which a hole has been cut to allow food to pass in to the occupant, and Mr. Newton has suggested that the small apertures near the top of Lycian tombs were made with the same view; they are too small to allow the passage of the dead body itself. If a body was left unburied, or if the tomb in which it was laid was not from time to time supplied with food and drink, then the ghost inhabiting such body became a wretched wanderer on the face of the earth, and neither had peace itself nor allowed survivors to be at peace.

The belief in the continued need felt by the dead and to be supplied by the living was so deep that even Christianity has been unable wholly to abolish it, though in modern days roses take the place at tombs of the more substantial offerings of old times. A couple of passages from Lucian¹ will serve to summarise the ancient feeling: *πεπιστεύκασι γοῦν τὰς ψυχὰς ἀναπεμπομένας κάτωθεν δειπνεῖν μὲν ὡς οἶόν τε περιπετομένας τὴν κνῖσαν καὶ τὸν καπνὸν, πίνειν δὲ ἀπὸ βόθρου τὸ μελίκρατον.*—*τρέφονται ταῖς παρ' ἡμῶν χοαῖς καὶ τοῖς καθαγιζομένοις ἐπὶ τῶν τάφων ὡς εἴ τῳ μὴ εἴη καταλειμμένος ὑπὲρ γῆς φίλος ἢ συγγενὴς ἄσιτος οὗτος νεκρὸς καὶ λιμώττων ἐν αὐτοῖς πολιτεύεται.*

It is true that the state of opinion which gave birth to Greek burial customs did not persist unchanged into historical times. Later there was spread abroad a general belief in the existence of a realm of spirits, presided over by Hades and Persephone, and hidden somewhere in the deepest recesses of the earth. At least the common people believed in the Styx and the Cocytus, the dog Cerberus and the Elysian fields, and the ferryman Charon who conveyed souls. They even gave the dead an obol to pay to Charon as his fee, but this very fact shows how persistent the belief in the connexion of the future life with the body was, for it was in the actual mouths of corpses

¹ Lucian 519 (*Charon*, 22), ii. 926 (*De luctu*, 9). I cannot omit quoting these passages, to which my attention was drawn by the late Rector of Lincoln College. He took a kindly interest in the present paper, and

during his last illness copied out for me Lucian's words in tremulous characters which evidenced alike the feebleness of his health, and the continued activity of his interest in Hellenic studies.

(the mouth being the Greek purse) that the piece of money was placed and left. The same men who supposed that souls went into a far country, yet believed heroes to hover about the spot on which they were buried, like the virgins of Leuctra who appeared to Pelopidas, when he happened to sleep at the spot where they were buried, or like the sages whose tombs became oracular. The upper stratum of belief was occupied by those notions of religion and a future state which were sanctioned by poetry and art, and public cultus; but in the background still lurked many feelings which had arisen at a time when the grave was regarded by all as a dwelling-place, and the dead as by no means inaccessible to the favours and the requests of the survivors.

If, having acquired and assimilated these facts, we now turn to the Spartan and Athenian reliefs successively, we shall find ourselves in a position to solve some of the difficulties which they present, and which have in former days perplexed archaeologists. We may begin with the Spartan class. These reliefs show us in connexion with the dead man as hero a number of symbols. The hero himself holds a wine cup. Furtwängler suggests that this contains an allusion to the libations which used to accompany funerals. This is doubtless true; but the hero is not pouring a libation, but receiving it. This is no trivial distinction, but involves the whole question whether the wine-cup is merely introduced in a spirit of vague symbolism to typify certain rites which belonged to funerals, or whether it is introduced not with a mere symbolical intention, but with a very literal and real one. It appears to me that our hero holds out his wine-cup to be filled, conveying thereby a very broad hint to his votaries that he hopes to receive plenteous draughts of wine at the recognised festivals of the dead. In the case of some sepulchral reliefs this is quite evident. I will instance a stelè of the fourth century from Tanagra;¹ on which is a hero standing beside his horse, holding out a vessel which a lady who approaches fills from an oenochoe. The same subject is found on a stelè from Thebes,² and many others.

And there is the same meaning in the case of those statues of the gods in which a patera is held in their hands. On coins the patera in the hands of deities is especially common.

¹ *Sabouroff Collection*, Pl. xxix.

² *Mittheilungen*, iii. 376.

Some students imagine that the deities who hold paterae are occupied in sacrificing to one another. Some archaeologists explain the fact by saying that the patera is the symbol of worship: it should, I think, rather be considered that the gods hold out to their votaries empty vessels for them to fill with libations or incense.

The hero of the Spartan reliefs also holds sometimes a pomegranate. It is well known what use is made of this fruit in the legends of Cora. In the lower world she tasted a pomegranate subtly offered her by Hades, and as a consequence could never entirely return to the upper air and the light of day, but was obliged to remain for four months of the year as queen of the world of shades. The pomegranate then is the characteristic food of the shades;¹ they eat it at their feasts, and it is brought to them by votaries together with fowls and with eggs, which are recognised archaic symbols of future life beyond the grave. The wife of the hero draws her veil forward; a natural and characteristic act no doubt in a Greek matron. Yet the frequency of the action in case of those seated ladies on Attic tombs who are taking leave of their friends to go on the last journey suggests that to grasp the veil may be a sign in these cases of departure to another world, just as to rest the head on the hand is a recognised sign of grief. The three animals which occur on the Spartan reliefs are the snake, the horse, and the dog. The snake and the dog appear as friends and companions of the hero; the horse only comes in relief in the background.

III.

If we return next to the class of oblong tablets found in Attica and elsewhere in Greece, presenting the subject of a banquet, we shall find that they have lost much of their mystery. We shall no longer hesitate to see in them the dead hero and ancestor with his wife, as they still exist after death in the pious thought of their family.

Indeed among the sepulchral reliefs of Peloponnesus is one

¹ Furtwängler takes it otherwise, as the symbol of wifely love and devotion. But it is sometimes placed in the hands of virgins. Pomegranate

seeds enter still into the composition of the cakes, *κάλυβα*, above spoken of (p. 109).

which may be considered as the prototype of the banqueting scenes. It comes from Tegea,¹ is of archaic work, and presents the following design: On the left of it is a female figure seated in a chair towards the right, holding a flower and drawing forward her veil. Opposite her reclines on a couch a man, of whom unfortunately all is lost but the feet. Between man and woman is a naked youth who holds a wreath. Milchhoefer remarks with justice that this relief, in spite of its fragmentary state, just avails to bridge over the gap between the Spartan stelae and the ordinary banqueting reliefs. It has many points of resemblance to both classes.

When we have recognised that the banqueting reliefs of later Greek art are the descendants of earlier monuments which testify to the prevalence in Greece of the worship of ancestors we shall no longer be startled by the presence on them of votaries bringing offerings. And we shall be able to explain the presence in them of domestic animals, the horse and the dog. It is evident that henceforward the view which makes of these the ordinary household pets of the deceased while he was alive must be modified, since we now know that what we have to deal with is not an ordinary scene of daily life. Yet the theory requires but a slight modification, a sort of translation, to make it again reasonable. It has been an ancient custom with most or all of the peoples of Europe to bury with a dead warrior his horse and his dog. The bones of horses and dogs are found with those of deceased worthies in Etruscan, Panticapaeian, and other tombs. It seems to me not impossible that the Greek fashion of representing horses and dogs in the company of heroes on their reliefs and vases may be a result of these ancient burial customs. Depicting the future state of the hero they place still in his company the horse and the hound which were his pride when he was alive, and which a Greek gentleman could not do without in this world or the next.

That the horse was constantly thought of in close connexion with heroes who received cultus is so well known that it need not further be insisted on. We may compare the class of late South Italian vases in which it is so usual to see a hero standing in his heroon to receive homage, while his horse is very commonly added.

¹ See *Mittheilungen*, 1879, Pl. vii.

But a very curious feature of the votive reliefs is that frequently in the place of a horse we find only a horse's head framed. I do not know that any one has suggested a plausible explanation of this fact, for it is impossible to accept as plausible the theory that the square frame is a window through which is seen the head of the horse standing outside.¹ If I must suggest an explanation it would be that the frame with the head in it is an anathema within an anathema, a votive-tablet represented as hung up by the couch of the feaster.

The dog also occurs by no means unfrequently on actual stelae, the well-known archaic one from Orchomenus in Boeotia for instance, and many of the Athenian tombs. The snake is still commoner on stelae, though he appears there by a right quite different from that by which horses and dogs hold their place. Horse and dog are old friends whom the hero takes with him to the other world; the snake is a new friend who there first becomes his companion. Horse and dog belong to the happy hunting-ground; the snake to the cold earth of the cemetery. The arms which in sepulchral reliefs are often seen hung up in the background stand no doubt, by parity of reasoning, for those placed in the tomb at burial.

Another feature of the sepulchral reliefs of both Spartan and Athenian classes which requires some notice is the constant presence of the wife. This has always been regarded as a chief support for the theory which refers these scenes to daily life. The stones on which banquets are depicted were certainly in many cases and probably in many more set up in memory of a dead husband by a surviving wife. How, it was asked, could a husband who had removed to another world sup with a wife who remained in this? but the difficulty vanishes if we refer the scene to the past and not to the future. There is a certain plausibility about this argument; and if wives accompanied their husbands only on actual stelae and not on the oblong slabs it might be possible to allow some weight to it. But as no doubt remains that the reference in these latter is to the

¹ It is not unusual to find the head of a horse without his body painted on late Italian vases (see *Mon. dell' Inst.* iv. 40). But this fact gives us no help.

future, and as women very usually accompany their husbands on them, we are compelled to seek another explanation. It is surely likely that a wife, even if she survived, would wish to represent herself as sharing in imaginative anticipation the banquet of her dead husband.

It is however a fact not to be overlooked that in cases where the female figure is not seated at the feet of the male figure or beside him, but meets him to pour wine into the cup which he holds out, a modification of the older type which we meet at quite an early period, then this lady does not seem to be the wife of the hero. Rather from her stature and appearance we may suppose her to be some divine personage of perpetual youth and beauty.¹ And sometimes by the wings which spring from her shoulders we may identify her as Victory, who thus greets the hero on his arrival in the world of shades. This is a poetical variation of the idea; but we need scarcely suppose that in these cases a divine maiden is assigned to the deceased as his companion in the next world, as Hebe was assigned to Herakles.

Whether the feasting hero is supposed to be receiving the gifts of his votaries at the tomb or in Elysium is no easy question to settle. Indeed I do not believe that it can be settled, for it is a matter on which the Greeks never fairly cleared their minds. The primitive theory was that the deceased man lived in the family tomb, and on this theory were based the burial customs, the storing of food and drink in the tomb, the piling in it of armour and vestments, the kindling of a lamp there to dispel the darkness. But though these customs locally survived to later Greek times, the ideas which had given birth to them partly passed away. A realm of Hades, an Elysium, Islands of the Blest were imagined, and the soul, at death, was supposed to wander forth to distant lands in the direction of the setting sun, or to pass into the lower parts of the earth. And yet, though Achilles dwelt in the *Μακάρων νῆσος*, he was also to be found at his tomb, where Alexander the Great went to worship him. Though the soul of Agamemnon when he died went to the land of Hades, yet Electra calls on his name at his burial-place. We here reach one of those radical confusions of ideas which exist

¹ See especially a stelè from Laconia and the remarks of Furtwängler on it in the *Mittheilungen* for 1882, Pl. xvi. at p. 367.

among all peoples,¹ even among ourselves if we take the trouble to consider the matter. We may therefore decline to attack the problem of the locality of the feast of the hero; the snake points to the tomb, but the horse and dog indicate rather the Elysian plains.

We have already remarked that among the Athenian sepulchral reliefs, which so often merely depict a scene of every-day life, with a shadow of coming death thrown across it, the banqueting reliefs seem to form a class apart. And we now see the reason. The usual reliefs are products of Athenian artistic feeling and good taste, and we may add of Athenian levity and love of innovation. But the banqueting reliefs come from another source altogether. They are based on a religious respect for ancestors which belongs especially to Peloponnesus and the Dorians. Their line begins probably among the races of Asia Minor: it is accepted by the Spartans and developed at Tegea and Tarentum. At Athens it does not make its appearance until later times, and is never taken up and assimilated as the Athenians took up ideas which were congenial to them. The few early banqueting reliefs from Athens, such as that on which Charon appears, are peculiar, and not readily ranged in line with the rest.

IV.

How, next, do we explain those votive reliefs to Asclepius, which are not merely in character, but even in every detail, so closely like the reliefs in honour of the dead? I think that after a careful examination of instances it clearly appears that these are mere copies of the reliefs we have been discussing. The presence of a horse, and armour hung on the walls, are features of the Asclepian reliefs, which seem in their case to have no intelligible meaning at all. Le Bas suggests that the meaning of the horse is, that death would have taken place but for the intervention of the physician-god, and that the arms hung up mean, that had the patient not recovered, the survivors would have hung up his arms on his tomb. But it is sufficiently evident how lame is an explanation which rests entirely on

¹ Exactly the same confusion is observed by M. Perrot in the Egyptian ideas as to the future life. See *L'Égypte*, p. 135, &c.

'would have been,' and thus confesses itself directly at issue with what actually took place. To me it appears far more reasonable to suppose, that arms and horse alike were transferred from sepulchral reliefs, where they have a clear and intelligible meaning, to the Asclepian reliefs, where their presence is by no means so appropriate.

It is indeed a fact, however we may explain it, that the artistic representations of Asclepius and Hygieia are, from the first, remarkably similar to those of deceased heroes. Not only do the snake and the dog belong alike to the dead and the deities of healing, but the very pose of the latter seems often copied from that of figures in sepulchral reliefs. I would specially cite one sepulchral relief,¹ wherein a hero seated lays his hand on the head of a snake, in almost exactly the attitude of the great statue of Asclepius by Thrasymedes at Epidaurus,² while a female figure stands before him in the customary pose of Hygieia. The dog too, who reclined beside the throne of Asclepius at Epidaurus, has his parallel in the dog who lies under the couch of the hero in the Lycian reliefs. We must remember that Asclepius was a hero of mortal origin, born of the woman Coronis. To Homer he is merely the 'blameless physician,' whose sons, Machaon and Podaleirius, led to Ilium the men of Tricca. The framers of these reliefs may also have considered Asclepius as but a demi-god, to whom horse and armour would be appropriate.

It has been supposed that there are also votive tablets of this class dedicated to Serapis. And certainly the feaster on the couch sometimes wears on his head a modius which is the special mark of Serapis. A specimen is engraved by Welcker,³ but to those at all acquainted with Egyptian tombs an explanation of this fact will readily suggest itself. Among the Egyptians the dead man becomes Osiris on passing into the next world, and takes on himself the character and the form of that deity. Serapis is the successor of Osiris in Egypt, and assumes at a late period all his functions; what more natural, then, that a deceased hero should appear after death, whether in Egypt or even elsewhere, in the form of Serapis, and wearing his special

¹ From Patras. *Mittheilungen*, viii. of *Greek Coins*, Pl. xii. 21, p. 187.
Pl. xviii.

³ *Alle Denkm.* Pl. xiii. 3.

² Copied on a coin. Gardner, *Types*

head-dress? And we actually find reliefs in which the feaster wears a modius, which are identified by their inscriptions as referring to mere mortal heroes.¹

This order of thought, however, belongs to Egypt rather than to Greece. It has been suggested that on the Spartan reliefs, for instance, the dead man appears in the person of Hades rather than in his own. But this is scarcely true. The hero is generalized by dying, as it were, and loses his most marked individual traits. But he does not lose his personality in that of the god of the shades; for in almost all classes of sepulchral reliefs young men are distinguished from elderly ones, and the wife and children who accompany them are those of their actual life.

A curious monument published by Pervanoglu² is a relief of closely similar character, erected in honour of a divine being, whose cultus was almost confined to Attica, Boreas, whom the Athenians supposed to be particularly partial to them, owing to the influence of his wife, the Attic Oreithuia. In this relief appears a man with janiform head, reclining on a couch, and a lady seated at his feet, with the inscription, ΙΟΣ ΤΩΙ ΕΥΙΠΠΩΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΗ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑΙ. Pervanoglu shows that the names or epithets *εὐπιππος* and *βασίλεια* apply most properly to Boreas and his consort, and that the Janus-head is appropriate to him almost alone among gods and heroes.

In the last two pages we have been travelling on the verge of an interesting subject, by no means distantly connected with the subject in hand, the custom of spreading a banquet to the gods under the name *θεοξένια*. The lectisternia of the Romans, in which they spread feasts for certain of the gods, and laid their images by the tables that they might enjoy what was provided are well known, and most people fancy that the custom was of Latin origin, but it is certain that the Romans in this matter were mere imitators of the Greeks. We should naturally suppose that the custom of feasting the gods arose from that of feasting deceased ancestors. And this view receives fresh confirmation when we consider that these banquets were, among the Greeks, bestowed not upon all the gods, but nearly always on those of mortal birth, such as the Dioscuri, Asclepius and

¹ Holländer, *De Operibus*, &c. plate.

² *Das Familienmahl*, &c. plate.

Dionysus. They are bestowed indeed upon Zeus and Apollo, and this may seem strange, unless we remember how commonly Zeus Patroius or Herceius, and Apollo were confused in cultus with the traditional family ancestor.¹ The monuments which commemorate *θεοξένια* are however in some cases older than the stelae which belong to the cultus of ancestors. On a lekythus from Rhodes, for instance, published by Mr. Newton,² we have a very remarkable painting, which represents a couch laid with cushions at each end, and above the Dioscuri on horseback approaching the couch, evidently in order to receive the promised banquet. Testimonies alike in the form of inscriptions and of passages of ancient writers to the custom of inviting the Dioscuri to dine are abundant, and are collected in the work of Deneken *De Theo Xeniiis*. This writer shows that the reliefs which are usually supposed to represent the visit of Dionysus to Icarus really represent banquets at which a priest or votary of Dionysus receives his master in the capacity of host and feasts with him. One of the most remarkable of these reliefs was published in the *Archäologische Zeitung* of 1882 by Deneken. It represents a man reclining at table, and a woman seated at his feet, no doubt his wife. Below the table is a snake, and beside it a slave to pour wine. The reclining pair turn with a gesture of surprise and pleasure to the door, at which enters Dionysus holding a thyrsus and leaning on a young satyr. Deneken maintains, and probably with justice, that this monument belongs to the oblong class of banqueting reliefs; and that it was inserted in the walls of a heroon erected in honour of one who had in his life-time offered banquets to Dionysus, whether as his priest, or as a member of some corps of actors, who were in ancient times called Dionysiac artists.

A relief like this brings us back to the question which we have already discussed. Is the scene of it in this world, or in the grave, or in Hades? No doubt it is commemorative of events which happened in this world. Such a relief would only be set up in honour of one who had in his life been a guest-friend of Dionysus. Yet the presence of the snake, confirmed by the general argument which has been established in the course

¹ See for instance, the remarkable inscription *Bull. Corr. Hell.* iii. 47, where Zeus Patroius appears as family

god of the gens of the Clytidae.

² *Transactions of the R.S.L.* New Series, ix. 434.

of this paper, serves to show that the reference is not merely to the past, but to the world which lies beyond death. The man who has shown a friendly hospitality to the god of wine when he was alive might fairly expect to receive him as a guest in Hades. We may then safely discard the view which would lay the scene in the present life. The grave and Hades remain, and of these possible scenes we may hesitatingly prefer Hades, as a banquet given to Dionysus actually in the tomb must seem a strange and incongruous thing.

In connexion with the last sentence we may cite an important relief published by Conze,¹ which represents a man supping at table in company with a hero, who can be identified as Herakles by means of the lion-skin which he carries, as well as with a number of female figures. Conze considers that the scene represents one who sups in Elysium with Herakles and the Muses, and the accessories seem to bear out the view. Not only are there trees in the background, among which flutter winged youths, but similar youths appear also in the foreground, and furnish the feasters with food and drink. Here then we may seem to have an actual scene from Elysium. But at the same time the relief recalls to our mind the remarkable inscription called the will of Epicteta,² which gives details of the foundation, at quite a late period, of a cultus of some deceased relatives of the foundress in conjunction with that of the Muses, the heroon being at the same time a temple of those goddesses. In such a heroon, a relief like that under discussion would be quite in place, and the banquet represented on the relief might be an ideal representation of the sacrifices there offered year by year by the surviving kinsfolk.

At the end of these somewhat protracted investigations we find ourselves at last in a position to discuss the relief from which we took our start. It evidently belongs to the class of banqueting reliefs, and to that subdivision of the class which consists of oblong tablets erected in the neighbourhood of tombs. Of this class I believe it to be one of the earliest extant examples. In the elder reclining figure we recognise at once a deceased hero and ancestor, and in the general scene an idealised representation of the sacrifices brought to him from time to time

¹ *Archäol. Zeitung*, 1871, p. 81.

² *C. I.* 2448, cf. Newton, *Essays*, p. 169.

by surviving relatives. But that which constitutes the great peculiarity of the relief, and that which is least easy to explain in it is the presence of the two youths, one reclining at the feet of his elder, one leading in a horse. These youths are not deities. For a moment one might be inclined, especially considering the Tarentine origin of the relief, to suppose that they are the Dioscuri, who were greatly venerated at Tarentum, come as guests to sup with the hero, but that explanation seems impossible in view of the familiar attitude which is assumed by the reclining men. No mortal would dare to lay a hand on the shoulder of one of the great twin brethren. Neither are they slaves, their size and their dignity at once preclude this idea. They can scarcely be explained except as the sons of the elder man. Sons do not as a rule on monuments of this class appear as of the same stature as their parents, but as the wife is ordinarily represented as of the same size as the hero, his sons may be so exceptionally. Shall we suppose that these sons died with their parent and were venerated with him, or were they the survivors who erected the tablet? I fear that, in spite of all the writings on the subject of sepulchral reliefs, their grammar is not yet sufficiently established to enable us to form a decided opinion on this point; and with like uncertainty the horse may be regarded either as belonging to the father, or to that one of the sons who brings it in. Perhaps the son on the couch may have been dead when the relief was set up, and the standing son may be the survivor who brings in a horse for the use of his relatives. In the presence of this animal and in other respects our relief resembles the Tarentine terra-cottas already cited.

But in calling this relief abnormal, we must not forget that the ordinary type to which we might have expected it to conform, the type in which the seated wife is present, certainly was not in exclusive use. None of the banqueting reliefs of Greece proper, except that of Tegea, are of so old a date, and the earlier Athenian banqueting reliefs show much greater variety than do the late. We must therefore be cautious in applying to this scene rules of interpretation based on a class of monuments to which it cannot be expected to conform.

V.

If the present paper comes here to an end the reason must be sought rather in the limits of space and the occupations of the writer than in the exhaustion of the material. I have tried to explain the Greek banqueting reliefs, by comparing them with other classes of sepulchral reliefs in use in Greece at an earlier period than that in which banqueting scenes first make their appearance, and which bear a more clearly indicated meaning. But I have not tried to follow the idea in its various developments in Greece in historical times, with chronological and geographical classification: for this could not be attempted without a multitude of illustrations. And I have by no means tried to trace the custom of representing banquets on tombs to its original source. This would involve a discussion of the monuments of Etruria on the one hand, and of Assyria and Egypt on the other; and would require many investigations into the religions and the customs of many nations. The work would bring most valuable results, but it is altogether beyond the present purpose. And I understand that more than one able archaeologist is at work on the subject in Germany.

It would be equally out of the question to attempt, in the course of an article like the present, to determine whether in other cases the analogy of the Spartan reliefs may induce us to discover mortal heroes and heroines where we have hitherto seen deities. Certainly a process of that kind has been for many years going on in the interpretation of Greek art. Some statues formerly called Apollos are now regarded as athletes; figures once regarded as representations of Hera or Demeter are now known to be portraits of matrons. To extend this change of interpretation to new fields might be an enticing task. But I will here refer only to one monument, which to most Englishmen who know anything of classical archaeology bears a charm quite unique—the Lycian Harpy-tomb in the British Museum. It has been suggested by Dr. Milchhoefer¹ that we can now scarcely hesitate to see in the reliefs of this

¹ *Arch. Zeitung*, 1882, p. 54. *Mittheilungen*, iv. 167. In the same journal viii. p. 81, Prof. Brunn speaks of the scenes on the Harpy tomb as sepulchral.

beautiful monument scenes in which deceased worthies are receiving worship from the living.

In support of this view several considerations are adduced; firstly, the building was certainly a tomb; and we find on several of the Lycian tombs, as has already been mentioned, representations of the heroes buried in them as receiving offerings and worship from survivors.

Milchhoefer calls especial attention to a detached gable end¹ of a Xanthian tomb in the archaic room of the British Museum, on which is represented a stelè surmounted by a harpy, on either side of which stelè is a seated figure, one bearded and one beardless, each holding a long staff. These two seated figures closely resemble those on the Harpy-tomb, and Milchhoefer considers that they are two buried worthies depicted as seated beside their tomb, just as on the white Attic lekythi we sometimes see the dead seated on the steps of their own tombs. We are also referred to the paintings of an early tomb at Caere in Etruria,² where the hero is depicted in a sitting posture, while near him is a winged figure bearing in his arms a woman.

In Greece the hero exchanges a sitting for a reclining posture at the end of the period of archaic art, the relief of Tegea above mentioned marking the transition. Does it not seem probable that at about the same time the same change of posture was introduced in Lycia also? The reclining figures of later Lycian art we know to be heroes: does it not then seem very likely that the seated figures of earlier Lycian art are also heroes? We have here a sort of rule of three sum: three of the four objects of which we speak are known; and it might seem very reasonable to deduce the nature of the fourth. And in fact on the Nereid monument personages already recognised as deceased ancestors are seated.

Milchhoefer further maintains that there is no precedent for assuming that the deities of Olympus can be depicted on a monument the nature of which is clearly sepulchral. To which argument we may add another in the fact that the objects offered on the Lycian monument are not such as were presented to the Olympian gods, but all have a chthonian character. In

¹ A poor engraving of it in the *Annali dell' Inst.* 1844, p. 150.

² *Mon. d. Inst.* vi. 30.

fact the objects in the hands of the seated figures on the Harpy-tomb and of their suppliants are nearly those which we find on the Spartan monuments. One of the seated figures holds the patera, the receptacle for incense, one an apple or pomegranate and a flower, while another holds a fruit in each hand. A dove, a cock, a flower and a pomegranate are the offerings brought to the ladies by their votaries. A seated male figure receives the, to him, more appropriate gift of arms, arms which remind us of those sometimes suspended on the wall in the reliefs of which we have above spoken. It might perhaps be replied that as we know so little about the religion of the Lycians, we must be cautious in applying to the reliefs on their tombs arguments taken from Greek religious custom; but here again the close likeness between the reliefs of Lycian and those of Peloponnesian tombs forbids us to suppose that they can belong to entirely different classes of representations embodying diverse religious reliefs.

This theory then seems very promising; but before we accept it, we must wait until its author, or some other archaeologist, takes it up in detail, and furnishes us with an exact and well-reasoned explanation of the different groups represented on the four sides of the tomb. That the tomb should have been erected in honour of three men and two women is not likely. Nor is it the custom of early art to represent worshipper and worshipped as of the same stature; but on the Harpy-tomb standing and seated figures are nearly of the same size. We require also fuller explanation of the mysterious harpies themselves, and the prey they are bearing away; for we can scarcely subscribe to Milchhoefer's view that they are merely inserted to indicate a locality—the under world. There thus opens before us an interesting problem, one of many which recent excavations in Greece have suggested: and I cannot but hope that in the future our universities, with their new interest in archaeology, may produce followers of Oedipus bold enough to attempt, and able enough to solve them.

PERCY GARDNER.

ANCIENT MARBLES IN GREAT BRITAIN.

SUPPLEMENT I.

[PLATE XLVIII.]

WHEN I published my book on the *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* (Cambridge, University Press, 1882), I was fully convinced that the catalogue there given would be susceptible of many corrections and supplements. But the hope I expressed in the preface, that I should be informed of marbles existing in private collections which might have escaped my notice by their owners or other competent persons, has completely failed; nor have I become aware of publications concerning this matter. Nevertheless, I cannot help thinking that there must be in Great Britain a good deal of hidden treasure of the kind, which would perhaps easier come to light if there were a place expressly destined to receive such communications. Now, there can be no doubt that no place would be more appropriate to the purpose than the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*. I have therefore ventured to propose to the Editors to open in this Journal a corner for storing up such supplements and corrections. As a first instalment, I here offer some notes which may begin the series, and which can be continued. May other lovers and students of classic art, especially in Great Britain, follow my example.

BROOM HALL (Scotland, Fife).

This seat of the Earl of Elgin, a few miles distant from the venerable old town of Dunfermline, contains a small collection of Greek marbles which, with the kind permission of the owner,

I had an opportunity of examining some months ago. Although my hope of discovering among the reliefs some hitherto unknown fragment of the Parthenon has failed, still some of the marbles are deserving of particular attention. They are arranged along the walls of the spacious hall, adorned with a large portrait of the Athenian Lord Elgin, of whose labours in Greece these remains, too, are the result. As they were not comprised in the collection offered for sale to the nation in 1816, they may have been brought to Scotland at a later time. As a matter of fact, Lord Elgin, when examined, in February 1816, by the Committee of Parliament appointed for the acquisition of his marbles, expressed his belief that even after a large additional consignment of about eighty cases, which had reached England towards the end of 1812, there had arrived more cases during his absence from the country.¹ With this supposition seems to agree what I shall observe below on no. 5; nor has any one of the inscriptions at Broom Hall (except no. 25, which had been copied beforehand in its original place) been mentioned either in Visconti's Catalogue of the Elgin Marbles or anywhere else, which would certainly have been the case if they had been at London at the time of the sale of the main collection. Thus, this as it were posthumous part of the Elgin Marbles has been separated from the rest and, being a little out of the way, has remained nearly unknown up to the present day. Perhaps, according to that Athenian belief mentioned by Hobhouse,² one might still to-day hear the *Arabim* inclosed in these marbles groaning and sighing for their fellow-spirits exposed to public admiration in the splendid Elgin Room of the British Museum.

The description begins to the right of the main entrance, following the order of the actual arrangement. A few fragments of no consequence have been omitted.

1. *Fragment of frieze.* At the lower border remains of a very small denticulation, the individual denticles measuring but 0·02 m. in width and height. The only part remaining of the sculpture is a female kneeling towards the right on her right knee; she wears a chiton, which leaves nude the right shoulder and breast, and an ample mantle. The head and neck, part of the shoulder, and the arms which were stretched forward, are

¹ See *Report of Committee*, p. 44.
Michaelis, *Parthenon*, p. 351.

² *Journey*, i. p. 348 = Lord Brough-
ton, *Travels*, i. p. 300.

wanting, as is part of the left leg. Relief pretty high (0·065 m.) and round, workmanship not very refined. Pentelic marble. H. 0·38. L. 0·30.

2. *Fragment of archaic female figure*, apparently part of a relief, though nothing of the background has been preserved. The sculpture, the real archaic character of which cannot be doubted, shows a draped female of very broad proportions, from the neck down to the knees. She presents herself in full face and rests on the left leg, around which the chiton forms stiff perpendicular folds; the right leg is a little advanced, and a portion of the drapery near the right thigh proves that the chiton was lifted up and grasped by the right hand, according to a scheme of composition very favourite in archaic art. The upper part of the chiton falls down to the waist, forming a stiff mass, almost without folds, in which the bosom is but very slightly marked; below it, instead of the beautiful row of folds usual in later times (for instance in the Eirenè of the Munich Glyptothek), a narrow straight roll of drapery is visible, treated in an equally plain way. One may compare a similar treatment in the Hestia Giustiniani of the Museo Torlonia.¹ Both the arms were lowered, but are broken off; so is the head and the lower part of the legs. As to composition, such figures may be compared as those on the *akroterion* of the temple of Aegina;² as to style, I know no better example than the famous Chiaramonti relief of the Graces,³ and its Athenian companions. The marble is certainly not Pentelic, but rather Parian, though a little greyish in colour, and of a somewhat large grain. H. 0·70, from the pit of the nape to the waist 0·24, from the waist to the right knee 0·35. Width of the opening of the chiton at the neck 0·22, of the chiton near the waist 0·19. The relief projects from the ground about 0·09, measured at the breast.

3. *Capital of column*. Below leaves of acanthus, above them a row of palm leaves, at the top a plinth. H. of capital 0·32, of plinth 0·075. Comp. no. 26. A similar capital, attributed

¹ Braun, *Kunstmythologie*, Pl. 33. Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler*, i. 30, 338a.

² For more examples compare *Arch. Zeitung*, 1864, p. 137.

³ Cavaceppi, *Raccolta*, ii. 13. *Arch. Zeitung*, 1869, Pl. 22. Cf. Benndorf, *ibid.* p. 53. Furtwängler, *Athen. Mittheil.* 1878, p. 181. Petersen, *Mittheil. aus Oesterr.* 1881 . 52

to the 'Tower of the Winds' is to be seen in Stuart and Revett, *Antiq. of Athens*, i. pl. 16, fig. 1.

4. *Two feet*, with sandals; each separate.

5. *Marble throne with reliefs*. Publ. by Stackelberg, *Gräber der Hellenen*, p. 33, from whose engravings the group of the *τυραννοκτόνοι* has often been repeated, for instance, *Arch. Zeit.* 1859, pl. 127, 3. *Mon. dell' Inst.* viii. pl. 46, 2. Overbeck, *Gesch. d. Plastik*, i. p. 119, fig. 15 b, 3 ed. Murray, *Hist. of Greek Sculpt.*, I. p. 172. Mitchell, *Hist. of Anc. Sculpt.*, p. 286. When Stackelberg was at Athens (probably in 1810), he found the throne 'on the site of the ancient prytaneion' (that is to say the old Metropolis), and in the letterpress of his work, published in 1837, he expressed the opinion that probably the marble would still be at its original place. None of the travellers, however, who visited Athens afterwards, seem to have seen the monument; and indeed, W. R. Hamilton, in his *Memorandum on the Subjects of the Earl of Elgin's Pursuits in Greece*, which was first privately printed in 1811, mentions our chair of marble as having passed into Lord Elgin's possession (p. 32 = p. 33 of the edition of 1815). Evidently Lusieri, Lord Elgin's agent, had meanwhile made the acquisition of the marble, and afterwards sent it to England. Here it had been utterly lost sight of, notwithstanding its considerable historical importance, and although Benndorf (*Arch. Zeit.* 1869, p. 106, note 2) had justly inferred from Hamilton's words that the monument had been transported to England. Now at last it reappears in Scotland. Plate XLVIII. shows the two reliefs, photographed from wet paper impressions which I have taken from the originals, and reduced to about two-thirds of the real size; on the original, the standing figures, measured from the top of the head to the ground, are 0·20—0·21 high. Though the impressions have been a little pressed, they will still be distinct enough to show the style and the details of the groups. The reliefs are extremely flat, scarcely more than drawings, the outlines being scratched with the chisel and separated from the surrounding ground by a kind of flat groove scraped into the marble. A similar system is shown in the representation of the muscles and other important parts of the body, although they are indicated with considerable clearness and strength; the drapery, too, is not modelled in relief but

indicated only by deep incised lines. One may compare the workmanship of the reliefs on the throne of the priest of Dionysos Eleuthereus, discovered in the Athenian theatre, or of certain Attic sepulchral reliefs (Conze in *Sitzungsber. d. preuss. Akad.* 1882, p. 569).—In the group of Harmodios and Aristogeiton, the archaic character of the original has been in some details better preserved by the sculptor, than one might conjecture from Stackelberg's drawing. The beard of Aristogeiton, for instance, is longer and more pointed; in the head of Harmodios the truly archaic length of the inferior part of the countenance is well rendered; the folds of Aristogeiton's cloak are simpler, more distinct and rectilinear, more like those of the Naples statue recognised by the late Friederichs (*Arch. Zeit.*, *l. cit.*). The right forearm of Harmodios, which is broken off on the marble, has been restored by Stackelberg, but hardly in the right way, the sword being much too long, as the comparison with the sword in Aristogeiton's hand will suffice to prove. I have little doubt that the arm originally was considerably more bent, as indeed it appears on the Athenian *tetradrachmæ* already compared by Stackelberg; a conjecture borne out also by the movement of the body in the Naples statue, which is so much bent back, that evidently the artist did not choose the moment in which the youth is already striking the blow, but the preceding moment in which he is lifting his arm in order to strike. Another inaccuracy in Stackelberg's drawing consists in Aristogeiton's left hand, the joint of which on the original is not so close to the mantle as on the drawing. Thus it may be that the very faint traces which appear on the ground beneath the hand, parallel to the mantle, belong to the sheath of the sword which is clearly visible on some of the other copies (see Benndorf, *Arch. Zeit.* 1869, p. 106; *Wiener Vorlegeblätter*, ed. by Conze, vii. tav. 7, 5 and 6). Finally, the two advanced legs are more separated from one another on the marble than in Stackelberg's drawing.—The group on the opposite side of the chair is in higher relief and better preservation; unfortunately the paper impression has more suffered from pressing. Here again Stackelberg's drawing does not do full justice to the artistic merits of the sculpture. On the marble the energy of the movement of the youthful warrior is rendered with much greater vigour,

the line of the uplifted arm is more strained, the body shows a greater development of muscular exertion, the position of the falling woman is less weak. Nowhere appears the slightest trace of archaism; consequently the original of this relief will have belonged to another period of Greek art than that of the other relief. This suggestion is corroborated by the whole composition. The female body in its falling position reminds us strongly of the fine torso of an Amazon in the Borghese Palace at Rome (*Mon. dell' Inst.* ix. 37); one may also compare one of the groups of the Phigaleian frieze (*Mus. Marbles*, iv. 19) where, however, the movement of the Amazon is put in closer connexion with the attack of the conqueror. These analogies appear to me to point also to the true meaning of the composition. The interpretation given in the *Memorandum* with reference to the death of Leæna is not in concordance with the details of the composition; Stackelberg's explanation of the group as King Erechtheus immolating his daughter Chthonia to the weal of the country is contradicted by the youthful age of the beardless warrior. Why not recognise one of the most popular Attic myths, Theseus slaying the Amazon? a subject which forms a most adequate companion to the heroic exploit of the two friends who τὸν τύραννον κτανέτην ἰσονόμους τ' Ἀθήνας ἐποίησάτην.—As to the inscription on the broken upper edge of the support of the chair, I am sorry to confess that I noticed only the beginning, ΒΟΗΘΟΞΔΙΟΔ, but overlooked the concluding letters ΙΟΞ given by Stackelberg. Thus I am unable to say how many letters may have disappeared in the gap between the two fragments, and whether Stackelberg's supplement Διοδ[ώρου υ]ίος may be right. The letters, as will be seen on the plate, are incised in broad deep lines; the Θ with a point, not a stroke, and the slightly divergent legs of the Ξ indicate the anteroman period. Pentelic marble.

6. *Sepulchral stelè of Myttion.* The top is entirely plain; it forms a triangle of rather high proportions. Along the two sloping edges faint traces of a painted kymation are visible; but what is more remarkable, on the horizontal stripe which runs just above the field of the relief, is clearly preserved an inscription, the letters of which are not as usually incised but were painted, and still show a clear smooth surface, easily distinguishable from the surrounding ground which, not having

been protected by the colour, is entirely corroded. The letters are ΜΥΤΤΙΟΝ (distinctly thus, not Μύρτιον); before the Μ there is a rough spot, but no letter seems to have perished. The name, hitherto unknown, is rather an equivocal one, comp. Hesych. *μυττός· ἐννεός· καὶ τὸ γυναικείον*. Painted inscriptions on tombstones are not unheard of (comp. Ross, *Arch. Aufs.* i. p. 43), but rarely do we meet with an example so well preserved as that of Myttion. From this analogy I have little doubt that a number of sepulchral reliefs which to-day appear to be uninscribed, once bore inscriptions in painted letters.—The middle part of the stelè contains the flat relief, without any border at the sides. A girl is represented, with short curly hair, walking to the right in a very uncommon dress. Over a long ungirdled chiton she wears a stiff and plain jacket or caftan which goes down to her knees, with long sleeves, exactly like those worn to-day by the Albanian women. Her right hand, with outstretched index, hangs down; in the left she holds a small bird. At the lower extremity of the field are some traces of red colour.—The lowest part of the stelè is but roughly worked, because it was meant to be covered by the ground.—The stelè, with its very simple shape (comp. no. 16) and the modest treatment of the relief, seems to belong to the beginning of the fourth century. Pentelic marble. H. 0·71 (top 0·14, field 0·375, lower part 0·195). W. above 0·275, beneath 0·295, the slab tapering considerably.

7. *Fragment of relief, apparently votive.* A plain border, 0·06 wide, indicates that the fragment belongs to the right extremity. The only sculpture remaining is a stately woman, turned to the left, draped with girdled chiton and a cloak which covers the head and the legs; a corner of it is held by the left hand. The right arm, outstretched horizontally, is broken off, and so is the head and the lower part of the legs. The workmanship, which may belong to the third century, is a little more detailed than is usual in Attic reliefs; the marble is Greek, but not Pentelic. H. 0·44. W. 0·25. H. of relief over the ground about 0·03.

8. *Fragment of sepulchral stelè.* On the upper half, to the left, a female is sitting to the right on a chair with footstool; she wears chiton and mantle which veils her head, holds her left in the lap, and stretches her hand to a man, apparently bearded,

standing opposite her. He is draped in a cloak which leaves the breast uncovered, one end of which, falling down from the left shoulder, he grasps with the left. Between the two, a bearded man, similarly clothed, stands full face; his left arm leans on a staff (not indicated in relief), and the right hand rests on it. The heads of both the men are partly broken away with the upper part of the stèle. Beneath this relief, treated in a flat and sketchy style, the upper part of an amphora is visible, in very flat relief; the rest is broken off. Pentelic marble. H. 0·44 (upper part 0·31). W. 0·35.

9. *Top of a sepulchral stèle.* The uppermost part, with gently curved outline, is decorated with delicate rolls and flowers, in very flat relief; below a simple cornice. Of the relief itself there remains only a girl's head, with long rich hair, a little bent, in high relief, but much injured. Date, the beginning of the fourth century. Pentelic marble. H. 0·32 (0·20 and 0·12). W. 0·38.

10. *Sepulchral stèle of Chairippè.* Above a simple pediment. Below it, on the slab, the inscription:—

ΧΑΙΡΙΠΡΗ:ΕΥΦΡΑΝΟΡΟΣ
Λ Α Μ Π Τ Ρ Ε Ω Σ

Square field, with indication in outline of the capitals of the two antæ, to left and to right. A female, draped in chiton and mantle, unveiled, sits to right on a chair with footstool, and stretches her right hand to a bearded man standing opposite her, nearly as the woman in no. 8. The slab is broken at the lower end. Pentelic marble, very white on account of its being rubbed. The relief is flat; the style a little overworked and somewhat dry; apparently of the third century. H. 0·81. W. above 0·41, below 0·39.

11. *Large sepulchral relief of Theogenis, Nikodemos and Nikomachè,* in the beautiful high relief style of the fourth century. The heads of the two females (much damaged) entirely detached from the ground. To the right, Nikomachè, draped as usual, unveiled, is sitting to the left, and gives her hand to the beautiful Theogenis standing opposite her, and draped in the same way; her left hand grasps a corner of the cloak near her breast. In the background, between the two females, the bearded Nikodemos stands full face, his breast not covered by

the mantle, which falls down from his left shoulder and covers his legs. His right arm is crossed before his stomach; four fingers of his left hand appear, awkwardly attached to his left upper arm; they hold an alabastron which hangs from a strip of leather. The lower part of the figures, from beneath the knees, is wanting. Two antæ support an extremely low architrave, with an equally low pediment; on the small cornice which separates them are traces of a painted kymation. On the architrave the names ΘΕΟΓΕΝΙΞ and ΝΙΚΟΔΗΜΟΣ ΠΟΛΥΛΛΟ (the omission of the final Υ indicates the first part of the fourth century); at the right end of the architrave, the place being wanting for the name of the sitting female, it was written in smaller letters on the horizontal geison of the pediment: ΝΙΚΟΜΑΧΗ. Pentelic marble. H. 1·01 (pediment 0·205, architrave 0·035, remainder of relief 0·87). W. of pediment 0·925, of architrave 0·90, of relief 0·90. Elevation of relief above the ground 0·11.

12. *Sepulchral relief of boy and child*, with well-preserved pediment, below which the cornice shows remains of a painted kymation. On the slab itself, above the relief, faint traces of colour may indicate a painted inscription. In the square field, a youth enveloped in a cloak, which leaves uncovered part of the breast and the right arm, stands to the left, and offers with his right hand a bird to a little boy standing to the right, and likewise draped with a cloak, who looks up to the youth, and stretches out his right arm in order to receive the bird; in his left hand he holds a small object, apparently a cup. The relief, 0·01 m. above the ground, is more rounded than in the case of no. 10, but the execution is not refined. Preservation excellent. At the bottom of the slab the peg is preserved, which served to fix the marble on to some pedestal. H. 0·90 (relief 0·48). W. 0·405 (relief 0·285—0·305).

13. *Upper end of stèle of Aristokleia*. Semi-circular akroterion with elegant tendrils in very flat relief. From a leaf of *acanthus spinosa* emerge gently curved twigs, symmetrically arranged, ending in reed-like leaves, and interspersed with various flowers. Beneath this anthemion of a rather uncommon pattern runs a band with a slightly scratched inscription ΕΨΥΛΛΑΠΙΝΑ (the beginning means rather ΕΥΦ than ΕΧΕΦ); the palæographical character, which indicates about

the second century B.C., proves this inscription to be a later addition. Below, an architrave with the original inscription, **ΑΡΙΞΤΟΚΛΕΑ**. Unfortunately of the relief nothing remains except a small portion of a head in high relief. The stelè belongs to the end of the fifth, or the beginning of the fourth century. H. 0·33. W. 0·44.

14. *Small sepulchral relief of two females*, broken at the top and below; nearly the whole relief is preserved. To the left, a female, draped with chiton and mantle, raising her left arm, is seated on a chair with foot-stool, and stretches her right hand towards a tall young girl standing opposite her. She wears a dress very common with Attic virgins, viz. a chiton, the upper part of which is girdled and falls down to the knees; narrow strings are crossed before the breast, a small shawl-like mantle hangs down at her back, and her left hand grasps a corner of it (compare for instance a fine akroterion from Tráchones with a similar figure in high relief at Athens). The flat relief may belong to the third rather than to the fourth century. Much corroded. H. 0·40. W. 0·425.

15. *Fragment of a (votive?) relief*, forming the right end of the composition. An imposing female figure stands full face, draped in the Attic chiton, a small mantle hanging from the left shoulder and over the right arm, which rests on the hip. The left elbow leans on a narrow pillar. Relief tolerably high, a little corroded; the style is simpler and more Attic than that of no. 7. I forgot to take the measures.

16. *Painted stelè of Kollion*, with triangular top like no. 6. The whole slab is plain, without any part sculptured in relief. On the upper part, one distinguishes a painted pediment with akroteria, and beneath a painted kymation. Below this, in the field, is an inscription in roughly cut letters of irregular shape **ΚΟΛΛΙΩΝ**. The field at first appears to be empty, but on closer inspection, the smooth surface and some slight traces of colours allow us to recognise distinctly the outlines of a very nice composition, the ground around the figures being corroded by the weather. To the right, a youth stands in a gentle attitude; he is naked, except for a small chlamys, which covers like a shawl the left shoulder and arm, and the right arm. The left hand holds a staff which leans slantwise on the upper arm. In the outstretched right hand the youth holds a small bird. He looks down to a small

boy sitting on the ground, who leans on his left arm and endeavours to lift his body; he looks upwards and stretches out his right arm, desirous to grasp the bird. The group is a very fine specimen of the Attic talent for *genre* scenes, and reminds us of many similar compositions on painted vases. (For painted sepulchral stelae, compare Ross, *Arch. Aufs.* i. p. 29, 40. Michaelis in the *Berichte d. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.*, 1867, p. 113. Lösecke, *Athen. Mitth.* 1879, p. 37. Milchhoefer, *ibid.* 1880, p. 164. Pottier, *Bull. de corresp. Hell.* 1884, p. 158. L. Gurlitt in *Histor. u. philol. Aufsätze E. Curtius gewidmet*, p. 151.) Pentelic marble of superior quality. H. 0·61. W. 0·255.

17. *Sepulchral stelè with two youths.* The upper end is broken. The field is flanked by narrow edges. Two youths, clad in mantles, which leave uncovered the right breast and arm, stand opposite to one another, holding hands. The youth to the left grasps his mantle near the left breast. The noble style which recalls certain reliefs like those engraved in Bouillon, *Musée des Ant.*, iii. *cippes choisis*, Pl. 1, 6; 2, 12, seems to point to the end of the fifth century. Pentelic marble. H. 0·70. W. 0·38. Elevation of relief above the ground, 0·025.

18. *Fragment of relief with warlike scenes.* A warrior, with strap and hilt of sword visible, is sinking down and is held from behind by a comrade, whose hands are clasped together before the breast of the wounded warrior. The standing warrior wears a corslet. Only the upper parts of both figures are preserved. Of a third figure to the right, there remains only the right hand holding a spear. The style is late, apparently Roman, but the fragment seems not to belong to a sarcophagus, nor is the subject mythological, but rather taken from real life. Pentelic marble. H. 0·28. W. 0·33. Elevation of relief 0·10.

19. *Sepulchral relief of Aphrodisia of Salamis.* The pediment, with completely preserved akroteria, is adorned with a shield. The field, flanked by columns, contains two females, both seen full face. To the left, the smaller one, of rather heavy proportions, wears chiton and cloak; left hand lowered, right arm crossing the stomach; hair arranged in parallel lines. To the right a priestess of Isis, clad as usual in a chiton and a fringed mantle, holds a sistrum in her uplifted right, an ewer

in the lowered left hand. On the architrave is the inscription—

ΑΦΡΟΔΙΣΙΑΟΛΥΜΠΟΥ ΠΑΤΧΑΝΧΙΑΘΑ
ΣΑΛΑΜΕΙΝΙΑ 90C ΧΝΕΧΑ

The inscription to the left is incised with great care, the other in coarser characters, in harmony with the barbarous words. According to Professor Duemichen, the second name is Egyptian, composed of *pat* (*pet*, δῶρον) and *Anaiath* = Ἀναίτις, so that the meaning of the whole name would be similar to that of the first woman. As to the second line I have no explanation to offer. Common style of imperial time, when tombstones of priestesses of Isis abound. H. 0·90. W. 0·62.

20. *Fragment of late sepulchral relief.* Upper part of a man, apparently beardless, clad in chiton and cloak, seen full face.

21. *Small sepulchral relief.* The pediment is wanting; antæ at either side. Between them, to the left a fully draped and veiled female is sitting on a chair, on which a cushion is lying, with a footstool before it. Her feet are crossed; her left hand grasps the veil, her right is stretched out towards a man (head wanting), partly enveloped in his mantle; his left arm hangs down. Between them, in the background, a servant is visible, holding in her arms a baby swaddled, and with a large cap on its head (comp. *Arch. Zeit.* 1845, Pl. 34). Excellent specimen of the beautiful style, of that severer description which prevails at the end of the fifth or the beginning of the fourth century; the modest dimensions agree with it. The two main figures are rendered in high relief (about 0·07), particularly the head of the woman. H. 0·69. W. 0·535.

22. *Large Greek sarcophagus.* The front is adorned with two rich festoons, which are fixed at the corners on a bull's head, and held in the middle by a flying boy. In each of the two fields above the festoons is a head of a youthful Satyr, with pointed ears, ruffled hair, small horns, and two slight tufts of beard at the chin. On each of the sides is a similar festoon, hanging from two bulls' heads, with a lion's head above it. The back being put against the wall cannot be examined; probably it is without reliefs. The cover is shaped like a roof covered with leaves; in the middle of the two pediments are two prominences

so battered that it is impossible to make out their original form ; at each of the corners is an akroterion. On the front the architrave which forms part of the cover contains an inscription in beautiful deeply-cut letters of the imperial epoch in one line :

ΑΙΛΙΟΣΕΠΙΚΡΑΤΗΣΒΕΡΕΝΙΚΙΔΗΣΑΙΛΙΟΥΖΗΝΩΝΟΣ
ΤΟΥΕΞΗΓΗΤΟΥΥΙΟΣϚ

(A certain Αἴλιος Ζήνων Βερενικίδης was ἀγωνοθέτης τῶν Ἐπιδικίων between 197 and 207 A.D., see *C. I. Att.* iii. 1171, i. 27; 1173, 10; cp. 1171, i. 69; 1172, 10. Dittenberger in *Hermes* xii. p. 11.) Grey marble. H. 1·05 (sarc. 0·62, cover 0·43). L. 1·95. D. 0·76.

Sepulchral stelè of two females. A simple slab, tapering considerably, without any architectural feature; the top now missing, may probably have been of semi-circular shape. In the midst of the slab is the flat relief. A girl, fully draped, with the hair turned up in a tuft behind, holding in her lap enveloped in the cloak her left hand, is sitting to right and holding the hand of a tall and slender veiled female who stands opposite her in a rather stiff position, reminding us of an εἶδωλον. The style is similar to that of the sepulchral marble vases, or of certain painted stelae. The sitting figure is of better work and higher relief. Pentelic marble. H. 0·57. W. 0·44—0·48. Figures h. 0·26.

24. *Fragment of a large relief*, perhaps sepulchral. Upper part of a man, fully draped, the right arm crossed before the stomach. Marble apparently Parian. About life-size.

25. *Fragment of an inscription*, complete at the top, broken at the other three sides; edited by Boeckh *C. I. Gr.* 2424.

ὁ]ΔΑΜΟΣΟΜΑΛΙΩΝΣ[τὸν δεῖνα
ξ]ΠΥΡΟΥΤΟΝΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΑ[ν ἐτίμησε
ΓΓΕΙΟΙΧΙΙΟΧΡΥΣΟ

The remains of the last line are not clear; they do not allow us to read simply στεφάνῳ χρυσῶ, nor is Boeckh's supplement [στεφάνῳ ἀρισ]τεῖῳ ἀπὸ χρυσῶ[ν, &c., in harmony with the distinguishable traces. The palæography indicates Roman times. Will. Turner (*Journal of a Tour in Greece*, 1820, I. p. 34) saw the marble in the island of Melos.

26. *Capital of column*, companion to no. 3.

27. *Doric capital*, of late style. The echinos low and rectilinear, four *anuli* in the shape of rolls or *tori*, twenty flutings.

28. *Hypotrachelion of a column*, similar to those of the columns of the Erchtheion, but of inferior workmanship. A band decorated with anthemias, above it an astragalos, at the top an ovolo or kymation. H. 0.22 (0.15 + 0.015 + 0.055). Diameter at the top 0.50.

Besides these marbles, there is at Broom Hall a small number of *painted vases* of little consequence. The following may be mentioned:—

29. *Two-handled cup*, with geometrical patterns of very simple description: parallel lines, zigzag, cross, &c.

30. *Cover of a pyxis*, decorated with three separate compartments divided by lozenges. A girl standing near a box, another near a chair, the third bearing a basket. Graceful compositions; red figures.

31. *Small pitcher* with one handle. Winged youth flying, bears a box, a mirror and a bunch of grapes.

32. *Small krater* ("oxybaphon"). Front, a youth turning to right, and bearing in his right a spear, half hidden behind his horse which he holds by the bridle. Back (of worse execution), a boy with shield, running to left and holding a helmet on his outstretched right hand.

33. *Krater* of the same shape, larger and of better execution. Front, three youths, reclining at a banquet; before them a young servant, with a trowel (*τρομηλῖς*) in his hand; in the middle a female flute-player, draped, painted white. Back figures enveloped in their cloaks.

Nos. 31—33 show the style of Magna Græcia.

EDINBURGH.

A personal examination of the antique sculptures in the Antiquarian Museum (April, 1884), enables me to give a fuller and more trustworthy description of them than that given in my *Anc. Marbles*, p. 298—300. The greater part of Lord Murray's antiquities is now incorporated into the Museum.

The plain numbers are those of the 'Catalogue,' division *E*; those in brackets are my own addition.

1. *Statue of youthful Asklepios*, from Cyrene, very much like the statue, also from Cyrene, recently published by Mr. W. Wroth in this Journal, iv. p. 46, with the only exception that a large triangular corner of the *himation* hangs down from the hips, the edge of it going slantwise from the right hip to the left knee. The youthful head of the god looks up a little towards his left. The long and wavy hair falls down to the neck; part of it covers a portion of the forehead. On the head lies a twisted roll, and on it rests a very low *kalathos* (edge broken). Right arm broken at the shoulder and at the wrist, but antique; fingers of left hand which hangs down, and head of serpent wanting. The statue is otherwise in good preservation. The best part of it is the ideal-looking head; the treatment of the nude part shows an empty smoothness, that of the drapery wants clearness and simplicity in the folds across the stomach, in other parts it is rather poor. The height (4 feet 2 inches = 1.27 m.) is nearly the same as in the Cyrenaean statue of the British Museum (4 feet 5½ inches = 1.37 m.). It is evident that both the statues refer to a representation of the god of health favourite in Cyrene.

2. *Statuette of youth*, resting on his left leg, the right leg being bent backward. The upper part of the body is nude, the inferior part enveloped in a mantle which forms a kind of roll across the stomach, and a corner of which is lying on the left shoulder. Left hand on hip; the part from the middle of the upper arm to the wrist is wanting, and so is the whole right arm which was lowered, as is indicated by a *puntello* at the right thigh. Head wanting. Near the left leg a trunk, on which the drapery falls down. Insignificant work. H. 0.50. From Cyrene.

3. *Fragment of votive relief*. For description see *Anc. Marbles*. The relief is tolerably high and round. The workmanship is certainly finished, but does not show great delicacy; the composition is good throughout. It may belong to the end of the fourth, or the beginning of the third century. Unfortunately, the relief being hidden behind a large glass-chest, a more minute examination is impossible. H. 0.77. L. about 0.68. From Cyrene.

12. *Female head*, pleasing and rather youthful. The wavy hair is simply brushed back; but not *à la Chinoise*; a plain mantle veils the upper and back part of the head. The style reminds us of Attic sepulchral monuments of the fourth century. Nose a little battered. Tips of ears perforated for earrings. Parian marble of yellowish colour. H. 0·23. L. of face 0·15. From Cyrene.

13. *Head of bearded Dionysos*. Along the forehead three rows of button-like curls; beard long, of conventional style; hair long, falling down to the neck. Probably part of a term. Insignificant work. H. 0·23. L. of face about 0·15. From Cyrene.

14. *Veiled female head*, similar to no. 12, but less well executed and more defaced, the whole of the nose and part of the left cheek wanting. Greyish Parian marble. H. 0·28. L. of face 0·19. From Cyrene.

15. "*Female head*, braided hair, crowned with ivy, marble, imperfect—Cyrene." Thus the Catalogue; I have not found it.

16. *Bust of Julius Caesar*, of excellent preservation, only the back part of the left ear being restored, the right cheek, the chin, the tip of the nose, and the left eyebrow battered, the neck broken and patched; modern is also the pedestal. The thin and slightly crisped hair, very superficially executed, covers the whole cranium and goes down to the neck. The modelling of the forehead is a little overdone, the wrinkles above the nose somewhat contracted; the eyes lie very deep and are stern-looking; nose very thick, and so are the lips; the whole part around the mouth, with its wrinkles of rather indistinct form, produces an effect of bad humour. The execution of the eyes, the lids, the inner corners, looks very modern, and generally the feebleness and indistinctness of all the details is scarcely consistent with antique art. The marble seems to be Greek, perhaps Parian, at any rate of a very fine grain. Life size. Where General Ramsay bought the bust is not known.

16.* (In the Museum, *E* 16). *Terra-cotta relief of Dionysos*, painted like *rosso antico*. At the upper edge of the fragment, part of a cornice; below a fig branch. Of the relief itself remains only the head of youthful Dionysos, crowned with ivy, looking down with a noble expression of thoughtfulness. All the rest is wanting. H. 0·27. L. 0·20. L. of face 0·05.

Formerly in Lord Murray's collection, see *Anc. Marbles*, p. 299, no. 3.

17. *Portrait statue*, resting on the left leg, and enveloped in a cloak, which covers the whole body down from the breast to the feet and is doubled before the stomach, the lower edge slanting from the right thigh towards the left knee. A corner hanging down from the left shoulder is grasped by the left hand. The whole arrangement has some similarity to that of the so-called Zenon of the Capitoline Museum. Right arm lowered; in the right hand a roll, but half of the forearm and the hand are replaced and perhaps a modern restoration. The neck is inserted; however, the beardless portrait head with fat cheeks seems to be antique and to belong to the body. Common Roman sculpture. H. about 0·50. (From the bequest of Sir James Erskine to the Royal Institution? See *Anc. Marbles*, p. 299, R. Inst. no. 2).

20. *Small bearded head*, with gloomy expression, apparently a portrait. H. about 0·14.

[24.] *Statuette of a little girl*, draped in a double chiton which is girded very high; narrow strings fasten the chiton at the shoulders (comp. the 'Fates' of the Parthenon). The left hand holds a rose before the bosom, the lowered left grasps the edge of the overhanging part of the chiton. The big head is portrait-like; the short hair, gently curled, goes down to the neck. The whole figure reminds us very much of certain chubby girls on Greek sepulchral reliefs, and suggests the idea that the statue may have served for a similar purpose. Coarse workmanship. H. about 0·50. "From Athens. The property of John Tweedie, Esq., R.A." According to this notice the statue cannot be identical with that mentioned in my *Anc. Marbles*, p. 299, R. Inst. no. 1, which belongs to Sir James Erskine's bequest.

[25.] *Attic (votive?) bas relief*. A youthful horseman, clad in chiton (?), chlamys and petasos, is dashing left on a horse much like those of the frieze of the Parthenon. Both the hindlegs of the horse rest on the ground, the forelegs are lifted. The youth's left knee is much bent and the lowered foot thrown backwards, the right foot advanced. Before this figure there is the remainder of another horse in rearing position, so as to touch the ground with none of its feet; it is much smaller, and

partly hidden by the former one; near it the leg and part of chlamys of a standing figure (the horseman? a servant?) who seems to try to tame the rearing animal. The main figure, which is nearly intact, is entirely of Attic character, all the outlines being sharply raised above the ground; the other figure and the second horse are treated in lower relief, as it were in the background. The left extremity of the relief is wanting. H. about 0·30. L. 0·40 (the relief is placed too high to take exact measures). Probably this is the relief Waagen saw in Lord Murray's collection, and erroneously described under two different items (*Anc. Marbl.* p. 299, nos. 1 and 2).

[26.] *Bronze relief* of the Murray collection, no. 4 (*Anc. Marbles*, p. 299), undoubtedly antique. It is a good work, in rather high relief, and was intended to serve as an *applique*. H. 0·22. (The nos. 5—7 of the Murray collection are not in the Museum.)

F. V. 23. *Roman cippus*. Square bordered front, with a youthful bust clad in *tunica* and *pallium*, within a sunk field of irregular shape. Beneath the inscription:

DIS · MANIBVS
C · IVLIO · RVFO · VIX · ANN · XVIII · M · VI
PIENTISSIMO
PARENTES · ARAM · POSVERVNT

H. 0·72. L. 0·54.

I add two inscriptions evidently originating from some *columbaria*:

[27.] D · M
C · ACILIOBASSO
MEDIC · DVPLIC
COLLEGAEEIVS

Elegantly incised letters. Ed. *Proceedings Soc. Antiq. Scoll.*, 1870—72, vol. ix. p. 7. A gift from Sir Walter Simpson, Bart., Dec. 1870.

[28.] FAVSTILLAFLAAI·
CLEMENTIS · SER·
PIA · VIX · AN · XX · H · S · E·
HERMEROS CAESARIS · N · SER
TABELLAR · CONIVG · PIAE · F ·

Letters of artificial character, very deeply cut. Ed. *Proceedings*, &c., 1879—80, vol. ii., new series, p. 91. From the bequest of David Laing, LL.D., F.S.A. Scot., 12 Jan. 1880.

The most recent addition to the Museum consists of a large collection of *Attic vases*, the gift of Lady Ruthven of Winton Castle (Febr. 1884). It is particularly rich in lecythi, mostly of small dimensions, and contains specimens of all styles, from the older ones with brownish and with black figures down to those with white or with red figures, and even of the style of Magna Graecia. Of mythological subjects I have noticed only two; both on *nasiterni* with black figures on red ground:—Herakles seizing the Centaur Nessos, from whom Deianeira is running away with upraised arms, the whole scene flanked by two youths with staffs; and a warrior and an Amazon fighting over a dead warrior lying on the ground, again flanked by two warriors. (Among the older elements of the Edinburgh collection there are some very well preserved specimens of vases with geometrical patterns, without any figures.) The two remarkable *sepulchral reliefs* in Lady Ruthven's possession (see *Anc. Marbles*, p. xxvi.) are still at Winton Castle; no. 1, of which I saw a photograph in Prof. Baldwin Brown's possession, is exceedingly fine.

AD. MICHAELIS.

STRASSBURG.

To be continued.

I. THE TRUMPET OF THE AREOPAGOS.

II. THE LIBATION-RITUAL OF THE EUMENIDES.

THERE are two difficult passages in the *Eumenides* of Aeschylus to which it may be well to invite the attention of Greek students in general and of archaeologists in particular. It seems probable that the solution in each case is to be sought from archaeology as much as from linguistic and textual criticism.

I. THE TRUMPET OF THE AREOPAGOS.

Aesch. *Eum.* 566 foll.¹

It will be remembered that, in the *Eumenides*, Athena, having undertaken the consideration of the suit between Orestes and his pursuers, the divine Avengeresses, pronounces the case to be improper for decision either by herself or by a single mortal arbitrator, and accordingly assembles and constitutes a court, the first court on the hill of Ares, for the purpose of the trial (*Eum.* 470-489). The court assembles accordingly, and Athena opens the proceedings by causing solemn silence to be proclaimed. There can be no doubt that the formalities and accompaniments of this legendary institution are imitated from those actually used in the historical tribunal. It is with this proclamation that the present question is concerned. The passage runs as follows (*Eum.* 566 foll.):—

ΑΘΗΝΑ. κήρυσσε, κήρυξ, καὶ στρατὸν κατειργάθου,
εἴτ' οὖν διάτορος Τυρσηνικῆ

¹ The references in Aeschylus are to the numbering of Dindorf's *Poetæ Scenici*.

σάλπιγξ, βροτείου πνεύματος πληρουμένη,
 ὑπέρτονον γήρυμα φαινέτω στρατῶ.
 πληρουμένου¹ γὰρ τοῦδε βουλευτηρίου
 σιγᾶν ἀρήγει καὶ μαθεῖν θεσμοὺς ἐμούς, κ.τ.λ.

The second line of this citation, given as above by the Medicean MS., is obviously defective. Over the syllable εἶ is written in the MS. by the same hand ῆ. This is to all appearance a mere conjecture to remove the inappropriate εἶτε by substituting ῆ τε, the copula and the article agreeing with σάλπιγξ, and is of no consideration in point of authority. In considering how the defect should be supplied, let us first approach the question from the side of meaning.

If the context be examined for indications of anything wanting to the sense, such an indication may, I think, be found in the words βροτείου πνεύματος πληρουμένη. The *piercing Tyrrhene trumpet* whose note commands silence in the court of Areopagos is *filled with breath of mortal man*. As this condition is common to the blowing of all trumpets, the mention of it appears to be otiose, unless there was something in the character or history of the Areopagite trumpet which made the employment of it by a mortal noticeable; and moreover to justify this notice according to the instinctive habits of literary composition this something should naturally be indicated in the context. No such quality appears in the epithets διάτορος and Τυρσηνικῆ, both commonly descriptive of this species of instrument. This incompleteness would be remedied if the trumpet, as used in the Areopagos, was regarded as the property and gift of some divine being, and if a place for this appropriation could be found in the defective verse. If further we ask to what deity this gift should be referred, we may at once say this at least, that it should be a deity of the underworld, a Chthonian deity; and this for two reasons—first, all brazen instruments as such were regarded as ‘Chthonian,’ and were associated with the underworld. Thus Euripides in the *Helena* (1346) speaks of the ‘Chthonian note of brass’:

χαλκοῦ τ’ αὐδὰν χθονίαν
 τύπανα λάβετε βυρσοτενῆ.

¹ The doubt as to the correctness of this word need not be here considered.

This association is very natural, not only because the metal of the instruments was a gift of the underworld, but also from their hollow boom. It is no matter of conjecture that this suggested to the Greek ear the idea of a deep and cavernous place, for we find Euripides, when he wishes to describe the general quality of a 'Chthonian' sound, selecting the very words (*βαρὺν βρόμον*) which are constantly applied to musical instruments of this kind. In the *Hippolytus* (1201) at the approach of the miraculous monster

ἔθεν τις ἠχὴ χθόνιος, ὡς βροντὴ Διὸς,
βαρὺν βρόμον μεθήκε.

Secondly, if the trumpet, as such, might be expected to belong to a deity of the lower world, a trumpet of the Areopagos has a peculiar claim to this connexion, for the tribunal itself was 'Chthonian,' sanctioned and protected by the powers who presided over the place of final judgment, as Sophokles says (*O. C.* 948) by the mouth of Oedipus,

τοιούτον αὐτοῖς Ἄρεος εὐβουλον πάγον
ἐγὼ ξυνήδη χθόνιον ὄνθ' ὃς οὐκ ἐῖῃ
τοιούσδ' ἀλήτας τῆδ' ὀμοῦ ναίειν χθονί,

a passage which refers to the jurisdiction of the Areopagos over the same question which is agitated in the *Eumenides*, the moral and ceremonial purity of suppliants.

If we try further to narrow our problem, and determine which of the Chthonian deities is best suited to the function indicated in the lines before us, we shall scarcely hesitate in the selection of the Chthonian Hermes (*Ἑρμῆς Χθόνιος*). No other deity could well be the patron of a *κῆρυξ*, the possessor and giver of a herald's trumpet, than the Herald himself, the *φίλος κῆρυξ*, *κηρύκων σέβας*, as he is called in the *Agamemnon*, the minister and messenger of the Chthonian Zeus. We conclude, then, that the requirement of sense would be satisfied if the trumpet of the Areopagites were here described as an attribute of *Ἑρμῆς Χθόνιος*, and it accords with the conclusion that this deity is mentioned by Pausanias among the divine patrons of the tribunal.

Now let us approach the lacuna from the side of technical criticism. It is notorious that one of the most frequent causes

of defect in MSS. is the occurrence of the same or similar letters twice over, which are written only once, either by inadvertence, or intentionally, the repetition being then indicated by a mark, afterwards misunderstood and lost. It is scarcely necessary to take space in proving or illustrating this kind of error. Not to go beyond this same play, we read at 944,

μηλά τ' εὐθenoῦντα γὰ
 ξὺν διπλοῖσιν ἐμβρύοις
 τρέφοι, χρόνῳ τεταγμένῳ γόνος
 πλουτόχθων ἐρμαίαν
 δαιμόνων δόσιν τίοι.

The metre (cf. 924) shows that an iambus is wanting in the third line, the sense requires a copula. Both are restored by adding letters lost through repetition, thus,

τρέφοι, χρόνῳ τε τῷ τεταγμένῳ γόνος, κ.τ.λ.

Other instances might be given *ad libitum*; in the Aeschylean MSS. in particular very many small lacunae are due to this cause. Upon technical grounds, therefore, there is reason to think that where the MSS. give us εἴτ οὖν for something which must have originally been three syllables longer, the true reading must have nearly resembled *ειτουνιτουν*.

Combining our results we obtain the question, Can we find the name of Hermes Chthonios in the letters ΕΙΤΟΥΝΙΤΟΥΝ? If so, the coincidence of two wholly independent proofs will give a strong presumption that we were on the right track. But Hermes Chthonios has one distinctive and proper name, and that is Ἐριούνιος, as for example in Aristophanes, *Frogs* 1144:

ΕΥ. πότερ' οὖν τὸν Ἐρμῆν, ὡς ὁ πατὴρ ἀπώλετο
 αὐτοῦ βιαίως ἐκ γυναικείας χειρὸς
 δόλοισ λαθραίοις, ταῦτ' ἐποπτεύειν ἔφη;
 ΔΙ. οὐ δῆτ' ἐκεῖνος, ἀλλὰ τὸν Ἐριούνιον
 Ἐρμῆν χθόνιον προσεῖπε, κ.τ.λ.

Ἐριούνιος was no doubt originally an adjective, but it is also an independent title, as we see *e.g.* in Homer *Il.* 24, 360, 440. Should we not therefore restore to him, as patron of the Areopagos the

herald's trumpet borne by his representative, the herald—or to speak more correctly restore him to his trumpet, and write

Ἐριουνίου δὲ διάτορος Τυρσηνικῆ
σάλπιγγι, βροτείου πνεύματος πληρουμένη,
ὑπέρτονον γήρυμα φαινέτω στράτῳ.

*And let the piercing Tyrrhene trump of Eriounios, filled with
breath of mortal man, utter to the host its lofty voice.*

II. THE LIBATION-RITUAL OF THE EUMENIDES.

Aesch. *Eum.* 1044.

At the conclusion of the *Eumenides* the reconciled goddesses are conducted by Athena and a solemn procession of citizens to the rock-cavern on the side of the Akropolis, which was in historical times their traditional abode and over which their temple was built. These *προπομποὶ* accompany their march with a brief song in two strophæ and two antistrophæ of dactylic metre. The last pair are given by Dindorf thus,

	ἴλαοι δὲ καὶ εὐθύφρονες γᾶ	στρ.
	δεῦρ' ἴτε σεμναὶ τᾶ πυριδάπτῳ	
	λαμπάδι τερπόμεναι καθ' ὁδόν.	
	ὀλολύξατε νῦν ἐπὶ μολπαῖς.	
1044	σπονδαὶ δ' ἐς τὸ πᾶν ἔνδαιδες οἴκων	ἀντ.
	Παλλάδος ἀστοῖς· Ζεὺς ὁ πανόπτας	
	οὔτω Μοῖρά τε συγκατέβα.	
	ὀλολύξατε νῦν ἐπὶ μολπαῖς.	

This is the MSS. text with a few small corrections, such as the insertion of τᾶ in 1041, and the omission of δ' after ὁδόν in 1042. Upon 1044 Dindorf observes that the line is corrupt, the metre requiring a dactylic tetrameter, and this is plainly true. In the corresponding line 1040 there is one syllable of doubtful quantity, the second of εὐθύφρονες, but—without taking into account the suggestion of Meineke that εὐθύφρονες γᾶ has

arisen by repetition of letters and the adoption of a gloss into the text from an original reading, certainly much better in rhythm, *εὐφρονες αἶα*—the metrical character of the whole song shows that 1040, like the rest, is dactylic, and hence that *εὐθύφρονες*, if genuine, should have the quantity $\bar{\text{~}}\bar{\text{~}}\bar{\text{~}}$. The metrical objection thus attaching to 1044 is reinforced from the side of interpretation. The words, or such of them as really are words, have in truth no meaning at all. The expression *σπονδαὶ ἔνδαιδες* was apparently suggested to the writer of it by the mention of the *πυρίδαπτος λαμπὰς* immediately before it, and is intended to mean, as the commentators render it, *libations accompanied by torch-light, peace made by torch-light*, or the like. But this version ignores the meaning of the preposition *ἐν*. The compound *ἔνδαις*, if it could exist, should mean either *being in a torch* or *having a torch in it*. Moreover, if the word could mean *torch-lit* it would remain to show that *torch-lit* is a proper epithet for libations in general, or if not in general, for the special ceremonies here described and founded.

Accepting therefore the verdict that this verse is corrupt, it remains to see whether it can be restored, or can be made to throw upon the interesting ritual of an important Athenian sanctuary any lights less doubtful than that of these apocryphal torches. Seeing that the subject is clearly *libation*, the question which presents itself is whether we know of any peculiarity belonging to the Eumenides-worship elsewhere and likely therefore to have belonged also to that in the Akropolis cavern. Now it happens that among the ceremonial observances known to us in the fullest detail and upon the best authority, is precisely the ritual libation prescribed to the worshipper of the *Σεμναὶ* at a sanctuary within near view of the Akropolis itself, the grove at the village of Kolônos. In the *Oedipus at Kolônos* the aged exile, desiring to propitiate the deities of the place, receives from the chorus of natives minute instruction for the performance of his offering. The passage (*Oed. Col.* 466-490) is well known and need not be set out at length. The water to be drawn, the vessels to be used, the manner of decorating them, the posture of the supplicant, the composition and number of the libations, are successively described. The holy water is to be poured three times, the third libation being marked by the addition of honey (l.c. 481), and immediately after the

pouring, "thrice-nine" twigs of olive are to be laid with both hands upon the earth. The prayers follow—

τρίς ἐννέ' αὐτῇ κλῶνας ἐξ ἀμφοῖν χεροῖν
τιθεῖς ἐλάας τᾶσδ' ἐπεύχεσθαι λιτύς.

The marked importance in this ritual of the sacred numbers three and the square of three, suggest a correction of the Aeschylean passage, which has, I think, some claim to be considered decisive. Reserving for the moment the secondary consideration of the adverb ἐς τὸ πᾶν, I would write

σπονδαὶ δ' †ἐς τὸ πᾶν† ἐννάδες οἴκων
Παλλάδος ἀστοίς.

The libations in your house are to the townsmen of Pallas nine in number [for ever], literally are nines. Between ΕΝΔΑΙΔΕC and this ΕΝΝΑΔΕC, the difference is such as the most trifling accident would entirely obliterate. The prose form of the word for a set of nine is ἐννεάς, and ἐννεάδες might be read here and scanned as a dactyl 'by synezesis,' the 'e' having the pronunciation of a 'y,' as in Aeschylus not seldom. But the MSS. reading makes it more probable that the form here used was ἐννάς (cf. ἐνναέτης, ἐνναετηρίς); the form εἰνάς, εἰνάδος, which is the Ionic-Epic correlative to ἐννάς occurs in Hesiod. It would appear that the departure of the procession from the stage is actually accompanied by libations, which would of course be made according to the manner traditionally and historically established in the Akropolis-temple. This, from the evidence of the MSS. and the comparison of the cognate ritual at Kolônos, we conclude to have been according to the number nine. It will be observed that at Kolônos the libations were three only, the olive twigs afterwards offered 'thrice three,' which points to minute differences between the ritual of the two places, such as, for the sake of their distinction and separate importance the guardians would be likely to maintain.

With regard to ἐς τὸ πᾶν, if there were any good evidence that the 'α' of the uncompounded πᾶν could be abbreviated in an Attic dramatist, the context would well admit the MSS.

reading here in the sense of 'for ever.' But there is no such evidence. *εἴσοπι* (Linwood) might perhaps signify *hereafter*, without the addition of *χρόνου* which it has in Aesch. *Supp.* 617. Rather more near to the MSS. would be

σπονδαὶ δ' ἐς τρόπον ἐννάδες οἴκων,

By nines are the libations made after the fashion of your house, and this type of corruption (the confusion of τ and $\tau\rho$) might be largely illustrated from the Aeschylean MSS. The very same change, *e.g.* has probably taken place in *Eum.* 52. The main interest of our passage is, however, unaffected by this doubt, and it scarcely deserves further attention.

It is notorious that the numbers three and nine were important in ritual, and we may notice a further indication that these numbers, especially the number nine, played a prominent part in the libation ritual of Athens. The selection of the water to be used for ceremonial purposes was as a rule not arbitrary. Each cult had its appropriate river or spring from which it was obligatory to draw. Thus in the passage of the *Oedipus* already cited, Ismene, who performs the oblation on behalf of her father, receives careful directions for finding the *ἰερά κρήνη* 'on the other side of the grove' (see 504). Now we know from what spring the cults of the Akropolis were served. Thucydides informs us (2, 15) that the water used generally for ritual purposes in Athens was that of the famous fountain called, he says, in old times, *Καλλιρρόη*. This, however, as Herodotus and the same passage of Thucydides show, was not the name by which it was known at Athens in the historical period of antiquity. The Athenians called it *Ἐννεάκρονος*, *The Nine Wells*. Thucydides alleges as the reason for this that the Peisistratidae (*οἱ τύραννοι*) had given it this appearance by artificial decoration (*τῶν τυράννων οὕτω κατασκευασάντων*). But the question arises now naturally, Why was this arrangement adopted? It appears to me very probable that Thucydides, as is often the way with positive and rationalistic minds when dealing with the history of religious usages, has here inverted the true order of explanation, and that the decoration of the fountain added by the Peisistratidae was really caused by the fact that the spring was already popularly known as

Ἐννεάκροννος, from its use to supply the nine libations of the Eumenidean and perhaps other rituals.¹ It may be added that as the number of apertures from which water flows in a rock spring varies widely in different states of the weather, there would probably be little difficulty in proving that any tolerably copious spring had 'nine founts,' if a predisposing religious practice commended the belief to the public; and therefore Kallirrhoe may well have been supposed naturally ninefold long before 'the despots had so arranged it.'

A. W. VERRALL.

¹ Compare the magical prescription from the *Δεισιδαίμων* of Menander (Clem. Alex. Strom. vii. p. 303, 7), where the

patient is to be sprinkled ἀπὸ κροννῶν τριῶν.

THE HESPERIDE OF THE OLYMPIAN METOPE AND
A MARBLE HEAD AT MADRID.

PLATE XLV.

THE marble head (Pl. XLV. 2) in the Museum of Madrid has elicited considerable notice, especially because of its peculiar style; and its attempted classification in this respect has produced much difference of opinion. Hübner, who first¹ supposed it to be the head of Athene and then² of an Aphrodite, thought that it must be a marble copy of a bronze original belonging to the age of Pheidias. Friedrichs³ considered it to belong to the type of Aphrodite heads, but did not feel in a position to assign to it a definite date. He says: 'It decidedly gives the impression of an Hellenic work, but for the more exact dating we have no sound ground to go upon. We should only like to remark that it does not appear to us to be older than the fourth century, because it no longer contains traces of the severer style.'

We can well appreciate the difficulties that must have been felt in connexion with this head, before some well identified work was found with which it had some definite relation, and with which it could be compared. The peculiar treatment of the hair, especially the contrast between the undulations of the tresses at the side and the smoothness of the crown, the simple, almost severe character of the whole head with the breadth of later feeling commingled with the severity, are elements that would baffle the inquirer and the combination

¹ *Nuove Memorie dell' Instituto di Corresponsenza Archeologica* (Rome, 1865) pp. 34 *seq.*

³ *Bausteine zur Geschichte der Griechisch-Römischen Plastik*, ii. pp. 271, *seq.*

² *Die Antiken von Madrid*, p. 247.

of these in one work will be accounted for in the course of these observations.

The identified work which furnishes the needed point of comparison for the placing of this head is the so-called Atlas metope from the east side of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia. The head of the 'Hesperide' standing behind Herakles in this metope¹ is here figured on plate XLV., fig. 1, and is placed beside the Madrid head for comparison.

Unfortunately the photographic negative for M. Dujardin's plate, taken from the casts in the Fitzwilliam Museum of Classical Archaeology at Cambridge, was made during my absence, and my directions that both heads should be taken from exactly the same point of view were not quite carried out. The heavy cast of the metope is also somewhat high on the wall, which made the task of taking such a photograph more difficult. The apparent similarities between the two heads in our plate are therefore not so great as they are in reality. Furthermore I would remark that the peculiar breakage and smudging of the nose in the head from the metope give a definite character to the head which it was far from having when complete.

It will be seen at a glance that the very uncommon arrangement of hair is the same in both instances, especially with regard to the mixture of sculptured ridges in the sides and a flat surface on the top. There can hardly be any doubt that the flat surfaces were painted over with the indications of hair. In the case of the metope head, the roll at the back of the head is also left flat, while in the Madrid head it is modelled. It is most interesting to note that Hübner, who first wrote on this head, remarked in his first paper² upon a certain similarity between the Madrid head and the head of another figure from the Olympian metopes. The fragment of this metope together with the upper part of the metope representing Herakles and the bull, as well as several smaller fragments, had been discovered by the French in the *Expédition de la Morée*, in the year 1829, and have since been in the Louvre.³ This head of

¹ *Ausgrabungen zu Olympia* vol. v. ;
Cf. Bötticher, *Olympia* &c. p. 285 ;
Overbeck, *Gesch. d. Griech. Plastik*, i.
p. 445.

² *Nuove Memorie d. Inst. I.c.*

³ Du Bois and Blouet, *Expédition
Scientifique de la Morée*, i. Pl. 74-78 ;
Clarac, *Musée de Sculpture*, vol. ii. Pl.

the 'nymph' or 'Athene' possesses to a far less striking degree the points of similarity with the Madrid head than does the metope head with which we are comparing it. But it is remarkable that, while in the female head from the Atlas metope, the braids at the side are modelled with ridges and the crown and the braid at the back (modelled in the Madrid head) are smooth, the hair of Hübner's nymph from the other metope is worked smoothly, whilst it is here the mass at the back of the head which is the only modelled part of the hair. The fact that Hübner should have noticed the similarity of the Madrid head with another head from the Olympian metopes possessing far less marked points of similarity to it than does the head from the Atlas metope, seems to me a strong confirmation of the relation of general style which I see between the Madrid and the Olympian heads.

Were our illustration of the Olympian head taken more from the front of the figure, this general similarity of style would be much more evident. It would then be seen how similar is the treatment of the face, of mouth and chin, how the hair parts symmetrically from the middle of the brow and runs in parallel undulations towards the sides. It must also be remembered that the metope was meant to be seen from far below, while the Madrid head was no doubt calculated to be seen from relatively a much shorter distance, and that thus the metope head would have to be treated with less detail, especially in the broader ridges of the hair.

Before proceeding to dwell upon some of the numerous points of difference subsisting between the two heads we are comparing, I should like to draw attention to a fact to which I have already alluded on another occasion (see this Journal, Vol. II. No. 2, 1881, p. 349). When two monuments with great points of similarity are singled out from the vast number of ancient monuments and are placed side by side, this isolation and juxtaposition (in itself, unconsciously to the observer, claiming a great degree of similarity) tends to bring out the points of difference to a marked and exaggerated degree to those who have not the vast number of essentially different monuments of

105B; Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler d. Allen Kunst*, i. taf. 30; and in their complete condition, *Ausgrabungen zu*

Olympia, v. ; Overbeck, *Gesch. d. Gr. Plastik*, i. 442; A. Bütticher, *Olympia*, p. 279.

ancient art to fall back upon. People are then (this similarity being already claimed and self-asserted by the very juxtaposition) only conscious of and engrossed by the points of difference. If the monuments compared will to any degree stand this test their primary similarity is insured. To appreciate the similarity between these two heads, it is best to compare them in a museum containing a large and varied number of monuments from all schools and times. The essential difference of all other monuments will bring out the inner relation of the two and will make up, to the non-specialist, for the acquaintance with the great number of individual monuments which are ever present in the mind of the specialist.

In their general aspect the two heads differ in that the work of the Madrid head is harder and more mechanical; and though the sculptor of the Madrid head endeavoured to give a broad and severe treatment, which is a general characteristic of earlier works, his knowledge of details led him to deal more correctly with the definite features of the human head, such as the eye and ear. While the brow and cheek are harder and less naturalistic in the Madrid head than in the head of the metope, the treatment of the eye evinces knowledge and study of the most delicate forms which the Olympian sculptor had not yet attained. The ridges of the hair are decided and sharp in the Madrid head, while in the head of the metope they are rounded off as is characteristic of both hair and drapery of all the figures, also in the pediments, of this Temple. The forms of the cheek-bone are clearly indicated beneath the surface in the metope head, and the depression between the cheek-bone and the *risorius* is more pronounced than in the harder and broader treatment of the cheek in the Madrid head.

The whole eye is more prominent in this head (as well as in all other heads from the Olympian Temple) than in the Madrid head. The eyelids join completely at either angle; while in the Madrid head is manifested a delicate study of life in that the upper eyelid projects and is prolonged over the under eyelid at their juncture at the side. All the heads from the Temple of Zeus at Olympia have the same characteristic treatment. In fact this detail seems to mark the line between the works before and after about the year 450 before our era. So far as I have been able to examine the point at present, the heads

from the metopes of the Parthenon have the same early treatment of the eye as the Olympian sculptures; while the extant heads from the frieze of the Parthenon have the later treatment of the eye.¹ On the whole, we must feel in the eye of the Madrid head, despite the attempted simplicity, certain characteristics which mark the works of the fourth century, and it is the effect of this detail which must have driven so excellent an observer as was Friedrichs to consider it impossible to place the head earlier than the fourth century. On the other hand, there are elements of hardness and severity in the head which direct us towards the early part of the fifth century, where Hübner would place the head. But this hardness is not only due to [attempted] simplicity of style, but also to the more mechanical working of the marble to which allusion has been made above.

Without being one of the late Roman shop-copies and imitations, turned out by the dozen during the decline of classical art, specimens of which fill our museums, the Madrid head bears traces of this more hasty and mechanical workmanship as compared with the individuality of modelling in the metope head. The general sentiment displayed in the treatment of the eye, as well as the fuller knowledge of details, belies its origin in the fifth century; while its evident immediate relation to the head from Olympia, as well as the severity and simplicity of composition, belies its origin in the fourth century.

It thus appears to me to be a direct derivative from the heads of the class to which belongs the head at Olympia, made after the fourth century in the period of Graeco-Roman Renaissance by the sculptors in the first century before our era, who reproduced, or were influenced by, the works of earlier Greek art and to whom so much attention has been drawn of late years.

CHARLES WALDSTEIN.

¹ This detail may prove of some importance in determining the chronological relation between the sculptures of the Olympian pediment and those

of the Parthenon, as well as in determining the exact chronology between the Parthenon sculptures among each other.

PYXIS:—HERAKLES AND GERYON.

THE vase which is the subject of the present memoir is a *pyxis* or small round box of a light yellow clay with a smooth surface, decorated with designs in a blackish brown, which is here and there varied with a patch of purple laid upon the black, or with a detail occasionally incised. It was acquired by the British Museum in 1865, and forms one of a set of eighteen¹ which were 'guaranteed' as having been found at Phaleron near Athens.

The lid is decorated with a circular frieze of animals, representing five lions or panthers; the most important representation, however, is that upon the body of the vase, which is encircled with a single frieze of figures, consisting of four lions, a bull (recognisable by the shape of its hoof and its horn), and a group which is obviously a rendering of the well-known myth of Herakles and Geryon—beside Geryon is a further group of three bulls.

The painting appears extremely rude, and this rudeness might seem at first sight to be the result of carelessness rather than of archaic ignorance in the artist. I shall endeavour however to show from internal evidence that the scene before us may be assigned to the earliest period of the representation of myths in vase-painting.

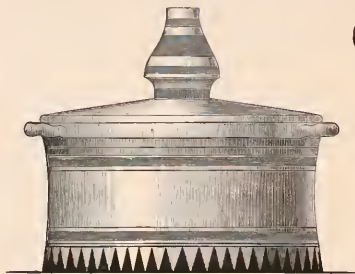
It belongs to that class of vases technically known under the term 'Oriental,' of which the centre of fabric was probably Korinth, and to which the character of the clay, the technique, and the arrangement of the scene, would naturally assign it. A

¹ The remainder, except a *pyxis* similar to this, are of the so-called Phaleron type; if the provenance could be relied upon, the series would be of great im-

portance to our knowledge of this class, but unfortunately, evidence on this point is rarely trustworthy.



C



A



D



B

reminiscence of this Oriental style is further shown in the patch of purple upon the flanks of the animals and in the rosettes introduced twice into the scene, both on the body and lid.

The subject here depicted, if, as I believe, it can be shown to be the earliest representation yet known of the myth, appears to have a special claim upon our notice.

First of all, I would call attention to the peculiar treatment of the subject by the artist. He has chosen as the field for his brush a narrow horizontal band, such as would be only suitable for a continuous frieze of figures; but the central group, indeed the only important *dramatis personae* for his purpose, consists of but two figures, Herakles and Geryon, a group which would be unsuitable for any but a confined space like that of a metope. Having inserted these figures, what does he do to fill the remaining space? the bulls at the side of Geryon suggest a resource which he adopts in filling the vacuum with other bulls and lions,¹ in depicting which the painters of this style are clearly more at home than in the representation of defined myths, but which in the present case have no reference whatever to the action going forward; and I think this is a point in favour of the early date which I would assign to our vase. The artists of this style, accustomed only as yet to conventional friezes of animals, are beginning to feel the necessity of depicting something more than mere conventional ornaments, but as yet they have not learnt (as they do later in the so-called Protokorinthian style) to choose for their subjects those scenes which give them a sufficient quantity of figures to occupy the space at their disposal: such subjects for instance as that of Herakles and the Centaurs,² or the chase of the Kalydonian Boar, or the hunt³ of a lion or hare. The effort against conventionality is made in this case in the central representation, but the old tradition still survives in the animals introduced apropos of nothing, and in the two or three rosettes, traces of the *horror vacui* which lingered long both in the early Geometric and early Oriental vases as well.

¹ Such repetitions would not appear strange to those accustomed to the early relief vases where the impression from one cylinder is repeated *ad libitum*.

² See Furtwängler, in *Arch. Zeit.*, 1883, p. 153.

³ See Löschcke, in *Arch. Zeit.* 1881, p. 34.

The same difficulty had already occurred to the artists of the Geometric style, and had been in their case surmounted by the introduction of the principle of vertical division of the horizontal bands, a principle which suited the tall angular forms of these vases better than the more rounded lines of the Oriental shapes; but for some time, on account of the obstacles thus presented to the treatment of a *frieze* surface, *i.e.* a surface which has considerably more length than height, we find the representations upon Geometric vases confined, in the shapes most generally adopted, to the tall narrow neck, while the rounder body of the vase is left comparatively undecorated; and this was no doubt one of the causes which rendered the struggle against conventionality more difficult for the painters of the Oriental than for those of the Geometric style. Such a division of scenes became necessary from the moment when the interest of the representation was for the first time transferred from the action going forward to the actors themselves, that is to say, when first abstract ideas, such as ploughing, as on the shield of Achilles, give place to the definite incidents and personalities such as figure on the chest of Kypselos, in which process of development the shield of Herakles as described by Hesiod seems to give us the intermediate stage; and in the recognition of this principle of the two main divisions of groups in relief we have, I think, an important clue to (1) the process of selection by which some scenes are preferred to others in early works of art of the Oriental type such as I have already referred to; (2) the development of a myth in order to adapt it to similar conditions; and (3), given this principle, the arrangement of the groups on certain works of art known to us only from description.

Of these last, the throne of Apollo at Amyklæ, as described by Pausanias, is a case in point. In all the suggestions for the arrangements of the decorations which I have seen there is one difficulty which seems to me very obvious, but which has never yet been fully recognized. I mean the plan of stringing together in one unbroken band a series of different scenes which present no connexion in relation with one another, an arrangement which it might be expected that Greek art, even of the most archaic period, would eschew. Now, when we examine the list of scenes which Pausanias gives us by the light of reproductions

of them in early art, we can guess with tolerable certainty what sort of space each would fill, and seeing on this plan how the scenes naturally fall into a symmetrical order, it seems to me that besides the horizontal divisions of the spaces on the Amyklæe throne there would also be a set of vertical divisions as well. It is much more natural to imagine the selection of groups as due to a tectonic necessity than to mere chance; and thus it comes that on the chest of Kypselos we find the scene naturally divided into two main groups, the one consisting of those which would give the metope type, the other of those which naturally suggest a frieze: a division which was probably due to some constructive peculiarity in the form of the chest, which consequently presented to the artist a variety in the spaces intended for decoration.

As an instance of what I mean the tripod vase from Tanagra, published by Löscheke, is worth quoting. There we have the artist dealing with just such a constructive necessity as I would argue the artists of the Kypselos and Amyklæe works may have encountered.

A somewhat parallel case to that of our vase is shown in the Capua bronze *lebes*¹ in the British Museum, which bears upon the shoulder a narrow continuous band containing a series of figures, among which at least one definite incident is mixed up with conventional representations. But there are peculiarities about this bronze vase which make it as I think a special case. First of all, the roughness and want of finish of this band of figures correspond neither with its conception nor with the remaining ornamentation, both of which are free and spirited. Again, the central scene, showing Herakles running towards some oxen, looking back at a figure who is tied to a tree, is a treatment of our myth which, in spite of Minervini's learned disquisition, baffles interpretation, and the jumbling up of this with other scenes which have no reference to it is at least unusual. But these difficulties disappear if we assume that the artist, probably an Etruscan, has derived inspiration from some Greek work, probably a vase painting. It is obvious that the continuous band of this *lebes* divides naturally into at least six different and distinct scenes, of which the Herakles scene is but

¹ *Mon. Ined.* v. 25. *Annali*, 51, 42.

one; we might almost go farther and say that these six scenes had been ranged one above the other on the original work of art, from which the bronze engraver drew his inspiration, so that we should have three friezes of animals, and three scenes of human life. Furtwängler¹ has already compared this bronze to an example which he publishes of the 'Proto-korinthian' style, on which the same animals occur, similarly treated in every respect. It may well have been a large vase of this style which inspired the artist of the bronze *lebes*, who, however, did not fully understand every particular of the work he was copying: thus for instance the hare hunt of the original has been on the bronze transformed into the unintelligible hunt of a gazelle, which is as feebly drawn as the pursuing hounds are spirited. The nearest parallel I know among vase paintings is the Tanagra 'tripod vase,' already quoted; a form to which the scenes of our *lebes* would most naturally adapt themselves.

On the other hand, rough though the representation on this *lebes* is, Herakles is there already depicted in the guise which, after various vicissitudes, became specially characteristic of him, carrying bow and club and wearing the lionskin. Now on our *pyxis*, though the artist has, it is true, not been competent to provide his human figures with faces other than the primitive 'Vögelgesicht,' yet he has paid sufficient attention to detail to indicate even the arrows within the quiver, and would have been quite well able, had he been so disposed, to give at least a club and probably a lionskin also to the hero. But here he is clearly nothing different in type from the Herakles on the Olympian bronze relief,² a 'kneeling' (running) archer in a short *chiton* with quiver at back, and nothing more. This same archer has in early vases a history of his own: starting from the nude figure, sometimes of doubtful identity, as on the early island gems and stamped relief-ware, he gradually assumes a distinct personality, and this personality when once established may in most cases be attributed to Herakles. The fact is, Athenaeus' statement that the club was not assigned to Herakles in Greek art before about 600 B.C. appears to be fairly borne out in fact. The type with lionskin, which may have been of Tyrian origin, is found in Cyprus long before it is

¹ *Arch. Zeit.* 1883, p. 162.

² *Ausgrabungen*, iv. xx. A.

known in Greek art, though the individuality of Herakles is otherwise already marked in Homer; there he is specially the mighty archer who dares even wound the gods with his arrows (E. 392), and as archer he continues at any rate down to the chest of Kypselos and later. On a Kyrenè vase (*Arch. Zeit.*, 1881, Taf. xii. 1) his bow and quiver are hung at his back, and he brandishes a club, but not, I believe, until the early Chalcidian style does the actual lionskin occur upon vases.

And so again with regard to Geryon. Klein¹ has suggested that representations of this scene may be divided into two main types: (1) Those in which Geryon appears as a winged monster, with three heads and bodies on one pair of legs; (2) those in which, as on the chest of Kypselos, he is composed of three figures joined together, *τρῆϊς ἄνδρες ἀλλήλοισι προσεχόμενοι*. Now this winged type, which Klein takes to be the earlier, is found at present only on two early Chalcidian vases, but that it existed also in comparatively late times has been conjectured from a reference in Aristophanes, *Ach.* 1082. Klein's argument that this type is 'artistically higher' seems mainly based on the fact that the winged conception would naturally approach more nearly to the 'Oriental' original from which presumably the type was borrowed; but seeing that the earliest types we know both in literature and art² are not winged, it seems to me just as likely that the original type may be that of the chest of Kypselos, which may have undergone subsequently the strong Oriental influence which permeates Chalcidian art. Moreover, another claim which he advances for the prior antiquity of the Chalcidian type, viz., the introduction of the cattle of Geryon into the scene, is answered by their occurrence upon our *pyxis*.

There are in the British Museum three other representations of this myth which would be important additions to Klein's list.

1. *Amphora*, from Kamiros, with smooth handles: black figures with purple and white on red panel.

(a) Athene, Herakles, Zeus, Kyknos, Ares.

(b) Athene, Herakles (lionskin, quiver, club), dead herdsman.

¹ *Euphronios*, p. 30.

² Cf. the Cyprus statue, Cesnola, *Cyprus*, p. 156.

Geryon (τρεῖς ἄνδρες type), Erytheia (?): apparently Chalcidian.

2. *Kylix*,¹ published *Mon. Ined.* ix. 11.

3. *Kylix*, from Kamiros; careless style, black figures with purple and white.

(a) Bearded figure with mantle on arm.

(b) and (c) (continuous frieze around exterior), Herakles in lionskin (beneath whom lie dead herdsman and dog), striding forward exactly in attitude of the similar figure in De Luynes *Vases Peints*, viii. shooting arrow at Geryon (τρεῖς ἄνδρες type). Behind Geryon is one bull, behind Herakles four. The field is filled with boughs with white fruit.

Now of these examples No. 1 at least is probably Chalcidian, though, of course, later than Klein's two vases. No. 3 seems to be clearly an Athenian work, but the close correspondence between it and one of Klein's Chalcidians (De Luynes *ibid.* viii), make it probable that we have two interpretations of the same original type, the Chalcidian, or winged, and the Athenian, a type without wings. No. 1 shows us that in later Chalcidian art the wingless type is known, and, until we actually meet with a Γηρυόνης τετράπτιλος in art, I do not think the punning allusion in the *Acharnians* is sufficient proof of the late existence of such a type in Athenian art.

In Klein's discussion as to the 'typology' of this myth he takes the Cyprus relief in stone as being the earliest representation known, and argues for the earlier or later dates of other representations in proportion as they correspond more or less with this his archetype, his reason being that in this relief there is an obviously Assyrian treatment. But if this is really an Assyrian work of the eighth century how can we account for the existence of a completely formulated myth in Assyrian art at this period? We have there Herakles, a definite personality

¹ Heydemann, in his description of this scene (*Annali* 1869. p. 247), finds a difficulty in explaining the curved parallel lines beside the figure of Athene. They are not, as he con-

jectures, part of a circle, nor part of a badly drawn shield; but belong to the outline of the colossal eye which has formed the left hand boundary of this group.

with bow and lionskin; we have the bulls of Geryon amplified, Assyrian fashion, into a confused herd, and the three-fold character of Geryon, ill-suited to an Assyrian treatment, is transferred to his dog,¹ who is shown as a very clearly-marked type with three heads. It seems to me much more probable that we have here a comparatively late rendering, by a foreign artist accustomed to the sight of Assyrian art, of a scene more properly Greek, and of which the type is already definitely fixed in Greek Art. However this may be, it is quite possible that we may separate an Orientalising treatment of myth, such as we have it on the Cyprus relief and bronze *lebes* (which is further reflected too in the Chalcidian winged type), from the more purely Greek type, such as we know it from our vase and the descriptions of Pausanias.

Examining the list of Geryon vase-scenes collected by Klein, we shall find that our vase will very well take a place at its head as the earliest of the examples there known. After the triple Geryon and Herakles types are once fairly fixed there is little alteration, except the gradual substitution among the spectators (where spectators are necessary) of definite personalities such as Athene, Eurytion, in place of some of the cattle.

The fact is, in the case of a myth like this, which is employed sometimes for a narrow space like the metope, sometimes for a wide space like the frieze, it is impossible to lay down a definite process of development in asserting that, since one scene is fuller in detail than the other, the fuller is therefore the older type. We may consider that our vase represents the transition stage in the earliest development of our myth; the earliest treatment of the Geryon legend that we know is that on the chest of Kypselos, where the representation is confined to the duel between the two figures, Herakles and the monster; the adaptation of this myth to a frieze surface, such as we see in process here, was in all probability the primary cause of the introduction of other figures. A representation like ours would give first of all the bulls, and perhaps the dog, and some of

¹ The dog is surely a late introduction of Greek art into this myth. May it have come in perhaps through the

medium of some scene like this, where one of the conventional lions might easily be mistaken for a dog?

these would gradually make way for human figures such as Athene, Iolaos, &c.; we see the same principle in hundreds of archaic frieze-representations. To quote a single instance, we have in the British Museum a vase showing the contest of Theseus and the Minotaur, where four or five figures stand on either side of the central group, to which they have no possible relation except as serving to fill up the vacant space.

CECIL SMITH.

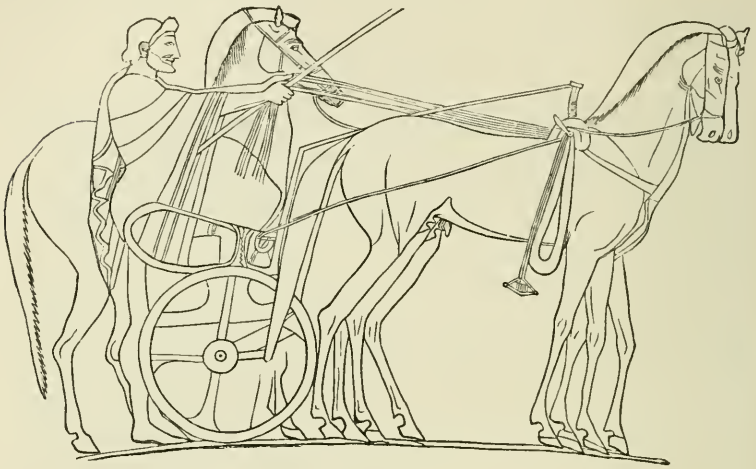
THE HOMERIC CHARIOT.

THE object of the present paper is not to give a full account of the Homeric chariot, but merely to call attention to a somewhat minute point, in which, as it seems to me, light may be thrown upon the words of Homer from the representations given us in the painted vases.

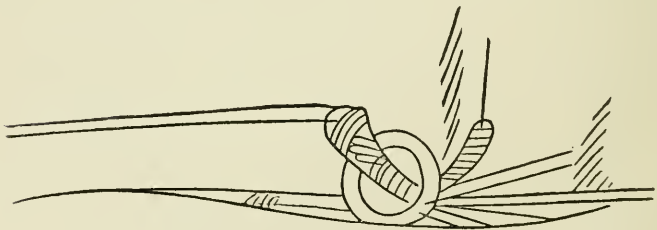
By way of preface it may be mentioned that the war-chariot was hardly known in Greece proper, at all events after the heroic age. The only occasion in Greek history when it played an important part was on the half-oriental soil of Cyprus. In the battle so picturesquely described by Herodotos (v. 113), the fortune of the day was finally decided by the treachery of the war-chariots of Salamis, whose desertion threw the island into the hands of the Persians (498 B.C.). On the rugged and broken mountains of the mainland, such an arm could hardly ever have been of practical service, and we may assume that the type familiar to the vase-painters of the fifth century B.C. must have been derived from Asia Minor. It is therefore not surprising to find that the red-figured vases of the fine period very rarely give us any picture of a chariot, at least if we leave out of the question the racing chariot, which, as will be seen, was probably of a slightly different pattern from that used in the army. On the black-figured vases it is a very favourite object, but the representations are conventional, and fall into two classes, which are given over and over again with little variety. Of these two, one, the full-front view, with its stiff and hard schematism, and its too ambitious attempt at foreshortening, is decidedly among the least successful efforts of the archaic draughtsmen, who evidently found the details with which we are concerned quite beyond their powers of

perspective.¹ We shall concern ourselves only with the second class, those giving us a side-view of the chariot at rest. The teams at full speed seen in three-quarter view belong entirely to the later and technically more accomplished period.

But however imperfect their execution, these artists seem to have had tolerably fixed ideas as to the nature of a



1



2

part of the harness. If we look immediately over the horses' shoulders, we shall find a mass of gear which at first sight looks rather confused, but on examination shows such consistency

¹ A curious attempt to reproduce this in relief appears in one of the Selinus metopes.

that we can hardly suppose it to be anything else than a representation of a reality which was at one time familiar to the Greek warrior. The appended cuts (1) and (2) give a fair idea of the harness as shown on the vases.

The gear in question lies immediately over the point where the yoke crosses the pole. We can, in almost all but the most carelessly painted examples, make out, firstly, a *ring*; secondly, a short peg, which we will for the present call the *pin*; thirdly, a long projection, which for convenience we will name the *horn*. The relation of these parts is, as we should expect, not always very clearly given, but the usual arrangement is, that the pin seems to pass through the ring, while the horn stands up beyond. In (2) the opposite arrangement is shown, the horn passing through the ring; but this is less usual. In (1) it is only through bad drawing that the ring seems to cross the horse's shoulder. The loop and strap shown hanging from the yoke are the collar and trace for the *σειραφόρος* which is about to be harnessed.

But however this may be represented, there is one further detail which is almost invariably prominent, and it is to this I wish to call particular attention: it is a rope or strap which is fastened to the horn and passes thence to a tall projection on the front of the car itself, which for our immediate purpose may be christened the *post*. We generally find marks which indicate that the rope has been wound round the horn, and sometimes the knot by which it is attached is very clearly indicated.

Now we have in *Iliad*, xxiv. 265-274, a very full account of the process by which the yoke was attached to the pole. It is true that the words apply not to a war-chariot but to a mule-car; but there is no reason to suppose that this would imply any difference in the yoking, and I hope to show that the words of Homer agree both with the details of the vases and with the necessities of practical use

ἄΩς ἔφαθ'. οἱ δ' ἄρα πατρὸς ὑποδείσαντες ὀμοκλήν
 ἐκ μὲν ἄμαξαν ἄειραν εὐτροχὸν ἡμιονεῖν,
 καλήν πρωτοπαγέα, πείρινθα δὲ δῆσαν ἐπ' αὐτῆς,
 καὶ δ' ἀπὸ πασσαλόφι ζυγὸν ἦρεον ἡμιόνειον,
 πύξινον ὀμφαλόεν, εὖ οἰήκεσσιν ἀρηρός·

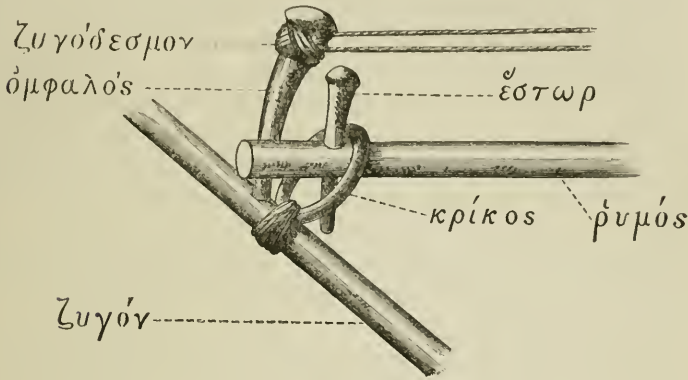
ἐκ δ' ἔφερον ζυγόδεσμον ἅμα ζυγῶ ἐννεάπηχyu.
καὶ τὸ μὲν εὖ κατέθηκαν ἐϋξέστω ἐπὶ ῥυμῶ,
πέξῃ ἐπὶ πρώτῃ, ἐπὶ δὲ κρίκον ἔστορι βάλλον,
τρὶς δ' ἐκάτερθεν ἔδησαν ἐπ' ὄμφαλόν, αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
ἐξείης κατέδησαν, ὑπὸ γλωχίνα δ' ἔκαμψαν.

Of the parts named by Homer we of course recognize the *κρίκος* in the *ring* of the vase paintings. The *ἔστωρ* is doubtless the *pin* passing through the ring, and fixed into the pole. The *ὄμφαλός* may then be safely identified with the *horn*. This, as we see from the epithet *ὄμφαλόεν*, formed a part of the yoke.

Now the following points seem to be clear. 1. The wheels were placed so far back that almost the whole weight of the two riders must have been thrown upon the pole. Some means must have been provided by which this downward thrust was transferred from the lower side of the pole to the yoke. 2. There must have been a provision for the lateral play of the yoke, or the unequal pace of the two horses would inevitably overstrain it and break either yoke or pole. The first of these objects would naturally be provided for by placing the yoke beneath the pole, the second by having the ring of considerably larger diameter than the pole. This supposition exactly agrees with what we find in the paintings where a very large ring is represented, while the pole is hidden behind the shoulders of the horses. 3. The third very important force remains to be provided for, the forward pull of the yoke. This was of course taken by the *ἔστωρ* or pin, which was passed through the ring and then through a hole near the end of the pole. This is described by Homer in the words *ἐπὶ δὲ κρίκον ἔστορι βάλλον*, and leads to the conjectural restoration which I have given in the cut, No. 3.

We have now provided for the attachment of the yoke with due resistance to every interaction, but we have not reached the end of the process described by Homer. What is meant by the words *τρὶς ἐκάτερθεν ἔδησαν ἐπ' ὄμφαλόν* and *ἐξείης κατέδησαν*? The object of the two verbs is clearly the *ζυγόδεσμον*, τὸ μὲν, two lines above, being the *ζυγόν*, while the *μὲν* and *δέ* mark the change. It might have been expected that the object of *ἔδησαν* would be more clearly indicated, and

the neglect of the *F* of *Φεκάτερθεν* may possibly indicate a corruption concealing some forgotten word, which was either a synonym for *ζυγόδεσμον*, or was the name for some part of it. This however is not essential to the argument, and can hardly be considered even probable.



3

Now the *ζυγόδεσμον* which was thus tied to something was nine cubits—say thirteen feet—in length; it cannot therefore have been meant for merely tying round the pole and omphalos, for in that case, a length of three or four feet would have been, to say the least, amply sufficient: and besides, such an arrangement, without adding any real strength to the attachment of the yoke, where the end of the pole pierced for the *ἔστωρ* was the weakest part, would simply destroy the free play of the parts, without which the pole could not survive any but the slightest inequality in the pace of the horses. The explanation I believe to have been this: that the *ζυγόδεσμον* was taken in the middle, and fastened by three turns of each end to the omphalos or horn, which it will be remembered I take to be a part not of the pole but of the yoke: then the two ends, each having now a free length of some five or six feet, were led back to the body of the car and tied to the post.

We now have to explain the phrase *ἐξείης κατέδησαν*. This is commonly translated ‘tied the *Zygodesmon* in an orderly knot,’ laying the consecutive turns side by side in succession. This can perhaps be got out of the words, though it is rather forced;

but I feel little doubt that ἐξείης is here not the adverb at all, but the genitive of a substantive ἐξείη or something like it, which was the Greek name for what I have called the post. Such a word has an obvious derivation from the verb ἔχειν, because the primary use of the post was to afford something by which the parabates could hold on and aid himself in what must have been the far from easy task of keeping his balance. The vases themselves often enough represent this use of the post. Whether we have the exact original form in the word ἐξείης we can hardly say. I do not recollect any case of a substantive formed with the suffix -σειη, unless indeed the adverb ἐξείης be itself a genitive: but the loss of the original word would itself be likely enough, when the war-chariot with all its technical details had passed out of Greek memory; the resemblance of the more familiar adverb would be amply sufficient to cause a corruption when some sort of sense could still be made.

If this explanation be not accepted, I do not see on what hypothesis we can account for the inordinate length of the Zygo-desmon, which, be it remarked, will even allow sufficient for any one who still wishes to take a turn or two round the pole and yoke before leading back the ends, though I regard such a precaution as likely to do more harm than good.

It is, moreover, certain that the Zygo-desmon, as I have explained it, was from the first an integral part of the Greek chariot, and not a mere freak of fancy on the part of an unconscientious vase-painter; for we find it, though rarely, even on coins of early workmanship.¹ In the best period it is omitted for the obvious reason that such a minute and purely realistic detail was inconsistent with breadth of artistic design; but we have also corroborative evidence, for there is no doubt that the Greek chariot, like the Egyptian, came from Assyria. The pattern is in essentials identical in all three nations, and in the case of Egypt at least there seems to be evidence enough, that the chariots, at all events those of the best class, were an article of import from Asia. Thus Weiss (*Kostümkunde*, p. 95), says, 'Unter den von Asien eingelieferten Waffen bildeten ferner auch die Kriegswägen von prunkvollster Ausstattung einen ganz

¹ It is very clearly represented in Prof. Gardner's *Types of Greek Coins* the fine Syracusan drachma, given in Pl. II. 9.

besonders gesuchten Tributartikel.' As regards Greece, it is so obvious that the chariot cannot have been indigenous here that the only question that can arise is that of the exact means by which it was introduced from its birthplace in the Mesopotamian plains. Now very little observation of the Assyrian monuments is enough to show that in the Assyrian chariots such a Zygodesmon as we are concerned with is extremely common. We find the post in the front of the chariot in two forms; sometimes it is a short and wide elevation of the front part of the car, which is itself of more solid construction than the Greek. In other cases it is very long and slender, bearing at the top a disc which contains a device, no doubt the standard of the captain who rides below. The Greeks, whose chieftains in Homeric times do not seem to have carried such devices, retained the slender pole, but shortened it, and so adapted it to the purely practical purpose of a support to hold on by. They also retained the rope or Zygodesmon which we find connecting the post in both its forms to the yoke.

The Assyrian chariot often had another ornament, which I mention only to say that it seems to be independent of this Zygodesmon, as each is frequently found apart from the other. This is the curious long oval, of uncertain material, often adorned with religious symbols, which extends in a vertical plane from the yoke to the car. What the use or significance of this was I do not presume to guess.

The fact of the existence of the Zygodesmon in this sense being established, there remains the question of the purpose it was meant to serve. This is not very obvious, but two suggestions may be made. In the first place, by thus attaching the yoke directly to the body of the chariot, part of any violent shock might be taken off the *κρίκος* and *ἔστωρ*, while there would be no interference with the free play between them. Secondly, we see from Homer, that the pole was very apt to break *πέζην ἐπὶ πρώτῃ*: that is, no doubt, at the point where a weakness was introduced by the hole in which the *ἔστωρ* was fixed. In such an event, the Zygodesmon would possibly prevent the escape of the horses, though so far as I recollect whenever a pole is broken in a Homeric battle the horses run away; but this may be only from poetical propriety. As to the Omphalos, this may have been meant to keep the Zygodesmon

clear of the κρίκος and ἔστωρ, which by their constant friction would soon wear it out. But such speculations are of little importance, inasmuch as the Omphalos and Zygodesmon were there, whatever their use. Possibly they may have only been a useless survival of some older means of harnessing by traces; in such matters man is apt to be irrationally conservative.

In favour of this last supposition it may be mentioned that we elsewhere seem to find the same appendage reduced to a meaningless ornament. In the war-chariots of the Egyptians, according to Wilkinson (*Anc. Egypt.* i. 238), 'a large ball placed upon a shaft projected above the saddle; there is reason to believe it was added solely for an ornamental purpose, and fixed to the yoke immediately above the centre of the saddle, or to the head of a pin which connected the yoke to the pole. The same kind of ornament, though of a different form, is met with in Persian cars, and that it was not a necessary part of the harness is shown by the many instances of its omission in Egyptian curricles, and even in some of the chariots of war.'

In the later Greek racing chariot the post was of no use, as there was no parabates to hold on by it, and the charioteer always drove with both hands. It was however retained in a modified and adapted-form, by being made double with a cross-rail at the top, at about the height of the driver's breast. This form we find on some of the later agonistic vases as well as on coins.¹ It evidently served the double purpose of saving the charioteer from the possible danger of being dragged over the front of the chariot, while at the same time it gave him greater guiding power by enabling him to lean far forward, in the attitude which is familiar on works of art, and thus to grasp the reins nearer to the horses' heads.

There is yet another passage in Homer which may be illustrated by what we know of the Egyptian chariot. It occurs in the second *locus classicus* for Homeric chariot-gear, *Il.* v. 722-732. We are told that the δῖφρος

χρυσέοισι καὶ ἀργυρέοισιν ἱμᾶσιν
ἐντέταται. (727-8.)

This is usually explained of the breast-work of the car, or ἐπιδιφριάς, which is supposed to be formed of interwoven

¹ *E.g.* Gardner, *Types*, Pl. VI. 25, 26; XI. 30.

straps of leather; it was rather the *floor* of the car on which the charioteer and parabates stood.¹ For the Egyptians actually used this device of a floor of interwoven straps strained tight, to supply the want of springs, which must have been a serious matter in fighting over rough ground (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyptians*, i. 227). We may then compare *Od.* xxiii. 201, when Odysseus employs precisely the same device in order to make himself a springy bed, ἐν δ' ἐτάνυσσ' ἰμάντα βοός.

If further argument be needed in favour of an interpretation which seems to be sufficiently recommended by its own probability, it may be pointed out that δῖφρος means in the narrowest sense the platform on which the riders stand, because the breastwork is called ἐπιδιφριάς (*Il.* x. 475), and that it is only thus that we obtain the full meaning of the word ἐντέταται, 'is stretched tight,' for this could hardly be used of a semi-circular breastwork of woven straps, where some at least must have been comparatively loose. It is of less weight perhaps, but still it may be mentioned, that vase-paintings do not seem to give any representation of chariots with such interwoven breastworks.

Since the preceding paper was written Dr. Helbig's highly interesting book *Das Homerische Epos aus den Denkmälern erläutert* has appeared. It does not contain any fresh explanation of the point under discussion. He brings forward some evidence, however, to support the usual theory that the words εὐπλεκτος and εὐπλέκης refer to the breastwork, not to the floor of the car; this question therefore must remain open.

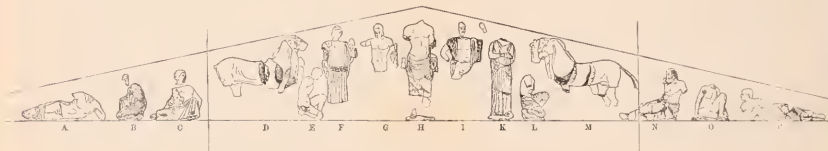
He also gives the following description of the manner in which the peasants in South Italy, especially in the Basilicata, attach the yoke to the pole (p. 107). 'Der Jochbalken hat in der Mitte der unteren Seite einen beweglichen eisernen Ring, die Deichsel unweit der Spitze ein vertikales Loch, in dem ein eiserner von unten nach oben bewegbarer Nagel steckt. Nachdem man das Joch zwischen der Deichselspitze und dem Loche auf die Deichsel aufgesetzt hat, wird der Nagel emporgezogen und der Jochring zurückgelegt. Hierauf lässt man den Nagel in die Oeffnung des Ringes hineinfallen, dergestalt, dass der letztere nunmehr mit seiner unteren Wölbung an den

¹ So also *Il.* xxiii. 335, 436, εὐπλέκτω ἐνὶ δῖφρῳ, δῖφρους εὐπλεκέας.

Nagel anliegt. Auf diese Weise befestigt, kann sich das Joch, soweit es der Durchmesser des Ringes gestattet, nach vorwärts schieben, aber nimmermehr von der Deichsel abgleiten. Schliesslich werden Deichsel und Joch, damit das letztere beim Ziehen nicht hin und herschwanke, noch durch ein mehrfach geschlungenes Seil verbunden.' I am afraid that I do not understand the arrangement exactly; at all events it does not seem to give any explanation whatever of the nature and function of the ὀμφαλός. Dr. Helbig claims that it gives a more natural explanation of the words ἐπὶ κρίκον ἔστωρι βάλλον than that adopted by Grashof, and in another way by myself, where the ring is put over the pole before being secured by the ἔστωρ. In any case the phrase must mean 'put the ἔστωρ through the ring,' if the ἔστωρ is, as we all assume, a peg made movable in order that it may be lifted up, in order to be passed through the yoke-ring. The inversion of thought which expresses this as 'putting the ring over the peg' is surely very slight. Dr. Helbig rightly notices the necessity of supposing that the end of the ζυγόδεσμον must have been fastened to a point at some distance from the yoke, as 'nach dreimaligem Umbinden gewiss ansehnliche Enden übrig blieben.'

Mr. C. D. Durnford has recently published in the *Athenaeum* of Aug. 2nd, 1884, a very plausible and ingenious theory, according to which the long fish-shaped or oval connexion between the car and the yoke of Assyrian chariots served as a spring. This however lies too far from the present question to permit of discussion.

WALTER LEAF.



THE EASTERN PEDIMENT OF THE TEMPLE OF
ZEUS AT OLYMPIA

AND THE

WESTERN PEDIMENT OF THE PARTHENON.

IN proffering this attempt at providing a new principle for the interpretation of the Eastern Pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, founded upon the recognition of the general principles of pedimental compositions as they manifest themselves after a careful study of the extant monuments of this class, and, more especially, upon a comparison between this Olympian pediment and the western pediment of the Parthenon, the writer fears that he may meet with prejudice on the part of those who have already fixed in their minds an essentially different mode of approaching the subject. He fears this the more as it is entirely beyond his power on this occasion to give a full account of these general principles, or rather of the traditional forms of rendering mythological scenes in compositions of this class, as they have manifested themselves to him in studying a considerable number of ancient representations of mythological scenes for the purpose of elucidating the composition of the pediments of the Parthenon. He is obliged, therefore, to refer the reader to the treatment of this subject in his forthcoming volume of *Essays on the Art of Pheidias*, more especially to the *Essay on the Eastern Pediment of the Parthenon*. Another cause of initial opposition will no doubt lie in the fact that his proposed interpretation will, in some of the details, run counter to the direct statements of Pausanias. But though it is a dangerous proceeding in archaeology to discredit the direct statement of an ancient authority, there is one authority more

conclusive than the statement of any ancient eye-witness, that is, the direct evidence of the remains themselves. When in addition to this we have reason to know that this particular writer was apt to be misled in the recognition of subjects of the very nature of those in question, and that his sources of information were often of the most illiterate and untrustworthy kind, we are then more than ever justified in turning, nay, called upon to turn to the unbiased study of the monuments themselves and their relation to all works of that class, with a view to the solution of the problem.

Every reader of Pausanias will soon notice that there was a certain bias in the mind of the traveller, a certain *tendenz* pervading the whole of his writings, modifying the character of his book, and sometimes the correctness of his statements. It might be called a religious, or rather mythographical, bias which arose in him in great part out of the spirit of his age (an age marked by the death-struggle of Greek paganism against rising Christianity), and which drove him to look for illustrations of myths and mythical personalities in every monument. He will never lose an opportunity of recounting some out-of-the-way myth with a definite mention of names, and will often introduce them where no apparent opportunity was offered. The first thing he seems to look for upon entering a new town or sanctuary is some local mythical story which he recounts at great length with all the *on dits* of ignorant people, while he gives but short space to the description of facts which it would often be valuable to know. It is moreover most unfortunate that this credulous myth-seeker was most uncritical and indiscriminate with regard to the sources of his information. There is no doubt that a large number of the myths and traditions he recounts and of the interpretations he gives of the monuments with which he met in his travels were gathered from the ignorant people he chanced to meet, more especially from the *ciceroni* who flocked about Delphi and Olympia, and obtruded their services upon the tourist with a persistency only equalled by their ignorance, and a corresponding readiness to invent facts and names where their knowledge was at fault. Luckily Pausanias often alludes to this source of information and to the fact that 'the ἐξηγητὴς said so,' and thus gives us fair warning to receive with some reservation the statement thus backed.

This is so in the very tenth chapter of the fifth book in which he describes the Eastern Pediment of the Temple of Zeus, and ends up with the announcement that the Troizenians call the groom of Pelops who is represented in the pediment Sphairos, while the exegetes who is showing him about said he was called Killas.

But that he or his guide or both are not to be implicitly followed in the interpretation they give of the figures in the pediment has become completely demonstrated by the results of the excavation. Pausanias enumerates and interprets the figures as follows: *Τὰ δὲ ἐν τοῖς αἰετοῖς, ἔστιν ἔμπροσθεν Πέλοπος ἢ πρὸς Οἰνόμαον τῶν ἵππων ἄμιλλα ἔτι μέλλουσα καὶ τὸ ἔργον τοῦ δρόμου παρὰ ἀμφοτέρων ἐν παρασκευῇ. Διὸς δὲ ἀγάλματος κατὰ μέσον πεποιημένου μάλιστα τὸν αἰτόν, ἔστιν Οἰνόμαος ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Διὸς ἐπικειμένος κράνος τῇ κεφαλῇ, παρὰ δὲ αὐτὸν γυνὴ Στερόπη, θυγατέρων καὶ αὐτῆ τῶν Ἄτλαντος. Μυρτίλος δέ, ὅς ἤλανε τῷ Οἰνομάῳ τὸ ἄρμα, κήθηται πρὸ τῶν ἵππων· οἱ δὲ εἰσιν ἀριθμὸν οἱ ἵπποι τέσσαρες. μετὰ δὲ αὐτόν εἰσιν ἄνδρες δύο· ὀνόματα μὲν σφισιν οὐκ ἔστι, θεραπεύειν δὲ ἄρα τοὺς ἵππους καὶ τούτοις προσετέτακτο ὑπὸ τοῦ Οἰνομάου, πρὸς αὐτῷ δὲ κατέκειται τῷ πέρατι Κλάδεος· ἔχει δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα παρ' Ἡλείων τιμὰς ποταμῶν μάλιστα μετὰ γε Ἀλφειόν. τὰ δὲ ἐς ἀριστερὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ Διὸς ὁ Πέλοψ καὶ Ἴπποδάμεια καὶ ὁ τε ἡνίοχος ἔστι τοῦ Πέλοπος καὶ ἵπποι, δύο τε ἄνδρες, ἵπποκόμοι δὴ καὶ οὗτοι τῷ Πέλοπι. καὶ αὐθις ὁ αἰτὸς κάτεισιν ἐς στενόν, καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο Ἀλφειὸς ἐπ' αὐτοῦ πεποιήται. τῷ δὲ ἀνδρὶ ὃς ἡνιοχεῖ τῷ Πέλοπι λόγῳ μὲν τῷ Τροιζηνίων ἔστιν ὄνομα Σφαῖρος, ὁ δὲ ἐξηγητῆς ὁ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ ἔφασκε Κίλλαν εἶναι.*

There are thus twenty-one figures (including the horses) in the pediment. Zeus is in the centre, on his one side Pelops with Hippodameia, on the other Oinomaos with Sterope. Then follow on either side the charioteers (Myrtilos and Sphairos) crouching before the horses, then the four horses, then follow on either side two men, and then at the left corner the river Alpheios, at the corresponding right corner the river Kladeos.

The real uncertainty of interpretation for us attaches itself to the 'two men' between the river-gods and the horses, and this uncertainty was evidently also felt by Pausanias himself. In dealing with the first set of two he merely calls them two men ;

he then goes on to say that they have no names, and that their function was to take care of the horses of Oinomaos; the other two he simply calls grooms (*ἵπποκόμοι*) of Pelops. Considerable fragments, making the nature of each one of the figures enumerated by Pausanias intelligible, have been unearthed in the recent German excavations, and have made it possible to reconstruct the whole pedimental composition seen by Pausanias. The three principal restorations are those made by Treu,¹ Curtius,² and quite recently by Kekulé.³

These restorations differ only with regard to the distribution of the crouching figures. The one here reproduced (Fig. 2) is that of Curtius, chosen by the present writer because it conforms more to the laws of composition which, from analogous cases, appear to have prevailed in such works.

It seems more than unlikely that the four figures between river-gods and horses should be grooms. Despite Welcker's⁴ ingenious explanation 'that the artist was wise in throwing the chief figures into prominent relief by placing these unimportant personages instead of inferior deities at either side,' we cannot help feeling that this would be a very clumsy contrivance on the part of the artist for the purpose of filling up space, and that the introduction of such figures into such compositions is contrary to the custom of Greek art. Furthermore, it is evident that Pausanias and his guide did not examine the figures in the pediment very carefully, for one of the 'men' or 'grooms' turns out to be a woman. Another one of them, the bearded old man seated on the right side, can hardly be held to represent the type of the groom, nor have the modern writers on the

¹ *Archæol. Zeitung*, 1876, pp. 174 seq. taf. 13; and 1882, pp. 217 seq. taf. 12. See also Boetticher, *Olympia, Das Fest und seine Stätte*, p. 285 seq.; and Overbeck, *Gesch. der Griech. Plastik* (3rd edit.) i. pp. 420 seq.

² *Die Funde von Olympia* (Berlin, 1882) pp. 71 seq., taf. vi. vii.; see also Furtwängler, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, p. 365; Mrs. Mitchell, *A History of Ancient Sculpture*, pp. 262 seq. Fig. 127.

³ *Rheinisches Museum f. Philolog.* N. F. xxxix. pp. 481 seq. taf. iii. This has just come to my hand. Taf. iii.

contains outlines of the three restorations mentioned above. For earlier remarks on this pediment by other authors, see: Urlichs, *Bemerkungen über den Olympischen Tempel*, &c. (Würzburg, 1877) pp. 20 seq.; G. Hirschfeld, *Deutsche Rundschau*, 1877, pp. 309 seq.; Adler, *Ausgrabungen in Olympia*, ii. p. 16, taf. xxxv.; Milchhofer, *Im Neuen Reich*, 1877, pp. 206 seq.; Robert, *Arch. Zeit.* 1878, p. 31.

⁴ *Alle Denkmäler*, i. pp. 178 seq.

subject, despite the statement of Pausanias, ventured to call him by that name. He generally goes by the name of 'The Pensive Old Man' (*Sinnender Greis*). But if we examine a large number of ancient monuments, especially later reliefs, we shall repeatedly come upon this type of an old man reclining in a contemplative attitude, watching the scene which he, sometimes in company with similar figures, serves to frame, and by their presence such figures fix the locality in which the scene takes place. The crouching male figure between him and the Kladeos again corresponds exactly in his attitude to the type of a youthful river-god, more especially to the fragment of the Ilissos crouching at the right side of the western pediment of the Parthenon. The same applies to the two figures on the other side. All the three figures at either angle are evidently not immediately concerned in the action which is preparing in the centre of the pediment. They are in the background, or, as I should like to say, they are the background, and belong to a different sphere of beings from the figures in the centre. The figures in the centre are of one class; and the figures at the angles, separated from them by the horses, are of another. What the nature of the latter group of figures is, is clearly indicated by the river-gods Kladeos and Alpheios at the end of either side; they are personifications of the localities in which the scene takes place.

But to feel thoroughly convinced of the correctness of this interpretation one must needs have examined from this point of view a large number of later monuments, especially reliefs, bearing the evident traces of the earlier pedimental compositions, and the eastern and western pediments of the Parthenon, and must compare these pediments with them. One then comes to recognise a whole system of mythological composition; and of this recognition our interpretation of the figures of the angle of the Olympia pediment is but a necessary consequence.

As I have said at the beginning of this paper, I cannot on this occasion enter upon the discussion of this principle of pedimental composition as borne out by the careful examination of a large number of ancient monuments. I have done this at considerable length in the *Essays on the Pediments of the Parthenon* in the forthcoming book. But the due recognition of any individual pediment depends to such a degree upon the recognition of the traditional forms as we see them pervading

the chief works of this kind, that I feel how comparatively weak will be the convincing power of these observations to those who have not gone through, or have not had presented to them, all the facts upon which these statements are based. Still I shall venture to point out some of these general traditional forms and shall refer the reader to the book for their more complete verification.

The customary method in which the sculptor represented a mythological scene, especially in pediments, was for him to follow in the broader mode of arranging his composition the general constructive indications of the space assigned to him for his composition. In the case of a pediment this space is a triangle with the highest and most important point in the centre. The height and importance of this space are not, as in the case of a frieze, the same throughout, but grow gradually towards the centre as the sides rise from either angle at the base, and diminish gradually as the sides descend from the centre to either angle. The effective narration of any story by means of a plastic composition demands that there should be a visible unity in the composition with a culminating point of interest, otherwise we shall have monotony and diffusion. The sculptor thus follows the simple suggestion of the construction of the pediment in placing the most important and central part of the scene depicted in the highest central point of the pediment, the parts most essential to the central action on either side nearest the centre, and the figures lose in their importance in the central action the more they approach either angle. Or, beginning at either angle, the figures by their nature and action will manifest less interest and participation in the central scene at the beginning of the composition, and these will grow as the pediment rises until we approach the central climax. In the best of these compositions a further element of variety is introduced in that the whole scene as represented is subdivided into different phases or groups, without robbing the whole of its unity. This subdivision would correspond to the foreground or the background. It is generally indicated by the line between the reclining and the erect figures, and by a corresponding distinction in the nature and meaning of the figures and their relation to the central action. The figures forming the central scene, generally in erect attitudes of action, form the one group

of beings belonging to a definite sphere, and are distinctly separated from the other figures seated or reclining in contemplative attitudes, generally manifesting the greater interest in the scene the nearer the place assigned to them is to the centre. The proportion of space assigned to each one of these classes is about the same in the pediments of the Parthenon and this eastern pediment of Olympia. In the western pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia was represented the Centauro-machia; and this subject led the sculptor to give greater space to the scene of actual conflict, while but a small space is assigned to the local nymphs.

The class of figures on either side of the centre, distinct from the immediate participators in the action, I maintain to be traditionally personifications of nature and localities in which the scene is supposed to have taken place. To Brunn belongs the great merit of having first ventured to maintain that the figures filling the sides of the western pediment of the Parthenon up to the Nike and Amphitrite driving the chariots (where the lines are drawn in Fig. 1) are personifications of Attic localities; and though I cannot subscribe to the definite interpretation of the individual figures, the principle as evinced in the interpretation as a whole I have found confirmed by the examination of all similar monuments. In the eastern pediment of the Parthenon (representing the birth of Athene) where, I maintain, the centre was occupied by Athene and Zeus and the admiring gods, and the seated and reclining figures now extant were personifications of nature like Helios and Selene at the extreme angles, an intermediary figure (the messengers Iris and, probably, Hermes) was introduced between the two larger classes on either side. These erect figures show by their action towards the figures in the angles that, though erect and of the nature of the gods in the centre, they also hold some relation to the figures of the other sphere; they form a transition from one group to the other, and by the fact that they convey the news of the central scene to the seated figures at the angles they clearly indicate that the two classes of figures belong to different spheres.

In the western pediment of the Parthenon the transition is more abrupt. The lines drawn in our illustration show this marked division. Beginning from these lines the figures are all turned towards the centre; both by action and composition

it is made manifest that they are immediately concerned in the central event (the strife between Athene and Poseidon for the Attic land). The figures on the other side of the line, however, all belong to the same sphere, which differs from that of the central figures; and their nature is made clear by the character of the two figures nearest either angle, which is beyond dispute. It is admitted by all that in the left angle there is Kephissos with a nymph (now missing) as in the right angle there is a nymph with Ilissos. The other figures up to the lines are personifications of the same nature.

If we compare the eastern pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia with the western pediment of the Parthenon, we realise a thorough correspondence in the general composition and arrangement of the groups which calls for a similar interpretation of the figures at the sides.

In both pediments the horses with their drivers complete the central group containing the action. In the Olympia pediment the horses form a more intrinsic part of the central scene, inasmuch as the moment represented is that of preparation for a mythical chariot race, while in the Parthenon pediment they are mere accessories to the acting figures, Athene and Poseidon; and they here serve to indicate the fact that the judgment confirming the supremacy of Athene has been passed and that the gods will in the next moment retire from the Attic locality where they have performed their miraculous deed. Thus in the Olympia pediment the horses stand at rest awaiting the beginning of the race, and those who will mount the chariots (the most important element of the scene), Pelops and Oinomaos and their charioteers, are placed together near the centre and in front of the horses; while in the Parthenon pediment it is clearly indicated that the horses have just arrived in that they are vigorously advancing, Athene and Poseidon form the really prominent centre, and Nike and Amphritite are separated from them and are behind the horses. In the Parthenon pediment the centre ends with the figures driving the horses, in the Olympia pediment with the horses themselves. The figures after the horses in the Olympia pediment hold no further immediate relation to them. Even though in Treu's restoration the crouching figure placed by Curtius in front of the horses on the right is placed behind the horses on the left, and might thus be restored as

holding the reins, the corresponding old man on the right in a contemplative attitude with his hand to his chin can in no way be considered to fulfil any definite function with regard to the horses, and the symmetry pervading the whole of this composition would demand that there should be no essential difference between the corresponding figures on either side. I cannot refrain from remarking that, as far as symmetrical composition is concerned, the restoration of Curtius has far more in its favour than either of the two other restorations; for the seated and draped old man on the right, occupying a comparatively wide space, is well balanced on the other side by the seated and draped figure which of all the remaining figures possesses to the highest degree these characteristics; and the monotony of line in the direction of their feet is counterbalanced to a certain degree by the fact that the one is looking forward, the other turning backwards, and still both are turned towards the centre. In Curtius's restoration the next two crouching figures towards the angle are turned away from the centre, until at either end the river-gods have a decided movement towards them and towards the centre.

In the Parthenon pediment there are seven figures in the angles at either side, in the Olympia pediment there are only three; yet even here there is the most striking resemblance of composition. Beginning at the right angle the reclining Kladeos with the crouching youth correspond in composition to the reclining nymph with the Ilissos in the Parthenon pediment; the larger profile lines of the seated old man correspond to the lines of the only figure seated in profile in the Parthenon pediment, namely, the seated female figure with the nude girl in her lap on the same side of the pediment. At the other angle of the pediment we have the reclining Alpheios whose similarity to the Kephissos has been universally remarked; the figure corresponding to the crouching girl is wanting in the Parthenon pediment, yet the seated half-draped figure next to her and turned towards the centre is in composition most strikingly like the next figure in the Parthenon pediment, namely, the seated and draped male figure looking towards the centre.

Both in the general arrangement of composition, the chief acting figures in the centre, bounded on either side by the horses and their drivers, with the personifications of the locality

in either angle, as well as in the details of the seated figures, the correspondence of these two pediments is so great that we are driven to acknowledge an immediate relation between these two pediments. Whether the older artist Paionios on his way from the north to Olympia saw and studied the Parthenon pediments without for all that being able to produce in any way the superiority of their modelling ; or whether, as is now maintained by Loeschke,¹ Pheidias was at Olympia before the completion of the Parthenon, and was there influenced by the composition of the North-Grecian artist, I do not venture to decide. I am only concerned with establishing this strong inter-relation.

I must not omit to remark that Treu, in his first paper,² pointed to the resemblance between the crouching figure on the right of the Olympian pediment and the Ilissos, as well as between the seated figures on the left in both pediments and the general arrangement of the composition. Furthermore, Curtius has gone so far as to consider the figure beside each one of the river-gods to be personifications of localities. But the interpretation here proffered for all the figures not forming the centre of the scene is the result of a comparative study of pedimental compositions in general, more especially in connexion with the Parthenon pediments, and the question must thus be viewed as a whole in order to discover its true bearing. To Brunn will ever remain the great merit of having broken ground in the right direction with the general spirit of his interpretation of the western pediment of the Parthenon.

CHARLES WALDSTEIN.

¹ *Phidias Tod, und Chronologie des Olympischen Zeus ; Historische Untersuchung.*
² *Arch. Zeit.* 1876, p. 179.

AN UNDESCRIBED ATHENIAN FUNERAL
MONUMENT.

PLATE XXXIX.

VISITING last year the house of Mons. des Tombes, an accomplished amateur and collector of pictures at the Hague I observed over a chimney-piece a small sculptured relief in marble, of which the Grecian lineaments contrasted forcibly enough with the taste of the Dutch paintings that surrounded it. In answer to my inquiries, the owner informed me that he had seen this piece of antiquity one day in the hands of a countryman, covered with paint and about to be broken up, and that he had rescued it from destruction, and after cleaning the surface caused it to be placed where I then saw it. How it originally came into the hands in which he found it, or into Holland at all, he had been unable to learn. At my suggestion M. des Tombes had a cast of the work made, a copy of which he has been so good as to present to the new Museum of Classical Archaeology at Cambridge. From that cast the present illustration (Pl. XXXIX.) is taken.

The sculpture bears obvious marks of its character and origin. It is, as the student will be at no loss to perceive, an Athenian sepulchral relief of the fine period, and forms a somewhat interesting addition to our known store of examples of that attractive class of monument. The relief is framed as usual by a projecting plinth at the bottom, and at the top by a plain pediment without akroteria; there are no antae to complete this framing at the sides. The extreme height from the top of the pediment to the bottom of the plinth is $26\frac{7}{8}$ in., (m. '672); the height of the relief itself $21\frac{7}{8}$ in., (m. '555); the breadth

18 in., (m. 458); so that the figures of the sculpture are between a third and a quarter of life-size. The design shows it to be a lady's monument, but there is no inscription to indicate her name. She is represented seated in profile facing to the left, in a chair of the usual shape, and nearly in the attitude of Hegeso in the well-known and beautiful monument that bears her name. She wears a long chiton with half sleeves; her head is bare; her feet sandalled, the right slightly extended and resting on a footstool, while the left hangs nearly free, the toes touching the footstool and the heel the chair-leg. She lifts her two hands to receive a child which a nurse, standing opposite to her, holds out in both arms. The nurse, in the majority of such cases distinguished by the *κεκρύφαλος*, wears in this instance no head-covering; but it may be noticed that her hair is carved in parallel running lines, while that of her mistress is differently treated, not in lines but in masses. The dress of the nurse is a plain chiton with diploidion. The child in her arms (apparently a little girl of three or four years old) is naked but for a loose drapery, not very distinctly visible, which passes over its left shoulder and under the left hand of the nurse, from whose grasp the child leans out eagerly towards its mother with the left arm fully extended. The face and right arm of the child and the hands of the mother are broken off; so are the upper part of the nurse's face and portions of the chair-legs; allowing for a slight general abrasion of the surface, the remainder of the work is well preserved. The relief is rather high than low, the extreme projection being $1\frac{5}{8}$ in. (m. 04), and the faces, arms, and one or two other portions being slightly undercut. The execution both of flesh and drapery is vigorous and expressive, but somewhat rough and undetailed (see particularly the incisions characterising the flesh surface of the feet), and the work is no doubt that of an ordinary monumental mason towards the end of the fifth or the beginning of the fourth century B.C. Though in execution by no means one of the most finished monuments of its class, yet alike by the character of the composition, the gravity of the sentiment and frankness and simplicity of the attitudes, the shape and type of the heads, and the style and flow of drapery, it proclaims clearly enough the still undecayed influence of the Pheidias tradition in Athenian workshops.

With regard to the special subject of the representation, it is well-known that the intercourse, or the parting, of mother and child is a theme of no infrequent occurrence in the funeral monuments of Attica. This theme is generally treated in one of two ways. Either (*a*) the child is one of some years' growth, in which case it is shown standing, sometimes naked and sometimes dressed, at the knees of its parent; or else (*b*) it is a new-born infant, and in that case is shown tightly wrapped in swaddling-clothes, and held in the arms of a nurse who presents it to its parent. It has been suggested that the monuments designed according to the latter of these two schemes are those of women dead in childbirth. An example of *a* in its simplest form is the monument in the Central Museum at Athens inscribed with the name of Asia (Sybel, *Katalog der Sculpturen zu Athen*, 108). Examples of scheme *b* in its simplest form are the monuments in the same museum inscribed with the names Akis and Eirenè respectively (Sybel, 120, 134). Each scheme is often complicated by the introduction of accessory figures: thus the monuments of Polyxenè and of Archestratè (Sybel, 52, 69) are examples of *a*, each with the addition of a servant in the background; and in a monument of class *b* in the Varvakion (Sybel, 2922) the lady whose child is held in swaddling-clothes by the nurse is seen clasping hands at the same time with another lady. Scheme *a*, again, is sometimes varied by the grouping of several children, instead of one alone, about the knees of its mother; see for example the monument of Phrasikleia (Sybel, 54). And sometimes the features of *a* and *b* are united in family groups wherein the figures of elder children standing about the knees of the mother are combined with that of a nurse holding out to her a child in arms: of such groups early art affords us a conspicuous example in the so-called Leukothea relief of the Villa Albani. But our present specimen is singular in that it exhibits a child of the growth usually represented standing at its mother's feet according to scheme *a*, held up to her embrace by a nurse according to the fashion of scheme *b*. Professor Conze (to whom also I am indebted for some of the references above cited) is good enough to inform me that the drawings collected by the Vienna Academy for their projected Corpus of Athenian funeral monuments contain no other

example of a nurse holding up to its mother a large and active naked child like this, but only small children stiffly swaddled. For the sake of this point of originality, as well as for the general charm and interest of the class of sculptures to which it belongs, I hope that the publication of this waif of Attic art found in Holland may not be unwelcome to readers of our Journal.

SIDNEY COLVIN.

ON THE RAFT OF ULYSSES.—*OD.* V.

THIS was a raft, and not a boat, or even a rude imitation of a boat. Many of the difficulties connected with the well-known description of its construction in the fifth book of the *Odyssey* have been increased by the confusion of these ideas.

Homer, 'qui nil molitur inepte,' is evidently well acquainted with ships, and with a seafaring life, and all its technicalities. In this respect he differs from Hesiod, who (possibly glancing at the manifest σοφία about ships displayed by the older bard) expressly tells us that, unlike his father, he is

οὔτε τι ναυτιλίας σεσοφισμένος οὔτε τι νηῶν
οὐ γὰρ πρόποτε νηῖ γ' ἐπέπλων εὐρέα πόντον.

"*Εργ.* 647.

We may therefore consider that in this minute description of the construction of the raft Homer is accurate in his details, and that his hero is represented as doing (ἐπισταμένως) all that a skilled shipwright (εὖ εἰδὼς τεκτοσυνάων) of the Homeric age might be imagined as doing under the circumstances.

In the council of the gods recorded at the beginning of the book, Athene, in pleading for her favourite, lays stress upon the impossibility of his escape from the island of Calypso (*v.* 16).

οὐ γὰρ οἱ πάρα νῆες ἐπήρετμοι καὶ ἑταῖροι,

and the same lines are a little later repeated by the nymph herself (141), when somewhat in pique she declares that she for her part will not send him anywhither. But she adds, as if recollecting that the commands of Zeus are not to be trifled with, 'I am quite ready to suggest to him, and I will not conceal from him, the way in which he may come safe to his fatherland.' This way had already been indicated by the Cloud-Compeller

himself. Ulysses was to leave Ogygia upon a raft, ἐπὶ σχεδίδης¹ πολυδέσμου² (v. 33).

Accordingly, after the departure of Hermes, the nymph finds the hero, and bids him give over fretting, for she will let him go. And she continues:

ἀλλ', ἄγε, δούρατα μακρὰ ταμῶν ἀρμόζεο χαλκῷ
εὐρείαν σχεδίην· ἄταρ ἴκρια πῆξαι ἐπ' αὐτῆς
ὑψοῦ, ὡς σε φέρησιν ἐπ' ἠεροειδέα πόντον.

'So, come, cut down long spars with bronze and fit together a broad raft. And upon it construct a deck high up, so that it may carry thee over the misty sea.'

The proposal seems so wild to the man of many counsels as to suggest the idea of treachery. 'Something else it is, goddess, that thou art thinking of, and not of a safe conduct, when thou biddest me on a *raft* to cross the great breadth of the sea, dreadful and difficult, over which not even gallant ships, swift-faring, do cross rejoicing in the breeze of Zeus.' It requires an oath by the Styx to reassure him. On the morrow the work of construction begins. The nymph supplies him with the tools, and shows him where to get the material. The passage is *Od.* v. 234—261.

'She gave him a great axe, well fitted in his hands, of bronze, sharpened on both sides, and in it a helve very beautiful, of olive wood, well fitted in; and then she gave him an adze, good for cutting smooth, and led the way towards the extremity of the island, where tall trees grew, alder, and black poplar, and there was fir reaching to heaven, withered of old, and very dry, which would float lightly for him.....So he began to cut the spars, and quickly his work was accomplished. Twenty he threw in all, and then trimmed with the bronze, and smoothed

¹ *σχεδίη*. The derivation seems doubtful. It may be (1) connected with *ἔχω*, *σχε-δί-η*. That which holds together, cf. *σχε-δόν*, *tenendo*; or (2) *σχεδ-ί-η* collective to *σχεδ-η*, *scheda*, billet, plank. Curt. *Et. Gr.* 246, 617. Cf. *scandula*, shingle, split stuff for roofing. Cf. our rafter, and its collective raft. This last will agree with Hesychius, *ξύλα*, ἔ *συνδέουσι καὶ οὕτω*

πλέουσι. The word is also used of the planking of a bridge, and of a wooden roof constructed over a theatre (Athen. l. iv.).

² *πολυδέσμου*. Characteristic epithet, recurring l. 338, the 'many fastenings' are the chief problem of the construction, cf. Hd. ii. 96. *περὶ γόμφους πυκνοὺς καὶ μακροὺς περιείρουσι τὰ διπήχεα ξύλα*.

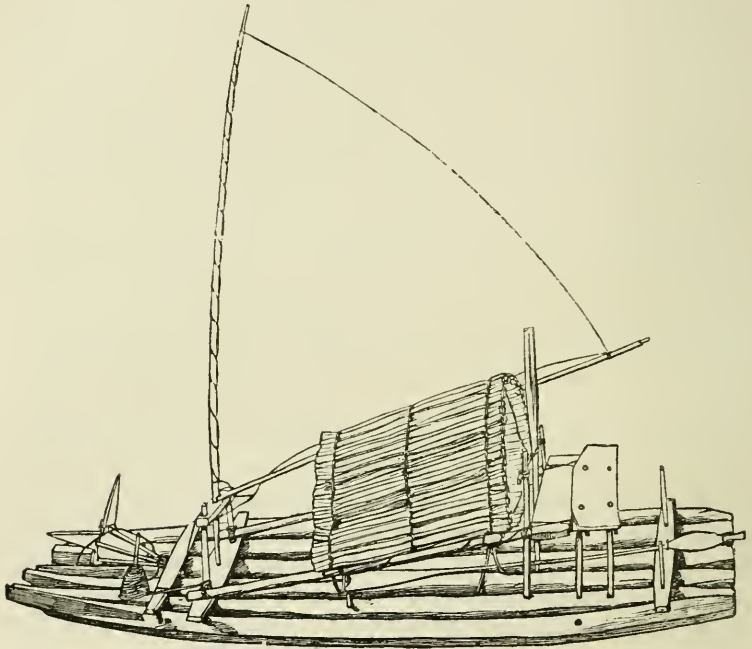
them with skill, and made them straight to the line. Meantime Calypso brought borers. He then bored all, and fitted them one to another, and next with trenails and dowels he knocked his raft together. As large as is the floor of a wide ship of burden, which a man skilled in the shipwright's craft lays out in curved lines, so large did Ulysses make his wide raft. And he set up deck timbers by fitting them on numerous uprights, and so wrought and finished them with long gunwales. And in his raft he set a mast and a yard fitting to it; and beside he made a paddle that he might steer it. Bulwarks also made he all throughout, with osier wattles, to be a fence against the wave, and piled in beside much brushwood to back them. Meanwhile Calypso, bright goddess, brought robes for the making of sails. And he contrived them also well. And braces and halyards and sheets he made fast in the raft, and then with levers he moved her down to the bright sea.'

In four days all had been completed. He takes in his stores on the fifth, and starts with a fair breeze, steering with his paddle. On the eighteenth day when in sight of the land of the Phœacians he is spied by Poseidon, and his troubles begin again. A great storm wave, 'ingens a vertice pontus,' comes right down over upon him, the raft is whirled round, and he himself is washed off and loses his paddle. The mast breaks off short, and the sail and yard fall far away into the sea. He himself with convulsive effort swims after his raft and sits down in the midst of it shunning the fatal end. The raft, still holding together, becomes the plaything of the waves, tossed about, up and down, just as in autumn the north wind blows along the plain the acanthus wreaths that cling close together. At this crisis Leucothea appears and gives him her headdress to wear as a lifebelt. He, afraid as usual of treachery, determines to stick to the raft—

ὄφρ' ἂν μὲν κεν δούρατ' ἐν ἀρμονιῆσιν ἀρήρη,

so long as ever the spars hold together by the dowels. Then comes the great wave, which breaks up the raft, just as the wind scatters a heap of chaff. Ulysses mounts astride on one of the spars, strips him of his garments, and ties round him the headgear of the goddess, and so strikes out for the shore.

Such is the story of the raft and its fortunes. A sea-going raft or catamaran, with a raised deck upon it, is not unknown in modern times in the Pacific, in the Torres Straits, and off the coast of New Guinea. A model of a craft of the kind, of which a representation is here given by the kindness of General Pitt Rivers, may be seen in his collection at South Kensington. *Vide* also M'Gillivray's *Voyage of the Rattlesnake*, vol. ii. p. 256.



It remains for us to consider the details of construction. First as to the tools, πέλεκυς (Rt. ΠΑΡΚ ΠΑΑΚ) πληκ-ζω Skt. paraçus, the striking axe, of goodly size and well fitting to the hand (ἄρμενον ἐν παλάμῃσι). The same expression is used (*Il.* 18, 600) of the potter's wheel. The material is χαλκός (cf. Virg. *Aen.* xi. 656, 'aeratam quatiens Tarpeia securim,' where aerata does not necessarily = aerea, but may refer to the fact that two temperings are required in an axe, whether of steel or of bronze, one to make the cutting edge,

and the other to make the mass of the body, which if of the same hardness as the edge would be apt to fly in pieces. The question of the shape of the Homeric axe is interesting, as upon it turns the decision of that other much-vexed question in the twenty-first book of the *Odyssey* as to the shooting through the twelve axe-heads. If we can believe the Homeric axe to have been similar in shape to that which the Egyptian shipwrights are seen handling in the tomb-pictures of Sakkarah, the solution



is easy. The axe there portrayed is in the form of a hoop, and consequently the feat of shooting through the axe-heads would be one easily suggested (*vide* Duemichen, *Fleet of an Egyptian Queen*, Pl. xxi.). Set up perfectly level like the *δρύοχοι*¹ (which I believe to have been strong timbers, set up, at short intervals, on a true level, to form the basis or slip on which the keel of a vessel to be built was laid), the twelve axe-heads would at once test the skill of the archer in aiming, and the strength of the bow in the flat trajectory of the arrow.

The axe was (*ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἀκαχμένος*) sharpened on both sides, as axes always are. Not so the adze, which is sharpened only on the inner surface of the edge. The one makes a wedge-like cut. The other chips off pieces leaving a smooth surface below.

The helve (*στειλείον*, cf. *στέλ-ε-χος*, stalk) of the axe was of olive wood, which is tough and pretty in grain (*περικαλλές*) and takes a good polish.

The adze (*σκεπ*, cf. *σκάπ-τω*) (cf. Germ. *schaben*, our shave) has the epithet *εὔξοον*. It is difficult to give this any but the active meaning. This really suits the passage and explains

¹ *Od.* xix. 574, and compare the phrase also *δρυόχους τιθέναι δράματος*.
Polyb. i. 38 *ἐκ δρυόχων ναυπηγείσθαι*,

the use of the tool, which in skilled hands does the work of the plane perfectly. *ξέσσε δ' ἐπισταμένως.*



The goddess points out the place where the material for the raft was to be found in the shape of trees, standing long withered and dry, which would float lightly.

Of those named, the floating power is very different, viz. :—

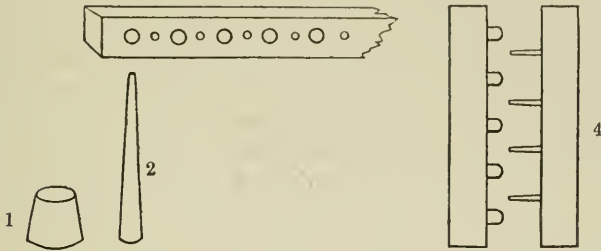
Alder	·20	specific gravity,	·80
Poplar	·62	„	„
Fir	·53—·40	„	„
			·47—·60

Alder is a very heavy wood, and not fit for shipbuilding. It might, however, be used for the *σταμίνες* and the dowels. Poplar and fir, but chiefly the latter, would furnish the floor of the raft. Twenty trees are thrown, and trimmed with the axe, the branches and knobs hewn off. Then the adze comes into play. And the skilful shipwright makes two smooth surfaces which are straight to the line. The timbers, thus shaped, will touch all along their inner surfaces when laid together (*ἀντίξοα, vide infra.*)

Next comes the process of tying them together. For this the goddess brings him borers, or augers, *τέρετρα*, plur. doubtless of different diameters.

In tying heavy timbers together, where metal is not available or suitable for the purpose, two kinds of fastenings are necessary, commonly called trenails, *γόμεφοι*, and dowels or coaks, which are here represented by the *ἀρμονίαι*. The trenail (tree-nail) is a long peg of tough wood tapering from an inch or inch and a half in diameter to three quarters of an inch

at the thin end. The holes into which this is driven run through both pieces of timber, and of course they must correspond exactly on the inner surface when the two timbers are laid alongside of each other. Trenails, however, are not thick enough in diameter to stand a vertical strain tending to wrench one timber from the other. To make them of a greater diameter



1. Coak or dowel, ἀρμονία.
2. Trenail, γόμφος.

3. Timbers bored.
4. Ditto, with coaks and dowels,
ready to be knocked together.

would weaken the timbers themselves dangerously; and so in order to meet a vertical strain, such as the rise and fall of the waves under the bottom of a raft, shipwrights join the timbers not only with trenails but with dowels, or coaks, as they are also called. These are short pieces of hard wood from three to four inches in diameter and four to five inches long according to the size of the spars. These are let in at intervals between the trenails with shallow holes bored to correspond in each timber. Being short and of hard wood they will take a great vertical strain, as long as they remain fast. Hence Ulysses makes up his mind to remain on the raft—

ὄφρ' ἂν μὲν κεν δούρατ' ἐν ἀρμονιῇσιν ἀρήρη.

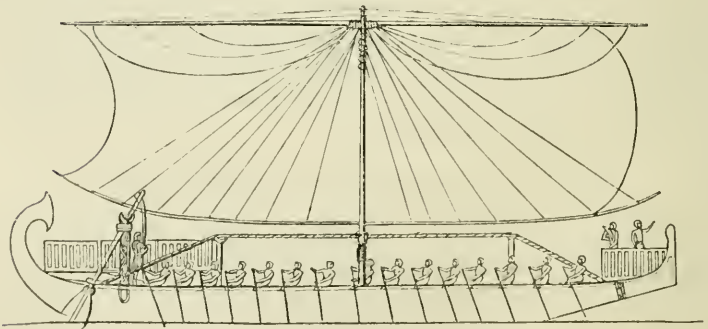
When once the timbers had slipped outside the dowels, the trenails would not be of much use in holding the raft together.

As for ἀρμονίαι, the word occurs in Ar. *Eq.* τῶν θ' ἀρμονιῶν διαχασκουσῶν, where if a flute is the instrument spoken of it would mean the joints gaping, *i.e.* the sockets opening from the pieces that fitted into them. A little above the expression τέκτονες εὐπαλάμων ὕμνων occurs, so that it is probable that

the metaphor of joiners' work is being kept up. The joints of the flute are not unlike the dowel and its socket. The passage in Herodotus ii. 96, ἔσωθεν δὲ τὰς ἀρμονίας ἐν ᾧν ἐπάκτωσαν τῇ βύβλω, seems at first sight to mean they caulk the joints, *i.e.* openings between the timbers through which any water can come in with byblus, but perhaps, seeing that a contrast to Greek usages is being stated, it is the byblus truss, *within* (cf. Ap. Rhod. i. 367), that is opposed to the νομεῖς, waling pieces, applied by the Greeks *without* the vessel. In this case the meaning of ἀρμονία would be the same as in our passage, and ἐπάκτωσαν mean make firm or fast (as Eustathius interprets κατασφαλίζονται), cf. Larcher 'Ils affermissent en dedans cet assemblage avec des liens de byblus.' *Vide* also Duemichen. The word ἀρμός is also noticeable in this connection meaning a peg or stop, cf. Eur. *Fr. Erechth.* ἀρμός πονηρός ὡσπερ ἐν ξύλῳ παγείς.

In the case of a ship with a rounded bottom the strain would be less than with a raft. But still various expedients were in use to prevent the parting of the timbers, for instance, trussing. Cf. Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* i. 367 :—

νηα δ' ἐπικρατέως Ἄργου ὑποθημοσύνησι
ἔζωσαν πάμπρωτον ἐΰστρεφεῖ ἔνδοθεν ὄπλω
τεινόμενοι ἐκάτερθεν ἴν' εὐ ἀραροίατο γόμφοις
δούρατα καὶ ῥοθίοιο βίην ἔχοι ἀντιώσαν.



The hawser, called ὑπόζωμα, stretched from stem to stern, over crutches, kept up bow and stern and prevented 'hogging.'

This is seen very clearly in the representations of the Egyptian ships given in Duemichen's *Fleet of an Egyptian Queen*. Possibly the difficulty about the *ὑπόζωμα*, Plat. *Rep.* Bk. x. finds its solution in this straight truss amidships. But the *ὑποζώματα* in the case of triremes seem generally to have been applied outside, stretching from stem to stern on both sides of the vessel. These hawsers, put on dry, would shrink when wet, and so tighten up the timbers of the lightly built vessel.

Another device was the waling (*i.e.* walling) piece, *νομεύς*, commonly in use among the Greeks, but not used by the Egyptians in the construction of the boats described by Hdt. ii. 96, the ancestors of the modern Nile 'nugger.'

But we must return to our raft, from the construction of which we have wandered.

Ulysses having planed his spars with the adze and bored them all and fitted them exactly, then (read *ἄρασσειν*,¹ with Aristarchus) knocks them together, so that trenails and dowels fit into their respective holes and the inner surfaces of the spars meet together. This work of knocking the timbers together is well described by Apoll. Rhod. *Arg.* ii. 79 :—

ὡς δ' ὅτε νῆια δοῦρα θεοῖς ἀντίξοα γόμοις
ἀνέρες ὑληουργοὶ ἐπιβλήδην ἐλάοντες
θείωσι σφύρησι.

The raft thus constructed is compared as to size and shape to the setting out of the floor of a wide merchant vessel in design by a skilled shipwright.

The word *τορνώσεται* seems to imply the curvature of the lines of a vessel in plan rather than of those in section, which would not be so applicable to a raft. The breadth of the raft is that to which attention is chiefly called, though from the expression *τορνώσεται* we might perhaps infer the rounding off of the ends.²

The floor completed, the next work was the raising of the deck according to the goddess's suggestion. This was a matter of some time and labour as the imperfect *ποιέει* implies. First of all he had to set up his *σταμίνας* many in number and pretty

¹ Cf. Ap. Rhod. ii. 615 *εἰπέ μιν*

² Cf. *Il.* xxiii. 255.

Ἄργος γόμοισιν συνάρασσειν.

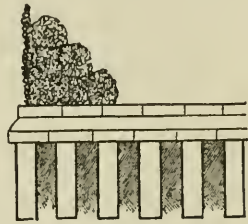
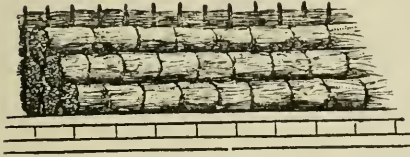
close together. The *τέρετρα* would here come into play again. The *σταμίνας*, uprights, would be let into holes bored in the floor of the raft, and the deck timbers also bored and fitted on to the tops of them. With regard to the word *σταμίς* there can be hardly any doubt as to its meaning. Hesychius gives τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς σχεδίδης ὀρθὰ ξύλα. Eustathius, οἱ παλαιοὶ, ἑρμηνεύοντες ἐπιμήκη ξύλα, τὰς σταμίνας φάσιν, ἃ στημόνων τρόπον ἔχοντα, παρατιθέμενα τοῖς ἰκρίοις ἐκάτερθεν ἐστάναι αὐτὰ ποιούσιν.

But they must not be confused with the ribs of a ship, with which they have nothing in common, being straight and not curved. Compare *στημόνιον*, the upright sticks in wicker work round which the osier twigs were turned. Hence Aristarchus interpreted *σταμίνας* as being ὀρθὰ ξύλα οἷον στήμοσιν εἰκότα.

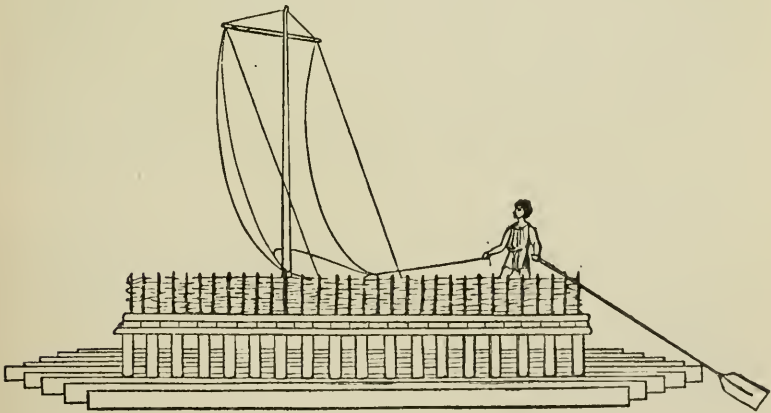
Upon these uprights the deck timbers were laid and fastened. There can be no doubt as to *ἴκρια* meaning 'deck, platform.' The attempt to translate it as 'bulwarks' seems perverse in the face of the well-known passage in Herodotus, v. 16. Eustathius gives clearly *κατάστρωμα νεώς*. (Curtius, No. 623, gives Rt. III. Lat. ic-o. The old *κ* appears to be preserved in *ἴκρια*, scaffold, deck.) After setting up his platform or deck by fitting these cross-beams upon the uprights, he finishes off and makes fast his *ἴκρια* by long gunwales *ἐπηγκένιδες ἐπηνέγκιδες* cf. *διηνεκῆς* — *ἤνεγκα* — *ἀνάγκη*). These laid lengthwise on either side would prevent the timbers of the deck from jumping, and would so finish the deck as such (*τελεύτα*). The interpretation of the word given *Et. Mag.* τὸ ἐπὶ μῆκος παρατεταμένον μακρὸν ξύλον is misleading if taken to imply a planking alongside of the *σταμίνας*. The raft is open and the water would wash freely through the front and sides of the stage carrying the deck.

The carpentering is concluded with the fashioning of mast and yard and paddle for steering. There still remained the construction of a bulwark to protect the sailor from the wash of the wave. This is effected by a wattle work of osiers set up upon the *ἴκρια* as a fence all round. Not being very strong in itself it is backed by piles of brushwood, *ῥλη*, which bound up in the shape of fascines or faggots, would be light and at the same time offer a good resistance. The idea of 'ballast' for the raft seems absurd, and out of place altogether.

The hero then constructs sails and braces and halyards and sheets, and makes all fast on board. Then with levers he moves his handiwork down to the bright sea. The word *κατείρυσεν* must here be used not quite strictly, but as a general term applicable to launching. For the usual method *vide* Ap. Rhod. i. 367—389, the launching of the *Argo*. In this last



respect Homer's hero was more successful than Defoe's, who, when he had completed his 'very handsome periagua' by dint of three months' hard labour, found himself utterly unable to move it, and was obliged to leave it where it lay.



EDMOND WARRE.

FOUR ARCHAIC VASES FROM RHODES.

PLATES XL.—XLIII.

THE so-called 'Chalcidian' class of vases, in spite of their great technical and historical interest, have as yet received less of the close attention which has been applied to other better known classes, chiefly on account of the lack of definite material and definite information regarding them. No one has as yet treated of them comprehensively as a class, if we except the cursory survey of Klein,¹ although a fair number have been separately published: pending therefore the maturing of the more complete study which seems desirable, the introduction of four new specimens of vase painting which we may call Chalcidian will not be without interest to archaeology; especially as the two at least which are figured on Plates XL.—XLIII. have each a further intrinsic value as contributions to the study of mythography.

These vases exhibit clearly all the characteristics which we are accustomed to consider as distinguishing the 'Chalcidian' style; as to the question, whether this definition of the class is a satisfactory one, I propose to say a few words later on; but first it will be well to give some short account of the two on Plates XL.—XLIII., and of two others which seem naturally connected with these both in the circumstances of their discovery and in the character of their decoration. All the four are from Rhodes, the first three from excavations upon a site called Siana, probably the site of the ancient Mnasyrion, the fourth from the excavations of Mr. Biliotti at Kamiros.

¹ *Euphronios*, p. 31.

A. (Plates XL.—XLII.). *Kylix*. 1 (*interior*).—Within a circle of tongue pattern, alternately purple and black, which is inclosed between two circles of fret. pattern, a bearded warrior, Ajax, seizing *Kassandra*, whom he is about to despatch with his sword: she crouches at the feet of the *xoanon* of *Athenè*, round which she has thrown one arm; her other arm is grasped by Ajax as if to drag her away: behind the *xoanon* stands a Siren, which, with two lotos flowers, seems inserted merely to fill empty spaces in the design. In the exergue is a band of alternate lotos flowers and buds.

2 (*exterior, obv.*).—*Herakles*, escorted on one side by *Hermes* and *Athenè*, on the other by *Artemis* and *Ares*, is conducted into *Olympos*, which is represented by the figures of *Zeus* and *Herè* seated on richly decorated thrones. Beside the footstool of *Herè* stands *Hebè* upon what appears to be a separate footstool or pedestal.

3 (*exterior, rev.*).—Combat of two warriors, on either side of whom stand a female figure armed with a spear and a warrior on horseback with a second led horse at his side.

In order to fill in the space beneath the handles, and to form a division between the two scenes, figures have been inserted which seem to have no relation to the subjects depicted. Thus on the right of Scene 2 is a *Sphinx*, and beneath the opposite handle a warrior crouching on one knee. These scenes are inclosed within two bands of ornament: above, a double ivy wreath, below, a band similar to that around the interior.

Height 13·4 centimeters. Diameter 25 centimeters.

B. (Plate XLIII.). *Kylix*. 1 (*interior*).—Within a circle of patterns similar to that of *A*, 1, a warrior charging to the right, and in the act of throwing a spear.¹

2 (*exterior, obv.*).—*Perseus*, *Hermes*, and *Athenè* fleeing to the right, pursued by two *Gorgons*; on the left *Medusa* follows her sisters, her own head replaced by that of a horse; between the two *Gorgons* stands a boy, and a similar figure is repeated on the extreme left behind *Medusa*.

¹ The spear is here thrown by means of the *μεσάγκυλον*, which, as on the *Aegina* bronze disk, is looped round the index and second fingers; as in that instance also the weapon is discharged in a line

with the waist. On this question see *Daremberg, Dict. des Ant.*, article 'Amentum,' and a Gaulish instance in *Rev. Arch.* 1884, i. p. 104.

3.—A procession of five warriors who walk in single file to the left, each leading a pair of horses.

In this case the scenes have been carried on beneath the handles, so that these spaces are respectively filled by a figure out of either scene. As a result of this, the foremost warrior in 3 is unnaturally curtailed, the forepart of his horses being broken by the insertion of the handle which intervenes. Both scenes are inclosed as in the preceding case within two bands of pattern which decorate the entire circumference of the vase; the upper band is a wreath of ivy, the lower a band of alternate lotos buds and blossoms.

Height probably about 13·4 centimeters. Diameter 25 centimeters.

C. Kylix. 1 (*interior*).—Within a circle of tongue pattern, Seilenos, ithyphallic, his face turned towards the spectator, dancing to the right; beneath him a lotos flower springs from the ground.

2 (*exterior, obv.*).—A marriage (?) procession: in a *quadriga*, which moves to the left accompanied by two female figures and a male figure, stand two figures side by side; the male figure holds the reins, the female figure holds out the edge of a garment which covers her head in an attitude similar to that of Herè in *A*, 2. Beside the horses has stood another figure, most of which is broken away.

3 (*exterior, rev.*).—A combat of two warriors, both in kneeling attitude; on either side, a horseman. Above their shields an illegible inscription. Beneath each handle is a swan.

Diameter 24·3 centimeters.

D. Kylix. 1 (*interior*).—Broken away, but seems to have been unpainted.

2 and 3 (*exterior*).—Both *obv.* and *rev.* a Gorgon running to the right, exactly similar to the Gorgons in *B*, except that their black *chitons* are ornamented only with large purple rosettes, they have no snakes around the waist, and their arms are extended on either side of the body.

Beneath each handle is an inverted lotos flower surmounted by a leaf, from which a long tendril extends on either side, terminating in a small *anthemion*. These are the only ornaments upon this *kylix*.

Diameter 20·5 centimeters.

All of these vases have suffered more or less from breakages: *A* is complete with the exception of one small fragment of the lip, *B* has lost the foot, *C* part of the sides, the stem and foot, *D* one handle, the stem with part of the insertion, and the foot; but in every case enough remains to decide clearly what the general original form and decoration must have been.

The three paintings on *A* have been separately reproduced as far as possible so as to give an idea of their actual size and colours, while Plate XLIII. gives the scenes of *B* reduced by the autotype process from coloured copies of the original. These two vases are so nearly identical in *technique* and their method of decoration, as they are in size and style, that it would seem as if they must be from the same hand. Unfortunately there seems little information to be gained from the evidence of the circumstances of their discovery; though accurate details have in each case been chronicled by the excavators themselves. From these we learn that *B* and *C* were found together in a tomb which contained nothing else: *A* was found with a series of objects which suggest no definite inference as to its date; these were two *lekythi* and a large *kylix*, all with paintings of the early black-figured style, a bronze *oinochoè* of the form familiar in the early pottery of Rhodes, with two circular bosses beside the upper insertion of the handle, and a bronze *simpulum* or ladle: while *D*, though numbered by Mr. Biliotti, appears unfortunately to have no corresponding entry in his *Diary of the Excavations at Kamiros*; at least, I have been unable to identify it with any vase therein specified.

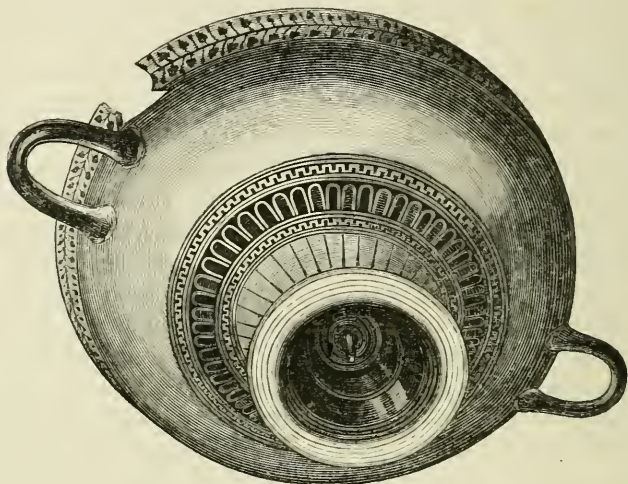
All are of the same form of *kylix* which is figured in the Kyrenè set published in *Arch. Zeit.* 1881, Taf. 12, 2a, with the handles set horizontally to the sides, and with a moulding half way down the body;¹ *A* and *B*, the only two, unfortunately, in which the stems are preserved, have a peculiarity which I have not noticed anywhere else;² in both these cases, at the insertion of the stem into the body of the vase, there springs from the body a delicately modelled spike, inclosed within the stem like the pistil of a flower within its calyx; judging from the metallurgic tendency everywhere apparent, it would seem as if the potter

¹ In the case of *D* the body is plain, without moulding.

² The *kylix*, *Musée Blacas*, Pl. v.,

vi., which in other respects is closely allied to ours, has a similar smaller spike.

were intending here to imitate the rivet or nail which in a metal *kylix* would fasten the stem to the body; and, in keeping with the richness and minuteness of ornament displayed throughout on these two vases, the artist has even gone so far as to inclose these spikes within three tiny concentric circles of black colour.



A

The *technique* is in every case the same: the groundwork of the figures is black laid upon the natural red colour of the clay, and surrounded with an outline of incised lines; on this is laid a yellowish white and purple in large masses, and the whole has the details afterwards picked out with incised lines. In parts where the vases have suffered injury or have been insufficiently baked, the black has become a brownish colour, or has flaked off altogether. In accordance with a practice which obtains on many vases of this type and on the later vases of Exekias and his school, the white, where it is laid on in large masses, *e.g.* for the mane of a horse or for a cuirass or garment, is covered with incised lines; the plaited appearance of the horses' tails, the long wavy lines marking the toes, and the indication of the human knees and elbow-joints are common to most vases of the early 'Chalcidian' style. The ornaments also upon the dresses of the figures are similar to those common in vases of this class,

and such as appear for instance upon the François vase ; they also resemble those which we see in the figures upon the cuirass published in the *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* 1883, Pl. I.—III., and are executed, in the case of *A* and *B* at least, with a minuteness which would seem more appropriate to a work in metal than to a flaking surface like that of terra-cotta.

Throughout we observe the curious mixture of tendencies which is usual in the Ionian art of the Chalcidian style ; the preference on the one hand for frieze compositions, so suitable to the more rounded forms of the vases of this style, which is modified on the other hand by a tendency to the symmetrical 'heraldic' method familiar to us from Asiatic art.

At the time when Chalcidian vase painting was to the fore, there is no doubt that Greek art was feeling throughout its whole system a powerful impetus from the new revelations disclosed by its growing intercourse with Asia Minor ; and it is natural that the vases of the time should bear the impress of this new influence. Now, previously to this period, Greek vase painters, working principally in a conventional groove of geometrical compositions, had been accustomed to limit their representations to patterns and forms geometrically treated and arranged ; and hence we may account for the fact that, among the shapes dating from prae-Chalcidian times, no *kylix*, so far as I know, occurs : indeed, I am not aware that we have any painted *kylix* of the form definitely fixed which is earlier than our example *A*. It is therefore particularly interesting to observe how the artist has set to work to decorate this shape, which we may assume to have been new to him. We shall see, I think, that *A* at least shows some of the difficulties which the early painters had to master before the system of decorating a *kylix* became stereotyped ; nay, more, that these four vases, which in other respects seem to represent successive stages of development, show us successive advances towards the surmounting of these difficulties.

A *kylix* naturally offers two main fields for decoration : a circular space in the interior, and the exterior surface of the body. Now, of these, the circle of decoration in the interior may be of any size, but it will always present a space for few figures, inasmuch as its height always approximates to its breadth, and therefore we have in the interior more usually

metope groups. On the exterior, however, considering that a narrow band around the lip is the only part really visible when the vase rests on its foot, we have necessarily a surface of considerably greater breadth than height, which obviously demands a frieze treatment; and hence it is in the arrangement of the Oriental frieze-space of the exterior, as yet somewhat new to the artist, that we shall expect to find him least at home, and falling back more readily upon Oriental ideas.

Now in considering the band on the exterior of his vase, the artist meets at once with a tectonic difficulty in the position of the handles, which fall necessarily upon the space available for decoration, and which break up the free circular band which he otherwise would have; so we find that in *A* and *B*, though he recognises the natural division of his field, and places two distinct scenes upon it, yet he has not discovered how to accept these divisions as a necessity, but allows each of his scenes to overlap the handle in order that the space beneath the handles shall be decorated. In *C* we have a further development, where the division of the two scenes by the handles is more distinctly recognised, the spaces beneath them being filled with conventional figures of swans which have no connection with the scenes and are intended merely as ornaments; while in *D* we see the principle obtaining which becomes henceforward a fixed practice among *kylix* painters, where the space beneath the handles is decorated with buds of lotos, from which branch tendrils on either side, terminating in the *anthemion*, which is of the form afterwards regularly adopted by the *kylix* painters such as Hermogenes and his contemporaries.

To this principle, no doubt, we owe in *A* the insertion of a kneeling figure of a warrior, and also of the repetition of the boy beside the Medusa in *B*, neither of which demand, I think, any further explanation in reference to the scenes to which they belong. In *B*, 3, the procession of warriors has been carried on beneath the handle, and the Sphinx in *A* belongs to the merely conventional type of ornament.¹

These four vases indicate successive stages of development, not only in composition, but also in various points of *technique* and treatment: we can trace them for instance in the usage, at

¹ For this principle of repetition of motives upon vases, see *Arch. Zeit.* 1881, p. 49.

first very frequent, but gradually diminishing, of incised lines. These lines, as I remarked just now, belong more naturally to the decoration of metal, and involve considerable difficulty when applied to terra-cotta: as they were added after one baking or even (as when laid over the white) after at least two bakings, when the vase is fairly hard, it would require the finest possible tool to secure lines which should not be jagged and uneven. When, therefore, an artist like the painter of *A*, with whom richness of ornament is a primary object, sets to work as he has done upon the mantle of the King of Gods, the labour and care which he bestows must be enormous. It is natural then that improvements in this direction should tend towards the economy of labour, and so we find a diminishing proportion of incised lines in our four examples. The earliest Chalcidian vases, as well as some of the earlier vases of probably Korinthian fabric, have this peculiarity, that the outlines of the human face, and often that of the entire figure also, are incised: in *A* and *B*, where the richness of the incised inner markings is specially noticeable, this characteristic is universally prevalent; in *C* the outer incised outline is already disappearing, and is in fact only adopted for the beard and chin; while in *D* it scarcely occurs at all.

Again, whereas in the first two of our *kylikes* we have the purple and white laid on in large masses, and these colours themselves often covered with incised lines, distributed impartially with the black, in the second and later pair these colours are distinctly subordinated to the black, and, where used, they are generally inserted rather with a view to save the trouble of incising; for instance, in the dresses in *C*, and more especially in the case of the Gorgons in *D*, instead of the minute elaborate incised patterns of the preceding examples, we have these colours only laid on in small plain masses, or else a sprinkling of large painted rosettes upon the black—a principle which henceforth marks the so-called ‘Chalcidian’ style.

All the earliest styles of vase-painting on which subjects occur start with the principle of *horror vacui*, and advance no doubt from this towards the ideal of a free figure in a free field; now in *A* it is obvious that the artist is still thoroughly imbued with the necessity of filling every available space with ornament, so that in 1 we have a Siren inserted, in 2 and 3, as well as

in *B*, we have the spare field filled with lotos tendrils and buds;¹ in *C* a much smaller number of figures serve to occupy the design; while in *D* the entire band is left empty except for the space occupied by the one Gorgon on either side.

Lastly, as regards the portion of the exterior which is not occupied by the band of the design: whereas in *A* and *B* this space from the frieze to the stem of the vase is left red and decorated with an elaborate system of patterns, in the remaining vases the same space is merely covered with black glaze.

If then I am justified in my assumption that these four vases represent successive stages of one type of art, we can plainly see in them two main tendencies, firstly the elimination of extraneous and unnecessary ornament, and secondly the growing importance of the figures, and therefore of the *action* of the figures, as the only decoration for the vase.

Turning now to the treatment of the individual scenes on the exterior of our vases, we cannot but see how distinctly the frieze treatment proper, as we get it here, conduces to working in conventional 'heraldic' grooves; the artist in *A* and *B* has a long space to fill and appears at a loss for figures with which to fill it: where in similar cases a definite myth is represented, the usual practice is to add impartially male and female figures on either side of the central group until the space is filled; and it may be that to this necessity we owe originally the thrice repeated Gorgon, and perhaps the introduction in *A*, 2, of the unusually large number of gods: while, for the reverse compositions, the artist in the one case falls back on the ordinary duel theme which we find so frequently upon Korinthian *aryballi*, and in the other is content merely to repeat five times the same group of a warrior and his horses. At a later period the same *horror vacui* is not felt and so we get a treatment which, if it loses in 'Epic' fulness of detail, gains considerably in freedom of arrangement.

If the evidence thus obtained from our special instances admits of a more general application, we shall find, I think, that in all the vases of this class a similar development may be traced.

¹ Cf. the same principle in the painted sarcophagus from Clazomenae, published in the *Hellenic Journal*, vol. iv. p. 5, figs. 5, 6. It is curious that,

whereas in *A* the lotos comes straight out from the border, in *B* every stalk has the upper extremity finished off with a spiral.

In that case a conjecture may be allowed which, if correct, would dispose of a difficulty which meets us in the decoration of these early paintings. In several cases, especially among the *kylikes* of this *metallurgic* style, we have the outer band ornamented with colossal eyes, two on either side of the vase. Now we have seen that the artists were frequently at a loss to provide for the decoration of the long frieze-spaces here presented, and hence it would seem they were led in one of two directions; either, as in *D*, to the insertion of a single figure or group of figures in the centre of the band, the remainder being left empty; or, to the construction of a pseudo-tectonic division of the field by the insertion of these eyes, which with the handles split up the band into spaces suitable for small metope groups. Thus in the large *kylix*, *Mon. Ined.* ix. 11, the artist has by this device saved himself the labour of constructing a second enormous frieze, and has instead four spaces admirably adapted for small groups. Why the particular ornament of eyes should be chosen does not seem clear; the cups on which they occur show traces of imitation from metal; now in a metal cup the handles would as a rule be decorated at their insertion with a moulded leaf, the outline of which is exactly that of an eye; bearing in mind that on the painted vases the eyes are generally close to the handles, it is possible that this similarity may have suggested the device adopted by the vase painter.

The most usual form, so far as we know, adopted by the painters of Chalcidian vases is that of the *amphora*, of which only one side can be seen by the spectator at a time, and where therefore one of the two designs is more important, the other usually a mere conventional scene. With this fact in view, it is curious to observe that whereas in later painted *kylikes* no distinction is generally made in the relative importance of the two sides; in the case of *A*, *B*, and *C*, on the other hand, only one side has a definite interest, the reverse sides in all three cases showing groups which belong to the stock 'properties' of the vase painters' repertory. No less a mark of the style is, as has been always remarked, the strong predilection for exhibiting figures in full face, a feat which a later and wiser generation for the most part eschewed, whereas we find, in the vases before us, no less than ten examples of the full face, inclusive of the Gorgoneion. We have, moreover, with

the Gorgons in *B* the usual type of wings peculiar to the vases of this time, wherein each wing seems to consist of two portions: above, the recurved pinion often attached in Eastern art to the figures of deities and monsters such as Sphinxes, and below it, the ordinary bird's wing which remains constant henceforward in Greek art: these two together form one wing, and it may well be that they would themselves have given rise, among those unaccustomed to the form, to the idea of a *Γηρυόνης τετράπτερος*.

There are two peculiarities in the dresses of the figures on our vases which seem worthy of notice; the first is the unusual treatment of the hem of the talaric *chiton* which is in several cases here represented as longer behind the feet, where it hangs nearly to the ground: this is specially remarkable in the case of the seated figure of Herè, whose dress, though clinging around the legs, hangs down at the back of the footstool; a similar treatment is observable in the reliefs of the Harpy Tomb, where the dresses of the seated figures are brought back behind the footstool exactly in the same way: it may be that there is in this actually some foundation in fact,—a recollection perhaps of the Ionic ladies, 'ἐλκεχίτωνες,'¹—or that in both cases we have merely mannerisms of the artists. The other peculiarity occurs in the costume of the warriors upon our vases: the ordinary metal cuirass does not occur at all, and the only covering generally for the body is the ordinary short *chiton*: in some cases, however (*e.g.* Ares in *A*, 2, and the warrior in *B*, 1), the skin of an animal is knotted over the *chiton*, the paws hanging down, and though I do not know of any passage in literature where such a custom is represented, it would appear that this was not, as has been supposed, a characteristic only of types connected with rural ideas,² but frequently a real addition to the costume of war.

The term 'Chalcidian' has been adopted as including a class of vases which falls in point of time at the earliest beginning of the black-figured style proper; following close upon that earlier

¹ *Il.* xiii. 685; cf. Helbig, *Homericische Epos*, p. 132.

² Cf. Gerhard, *Aus. Vas.* i., Taf. xvi. and see *ibid.* p. 61. It is frequently worn by ordinary warriors, *e.g.* *Cata-*

logue of Vases in British Museum, 421; sometimes, specially on Chalcidian vases, *under* a cuirass, *e.g.* *ibid.* 565, 566.

art of Korinth, where we find paintings upon a drab ground, and partly contemporary with it, they precede, and no doubt influence not a little, the later Korinthian paintings upon a red ground.

So much is clear, but our first problem in dealing with this class of so-called Chalcidian vases is to determine what their relation is to the vases of other fabrics which we may presume to have been contemporary, and above all what is their relation to the fabric of Athens. In the products of that early seat of Ceramic art, as also in the Chalcidian fabric, the texture of the clay is exceedingly light and fine, the colour is the red more or less bright with which we are familiar as the result of the admixture of some metallic oxide, and the designs are laid on in a fine black glaze with incised lines and accessories, employed more or less freely, in purple and white.

When we examine the vases of the earlier Korinthian fabric, those of Kyrenè, and the series of *pinakes* and *oinochoai* from Rhodes, whatever fabric they may represent, we find that they are usually made of a light drab clay, whereas at Athens from a very early period the potter certainly employed red clay; we have in fact a regular series of vases which may for the most part be with certainty referred to Athens, and of which the clay is always red or reddish brown. These early vases exhibit successive stages of Keramography, which precede the more matured style which we call black-figured.

Thus, to take examples of the fabric of Athens; in the Burgon *lebes* in the British Museum¹ we see an art almost wholly under the influence of Oriental tradition. On the bowl from Aegina (*Arch. Zeit.* 1882, Taf. 9, 10) the design is treated in a style still markedly geometric, but in which the influence of Oriental cut may be clearly traced; and in the Burgon Panathenaic vase and the François vase at Florence we have representatives of later stages of Keramography—still antecedent to the regular black-figured style. Assuming the examples here cited to be of Attic fabric, we are justified in asserting that a school of Keramography with motives derived from Oriental art was developed at Athens very early. Are we to range these Athenian vases under the general class Chalcidian, or are we to regard them as the product of an independent school of Fictile Art?

¹ *Guide to First Vase Room*, p. 21, No. 3.

Here I must refer to the arguments of Klein, in his *Euphronios*, in regard to this alleged Chalcidian class. He gives in that work (p. 31) a list of vases which, partly on palaeographical grounds, partly from the peculiar characteristics of their style, he claims as representatives of this class. First, as to the epigraphical evidence. Kirchoff (*Geschichte d. Gr. Alph.* 2nd edition, p. 110) attributes these vases to the colonies of Southern Italy, in which the alphabet was certainly in use which we find in the inscriptions of the vases now under consideration. But in his third edition, p. 104, he admits that the same alphabet may be recognised at Chalcis, in Euboea. He observes in the rich ornaments of these vases a strongly marked Ionic character, and sees the same *naïveté* and realistic tendency, the same life and freedom of movement which characterises the designs of the early coins of Chalcis and its colonies. He further points out that the important place which this city occupies in early history, and its widespread influence through its numerous colonies, are grounds for supposing that it was from Chalcis that the Etruscans derived not only their alphabet, but also their early art, where again we may trace the influence of Asiatic tradition.

A further characteristic of the so-called Chalcidian vases is to be noted in the reminiscences of metallurgic art which are to be found in the design and execution of their paintings. Results which in metal were attained by technical processes appropriate to that material are feebly and inadequately rendered in clay. Again, we see in the design a predilection for frieze compositions and certain quaint conventionalities which we may call heraldic. The ornaments, too, are often of a character foreign to the spirit of later Greek art.

We may at once admit that all these peculiar features in the design and treatment are such as would naturally result from the influence of an Asiatic school, but it does not follow, as Klein contends, that they are characteristics found exclusively in the so-called Chalcidian vases.

In the François vase, which though found in Northern Italy may be classed as a product of the Attic school, we have the same Epic *naïveté* and fulness of detail, the same lively action, the same reminiscences of a metallurgic style and of heraldic conventionalities as we have already noted, and later on in the vases of Nikosthenes we can clearly trace the same characteristics.

Moreover, if the four *kylikes* here published, which according to Klein's reasoning should be Chalcidian, are closely studied, it will be seen that when compared with the *kylikes* from Kyrenè, collected by Puchstein (*Arch. Zeit.* 1881, p. 215), they present marked similarities in the shape and also in the treatment of such details as the eye, the mane and tail of the horses and in the system of ornamenting the exergue. As the so-called Chalcidian vases enumerated by Klein are none of them *kylikes* and nearly all *amphorac*, they do not so easily admit of comparison with the four vases from Rhodes now under consideration, as the peculiarities of treatment in the design appropriate to one shape of vase were not so suitable to another shape, and the four Rhodian vases, we must remember, are all *kylikes*.

Reviewing Klein's argument once more, the only evidence which seems to me of decided weight is that of the epigraphy, and even this, strong as it is, can hardly be accepted as final, when we remember the strange anomalies which have sometimes found their way into the writings on vases, and the comparative scarcity of vases so inscribed. Unless, therefore, we can persuade ourselves that the influence of Chalcidian Fictile Art was so strong and pervading as to infuse its characteristics into the contemporary Athenian and Kyrenian schools of Keramography, we can only at present affirm thus much: that before the general adoption of the black-figured style there existed in various places centres of Fictile Art which all showed certain common features characteristic of their age. The most marked of these features are the metallurgic reminiscences and traditions in their forms, ornaments and technical treatment, the survival of Oriental types and motives, and a peculiar *naïveté* in the treatment of the subjects depicted.

The intimate connection between the vases of Nikosthenes and the metallurgic art of Phoenicia has been already remarked (*Arch. Zeit.* 1881, p. 37); and when we consider the peculiarities of the 'Chalcidian' style as represented on our *kylikes*, we shall find in them quite as striking an analogy to the Phoenician metal bowls and the early painted vases of Cyprus. In Perrot, *Hist. de l'Art*, iii. Fig. 482, we see the same gigantic lotus blooms, and in Fig. 506 the same form of throne and an ivy leaf pattern such as occur on the vases before us. While in the ornamentation of the vase on Fig. 507 we have the prototypes

of the Greek lotos pattern, the 'Chalcidian rosettes,' and the elaborate decorations of the drapery, in which the early traditions of the Geometric style for a long time survived.

The three representations of myths which are figured on our vases are so important in the evidence which they offer of the early artistic history of these myths that they will each no doubt in time find their proper share of attention in comprehensive studies of the individual myths which they illustrate. Meanwhile I should wish to offer a few remarks which have occurred to me by the way.

A, 1.—The dragging of *Kassandra* from the shrine of *Athenè*, where she had taken refuge, by *Ajax Oileus*. The mythography of this, one of the most favourite scenes from the *Iliupersis*, has been collected by Klein in an article in the *Annali dell' Inst.* 1877, p. 246. Of the great number of instances of this scene which he has there collected¹, seventeen occur on vases of the black-figured style, but, as far as one can judge, none is so early in point of date as the composition on our vase. From a comparison of these it would appear that the representations are naturally divisible into two main classes, viz. those in which *Kassandra* is shown as in our vase, already crouching at the feet of the statue, and those where she flies from her pursuer to the shrine. The composition most usually chosen upon these black-figured vases is the former of these, and it is probably the same as was seen by *Pausanias* upon the chest of *Kypselos* (*Paus.* v. 19, 5), *Κασσώδραν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀγάλματος Αἴας τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἔλκων*: but whereas there, as on the later vases, *Ajax* is actually dragging away his victim, in the present case, and in similar scenes clearly inspired by one and the same original type, *Ajax* appears not so much dragging her away as in the act of killing her at the shrine. It may be that *Pausanias* mistook the action which he saw on the work of art which he describes, but at any rate it would seem that the *killi*ng motive must have been the earlier. It is curious that our artist has adopted the unusual device of obscuring the head of *Kassandra* behind the figure of *Athenè*; later painters, in striving to bring

¹ To his list an important addition must be made in the fictile *lekythos* with a group in relief lately purchased by the British Museum at the Castel-

lani sale at Rome (*Sale Catalogue*, No. 140), and which is almost identical with the Borghese relief of the same subject.

her whole body into view, have often been obliged to represent her as of diminutive size, in order to crowd the figure into the limited space beneath the shield of the goddess. In keeping, probably, with the original type from which this is copied, *Kassandra* is represented as completely nude, in spite of the obvious preference of the artist for elaborately draped figures, and which leads him without any apparent reason to decorate her thigh with an incised spiral.¹ The upper garment of *Ajax* is, contrary to all precedent,² coloured white and decorated with elaborate incised patterns; we cannot help being reminded of the linen *thorax* dedicated by *Amasis*, and of the epithet *λινοθώραξ* specially applied to the Lokrian *Ajax* in the Catalogue of the Ships; at any rate the peculiar cut of this garment about the neck would seem to distinguish it from an ordinary *chiton*, and would not be unsuitable to the presumptive form of a cuirass of linen; especially as the remains probably of such a garment have actually been found in a tomb at Corneto (*Mon. dell' Inst.* x. x^b. 3).

A, 2.—*Herakles* introduced into *Olympos*. The delightful *naïveté* and freshness of this group look almost as though they must have been inspired by *Homer* himself. The scene might perfectly represent the court of any one of the poet's kings, into whose presence, seated beside his consort, an embassy is

¹ The spiral, a mere ornament here, is I think suggested by the similar one on the warrior's thigh in *B*, 1, where it probably has an origin in fact; it represents a protection for the thigh, most likely of metal, corresponding to the greave which it naturally would resemble in form. It is visible on numerous vases of this style (e.g. *Mus. Greg.* II. liii.), and is nearly always decorated with a spiral pattern; on a vase of a private collection from Rhodes it is worn by an Amazon, and coloured black, like her greave, to distinguish it from the white colour of her flesh. It may be the *παραμηρίδιον* of *Xen. Anab.* I. 8, 6.

² Cf. the vases of *Exekias* and his style, and Mr. Leaf's remarks on this subject, *Hellenic Journal*, vol. iv. p. 83. See also *Helbig, Homerische Epos*, p.

203. Plate xl. does not clearly show, what is evident upon the vase, that this cuirass is of a form which is rarely found upon black-figured vases, but which is the usual form upon those of the later style. It consists of a broad belt around the body, to which two broad shoulder-pieces are attached behind; these are brought over the shoulders and fastened to the belt in front. As in many red-figured vases these two portions are here distinguished, the belt being decorated, while the shoulder-pieces are left plain. It is obvious that a cuirass so constructed would, as in the case upon *A*, 1, leave a portion of the chest bare. For other instances upon black-figured vases, besides those of *Exekias*, see *Mus. Greg.* II. Pl. xlviii., and *El. Cer.* I. Pl. viii.

being introduced by the court herald. It is an excellent example of the Chalcidian manner at its best, the work of artists who are beginning to feel their way out of the stiff conventionality of Oriental tradition: the scene is instinct with the life which breathes throughout every line of the Greek Epics.

The crowning episode in the hero's career is put before us here with a clearness which there is no mistaking. Having finished the labours brought upon him by the wrath of Herè, he is at length permitted to dwell with the gods in Olympos—

μετ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν
τέρπεται ἐν θαλίῃς καὶ ἔχει καλλίσφυρον Ἥβην
παῖδα Διὸς μέγαλοιο καὶ Ἥρης χρυσοπέδιλου.

Odyssey, xi. 602.

This passage has been distrusted by the Scholiasts on the ground that the apotheosis of Homer and his marriage with Hebe—two episodes always closely allied—do not properly belong to the Homeric era, but to the *mythologema* of later times. In any case the myth was in existence as early as Sappho; and though we have at present no representation of it in art earlier than that upon our vase, we have the description of a similar scene among the reliefs upon the throne of Apollo by Bathykses at Amyklæ (*Paus.* iii. 18, 11), and also upon the altar there (*ibid.* iii. 19, 5); and so far I can see no reason for sharing the doubts of the commentators as to the authenticity of the Homeric passage.

The type of this scene which obtains most generally in later art is somewhat different to ours; it shows, as a rule, Herakles in a triumphal *quadriga*, escorted by Athenè or Nikè as charioteer; it is quite possible that this other type may be of a later origin, no example of it, so far as I know, dating from before the later black-figured style.

At any rate it seems probable that the Bathykses type and that on our vase were both inspired by some pre-existing type, which, from the apparent similarity between these two, must have been already definitely fixed, and may quite possibly have dated as far back as the Epic cycle.

Herakles, then, is here ὑπὸ Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ θεῶν τῶν ἄλλων . . . ἀγόμενος ἐς οὐρανόν. The mysteries of 'snow-capt Olympos'

are revealed to us, and we see the Cloud-Compeller himself seated in state—

ἔζετο δ' ἐν κλισμῶ, ὑπὸ δὲ θρηῆνυς ποσὶν ἦεν,¹

his sandalled feet resting on a footstool; in his left hand the thunderbolt—a very different form to the elaborate winged type of later art—his ambrosial locks falling low upon his shoulders, and robed in a gorgeous dress not unworthy of the king of gods. The procession of deities who approach him have all their special distinguishing attributes: Hermes, his *kerykeion*, *chlamys*, *petasos*, and a curious type of *endromides* with double wings, before and behind; Athenè, her snake-fringed *acgis* and helmet, and buckler with the Gorgon face; Artemis, in either hand a bow and arrows, *λοχέαυρα*; and Ares wears the ordinary costume of a warrior, with a skin knotted over the short *chiton*, and a cross-belt which has probably been intended to support a scabbard which is not shown; curiously enough, the artist, as if the Perseus of *B* were in his mind, has assigned to Ares the *talavria* and the wallet, *kibisis*, hanging from a second cross-belt, which certainly do not seem to belong naturally to the god of war. Like him, Herakles is empty-handed, as if the artist, hesitating between the earlier and later types, had discarded the bow, but has not yet assigned to him the club; at his back, however, his quiver still is hanging, and the lion-skin is sufficient to mark his individuality. All these figures have the right hand uplifted, as if in supplication to Zeus.

All except Artemis have naturally their place in the scene: Athenè and Hermes as the faithful companions of the hero's labours, Ares as the child of Zeus and Herè. Why Artemis should be specially chosen is not clear, except that as a specially Eastern deity, and as one constantly figuring upon the Oriental class of vases, she would naturally be at hand with an artist of such strongly Asiatic sympathies as ours. If we may as early as this connect her with Eileithuia,² she would have a closer connection still as the sister of Ares and daughter of Zeus and Herè; for in Hesiod, *Theog.* 922, the children of the king and queen of gods were "Ἡβην καὶ Ἀρηὰ καὶ Εἰλείθυϊαν; and in that case we

¹ *Odyssey*, iv. 136.

as on the chest of Kypselos, with pardalis and lion in either hand?

² May not this be the reason why we have not here the ordinary archaic type

have the triad complete, for behind Zeus sits *λευκώλενος* "Ἥρη, and on a pedestal at her side stands *καλλισφυρος* "Ἥβη. The close connection between these two goddesses is a tradition that was preserved in all stages of Greek art. In Argos, Pausanias tells us, stood the statue of *Ἥβη* beside the *Ἥρα* of Polykleitos; in Mantinea, beside the throned *Ἥρα* of Praxiteles, stood *Ἥβη* and *Ἀθηνῆ*. And the same group occurs on the frieze of the Parthenon and numerous vase pictures.¹ It seems peculiarly appropriate to this scene that she should specially supplicate her mother, for when the wrath of *Ἥρα* was turned away it was *Ἥβη* whom her mother gave as the bride of the newly admitted God.

The figure of *Ἥρῃ* is what we are familiar with as the early type of the goddess, such as we have it on the François vase and on the metope of Selinus. Suggested perhaps, originally, by the nuptial group of the *ἱερὸς γάμος* of Zeus and *Ἥρῃ*, where the pair ride side by side in the *quadriga*, and where the gesture of the hand raising the mantle is specially useful as bringing more of the figure in the background into view, this type became adopted as the usual mode of representing a bride in Greek art—and the same gesture was still employed, as here, where the necessity for it was no longer apparent.²

In the thrones of Zeus and *Ἥρῃ* our artist has allowed his love of ornament full scope; it is somewhat difficult to make out what is exactly their form, because the seat is covered with richly embroidered hangings:—

*ἔν τε θρόνοις εὐποιήτοισι τάπητας
βάλλετε πορφυρέους..*

(*Odyssey*, xx. 150.)

It would seem, however, that there is no hand-rail, as occurs for instance on the Harpy Tomb, but a horizontal rail below the seat, and that the uprights are decorated, in the space between these two horizontal pieces, with spirals; in place of the hand-rail, however, and balancing, as it were, the high back, is a lotos bloom which springs upwards from the front legs at their insertion into the seat; and probably with a view to fill the field

¹ See Overbeck, *Kunstmyth.* and cf. the cup of Sosias, Gerhard, *Trinksch.* vi.—vii.

² This bridal character of *Ἥρῃ* has been noted by Murray, *Greek Sculpture*, i. p. 265.

the artist has exaggerated the size of these, giving them the same proportions as those which already decorate the field, near the handles. The back of the chair of Zeus is in the form of a snake, similar to those upon the *ægis* of Athenè; a swan's head and neck in this connection are usually employed, and I know of no other instance exactly similar: but perhaps we may compare the snakes modelled on early Dipylon and Cyprus vases, and the snake which climbs the handle of a Chalcidian *oinochoè*, recently purchased by the British Museum, and which has two heads which lie on either side along the lip of the vase.¹

Puchstein (*loc. cit.*) remarks upon the Eastern origin of most scenes with seated figures in Greek art, and the marked Egyptian character of the Arkesilaos vase; and his remarks would specially apply to this scene, in which the procession of striding deities with their stiff attitudes, the seated figures and the angular arms, the clinging dress and circular earrings of the female figures, all remind one of an Egyptian frieze. But though the artist uses still an Oriental model for certain details of treatment, the spirit of his work is essentially Greek.

B, 2.—The myth of Perseus and Medusa is of such frequent occurrence in Greek art that it hardly seems to require any special comment here. There are, however, two points which have a special interest, the introduction of the horse-headed Medusa and the two naked boys. The entire scene is exactly that described by Hesiod in the *Scut. Her.* l. 216, &c., with these exceptions:

Medusa, deprived by Perseus of her head, still follows her sisters in their pursuit of the hero; it is curious that, though in other respects the passage of Hesiod just quoted exactly coincides with our scene, yet he makes no mention there of Pegasos and Chrysaor; and yet the myth is not unknown to him, as it appears to be to Homer; for in the *Theog.* 280, he says:

τῆς (Μ) δ' ὅτε δὴ Περσεὺς κεφαλὴν ἀπεδειροτόμησεν
ἐξέθορε Χρυσάωρ τε μέγας καὶ Πήγασος ἵππος.

The connection of the horse with Medusa, though of rare occurrence, is variously indicated at different periods in Greek

¹ See Helbig, *loc. cit.* pp. 282, 283, *d. deutsch. Inst.* vol. 2, pl. xx.—xxv. and cf. the Spartan reliefs in *Mittheil.* p. 461.

art; in a vase of black ware in the British Museum,¹ ornamented with a frieze impressed in intaglio, we have the latest and most complete development of this myth, where a winged horse flies upward from the decapitated body of the Gorgon: in the Selinus metope she holds a horse in her arms; considering the story of Pausanias of the horse-headed Demeter at Phigalia (viii. 42, 1), and the prevalence in earliest Greek art of semi-human forms, among which the head of a horse is a favourite element,² it seems not improbable that we have here an example of the earliest type in which the myth assumed a definite artistic shape.

How Chrysaor comes in, it is difficult to say: the figure as here given is one which is sometimes to be found among the bands of animals upon Oriental vases, where it is, like the other animals, no more than a mere ornament; we may perhaps compare the similar conventional employment of human figures in the *Odyssey*, vii. 100—

χρύσειοι δ' ἄρα κούροι . . . ἕστασαν,—

and from this point of view the repetition of the same figure in our scene between the two sisters of Medusa does not appear wholly unreasonable.³

The entire scene, even down to the horse-headed Medusa, is almost identically reproduced on a *kylix* in Gerhard, *Trinksch.* ii.-iii.; the figures of Athenè and the two boys are there wanting, but the field is in consequence less crowded; for this and other reasons it seems later than our vase, though the form, system, and *technique* are identical; the figures of the Gorgons⁴ exactly resemble those upon our vase *D*, a fact which is important because Gerhard's *kylix* is closely allied to the style of Nikosthenes, to whose period *D* might very well be attributed.

CECIL SMITH.

¹ *Mon. dell' Inst.* 1855, ii. p. 17.

² See Milchhöfer, *Anfänge der Kunst*, p. 62.

³ The same principle of repeating a figure from a composition, in order to fill an empty space, is shown in the Geryon scene on the *pyxis*, *ante*, and also in the vase in Beundorf, *Gr. u. Sic. Vas.* p. 106, where the vulture

which attacks Prometheus is thrice represented in the same scene.

⁴ In neither of these cases have they snakes around the waist. Those in *B*, however, correspond exactly in this respect with the description of Hesiod, *Scut. Her.* 233—

ἐπι δὲ ζώνησι δράκοντε
δοιὼ ἀπῆραρεῦντ' ἐπικυρτώνοντε κάρηνα.

SEPULCHRAL CUSTOMS IN ANCIENT PHRYGIA.

THE monument represented on the accompanying plate (No. XLIV.) is situated near the village of Liyen,¹ and is familiar to the natives of the surrounding district under the name Arslan Kaya, Lion Rock. It is about seven miles west-north-west of the cluster of monuments at Ayazeen, described in this Journal, 1882, p. 1 *ff.*, and several less important archaic tombs exist at Bei Keui and other places between Liyen and Ayazeen, so that this whole series may be grouped together and distinguished from the other series which surrounds the tomb of Midas. It is probable that the two groups belong to two distinct Phrygian cities of great antiquity—two of those cities whose former existence was known to Strabo (p. 567), but which had ceased to exist long before his time. It will be convenient, in want of the ancient names, to distinguish these two ancient cities by reference to the Roman towns which stood near them—Meros at Kumbet, near the Midas-tomb, and Metropolis south of Ayazeen.

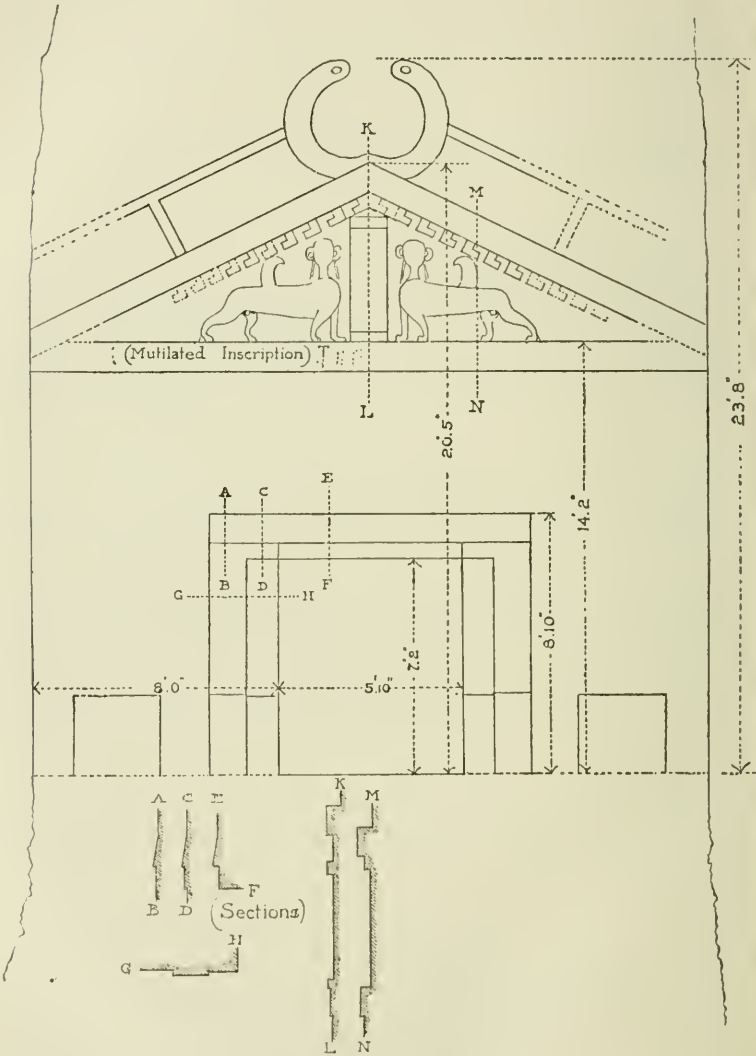
Arslan Kaya is a tall conical rock, of sugar-loaf shape, standing quite isolated on a steep grassy slope.² The mass of the rock, higher than ten feet from the ground, is a fine soft conglomerate, the same in which the majority of the Phrygian tombs are carved. Between ten and five feet above the ground

¹ Liyen is not marked on Kiepert's map, where the whole district in which the Phrygian monuments are situated is almost a blank. It is a village on the road from Afium Kara Hissar to Kutayah, seven hours from the former, eleven hours from the latter, and about two hours south-east of Doghan Arslan,

which is indicated on Kiepert's map.

² The total height is probably about fifty to sixty feet; but it is difficult to judge. The drawings on Pl. XLIV. have unfortunately been made too tall. My sketches on the spot were restricted to the sculptured part of the rock.

is a layer of sandstone, horizontally stratified. Below this again is a soft conglomerate. The monument is carved entirely in the upper conglomerate.



The rock has been cut on three sides, so as to present three smooth vertical faces at right angles to each other, looking

respectively east, south, and west. The southern or central face is the most important. It is similar in style to the class of monuments of which the Midas-tomb is the type. A flat rectangular surface, ornamented in a geometrical pattern, and having a doorway in the lower part, is surmounted by a pediment, with a quaint acroterion over the apex. The geometrical pattern has suffered so much from the weather that it cannot now be properly understood: but an occasional fragment shows that it was an arrangement of squares or maeanders and crosses, such as is usual in these monuments.¹ The whole is carved in exceedingly low relief. On the band that divides the pediment from the rectangular surface an inscription in the tall narrow Phrygian characters was engraved: but it is not decipherable at the distance from which a spectator who has no ladder must contemplate it.²

The pediment is not plain, as in the other monuments of this type, but is sculptured in relief, like the pediment of the tomb at Kumbet, engraved by M. Perrot, *Explor. Archéologique en Galatie*, &c., pl. vii.

Two sphinxes of very archaic character stand in the two angles, turned towards each other, but separated by the supporting column which always occupies the middle of these pediments. Their faces are directed outwards, the ears are very large, but the features are now hopelessly obliterated.³ A long curl hangs down in archaic style over the shoulder of each. On the day which I spent drawing the monument I did not observe that the sex was indicated; but on the following morning, when we returned to compare each detail of the drawings with the original, it appeared to me, and I think also to Mr. Sterrett, that the left-hand sphinx was characterised as male. Such a detail was visible only in a favourable light, and in the worn state of the surface is very uncertain.

A band of maeander pattern runs along the two sloping sides of the pediment.

¹ Arslan Kaya has suffered more from the weather than any other of the great monuments in Phrygia: the others are protected by projecting parts of the rock overhead.

² On a later visit I observed that the

inscription is hopelessly obliterated.

³ The sphinx on the right is much more dilapidated than that on the left. It seemed better in drawing to restore it exactly on the analogy of its better-preserved neighbour.

The acroterion is very remarkable: it is distinctly intended 'to represent two serpents' heads.

The doorway in the lower part of monuments of this class has in the examples hitherto met with been shut. In the present case however the two valves of the door are thrown wide open, and merely represented in relief against the sides of the little chamber into which the door gives admittance. On each wing of the door there is a horizontal row of little round knobs near the top, showing that it represents a wooden door studded with iron nails. On the right wing is a defaced ornament which may be a lock or possibly a knocker.

The form of the doorway should be compared with those of the Midas-tomb and of the monument at Delikli Tash. M. Perrot¹ has already observed the peculiar form of the lintel in these cases. I know no analogy to the curious projecting members in the lower part of the door, nor to the faint lines above the pediment.

I have already suggested (*Journal*, 1882, p. 27) that the outer face of the monuments of this class is intended to imitate the oriental carpets which were sometimes in Greek temples hung in front of the holy figure of the temple-deity to conceal it from profane eyes: thus, in the temple of Cora at Mantinea, the priestess *ἔσκέπασεν τὰ ἱερὰ μυστήρια*, hanging in front of them an oriental carpet. 'The dead man too is a god, and his sanctuary is hidden from view behind the carpet of rock.'

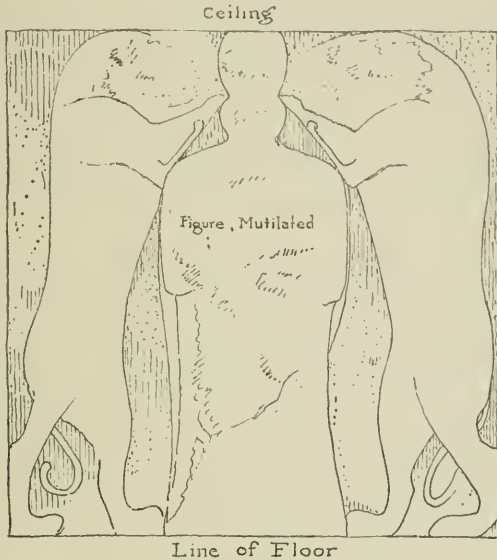
The present monument appears to me to justify completely the words which I used two years ago. Through the open door we penetrate behind the veil into the sanctuary. Carved in relief on the back of the little chamber we see the two rampant lionesses,² which are the favourite device in Phrygian monuments. But in this case they do not rest their paws against a column: they lay them on the shoulders of the goddess herself, and place their heads lovingly against hers: *εὐφρων καλὰ δρόσοισι λεπτοῖς μαλερῶν λεόντων*. This position constitutes a new variety of the well-known hieratic *schema* called the 'Persian Artemis.'

The lionesses are represented in profile, and only one of the

¹ Compare his account of Delikli Tash and his note on the Midas-tomb.

² The sex is doubtful, owing to mutilation of the surface.

forepaws is visible. There is a curious marking on the foreleg, perhaps intended to indicate muscles. Both hindlegs and the long curling tail are visible. The image of Cybele was carved in very high relief on the back of the chamber. It was similar



in style to those archaic terra-cotta idols, the upper part of which imitates the human figure, while the lower part is a mere cylinder growing wider towards the bottom, so as to afford a broad and secure basis for the idol to stand. This figure was represented in relief fully a foot high: but the soft conglomerate was unsuited for a relief standing out so boldly, and the front part has fallen off, leaving an uneven surface. On the other hand the two lionesses are in very low relief and are therefore in excellent preservation except the heads, in which the relief is rather higher, and the surface of the abdomen.

A similar idol, much ruder and smaller than this one, stands in a little niche about three feet high, near the Lion-tombs.

The figure of Cybele occupied the whole height of the wall, *i.e.* seven feet two inches. The arms were pressed against the

sides, the elbows were bent, and the hands placed in front of the body, the right hand over the bosom, the left hand over the middle;¹ the attitude is familiar from Oriental idols and Greek statues of Aphrodite. On her head she wore a *polos*, the outline of which on the wall is barrel-shaped. A long veil or garment seems to hang on both sides of the body. This rude image is the Mother-Goddess, who is indicated by her attitude as the producer and nourisher of the life of earth. We know her name in this old Phrygian home of hers. Only a few miles away, close to the other lion monuments, is an altar cut in the rock, and above it is an inscription written *boustrophedon* in Phrygian characters. The middle of the inscription has been broken away, but the beginning fortunately remains—*Matar Kubile*.

Matar Kubile was the name by which the Phrygians invoked the goddess. It is interesting that the nearest city of the Roman time to these old monuments was named Conni Metropolis; in the Byzantine time the heathen name of 'Meter' was changed to that of the Christian saint Demetrius, and the city is called in lists of bishoprics Conni Demetrioupolis. This observation gives the long-sought site of the northern Metropolis of Phrygia, which has been placed in many different situations. It stood on the Roman road from Nacoleia to Eucarpia, near the modern village Beuyeuk Tchorgia.²

But though Conni was nearer than any other city to the Lion-tombs, it is probable that they were in the territory of the important city of Prynnessos.³ Midas appears on coins of Prynnessos, which may be taken as a proof that these old monuments were in the Roman time associated with the ancient kings of Phrygia.

The face of the monument which looks to the east is entirely occupied by a large rampant lion. He stands quite upright, and

¹ This detail can be gathered from the difference of angle at the two elbows, though the bad preservation of the image makes it difficult to be certain.

² I formerly attempted to identify Metropolis with Augustopolis, a site nine miles S.E. of Tchorgia: I wish here to correct the error. See *Mittheilungen Instit. Ath.* 1882, p. 137.

³ Conni seems to have been an insignificant town under the empire; no coins are known, unless some ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ belong to it. Prynnessos was at Seulun, three miles S.E. of Afium Kara Hissar. It was certainly a city of importance, and perhaps exercised some authority over the neighbouring Metropolis.

places his forepaws on the angle of the pediment on the southern side. The lines of the figure, like those of the two lionesses in the shrine, are exceedingly fine and spirited. The sex is certain, whereas that of the animals in the shrine remains uncertain. Analogy points to the opinion that the latter are female: this is the case with the pair of animals on the Lion-tomb near Ayazeen and with those over the Lion-gate at Mycenae. In later monuments the case is different: at Kumbet (see Perrot, Pl. vii.) and at Ayazeen (*Journ. Hell. Stud.*, Pl. XXVI., XXVII.) the pair consists of a male and a female. I was exceedingly careful in drawing the toes of the lion's left hindfoot, the forms of which are peculiar: the paws of the two lionesses are different, less carefully cut, and more like the form usual in archaic sculpture. Only one forepaw is shown in each of the lionesses, a true archaic characteristic, whereas both forepaws of the lion are distinctly visible: but the marking on the forepaws of the lionesses does not appear on those of the lion.¹ This marking may be compared with that on the hindleg of a deer found in a tumulus near Kertch, a product of Ionian art of a later period.²

On the western face of our monument there is a gryphon, *passant* to the right. His head is much injured, but was probably a simple eagle's head without ears or any other prominent feature, and with the mouth closed (Type C of Furtwängler, *Bronzefund*, p. 47). The wings, like those of the sphinxes, are curled round in the archaic style.

I hope to take an early opportunity of discussing the bearing of this and other monuments on the history of Ionian and generally of Greek art, but I will here state my opinion as to the date of the Arslan Kaya. As I have stated in previous papers, I believe that Phrygian art stands in the closest relations with the Ionian colonies of the Euxine coast. Now if we compare the gryphon and the sphinxes with the earliest known specimens of Ionian decorative art, the general resemblance is obvious, while the exceedingly ancient character of the Phrygian monument is equally clear. Every detail in these

¹ On a second visit I convinced myself that these are the facts: the lines on the forepaw of each lioness do not indicate a pair of paws.

² Furtwängler, *Goldfund von Veltersfelde*, p. 16, who refers to *Antiq. du Bosphor.*, Pl. 26, 1.

two types on the Arslan Kaya is early archaic, and a careful examination proves that they can hardly be later than the early part of the sixth century, and are probably earlier. But the lions of the Arslan Kaya are quite different in character from those of the Vettersfeld ornaments.¹ The latter show the type of the lions on the tomb at Kumbet and on other later Phrygian monuments (see especially the single Vettersfeld lion on Pl. iii. 1), whereas our lions are of a far grander type, bolder and finer in outline, more natural and life-like. This type is quite lost in the later monuments. Artistic considerations therefore force back the date of our monument to the seventh century. Now on historical grounds it is improbable that any very great monument in Phrygia belongs to the period 670—600. During this time we know that the Cimmerians overran the country, and that in Phrygia alone they achieved complete success, being finally expelled by Alyattes between 610 and 590. The Arslan Kaya is therefore earlier than 670, while on the other hand the presence of the inscription in characters, which as I have elsewhere shown were learned from the Greek colonists of Sinope, proves that the monument is later than 730.

The only trustworthy way of representing a monument like this is by photography, and I hope to be able soon to publish a photograph. But it would be almost necessary to publish a drawing along with a photograph, as it is so difficult to see every detail from one point of view. It seemed, however, advisable to make known a monument so important as this even by the imperfect and insufficient medium of drawings, and trust to the future to supplement them by photographs. I knew that I should never be able to make better drawings than when inspired at first by the discovery of the monument, and it was exceedingly doubtful whether I should ever have the opportunity of taking a trained draughtsman to the place.²

The measurements were made, with Mr. Sterrett's help, by means of a rope thrown over the shoulder of the rock.

I do not at present intend to make any general remarks about the art of Phrygia. I will only say that each new monument

¹ Furtwängler, *l.c.*

² I am responsible for every curve and every other scientific detail: the

delicacy of the drawing is due to a more skilful hand than mine.

affords new and more striking resemblances to archaic Greek art. Hitherto no example was known in Phrygia of the composite animals, such as the sphinx and the gryphon. In Phrygian art we are not impressed as in Phoenician art with isolated points of resemblance to Greek amidst a general diversity of character. We see substantially the same race, affected by similar influences from the East, and producing works whose whole spirit and character have something of the true Greek feeling.¹

Amid the diversity in details, what a close resemblance in spirit is there between the Phrygian tale of Marsyas and the Greek tale of Orpheus! There is the same melancholy tone, the same devotion to music, the same close relation to an orgiastic worship, and finally a terrible death.

The question arises—What was the purpose of this monument? There is no appearance, no possibility of supposing that a grave ever existed in the chamber: but I feel convinced that the monument is sepulchral. In that case the actual grave was in the ground, and the monument is merely the tombstone, so to speak. In support of this view we must remember that almost all the many hundreds of rock monuments known in Phrygia are obviously sepulchral. Moreover, I shall here place together some facts about Phrygian graves and sepulchral inscriptions which make it probable that even the doubtful rock-monuments are sepulchral, and which will throw some light on the ideas of death and the future world entertained by the persons who made those graves.

As almost all my arguments are drawn from inscriptions of the Roman period, it is necessary to state beforehand that I believe these late authorities may with proper caution be used as evidence for the true ancient beliefs of the Phrygian people.

A varnish of Graeco-Roman civilisation was spread over the country in the second and third centuries after Christ; western Phrygia was affected fifty to a hundred years earlier than the eastern country. Especially Hellenic mythology took the place of the native legends: I have given examples of the tendency to substitute Greek names and tales for the native Lydian or

¹ With the Phrygian use of the meander pattern compare *Arch. Ztg.* 1884, Pl. ix., Figs. 2, 5.

Phrygian in this Journal, 1882, p. 64, 1883, p. 64. But the old religion continued unaffected in substance, though Hellenised in name, and customs sanctioned by religion, especially funeral usages, must have been very slow to alter. For example, in the valley of the river Tembris,¹ which runs along the western border of the district in which the old Phrygian monuments lie, the regular decoration of gravestones in the Roman period is the old heraldic type of the pair of lions facing each other in a pediment. Again, Moritz Schmidt rightly recognised in some barbarous formulas appended to Greek sepulchral inscriptions of the Roman period a curse in the native tongue against violators of the tomb. Why should this one part of the inscription be in the native tongue, and the rest in Greek? Either the belief was that the old Phrygian tongue was more holy, and more efficacious with the gods of Phrygia, or the fact was that the Phrygian language was more generally intelligible than Greek. Either alternative shows the strength of the old native feeling in the country; in spite of Graeco-Roman dress and foreign language, the Phrygian character is not hidden.

Two kinds of sepulchral monument were commonly used in Phrygia in the Roman time. One is a slab of marble or other stone carved to imitate a doorway. The doorposts, the two valves, the lintel, and generally a pointed or rounded pediment above, are all indicated: one or two knockers are usually carved on the door, and symbols referring to the ordinary life of the deceased person are often represented on the panels, a basket, a strigil, a mirror or something of the kind. The door is often surmounted by a pediment, triangular or semicircular, which is sometimes plain, sometimes sculptured. In the Tembris valley the sculptural decoration, as has just been stated, is almost always the ancient heraldic device—a pair of lions. The inscription is placed sometimes above the pediment, sometimes beneath it, rarely on the door itself. I have seen many hundred gravestones of this kind, in every part of Phrygia, in Galatia, and in Pisidia. This class of tombstone recalls to mind the ancient monuments in which a door is a prominent part.

¹ Tembris on a coin of Midaion, Pliny (*N. H.* v. 1) and in an un-Thymbres in Livy, Tembrogius in published inscription.

The second kind of tombstone is equally common and widespread. It is a square pillar with very simple pedestal and capital. In many cases the epitaph on such a tombstone is expressed in the form—ὁ δεῖνα τὸν βωμὸν ἀνέστησεν. The regular name of the monument was therefore ‘the Altar.’ It is probable that several old Phrygian monuments, in which nothing is apparent except an altar with or without an inscription, are really sepulchral.

No. 1.¹

At Ishekly, the ancient Eumeneia, on a tombstone of the βωμὸς type in the modern cemetery :

ΘΥΡΑ

There has never been any other inscription.

No. 2.

At Eumeneia in the court of the Konak : on a tombstone similar to the last : on one side

ZΩΤΙΚΟCANT
ΩΝΙΑΘΗ ΙΑΓΥΝΑΙΚ
ΙΚΑΙΕΑΥΤΩΜΝΗCΧ
ΑΡΙΝ

Ζωτικὸς Ἀντ-
ωνία τῆ [ιδ]ία γυναικ-
ὶ καὶ ἐαυτῶ μνη[μη]s χ-
άριν.²

on another side

ΘΥΡΑ

No. 3.

At Eumeneia, in the modern cemetery, on a tombstone of form like the preceding : on one side

¹ Nos. 1 and 3 were copied by Mr. Sterrett and myself in company, No. 2 by me alone.

² The engraver has omitted two letters in line three.

ΙΟΥΛΙΑΕΑΥΤΗ	Ἰουλία ἑαυτῇ
ΚΑΙΤΩΑΝΔΡΙΔΑ	καὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ Δα-
ΜΑΚΑΙΠΟΥΛΙΑ	μᾶ καὶ Ἰουλια-
ΝΗΤΗΘΥΓΑΤΡΙ	νῆ τῇ θυγατρὶ
5 ΚΑΙΓΑΙΩΤΩΓΑΙ	καὶ Γαίῳ τῷ γα[μ-
ΡΩΚΑΙΣΕΒΗΡΕΙ	β]ρῶ καὶ Σεβηρεί-
ΝΗ ΗΘΥΓΑΙ	νῆ [τ]ῇ θυγα[τ-
ΡΙΜΝΗΜΗΣΧΑ	ρὶ μνήμης χά-
ΡΙΝ ΕΙΔΕΤΙΣΕ	ριν. Εἰ δέ τις ἕ-
10 ΤΕΡΟΝΕΠΙΧΕΙ	τερον ἐπιχει-
ΡΗΣΕΙΘΙΝΑΙΤΙ	ρήσει θίναί τι-
ΝΑΘΗΣΕΙΙΣΤΟ	να, θίσει ἰς τό-
ΝΦΙΣΚΟΝ*ΑΦ	ν φίσκον (δην.) ἀφ.

on the other side

ΘΥΡΑ

The second and third inscriptions probably belong to the first (or the beginning of the second) century after Christ: this date is gathered from the Latin names, Julia, Juliane, Antonia, &c. They belong therefore to a comparatively early time among the inscriptions of this district.

No. 4.

At Kara Hodja, a village in the Haimaneh, about an hour and a half south-east of the hot springs of Myrikion, now the Merkez of the Haimaneh,¹ in ancient Galatia. Copied by Mr. Sterrett and myself.

¹ Merkez in Turkish means 'head-quarters': the seat of government of the Haimaneh was established here two years ago, having previously been at the village of Sivri. There was no

village at the baths, till the spot was selected as the Merkez of the Haimaneh, and when we visited it, in 1883, there were only about fifteen new houses around the government offices.

ΕΤΟ Ε Μ ΝΟΣΖ
 ΑΙ ΔΙΚΟΥ
 ΟΓΓΕ/ \ΙΟΥΣΤΑΤΕΙΛΙ.
 ΙΔΙΑΓΥΝΑΙΚΙΑΝΕΣΤΗ
 ΝΒΩΜΟΝΚΑΙΤΗΝΘΥΡΑ
 ΕΚΤΩΝΙΔΙΩΝΑΝΕΣΤΗΣΕΝ
 ΜΝΗΜΗΣΧΑΡΙΝ
 ΣΤΑΤΙΛΙΑΖΩΣΑΠΡΟ
 ΝΟΥΣΑΠΑΡΑΘΗΚΗΝ
 ΕΔΩΚΙΤΙΝΙΕΡΕΑΝΠ.
 ΕΙΝΟΝΚΑΙΨΕΛΛΙ ΔΥ
 ΟΑΡΓΥΡΑΚΛΙΜΗΑΠΟ
 ΔΙΔΗΟCΙΟΝΔΙΚΕΟΝ
 ΗΛΙΕΚΥΡΙΕΥΜΕΙCΕΚΑΙ
 ΚΗΣΑΤΕΑΥΤΗΝΝΕΚΡΑΝ
 ΚΑΙΤΑΤΕΚΝΑΖΩΝΤ

Like all the inscriptions which we found in the Haimaneh, this is merely scratched in a rude way on the stone: it is the work of an unskilful engraver and an uneducated writer. Graeco-Roman civilisation had not thoroughly established itself at Myrion when the epitaph was composed, and the native customs of burial and worship of the Pessinuntine Cybele remained unaffected. It was exceedingly difficult to decipher the faint and ill-formed letters, and equally difficult to understand the meaning.

"Ετο[υ]ς . . . , μ[η]νός Ξανδίκου [. . . .]ος Γε[λλ]ίου Στα-
 τειλι[α] ἰδία γυναικὶ ἀνέστη[σε τὸ]ν βωμὸν καὶ τὴν θύρα[ν] ἐκ
 τῶν ἰδίων ἀνέστησεν μνήμης χάριν.

Στατειλία ζῶσα [φ]ρονοῦσα παραθήκην ἔδωκ[έ] τιμι (?)
 ΕΡΕΑΝ π[ρά]σινον καὶ ψέλλι[α] δύο ἀργυρᾶ, κα[ν?] μὴ
 ἀποδιδῆ, "Οσίου Δίκεον, "Ηλιε Κύριε, ὑμεῖς ἐκ[δ]ικήσατε τὴν
 νεκρὰν καὶ τὰ τέκνα ζῶντ[α].

"Οσιος Δίκαιος is a standing epithet of the deity in Anatolian inscriptions; here it appears to be used as a proper name, and, regardless of grammar, two deities are invoked to avenge the dead Statilia and her living children, if the pledge which she deposited with some unnamed person is not returned. ἡ πρᾶ-

σινος is an emerald; the word before it has not been deciphered: *προνοῦσα* is probably due to Galatian pronunciation. *ἔδωκε* is certainly the reading on the stone.

The four inscriptions published above are all engraved on simple *βωμοί*, yet in one case the monument is called *ὁ βωμὸς καὶ ἡ θύρα*: and in the others the name *θύρα* is placed on the monument apart from the regular inscription, as if to specify a point that was not clear to the beholder.

The last inscription explains the others. The son of Gellius places the altar and the door for his dead wife. It appears then that according to Phrygian ideas there were two necessary elements in the sepulchral monument, an altar and a door. When a plain altar was placed as a tombstone, it was sometimes thought necessary to add expressly the word 'Door.' Even where only the one name is given, we may understand that the fundamental idea was the same. The door was the passage of communication between the world of life and the world of death: the altar was the place on which the living placed the offerings due to the dead.

It is unnecessary to follow this idea through the elaborate funeral monuments with numerous parts, each called by a special name, which were often used by rich men. A sarcophagus is commonly used at Hierapolis and in Ionia and Lycia; but the sarcophagus is only the receptacle in which the body is placed, and we often find the door and the altar indicated besides.

These two elements, the door and the altar, occur regularly in the early monuments. In many cases the altar indeed is not expressly carved in the rock; but when the monument has the form of a temple or a shrine, the altar is an implied accompaniment. In other cases the rock-altar is the most important part of the whole monument.

Among the early monuments one class, of which the Midas-tomb or the Arslan Kaya is type, especially attracts our attention as being so peculiarly characteristic of Phrygia: in it we see the door and the veil in front of the shrine. In one case alone the door is opened, and we are admitted to contemplate *τὰ ἱερὰ μυστήρια*. We see here, not a sarcophagus, no place or room for a dead human body, but the Mother-Goddess and her favourite animals.

May we not infer from this that the mere custody of the body was not the sole nor even the chief intention of the funeral monument in Phrygia? The intention is to show that the dead has returned to his divine mother. It is a similar idea when the Lydian chiefs and kings are buried on the shores of the Gygean lake Coloe; and we know from Homer that the Maeonian chiefs are the sons of the lake or of the Naiad Nymph who bears them beside the lake.

The natural inference is that the Phrygian religion considered the dead as identified with the divine nature: the sepulchre of the dead was a monument or shrine of the Mother-Goddess. In that case the construction of a grave was an act of piety and of homage to the deity, with whom the dead person was identified. Can we find in inscriptions any test to prove or disprove this inference?

I shall give first an inscription, imperfectly published, *C. I. G.* No. 3810; the editor has wrongly altered the copies, accurate so far as they go, of Pococke and Kinneir.

No. 5.

Dorylaion, in the bridge over the Porsuk Tchai, the ancient Tembris: on a marble slab imitating the front of a temple or *heroon*. Copied by me.

MENANΔΙΟΥ ΠΩ	Μένανδ[ρος "Ιπ]πω-
ΝΟΚΑΙΑΜΕΙΑΣΤΕΙ	νος καὶ Ἀμείας Τεί-
ΜΩΝΙΘΡΕΠΤΩΚΑΙ	μωνι θρεπτῶ καὶ
ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ	Ἀπολλώνιος
ΚΑΙ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ ΕΥΝ	καὶ Διονύσιος συν-
ΤΡΟΦΟΥ ΠΕΡΤΩΝ	τρόφω ὑπὲρ τῶν
ΙΔΙΩΝ ΔΙΪ ΒΡΟΝ	ιδίων Διὶ Βρον-
ΔΤΩΝΤΙΣ	τῶντι.

This inscription is, to judge from the nomenclature, probably not later than the first century after Christ. It has been engraved on the tombstone of Timon by his master and his mistress,

and by his fellow-slaves, Apollonius and Dionysius.¹ These four persons make the grave of the dead man, and consider this act as a homage to Zeus Bronton on behalf of their own family.

No. 6.

At Kara Bazar, on the road from Dorylaion to Nacoleia, on a marble βωμός. On the capital is carved a vine-branch with a bunch of grapes, and over the inscription is a wreath. Copied by me.

ΠΕΡΣΕΥΣΚ-ΠΛΟΥ	Περσεὺς κὲ Πλού-
ΣΙΟΣΦΑΙΝΙΠΠΩ	σιος Φαινίππω
ΠΑΤΡΙΚ-ΜΗΤΡΙ	πατρὶ κὲ μητρὶ
Κ-ΔΙΙΒΡΟΝΤΩΝΤΙ	κὲ Διὶ Βροντῶντι
ΕΥΧΗΝ	εὐχὴν.

This is the epitaph on a tomb erected by two sons for their parents. The sons consider that the act of erecting the tombstone is equivalent to discharging a vow to Zeus Bronton. To judge from the names the inscription is of a *comparatively* early time; but, as the district is one remote from civilising influences, it can hardly be earlier than the second century after Christ.

No. 7.

Near Kara Bazar, at the Devrent, on a βωμός: on the capital is carved a star, and over the inscription three bulls' heads. Copied by me.

ΑΥΡΔΙΟΔΩΡΟ	Αὐρ. Διόδωρο-
ΣΜΕΤΑΣΥΝΒΙ	ς μετὰ συνβί-
ΟΥΤΥΧΗΖΩΝ	ου Τύχη ζῶν-
ΤΕΣΕΑΥΤΟΙΣ	τες ἑαυτοῖς
Κ-ΔΙΙΒΡΟΝΤΩΝ	κὲ Διὶ Βροντῶν-
ΕΥΧΗΝ	τι] εὐχὴν.

This inscription is placed over the grave which Diodoros and his wife prepared for themselves. They regard this act as the

¹ Menandros and his wife had therefore three *θερεπτοὶ* or *θρέματα*.

payment of a vow to Zeus Bronton. The inscription belongs to the third century after Christ.

On the analogy of these and similar inscriptions, which I need not quote here, it may be unhesitatingly maintained that a large number of dedications in the district round Nacoleia and Dorylaion, in which the sepulchral reference is not so explicit, are in reality gravestones. Of such inscriptions, published and unpublished, I know about a hundred. They are generally addressed to Zeus Bronton, or to Zeus Papas, or to Papas simply. Papas, as Arrian says, was the Bithynian name of Zeus; it occurs frequently in inscriptions of Nacoleia. The following is a specimen.

No. 8.

On a small stele of common stone found in a field near Nacoleia. I copied the inscriptions from six similar stelai, all found in the same field: the owner said that the ground around was full of them. They are all evidently gravestones of common people: the top is ornamented in the style of a pediment, and there is a plain pedestal ending in a projecting spike to stick in the ground. The one which is here published differed from the others in having a representation of the god on it: the god is apparently intended to be androgynous, like the Carian Zeus, but in such rude work, the point can hardly be asserted positively.

ΟΥΛΠΙΑΣΑ

ΒΙΣΠΑΠΑΕΥΧΗ

N

Οὐλπία Σά-

βις Παπαῖ εὐχῆ-

v.

The other inscriptions from this field are similar in style: the field was doubtless a cemetery of the poorer classes.

In this Journal, 1882, p. 124, I spoke about Zeus Bronton or Papas, the god of Nacoleia. I have no alteration to make in the views there expressed, except to lay much greater stress on the Chthonian character of the god. Almost every inscription in which he is mentioned is a gravestone. The area within which he is worshipped is a narrow one, including only the

district between Nacoleia, Dorylaion, and Trocnada or Tricomia.¹ Outside of this district, I know only of three, one at Cotyaion, one at Ancyra of Galatia, and one in Rome erected by a Greek named Aur. Poplius. Poplius clearly belonged to this district of Phrygia, and went to Rome either as a visitor or a settler.²

The district in which Zeus Bronton was worshipped lies along the east and north edge of the mountainous country in which the ancient Phrygian monuments are situated. On the west side of these mountains, we find that Zeus Bennios is worshipped. Numerous inscriptions in his honour occur, and the important town of Bennisoa was named from his worship. A curious inscription in the Phrygian village of Serea shows what the people themselves thought of the relation between Zeus Bronton and Zeus Bennios.

No. 10.

On a stele at Kuyujak, a village three hours north-west of Nacoleia; copied by Mr. Sterrett.

ΜΑΡΚΟΣ	Μάρκος
ΜΑΡΚΟΥ	Μάρκου
ΔΙΙΒΡΟΝΤΩΝ	Διὺ Βροντῶν-
ΤΙΚΑΙΒΕΝΝΕΙ	τι καὶ Βεννεῖ
ΣΕΡΕΑΝΩΣΤ	Σερεανῶ στ-
ΕΦΑΝΟΝ	έφανον.

¹ The word Tricomia shows that the country of the Trocnades or Trocmades, Rege-trocnada, contained three villages: the use of the word in an unpublished inscription from a different district is decisive as to the sense.

² The following is a memorial of the visit of another Nacoleian to Rome.

No. 9.

In the *tekke* of Seidi Ghazi, on a little slab of marble. It has been published unintelligibly by Mordtmann (*Sidi Ghazi und Nacoleia in Münch. Gel. Anz.*, 1861). Copied by me, and afterwards by Mr. Sterrett.

ΘΕΩ	ΥΨΙC	Θεῶ ὙψίC-
ΤΩ	ΕΥ	τω εὐ-
ΧΗ	ΝΑΥ	χῆν Λύ-
Ρ-ΙΑΙ	ΟC	ρήλιος
ΑCΚΑ	ΑΠΩ	Ἄσκλάπω-
ΝΗΝ	ΟΜΟ	ν, ἦν [ὠ]μο-
ΛΟΤΗC	ΕΝCΙ	λό[γ]ησεν εἶν
ΡΩΜ	Η	Ῥώμη.

Here it is evident that Benni-s, or Zeus Benneus, the god of the western side, and Papas, or Zeus Bronton, the god of the eastern side, are expressly identified.

The numerous inscriptions of which these are specimens show clearly that the making of a grave was regarded as the payment of a vow to the god of the district. I do not maintain that every stone in the district which records a vow of the god is sepulchral : *e.g.* the votive tablet of Aur. Asklapon, quoted above, has not the appearance of a gravestone. But the gravestones which I have seen in the district where Papas was worshipped are, with scarcely an exception, inscribed in this style. One stone, which I believe to be sepulchral, explains the meaning of the custom.

No. 11.

On a marble cippus at Kutayah, in the possession of an Armenian stone-cutter who had brought it from Karagatch Euren, near Altyntash. Above the inscription there are carved in relief a bunch of grapes, an eagle, and a radiated head of the sun-god. Copied by Mr. Sterrett and myself in company.

ΔΗ ΒΕΝΝΙΩ	Διὶ Βεννίῳ
ΔΙΟΓΕΝΗΣΥΠΕΡ	Διογίνης ὑπὲρ
ΔΙΟΓΕΝΟΥΣΠΑΠΠΟΥ	Διογένους πάππου
ΚΑΙΚΛΗΡΥΣΙΟΥ	καὶ Κλ. Χρυσίου
ΜΑΜΜΗΣΚΑΙΤΩΝ	μάμμης καὶ τῶν
ΚΑΤΟΙΚΟΥΝΤΩΝ	κατοικούντων
ΕΝΙΣΚΟΜΗΚΑΘΙΕΡΩ	ἐν Ἴσκόμῃ καθίερῳ
ΣΕΝ	σεν.

ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣΙΣΓΕΡΕΑΝΟΣΕΠΟΙΕΙ
Ἄπολλώνιος Ἴσγερεανὸς ἐποίει.

This inscription belongs most probably to the second century after Christ. The reference to the inhabitants of the village is a specially common feature in inscriptions of this district; the name of the village seems to be Iskome. The artist is a native of Isgerea.

I understand this inscription to be placed by Diogenes on the grave of his grandparents; in preparing the grave Diogenes considers that he is dedicating the spot to Zeus Bennios. The grave is a shrine of Zeus, and the funeral offerings to the dead were considered at the same time as offerings to Zeus. Diogenes might have expressed the epitaph in the formula, *πάππῳ καὶ μίμμη καὶ Διὶ Βεννίῳ*: the meaning would have been the same.

It is not always easy to determine in these inscriptions who is buried in the tomb. For example

No. 12.

On a stele similar to No. 8, and found in the same place. Copied by me.¹

ΔΑΔΑΚΑΝ	Δαδα Καν-
ΚΑΡΟΥΝΟΥΝΑ	καρου Νουνα-
ΔΟΚΟΥΕΚΡΟΚ	δος Ούεκροκ-
ΩΜΗΤΙΣΣΑ	ωμήτισσα
ΔΙΠΛΑΠΑ	Διὶ Παπᾶ
ΕΥΧΗΝ	εὐχήν.

The names on this stele are so purely Phrygian that it is hard to tell how they are to be divided. Probably Dada was daughter of Kankaros Nounas, who had, according to Phrygian custom, two names, and her native village was Vekrokome. It is impossible to determine whether she was burying one of her relatives or preparing her own last resting-place. The latter is more probable; more than half of the Phrygian epitaphs known to me include a provision for the burial of the erector.

In all the epitaphs which have been quoted the dedication is to a god. The following is to the Mother-Goddess.

No. 13.

On a marble *βαμός* at Doghalar, a village two hours north of Altyntash, on the western edge of the Phrygian mountains. Defaced reliefs on the back and on one side of the altar. Copied by me.

¹ As I remarked above, this stone is quite certainly sepulchral.

ΠΑΤΡΟΚΛΙ-Ε	Πατροκλῆς [Ἰππολ-
ΛΩΝΙΟΥΜ-ΙΤ	λωνίου Μητ[ρὶ Θε-
ΩΝΖΙΝΓΟΤΙ-Ν-Κ	ῶν Ζινγοτηνῆ κ[ατ-
ΑΚΕΛΕΥΣΙΝΤΙ-Ε	ὰ κέλευσιν τῆς Θε[ε-
5 ΑΣΥΠΕΡΕΑΥΤΟΥ	ᾶς ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ [κὲ τ-
ΩΝΙΔΙΩΝΚ-ΤΗΕΚΩ	ῶν ἰδίων κὲ τῆς κώ-
Μ-ΕΖΙΝΓΟΤΟΕΕΩΤΗ	μης Ζίνγοτος σωτη-
ΡΙΑΣΤΟΝΒΩΜΟΝ	ρίας τὸν βωμὸν [ἀ-
ΝΕΣΤΗΕΝ ¹	νίστησεν.

I believe that this stone marks the grave which Patrokles intended to be occupied by himself and his family. He dedicates the spot to the Μητὴρ Θεῶν, just as the maker of the ancient tomb described in this paper made it a shrine of the Mother-Goddess.

The idea that the dead person has thrown off his own nature and become identified with a divine or heroic personage, can be traced in some rare cases in Greek inscriptions, while it apparently underlies certain classes of archaic sepulchral reliefs. I do not refer to cases where the dead man is worshipped as a hero, but where his personality is merged in that of an independently existing hero or god. Such is the explanation of a relief and inscription from Pergamon, now in my possession, which I described before the Archaeological Society in Berlin, February 5, 1884. The monument was interpreted, as I believe quite wrongly,² by Dr. Belger in the *Berl. Philol. Zft.* March 1st. The relief is of a common sepulchral type. The left and the centre are occupied by a horseman, turned to the right: the man has the reins in his left hand and with his right holds out a patera towards a serpent which drinks from it. The serpent is coiled round a tree in front of the horse. On the extreme right stands an adorant of the usual type. Beneath the relief is the inscription

ΑΝΙΟΥΝΕΩΚΟΡΟΣΑΘΗ
ΟΥΗΡΩΙΠΕΡΓΑΜΩ³

¹ In 5 ΠΕ, in 6 ΤΗΕ, in 7 ΤΗ
licé.

² As a votive relief belonging to a shrine of the Hero Pergamos.

³ It is probable, but not certain, that the *iota adscriptum* was expressed in Γεργάμφ. The name Ἀσκληῶς is of course supplied merely *exempli gratia*,

'Ασκλᾶς? 'Απολλ]ωνίου νεωκόρος 'Αθη[νᾶς Νικηφόρ]ου "Ἡρωι Περγάμῳ. Another method of supplying the gap was suggested by Dr. M. Fränkel, but it does not seem to me satisfactory: 'Ασκλᾶς? 'Απολλ]ωνίου νεωκόρος 'Αθη[ναίῳ Νικαί?]ου "Ἡρωι Περγάμῳ. The person to whom the grave belongs is treated as identified with the eponymous hero of the city, and his original name is not mentioned.¹ The relief belongs probably to the latter part of the third or beginning of the second century B.C.²

A similar case occurs in the Saboureff Collection, and has been correctly interpreted by Dr. Furtwängler (Pl. xxix.: Κ]αλλιτέλης 'Αλεξιμάχῳ ἀνέθηκεν), who expresses the doubt whether Aleximachos is the original name of the deceased or a new heroic name.

W. M. RAMSAY.

as being nearly of the length required for the gap. The first line ends with Η.

Dr. Fränkel's interpretation of the

relief seems otherwise the same as that given here.

² Α came into use quite as early as 200 B.C.

SOPHOCLEAN TRILOGY.

THE Greek dramatist of the best age, as we read on unquestionable authority, was wont to produce his tragedies in sets of three together—in trilogies; the addition to such a set of a comic—a so-called satyric play—completed a tetralogy, a combination of four arguments. It is much if we have in the *Cyclops* of Euripides a single example of a satyric drama. Among the numerous tragedies that have survived, with the exception of the *Oræsteia* of Aeschylus, consisting of the three tragedies, *Agamemnon*, the *Choephoræ*, the *Eumenides*, not a single certified trilogy has come down to us complete. The satyric drama that belonged to this was entitled *Proteus*, but the name only has been preserved. Its argument and bearing on the original artistic whole are too absolutely matters of conjecture not to remain matters of ardent dispute. The *Seven against Thebes* of Aeschylus is a single play remaining out of a tetralogy of which the titles are preserved:—*Laius*, *Oedipus*, *Seven against Thebes*, *Sphinxæ*; titles from which it is clear that the subjects of this set—the *Oedipodeia*—followed on in sequence and connection as intimate as the preserved tragedies of the *Orestæia*. Such may also easily have been the case between a pair of dramas, the *Edonæ* and *Bassarides*, which are recorded as pertaining to the trilogy of the *Lycurgeia*; and a *Prometheus Unbound* supplied originally the proper sequel of the *Prometheus Bound* that is preserved. Nor is such sequence absent virtually from the tetralogy of the *Persicæ* to which the preserved play of the *Persæ* belongs, comprising in order; *Phineus*, *Persæ*, *Glaucus Potnieus*, *Prometheus purphoros*, though

it is effected in a manner abnormal and recondite. In my *Age of Pericles* I have set forth in detail the reference of the three successive tragic dramas to the great victories of *Artemisium*, *Salamis* and *Plataea*, and of the concluding satyric play to the sequel of those victories in the restoration of civil life and the arts of culture. The action of the *Persae* however, alone, is on proper historical basis; the other combined subjects become significant and are justified in their relation to it, on the strength of accepted poetical and mythical associations.

The Athenians recognised their obligations to the north-wind, to Boreas, son-in-law of the city, for his help at Artemisium and afterwards; it was to the sons of Boreas, the winged Zetes and Calais, that Phineus owed his rescue from the harpies. Potniae, the seat of Glaucus, and the scene of his disaster from his infuriate horses, was on the very battle-field of Plataea, the scene of the fatal overthrow of the Nisaeian cavalry of Mardonius. Lastly, the services of Prometheus who brought fire to destitute mortals were easily recognisable at the time as allusive to the ceremonial relighting of the hearths and altars of desecrated Hellas by the fire which was sought from the holy altar at Delphi.

The *Lycurgeia* of Polyphradmon and the *Pandionis* of Philocles are titles of other trilogies recorded without enumeration of the several dramas they comprised, but sufficiently indicative of a close inter-connection of subjects.

A tetralogy is ascribed to Xenocles, but not under a collective name, and it is so far consistent that the titles of the several component dramas repudiate chronological sequence. They are given as *Oedipus*, *Lycaon*, *Bacchae*, and the satyric drama *Athamas*. Much the same may be said of an incompletely recorded tetralogy by Aristias, which comprised dramas entitled, *Perseus*, *Tantulus*, *The Wrestlers*, the last probably the satyric play.

That neither trilogy nor tetralogy is ascribed to Sophocles under either collective or distributive titles is in itself remarkable, and the more so in consequence of a notice of an innovation of which more is to be said.

Of Euripides as many as three enumerated tetralogies and one trilogy are on record, but no one of them is referred to under a collective title. The list is as follows:—

Cretan Women ; *Alcmaeon in Psophis* ; *Telephus* ; *Alecestis*.
Medea ; *Philoctetes* ; *Dictys* ; *Theristae*, sat.
Alexander ; *Palamedes* ; *Troades* ; *Sisyphus*, sat.
Iphigenia in Aulis ; *Alcmaeon in Corinth* ; *Bacchae*.

In one of these sets alone can an argument be plausibly maintained for pragmatistical continuity. The *Alexander* would fit the opening story of the Trojan war ; the *Palamedes* may easily have comprised an episode of its progress, and the *Troades* which is preserved signalises its conclusion. It is a fair conjecture, while conjecture is afoot, that the satyric play of *Sisyphus* may have given further point to the reflections on the character of Ulysses, which are salient in the *Troades* and involved in the story of the fate of Palamedes.

With respect to Sophocles, in place of detailed notices which would have been so welcome, we have an obscure statement of Suidas, that he was the first to enter upon contests by drama with drama and not a tetralogy ; δρᾶμα πρὸς δρᾶμα ἀγωνίζεσθαι ἀλλὰ μὴ τετραλογία. This brief memorandum must be made the most of without being taken for more than it is really worth. The limit of its worth however is exactly what is most difficult to decide. Taken in itself simply, it might appear to imply that he entirely abandoned the system of producing trilogies of plays, and confined himself to bringing out each of his tragedies independently—one only at a time. There are no notices of dramatic history to make it absolutely impossible that he may have introduced and adopted such a practice occasionally, but that his renunciation of the established system was complete and uniform can scarcely be allowed. His usual practice must of necessity have been conformable to that of his competitors, and as it certainly did not govern, must have been governed by theirs. He contested and gained the first prize over Aeschylus, of whom no such innovation or concession to innovation is recorded. Moreover we have the notice that the first prize was assigned to him on an occasion when Euripides gained the second with one of the four enumerated tetralogies, and he can scarcely have competed against the *Cretan Women*, and its three associate dramas with only a single play.

It is just possible that the phrase of Suidas may represent

no more than a distorted inference from the story of the composition of *Oedipus in Colonos*, but otherwise the better and perfectly legitimate interpretation is open to us, that to Sophocles was due the innovation of producing as trilogies triplets of plays which did not follow out one particular and continuous story, perhaps did not even adhere in the succession of their fables to chronological order, and that he set an example which afterwards prevailed. It seems pretty certain that while this license so to call it, if it were not indeed and more probably a refinement, was sometimes but quite exceptionally adopted by Aeschylus, it must have been almost the rule with Euripides, amongst whose numerous preserved plays it could otherwise be scarcely possible that sets and sequences should be beyond recovery.

The very multitude of the works of these prolific dramatists invited critics and copyists of later times to make selections; and selection in such hands as Greek poetry of the best age ultimately fell into was certain to involve dislocation, if not dismemberment. Again, the Greek tragedians as time went on were likely to suffer as severely by stage profanation as Shakespeare; by inevitable consequence their artful combinations were separated, shuffled, and all original order lost to memory, or only preserved in the scanty accidental notices which we now so thankfully glean out of rubbish heaps of antiquity.

The consequences of this state of things is to be well weighed and taken to heart. Every dissociated member of an original artistic whole must be afflicted with characteristic inconclusiveness. The completest catastrophe will in such cases come upon us as absurdly abrupt and unprepared for, or the drift and purport of the fable, as essentially transitional, will lead up to nothing more than a puzzle—a paradoxical moral suspense.

Of the seven preserved plays of Sophocles, there are three which as regards mere story are pragmatically dependent, and display the course of fortune of a single family as consecutively as the Greek trilogy of Aeschylus; these are the *Oedipus Tyrannus*, *Oedipus in Colonos*, and *Antigone*. The truly trilogic connection is, however, in this case contested, and as respects the last of the series at least seems rightly overruled. The historical sequence, we have seen, was no indispensable condition

of such connection, and still less taken alone can it be a conclusive proof of it. Traditions, which are probably more than traditions, of the production of *Oedipus in Colonos*, concur with internal evidence to the effect that its catastrophe is a full and natural close, not to be improved in any sense by the *Antigone* as a sequel, nor indeed requiring or admitting any other.

On consideration then of all the evidence in point, the negative no less than the direct, which is scanty enough, no grounds appear to warrant the opinion that Sophocles, unless exceptionally, renounced the trilogy, the production of tragedies in threes. Again, as regards the principles of trilogic composition current during his career, it appears to be clearly established not only that continuity in story was not held essential, but that absolute discontinuousness, his own innovation as we read Suidas, was freely admitted even to the extent that no two of the plays should have a single character in common, and to the neglect, nay, to the reversal of chronological sequence. To a grammarian, pragmatical connection might easily enough appear the very essence of trilogic composition, and the renunciation of it be taken as equivalent to the supersession of all that was important in the principle. Even Aristotle manifestly failed entirely to appreciate the value of the large scope of dramatic composition it involved, and that even when it was so conspicuously displayed as in the continuous trilogies of Aeschylus.

From a worthier point of view it must be manifest that when personal and historical dependence came to be dispensed with, so much more important must have become an emphatic pronouncement in continuity of moral interest, a continuity on which it is indeed that the preservation of interest in the fortunes of an individual mainly depends, but that may still proceed when a given individual is lost sight of.

When the unity of a fable of the highest class, dramatic or epic, is contingent on the dependence of its incidents on a single personage, it is because that personage possesses such a unity of moral and intellectual motive, such a self-consistency even in tendencies to irregularity, as to define an important and remarkable character, to constitute it in fact, heroic. By such heroic constitution it is that an individual character becomes a

constant quantity, supplies a standard for the force and bearing of those impacts of fortune and currents of affection and impulse on which success and failure, happiness and misery, depend.

Hence a central character of heroic scale is a condition of unity in a tragedy, but still it requires contrast of others to afford the fullest illustration of a moral interest, whether the contrast be evolved in the course of highly complicated and concurrent actions in Shakespearian fashion, or be provided, as by anticipation we venture to say, in Sophoclean, by the several heroes of a succession of disconnected or lightly connected fables.

Tragedy engages our interest and commands our convictions, when it presents with vivid energy the spectacle of fellow man in conflict with difficulties, such as we ourselves are exposed to ; in conflict with them under circumstances of greatest conceivable enhancement, as colliding with the highest sensitiveness, and challenged by vigour of mind of the most amazing at least, if not always of the most admirable order.

The picture of life is opened before us, the living illustration of the direst dilemmas, the most perplexing paradoxes by which we can be possibly beset ; the greatest enigmas of existence are displayed most pungently, most touchingly, and it is open for us to contemplate with all the elements of consideration before us and brought home to us, what head can be made by man against the difficulties of his state, what aid perchance is to found in promptness, in courage, in dexterity, what in patience and what compensation at last in better founded hope, when reliance on all other rescue founders in the storm ? These are comprehensive subjects indeed if they are to be treated in sufficient comprehensiveness. But a single life, however interesting, however complicated, will often fail to carry forward the main problem that its incidents bring into discussion to its final or proximate conclusion. Even Homer, in the wider epic range, divided his subject into proem and sequel, into the delineation of a primary and a supplementary career. Such a problem of the largest moral scope therefore, it is clear, may be worked out in a succession of lives, of histories, of tragedies, nay, it may even be said that to embrace a competent development of a scheme so large—especially so large relatively to the traditionally established brevity of a Greek tragedy, and to the

legally restricted numbers of protagonists and interlocutors, a single lifetime's history—much less an anecdote out of a lifetime—may not be sufficient; and even if necessity were not in such manner urgent, some special poetical advantage might accrue to fully warrant the broader treatment. Thus with the fairest artistic advantage, the adventure, the catastrophe of one hero may be set against that of a second, as an indispensable illustration, and again, a third be added as common contrast and supplementary to both. Thus may be fully covered the large scope of tragic interest and thus unfolded all the intricate bearings of the most involved problems by even such simple provisions for dialogue and plot as were placed by traditional restrictions at the command of the Attic poet.

Such a development of composition in the poetry of the Greeks is only consistent with what we know of the vigorous extension of their other arts. In their sculpture, it was not alone that single figures early united to become groups, and groups became members of large compositions, but the very largest single composition, complete and symmetrical as it might appear to be in itself, was constantly held to be only susceptible of highest effect when contrasted with another, only so much less elaborate as not to be its rival in supremacy. The complex, if not crowded subjects in the opposite pediments of a Greek temple, separated widely as they were, were still correlative, diverse yet correspondent, and in painting, Polygnotus confronted large pictures on opposite walls of the Lesche at Delphi, with a profound significance which the suggestiveness of contrast in Rafael's Stanze of the Vatican rather rivals than surpasses. From the Greek vases again abundant examples might be adduced of associated subjects on single vases, again to be united in pairs, subjects that are correlative by a manifest artistic and ethical principle, but destitute of the slenderest historical connection.

There is scarcely a limit to the refinement of which art is susceptible in this direction; here it is indeed that art has its very highest susceptibilities of refinement, and if art, then above all other the art of the Greeks. What then has not been lost by the dismemberment of Greek dramatic poetry, brought down to us for the most part in the condition of fragments, that only mock us and may mislead by a fallacious appearance

of completeness. The loss of the records of the titles of associated compositions is too extensive, too nearly total, to enable us to work out with all desirable conclusiveness even the full theory of their combinations. Nevertheless it is the purpose of this essay to set forth, and not unconfidently, that we may at least decide in some cases from internal evidence, the original place of a play now isolated, as first, second, or third of a set, nay, that we may even repair the injuries of time by re-uniting into trilogies some of the plays that are preserved.

In reading therefore any isolated Greek tragedy the question must be entertained, and usually it must be due to our carelessness or insensibility if it is not forced upon us—Is it a beginning, a middle, or an end? The best enjoyment, to say nothing of the fairest vindication of the poet, will depend on an approximate solution of this question. How is this to be at least attempted and contended for?

There is but safety in one resolute course, along one single line of analysis; we must bravely and without flinching apply to these poetic works as we possess them, the sternest canons both of taste and moral theory which we can make ourselves masters of. When we are encountered by the poet with a divergence that manifestly impeaches our standard either of poetic or of moral harmony, the question is opened at once whether the poet or the canon be in fault, and severe indeed does it behove the judgment to be that presides at such a contention. That the poet may have lapsed is as little to be held an impossibility as that his work may have received damage in transmission through the centuries; but the critic must be watchful against suggestions of his own self-complacency. It is well seen when works of genius of the highest order are in question, how very rarely it is safe to assume limits to its profoundness or its subtlety. Close indeed must ever be our search for some possible secret of concord lying hid near the non-coincidence that startles by its very conspicuousness—some harmony of resolution for which it is but the artful preparation. So often does it prove that the dreams of the artist are wiser than the critic's deliberations,—that our difficulty will dissolve at last in recognition of our own misconception or ignorance. So it is that a first movement of natural pride at recognising a flaw comes in time to be wisely valued, chiefly as a warn-

ing that we have stumbled on a clue to latent truth and beauty.

A work of genius is in a certain sense a work of nature of the very highest order, and in the study of it we shall be wise to pause upon the occurrence of an anomaly—an anomaly relatively to our predominant thought,—with the same keen apprehension that it may be an index to new discoveries, with which the physicist recognises an unexpected and unexplained disturbance of his experiment.

Various anomalies in the dramas of Sophocles then, which stand out in glaring inconsistency with the best characteristics of the poet, are to be accounted for, I believe, by the disappearance or disruption of the trilogic systems in the continuity of which such discordances were originally resolved. They are of far too serious a nature and have far too direct a bearing on the tone and feeling under treatment to have been admitted in negligence or without a distinct purpose. Every such anomaly involves a pregnant hint which duly studied will correct our appreciation of the poet, and even may be the means of recovering from the injuries of time the vital principle of a lost composition.

Between the *Trachiniac* and the *Ajax* of Sophocles there is a resemblance in distribution of plan that unites them the more remarkably because it sets them in common contrast not merely with most other tragedies, but, as it would at first appear, with the essential idea of any highly-wrought dramatic composition whatever.

In neither play is interest concentrated upon a protagonist who remains with whatever intervals and interruptions predominant before us upon the scene through the greater part of its course. Our chief interest is no doubt attached, in either case, to the destinies of a single hero, to Hercules and to Ajax; but in the first play, Hercules only arrives in presence at about the 1000th line of the 1300 that make out the play; while Ajax, conspicuous at the commencement, dies exactly midway between the beginning and the end; his body indeed remains, the subject and centre of the continued action, upon the stage to the last, but it is with almost an entirely new set of interlocutors that the action is continued and concluded. Deianeira,

who is constantly before us up to the 800th verse of a tragedy of 1300 verses, and by narrative of her death to the 950th, is silent and unspoken of thereafter, as the appearance of Hercules himself overshadows all other interest, and the real catastrophe of all closes in. Again, in the *Ajax*, by a contrast of discontinuousness, the hero engrosses the earlier scenes, and it is the secondary Teucer who enters only after this death of Ajax, on whom is thrown the burden of the prolonged closing scenes.

There appears therefore to be wanting in both dramas that balanced distribution about a central line through one central member which is the very sense and soul of the higher symmetry.

But all is altered in the settled and concentrated action of the *Philoctetes* which, as it moves on to the resolution of all problems left over in suspense, gathers up all previous interests and combines incidents and episodes around one central heroic and abiding figure.

The *Trachiniae*, which interests our sympathies at least more touchingly, if not more impressively, for Deianeira than for Hercules, and the *Ajax Flagellifer* in which our sympathies are in a very similar manner and almost in the same degree distributed between Ajax and Tecmessa, have something of that correspondence of strophe and antistrophe, that announces and awaits an epode. They are like the wings of an architectural or sculptural group that lack still a dominant and combining centre. In the *Philoctetes* there is no such division of equivalent interests, least of all in favour of the feminine element, which is indeed absent entirely, proof in itself that the drama could never have been satisfactory in isolated independence.

Again, in contrast to the introductory dramas, the intervention of such secondary speakers rather than characters, as messenger, herald, pedagogue, old man, maidservant, and so on, is confined within the narrowest limits and allowed but the most subordinate scope. Even the chorus is reduced to mere responses, or independent and uninfluential expressions of feeling.

Lastly, if the first play is dignified by the presence of a demi-god, Hercules, it is Hercules in suffering, and whose promotion to Olympus in the future is not even announced; if the second play commences with a dialogue, with a goddess, that goddess Athena herself, it seems certain that there is no true

theophany, that the trumpet-tones of the goddess alone make known her presence which is never visibly declared to the spectators. But in the *Philoctetes* heroic speakers occupy the scene throughout, and almost exclusively; the divine interposition is reserved for the conclusion and then takes place with all the majesty of a glorified demi-god manifest before all eyes.

The links of a certain pragmatistical connection will become apparent as we proceed with the analysis—a support, though, quite subsidiary and secondary to the all-important moral cohesion and consecutiveness of the dramas.

The *Trachiniae* is so entitled from the chorus of maidens of Trachis, by Mount Oeta, in the neighbourhood of Thermopylae. Hither the home of Hercules is transferred, he is a stranger in a strange land, refugee with an ancient host, Ceyx, as we learn from other sources, but who makes no appearance—a refugee in consequence of a deed of violence which gives warning from the first of the unregulated impulses of his character.

The chorus does not enter until after the first speech of Deianeira; but this is addressed to a female attendant, and is therefore no prologue for the audience exclusively in the Euripidean manner. From the attendant, sympathetic with her anxieties, she adopts the suggestion to send off her son Hyllus in search of his father, unheard of for more than the year of his declared intention to be absent, and an object of unusual solicitude in consequence of an oracle having declared the occasion to be critical for all his future fortunes.

A dialogue then proceeds between Deianeira and the chorus, and it is a characteristic of this opening play that its tone should be so extensively and systematically subdued by prolonged participation of the servile or subordinate in leading discourse.

The entrance of an old man, who has hastened to forestall the detained or dilatory messenger Lichas, in his news of the return of Hercules, diverts the conversation. He gives an account of the detention, but we are bound to be sensible without distinct intimation, that for a messenger who has a husband's victory to report to allow himself to detail his news first to any but the wife, under whatever importunity, demands explanation to be natural; there is, indeed, an implied rebuke on the part of Deianeira (v. 228) for this delay, as distinctly as afterwards

(v. 395) for his equally unceremonious hurry to depart. The behaviour of the servant warns us too certainly of the slight delicacy in treatment of his wife which the hero, his master, cared to enforce either by example or command.

Lichas at last appears conducting a train of female captives—amongst them, one conspicuous above the rest by demeanour, dignity, and feeling (vv. 306—13—25). Deianeira listens to his falsified tale of the motives of the war and circumstances of the capture; he is bearer of no message of affection, and even his mode of addressing her, *γύναι*, has a certain freedom and unrespectfulness; the old man addresses her as *δέσποινα* once and again (vv. 180, 370).

Lichas retires into the house with the captives, and as Deianeira is about to follow, the old man who had forestalled good news for the sake of reward (v. 191) detains her to hear what he had then suppressed—the real truth about the adventures of her husband and the captives he has sent home, warfare undertaken upon a love-incitement, the object of it the captive Iole, whom he has sent to be received into the home of his wife.

Shocked and perplexed, Deianeira seeks and adopts the advice of the chorus of maidens to interrogate Lichas; after a word or two she gives up the office to the old man, but presently resumes it with effect, and, thanks to suppression of her real sense of injury, she extracts the bitter truth and learns how entire has become her husband's disregard of her love and her dignity. To the chorus again she applies for an opinion, when having prepared the robe anointed with the gore of Nessus as a charm to regain her husband's love from her rival she pauses to consider whether the stratagem may not be either a mischievous venture or an absurdity.

To them again she has to confide her alarm, which is awakened too late, as to the result. Few words has she to interchange with her son, who rushes in indignant from the scene of the catastrophe, before the fatal story is elicited at length; she hears it in silence, and then moves away with the slowness of dejection and a fatal settled purpose to re-enter no more.

The simplicity and natural tenderness of her character are touched beautifully throughout; she is a simple-minded girl married to an occupied and adventurous hero, whom in perilous absence she weeps, sleepless and confiding. Her married

life has been made up of short interviews with her husband between one of his labours and another, since the time when he won her by a victory which released her from a dreaded suitor. The contrast she draws between the unagitated seclusion of maiden life and the constant tremors and disturbances of married must have come home to the sympathies of a Greek audience, of an Athenian especially, in an age of citizen armaments, and with recent experience of the contingencies of remote expeditions.

The first part of the play, indeed, with its almost domestic detail, engages our liveliest interest in those affections of the heart and the home which are so cruelly tried by the separations of mere public, and much more of warlike, services ; while the second part summons us sternly to recognise the inevitable relations of these two sides of life.

The sympathy of Deianeira for the female captives of her husband, reduced from happy freedom to servitude, is most touching ; touching is her confiding solicitude for the husband who can scarcely be understood from the words of Lichas, his replies rather than announcements, as caring to send her any direct personal message whatever. She remarks the distinguished appearance of the youthful Iole from the first, but it is simple pity and no thought of jealousy that moves her to make special inquiry as to her fortunes and descent. Lichas gets through the difficulty of his mission by telling a made-up tale of his own, glibly enough, and yet so interpolated with 'as he relates,' 'so he says,' that one more susceptible of mistrust could not but have taken alarm. When she comes to know by more direct instruction that the story, told with many an assertion of veracity, is the messenger's own invention to escape unpleasant irritation, and no more—for he is clearly incapable of the delicate sympathy he pretends ;—that Hercules, who in times past has been not unfrequently untrue to her, has now sent her a rival to receive into her home, and has never even troubled himself to consider about concealment, her true womanly sentiment of dignity revolts from the very thought of such an arrangement. At the same time she can have a tender feeling for what she knows so well is the besetting weakness of her rescuer husband and the son of Jove ; she has it not in her disposition to entertain even a thought of rancour or violence against Iole who is

at the moment in her power. She recognises the influence which younger attractions may be expected to exercise, but she still thinks the affections that have slipped away from her worth regaining, and will make an effort to regain them as she honourably may. It is with a faith that is quite in harmony with her general unsuspecting nature that she resorts with but a momentary shadow of misgiving—and then only as to fairness and probable efficacy—to the charm of Nessus.

The emergency brings out all the simulation of which Deianeira is capable—it is said that feminine natures at the very best are always capable of a little,—when she gives Lichas to understand—Lichas, whose nature is so base that he is capable of believing,—that she contentedly acquiesces in her husband's proceeding, and so sends him away well satisfied to have to report how cheerfully she has welcomed her supplanter. It is characteristic of his servile nature that, in taking the lie of his original fictitious tale upon himself, he only sees an honourable exoneration of his master not an enhancement of the sting of his unkindness.

Worthy messenger on worthy errand ! The levity of his manner towards her throughout, and now the terms of his replies—the heartlessness of his complacency at her submissiveness,—prove that if he took more thought than his master of what her feelings were likely to be, he had quite as little real sympathy or consideration for them ; that he now addresses her as ' my dear mistress ' can only be due—not to any real affectionate respect, but to the humbled position of detection, and then to the absence of Iole from the scene.

It is the hasty re-entrance of Lichas (v. 598), eager to be dismissed by her, though he has had time at large to chatter with the captive woman within (v. 53), that cuts short the opening deliberation of Deianeira as to the employment of the stratagem of the charm. She has just said enough to evince how guilelessly she resorts to it, when her responsibility is relieved by the march of events that seem hurried by over-ruling power that is determining the destiny of Hercules. When her alarm is awakened by the deflagration of the anointed wool, she can recognise—as but for interruption she might have recognised at first,—how probably there was malice in the instructions and gifts of the treacherous Centaur. At once she elects in case her

fears shall be justified, to die ; 'for to live ill reported of were unbearable for one who had ever determined to be worthy,'—a motive not exactly that of love—it may be of something nobler.

If there is no vehement trace of intense personal sympathy in her love for her husband, this is no more than might be expected of a wife won originally not by wooing but as prize in a contest ; in whom chiefly duty and gratitude, however warm, for deliverance from Achelous, are in place of passion.

As regards the delineation of the character of Hercules himself, it is curious and interesting to observe how few strokes are bestowed by the poet in indicating, to say nothing of enhancing, its stronger and more heroic side. The heroism of his career is indeed all anterior to the action of the play, and for the most part taken for granted in his name ; Hyllus declares that he is of all men on earth the best and bravest (*ἄριστος*), and his like is never to be seen again (v. 811), but we are here at the end of his life,—quite on the further side of the conclusion of his labours,—of the exploits and services that constituted his better heroic career, and of which only his summarised lamentation reminds us to justify the exclamation of the chorus—'Alas for Hellas if such a man shall perish' (v. 1114–5). Otherwise it is assumed that the marvellous exploits of the hero are known to us, and that we are impressed with an awe and respect commensurate. The weaknesses on the one hand, and the callousnesses on the other, that too often cling to and qualify our sympathy with the most heroic careers, when we peer over closely into them, make up the chief stuff of the proceeding story.

There is, as we have seen, not a trace either of considerateness or affection in his preparation for return to Deianeira after prolonged absence, and as to Iole herself he had obtained possession of her by picking a trivial quarrel with her father, who had concern for his daughter's honour,—killing him and his sons and devastating his city. He is carried in miserably groaning as the fatal shirt eats into his flesh,—calling on death but calling still more persistently on the gods for healing, and above all, anxious to destroy Deianeira with his own hands. The spectator is kept in eager anxiety for the honour and affection of Deianeira to be vindicated ; at last Hyllus—who himself

had rued and admitted the fatal hastiness of his accusation, has an opportunity of uttering the exculpating word. But along with the same word Hercules hears the fatal name of Nessus; he recognises that his hope of life or cure is over, and thinking no more and saying nothing whatever of Deianeira, not caring to bestow a thought upon her love for him, her error or her lamentable death,—upon her injuries or the injustice of his accusations,—he thinks solely of the conclusion of his own existence and breaks out into exclamations of despair.

For the more sympathetic spectator there is a certain final exculpation of Deianeira in the oracle her husband recalls in his anguish—that death was to be inflicted on him by the dead, and in this manner we are led to regard her as the mere unconscious instrument of preordained deliverance.

The one trait of proper heroism that is ascribed directly to Hercules as before us in the play is his resolution to be burnt living as he is on a pile on Mount Oeta; it is little to add to this the self-control by which after his last commands are given he conquers the agony of which he has so freely evinced the poignancy, and suppresses all word or exclamation thereafter.

After his care for his funeral pyre he has one thought still, and that is for Iole—yet a thought that is as little characterised by delicacy as any which he has bestowed upon Deianeira—as any that the merely soldierly, especially when princely also, have been wont to bestow on an object of past desire. He cannot bear that any but his own son should possess one whom he had not only chosen but himself possessed (v. 1225)—consistently enough so far with his inability to anticipate poor Deianeira's dislike to partnerships—and he enjoins him, 'a small matter,' (v. 1207) to marry her.

The reply of Hyllus is an aside,—'It is intolerable even to contemplate one entertaining such a scheme,' and must have reflected the feelings of spectators. Even apart from this significant intimation it might surely be taken as impossible that a Greek audience should not have felt a movement of revolt against the proposal of a father that his own son should marry his widow—his paramour. The difficulty that Hyllus raises—his repugnance to marry one who has virtually caused the death of both his parents—cannot be that which really affects him; the true objec-

tion lies in susceptibilities to which his father by his very proposal proves himself to be callous, and which it would be labour and pain thrown away to endeavour to awaken. He turns therefore to a motive more likely to find response in the selfish nature of his father—a professed repugnance to the cause of his sufferings. The word *δυσσέβεια* does afterwards escape him, which scarcely answers to his pretext, but accurately covers incest—the unholiness that is in his thoughts. The rejoinder of Hercules is expressive of egotism in the highest, and surpasses even the—‘*L’état, c’est moi.*’ ‘Unholiness (or impiety), there can be none if you cause a heartfelt gratification to me’ (v. 1246).

‘I will do it,’ concludes Hyllus, ‘giving the gods to understand that the act is yours; relying upon you at least I cannot appear base.’

The Heracleid dynasty of Peloponnesus traced their lineage to this union, and an Athenian poet may not have felt bound to make it romantic.

The feelings of Iole or the possibility of her having any are as little adverted to by Hercules as those of his son are anticipated or indulged; but the unceremonious disposal of heiresses and widows by will or course of law was a matter of course at Athens.

The last speech of the play is delivered by Hyllus as he orders the convoy of the suffering son of Jove; this speech is a challenge of divine justice and natural sympathy so distinct and so insulting,—at the same time so entirely uncalled for to sustain to the end any previous intimation of impiety in the speaker,—as to imply most absolutely some very special artistic purpose in striking so discordant a note at such a moment. This is the inevitable inference, unless we are prepared to give up the ethical and dramatic sensibility of the poet, or resolve to cling for refuge to the horns of the altar of imputed interpolation. The gods are coarsely charged with stolid cruelty—the gods who propagate offspring only to neglect them—who are fondly entitled fathers and can look with indifference on misery which men more nobly pity—on the present sufferer whose condition is shameful to them beyond that of all men whatever.

The chorus in its few closing lines has for once no protest in the interest of timid piety as it summons Iole to look upon the wretched catastrophe which has so soon ensued upon the

slaughter she had recently witnessed of her own kindred. If she is reminded at last that this is all Jove's doing, it is submission, not faith, that is suggested—and the exoneration of man at the expense of the gods.

Hyllus avoids the direct name of Zeus as father of Hercules, but his generalised phraseology of the gods as indifferent shamefully to the sufferings of the children they have begotten only gives that wider scope to his charge which deepens the impiety, while it states the problem in a sense which brings it home to all mankind—commits all to interest in its solution.

That such an ethical discord should be prepared so elaborately, and struck with such emphasis at the very end of a tragedy, and then and there left utterly unresolved and hopeless of solution, is inconsistent with every principle, with every possibility, of harmonious dramatic composition. If this were all it would stand as betraying in the poet either clumsy insensibility or a planned attempt to create worthless effect by a vulgar surprise. The adoption of either view could only involve us in the greater difficulty of reconciling dulness and bad taste so gross with the proofs of the refinement of Sophoclean genius, which are abundant and prevailing through the self-same plays. We have no such burden cast upon us; in proceeding to the drama of *Ajax Flagellifer* we find the suspended theme is taken up, attached most artistically to the movement of the preceding play, and conducted onward by still another 'winding bout' towards that 'full and natural close' that is reserved for another and completing drama.

The crude imputation on the justice and tenderness of the gods with which the *Trachiniae* concludes by the mouth of Hyllus could not but have moved in an audience disposed as was the Athenian, a feeling of gross incongruousness if such impiety were to be understood as escaping penal visitation, and even of passing without an emphatic rebuke. Sophocles certainly was no stranger to this sentiment, and in the *Aias Mastigophoros* (*Ajax Flagellifer*), he provides it with a distinct response. He presents again the story of the painful end of noble heroism, but this time in worse than the bodily anguish of the shirt of Nessus. It is under the maddening pangs of humiliation divinely inflicted for speeches of arrogant and contemptuous impiety that

Ajax is hurried to self-slaughter. So divine majesty may seem to be vindicated; but still the abandonment of a noble nature to miserable sufferings, the grand enigma of providential government which revolted the sensibilities of Hyllus, stands over and awaits its solution in the development of still another action—the story of another sorely afflicted hero.

Ajax is the Greek hero who has most of the characteristics of Hercules. His valour is associated not with a dull (v. 119), but at least a slow intellect; he is steadfast and stubborn in conflict rather than rapid,—a valiant support and second rather than independent in enterprise. The warlike renown of Ajax which is supereminent while yet it is exerted in unquestioning subordination to the interests of others, is directly comparable to the achievements which won immortal renown for Hercules, but were all wrought in subjection, not to say servitude, to Eurystheus. In the *Iliad*, Ajax is the only conspicuous Greek hero—Achilles not excepted—who is not recorded as suffering a wound; Pindar gives us a mythus—not, however, adverted to by Sophocles—that connected this invulnerability with his reception in infancy by Hercules who wrapped him in the Nemean lion-hide. Allusion occurs in the tragedy to the Trojan expedition of Telamon, in which he received the prize of valour; and the comradeship of Hercules and the father of Ajax on that occasion is distinctly recalled.

Ajax, however, retains characteristics of Hercules, combined with others of more advanced civilisation. The moral development is as marked as that which has substituted the arms of the hoplite for the club and lion's skin, or even for the bow and arrows. The callousness of the affections which we are scarcely restrained from regarding as brutality in the treatment both of Deianeira and Iole, is replaced by tenderness towards Tecmessa, who like Iole is only a captive, and by a certain susceptibility of her influence. Although, like despairing men too often, he is not diverted by affectionate considerations from his purpose of self-destruction, he cares for her future and still more for her feelings; he does violence to his nature in order to lull her suspicions, and gives proof, as we shall see, that in some respects at least the expostulations of one whose affection touched his heart have even wrought on his convictions. The anguish to which he succumbs is moral, and so far the sense of shame is

suffering of nobler nature than that which drives Hercules to the pyre of Oeta.

Again, in the story of Ajax, we are conscious of the prevalent recognition of divine agency with more directness and definiteness than in the tale of Hercules—son of Jove himself though he may be. There is a certain remoteness and generality in whatever appeals and references are made by Hercules, even at his sorest need, to Jove, to Hades, to the gods; but the power which remained a dim abstraction in the first play has assumed a characteristic personality in the second. The heavens are nearer to the earth; divine intervention is not merely admitted or assumed in some outer sphere, but is encountered, whether with reverence due or not, among the contentions of human existence. The careless general blasphemy of Hyllus against the gods becomes the pointed insult of the Acacid against that goddess Athena whose aid of all others he had most need to invoke. Hercules perished, and the divine determination is only indicated by the concurrence of oracles previously ambiguous or vague, but the hand of Athena herself, her present agency, is operative in bringing Ajax to his doom.

The action of the *Ajax* opens, like that of the *Trachiniae*, at early morning; Ulysses is seen peering about his tent, on the look out for tracks upon the ground. He is following up the rumour which ascribes to Ajax the slaughter during the night of the herds and herdsmen of the Greek camp. And too true it is that the hero who had retired to his tent in indignation at the arms of Achilles having been adjudged away from him to Ulysses, had sallied forth in the night to avenge himself upon his rival and the Atridae, but in blind frenzy inflicted by Athena had wreaked his vengeance only upon sheep and oxen. At this very moment he is standing in his tent among a heap of the carcasses, and preparing to scourge others that he believes all the time to be his captive enemies.

Ulysses, so stealthily occupied, hears the voice of his protectress goddess Athena; she is apparently unseen by him throughout and by Ajax afterwards, as well as probably by the spectators. The comparison of her voice to a trumpet may perhaps intimate the employment of some unusually loud reverberatory aid to the speaker. She informs him how the case stands with his rival, and then for visible proof calls Ajax forth. The illusion

of the night still so confuses his vision, that he does not see before him his most hated enemy, but goes back again into the tent to scourge the ram he has tied up in his stead. It is this appearance with scourge in hand that has given the epithet of the title—*Mastigophoros*.

Ulysses himself is struck with noble compassion at the humiliating sight, and reflects on the vanity of man's highest exaltation. The rejoinder of the goddess reveals that her severity towards Ajax had other grounds beyond the simple protection of the Greek chiefs from his vengeance; it is her warning against utterance of any insulting or presumptuous speech reflecting on the gods—the gods of whose might he had seen such an example—against being puffed up by might of hand or weight of wealth. Slight but significant hints of the temper of Ajax which had provoked such infliction appear even in the short sentences he exchanges with the goddess. He sets aside her suggestions, or accepts her encouragement, with the same independent off-hand tone, and indeed insists upon a characteristic phrase, as to what aid he will admit and what not admit, which recurs in the still graver charge of impiety hereafter.

The scene is vacant when the chorus enters and speaks in uncertainty but with ever increasing impatience and excitement;—‘Can it be indeed as reported by Ulysses, that Ajax is really the author of the outrage of the night under divinely-inflicted access of mania—then by what Power and for what disrespect inflicted,—or is the tale a calumnious invention of the descendant of Sisyphus?’

Salaminian sailors compose the chorus, sailors of the fleet of Ajax from Aegina; the Athenian relationship, of which the only title was the interpolated line in the Homeric catalogue, is carefully alluded to. They speak of themselves as the mean folk who have to lean upon the great, yet still to the great are helpful; once and again we find them misinterpreting the speech and purpose of Ajax; and thus, as in other Greek tragedies, the chorus is made an instrument for enhancing heroic tones by contrast with sentiments of lower type. Sympathy with their leader is accordingly very soon largely qualified by their personal apprehension of sharing his misfortunes.¹

¹ The metaphor of doves (v. 140), has a local propriety for Salamis and its mythology.

To the chorus Tecmessa, entering from the tent (v. 201), relates the harrowing story of the night, and announces that Ajax in recovered sanity is lying exhausted and overcome with depression and shame, in reality more miserable than when possessed by his frenzy. At the appeal of the chorus she opens the tent (346)—a scholiast says the discovery was effected by mechanism of the encyclema—and shows him surrounded by piles of slaughtered cattle, oxen and sheep, ‘circled round,’ in his own nautical metaphor to his sailors, ‘with an eddying wave of carnage’ (352). He is overcome with dejection at disappointment in vengeance, with shame at thought of ridiculousness of his error and with rage at the assumed malignant triumph of Ulysses. He recognises the fact that his disgrace is due to the interference of the goddess Athene, but never adverts to his provocation of it. He would fain still renew a violent attempt against Ulysses and the Atridae and then perish himself; the first is but a passing thought, but the project of self-destruction remains and is persisted in.

A male attendant—pedagogue it may be—brings in at his summons his child Eurysaces, very young (v. 553), too young to be fully sensible of his father’s distress, not so young that, but for heroic origin, he might not unnaturally be frightened at the slaughtered heap (546). Holding the child (in his arms?) he has no better wish to express for him than that with qualities like his own he may be, not more pious—this consideration does not come up—but more fortunate; for his future protection he relies upon the watchfulness of his comrades and the guard of Teucer; he concludes with distinctest intimation of his own resolution for speedy death, and then commands Tecmessa to comply and retire along with the attendant and child. The pedagogue will retire hastily with the child, but Tecmessa, I can imagine, turns back from the closed entrance and only at last and reluctantly, and after many appeals at being dismissed, retires; Ajax is to be considered as going with her at last, as if so far gradually softening as to take her in himself. The general tenor of the song of the chorus which ensues implies distinctly that Ajax does not hear a word of it—self-commiserating as it is at the commencement, and concluding at last as rather readily reconciled to the approaching fate of their leader, a prepared contrast to the change of resolution he is presently to announce.

Ajax speaks at once on its conclusion, and without any direct intimation how he has bestowed the interval, but his reference to his being 'softened by this woman,' and to what effect, not only implies—what appears afterwards (685)—that she is present, but, it seems to me, that he had had recent converse with her of far more detailed scope than the mere interchange of commands and general expostulations that preceded her dismissal. That he should have merely 'retired up,' and sat abstracted and absorbed during the song of the chorus, is a view that commends itself to me in no way.

We have now from his lips for the first time a recognition of some sense of reverential consideration due to the gods, and of his own dereliction and sin with regard to them; and here it is we trace the true and characteristic influence of feminine suggestions, apt ever to be more solicitous for peace than punctilious about niceties of honour. The indication of opened intelligence is not the less important and not less real, that he designedly misrepresents its influence, and professes to be affected by it far more and far otherwise than is the fact. His speech addressed both to Tecmessa and the chorus is clearly framed to lull the apprehensions roused by his declared intention of suicide, an intention which he holds by still and even expresses, though in covert phrases only intelligible to the audience. His talk of purification is to furnish an excuse for solitude; his reference to the fatality of the present of Hector is a stratagem having something of the known craftiness that lingers with the half-recovered insane, to enable him to withdraw unwatched in possession of a weapon. The speech is precisely what the chorus had described his previous speeches as not being—it is unlike himself, sophisticated, and but for its motive unworthy of him in politic insincerity.

Tecmessa, who has not uttered or added a word all through, retires dismissed into the tent; and at the exit of Ajax, the chorus, once more alone, bursts forth in mistaken exultation at this changed disposition both in respect of pious service to the gods and also of respect for the authority of the Atridae, thus still more emphatically directing attention to the double difficulty of his pride.

No sooner does the chorus conclude than a messenger enters. From his announcement we learn for the first time in detail

the dire and dangerous profaneness by which Ajax had originally stirred the jealous anger of the gods; and then is announced the oracle which declares his absence from his tent this day—this day the limit within which divine anger will restrict itself—to be critical for his life.

Tecmessa enters at the alarm from the tent, but not with the child—*τέκνον*, v. 809, seems addressed to the messenger. At her instigation the chorus go out hastily (814) and in different directions to search westward and eastward—a semichorus therefore sallying on either side. She also urges one to summon Teucer, a function probably committed to the messenger; she herself meantime retires as participating in the search; and thus the scene, stage and orchestra, is for the time again entirely empty.

It is scarcely a question that this was a contrived opportunity for introducing an entire change of scene from the tent by the shore and the camp to a wooded space. Unless the precise spot of the suicide of Ajax, which takes place in a wood close upon the positions occupied by the dialogue, could be placed near the centre of the scene, the whole ordination of the stage in the latter part of the play would be most uncomfortably disarranged.

At v. 815, Ajax enters alone, after a soliloquy of which more is to be said; he then retires quite out of sight into the wood.

V. 866. The first semichorus enters, after fruitless search, and probably a certain amount of moving anxiously about, hears a noise which is the second semichorus arriving from the westward (874). Their interchange of expressions of perplexity are speedily interrupted by the shriek of Tecmessa from the wood in the background: at her second exclamation she is caught sight of by the chorus, crouching, overwhelmed in grief, upon the dead body.

She covers the body, which she describes as bleeding from the nostrils and the wound; the chorus follows up her lamentations, but as little as herself intimates any consciousness of the fault by which the hero had provoked his frenzy and his fate. The voice of Teucer is now heard. Tecmessa recognises it but does not stay to greet or be greeted by him, but retires.

Teucer, lamenting over the body as it lies, commands to uncover it, and proceeds to disengage the sword planted in the

ground, upon which it is transfixed; recognising the fatal present of Hector, he holds it dripping blood, as he speaks (1040). Menelaus is now seen approaching, by the chorus first and then by Teucer, who at the moment of his entrance has the corpse in his hands as proceeding to raise or remove it. So occupied he is challenged by Menelaus, who seems to be accompanied by a pomp of heralds; and an altercation ensues of which the tendency is as usual in Athenian drama to degrade the Spartan, and exhibits him as forfeiting by meanness of soul the justest advantage of argument. He goes out fairly talked down (1160) and it is now that Tecmessa enters with her boy Eurysaces

The child, though a mute person, is old enough not only to walk (1171) but to understand the injunction to sit by the corpse and cling to it under whatever circumstances of violence. Teucer cuts off locks of hair of the corpse, of himself and of the child, to whom he delivers them to be held in his hand as he is stationed; having done this he goes out to prepare the funeral, leaving the chorus in charge (v. 1223). Just as the chorus has finished, again a lament over its own sufferings during the prolonged siege, still harping upon exile and its hardships, Teucer reenters in haste having descried the approach of Agamemnon; Menelaus apparently (v. 1309) returns with him though he speaks no more. With Agamemnon a more dignified dispute ensues than was vouchsafed to Menelaus, inasmuch as the inordinate claims of supreme power are replied to by vindication of the deserts and services of the dead. Still the dispute declines at last into a retort of personalities: but now Ulysses enters, and interposes with caution that is masked by the composure of dignified gravity. The superior mind at once recovers the discussion, and places the duty of respect for Ajax upon the higher grounds of religious principle and justice—regard for what is enjoined by the laws of the gods, and the just claims of the valiant and the noble. That Tecmessa is a present witness of the high-minded appeal in favour of Ajax by him who was regarded as his greatest enemy would convey to the spectator the highest enhancement of the incident.

Agamemnon, shamed or overruled but not convinced, leaves the responsibility and with it the merit to Ulysses, who tenders his personal aid at the obsequies of his late indignant and

violent rival. Here, however, it is betrayed that there is still an uncompensated arrear of rancour, a discord not yet to be resolved, as Teucer declines the service out of awe of the animosity which Ajax for all his revulsion of feeling carried with him to the tomb—to manifest it even in the Homeric Hades.

As the play concludes all the train are engaged in lifting the still pitiably bleeding body; the child Eurysaces lending his childish hand; the shield of his father, the bequest reserved to him, not without allusion to the significance of his name, already sent for by Teucer (1406) from the tent, would be brought in at the very close.

It is early in the play, as we have seen, that we have a full expression from his own lips, though it is when under frenzy, of the slights which Ajax could pass upon a divinity even in presence, v. 112. He declines to spare the supposed Ulysses at the injunction of the goddess; any other matter he 'gives her permission' to meddle with; and then, when she changes tone and incites him to the work, he intimates as independently that 'he gives her permission'—the same phrase again—he indulges her so far as to accept her as comrade upon such terms as these.

The comment of Athene follows and emphasises the insolence; the fall and hallucination of Ajax warn against contemptuous speeches towards the gods, or arrogance founded on superiority in warlike act or larger wealth.

The matter of wealth does not touch Ajax particularly, or Ulysses either, and therefore seems designed to glance aside to some allusion without the drama.

Recalled to his senses, after the first agony of disappointed revenge and shame at ridiculous failure (401), he recognises that he is the victim of the valorous, the mighty goddess, and admits, as if unconscious how differently he once spoke (450-5), that the aid of the gods which he had contemptuously repudiated as valueless to himself whatever it might be to others (467), does give irresistible odds in favour even of the basest against even the most valiant; yet even so he still rises to no recognition of the obligations of respect from the most valiant.

In reply to Tecmessa, who adjures him by the gods to renounce self-destruction, he replies, "Know ye not that I am indebted to the gods for no good—why should I act out of consideration for

them?' She deprecates the profane, ill-omened speech—a speech of defiance still though no longer of self-asserting independence of the gods; in the expression of a sense that he is forsaken of gods as well as friendless among men there is at least the directest implication of some value in extraneous aid or enmity.

In his last speech of all we have again a certain indication of a mind recovered to recognition of divine supremacy, while still scarcely betraying trouble from any sense of guilt in past impiety. We can scarcely assume from his silence on the point that he has really carried out his purpose expressed, v. 654, of ceremonial purification, and having relieved his conscience, is on that account now calmer; but he has at least reached one stage of moral regeneration, such as it is; he recognises his mortal insufficiency, and can address in prayer, with even deliberate feeling for ritual proprieties, "Zeus first, as befits" (*καὶ γὰρ εἰκόσ*), and his prayer involves the very term (*ἄρκεσον*) that made part of his late repudiation of appeal to the gods (*ὡς οὐδὲν ἄρκεῖν*), the very term that seems most expressive in the mouth of one who had erred by averment of complete self-sufficiency independently of the gods. His next prayer is to Hermes Pompaïos for speedy and happy release, and so the bold and undevout soldier is brought at last to supplication when his granted prayer will bring nothing but furtherance of suicide and honourable burial.

Of forgiveness to man or of recognised subordination to superiors, however, there is not a trace, any more than of contrition towards the gods. It is true that he does not mention Ulysses, but, as if to add vehemence by concentration of hatred, he invokes in an appeal to the Erinnyes the direst curses upon the Atridae.

The latter portion of the play simply illustrates the fulfilment of his less vindictive prayer. His death is speedy and complete, and Teucer does receive such early rumour of it as enables him to secure his burial rites. The inspiration of his revengeful prayer is rebuked by the spirit with which Ulysses, his former rival, is animated—a spirit in harmony with his original compassion for the crazed rival, and in itself a justification for the preferential protection of the gods.

The prolongation of the dispute between Teucer and the

Atridae in the latter half of the play has always presented a difficulty to criticism. Interest and pathos so manifestly decline from their earlier height, and the space occupied seems a manifest disproportion in a work of a poet whose general characteristic is sensitiveness to propriety in proportion above all things. The allusion of Teucer to a possible suspicion of prolixity (v. 1402) is curious, but the difficulty vanishes when we regard these scenes as much more importantly introductory to new events than as conclusive of a previous action. The altercation brings up all the motives involved in a complication between members of what is a confederacy not exactly upon equal terms. How far does the obligation of alliance for a common purpose, under an admitted leader, forfeit independence in action of the allies? What is the limit within which a confederated member is bound to submit even to injustice, much more to inconsiderate or illiberal treatment, from the leader he has accepted, without withdrawal of alliance or refusal of subordination?

The independence which Teucer asserts for Ajax would manifestly render all effective confederacy impossible, for it would render impossible any combined operations under one presiding mind, that in any case could not escape some errors, must sometimes lapse in injustice. The position of Athens at the head of the cities and states of Greece, half subjected and half confederate, made all these topics most familiar to the demus, and of the highest interest. A fallacy propounded by Teucer on the rights of a subordinated ally would never command their assent on the strength of their private preference for Ajax as compared with Agamemnon. A conflict of sentiment no doubt there would be, but in this lies precisely the germ of the dramatic interest of an action involving political deliberations, and opening of a question which is left as much in suspense as the moral of the *Trachiniae*.

I find nowhere in the play an implication that the judgment respecting the arms of Achilles was really unjust. Tecmessa's assertion that the goddess's favour to Ulysses was the sole cause is but a pettish charge. That Ajax was, as admitted on all hands, the bravest and most serviceable warrior of the host after Achilles does not seem in itself to constitute a title to his arms, as indeed it did not in reality touch the particular

claim which was based on a special issue, which did best service in rescuing both the arms and the body of the hero—Ajax, who bore away the dead body, or Ulysses, who repelled the pursuers?

This question is not so posed in the play, and the consequence—as the intention—is that there is a certain suspense a question left open in the mind that is looked to be replied to sooner or later. In the play of Aeschylus on the same subject, the statement of the grounds of the rival claims came first; the debate and contest for the arms occupied the first part of the play, and so this point was made quite clear from the commencement. Sophocles begins his action subsequently to the discussion, and keeps over, undeclared, the main consideration on which it was decided at last. It is indeed indifferent to the proper subject of the play whether that decision was just or unjust; it marks the character of Ajax that his indignation would blind him to the fact and be without limit in either case.

Both in the *Trachiniae* therefore and in the *Ajax* we miss the accomplishment of the highest dignity of which tragedy is capable, which it is incumbent on tragedy to aim at and to attain. Pathos assuredly there is in both, and especially in the fate and fortunes of the heroines. We cannot but compassionate such devotion and affectionateness in the gentler sex involved in the turbulent catastrophes of consorts whose interests and passions spread widely forth beyond the domestic limit. Pity however is overruled by awe at the import of these larger catastrophes that carry down with them the fortunes of states and revolutions of empires, and present imposingly the problems that comprise the very deepest projects and sympathies of mankind. The heroic career of Hercules, the securer of the primary conditions of civilised development, seems mocked by the incidental fatality that brings it to an end. The self-reliance of Ajax which has carried him to the very height of all warlike prowess falls by overstrain and develops into that overweening presumption where pride is nearest neighbour to insubordinate arrogance in success, and in failure to irretrievable mania. But both tragedies open questions which they are not planned to carry on to more than proximate solutions; the treatment of the subject of either suggests earnest considerations which have no sufficient entertainment

accorded to them, and the mind therefore is left to dwell upon them as in suspense. The catastrophe of Hercules has scarcely a moral coherence with the good and the glory of his antecedent career; our sympathies go with Teucer in his defence of Ajax as against the illiberal and ungrateful Atridae, but if we are careful to conserve our own moral balance, and stand firmly on that point of view, which as citizens of any country no less than Greeks and Athenians we are bound to take up, we find ourselves perforce, if half reluctantly, demurring to the grounds the defence is rested on. We are involuntarily disposed to demand still from the poet amidst the tumultuous suggestions of the scene, a poetic expression of the ultimate moral sanction which the instinct of indestructible hope, more potent than any reasoning, makes even the most sceptical assured must satisfactorily emerge beyond all.

As we proceed to the action of the *Philoctetes* we note from the first a certain link of pragmatistical association that attaches it to the events which are current in the story of Ajax as well as in that of Hercules; and in its harmonious development it supplies in progress and conclusion an ethical solution that closes, along with its own, every suspense and hesitation promoted by those which had gone before.

All the action of the *Philoctetes* turns upon the fated requirement of the presence of the hero at the siege of Troy as bearer of the bow and arrows of Hercules, weapons which he came into possession of in recompense for the service—that one service that Hyllus in the last scene of the *Trachiniae* professes himself unequal to—of applying the torch to the pyre on Oeta. Hercules consents to waive the requirement of this service from his son, and how it is to be performed is left by him uncertain with a degree of composure that would carry to the audience familiar with the result a certain impression of prophetic foresight.

In the discussion between Ulysses and Neoptolemus that opens the *Philoctetes* as to how the indispensable but outraged ally is to be recovered with his fateful weapons, a leading topic is that contest for the arms of the father of Neoptolemus by failure in which it was that indignation unsettled the brain of Ajax—the subject of the *Aias Mastigophoros*; and Hercules, of

whom we are reminded through the whole course of the *Philoctetes* and with whose fortunes the trilogy commenced in the *Trachiniae*, appears again at the conclusion. That this is in fact a reappearance relieves it from seeming the makeshift expedient of a dramatist in distress. He reappears to effect a solution for the otherwise inextricable complication of motives and passions wrought to the extreme of exasperation on all sides, and at the same time he exhibits in his own exaltation the desiderated proof of divine recognition of merits and labours in a mortal state.

The chorus of the first play consists of maidens—maidens of Trachis; that of the second of sailors of Salamis, the native city of Ajax; the chorus of the last play, according to an ancient notice, consists of elders sailing along with Neoptolemus. It seems certain that the crew of the vessel is not in question; that they address Neoptolemus as ἄναξ and δεσπότης decides nothing either way. That they also addressed him ὦ τέκνον is in favour of their decided seniority. There is a studied variety therefore at least, if it is not worth while to say sequence, in these contrasts.

There was probably considerable, and probably ingenious peculiarity in the set of the scenery for the *Philoctetes*; at the opening we are on the rocky and desolate shore of Lemnos—the stage apparently is to be regarded as a continuation of the seashore with a promontory of cliffs behind; Ulysses enters with Neoptolemus and an attendant; the chorus is with them, but apart.

Neoptolemus at the instruction of Ulysses clammers on the cliffs in search of a cavern having two entrances, and of such an aspect as to afford a double frontage to the winter sun, and in summer a cooling thorough draught of air, and a little below it, towards the left, a spring of fresh water. The cave is easily found at some height, and Neoptolemus after listening looks in and sees clear indications of its occupation, and of the miserable tending of his wound by its occupant. The attendant is planted to watch the footpath, and Ulysses, protected from recognition, opens to his companion, not without reminding that he is subordinate in the commission, his scheme of proceeding. His present injunctions only extend to obtaining possession of the arms, but though he says nothing of the equally necessary

co-operation of Philoctetes, this is understood (v. 112) as a necessary consequence; and is afterwards distinctly so stated by Neoptolemus himself (v. 840). The assumption is clearly—and yet it is never formulated in terms—that the hero when dispossessed of his means of securing subsistence must come to friendly parley perforce. The unerring arms can only be secured by false pretences and stratagem, and the frank disposition of the youth revolts from the falsehoods he is called upon to tell, but overborne by authority and by the argument that the presence of Philoctetes at Troy is necessary for his own success he consents. That the alternatives of either force or guile are exhaustive of the expedients at command for obtaining the desired results is assumed by Ulysses; and when the possibility of persuasion is mentioned by Neoptolemus, he sets it aside dogmatically as futile, and his opinion is accepted without discussion. That Philoctetes, all his sufferings and injuries notwithstanding, can still be placable and open to friendly appeal does occur to Neoptolemus, but he gives up the idea immediately in deference to Ulysses, and started and dismissed so cursorily it is not likely to remain in the mind of the audience as of reasonable value; thus it is reserved as a solution to come upon them at last with all the freshness of surprise. The arguments of Ulysses in virtue of this cardinal oversight would be justly stigmatised as sophistical were it not that the omission is truly unconscious and due to the idiosyncrasy of the politician. Conducted as they are—the cogent expressions of a seeming political and indeed patriotic necessity—they might easily bewilder the spectators as well as Neoptolemus, and so commit them to a premature sympathetic participation in his fraud, though not without the natural misgiving which constitutes the essence of a moral suspense.

In the description by Philoctetes of the circumstances of his abandonment, of his mode of desert life and solitary sufferings and disappointments of rescue, in his glow of feeling at the recognition of sympathetic countrymen, at news of the friends from whom he had been so long separated, their misfortunes and the fortunes of the expedition in which he was still destined to bear so important a part—in all this combination of picturesque background and pathetic incident we recognise the very heritage of the genius that gave to the world the type of all romantic

interest and embellishment in the *Odyssey*, transferred to the Athenian theatre. There is something very touching, expressive beautifully of soundness of heart, in the frank retention by the much aggrieved hero, all passion and all provocation notwithstanding, of faith in the goodness of good dispositions, in the right-mindedness of natures inherited from the right-minded. Deserted, betrayed, neglected as he had been, his sympathies leap at once confidently to the son of Achilles, as confidently as they would have greeted Nestor, Antilochus, Patroclus. Even towards Ulysses and the Atridae, his feelings, vented though they may be from time to time in indignation and even in maledictions, never take the direction of suggesting plans of vengeance, or dwelling persistently on anticipated retribution; even towards the authors and instrument of his misery it is rather repugnance at last than active hatred that he entertains. Most touching, then, is the revulsion to absolute, universal, irrevocable mistrust of all mankind, when he finds that even Neoptolemus himself is an accomplice in insincerity and fraud; after this, not even the frank confession, the fullest reparation of the youth, can restore his former reservation in favour of a remnant. For a moment he even hesitates to receive back his proffered bow, in apprehension of some new treacherous intent; the complication of wickedness has passed beyond his faculty of insight, he is ready to renounce malice for past injuries that he has suffered (v. 1355), even so far is he capable of righting his course upon the stormy waves of passion, but beyond this he cannot go by any force of his own merely mental sympathy and incitement. Nothing in future can shake his conviction that his only hope of security against mischievous mankind must lie in keeping himself persistently aloof; in this spirit he will renounce without a pang the most alluring prospects of distinction and promises of fame, which are only assured to him under the condition of co-operation with such treacherous allies; he prefers to go on in an inglorious life, and with the lifelong companionship of a loathsome ulcer, to consorting with allies more hateful still. Confidence between man and man is damaged beyond all chance of natural recovery, and it seems that only interference more than natural—and this is the very barb of the moral—can bring the action to its fated close. But one yet higher motive than occurs to Neoptolemus to urge remains to be

appealed to, and it is significant of the noble nature of Philoctetes that he is susceptible of being still touched by the highest when deadened to all others.

It does not appear by any hint throughout the play that the ten years' sufferings of Philoctetes were brought upon him directly or indirectly by any fault or flaw of character of his own. Neoptolemus says it was by accident due to the gods, *ἐκ θείας τύχης*, and justly meriting a commiseration not given to sufferings that a man brings upon himself. Such things we know are in the order of nature, and how they are to be regarded is expressed in the speech with which Hercules, appearing in glory, finally decides the destinies of all, and declares the counsels of Zeus.

To Philoctetes it is announced by the authoritative voice of the son of Zeus, at whose last scene on earth he had been witness and chief ministrant, that the career with all its multifarious labours which that scene closed, but only closed to lead to an immortal reward, represents his own. On him it is incumbent also through the labours that are set before him to achieve a lifetime of fair fame. To Troy it is his destiny and duty to accompany Neoptolemus as a comrade; there cured of his sore disease, and conspicuous in valour, it will be the reward of his self-abnegation to be the slayer of Paris, author of such a train of evils, to be the destroyer of Troy, and receiving the prime compensations, the *ἀριστεία*, of the expedition, to send home spoils to the halls of his father Poias, at Oeta, and to dedicate them—memorials of the Heracleian bow—at the Oetaean pyre. The speech ends with an injunction of piety towards the gods in the triumphant hour, 'for all things else whatever are secondary to piety in the esteem of father Zeus; the piety of mortals dies not along with them, live they or do they die, this does not perish.'

Thus is Philoctetes called on—and such is his fine nature that the appeal is not in vain—not alone to set aside rancour and the spite that suggests or gloats over the hope of vengeance, to let the by-gones of a ten years' desertion in deepening misery be by-gones, but to follow forth at the injunction of the god a task that in itself is patriotic at whatever sacrifice of feelings for the past, despite whatever justifiable apprehensions of further deceptions and injuries in the future. So he is told is true

glory gained ; so is immortality merited, achieved ; such is the piety towards the gods that lives with man through his living fortune, and when he dies continues still existent.

It is of the highest significance, under the present view of the interdependence of these dramas, that with such exact distinctness should be assigned to Philoctetes as reward of patriotic self-subjection the very prize most coveted by Ajax, but falsely conceived by him, the ἀριστεία of the expedition (*Ajax*, v. 435), and that it is his father Poias who should be gladdened by the tokens of a son's glory which were to be vainly coveted by Telamon. Piety towards the gods, and patriotic subordination for common good despite the fairest grounds of personal discontent, receive the highest sanction of divine approval in contrast to vain presumption, blind self-reliance, and rebellion out of overweening self-sufficiency against both man and god. Assuredly the moral is inculcated with perfect freedom from a lapse to slavishness and unconditional submission to existing powers. To these is read a lesson in terms that lack nothing of befitting severity ; the Atridae are sacrificed in dignity without stint or mercy, and even the more nobly-spirited Ithacan supplies but a warning example that diplomatic craft at its highest, and even when most patriotically employed, is but a defective instrument compared with the inspirations of simpler motives, and may drag down even the purest patriotism to failure and disgrace.

The wisdom of Ulysses is of a kind that, however exquisite, is found at last incompetent, because interpreting sympathy is wanting, to predict the movements of such a contrasted disposition as that of Philoctetes. He only aggravates repugnance and confirms obstinacy which were not before implacable or utterly confirmed ; and by the very compass of his stratagem he shakes confidence from its firmest seat, destroys faith even in good faith. In this manner that mutual confidence which is the indispensable basis of all human treaty to any purpose, the condition of honourable intercourse and common understanding, may be, has been, and is ever fatally destroyed. When this mischief supervenes, society, but for a miracle or the approximate equivalent of a miracle, is on its way to dissolution, and it may seem as if the very process of human advancement is destined to be disappointed.

Miracles may be waited for in vain in actual life, but it is the purpose and the privilege of a work of art to epitomise the development of ages; private experience makes it familiar how the dissolution of social bonds and concerted action too often and too certainly ensues under such circumstances; common and concerted action comes to an end inevitably for at least a generation; it is fortunate if the interposition of new agents unsoiled by antecedent errors and even uninformed of them, if a new generation with so much at least of the healthiness of youth as is due to limited exposure to influences of corruption, proves competent to recover enthusiasm and to reunite a sympathetic enterprise.

The end of the *Philoctetes* it may be thought is in a certain sense untragic, inasmuch as it is happy—though anguish both of mind and body is persistent and predominant enough throughout its course until the very latest moment when Hercules interposes. But even the ending of the *Oresteia* is in the same sense happy, and there is not much real difference between the tranquillity that so supervenes to close a series of agitations and that which eventuates in the death of the hero.

The trilogy illustrates with exhaustive analysis the reciprocal duties incumbent upon the heroic performers of public services and those for whose behoof they are undertaken. Tolerance and even condonation is claimed in the case of Hercules for the lapses in private and domestic life that have been in no way incompatible with heroic patriotism on the wider stage of active achievement. His career comes to a miserable end by a train of unfortunate complications due to these secondary lapses; still the sense remains that his services are worthy of requital independently, and we are left to look round or look above for some opening of worthy compensation. Upon himself have recoiled the consequences of his egotistic neglect of the best feelings of others, but the account of his larger unselfishness stands open still and still appeals for equally consistent retributive reward.

The claim of Hercules is never mooted by himself; he submits to his fate as a divine dispensation with no expression either of accusation or of resignation or of faith: when the necessity is recognised he soon collects himself to firm and calm endurance: it is among his friends, it is to his son who

looks on in amazement that the question presents itself, How is such retribution for such service compatible with the characteristics that we ascribe to the divine?

The claim for appropriate requital—strange to the lips of Hercules, but blurted out so bluntly by his representative—finds in the case of Ajax its loud enunciation from the hero himself. For special services he claims special acknowledgment in the assignment of the decoration of the *Aristeia*, the special reward of the armour of the rescued corpse of Achilles; and when another, justly or unjustly—with fair legality in the particular case, or against it—gains the coveted prize, he is clamorous—indignant—finally, violently aggressive against the leaders of the very expedition in which he is an associated, but still subordinate ally. Ajax comes to destruction through the consequences of his own guilty outbreak in dereliction of public duty, as Hercules through his lapse in truthfulness of private affection, but even in this case again, the claim of heroic public deserts is vindicated in the dispute about his interment, as against the derelictions in loyalty which, however serious, still are secondary.

The claim for just compensation for virtue seems a necessary corollary of the principle of retribution for errors and shortcomings; and in the difficulties and contests of the world an appeal is ever recognised in our inner consciousness as lying open from man to God. It is to this higher, this restraining consideration, to this religion that they have to defer who are bound to admit merit, whatever the irrelevant weaknesses that have parasitical attachment to it, and to concede appropriate honour even when services of unquestionable magnitude are unhappily qualified by certain very considerable drawbacks.

But these considerations have an aspect that reflects upon the heroic themselves; and there is an appropriate attitude for them in respect of eager anxiety for recognition and reward and honour, not merely as regards those whom they rescue or benefit, but also as regards a superior, a supreme—a divine—control. Hercules exhibits the spectacle of simple submission—so absolute that it amounts in its very silence and suppression of any reclamation to the most eloquent expression of faith—of resignation that is the very highest faith, inasmuch as it does not even formulate in the most general terms any theory of a coming

reward. Not so complacent are his friends, and Hyllus utters the challenge to the divine attributes, both of intelligence and justice, that calls loudly for a reply,—a reply which is most specifically enunciated in the sequent associated dramas.

The same spirit of excessive self-appreciation that makes Ajax eager for definite signs of recognition of his patriotic services breaks out in the presumptuous contempt of the divine control, under which alone it is that his own qualities that he takes pride and has confidence in have play and freedom. The sin against the divine has a divinely-inflicted punishment, and it is by this very lesson of humbleness applied to the most valiant and the most meritorious that the spectators were led up to the moral solution contained in the concluding drama.

Hercules and Ajax are sufferers from the operation of the defects which are proper to themselves,—even the denial of the arms of Achilles is not marked as an absolute injustice, and in any case the exasperation that carries Ajax wrong would have been subdued or escaped by a better balanced character. But Philoctetes throughout is every way more sinned against than sinning, though indeed the source of his long years of misery is to be sought in independent misfortune for which neither enemy nor friend was absolutely answerable. Still it is impossible for human nature to disallow the fairness of his resentment against the chiefs who had deserted him under such circumstances, even though the dilemma they were placed in may have left them no other alternative consistent with the prosecution of the expedition. He endures the compound anguish both of Hercules and Ajax,—bodily suffering more prolonged and quite as poignant as that inflicted by the poisoned shirt,—and bitterness of desertion by trusted friends more afflicting than rejection by their partial arbitration. His Nessus shirt has been put on him by those whom he never could regard as having erred in kindness; whatever rancour he might entertain was provoked by those who were prepared to expose him to a life of lingering misery and a wretched and solitary death.

Upon heroism subjected to such evils, the incumbency of magnanimity is surely a hard lesson; the difficulty of it receives full illustration from the poet, and we have presented in the action that goes on before our eyes the most vivid exhibition of growing difficulties to enhance the mental struggle. With such

force and nature does the example placed before us demonstrate how the advantage of the highest endowments of the noblest characters may be lost to a country—to humanity, by base vices of intrigue and ill-faith destroying confidence between man and man, that we may well shudder at the prospective fortunes of a race which requires all the command of all its resources to make head against its difficulties. If we take the dramatic representation of the case literally, we shall see that nothing less than a divine interposition can at last rescue humanity from the intricacies its own vices weave like hampering nets about its better men and better virtues. This is in fact the very solution which has commended itself to the convictions of the larger portion of the race, and a new start in recovery of human charities has often, with fond and ready credulity, been ascribed to a theophany as gross and palpable as that of Hercules on the *theologeion* of the Dionysiac theatre at Athens.

The appearance of the transfigured—the glorified Hercules at the conclusion of the *Philoctetes* is the proper conclusion of the story of the *Trachiniae*, and of its continuation through the *Ajax*. Here the cavil of Hyllus receives its reply; here the presumption that wrecked Ajax is rebuked by the spectacle of a heroism that can forget sufferings—injuries however severe, and return to prosecute with heart and energy the patriotic cause. The previous plays have sufficiently insisted on the liabilities of genius and heroism to lapse, and on the indulgence that must be accorded to them; we have now presented to us the lesson of what sacrifices in self-control are to be exacted from those who have committed to them the faculty of aiding the world's urgent work more powerfully than ever any others; in what humility towards the divine source of the order that is ultimately to harmonise all discords they are bound to do right and fear not—do right and hope not—but to leave the end to that supreme control with whom remains the knowledge of the beginning.

The *Philoctetes*, we learn by a fortunately preserved notice, was produced in B.C. 409.

The position of Athens at this time was very critical; parties were in a state of the highest excitement, but the popular party was in the ascendant after great revolutions

and reverses, and a gleam of hope was appearing, however fallaciously, in the services of the recalled Alcibiades.

Two years before the date of the play, the faction of oligarchies had effected for a short time the object which the demus had often and too rashly been ridiculed for persistently ascribing to them. Encouraged by the depression of the city after the Sicilian reverses followed up by others nearer home, they had intrigued for the subversion of the democratical constitution, and by alarm and false pretences on the one hand, and on the other by removing the most dangerous opponents by secret assassination and instituting general terrorism, they carried through their design in a seeming legal form. After four months they promulgated a pretence of a reconstituted constitution to be based on a wider constituency, but a council of 400 retained all power, and took measures forthwith, designed to enable them to conclude the war on any terms, and to secure themselves by placing the enemy in occupation of Athens.

Difficulties rose before them gradually at Athens, but their overthrow was decided by the action of the crews of the fleet at Samos. Their reconstruction of the constitution was disavowed, measures were taken to traverse their plans; and in a short time Alcibiades was treated with, and placed in command of the fleet. The traitorous and versatile but able and energetic exile had wrought his countrymen incalculable harm, and it was disheartening and degrading that they should be reduced to have any intercourse with him. But such were the times; the most patriotic might look round and ask who was there of any ability to compare with him that could be more relied on. At the date of the *Philoctetes* he was in a career of patriotic successes which kindled hopes that the country might yet be saved by his means; he had not yet returned to the city,—he did not do so till B.C. 407, but even a former enemy, as matters stood, might well think it worthy of him to encourage the people in the turn that their feelings were now taking.

Among the three suffering heroes of the trilogy, Hercules is brought to his wretched end immediately through that unregulated passion for the sex which was a notorious weakness of Alcibiades, involving him in scandal and trouble, now from an amour with Timaea, the wife of Agis, King of Sparta, and now with a Melian captive. The passion of the demi-god is incon-

stant, indiscriminate, and as little distinguished by delicacy or regard for the feelings of the objects of it as that of Alcibiades, who was charged with driving away his wife by similar shamelessness—by introducing his paramours, bond or free, under the same roof with her. Still the tenor of the drama is to insist—if we do not care to say upon the moral—upon the matter of fact that, however such laxity and selfishness degrade and humiliate personally at last a Nelson, or a Henri Quatre, or a Hercules, they do not cancel the independent merit of patriotic public service.

Though not an action is ascribed to Hercules throughout the play that does not chiefly tell to his disparagement, he remains Hercules still—he is still the prime hero and heroic benefactor of Hellas whom there is slight hope of replacing. The apology for his misdoings could scarcely be carried further.

In the next play, this side of the character of the suffering hero is softened, and with Ajax the better influences of tenderness and love are admitted as far as they may be consistently with sympathies of larger range. In this case we are called upon to regard with awe the consequences of the impiety that springs from over-confident presumption—from neglect and insult to the gods—to mark the sin, but quite as impressively to recognise the pitiable retribution. The exhibition of what there is of tender and noble in his nature induces allowance in our hearts for the frenzied outbreaks of a hero who has not been without provocation—an irritating disappointment at least and perhaps just occasion for complaint, extravagant, criminal though he may have been in his attempts at revenge. There is no palliation in the play for the attempts of Ajax,—frenzy makes him slay the cattle in his misconception, but it is frenzy that grows out of his own extravagant self-esteem, and when he recovers his senses, it is only to regret that his desperate purpose failed, and to be humiliated at his absurdly futile outbreak, and it is in the bitterness of this thought, and in still unrelaxed hatred and malice, that he dies.

Still, traitorous as was his purpose, there were merits antecedent to the treachery, as in the case of Hercules antecedent to the amours, and it is over the corpse of the Aacid that the

claims of the patriot are argued as against the vindictive visitation of one unhappy lapse. It is not difficult to trace here all the conditions at least of the question as to the possibility of admitting that even mimicry of the Mysteries was expiated by the consequences, and of condoning even such misdeeds as those of Alcibiades against his country when confronted with his services.

It can scarcely escape remark how careful the poet is to keep the boy Eurysaces prominently before the spectators, as the object of his father's affectionate interest and care. It was from Eurysaces, according to Plutarch, that the line of Alcibiades claimed heroic descent. Such traditions were at this time rapidly dying out. They were involved in that general extinction of the old families of Athens which Isocrates notices as so weakening to political life. But such traditions as still held on were all the more valued and regarded, and any allusion to them all the more certain to be recognised. The tenderness of Ajax for the offspring of his concubine Tecmessa, may even be claimed as a parallelism to the credit which was given to Alcibiades (Plutarch) for his liberality to his son by the woman of Melos.

It may further be remarked that Andocides, the orator, whose unhappy concern in the affair of the Hermocopid outrage placed him in a position of antagonism to Alcibiades, was a reputed descendant of Ulysses. The speech against Alcibiades which is ascribed to him embodies every charge which he ever was exposed to—of lawless insolence, profligate luxury and dangerous insubordination.

The movement for general reconciliation at the time of the successes of Alcibiades with the fleet may have encouraged not only his friends but those of his old opponent and injurer Andocides, who at the time was in exile, to hope for amnesty. The position of Ulysses in the play exhibits magnanimity at last on his side, and from the very beginning a sentiment of commiseration for aberrant greatness that contrasts with the vulgar animosities and self-considering importance of the Atridae. If this delineation was not taken from nature—as probably enough it may not have been—and does not reflect the actual position of individual politicians, Andocides, his friends or others, it shows forth contingencies at least, and was of the

nature of an admonitory apologue. It is so framed as to advocate peaceful reconciliation of all parties by unbiased exhibition of the errors and the virtues of both, and an implied argument that there were no really incompatible differences.

Thucydides, 8, 66, gives a striking picture of the universal mistrust which had previously reigned in Athens—consequence of treachery and ill-faith preventing any union in action against the oligarchical conspirators.

Alcibiades had been exiled during his participation in a maritime expedition that came to no good after it lost him, and his friends would say he had been as ungratefully treated as Philoctetes. At last the time came round when either hero was found to be indispensable,—and in each case some mutual forgiveness and much high-mindedness on the part of the injured could alone restore harmony.

Alcibiades did not rejoin the Sicilian enterprise, as Philoctetes resumed the Trojan, and he had been traitorously behaving in the interval in a style that was all his own,—but still it was the fleet he had left that welcomed him again, and that he led again to victory, and in him was now centred all the hope of the state for recovery from direst disasters.

It would not be difficult to press the parallel further between Alcibiades and Philoctetes, but we shall probably misconceive the poet if we suppose that he designed or cared to make the parallel exact or even perhaps obvious.

The Athenian dramatic poet addressed an audience whose feelings were subject not merely to the excitement of the more recent dramas—but also of the constant progress of political events. They came to the theatre with minds under strongly predisposing influences, and the poet who would interest them might well cast about in his mind what feelings they were most swayed by,—what moral dilemma would have most stimulant effect,—what subject in fact they would be likely to attend to with any degree of interest,—what topics they would under present circumstances enter into, that at other times they might neither care for nor even be able—certainly not so well able, to understand.

If then the political crisis of Athens at the date when this trilogy was produced were such as has been set forth, what but highest admiration is due to the poet who gathered up



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