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ANTIQUES IN THE COLLECTION OF SIR FREDERICK COOK,
BART., AT DOUGHTY HOUSE, RICHMOND.

[PLATES I.—XXIV.]

THE monumental work of Professor Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, must always remain the basis of any study among English collections of antiques. But since its publication in 1882 not a few collections have changed hands, others have been dispersed, while others, more fortunate, have been enlarged; in these various processes much that was unknown even to Michaelis has come to light, and he himself soon supplemented his great work by two important papers printed in this *Journal* in 1884 and 1885. He prefaced the first of these supplementary papers with the following words:

‘I cannot help thinking that there must be in Great Britain a good deal of hidden treasure . . . which would perhaps easier come to light if there were a place expressly destined to receive such communications . . . I have therefore ventured to propose to the Editors to open in this *Journal* a corner for storing up such supplements . . . As a first instalment, I here offer some notes which may begin the series . . . May other lovers and students of the Classic art, especially in Great Britain, follow my example.’

Curiously enough, save for a few papers which have appeared at long and irregular intervals,¹ this wish of the great Strassburg Professor has remained unfulfilled. It still remains a national reproach that our English

¹ The following is a list of these papers. *Journal of Hellenic Studies*: Vol. V. Supp. I. Broom Hall and Antiquarian Remains in the Museum of Edinburgh.—Vol. VI. A. MICHAELIS. Ancient Marbles in Great Britain. Supp. II. (1) Hamilton Palace; (2) Hillingdon Court, Middlesex; (3) Castle Howard, Yorkshire; (4) Ince Blundell Hall; (5) H. Atkinson, London; (6) Sundorne Castle; (7) West Park, Hants; (8) The Corinthian Portal.—Vol. VII. C. WALDSTEIN. Collection of Sir Charles Nicholson, The Grange, Totteridge, Herts.—Vol. XI. E. L. HICKS. Museum of the Leeds Philosophical Society. (Chiefly inscriptions.)—Vol. XIV. E. SELLERS. Greek Head in the Possession of T. Humphry Ward. (Plate V.)—Vol. XVIII. E. A. GARDNER. Head in the Possession of Philip Nelson, M.B. (Plate XI.)

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collections have till recently been explored almost wholly by foreign scholars. After Michaelis came Professor Furtwängler, who, in his *Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture*, made known works in private collections which have since become famous, such as the Petworth Athlete, the Landsowne Heracles, and the Leonfield Aphrodite, that great original attributed to Praxiteles himself, not to speak of a number of statues and busts of less importance. Other results of Furtwängler's researches among English private collections are given in the first part of his great work on copies, *Statuenkopien im Alterthum*, which, unfortunately for science, remains unfinished, and also in the paper which he wrote upon the antiques at Chatsworth (*J.H.S.* 1900).

These surveys of the English collections bore fruit in 1903, in the Exhibition of Greek Art organized by the Burlington Fine Arts Club. This event was a welcome sign of a reawakening interest on the part of the English themselves—owners and public alike—in the treasures of antique art in the country. Since then, at any rate, a more intelligent care has been bestowed on antiques, which are now once more valued almost as highly as pictures. When Professor Michaelis revisits the scene of his earlier labours he will find matters much improved. The names of owners are by no means yet 'inscribed in letters of gold on the roll of donors to the British Museum,' but better still has been done. In many places trained curators are in charge of the collections, in place of the housekeepers at whose hands Professor Michaelis suffered so much, and the antiques are being rearranged, catalogued,² and made more generally accessible to both students and public, without for that being dissociated from their historic surroundings.

The large Catalogue issued at the close of the 1903 Exhibition had marked a new departure, in that every single object described was also illustrated. The time has now come to apply the same principle to individual collections and to issue catalogues in which a complete series of illustrations, based on photographs, shall be given. The present paper on the well-known Cook collection at Richmond which was so largely represented in the Exhibition of 1903 is an attempt to show how this might be carried out under the auspices of the Hellenic Society. Sir Frederick Cook, in consenting to the publication of his antiques in this Journal, generously undertook to help the Society by defraying the photographic expenses and by contributing towards the cost of the numerous plates. It is my belief that many, if not all, owners of collections might be willing thus to follow Sir Frederick's lead and to meet the Society half-way in the proposed scheme for issuing at frequent intervals illustrated monographs similar in character to the present. I may add that a set of the photographs upon which the illustrations are based will in due course be accessible at the Library of the Hellenic Society. It is hoped that in this manner illustrated monographs such as are now proposed might fulfil a

² Mr. Arthur Smith's catalogues of the collections at Lansdowne House, Woburn Abbey, and Brocklesby, are cases in point.



FIG. 1.—ARCHAISTIC FEMALE HEAD ON A PORPHYRY
BUST OF SARAPIS. (5)



FIG. 7.—IMAGO CLYPEATA. (39)
Period of Caracalla.



FIG. 21.—HEAD OF A GIRL. (62)



FIG. 6.—ROMAN BOY. (38)
Antonine Period.

double object,—as scientific contributions to the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, and as illustrated registers of photographs, somewhat on the plan of the *Einzelauftnahmen* so ably edited by Dr. Paul Arndt. Such catalogues, moreover, can also become of the utmost value for that State registration of works of art in private collections which has lately been so persistently advocated. It has been suggested before that a well-established Society like the Hellenic should take the first steps towards securing registration of works of antique art in private hands.

The collection of pictures gathered together at Doughty House, Richmond, is justly esteemed one of the finest and most important in England. Where so many original masterpieces of the Renaissance and modern times must claim the first interest the antiques scattered about among them have in great measure been overlooked by any but professional archaeologists. Yet these antiques form a group of considerable interest. 'The Richmond collection,' writes Michaelis, 'was formed from purchases in Italy, France and England, partly from old collections and at sales, partly from the results of the latest excavations, so that the cabinet, though not large, is various.' (*Ancient Marbles*, Preface, p. 177.)

The collection is certainly representative, its works ranging from the early fifth century B.C. to Roman portraits and sarcophagi of the third century A.D., yet its main strength may be said to reside in the numerous and well-preserved examples of Hellenistic works and works from Asia Minor. Foremost among these are the stelai of Archippos, Phila, and Epiktosis (Nos. 21-23) and the great Graeco-Syrian sarcophagus—perhaps the most important of all the antiques at Richmond—published in the last volume of this *Journal* by Professor Strzygowski,³ who took it as starting point for new researches into the origin and character of late Graeco-Asiatic art.

The history of the collection and of its acquisition by Sir Francis Cook, first baronet and father of the present owner, has been fully told by Michaelis, who has also given a very complete account of each work of art previous to its coming into the Richmond collection. On all these points, therefore, I shall limit myself to the briefest indications and refer to the abundant documentary evidence collected by Michaelis.

A few works of art are now described which were not at Richmond when the *Ancient Marbles* was compiled. The most remarkable of these is doubtless the Apollo (No. 5), considered by Furtwängler to be a copy of an original by Euphranor, while Dr. Waldstein, guided mainly by the beauty of the head, actually thought it an original by Praxiteles.

The objects noted by Michaelis as being at Cintra in Portugal, where Sir Frederick Cook is Viscount de Monserrat, remain there. They were catalogued by Dr. W. Gurlitt in the *Archaeologische Zeitung*, 1868, pp. 84 ff. The beautiful collection of bronzes (Michaelis, Richmond, Nos. 19-39), together with the gems, passed at the death of Sir Francis to his second son,

³ 'A Sarcophagus of the Sidamara Type in the Collection of Sir Frederick Cook at Richmond,' *J.H.S.* 1907, p. 92.

the late Mr. Wyndham Cook, and are now the property of Mrs. Wyndham Cook of 8, Cadogan Square. These bronzes and gems which figured largely in the Burlington Fine Arts Club Exhibition of 1903, are now being catalogued by Mr. Cecil H. Smith.

I have attempted to make the catalogue more instructive and interesting by grouping the objects into periods. In a final section I have placed objects whose precise date or artistic provenance is difficult to discover.

My thanks on behalf of the Society are due to Sir Frederick Cook for the liberal support already alluded to. I have, moreover, received assistance in special points from Mrs. Esdaile, Mr. A. H. Smith, Dr. Amelung, Dr. Robert, and above all, from Professor Michaelis, who, with a kindness that has deeply touched me, has read the proofs of this article and generously given me the advantage of his immense experience and special knowledge. That he should have undertaken this labour, when he is not yet completely restored to health, is a welcome sign of his unflagging interest in the English collections.

I only regret that I have not done better justice to many of Professor Michaelis's suggestions. But this article, begun in 1903 and then laid aside for four years, has had to be hurriedly finished, that not too long an interval should divide it from Professor Strzygowski's paper on the Graeco-Syrian Sarcophagus in this same collection.

§ 1.—*Archaic. First Half of Fifth Century B.C.*

1 (= Michaelis 53). **Female Head.** Antique replica of a Peloponnesian work of about 480–460 B.C. (Plate I.)

Total height: 24 cm. Length of face: 18 cm. Restored: nose, mouth, and chin; the modern bust has lately been removed. Replicas: Lausdowne House, Mich.



FIG. A.

53 = *B.F.A.C. Cat.* No. 11 p. 12; Vatican Mus. Chiaramonti xv, 363 = Amelung *Vat. Cat.* i. p. 549; Vienna (from Ephesus, see von Schneider, *Ausstellung von Fundstücken*

aus Ephesos, 1902, p. 9, No. 4; cf. Wace in *J.H.S.* xxiii, 1903, p. 343, Fig. 12 = here Fig. A); Madrid (Koepp, *Röm. Mitth.* 1886, p. 201); Villa Albani (Koepp, *op. cit.*: the head is on a column in the garden; it will shortly appear in Arndt's *Einzelabnahmen*). Exhibited, Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1903 (see *Cat. Greek Art*, p. 10, No. 7 and Plate VII.).

The hair is rolled back from the temples into a massive ball-like knot at the nape. The long oval, the strongly marked chin and high skull are strikingly individual. The large prominent eyes lie in one plane, as in archaic works. The expression is almost sullen. This replica loses considerably from the absence of the neck, which was long and well shaped (cf. especially the Ephesus example). The general character recalls works of the Argive school such as the Ligorio bronze in Berlin (in which Furtwängler⁴ recognizes an original of the school of the Argive Hagelaidas) and the bronze head of a boy, also in Berlin (Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke*, Taf. 32, pp. 675 foll.). Helbig on the other hand, in discussing the Chiaramonti replica (*Führer*, No. 86) detects an affinity with the Olympia sculptures.⁵ The large number of replicas shews that the original was celebrated. Other heads closely akin in character are at Copenhagen (Arndt, *Glypt. de Ny Carlsberg*, Plates XXXI, XXXII, Fig. 29, and p. 49), in the Museo Torlonia (Arndt, *op. cit.* Figs. 21, 22), and in the British Museum (*Cat.* 1794). Finally a statue in the Museum of Candia (phot. Maraghiannis) with head very similar to the type under discussion affords a clear notion of what the figure was like to which the Richmond head belonged (Mariani, *Bullet. Comun.* 1897, p. 183; cf. Amelung, *Museums of Rome*, p. 260).

§ 2.—The Pheidian Period.

2 (= Michaelis 50). **Helmeted Head of Athena.** (Plate I.)

Total height: 0.43 cm. *Length of face:* 0.18 cm. *Restored:* front of the face, including nose, mouth, chin, and nearly the whole of both eyes, and a piece of hair on the left side. The curls that fall over the neck to the front are broken, as well as the hair that flowed over the back from under the helmet. The helmet has lost the sphinx that formed the crest, and the griffins on either side are broken. *Literature:* *B.F.A.C. Cat.* p. 257, No. 61. *Replicas:* (1) the head of the Hope Athena at Deepdene (Mich. Deepdene, No. 39; Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, pp. 75 ff.; Joubin in *Monuments et Mémoires*, iii. 1896, Pl. II, pp. 27 ff.; Clarac-Reinach, 227, 3); (2) the head, known only from a cast at Dresden, *Masterpieces*, Fig. 25 A, Fig. 28.

In spite of the many restorations and mutilations and of the bad condition of what surface remains, the head still bears witness to the grandeur of the original type, which has justly been referred to Pheidias by Furtwängler (*loc. cit.*). Michaelis overlooked the fact that this was a replica of the head of the Athena represented by the Hope statue, which differs in sundry particulars from the similar 'Athena Farnese,' in Naples (Clarac-Reinach, 226, 7; *Masterpieces*, Fig. 26). The body of the griffins is sketched

⁴ 50th Winckelmannsprogramm 'Eine Argivische Bronze,' pp. 125 ff.

⁵ Wace, also, was reminded by the Ephesus head of the Hesperid of the Olympia metope.

in relief on the helmet, instead of standing out in the round as in the Farnese statue. The eyelids of the Hope type are more delicate, the oval of the face longer and more refined. Furtwangler was persuaded that while the Hope type might be referred to Pheidias himself, the Farnese Athena was the creation of his pupil Alcamenes. Without venturing on so bold an attribution or so decisive a distinction, we yet feel that the differences between the two types are not merely such as a copyist might introduce, but are the outcome of the artist's own individual feelings.

§ 3.—*Attic. The Second Half of Fifth Century.*

3 (= Michaelis 10). **Stele of Timarete.** (Plate II.)

Height: 0.52 cm. *Literature*: Conze, *Griechische Grabreliefs*, 852 and Taf. CLXXIII.; *B.F.A.C. Cat.* 31, and Pl. XVI.; for the inser. *C.I.Gr.* 7002. *Marble*: Pentelic. *Breakages*: the akroteria. The slab itself has been broken right across, just below the girl's head, and mended again; the bird's head and the drapery on the lower part of the child's body have been rubbed and become rather indistinct. *Former owner*: The chemist Dodd. Exhibited, B.F.A.C. in 1903.

The stele terminates in a pediment that projects somewhat beyond the relief itself. The bottom of the stele has been left rough for insertion into a plinth. The beautiful design with its fine sense of space and composition requires no explanation. Timarete, a girl who has died untimely, shews a bird to a little child crouching in front of her. The spirit and technique recall the finer Attic stelai of the period of the Parthenon frieze. In spite of the damages noted above, the preservation is good. As often in reliefs of this period, the child is absurdly small in proportion to the principal figure.

4 (= Michaelis 11). **Maenad with the Tympanon.** (Plate II.)

Height: 0.54 cm. *Marble*: Pentelic. *Breakages*: the relief, which belongs to a circular basis, adorned with several similar figures, has been cut away close to the figure. *Replicas*: see Hauser, *Die Neu-Attischen Reliefs*, p. 7, f. 1 (reverse of Amphora of Sosibios in the Louvre), 4 (Amelung, *Vat. Cat. Mus. Chiaram.* 182), 6, 8 (Madrid, see Winter, *50th Winckelmannsprogramm*), 9. *Literature*: Hauser, *loc. cit.* p. 13, No. 12; *B.F.A.C. Cat.* p. 15, No. 16, and Plate XVI. Exhibited, B.F.A.C. 1903.

The Bacchante, who holds the tympanon in her left hand ready to strike it with her right, is one of a well known group of types (Hauser's Type 27) that occur repeatedly on the reliefs of the New Attic school. In the present instance the pose of the head, the movement of body and drapery, are rendered with a force and distinction of line not always found in this class of reliefs, where the types of earlier Attic art were too often repeated mechanically for mere ornamental purposes. The extraordinary elegance of the forms, the grand rushing movement, the sweeping curves of the lines, the clinging transparent draperies, shew that the original belonged to the school which produced the famous Nike of Paionios at Olympia and kindred

works (Amelung, *Museums*, p. 22, p. 95, p. 214). The beautiful figure once formed part of a large composition comprising probably as many as eight Maenads grouped, it may be, round Dionysus and Ariadne. (See Winter, *loc. cit.* p. 112 f.; Amelung, *Museums*, p. 214.) An imitation, on a much smaller scale, of part of the original design seems preserved on the lovely round altar in Lansdowne House (Hauser, p. 11, No. 12; Michaelis, L. H., No. 58), from which, however, the figure now under discussion is absent. The series to which the present figure belonged was evidently on a much reduced scale, less than half the height, for instance, of the magnificent Maenad Chimairophonos from a similar cycle, in the Palazzo dei Conservatori (*height*, 1 m. 42, Amelung, *Museums*, Fig. 116). Along the basis runs a delicate *astragalos* moulding.

§ 4.—Schools of the Fourth Century B.C.

5 (not in Michaelis). **Statue of Apollo.** (Plates III. and IV.)

Height: 1 m. 74. *Restorations*: part of trunk and quiver (part antique); right hand with arrow and left forearm; the antique head has been broken and set on again. *Replicas*: see Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, p. 354, note 4. *Literature*: Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*⁶ Former colls.: Shugborough and Stowe. From the words 'Stowe' and 'Antinous' inscribed in gilt letters on the modern base, it appears that the statue was once in the Stowe collection; it is probably identical with the 'Antinous' (*Stowe Cat.* by H. R. Foster, p. 265) 'a very fine specimen of antique sculpture' purchased at the Stowe sale by a Mr. J. Browne of University Str.⁷

This statue was first noted and described by Furtwängler (50th *Winckelmannsprogramm*, p. 152, note 92, cf. *Masterpieces l.c.*) and connected by him with an original of the fourth century B.C. which, in contrast to the innovations of the Praxitelean and Scopasian schools, preserves or revives characteristics of old Argive art. In spite of the rounded modelling which clearly proclaims the manner of the fourth century, the great breadth of the shoulders as compared with the waist recalls the archaic 'canon' familiarly connected with the name of Hagelaidas. Moreover, Furtwängler identifies the artist of the original with Euphranor, a native of Corinth, who seems to

⁶ C. Waldstein proposes to recognize in this Apollo a work of the Praxitelean school (see *Illustrated London News*, July, 1903).

⁷ Prof. Michaelis writes to me quoting a letter from the late Dr. A. S. Murray informing him of 'a marble statue of an Apollo sold at Christie's, 23 February, 1883, with a head much like that of Antinous, and restored in several places; it was formerly in the Shugborough collection, afterwards in the possession of Mr. Angerstein, with which [*sic*] it was sold and was bought by Mr. Cook at Richmond.' This is evidently the Apollo catalogued above. We must therefore suppose that at the dispersal of the Shugborough collection soon after 1802

(see Michaelis, *Anc. Marbles*, p. 126) the Apollo found its way to Stowe. The statue in the Shugborough collection with which it should probably be identified is, as Prof. Michaelis points out to me, the 'Adonis' (*Anc. Marbles*, p. 70, n. 174)—but in the Stowe Coll. it received, as the modern lettering shows, the name of Antinous. This Stowe Antinous was, according to Foster's catalogue, purchased by a Mr. J. Browne, from whose possession it must then have passed into that of Mr. W. Angerstein. In Christie's Catalogue of the Angerstein sale it figures as 'an antique statue of Apollo, on statuary marble pedestal. *From Stowe.*' (Lot 204, purchased for £194 5s.)

have worked mainly in Athens, and might therefore well combine Argive characteristics with the Attic manner. He flourished about 362 B.C. The subject is known to be Apollo from the attributes. In the replica at Lansdowne House,⁸ for instance (Michaelis, L. H. 32), which is one of the most complete, Apollo wears a laurel wreath which, though it may be the copyist's addition, shews that the original was believed to be an Apollo. In the present replica, a small part of the quiver is antique. The best known of the many replicas is the elegant but lifeless statue, perhaps of the Hadrianic period, in the *Gabinetto delle Muscere* of the Vatican (No. 443. Amelung, *Museums* p. 98; Furtwängler, *op. cit.* Fig. 153).

6 (= Michaelis 3^a). Statue of Heracles. (Plate V.)

Total height: 1.28; *h. of pedestal:* 0.09 cm. *Restorations, &c.:* a piece in the middle of the club. The head, the r. arm from the elbow, and part of the legs are broken but antique. *Replicas:* Palazzo Sciarra, Matz-Dahn, i. 118. *Former coll.:* Lord Stratford de Redcliffe (1786-1880), identical with the statue sold at Christie's in 1878 for £110.⁹ *Provenance:* Constantinople. *Literature:* R. P. Hartwig, *Heracles mit dem Füllhorn*, p. 52.

Heracles is represented bearded and wears a wreath of broad leaves tied together at the back with a fillet, the ends of which are seen on either shoulder. The lion skin is thrown over his left arm, which holds a *cornucopiae*; the r. hand rests on the club. The weight is borne by the r. leg; the l. leg is placed forward at ease. The pose recalls a whole series of statues of the Attic School, of which the Lansdowne Heracles (Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, Fig. 125) is one of the best known. The soft forms of the present statue and the sinuous line of the torso suggest an Attic original of the fourth century, while the crisp hair and the deep-set eyes recall Scopas. For a kindred type from the Praxitelean School see *Masterpieces*, Fig. 145. The actual statue before us is of late probably Roman execution; the detail of the fruit and the somewhat sensational treatment of the lion skin are probably due to the copyist. For Heracles with the horn of plenty, which he carries as early as on a votive relief of the fourth century from Thebes, see Furtwängler *op. cit.* Roseher 2187.

7 (= Michaelis 5). Statuette of Zeus or Asklepios. (Plate V.)

Height: 0.70 cm. *Marble:* Italian. *Restorations:* neck, right arm with shoulder, thunderbolt, pedestal with both feet and omphalos, fingers of left hand, and patches in the drapery. The head seems antique, but is of a different marble and does not belong to the statue. The *modius* is in great part modern. *Former collection:* Franz Pulszky.

⁸ In the dining-room, unfortunately still unpublished, except for Clarac (= Clarac-Reinach, 241, 1).

⁹ See Christie's *Sale Catalogue*, June 29, 1878, p. 8, Lot 50 c: 'An Antique Statue of Heracles, the head wreathed with vine leaves, holding a club in his right hand, in his left a

cornucopiae; the lion's skin on the trunk of a tree at his side, 4 ft. 3 in. h. This figure which is in fine condition, represents a new and interesting type of Heracles (from Constantinople). This description and the height place the identity with the Cook statue beyond doubt.

The hand is planted on the hip in a manner familiar from statues of Asklepios, cf. Clarac-Reinach 566, 3 (Wilton House) and the examples in *Répertoire* ii, 32-36. The nobility of the pose and the throw of the drapery make the interpretation of Zeus possible. The *modius*, however, cannot be taken to indicate a Zeus Sarapis, since the head is foreign to the statue.

8 (not in Michaelis). **Porphyry Bust of Sarapis**, after Bryaxis. (Fig. 1. p. 3.)

Height : about 20 cm. *Replicas* : the 33 replicas of this type are enumerated by Amelung, *Rev. Archéol.* 1903, ii. pp. 189-194.

The execution of the bust in porphyry seems to point to an Egyptian origin, and in effect it is an exact replica of the upper portion of the celebrated type of Sarapis known from so many examples, and referred with almost absolute certainty to the famous cultus statue of the Sarapeum at Alexandria, executed by the Attic sculptor Bryaxis, a contemporary of Scopas (Robert, art. *Bryaxis* in Pauly-Wissowa). The best known of these images is the bust in the Sala dei Busti of the Vatican (No. 298: Amelung, *Museums* p. 91). The famous bust in the Sala Rotonda (No. 549) is a somewhat later variant (Amelung, *loc. cit.* p. 194). The god, who was seated, was clad in a chiton which just fell over the right shoulder, leaving the arm bare; over the lower part of the body was thrown a heavy himation which was brought round across the back and fell over the left shoulder. The Sarapis of Bryaxis is the subject of an admirable paper by Amelung referred to above. To Dr. Amelung also I owe the identification of the present bust.

A graceful female (?) head of archaistic type (8a) has been curiously adjusted by a modern restorer to this bust of a male god.

9 (= Michaelis 42). **Torso of a Satyr**. (Plate VI.)

Height : about 60 cm. *Marble* : Greek. *Breakages* : the chest has flaked away. *Replicas* : Clarac-Reinach, 395, 1 and 3.

This is a fragment of a replica of the famous Satyr of the Tribuna of the Uffizi, beating time with his foot on the *κρουπέζιον* or wooden double sole. From a Maenad on the lid of the Casali Sarcophagus (now in the Ny Carlsberg Museum at Copenhagen; Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, i. p. 442, fig. 492), who uses the *κρουπέζιον* and at the same time plays the double flute, it would seem that the Satyr should be restored with the double flute and not, as in the Uffizi example, with castanets (see Amelung, *Führer durch die Antiken in Florenz*, p. 44). The original, which is not impossibly the example in the Uffizi, belongs to about the middle of the third century B.C.

10 (= Michaelis 43). **Male Torso**. (Plate VI.)

Height : 0.39. *Marble* : Greek.

On the left shoulder are traces of a taenia (?), of hair (?), or of a skin (?). Possibly a Heracles (tentatively suggested by Michaelis). The right arm was

lowered, the left extended and somewhat raised to rest on a pillar or other object. The motive points to the fourth century, but the hard exaggerated rendering of the muscles is characteristic of a later date.

11 (= Michaelis 2). **Statue of Aphrodite.** ('Venus Mazarin.' Plates VII. and VIII.)

Total height: 1 m. 80 cm. *Restorations and breakages:* half the knot of hair, pieces of each breast, part of the dolphin's tail, are restored. The head and the right arm holding the drapery are broken, but belong to the statue. In the back are the traces of gun-shots which struck the statue during the Revolution when the happy 'precaution had been taken to turn the face of the goddess to the wall.' The statue is otherwise in admirable preservation. Three marks on the back of the dolphin shew that an Eros probably stood here. *Marble:* fine so-called Parian. *Former owners:* Coll. Mazarin, Mons. de Beaujon (on the modern history of the statue consult Michaelis). *Replica:* the nearest is Clarae-Reinach, 325, 6.

There are numerous statues of a similar type (see Bernoulli, *Aphrodite*, pp. 248 ff.), but none that can be exactly called a replica. All these statues with their slightly varying motive evidently derive from the Cnidian Aphrodite of Praxiteles, to which a new character is imparted by letting the drapery partially enfold the lower part of the body. The movement of the left arm and of the hand that grasps the drapery in front of the body is closely imitated from the nude statue: the other arm, which in the Cnidian statue would be lowered to drop the drapery on the vase, is somewhat raised and holds the other end of the drapery away from the body. It should be noted that the action of the arms of the Cnidian statue is reversed in the present example, as it is in the greater number of the standing Aphrodites of this type, e.g. the Capitoline, the Medicean, etc.

Lately the attempt has been made by S. Reinach to trace the similar statue of the Vatican Belvedere dedicated by Sallustia (Amelung, *Vat. Cat.* ii, p. 112, 42) back to a bronze Aphrodite by Praxiteles which, according to Pliny, xxxiv. 69, had stood in front of the *Templum Felicitatis* (*Rev. Arch.* 1904, pp. 376 f. and Fig. 1), but Amelung (*l.c.*) has shewn what are the objections to this theory.

12 (= Michaelis 6). Small group of **Dionysus Supporting Himself on Seilenus.** (Plate IX.)

Height: 0.70 m. *Marble:* Greek. *Restorations:* right arm of Dionysus (some of the broken parts may be antique); his feet; the pedestal (only a small part is antique); the noses of both figures. *Replicas:* Windsor, vol. xxvii. fol. 28, No. 22 (so Michaelis). *Former collections:* Grimani, Fejérváry and Franz Pulszky. *Literature:* Clarae-Reinach, 130, 1; *Annali*, 1854, p. 81. (It has escaped both Reinach and Michaelis that the Grimani-Fejérváry group and the Richmond example are identical.) L. Milani 'Dionysos di Prassitele' in *Museo di Antichità Classica*, iii. 1890, p. 788.

This type of group was formerly named 'Socrates and Alcibiades,' a favourite name for similar groups since the time of the Renaissance.¹⁰ The curious composition is a variant of groups of Dionysus and a Satyr such

¹⁰ Andreas Fulvius, *Antiquitates Urbis* (1527) *Alcibiadem amphirantis* (note by Professor fol. xxxv, already mentions a *Socratis statua* Michaelis)

as the colossal Ludovisi group (Helbig, *Führer*, 880), the Chiaramonti group (Helbig, 112; Amelung, *Cat.* 588) or the group in the Uffizi (Amelung, *Führer*, 140)¹¹ which derive from a Dionysus of the Praxitelean school, with his right hand brought over his head and his left arm supported on the trunk of a tree (*cf.* the Praxitelean Apollo Lykeios). Seilenus, whose head is of the usual bearded type with snub nose, is completely clothed in the *χιτῶν χορταῖος*, the shaggy coat of skins regularly worn by the Papposeilenus of the Satyric drama. *Cp.* the group in Athens of Seilenus with the child Dionysus in Arndt-Bruckmann, *Einzelanfahmen*, No. 643.

13 (= Michaelis 4). **Torso of Aphrodite.** (Plate IX.)

Height: 0·31 cm. *Marble:* Island, of a beautiful transparent quality. *Provenance:* Athens.(?)

The goddess was apparently represented with her right arm raised to her head, and the left arm lowered, but the motive is not clear. Copy of a fourth century type. Insignificant workmanship; the absence of proportion between the small upper body, the heavy hips and long thighs has been commented on by Michaelis.

14 (= Michaelis 41). **Statuette of Aphrodite.** (Plate IX.)

Height: 0·92 cm. *Restorations and breakages:* head, fingers of right hand, the feet, and the pedestal, with the greater part of the dolphin; the legs are mended (left knee new). The right arm has been broken off and put on again; the first and fourth fingers of the hand are broken; the left forearm which, according to Michaelis, belonged to the statue, has disappeared.

The statue is insignificant both in type and workmanship. It is one of many variants which derive more or less remotely from the Capitoline and Medicean statues (*cf.* the 53 examples of Aphrodite with the dolphin enumerated by Bernoulli, *Aphrodite*, pp. 229-234).

15 (= Michaelis 47). **Double Bust of Dionysus and Alexander.** (?)
(Fig. 2.)

Height: 0·23 cm. *Marble:* Greek. *Restorations:* tip of the nose of Dionysus; the other restorations referred to by Michaelis have been taken away. *Provenance:* Rome.(?)

This term must, I think, be identical with (and not merely similar to, as was suggested by Michaelis) the one published by Gerhard, *Antike Bildwerke*, Plate CCCXVIII (Text, p. 408: 'Dionysos und Ares; dieser mit Flügelhelm, jener mit fließendem Bart und Weinbekrönung. In Rom gezeichnet'). The leaves of the wreath are not oak (Michaelis), but vine; the horns, however, seem to be absent in this example, but the reproduction in Gerhard is so poor that it is difficult to tell whether they actually existed in the bust or are merely a fancy of the draughtsman.

Lately M. S. Reinach¹² has interpreted the Gerhard herm as a double bust of Dionysus and Alexander, from the likeness of the beardless head to

¹¹ *Cf.* also G. Cultrera, *Saggi sull' Arte Ellenistica*, i. p. 83 ff.

¹² *Revue Archéologique*, 1906, ii. pp. 1 ff.

the beautiful portrait of Alexander in the Dattari collection at Cairo first described by O. Rubensohn.¹³ As the Dattari head, however, has the horns of Ammon on the helmet, M. Reinach surmised that the draughtsman who drew the Gerhard double bust had by a misunderstanding turned the horns into wings. In presence of the Richmond example and of its photographic reproduction we must admit that the draughtsman was correct, but as the beardless head unmistakably resembles the portraits of Alexander, M. Reinach is probably right in his alternative suggestion that the wings—



FIG. 2.—DOUBLE TERMINAL BUST OF DIONYSUS AND ALEXANDER OR HERMES. (15)

which replace the Ammon horns so appropriate to Alexander—are a modification due to the ancient copyists.

The Dattari and Richmond 'Alexanders' have in common the great breadth of face, the impressively modelled brow and deeply sunk eyes. It is not certain, however, that the sculptor of what we may venture to call the Gerhard-Richmond head intended to give a portrait of the king; from his substituting the wings of Hermes for the horns of Ammon on the helmet it is very possible that he consciously transformed the portrait into an image of Hermes.¹⁴ The helmet is worn over a leather cap with broad cheek-pieces, apparently made of leather thongs sewn together.

¹³ *Archaeol. Anzeiger*, 1905, p. 67.

¹⁴ To my regret, insufficient photographs were

taken of this interesting bust; I hope, however, to publish it again in different aspects.

The head of Dionysus goes back to a fine original created in the Scopasian or Lysippean schools.

It is true also that the beardless head seems in Gerhard to have the nose intact: but from its outline this nose must be modern, while the breakage and the rusty iron pin shew plainly that a modern nose has been removed from the Richmond example. On the coupling of Alexander with Dionysus or the 'Libyan Bacchus,' see S. Reinach, *op. cit.* p. 6.

§ 5.—*Greek Art in Asia Minor and Hellenistic Art.*

16 (= Michaelis 40). **Statue of Aphrodite** crouching in the bath attended by Eros. (Plate X.)

Height: 1.15 cm. *Length of face*: 0.19 cm. *Restored*: right arm and left hand with wrist; the left foot (which the restorer has irrelevantly covered with a sandal, though the goddess is bathing); toes of the right foot. Nearly the whole of the swan (the neck only is antique). The left leg of the Eros was once restored, but is now lost; the wings are modern, but their attachments are antique. The head is much damaged by exposure to the weather. The pedestal is modern. *Marble*: coarse Parian. *Literature*: Cavaceppi, *Raccolta*, vol. ii. No. 60: Clarac, 627, 14, 11=Clarac-Reinach, 338; Bernoulli, p. 316, No. 10; Welcker, *Kunstmuseum*, p. 61. *Replicas*: list of the 26 examples cited by Bernoulli has been much increased, cf. Klein, *Praxiteles*, pp. 270 ff. Though the type is one of the commonest, exact replicas are rare. The Richmond example seems to repeat in every detail the torso from Vienne, in the Louvre. *Former owners*: the sculptor, Bartolommeo Cavaceppi, Lord Anson (George, Baron Anson, the admiral, 1697-1762) at Shugborough Hall in Staffordshire.

A coarse but not ineffective copy of an Aphrodite executed about the middle of the third century B.C. by Doidalsas, a native of Bithynia. The best of the numerous replicas seems to be the well known one in the Louvre, though the head and both arms are lost. To the two main types of the crouching Aphrodite, with the variants noted by Bernoulli (*Aphrodite*, pp. 314 ff.), must be added a third with both arms raised to the head, a motive which by disclosing the breast recalls the Argive schools of the fifth century. The only satisfactory example known to me of this type with the upraised arms is the statue now at Windsor in the collection of H.M. the King, which I hope shortly to publish in this journal [Michaelis, Osborne, No. 5; Reinach, *Répertoire* ii. 371]. The more usual type, represented by the present statue, recalls a favourite motive of the Lysippean school by which one of the arms is brought across the breast, as for instance in the Apoxyomenos.¹⁵ Cf. Löwy, *Lysipp und seine Stellung*, p. 29. The lack of restraint in the treatment of the nude both in this and in the Paris example points to a Graeco-Asiatic rather than to a purely Greek school (cf. also G. Cultrera, *Saggi sull' arte Ellenistica e Greco-Romana*),¹⁶ while the number of replicas and more or less exact imitations postulates a renowned original. Now when Pliny (xxxvi. 34) is enumerating the statues in the Temple of Jupiter adjoining the Porticus

¹⁵ So too in the Medicean Aphrodite, which Mahler has lately traced back to the school of Lysippus (*Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des*

Inscr. 1905, p. 623).

¹⁶ Amelung, *Museums*, p. 96, excellently analyses the type.

Octaviae, he mentions three statues of Aphrodite. The first of these was by Philiskos. The other two Pliny describes as follows: *Venerem lavantem sese Daedalsas stantem Polycharmus*. In the name Daedalsas given by the best codex M. Th. Reinach has astutely recognized, on the evidence of inscriptions, the Bithynian Doidalsas¹⁷ who flourished in the third century B.C. (see Robert art. 'Doidalsas' in Pauly-Wissowa). It is therefore more than probable that the original of our replicas, which moreover appears on the coinage both of Bithynia and of Amisus in Pontus, is that of the Bithynian Doidalsas (see S. Reinach in *Pro Alesia*, Nov.-Dec. 1906, p. 69). This collection also possesses, as we shall see, a copy of the third Aphrodite noted by Pliny in the same passage.

17 (not in Michaelis). **Statuette of Aphrodite.** (Plate X.)

Height: 35 cm., including pedestal. *Restorations*: both arms and both legs with the urn and the drapery; the head has been broken off and a new piece of neck inserted on the left side; but the head is antique and belongs to the body. *Replicas*: Bernoulli, *Aphrodite*, pp. 329-338; Reinach, *Répertoire*, i. 327, 334, 338; ii. 347-349, 804, 806; iii, 107, 256, 257. Exact replicas, however, are rare, but the same motive runs through the whole series. *Exhibited*, B.F.A.C., 1903 (*Cat.* p. 15, No. 17).

The motive has been explained as Aphrodite unloosening with her right hand the sandal of her left raised foot. The type must have been one of the most popular in antiquity; Bernoulli in 1873 gave a list of 36 statues and statuettes with similar pose; in 1887 M. S. Reinach brought the number up to 70 (*Nécropole de Myrina*, text to Pl. V) and made further additions in his *Répertoire* (*l. c.*). In a number of the bronze replicas, where the feet are generally preserved, the sandal is frequently absent,¹⁸ and the goddess is apparently imagined as standing in the water and washing her heel. In the marble statues, which have mostly lost legs and feet, it is difficult to tell whether this motive or that of the sandal was intended. In the present instance the roundness of the forms points to an original of a later date, in the manner of the Asia Minor or Alexandrian schools. There is much to commend M. S. Reinach's identification of this type as the 'standing' Aphrodite of Polycharmos mentioned by Pliny, xxxvi. 34, as being, together with the Aphrodite of Doidalsas, in the Temple of Jupiter adjoining the Porticus Octaviae. But, as noted above under No. 16, in discussing the Aphrodite of Doidalsas, the Plinian passage is a much vexed one. The words *stantem Polycharmus* are vague and unsatisfactory, because, as M. Reinach points out, to qualify the statue of Polycharmus as 'standing' is inadequate, if not 'incomprehensible,' since the majority of statues of Aphrodite are of a standing type. Therefore several editors of Pliny felt compelled to assume a lacuna between *stantem* and *Polycharmus*,¹⁹ which Reinach now proposes to fill up with the words *pède in uno*; this Aphrodite 'standing on one foot' would

¹⁷ *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1897, i. p. 314. (No. 260).

¹⁸ For instance the two examples in the Brit. Mus. from Patras (No. 282) and Paramythia

¹⁹ S. Reinach, 'La Vénus d'Alesia' in *Pro Alesia*, Nov.-Dec. 1905, pp. 65 ff.

then be the famous original of the numerous replicas noted above. If we may further suppose with Reinach that Polycharmos, whose name does not occur outside the Plinian passage, was, like Doidalsas, an Asiatic, his authorship of the type in question becomes probable.

18 (*not* in Michaelis). **Statuette of Aphrodite.** (Plate X.)

Total height : 74 cm. *Restorations* : the head and all the extremities, with the pedestals and base, only the torso being antique.

Insignificant replica of the same type as the preceding.

19 (= Michaelis 62). **Draped Female Statue.** (Plate XI.)

Height : 1.35 m. *Marble* : Greek. (?) *Restorations and breakages* : the statue is set into a modern plinth ; the right foot, perhaps worked out of a separate piece of marble, is missing ; the head and both the arms (originally worked out of a different piece of marble) are lost ; the folds of the himation are a good deal clipped and worn in places.

The pose is at once elegant and dignified. The weight of the figure is thrown on to the left foot, and the right leg is placed somewhat to the side and at ease, thus imparting a trailing grace to the figure and throwing the heavy folds that fall between the feet into rich curving lines. The left arm, now lost, held one end of the cloak against the hip. The right arm appears to have been extended, probably so as to rest on a sceptre : the back of the statue is left curiously rough and unfinished, so that the figure must have been placed within a niche. The transparent drapery scarcely veils the elegant and slender forms. The manner in which the himation is caught round the neck into a band is characteristic of Pergamene sculpture (*v.g.* the *Eos* and numerous female figures on the great frieze of the giants from Pergamon) ; so too is the manner in which the vertical folds of this garment show beneath the diagonal folds of the himation. The high girding, close under the breast, and the way in which the folds at the upper edge of the himation are gathered into a heavy roll recall the Asiatic schools. I incline to regard the statue, which has considerable charm and freshness, as an original dating from the latter half of the third century B.C. Though we must admit with Michaelis that 'the execution is by no means very fine,' the statue has none of the dryness of a copy.

20 (*not* in Michaelis). **Statue of Hygieia.** (Plate XI.)

Height : 1 m. 71. *Marble* : Greek. *Breakages* : the left forearm. *Provenance* : Porto d'Anzio. *Former owner* : Ch. Newton-Robinson, Esq. *Literature* : Reinach, *Répertoire*, iii, 91.

The technical treatment, the individuality of the somewhat heavy features, the fringed veil thrown over the head, shew that we have here the portrait perhaps of a priestess, in the character of Hygieia. The left arm with the snake wound round it and holding the patera is a common motive in statues of Hygieia (*cf. Répertoire, l.c.*) The high girding and the throw of the drapery suggest an affinity with works like the 'Themis' by Kaikosthenes,

found at Rhamnus in Attica (Athens, *Nat. Mus. Catal.* 263, Remach, *Repertoir* n. 244, 4). Such types derive from classical models, but they are dry and academic in feeling, and consequently difficult to date. They were adapted to portraits of priestesses and later to portraits of Roman ladies, far down into the Roman period. Prof. Michaelis points out to me that the figure seems connected stylistically with the series of female statues from Asia Minor, once in the Arundel collection, and now at Oxford (Michaelis, Oxford, I, 9).

21 (=Michaelis 67). **Funeral Stele of Archippos.** (Plate XII.)

Height: 1.54 cm. ; *greatest breadth*: 0.62 cm. *Marble*: yellowish grey. *Restored*: nose and the second finger of the right hand; the big toe of the left foot is broken. *Literature*: Museo Grimani, pl. 27; *B.F.A.C. Catal.* no. 56 and Plate XXXIX.; *Jahrbuch des Arch. Instit.* xx, 1905, p. 55, Fig. 10a. *Provenance*: Smyrna (?). *Former collection*: Palazzo Grimani-Spago, Venice. *Exhibited*: Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1903.

Archippos, flanked by two servants of diminutive stature who lean up against the pillars which form the niche, is represented as beardless and wears chiton, cloak, and sandals. With his right hand he touches the wreath which has presumably been bestowed upon him for civic services. The inscription which is distributed between the laurel wreath beneath the pediment and the architrave runs: *ὁ δῆμος Ἀρχιππον Δίωρος* (*C.I.G.*, vol. ii, 3224). On a tall sepulchral column of the Ionic order in the background stands a sepulchral urn with graceful handles. This stele, together with No. 22, belongs to a well-known class of sepulchral monuments from the south of Asia Minor and the neighbouring islands, which have lately been exhaustively discussed by Ernst Pfuhl ('Das Beiwerk auf den ostgriechischen Grabreliefs' in *Jahrbuch des Arch. Instituts*, xx, 1905, pp. 47-96 and pp. 123-155). The architectural features are fairly constant. A low basis with top and bottom mouldings supports the actual niche which is formed by two columns and an architrave. Above this runs a broad band variously adorned with a wreath and one or two rosettes. Above this again comes the pediment. Pfuhl sees in this type of sepulchral monument a combination of the *ναῖσκος* or shrine of an earlier period with the high rosette stele of which there are numerous examples. The urn and column shew that here, as invariably in these Asia Minor stelai, the dead is imagined to be standing near to, or actually within (see No. 22), his own sepulchral monument.

22 (=Michaelis 68). **Funeral Stele of Phila.** (Plate XII.)

Height: 1.47 cm. ; *breadth*: 0.63 cm. *Marble*: same as 21. *Provenance*: same and from the same collection as No. 21. *Literature*: Pfuhl *loc. cit.* p. 129, No. 25. *Inscription*: *C.I.G.* vol. ii, 3253.

This stele is almost the exact counterpart of the stele of Archippos; in the pediment, instead of a shield, is a quatrefoil rosette and the architrave has no dentils. Phila, a figure evidently influenced by a Praxitelean motive, sits completely wrapped in her veil, her right foot resting on a footstool, her

left leg drawn back. In front of her a little maiden holds a large open casket, at her side a still smaller maiden holds a distaff. As Archippos stands by his sepulchral column and urn, so Phila sits within her own sepulchral chamber, indicated by a wall with a shelf upon which stands an open *triptychon*. Excellent example of an Asia Minor *stele*.

23 (= Michaelis 69). **Funeral Stele of Epiktosis.** (Plate XII.)

Height : 1·07 cm. ; *greatest breadth* : 0·65 cm. *Marble* : Greek. *Collection* : same as two preceding numbers. *Inscription* : C.I.G. vol. i. 669.

The stele, though its architecture differs from that of 21 and 22, evidently belongs to the same class of monument.

Epiktosis, who stands fronting the spectator, with the usual little maiden holding the jewel-case at her side, is draped in a manner that at once recalls the central figure on the slab with three Muses standing of the Mantinean basis (*J.H.S.* 1907, p. 111, Fig. 9; cf. also the exquisite figure from an Attic stele, Athens, Cent. Mus., 1005, brought within the same Praxitelean series by Amelung, *Basis des Praxiteles aus Mantinea*, p. 46, Fig. 23). This adherence to Praxitelean models is specially characteristic of art in the nearer Graeco-Orient, and has lately been shewn by Strzygowski to persist right down to the period of the Sidamara Sarcophagi (*J.H.S. loc. cit.* p. 112). Rough, summary work, especially in the drapery.

24 (= Michaelis 70). **Fragment of an Asia Minor Stele.** (Fig. 3.)

Height : 0·47 cm. *Provenance* : Asia Minor (?) or the Greek Islands (?)

A draped figure standing in the attitude of Epiktosis on No. 23.

25 (= Michaelis 70). **Fragment of Sepulchral Relief.** (Plate XIII.)

Height : 0·47 cm. ; *greatest breadth* : 67 cm. *Marble* : Greek. *Breakage* : the top of the stele with the head of the figure and two-thirds of the right side have been broken away. *Provenance* : Sicily.

A woman stands again in a Praxitelean attitude which is closely imitated from the prototype of such figures as the 'Matron from Herculaneum' (*J.H.S.* 1907, p. 112, Fig. 110 — the resemblance was already noted by Michaelis). At her side, the attendant maiden, holding a fan in her left hand, and a basket in her right, is carved in very low relief. Though the stele is said to have come from Sicily, the style points in this case also to Asia Minor.

26 (= Michaelis 2^a). **Lower half of Statue of Nymph holding Shell.** (Plate XIII.)

Height : 0·90 cm. *Marble* : Greek.

The nymph who held the shell in front of her with both hands, supporting it lightly on the knot into which her drapery is gathered, belongs to a familiar class of figures (see Reinach, *Reçp.* ii. 405) though it cannot be claimed as the replica of any one of them. It comes nearest to the statue in the

Louvre, Reinach, Fig. 3 (*loc. cit.*), but is not identical. The drapery of the present copy is executed with decorative skill and the shell-like arrangement



FIG. 3.—DRAPED FEMALE FIGURE FROM AN ASIA MINOR STELE. (24)

of the folds has meaning and charm. The work, however, is probably not earlier than the Roman period.

27 (*not in Michaelis*). **Boy with Duck or Goose.** (Plate XIV.)

Height : 51 cm.; *breadth* : 58 cm. *Marble* : Italian fine-grained white marble (Amelung). *Provenance* : unknown. *Restorations* : right arm from the shoulder, tip of the nose, a patch on the right ear, middle finger of the left hand ; big toe of the left foot ; right foot ; almost the whole basis (Amelung). *Literature* : Vienna Jahreshfts, vi. 1903, p. 230 (R. Herzog, from a communication of Amelung). *Replicas* : the twelve replicas are noted and described by Herzog (*loc. cit.*).²⁰

²⁰ I incline to think that the Richmond example may be identical either with Herzog 5 or 6, belonging respectively to the sculptor Cavaceppi and to the Marquis Giugni. See

Ernest Gardner 'Statuette representing a boy and goose' in *J.H.S.* vi. 1885, p. 6, Nos. 29 and 30.

The motive of the statue has long been familiar from the numerous replicas, the best of which seems to be the one discovered at Ephesus at the S.W. angle of the Roman agora during the Austrian excavations of the year 1896 (Herzog, *loc. cit.* Taf. 8; cf. Wace, *J.H.S.* xxiii. 1903, p. 348, Fig. 14, Fig. B). Herzog's attempt to identify this group as the boy with the *χηναλώπηξ*, or fox-goose,²¹ described by Herondas in the temple of Asklepios at Cos²² has much in its favour. The subject of a boy with a goose or a duck was, it is true, specially popular, and must have been treated with variations by numberless artists (E. A. Gardner in *J.H.S.* vi. 1885, pp. 1 ff.). Yet the frequent repetition of the present motive shews that it derives from some famous original, while there is surely a special significance in the fact that



FIG. B.—CHILD WITH GOOSE. (Vienna.)

an excellent and life-like copy was found at Ephesus, which is comparatively near Cos (cf. Herzog, p. 215, n. 1). Herzog prefers to see in the group a mere *genre* subject, but I incline to interpret it—in accordance with a suggestion already put forward by S. Reinach (in connexion with the copy after Boethos of Chalcedon of a boy wrestling with a goose, likewise preserved in numerous replicas²³)—as the child Asklepios playing with the goose sacred to himself. However much the ‘boy with the goose’ may have been treated in later times merely as a *genre* subject, it seems more than probable that the motive originated in a child Asklepios. In the Renaissance, likewise, the child

²¹ For the *χηναλώπηξ*, an Egyptian species of small goose, see Herzog, *op. cit.*

²² τὴν χηναλώπεκα ὡς τὸ παιδίον πνίγει | πρὸ τῶν ποδῶν γούν εἰ τι μὴ λίθος τοῦργον | ἐρείς λαλήσει

²³ *Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles*, vi. 1901, pp. 9 ff. (‘L'Enfant à l'oie.’) Reinach,

indeed, had proposed tentatively to identify the original of Boethos with the Ἀσκληπιὸς παῖς of the same artist, known from two metrical inscriptions; but see C. Robert (art. *Boethos* in Pauly-Wissowa, 604 f.) against the identification of the Coan group with the boy strangling a goose.

St. John with the lamb is difficult to differentiate from a pure *goose* subject. The motive of the original groups has been well interpreted by Jahn, by Wolters and others (see the passages quoted by Herzog, *op. cit.* p. 232). The following analysis from one of Furtwangler's earliest monographs (*der Dorrauszücher und der Knabe mit der Gans*, 1876, p. 70) is worth noting: 'the composition shews a small boy, who after the manner of children sits upon the ground: but he wants to get up and is unable to do so unaided; so he stretches out one arm and looks up entreating for help: at the same time, as he is so careful to keep his other hand firmly on his favourite goose, it seems as if someone had wanted to take his playmate from him, and thus caused the little fellow's excitement.' The present group is merely decorative, but other replicas were doubtless intended for fountains, and the goose pressed by the boy spurted water.

28 (not in Michaelis). **Sepulchral or Votive Statuette of the Boy Senecio.** (Plate XIV.)

Height: 63 cm. *Marble*: Greek.

The inscription on the plinth reads: Φοίνικος νί|ὸν εἰσ|ορᾶς Σε|νεκίω|νά με. It was doubtless intended for a senarius, but the scansion is spoilt by the intrusion of the name. In spite of the late Greek characters, Senecio, as his name shews, is a Roman and the statue, with its rather square and plump forms, is Roman rather than Greek in character. Senecio, who presses a cock to his side and holds a little vase in the hand which he rests on a pillar at his right, seems to derive not so much from a Greek as from Etruscan models, such as the boy with a bird in the museum at Leyden. (Reinach, *Répertoire*, ii. 464, where a number of kindred figures are given.) The type, however, which occurs in many variants, is a common one, and like that of the 'boy with the fox-goose' probably originated in the schools of the period after Alexander. See the list of examples drawn up by E. Gardner in *J.H.S.* vi. 1885, 'Statuette representing a boy and goose,' p. 3. The eyes are incised in the manner of the Antonine period; hasty superficial workmanship.

29 (= Michaelis 45). **Votive Statuette of a Boy.** (Plate XIV.)

Height: 0.47 cm. *Marble*: Greek. *Restored*: the trunk, the pedestal and the lower part of the legs; part of the left arm and the whole of the right arm with a portion of the box; the nose; the head suits the movement of the body and presumably belongs to the statue, but it has been broken off and clumsily readjusted by means of plaster.

In spite of its bad condition the charm of the silhouette owing to the child's easy and natural pose is considerable. The composition seems decidedly Greek; the subject is difficult to make out, the 'deep square box' thought by Michaelis to contain 'probably articles of jewellery' (owing to the presence of what may be a ring) seems to me rather to be connected

with some cultus ceremony—the little round objects resemble the tops of small vessels.²⁴

30 (*not* in Michaelis). **Statue of a Boy holding an Urn.** Fountain figure. (Fig. 4.)

Height: about life-size. *Restorations*: right leg from below the knee; the left foot. *Replicas*: Clarac-Reinach 439, 3 from Cavaceppi (unless indeed this be the same figure as the present; Michaelis, however, identifies the Cavaceppi statue with one at St. Anne's Hill, Surrey).



FIG. 4.—BOY WITH URN. (39)

The statuette, which is of only slight importance, has been so much rubbed and worked over as to seem modern. It falls within a familiar series

²⁴ For votive statues of children see especially O. Jahn, *Ber. d. Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.* 1848, S. 41 ff.; Stephani, *Compte-rendu*, 1863, S. 53-56 ff.; Furtwängler, *Der Dornauszieher u. der*

Knabe mit der Gans, 1870; cf. Benndorf, *Griech. u. sicil. Vasenbilder*, 57 f. zu Taf. 31; Paul Baur, *Eileithya*, *Philologus*, Supplementband viii. 484 ff.

of fountain figures, e.g. Vatican, Chiarum. (Amelung, *Cat.* No. 700 = Clarac-Reinach, 439, 2); Candelabri 117, 118; Munich Glypt. Furtwängler, *Cat.* 233; Ny Carlsberg 169.²⁵

The type probably goes back to Hellenistic times, and is sometimes found adapted to relief sculpture in Sarcophagi (see Amelung, *loc. cit.*).

31 (*not* in Michaelis). **Fragment of a Hellenistic Relief.** (Plate XV.)

Height: 28 cm. ; *breadth*: 34 cm. *Marble*: Greek. *Condition*: only the upper part of both figures is preserved; the bearded head of Seilenus and his left hand are much mutilated, the right arm—which probably held a kantharos—has been broken away altogether.

The relief, which shews the drunken Seilenus, half reclining, half supported by a boyish Satyr, falls within a well-known group of subjects representing Dionysus, Heracles, or Seilenus revelling (cf. Schreiber, *Hellenistische Reliefbilder*, 30, 42, 43, 45), but I have not found any exact replica. In spite of the mutilation the workmanship appears good and careful, and the satyr, treated in back view and straining with all his might to support the heavy figure of Seilenus, is rendered with great truth of observation.

§ 6.—*Augustan Art.*

32 (= Michaelis 82). **Relief Sculptured on Both Faces.** (Plate XVI.)

Present height: 0·27 cm. ; *breadth*: 0·39 cm.

The relief has at some time been broken into several pieces and put together roughly with plaster. The whole top is still missing. On the obverse three masks are carved in high relief. On the right a mask of Dionysus, with the broad Bacchic *mitra*, lies on a 'low cista half opened' (Michaelis). The mystic cista is here represented as a wicker basket, and resembles in this particular the liknon or mystic Vannus, the shovel-shaped basket of Bacchus, upon which rests the mask of a Satyr in a similar Hellenistic relief (Schreiber, *Hellenistische Reliefbilder*, Plate 106). Facing this mask of Dionysus is a mask of Heracles wearing the lion skin, and with what appears to be another lion skin roughly indicated below. The connexion of Heracles with the stage (see Furtwängler, cf. Roscher, *s.v.* Heracles, col. 2191) is often emphasized by representation on monuments similar to the present, e.g. on a fragment from a sarcophagus in Berlin (*Cat. Sculpt.* 857), but this is the only instance at present known to me in which the masks of Dionysus and of Heracles are brought face to face. Between the two is the mask of a youthful Satyr with what appears to be a roughly indicated nebris below. The short nose, high cheek-bones, and half-open mouth are characteristic of the Satyr type; the head is treated with considerable refinement and goes back to some good fourth-century model.

²⁵ Munich 232 (= Clarac-Reinach 417, 6) may also be compared.

The scene sculptured in low relief on the *reverse* is peculiarly interesting.²⁶ On the left a young Satyr, half kneeling on the ground, is seen steadying with his right hand an ithyphallic image of Priapus, while on the right two winged Erotes are making great efforts to erect a similar much larger image which they are raising from the ground. On the left two Erotes are hoisting the huge figure up by means of cables, like masons attempting to raise a heavy weight. Each pulls one end of the cable; one, whose upper part is unfortunately broken off, hovers in the air, the other pushes with both his feet against the lower part of the shaft so as to get it into place. They are assisted by a third Eros on the right, who, with his right foot firmly planted against a rock and his left hand against a tree-trunk, in order to obtain purchase, has his back against the image which he thus helps to push up. This amusing scene could not be noted by Michaelis, as the reverse was almost wholly covered with plaster, which I chipped off with excellent result. Both sides of the relief are evidently connected, and the whole monument has to do with the Satyric drama and the cult of Dionysus.

33 (= Michaelis 66). **Large Krater adorned with Victories and Dancing Girls.** (Plate XVII.)

Height: 0.80 cm. ; *diameter*: 0.80 cm. *Restorations*: foot and projecting parts of the handles; the surface has been overworked, but the authenticity is above suspicion. *Literature*: Hauser, *Neu-Attische Reliefs*, p. 96, no. 18. *Marble*: Italian with grey stripes.

This large vase belongs to a group of works of the New Attic School, the most typical example of which is the celebrated Borghese Vase in the Louvre (Clarac-Reinach, 28, Hauser, *op. cit.* p. 84), but the present example lacks the usual elegance of form in this class of vase; its lower part, instead of the elegant flutings visible on the Borghese Vase, has a somewhat clumsy leaf decoration; the handles end on the body of the vase in vine-leaves, while under each handle are crossing thyrsi as on the cup from Hildesheim (Pernice-Winter, *Der Hildesheimer Silberfund*, Plate X.). The two Nikai on the front of the vase call for no further comment; the two dancing figures of the reverse exactly repeat the two figures from a triangular candelabrum basis in the Villa Albani (Helbig, *Führer*, No. 860).²⁷ The first dancer holds on the palm of her upraised left hand a dish of fruit and with her right lightly grasps the folds of her scarf. Immediately behind her advances a second dancer, holding her left hand to her head; the right arm, with open hand, is thrown back. Like so many of the figures of the New Attic reliefs, these dancers possibly go back to a fifth century type, perhaps to the *Saltantes Lucernae* of Callimachus, mentioned by Pliny. (On this point see Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, p. 438.)

The altar of rough stones with the piled-up fruit and the flame resembles the altar on a slab of the Ara Pacis, and the altar above on the right, in the

²⁶ For a similar relief carved on both faces, see Museo Chiurru. (Anclung, *Cat.*, 166.)

²⁷ Now reproduced in Arndt's *Einleitung*.

relief at Vienna of a lioness with her cubs. Though style and composition are distinctly Augustan, this particular example is probably a replica executed at a later date. The execution seems too summary and coarse for the First Century.

33a (*not* in Michaelis). **Sculptured Pilaster.** (Fig. 5.)

Height: 135 cm.

The elegant and somewhat schematic decoration points to the Augustan age.

§ 7.—*Roman Portraiture.*

34 (= Michaelis 8). **Head of Young Augustus** (B.C. 28-A.D. 14). (Plate XVIII.)

*Total height: 0.45 cm.; length of face: 0.19 cm. Marble: coarse-grained Parian. Restorations: patch near the right eye; the tip of the nose antique, but broken and set on; good preservation, but rubbed and slightly worked over in modern times. Provenance: Paris. Literature: Bernoulli, *Röm. Icon.* ii. 1 p. 308. No. 19, and p. 320.*

The bust, which I have examined repeatedly, seems to me above suspicion. Michaelis, who also does not seem to doubt its genuineness, questions the old identification as Caligula.²⁸ It seems obvious, however, that the likeness is to Augustus as a young man. The resemblance to his current portraiture is obvious: for the slight indications of a mous-

²⁸ Professor Michaelis, however, writes to me 'the photograph looks very modern; having the original before me I had no suspicion as to its authenticity,' but I am glad that he accepts the identification as Augustus and adds 'please to observe the peculiar arrangement of the hair above the forehead, which is constant in all his portraits.'



FIG. 5.—AUGUSTAN PILASTER.

tache and of a beard on the chin compare the Augustan portrait called, on very doubtful grounds, the youthful Julius Caesar (cast in the Ashmolean at Oxford). The expression is more direct and life-like, less idealized, less Greek than is usually the case in portraits of Augustus (see E. Strong, *Roman Sculpture*, p. 355). The shape of the bust, which is intact, is characteristic of the Julio-Claudian period (*ib.* p. 349). Bernoulli (*op. cit.* p. 320) calls the head 'der schöne Knabekopf'; he seems to have no doubt of its genuineness, but questions the head being that of Caligula. He compares it with the portrait (unknown) on a beautiful cameo in the Brit. Mus. (Bernoulli, *op. cit.* Plate XXXVI, 9).

35 (= Michaelis 54). Portrait of a Roman Lady. (Plate XVIII.)

Length of face: 0.14 cm. *Restorations:* nose and the draped bust of coloured marble. *Literature:* Bernoulli, *Röm. Icon.* p. 224, No. 19.

Head with closely waved hair, and a short fringe from ear to ear. Behind the ears the hair falls on to the neck in two long ringlets. The head, in which both Michaelis and Bernoulli see a decided likeness to the so-called Antonia of the Louvre (Bernoulli, ii. 1, Plate XIV.), is certainly the portrait of some lady of the Julio-Claudian house. The broad upper part of the face with its high cheek bones and the sensitive but firm mouth reveal a strong individuality.

36 (= Michaelis 52). Portrait of a Roman Priestess. (Plate XVIII.)

Height: 0.92 cm. ; *length of face:* 0.18 cm.

The shape of the bust, which is absolutely intact, is characteristic of the Antonine period and first sets in with the portraits of Sabina, wife of Hadrian (117-138 A.D.), to whose portraits this head with its generalized, slightly idealized features, bears a certain distant resemblance. The hair is waved, or crimped in a classical style and confined by a woollen knotted fillet, the veil is drawn over the back of the head. The pupils are plastically indicated.

37 (= Michaelis 63). Bust of Lucius Verus (A.D. 161-169). (Plate XVIII.)

Total height: 0.68 cm. ; *length of face:* 9.21 cm. *Marble:* Greek. *Provenance:* Probalinthos, S. of Marathon (Bernoulli). *Former collections and owners:* Collections Pourtales, Rollin and Feuadent of Paris. *Literature:* Bernoulli, *Röm. Icon.* ii. 2, p. 210, No. 50.

The bust, which reproduces an ordinary type, is absolutely intact, and is thus an excellent example of the typical bust shape of the Antonine age. The Emperor wears a cuirass, of which the shoulder-flap is elegantly decorated with the figure of a giant, whose legs end in serpents. In the centre is the usual head of Medusa, half-covered, however, by the folds of the military cloak. The bust was executed as pendant to that of Marcus Aurelius found on the same spot and now in the Louvre (Bernoulli, ii. 2, p. 170, No. 54).

38 (= Michaelis 9). **Portrait of a Roman Boy.** (Fig. 6, p. 3.)

Height: 0·25 cm. ; *length of face*: 0·10 cm. *Restored*: tip of the nose. *Marble*: Greek. *Provenance*: (?)

The pupils of the eye are indicated plastically; this and other characteristics point to the Antonine age. Cf. the head of a boy of the Antonine family, Bernoulli, ii. 2, Pl. LV., and the portraits of the young Aelius Verus.

39 (= Michaelis 65). **Medallion Portrait of a Roman.** (3rd Cent. A.D.) (Fig. 7, p. 3.)

Diameter: 0·49 cm. *Restorations*: the nose; almost the whole of both ears; the neck. *Marble*: Patian.

The medallion, which is well preserved and from which the head stands out almost in the round, is a good example of an 'imago clipeata.' The pupils, which are indicated plastically by a bean-shaped segment, the drawing of the thin lips, the close curling beard and hair, all recall the portraiture of the period of the Severi and more especially of Caracallus (211–217 A.D.). It may be Greek work of the time.

§ 8.—*Sarcophagi.***40** (= Michaelis 72). **Fragment of a Sarcophagus with Group of Two Erotes.** (Antonine Period.) (Plate XIX.)

Height: 0·80 cm. ; *length*: 1·02 cm. *Marble*: Pentelic (?) *Provenance*: Greece(1).

The group preserved on this fragment is one repeated with more or less variation on a whole series of sarcophagi first commented upon by F. Matz, *Arch. Zeit.* 1872, p. 16 (cf. Strong, *Roman Sculpture*, p. 266). They may be dated about the period of Hadrian or the early Antonines (cf. Petersen, *Annali*, 1860, p. 207). The notion, so repugnant to modern taste, of a drunken child, whether mortal or divine, supported by a companion who appears variously as winged or wingless, seems to have been particularly popular in the period of our sarcophagus. The chief examples are enumerated by Matz. The best of these, a sarcophagus in Athens, is now published for the first time on Plate XIX. for comparison with the Cook fragment.²⁹ In the present fragment, as in the Athens sarcophagus, the child holds in his left hand a bunch of grapes, which led Stephani, and after him Petersen, to put forward an interpretation which is doubtless the correct one—namely, that these scenes represent the pleasures of future life under the image of Bacchic revelry. The group appears rendered with more delicacy and tenderness than usual on the plinth of a remarkable portrait of a girl of the early Antonine period, belonging to Mr. Newton-Robinson. For the sake of this group, this charming head is now published on Plate XXIV. The owner of

²⁹ Prof. Bosanquet kindly had the sarcophagus photographed for this article.

the head had suggested that the 'Erotes' on the plinth might allude to the girl having attained the marriageable age, but if the explanation cited above be accepted, they simply mean that the girl is dead and that this is her memorial bust.

Often the group seems to be introduced into sarcophagus decoration quite irrelevantly, as here, for instance, where the proportions and the whole movement of the group are entirely out of harmony with the Satyr on the right, who is much smaller in size and in lower relief.

41 (= Michaelis 76). **Erotes at Play; Fragment from a Sarcophagus.** (Plate XV.)

Height: 0.30 cm. ; *length*: 0.37 cm. Much broken and restored on the left.

A winged Eros on the left lays a ball on the shoulder of his companion, who seems to crouch beneath the weight. On the right another Eros is

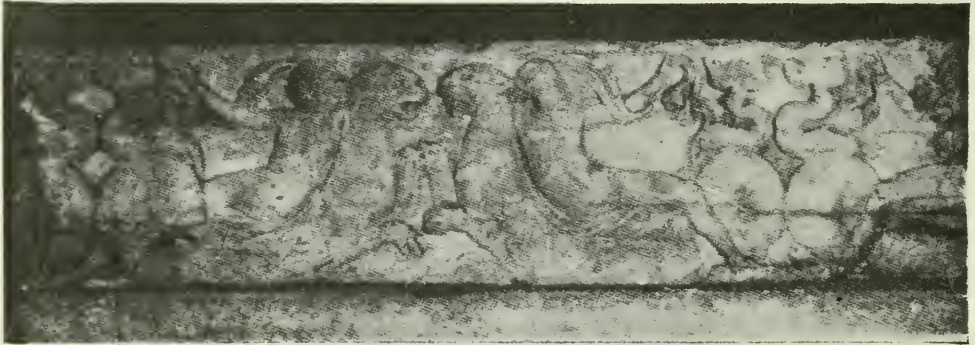


FIG. 8.—NEREIDS RIDING ON SEA-PANTHERS. (42)

busy carrying a basket of fruit (restored?). At this point the marble is broken off. Decorative work of about the period of Hadrian.

42 (= Michaelis 59). **Fragment from the lid of a Sarcophagus.** (Fig. 8.)

Height: 0.29 cm. ; *length*: 1.17 cm.

The fragment, which comes from the front of a sarcophagus, represents Nereids riding on sea-panthers, that face one another heraldically. The relief is of a very slight, sketchy character, and reproduces a type popular in Alexandrian art.

43 (= Michaelis 57). **Sarcophagus Front with the Calydonian Boar-Hunt.** (Plate XX.)

Height: 0.85 cm. ; *length*: 1.88 cm. *Marble*: Greek (?). *Literature*: C. Robert, *Die Antiken Sarcophagreliefs*, iii, 253 and p. 320. *Provenance*: Naples. *Breakages*: left arm of wounded man; upper part of Atalanta's bow; left hand of Meleager; the spear shaft; the spear of the foremost Dioscurus; nose and left shoulder of Artemis; her right hand; part of the figure of Oineus has been sawn off with a piece of the sarcophagus on the left side.

Both the subject and the rendering are well known from a series published by Robert (*loc. cit.*). In the centre, Meleager, to whose left, slightly in the background but nearest the bear, is seen Atalanta, spears the monster, who is seen issuing from his cave. Behind Meleager come the Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux, each wearing the conical cap, and immediately behind them again is the huntress Artemis, in the attitude of the 'Diane de Versailles.' On the extreme left (unfortunately the photograph is in deep shadow at this point) is the bearded Oineus, half of whose figure, together with the gate from which he emerges, has been sawn away. Between Oineus and Artemis comes Orcus³⁹ shouldering his double axe and with his bound straining at the leash which Orcus once held in his right hand. Between the legs of Meleager a double axe in place of the hound often seen in other examples. Above the bear's cave a bearded man is seen hurling a stone. On the extreme right stands a wounded man touching the wound in his thigh. The landscape is indicated by a tree and a rush-like plant (beneath the bear). Atalanta's presence nearest the bear 'at the death,' so to speak, indicates the influence of Euripides. She is letting fly the arrow which she has just taken from her still open quiver. Her hair is waved into elegant rolls according to a fashion which came into vogue in the fourth century (see, for instance, the beautiful original head in the Glyptothek, Furtwangler, *Gal.* 210). This fashion of hair and the rolled drapery round the waist occur in fourth century types of Artemis (cf. the Warocqué Statuette, Amelung, *Museums*, frontispiece), here borrowed for Atalanta.

The excellent technique and animated composition point to the period of the Antonines—perhaps to the principate of Commodus. The Calydonian hunt is a favourite subject for the decoration of sarcophagi.

44 (= Michaelis 58). **Sarcophagus Front with Battle of Greeks and Amazons.** (Plate XX.)

Height: 0·89 cm. ; *length*: 2·26 cm. *Marble*: Greek. *Provenance*: Naples. *Literature*: C. Robert, *Die Antiken Sarcophagreliefs*, vol ii. 104 and p. 126.

The scene depicted is familiar from the series of sarcophagi with this subject reproduced by Robert (*loc. cit.*). In the centre, Achilles supports the dying form of Penthesileia. On each side, repeated with severe symmetry, is an animated group of an Amazon, who turns round with a lively movement of the whole body to defend herself against the bearded Greek who attacks her in the back. In each case the Amazon is attacked at the same time from the front by a younger mounted warrior armed with a long spear. At each angle stands a Victory, who, being placed obliquely, would, were the sarcophagus entire, effect the transition from the front to the sides. The style of the workmanship points to the second century A.D., perhaps also from the principate of Commodus, when the subject of the Amazons was in great vogue.

³⁹ On the interpretation of this figure as Orcus, see Robert, *op. cit.* p. 274.

45 (= Michaelis 74). **Oval Sarcophagus of the Third Century.**
(Plate XXI.)

Height: 0·60 cm.; *length*: 2·10 cm. *Former Collection*: Coll. Ligori, Naples.
Literature: Engel, *Kypros*, ii. (1841), p. 632, No. 12; Gerhard, *Arch. Zeitung*, 1850,
Pl. 20, 1; Robert, *Die Antiken Sarcophagreliefs*, vol. iii. 92, and p. 110.

The middle of the sarcophagus is taken up by the figure of the deceased, who is shown reclining in a posture borrowed from the sleeping Endymion visited by Selene, a common subject of Roman sarcophagi. The close-cropped hair rendered by pick-marks on a raised surface in the colouristic manner that sets in soon after the beginning of the third century gives us the approximate date of the sarcophagus. The Erotes holding torches, who unveil the sleeping man, and those who flutter round carrying musical instruments or wreaths, or are seen on the ground busy with baskets of fruit, are typical of the art of the period. Above on the extreme right an Eros stands by a little table placed under a tree, and seems busily engaged making wreaths. The Eros asleep at the head of the deceased is probably symbolic of departed life. In the extreme left, below the two Erotes with musical instruments, a grotto is indicated from which peers forth an animal, which from its long ears must be a hare. At either end is a laurel tree, with a lyre suspended in its branches, and fruit, flutes, and torches lying beside it. 'Good sculpture, in almost perfect preservation.' (M.)

46 (= Michaelis 73). **Sarcophagus with Bacchic Figures** (3rd century A.D.). (Plate XXI.)

Height: 0·63 cm.; *length*: 1·10 cm. *Marble*: Italian (?). *Provenance*: (?).
Former collection: Coll. Ligori Naples (communicated to me by Dr. C. Robert).

The centre of the composition is occupied by a medallion portrait or 'imago clipeata' of the dead man. The frontal position of the bust, the flatness of the planes, the sharp, linear treatment of the folds and the colouristic treatment of the hair by means of pick-marks on a raised surface, enable us from the portrait alone to date the sarcophagus about the middle of the third century A.D. The drapery of the portrait recalls the two magistrates in the Conservatori (E. Strong, *Rom. Sculpture*, Pl. 129) and the portrait at Chatsworth (*ib.* Pl. 128). The medallion is supported heraldically at each side by a Centaur; each of these Centaurs is one of a pair, drawing a chariot. In the chariot on the left is Dionysus accompanied by a Maenad blowing the flute; in the chariot on the right is Ariadne leaning on a thyrsus sceptre (?) and with her right hand holding the Dionysiac kantharos as if emptying it. She is accompanied by a Maenad striking the cymbals; under the chariot of Dionysus, his panther, under that of Ariadne, a small bearded and horned Pan. Under the bodies of the Centaurs on the left are two Erotes, one of whom opens the mystic Dionysiac wicker cista and discloses the sacred snake (cf. the cista in Plate XVI). The corresponding Erotes under the body of the Centaur on the right are emptying a wineskin into a large vase.

In the space beneath the medallion a curious group of an Eros, or small

boy, and of a tiny Pan facing one another in the attitude preparatory to wrestling. The boys or Erotes on each side of this central group are rightly interpreted by Michaelis as umpires. 'Very good sculpture in excellent preservation.' (M.)

47 (= Michaelis 75). **Fragment of Sarcophagus with Dionysiac revellers.** (3rd cent.) (Plate XXI.)

Height: 0.28 cm.; *length*: 0.54 cm. *Marble*: Italian (?). *Provenance*: (?).
Breakages: the fragment is broken away at both ends; the legs of the panthers are also broken away; the left hand and part of the arm of the Maenad on the left; part of the tree stem; r. fore-arm and hand of the Eros, lower part of the face of the Satyr on the right.

In the centre Dionysus is seen reclining on a low four-wheeled car drawn by two panthers, on the foremost of which rides an Eros holding a lyre. In the background, near the head of the second panther a Satyr moves



FIG. 9.



FIG. 10.

EROTES—FRAGMENTS FROM A SARCOPHAGUS.
 Third Century A.D.

rapidly forward; between him and Dionysus is a Maenad wielding a thyrsus. At the feet of Dionysus is seen another Maenad extending her l. arm towards the god and resting her r. hand on the stem of a great vine, which seems to mark off the centre of the composition. On the left of the vine is seen a fragment of another Satyr who grasps the stem. The relief is so high that the figures are almost detached from the ground; the hair of the figures, the vine-leaves, and other details are worked with the borer and are evidently intended to produce a striking impression of 'light and dark' after the manner of the late third century A.D. The colouristic effect of this little fragment is admirable.

48 (= Michaelis 77). **Eros leaning on Inverted Torch.** (Fig. 9.)*Height*: 0.45; *breadth*: 0.26.

Right end of a sarcophagus; the motive is symbolic of death. The style and technique are of the third century A.D.

49 (= Michaelis 78). **Eros Asleep.** Right corner of sarcophagus lid. (Fig. 10.)*Height*: 0.26; *breadth*: 0.23.

The subject is similar to the preceding, but Eros is shown here supporting his right leg on a step or stone. On the right are his bow and quiver, which he has cast aside. Work of the third century A.D.

§ 9.—*Works of uncertain date.***50** (= Michaelis 3). **Eros and Pan Vintaging.** (Plate XXII.)

Height: of the whole group: 1.06 cm.; of the Eros: 1.80 cm.; of the antique pedestal: 0.06 cm.; length of ditto: 0.14 cm.; height of the Pan: 0.50 cm.; of the smaller Eros: 0.20 cm. *Marble*: fine-grained Greek. *Provenance*: Bagui di Roselli, near Grosseto (Dennis, *Etruria*, 2nd ed. vol. ii. p. 225), after that Florence. *Replicas*: Whitehall and Rome, Coll. Giamb. Luragi (see Michaelis, *Arch. Zeit.* 1879, p. 172). *Literature*: Reinach, *Répertoire*, ii. 71, 3, and 4.³¹ *Condition*: the body of the Eros much injured by action of damp; the vine has been broken in many places and put together 'mostly with the aid of metal pegs or thin metal pins, which are much eaten away and which have caused serious corrosion' (Michaelis).

Eros, if it be he and not an ordinary mortal child, is represented wingless. He stands firmly on the soles of both feet and stretches up his arms to reach the bunches of grapes from a great vine that hangs over him. From behind the vine, a little goat-legged Pan comes forward and touches Eros with his right leg. The Pan supports on his head a basket into which a quite diminutive Eros, this time winged, is depositing a huge bunch of grapes. The branches and foliage of the vine, which are very intricate, are a clever imitation of nature, but it cannot be said that the effect of these leaves and fruit cut out in marble is agreeable.^{31a} The workmanship of the leaves and fruit, however, with the tiny Erotes darting about amid the foliage, recalls work of the Antonine period, such as the pilaster in the Lateran, decorated with vine-leaves and clambering love-gods, first published by Wickhoff, *Roman Art*, Pl. XI; Riegl, *Spätromische Kunstindustrie*, p. 71; Strong, *Roman Sculpture*, p. 62. In the present group, as on the Lateran pilaster, although the artist is a master of deep cutting and of undercutting, he yet scarcely has any modelling, but replaces it by a kind of flattened relief which is intended, by contrast with the dark hollows, to call

³¹ The group reproduced, Reinach, *l'op.* ii. 71, 4, is evidently, as suggested by M. Reinach himself, the same as our Cook group.

^{31a} Professor Michaelis kindly points out to

me that similar curious accessories, treated in similar style, adorn the prop of a statue of Dionysus or a Satyr in the Villa Albani (Helbig, No. 872; Clarac-Reinach, 377, 5).

forth a colouristic effect. I should therefore incline to date this group about the third century A.D. The statues, Reinach, *Répertoire*, ii. 448, 2, and the Borghese statue in the Louvre (Clarac-Reinach, 142, 6) are winged and cannot be looked upon as replicas, though the motives are similar. Compare also the Eros playing at ball of the Uffizi, Arndt, *Einzelstud.* 351; Reinach, *Répertoire*, ii. 429, 1; and the torso, *ibid.* ii. 448, 3.

51 (*not* in Michaelis). **Head of an Athlete?** in the Archaic Style. (Fig. 11.)

Height: 2.15 cm.; *length of face*: 0.17 cm. *Marble*: very much damaged by exposure or possibly by fire; the nose is broken, or rather worn away; the surface of the marble is entirely destroyed and the head has greatly suffered from neglect and maltreatment; yet the type is of considerable interest. *Literature*: *B. F. A. C. Cat.* p. 9, No. 3. *Exhibited*, B.F.A.C. 1903.



FIG. 11.—(51)

The preservation is so bad that it is difficult to decide whether the head is an original or a later (Roman?) copy. The structure of the head is almost square; the planes few and very flat; the eyes are kept as nearly as possible in the front plane of the face, as in the earliest period. The hair is parted down the centre of the head and is curiously rendered by streaked ridges. In front the ridges are closer and imitate sharply-defined waves. A long plait of hair encircles the head as in early statues of the so-called Apollo type.³²

³² Prof. Michaelis writes: 'The photograph and, perhaps, the condition of the marble do allow a certain judgment, but it appears to be

evident that the type belongs to those ancient "Apollo" heads like that in the British Museum (*Anc. Marbles*, ix. 40, 4=Catal. 150).'

52 (= Michaelis 44). Draped Male Torso. (Fig. 12.)*Height: 0·84 cm.*

The flatness of the planes and the treatment of the drapery seem to shew that this is a copy of a fifth century original. The man appears to hold a roll in his left hand, whilst his right grasps the end of the cloak which falls over the left shoulder. I know no precise replica of the type, though similar motives recur, as pointed out by Michaelis, in so-called statues



FIG. 12.—MALE TORSO. (52)

of philosophers (cf. Clarac-Reinach, p. 512, 7, 8) and the Demosthenes of the Vatican and of Knoke.

53 (= Michaelis 46). Draped Male Torso. (Fig. 13.)

Height: 0·75 cm. Marble: Pavonazzetto. Restored: head; the legs from below the drapery; the whole of the left hand with the sheaf of corn.

The figure is draped in a mantle in a way that recalls statues of Zeus, cf. No. 7. The right hand grasps the remains of a short sceptre; against the

left shoulder are traces of a palm-branch (misunderstood by the restorer as a corn-sheaf); it is possible, therefore, that we have here the votive statue of a *βραβευτής* or umpire, holding the prize to be conferred.

54 (= Michaelis 71). **Funeral Relief—Youth Draped in Cloak.** (Fig. 14.)

Height: 0·23; *breadth*: 0·17 cm. *Marble*: Italian.

This is a slight imitation, presumably antique, of an Attic model of about the time of the Parthenon.



FIG. 13.—DRAPED TORSO. (53)

55 (*not* in Michaelis). **Statuette of a Seated Man.** (Fig. 15.)

Height: 26 cm. *Restored*: both feet with the lower part of the drapery and most of the basis; the right arm from below the elbow with the hand and the roll. Head and neck (*not* reproduced here) appear to be modern. The knees are broken and somewhat rubbed. *Literature*: *B. F. A. C. Cat.* p. 85, No. 86. *Exhibited*, B. F. A. C. 1903.

The fragment is interesting only as reproducing a seated type differing from those already known. The drapery passes over the left shoulder, leaving the right shoulder and arm bare.

56 (*not* in Michaelis³²). **Shrine of Cybele.** (Fig. 16.)

This is a very rough insignificant imitation of the familiar image of Cybele enthroned, wearing the modius and with the lion lying right across her lap. Cf. Michaelis, Oxford, Ashmolean, Nos. 86, 131 and 159, also Brit. Mus. 783, 784 and Ny Carlsberg 237. The figure is carved within a little shrine or aedicula (*ναῖσκος*). In the right hand are traces of a patera, in the left, of the tympanon.



FIG. 14.—FRAGMENT OF A RELIEF—IMITATION ATTIC. (54)

57 (*not* in Michaelis). **Torso of a Recumbent Female Figure.** (Fig. 17.)

Breadth: about 62 cm.

The fragment, which is of insignificant execution, belongs to the class of figures known as *ἀναπνόμεναι*; cf. Pliny xxxv. 99, and Cultrera, *Saggi sull'Arte Ellenistica e Greco-Romana*, p. 137.

58 (*not* in Michaelis). **Group of Hermes and a Nymph.** (Fig. 18.)

The old restorations have been removed.

³² On the other hand I can nowhere find Michaelis' No. 7 'Statuette of Cybele.'

The two figures sit on a rock, over which is spread a drapery; at their feet lies the caduceus of Hermes. Poor workmanship. For the motive of the similar groups Clarac-Reinach, 369, 2: 371, 1.



FIG. 15.—SEATED MAN. (55)



FIG. 16.—SHRINE OF KYBELE. (56)

59 (= Michaelis 64). **Head of Hermes (?)**. (Fig. 19.)

Length of face: 0.15. *Total height of antique part*: 0.22. *Restorations*: the nose, almost all the beard, patches in the hair. The terminal bust, which is falsely inscribed ΠΑΤΡΩΝ, is modern.

Apparently a poor late replica of the Hermes Propylaios of Alcamenes which was set up on the Acropolis of Athens about 450 B.C.; an inscribed replica was found at Pergamon in 1904, see *Athen. Mitth.* 1904, Plates 18-21 and pp. 84 f. for the list of replicas (Altmann).



FIG. 17.—TORSO OF AN *Anapaomene*. (57)

60 (= Michaelis 49). **Head of Dionysus**. (Fig. 19a.)

Length of face: 0.17. *Restorations*: tip of nose and the whole bust with the long curls on it.

Poor, late copy of an archaic type.

61 (=Michaelis 48). **Double Bust of Dionysus and Ariadne**
(Fig. 20.)

Height: 0.30. Restored: nose and mouth of Ariadne; nose of Dionysos.



FIG. 18.—HERMES AND NYMPH. (58.)

The head of Dionysus reproduces an archaic type with tightly-curved hair and beard. The work is poor and practically impossible to date. The



FIG. 19.—HERMES PROPYLAIOS OF
ALCAMENES? (59)



FIG. 19a.—ARCHAISTIC BUST OF
DIONYSUS. (60)

full face of the Dionysus head may be seen on Pl. XX. No. 44, against the sarcophagus of Greeks and Amazons.

62 (= Michaelis 55). **Head of a Girl.** (Fig. 21, p. 3.)

Length of face: 0.13 cm. Restorations: nose and bust.

The girl is crowned with ivy leaves and berries, as though she were an



FIG. 20. — DOUBLE BUST OF DIONYSUS AND ARIADNE. (61)



TRAGIC MASK. (63)

MASK OF SILENUS. (64)

FIG. 21

Ariadne or a young female Faun. On the right side of the forehead seems to be the trace of a horn. Very insignificant work.

63, 64 (*not* in Michaelis). **Two Masks.** (Figs. 21, 22.)

The mask on the left is of the ordinary tragic type, that on the right is a Scilenesque mask, wearing the mitra with bunches of ivy leaves on either



DANCING SATYR ON REVERSE OF MASK OF SEILENUS. (64)

side. On the reverse (illustrated in Fig. 22 on a larger scale) is the figure dancing Satyr.

§ 10.—*Sepulchral altars and reliefs.*

65 (= Michaelis 80). **Sepulchral Urn.** (Fig. 23.)

Height : 42 cm. ; *length* : 41 cm.

The decoration of the ordinary type ; at the corners rams' heads with an olive wreath suspended from their horns ; below the rams' heads, eagles ; in the space between the tablet and the wreath, birds. The tablet had probably been left blank in antiquity and now displays a forged modern inscription ; see Muratori, *Thes.* p. 1319, No. 8 : 'Romae in hortis Montaltinis ; e schedis Ptolomeis.'

66 (= Michaelis 81). **Sepulchral Stele of Macrinus.** (Pl. XXIII.)

Height : 39 cm. ; *length* : 37 cm. *Inscription* : D.M. | *Macrinio Maximino filio* | *dulcissimo, qui virit an. I m . . .* | *Macrinus Maximinus* IN^{ta}V | *PREP. . . . fecit.*

In the field above the inscription, a child is seen riding a horse at full gallop; he has just pierced with his spear a monster that issues from a cave



FIG. 23. — ROMAN ASH CREST, WITH FORGED INSCRIPTION. (65)

on the right and at which a dog is barking furiously. Michaelis justly remarks on the inappropriateness of the subject to a child who died as the inscription informs us at the age of one.

67 (not in Michaelis). **Sepulchral Relief of Straton.** (Plate XXIV.)

Height : 29 cm.

The base carries the following inscription arranged in five lines. The field above is simply decorated with three wreaths in relief.

Στράτων καὶ Εὐταξία οἱ Στρά(τ)ωνος
τὰν σ(τ)ά|λαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ πατρὸς Στράτωνος
τοῦ β | Πρωτίω(ν)ος, ἀρχ<ι>ιερατεύσαντος
καὶ δα|μαρχήσαντος καὶ πρηγιστεύσαν|τος,
κατὰ πόλιν μοναρχεῦν|[τος τοῦ δεῖνος].

See Paton and Hicks, *Inscriptions of Cos*, No. 417, p. 297, where the stone is published with references to previous literature, and dated early in the first century B.C. The stone came from Kephalos. Though not mentioned by Michaelis in the 'Ancient Marbles,' the inscription was published by him in *Arch. Zeitung*, xxii. p. 59.

68 (= Michaelis 13). **Large Bowl-shaped Vase** of red porphyry.

Diameter : 1.93.

This splendid vase comes from the collection of the Duke of Modena.

N.B.—I have not succeeded in finding Michaelis 51 'Head of Artemis.'

§ 11.—*Modern Imitations of Antiques.*

69. The collection further contains nine colossal busts of emperors executed in the later Renaissance, or in more modern times in imitation of Renaissance works. Six are noted by Michaelis under 63^a. Two, the Claudius (mentioned also by Bernoulli, ii. 1, p. 340) and the Vitellius (Bernoulli, ii. 2, p. 16, No. 32) are excellent decorative works.

70. The relief described by Michaelis under No. 12 has been proved to be a modern forgery, executed at Naples in the earlier part of the last century by the Neapolitan 'falsario' Monti; see H. L. Urlichs, *Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie*, 1890, p. 54, where he points out a replica of this relief as the work of the same forger.

§ 12.—*Terracottas, Vases, etc.*

The terracottas, vases, and other objects are reserved for future discussion. Meanwhile, however, the more important among these may be noted here in order to give a more complete impression of the character of the collection. I borrow, in the main, my own descriptions in the catalogue of the Burlington Fine Arts Club Exhibition, where most of the following objects were shewn.

A.—*Terracottas.*

71 (= Michaelis 14). **Girl Seated at Her Toilet.**

She is dressed in a thin *chiton*, with a cloak suspended from her shoulders at the back, and thrown over her knees. The rolled coiffure often appears in heads from the middle of the fourth century. The hair is confined by a narrow ribbon; the arms are raised to the head on the left side, where the ends of the ribbon which the girl was tying has been broken off along with the whole of the left hand and the fingers of the right. The legs of the chair are also broken and the head has been broken off and replaced. Delicate workmanship of the fourth century. Exhibited at the Burlington Fine Arts Club in 1903 (*Cat.* p. 83, No. 67 and Plate LXXXV.).

72. Heracles Slaying the Lernaean Hydra. (Fig. 24.)

This is one of three slabs with the Labours of Heracles (Michaelis, 15–17). They belong to the well-known class of 'Campana reliefs' which is so

magnificently represented in the British Museum and in the Louvre. These reliefs come mainly from Rome and its neighbourhood and may be referred roughly to the first century B.C.—A.D.



FIG. 24

73. Ten Small Terracotta Masks, among which those of a horned river god, of a Scilenus, and the two masks of archaic Gorgons are of special excellence. These masks were used for the adornment of furniture. Exhibited in 1903 at the Burlington Fine Arts Club (*Cat.* p. 86, Nos. 89–99, and Plate LXXXVI.).

B.—*Vases.*

The collection, though somewhat mixed in character, contains the following choice examples.

74. Kylix. Black figures on red ground. Foot restored. Diameter, 30·7 cm. Exterior A and B: chariots amid an assemblage of warriors and women.

This Kylix was formerly adjusted to a foot bearing the signature of the painter Nikosthenes (Klein, *Meistersignaturen*, pp. 69, 70). Recently, however, the vase was cleaned at the British Museum and the foot found not to belong. Mentioned by Michaelis, p. 73, and *Arch. Zeit.* 1874, p. 61. Exhibited in 1903 at the Burlington Fine Arts Club, *Cat.* p. 95, No. 4 and Plate LXXXIX.

75. Three Hydrias, with black figures on red ground: 73, Dionysus and Ariadne in chariot; on the shoulder, Apollo playing the lyre. 73^a, Athena and Heracles in chariot; on shoulder, combat scene. 73^b, Groups of bearded horsemen.

76. Kylix, with deep bowl and offset lip. Design in black and purple on red. Diameter, 21.9 cm.

1. Within, elaborate patterned concentric bands: Heracles wrestling with Triton. On the exterior of the lip a pattern of alternating palmettes and lotus flowers. On the bowl a galloping horseman on each side. Around the handles palmettes. Exhibited in 1903 at the Burlington Fine Arts Club, *Cat.* p. 99, No. 14, and Plates LXXXIX., XCII.

77. Kylix, with red figures on black ground. Diameter, 23.3 cm.

1. Within a circle adorned with a band of macanders stands a *brabeus* or judge of the palaestra, wrapped in a long cloak, holding his long staff. On the right a shaft, or goal, on a plinth; to the left a seat with a cushion on it.

A.—Exterior. A young man stands, to right, bending forward with both arms extended; on his left a helmet placed upon a shield. In front of him a gymnasiarch holding the two-pronged staff. Behind this figure advances, to the left, a nude youth with a shield on his left arm and a crested helmet in his right hand. Behind him again a goal.

B. Similar scene to preceding. A gymnast holding a pole stands between two nude youths, each carrying a shield and a helmet. Probably both scenes represent the preparation for the armed foot race.

This fine vase is put together out of many fragments. Exhibited at the Burlington Fine Arts Club in 1903 (*Cat.* p. 100, No. 17, and Plate XCII.).

78. Calyx-Shaped Krater. Diameter 39.5 cm.; height 35.8 cm.

A. Triptolemus (to right) seated on his winged car, with his sceptre in his left, holding a bunch of wheat-sheaves in his right hand. In front of him Demeter with her torch, holding an *oinochoe* for the parting libation. Behind Persephone with a long sceptre. Fine and careful drawing.

B. Three women conversing. Execution coarser than that of the picture on the obverse.

Below the picture at the height of the handles, a pattern consisting of three groups of macanders alternating with a framed oblique cross. Above, under the rim of the vase, a pattern of slanting palmettes. Exhibited in 1903 at the Burlington Fine Arts Club (*Cat.* p. 107, No. 41 and Plate XCV.).

79. Calyx-Shaped Krater. From Magna Graecia. Height 46.5 cm.; diameter 45.8 cm.

Red figures on black ground. Latter half of the fifth century. Vigorous drawing. Put together out of many fragments, but complete. Foot, handles,

and the rim are entirely black; at the top of the picture a band of slanting palmettes; at the bottom a band of groups of three meanders alternating with crosses within squares: where the handles join the vase a pattern of rays.

Obv. In the foreground Polyphemus drunk and asleep; to the right Odysseus wearing *pilos* and cloak holds a fire-brand, while two of his companions advance from the left bringing other burning firebrands to make the fire in which to harden the stake of olive wood which three other companions are pulling up in the centre of the picture. (Cf. the episode as told in *Odyssey*, ix. 320-323.) At the back of Polyphemus is a cup of the *kantharos* shape and an empty wine-skin (?) hanging from the bough of a small tree. The presence of the satyrs who are springing forward from the right suggests a connexion of this scene with the Satyric drama; and it has been pointed out that in the 'Kyklops' of Euripides a chorus of satyrs was introduced. A noteworthy attempt at perspective appears in the vase, the figures being disposed in three different planes.

Rev. Two groups of two young men wrapped in long cloaks and engaged in conversation.

First published and described by F. Winter in *Jahrbuch des Archaeol. Instituts*, 1891, Plate VI. pp. 271-274. For the district which produced these vases, which imitate Attic Kraters of the period between 440 and 430 B.C., see Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, p. 109. Exhibited in 1903 at the Burlington Fine Arts Club (*Cat.* p. 109, No. 48, and Plate XCVII.).

80. There are also a few large Apulian vases elaborately decorated with figurines, of the so-called Canosa type.

81. There remains to note a remarkable set of objects of the fourth century B.C., from a tomb at Eski-Saghra in Northern Thrace, opened in 1879. These objects comprise several fine bronze vessels, pieces of bronze armour, and a fine gold breastplate (?) decorated with a *semis* of tiny lions' heads and stars or rosettes in repoussé. Some silver goblets and black ware came from the same tomb. The Eski-Saghra excavation and the single objects discovered at the time are described and illustrated in a Russian monograph (*Bulgarian Excavation near Eski-Saghra*, Saint Petersburg, 1880), which together with an English résumé of its contents, is placed near the objects from the tomb.

EUGÉNIE STRONG.

RECENT ADDITIONS TO THE PARTHENON SCULPTURES.

[PLATE XXV.]

MEMBERS of the Society will remember that we have been endeavouring at the British Museum to make our collection of the Parthenon sculptures as complete as may be for purposes of study: our object has been to supplement the series of originals in the National Collection with casts of the marbles and fragments wherever these are known to exist. With this view, when I was last in Athens I went through the whole of that portion of the Frieze preserved in the Acropolis Museum, and subsequently Professor Bosanquet did the same with the Metopes and Pediments. Through the kind offices of Mr. Cavvadias, the Greek Government had casts made of all those which we needed, and generously presented them to the British Museum; so that I think we may say that we now possess a collection in which the sculptures of the Parthenon may be for the first time studied with reasonable completeness. The only series which is still wanting consists of those metopes still in position on the building which, chiefly because of their fragmentary condition, have never yet been moulded. The work of moulding these will necessarily involve considerable labour and difficulty; but even of these Mr. Cavvadias has promised me that he will have casts made for us as soon as the opportunity occurs. I may add that all the casts for which it has not been possible to assign the true position are now arranged in a room close by the Elgin Room, where they are at any time available for students.

The casts of the Frieze fragments reached us in 1905; and the first result of their acquisition was the addition of no less than 6 different pieces rejoined to their original places in the composition: these are noted in the latest edition of the Parthenon Guide, p. 149.

The casts of the Pediment and the Metope fragments arrived last Autumn; and from them, though we have so far obtained the rejoining of only two fragments, yet these alone are of sufficient interest to justify the labour and cost expended.

The first concerns the Athena of the West Pediment. It we look at Carrey's drawing made in 1674, it will be noticed that the figure of Athena was then fairly complete, with the exception of part of the left leg, and the arms; and the head was entirely missing. Until now, what has been preserved to us consisted merely of the torso from the waist upward; the base

of the neck was recognised some time ago among the fragments of the Acropolis Museum and a cast is at present adjusted to the marble in the British Museum. Among the casts which recently arrived was a fragment giving the back portion of a helmeted head, which evidently belonged to a female figure, and from its scale could only be appropriate to a figure in the centre of the Pediment. This cast, when it reached us, had already been rejoined to the base of the neck of the Athena: the discovery of the attribution had therefore already been independently made. It was only after seeing Mr. Dawkins' report on *Archæology in Greece* in the last volume of the *Journal* (p. 297) that we became aware that the join had been made by Dr. Prantl, but I have failed to find any publication of the paper in which the discovery is said to be reported.

Meanwhile, the illustration (Pl. XXV. A) shows what is now the appearance of our original with the new fragment attached. One effect is to make it certain that Carrey's drawing is correct and the pose of the torso as at present mounted in the Elgin Room entirely wrong: the whole needs tilting further to the left, so as to bring the two shoulders nearly horizontal.

About one-third of the head is split off nearly vertically from the crown downwards, and from the lower part at the back a triangular wedge is broken away, running inwards, but part of the left ear, with the neck below it, is preserved: the entire outline of the face below the ears can be traced. The helmet is of the form with frontal ridge and vertical neck-piece: a form which seems to come into Attic art about 450 B.C. Of the frontal only the extremity is preserved in the volute-shaped decoration above the ear. Of the neck-piece nothing is indicated on the marble, unless it be a faint vertical ridge below the ear: the reason for this is shown by the existence of the holes drilled, two in the lobe of the ear and three below; these are repeated in the case of the left ear also. They are evidently intended for the fastening of some object, probably locks of hair, which passing over the side of the neck would have concealed this part of the neck-piece and rendered its indication unnecessary.¹ It is quite likely moreover that the whole of the helmet may have been further distinguished by the addition of colour.

It is somewhat strange that of all that Carrey shows of this figure much should still remain undiscovered, while a part which was already gone in 1674 should find its place after more than 200 years.

The other rejoin is, I believe, entirely new. It concerns the Metope No. 27 from the East half of the South side of the Parthenon (*B.M. Sculpture* No. 316). Carrey's drawing gives both the heads, the right leg, and part of the right forearm of the Lapith, so that it has suffered a good deal since his time. Here we have been fortunate in re-fixing the head of the Lapith: the actual adjustment is due to our foreman of masons, W. Pinker, who has done so much useful work of this kind on the sculptures of the Parthenon. The head as will be seen from the illustration (Pl. XXV. B) had an inclination towards the

¹ Cf. *J. M. Sculpture*, No. 1572.

left shoulder ; thus, while the left side is fairly well preserved, the right side has been exposed to the worst of the weathering ; it has suffered too from human agency—a large part of the surface, including the right ear and the hair above and beside it, has been irretrievably damaged. For some purpose, which I cannot explain, the whole of this surface has been pitted with holes, to make which a circular drill was employed : there must have been more than 120 such holes made, in regular oblique rows from the top downward. The centre of this space has been split away together with the outer edge of the ear, and therefore it is difficult to suppose that this treatment of the head can represent anything in the design of the original artist.

For the rest, the surface of the hair seems to have been merely blocked out, with perhaps light tool marks to break the smoothness. It appears to have been dressed with a roll or plait horizontally above the neck, and a loop in front of the ear, in the well known type which is sometimes used for ephebi of the first half of the fifth century B.C. The left-hand side is, as I have said, in almost perfect preservation ; it shows that the style has something of the archaic feeling in the modelling ; while the forms of the face generally are round and smooth, the forehead is contracted, and the vertical lines over the nose indicate the tenseness of the action. It is interesting to find this treatment in a Metope, which for composition and style has generally been regarded as one of the finest : it is an additional reason for satisfaction in the recovery of the missing head.

CECIL SMITH.

THE THRONE OF ZEUS AT OLYMPIA.

THE title of this paper may appear too wide, since its main object is to establish, if possible, the position of the paintings by Panaenus; but discussion of this one point necessarily involves consideration of certain others—themselves far from unimportant—and thus a more comprehensive designation is needed. It need hardly be said that no theory of reconstruction of the Throne as a whole is here attempted.

It may be convenient to state at the outset the evidence used, and to comment generally upon it. In the first place we have the literary evidence, the account by Pausanias: careful, detailed, and, in my opinion, the work of an eye-witness. Its great shortcoming is that it leaves undecided the



FIG. 1 (2:1). (Florence.)

relation of the parts and details to one another. Secondly, there is numismatic evidence, which is of high value. Besides the coin which shows the head of Zeus, there are three coins which show the statue as a whole (Figs. 1, 2, 3): one from the left front (Fig. 2); the others (Figs. 1 and 3) from the left and right sides respectively. These three alone are relevant to the present matter. All are coins of Hadrian, and therefore may be trusted to give a true copy and not a free reproduction of the original. This fact is important as we have no other evidence to systematise the

account of Pausanias: but at the same time it must be remembered that minute detail, relief-work, and the like, cannot be reproduced on so small an object as a coin.

Two views are generally current at the present time as to the position of the paintings. (i) Mr. A. S. Murray relegates them to the intercolumnar screens of the cella, traces of which have been actually discovered. This view, which divorces the paintings from the throne altogether, has been accepted in the official publication on the German excavations at Olympia. (ii) But Professor E. A. Gardner in a paper on the same subject,¹ entirely demolishes Mr. Murray's position. I will only add here that the statements of Pausanias would be entirely misleading if the screens were placed at some distance from the statue. He states that it was impossible to go under the Throne by reason of the screens (which Mr. Murray admits were furnished with doors); but would any modern guide-book to a cathedral say 'it is impossible to enter the choir because of the screens'? I think the parallel is a fair one. It is unnecessary to give a detailed account of Professor Gardner's theory; enough that there seem to be grave objections to his arrangement of the paintings in frames formed by the intersection of the *κανόνες* and *κίονες*. The reconstruction here attempted is in many respects, though not altogether, a return to the older theory, *e.g.*, as represented by Brunn.

We may now proceed to examine the parts of the throne which seem to bear upon the present inquiry. These are (i) The decoration of the *κανόνες*, (ii) The position of the *κίονες*, (iii) The nature of the *έρύματα*.

I.—*The κανόνες.*

Pausanias gives an account of the decoration of the cross-bars, which may be summarised as follows:—on the front bar were (originally) eight figures; on the side and back bars was represented a battle of Greeks and Amazons. We are told nothing *directly* as to the material or technique of these figures. However, we can confidently assume them to have been of gold and ivory. As to technique, we may note that Pausanias calls the figures upon the front bar *ἀγάλματα*, which points to figures in the round and not in relief.² This point seems to be borne out by the second and third of the Elean coins mentioned (Figs. 2 and 3), which show upon the front cross-bar a small upstanding projection, evidently a human figure. Relief work, as has been noted, could hardly be shown upon a coin. Further, the argument may perhaps be strengthened by the incidental note of Pausanias that one of the eight figures upon the bar had disappeared. Doubtless we are to understand that it had been stolen. Now a figure in the round, fixed only at the feet, might be easily wrenched off by a thief, whereas a relief would be

¹ *J.H.S.* xiv. pp. 233 *sqq.*

² But not necessarily (as I am reminded); *e.g.* Pausanias uses *ἄγαλμα* in speaking of the

figure of Dryops at Asine, which appears to have been a relief (see *Corolla Numismatica* p. 156).

less easily and less quickly detached. It may, then, be fairly claimed that there is cumulative evidence to show that these eight figures at least were in the round.

Some writers allow this much, but take for granted that the Amazon-battle was in relief. Brunn seems to be indefinite on this point. But, *a priori*, we should expect a uniform technique in what was really a continuous band of technique, just as normally a frieze would be of one technique. There are exceptions to this rule, but they may be put down to motives of economy, which certainly would not have been considered in the case of the Elean statue. Further, the poor effect of relief-work may be gauged from the restoration by Quatremère de Quincy. However, the best evidence on this point is furnished by the first of the Elean coins. Careful examination of a cast or of a good photographic reproduction of this coin shows four (or five ?) serrated projections upon the cross-bar.³ Now just as the



FIGS. 2 and 3 (2:1). (Berlin.)

eagle upon the sceptre is represented by a small knob, so, it is reasonable to suppose these projections represent groups in the battle-scene.

We may, perhaps, even take a recreative flight into speculation, and supposing the number of the projections upon each side-bar to be five, assume that we have on each side five groups of two figures each, while the back-bar, where presumably the battle would have been hottest, may have had three groups of three figures each, thus making up Pausanias' total of twenty-nine. However, this distribution is alike conjectural and inessential.

We now come to the bearing of this point, which, it is hoped, has been substantiated, on the position of the paintings. If these really were figures in the round standing upon the cross-bars, it is impossible to suppose there were paintings in the spaces above the cross-bars. The panels would have been obscured by the figures; so that, if the foregoing point has been established, the paintings must be placed below the *κατόνες*.

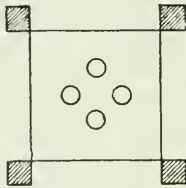
³ Prof. P. Gardner was kind enough to examine the photographic reproduction of the coin in his 'Types of Greek Coins' (Pl. XV. No. 19) with me, and agreed that the projec-

tions were distinctly visible, although they hardly appear in the half-tone illustration here given (Fig. 1). The line reproduction in Botticher's *Olympia* over-emphasises this feature.

II.—*The κίονες.*

Professor E. Gardner, in the paper already referred to, holds that the panels were divided by the intersection of the *κανών* and *κίων*, on each side. If, therefore, we relegate the paintings to the space below the bar, we must rearrange the *κίονες*, for in that case the supports would have interrupted both the paintings and the sculptures above them. We must ask then whether there is any adequate reason for this change. Now it has been often pointed out that a throne with eight visible legs would be the reverse of artistic, nor would the effect be bettered by making the extra legs (which indeed would probably be round, as their name, *κίονες*, implies) serve as part of the frame-work for the paintings. To this purely aesthetic consideration we may add direct numismatic evidence. None of the three Elean coins shows any sign whatever of a visible support, though they show the cross-bar itself clearly enough. The inference therefore is that the 'supports' were actually invisible, and this is perhaps indirectly supported by Pausanias himself, when, after mentioning the existence of the 'supports,' he goes on immediately to say that it is impossible to go underneath the Throne.

Where then, it may be asked, are the *κίονες* to be placed? In answer to this it is pertinent to ask where support was most needed. Clearly, not at the sides which were comparatively light and adequately supported by the legs, but at the point where the real weight lay, the point where the heavy torso of Zeus weighed directly upon the seat of the Throne. Here, then, we must place the supports according to the following diagram :



But is it possible to reconcile this with Pausanias' phrase, *μεταξὺ τῶν ποδῶν*? Certainly the most obvious meaning (were there nothing against it) would be 'intermediate between the legs of each side.' However, two other interpretations are possible, one or other of which I believe Pausanias intended. (i) When he said *μεταξὺ τῶν ποδῶν*, he was using an inexact but approximate phrase, meaning that the supports were on a line with the central point of each side (*μεταξύ*), but *set back* from it. (ii) The supports collectively might be said (accepting the arrangement in the diagram) to be between the legs also collectively regarded. Perhaps the second is the simpler and better of these alternatives.

Such, then, are the reasons for altering the position of the supports.

III.—*The ἐρύματα.*

We have now to show how Pausanias was able to see the supports so hidden away, and to explain the nature of the barriers. We may assume on the authority of Professor Gardner's paper, and of the plain meaning of Pausanias, that the screens formed a part of the Throne itself. Their purpose was both to hide the unsightly props from view and to add to the solidity of the whole erection. To state the case briefly, the view here adopted is that the screens rose only to the height of the cross-bars, which projected, cornice-wise, beyond them. Naturally the coins can give no evidence on this point, and we are left to what we can elicit from Pausanias, and to arguments from probability and from aesthetic considerations.

Now Pausanias uses a notable phrase. The barriers he says are *τρόπου τοίχων πεποιημένα*. As the screens were painted, he clearly does not mean that they showed courses of masonry, and there seems to be only one other possible interpretation of the phrase. The idea of a wall in its simplest terms is something long and low with *an empty space* above it. Now, if the screens had filled in each side completely, the lower part of the Throne would have given the appearance of a solid block; the idea of a wall would be quite inappropriate. If this interpretation is correct, we must think of the screens as reaching only to the cross-bars, on which stood the figures already discussed. Behind and above the figures was an open space.

Against this view of the screens it may be urged that such an open space would defeat the very purpose for which the screens were erected, to hide the supports. This objection, however, is not really valid. (i) As the visitor stood on the floor of the *cella*, his line of vision would be determined by the cross-bar and the figures upon it, so that in any case he could see no more than the bottom of the seat.⁴ It would be impossible to see through from side to side, and so be offended by a 'vista of scaffold-like poles.' (ii) The light of the *cella* could not have been bright, and consequently the interior of the Throne would have been in practical darkness. Further, the gleam of the chryselephantine figures upon the cross-bar against the darkness within would enhance the blackness of the background, while the mere mass of the figures, and the charm of their workmanship would be sufficient to arrest the eyes of most visitors. Every great artist is also a practical psychologist. We see the same principle in mediaeval architecture, where a belfry window is designed to give light to the interior without revealing the unsightly framework within.

How then, it may be asked, did Pausanias see the supports if thus concealed? The answer is that Pausanias, like many another curious antiquary, made it his business to look into corners and dark places, and it was, no doubt by so doing that he succeeded in distinguishing the supports. And in this connexion we may add yet another consideration pointing to an

⁴ Another instance of Pheidias' knowledge of optical laws is supplied by the Lemnian Athena: cf. Furtwangler, *Masterpieces* (Eng. Trans.), p. 21.

opening above the cross-bars. There must have been some means of access to the interior for purpose of the repairs which, as we know, were from time to time necessary. If there had been a door for the purpose, it is unlikely that Pausanias would not have mentioned it. The only alternative is to accept the theory of a space which was always open, a part of the design itself.

IV.—*The Paintings.*

There now remains the task of rearranging the paintings by Panaenus, in accordance with the conditions of which the existence has been demonstrated above. We have seen that they must find their place below the cross-bar, and in this position it is impossible to retain Professor E. Gardner's system, ingenious and attractive as it is. But there are independent reasons for rejecting the scheme of 'metope' and 'long' panels. (i) Pausanias gives no hint of any such arrangement: rather, his description seems to imply that the series was single and continuous. The argument from silence has a bad odour, but surely this is a case where it might well be used. (ii) If we suppose with Professor Gardner that there were two lower figures each containing a 'caryatid' figure, we are forced to separate figures which obviously gain immeasurably by close association. Hellas and Salamis, for example, have added significance if brought close together, while Hippodameia and Sterope would in all probability be in much more intimate connexion than Professor Gardner's arrangement allows. (iii) There is a certain artificiality about the scheme we are criticising: it would be clear that paintings, so arranged, aimed simply at disguising masonry-work, whereas I believe a certain illusion (to be explained presently) was aimed at.

This last objection necessitates a statement and justification of the old arrangement which it is here proposed to re-adopt. In this we have three groups on each of three sides.

- a. 1. Atlas and Heracles.
- 2. Theseus and Peirithous.
- 3. Hellas and Salamis.
- β. 1. Heracles and the Lion.
- 2. Ajax and Cassandra.
- 3. Hippodameia and Sterope.
- γ. 1. Prometheus and Heracles.
- 2. Penthesileia and Achilles.
- 3. The Hesperides.

It might fairly be argued that having seen that the paintings must be placed below the cross-bar, we are justified in adopting this, the only possible, arrangement. Nevertheless, further justification will not be superfluous.

(i) According to this scheme we get in panels 1 and 3 of each side, a pair of upright figures, at rest or only in gentle action (β 1 is not necessarily an exception), while in each panel 2 the action is more intense (in

the case of *a* 2 the figures would doubtless be in animated conversation). As has been already remarked, we here get a certain illusion which is destroyed by Professor Gardner's arrangement: the painted figures would actually appear to be standing or struggling *beneath the throne of Zeus*. By this arrangement we obtain a distinctly poetic conception, full of religious symbolism, and such as we might expect to find in the age of Pheidias. Moreover, the dark blue of the background would in some measure at least disguise the screens themselves, making the figures appear as though they, like the figures upon the cross-bar, were standing out against a background of darkness.

(ii) Again, is it rash to trace a parallelism between the paintings on each side? There is an obvious connexion between *a* 1, *β* 1, and *γ* 1; and we might well call this series 'Heracleian.' In the same way the three central or 'Hellenic' panels are connected, while the three last panels have a sufficient tie in their symbolism, standing respectively for Greece, Elis, and the Mythical world.

(iii) Another consideration is of some importance. A pair of figures only in the space below the cross-bar really leave too much unoccupied space, and Greek art of this period shows a *horror vacui* as distinct as it is scientific.

(iv) Finally, if we re-adopt the old arrangement, we get, in addition to the considerations already noted, a sort of gradation: the figures nearest the rigid perpendiculars of the legs are upright or in gentle motion, with the action more free in the centre; a remote though just parallel is supplied by the pediments of the Parthenon.

Whatever weight these arguments may have, they are not sufficient to outweigh Pausanias' statement, *τελευταία δὲ ἐν τῇ γραφῇ, κ.τ.λ.*, if the ordinary interpretation of *τελευταία* be retained. In criticism of Professor Gardner's theory, it is at least curious that Pausanias should single out the last *metope* to call the 'last painting in the series.' Was not the lower panel equally important? Is it not better to take *τελευταία* in the sense of 'last scenes'⁵ or 'lastly'? In the latter case, but putting a comma after *αὐτήν*, we get perfectly good sense, and *τελευταία* will then cover the two final subjects. The loose use of 'lastly' might well be paralleled from any piece of modern description.

Such then is the evidence for a return to the old theory as to the paintings of Panaenus.

In conclusion, I should like to express my warmest thanks to Professor Percy Gardner for much kind criticism and encouragement, to Mr. G. F. Hill for several valuable suggestions and corrections, and also to the authorities of the Coin Department of the British Museum for furnishing me with casts of the relevant coins.

H. G. EVELYN-WHITE.

⁵ Since writing the above, I notice that Mr. Frazer, in his translation of the passage (*Paus.* v. 11. 6), adopts this rendering.

THE SAMIANS AT ZANCLE-MESSANA.

[PLATE XXVI.]

IN this article it is proposed to examine the available numismatic evidence relating to the settlement of Samians at Zancle, and the change of the name of the city to Messana, and to suggest possible lines along which a reconstruction of the events might proceed.

It will be well first to review such literary evidence as we possess. The earliest such evidence is found in *Herodotus*. He gives at length the story¹ of the Samian settlement. After the battle of Lade, which ruined the cause of the revolted Ionians, the Samian oligarchs (οἱ τι ἔχοντες) decided to abandon their city and sail away to found a colony elsewhere, rather than stay and endure the oppression of Aeaces, their old tyrant, restored under Persian influence (ἐς ἀποικίην ἐκπλέειν μηδὲ μένοντας Μήδοισί τε καὶ Αἰάκει δουλεύειν). Now the men of Zancle in Sicily had sent a general invitation to the Ionians to come to the West and settle at the Fair Shore (Καλὴ Ἀκτὴ), a Sicel possession on the north coast of Sicily. The Samians accordingly decided to accept the invitation. The other Ionians preferred home and slavery to freedom in a far country, and stayed in their cities. Only the survivors of Miletus joined in the migration. The emigrants sailed for the West and landed at Locri Epizephyrii. Here they received a message from Anaxilas, despot of Rhegium. This ruler was an enemy of Scythes, king² of Zancle, and he saw an opportunity of stealing a march upon him. The Samians were to be his instruments. He urged them to think no more of the Fair Shore (Καλὴν Ἀκτὴν ἐὰν χαιρέειν), but to appropriate a fine city already built, fortified, and stored. Zancle was undefended; Scythes and his army were fighting the Sicels. All that the Samians had to do was to step in and help themselves. The exiles seem not to have hesitated. They crossed immediately to Zancle, and king Scythes returned to find himself shut out from his own city. He appealed to his 'ally' Hippocrates, despot of Gela. Hippocrates, however, had his own view of the situation. Scythes had failed in his trust and lost the city (ἀποβαλόντα τὴν πόλιν), and he must pay the

¹ Hdt. vi. 22 *et seq.*

² Anaxilas is τύραννος, Scythes is βασιλεύς: Hippocrates again in the sequel is called τύραννος. Elsewhere in the story Scythes is called μούναρχος, but never τύραννος. Freeman (*Sicily*, vol. ii. appendix i.) is inclined to regard

the difference of terminology as a reflection of a real difference of constitutional status. Macan (note *ad loc.*), however, regards the variation as due merely to the nature of the sources. I incline to the latter view, for reasons which will appear in the sequel.

penalty. He was imprisoned at Inyx. Hippocrates then proceeded to make a bargain with the Samian invaders. They were to keep one half of the property within the city, handing over the other half, together with all outside the walls, to Hippocrates. The Zancleean army outside the walls was thrown into chains, and the leaders (τοὺς κορυφαίους αὐτῶν) delivered up to the Samians for execution. But the Samian oligarchs had mercy on their fellow-oligarchs³ of Zancle, and spared their lives.

Here we have a circumstantial narrative which has been generally accepted as historical at least in the main. A reference in a later book has caused some trouble. In giving an account of the rise of Gelon, Herodotus⁴ refers to a *πολιορκία* of Zancle by Hippocrates, in the course of which the Zancleans were reduced to servitude (*δουλοσύνη*). This has been regarded by some as a loose reference to the events described above. But surely, however wide a meaning is given to the word *πολιορκία*, there was no *πολιορκία* in this case. We do not even hear of any fighting at all between Hippocrates and the Zancleans. The Zancleans were indeed reduced to slavery, but the impression conveyed by Herodotus' language in this passage can hardly be reconciled with the apparent state of affairs on the occasion under consideration. But it is noteworthy that the attitude of Hippocrates to Zancle in the story of the Samian conquest is distinctly that of an overlord to his vassal. Scythes has lost a city in which Hippocrates has an interest, and is punished for it. Now this relation would certainly be expressed by Herodotus, from the Zancleean point of view, as *δουλοσύνη*.⁵ It is far more probable therefore that the *πολιορκία* of Zancle and its reduction to *δουλοσύνη* took place some years before the Samian occupation. If this be so, it is strongly in favour of the view that Scythes was really a *τύραννος* of Zancle set up by a despotic overlord, rather than a genuine constitutional *βασιλεύς*. It is probable therefore that this passage (vii. 154) must not be quoted in connexion with the question under discussion.

As to the change of name, we have only one passing reference in Herodotus.⁶ This again occurs in the passage dealing with Gelon, a fact which would suggest that this and the last reference cited are due to the same source, and that a different source from the one followed in the passage from the sixth book, a fact which should make us cautious in attempting to combine the narratives. Herodotus has here occasion to speak of Cadmus, son of

³ I have assumed that these 'coryphaei' of Zancle are oligarchs and presumably enemies of the 'monarch.' If, however, Scythes was a constitutional king (*βασιλεύς*), these men would presumably represent a true nobility after the old pattern. But, as we shall see, there is reason to suppose that Scythes was really a *τύραννος*. If this be so, it becomes an interesting question, who invited the Samians. Herodotus says it was the *Ζαγκλαῖοι*. So also does Aristotle (*Pol.* vi. 3. 1303^a 35). Most modern historians assume it was their king. It is

tempting to conjecture that there was some sort of scheming between oligarchs and oligarchs, which would put the action of the Samians in a more favourable light, from the point of view of Greek morality.

⁴ Hdt. vii. 154.

⁵ Cf. vi. 22 *Μήδοισί τε καὶ Αἰδκεί δουλεύειν*, where the situation is precisely the same as that here postulated at Zancle—a city governed by a 'tyrant' acting as the vassal of a foreign despot.

⁶ Hdt. vii. 163-164.

Scythes of Cos. This man laid down the tyranny at Cos, and migrated to Sicily. Here, however, the text is doubtful. Stein, with the MSS. of the first class, reads—οἶχετο ἐς Σικελίην, ἔνθα παρὰ Σαμίων ἔσχε τε καὶ κατοίκησε πόλιν Ζάγκλην τὴν ἐς Μεσσήνην μεταβαλοῦσαν τὸ οὔνομα. With this reading Herodotus has commonly been supposed to imply that Cadmus arrived in Sicily after the Samian occupation of Zancle, and succeeded to the government of the town, whether by an act of 'commendation' on the part of its Samian lords, or by conquest as the agent of Anaxilas.⁷ Freeman⁸, however, adopts the reading of MSS. of the second class, μετὰ Σαμίων, and makes Cadmus the leader of the Samian immigrants. A further difficulty arises about the tense of μεταβαλοῦσαν. Does it imply that the town had already changed its name before the arrival of Cadmus, or that the change of name synchronized with his accession to power? Obviously, the passage lends itself to almost endless schemes of reconstruction. The whole problem of Cadmus and of his relations with Scythes and with the Samians is discussed in an exhaustive series of notes on the passage by the most recent editor of Herodotus, Dr. Macan, who has kindly permitted me to read the sheets of his forthcoming edition of the last triad of the Histories.⁹ He marks the text as suspicious, but inclines to the reading μετὰ Σαμίων, pointing out at the same time that παρὰ Σαμίων does not necessarily imply an interval between the Samian conquest and the accession of Cadmus: the Samians capture the town and then by a vote confer the sovereignty on Cadmus. His own reconstruction of the Herodotean evidence identifies Scythes of Zancle with Scythes of Cos, the father of Cadmus, and makes the seizure of the town by the Samian exiles under the leadership of Cadmus a preconcerted affair. As to the meaning of μεταβαλοῦσαν, he rejects the pluperfect sense given to it by Stein, inclining towards the view that the aorist marks synchronism, although admitting that it is somewhat vague. That such a synchronism is as a matter of fact necessary, if Dr. Macan's interpretation of Herodotus' language on the connexion between Cadmus and the Samians is correct, I hope to show in considering the numismatic evidence; but the actual text does not, I think, commit Herodotus to any definite temporal indication. The expression τὴν ἐς Μεσσήνην μεταβαλοῦσαν τὸ οὔνομα seems to me to be quite vague. All that it tells us is that Cadmus received the city whose old name was Zancle, but which in Herodotus' time was called Messene. The aorist is, in fact, one of 'timelessness' and not of 'synchronism.' Thus the only reference in Herodotus to the change of name is a quite indefinite one, although we may assume that he did not think of it as having occurred before the Samian

⁷ Stein (*e.g.*) in his note on Hdt. vii. 164, holds that Cadmus was sent by Anaxilas to expel the Samians because they had come to terms with Hippocrates.

⁸ *Sicily*, vol. ii. p. 486.

⁹ Macan, *Hdt.* vii.-ix. vol. i. pp. 227-231. The problem of the relations of Cadmus and Scythes is an interesting and an exceedingly

complex one, but it barely overlaps with the present question, which does not depend for its answer upon a previous solution of the Cadmus problem, although the conclusions arrived at from a consideration of the numismatic evidence on the general question might affect our interpretation of what Herodotus says on the subject of Cadmus.

settlement, from the fact that he uses the name Zancle throughout the narrative in chapters 22-24 of Book VI.

So far, then, as the narrative of Herodotus goes, we should not have suspected any connexion at all between the Samian settlement and the change of name, if we had had nothing outside of Herodotus to suggest such a connexion.

We turn next to *Thucydides*. He has a very brief passage¹⁰ in the Sicilian *Ἀρχαιολογία* dealing with Zancle. Here if anywhere we may hope to obtain from him some fresh light on the problem. After giving an account of the foundation of Zancle by Cumae and Chalcis, he proceeds to record the occupation of the city by 'Samians and other Ionians, who, flying from the Medes, landed in Sicily.' These Samians, he further tells us, were shortly afterwards expelled by Anaxilas of Rhegium, who settled in the city a 'mixed multitude' (*ξύμμικτοι ἄνθρωποι*), and re-named it Messene after his own original country. It is evident that this account, whether intentionally or not, supplements the Herodotean narrative; and as a matter of fact the traditional account of the events in question has been formed by a union of the statements of the two historians.

The date of the occurrence is to be fixed approximately by the reference to Anaxilas in both historians, and by the reference, explicit in Herodotus and implicit in Thucydides, to the Battle of Lade. The latter is dated beyond reasonable doubt in 494 B.C. The limits of the reign of Anaxilas are fixed by a passage in *Diodorus*¹¹ at 494-476 B.C. Hence the Samian settlement is commonly placed shortly after 494, and the expulsion of the Samians at some later date before the death of Anaxilas in 476.

A further complication is introduced both in the narrative itself, and more particularly in the chronology, by a passage in *Pausanias*.¹² At the close of his narrative of the Second Messenian War, which he dates to 668-7 B.C.,¹³ he proceeds to record the adventures of the Messenian fugitives who escaped to Cyllene. The narrative is given in great detail. According to Pausanias various proposals were mooted among the Messenians. Some were for settling at Zacynthus, others for sailing away to Sardinia. At this juncture of affairs we are introduced to Anaxilas, tyrant of Rhegium. He was, we are told, the fourth in descent from Alcidas, who had fled to Rhegium after the end

¹⁰ Thuc. vi. 4 §§ 5, 6. The passage, so far as it concerns the present problem, is as follows:—*ἄρτιον δὲ αὐτοὶ μὲν* (scil. the original Chalcidian and Cumæan colonists) *ὑπὸ Σαμίων καὶ ἄλλων Ἴώνων ἐκπίπτουσιν, οἱ Μήδους φεύγοντες προσέβαλον Σικελίᾳ, τοὺς δὲ Σαμίους Ἀναξίλας Ῥηγίων τυράννος οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον ἐκβαλὼν καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτὸς ξυμμείκτων ἀνθρώπων οἰκίσας Μεσσηνίην ἀπὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ τὸ ἀρχαῖον πατρίδος ἀντανόμασεν.*

¹¹ Diod. xi. 48: *Ἐπ' ἀρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησι Φαίδωνος, Ὀλυμπιάς μὲν ἤχθη ἕκτη πρὸς ταῖς ἐβδομήκοντα καθ' ἣν ἐνέκα στάδιον Σκαμάνδριος Μυτιληναῖος, ἐν Ῥώμῃ δ' ὑπῆρχον ὕπατοι Καίσων*

Φάβιος καὶ Σπύριος Φούριος Μενελλαῖος. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων (i.e. in 476-5 B.C.) . . . ἐτελεύτησε . . . Ἀναξίλας δ' Ῥηγίου καὶ Ζάγκλης τυράννος, δυναστεύσας ἔτη ὀκτωκαίδεκα, τὴν δὲ τυραννίδα διεδέξατο Μίκυθος, πιστευθεὶς ὥστε ἀποδοῦναι τοῖς τέκνοις τοῦ τελευτήσαντος οὐσι νόις τὴν ἡλικίαν.

¹² Paus. iv. 23 §§ 4-10.

¹³ Paus. l.c. § 4: *Ἐάλω δὲ ἡ Εἴρα καὶ ὁ πόλεμος ὁ δεύτερος Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Μεσσηνίων τέλος ἔσχεν Ἀθηναῖος ἀρχοντος Ἀντισθένης, ἴτει πρώτῃ τῆς ὀγδόης τε καὶ εἰκοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἣν ἐνέκα Χίονις Λάκων.*

of the First Messenian War;¹⁴ and he now invited his distressed fellow-countrymen of the Second War to sail to Sicily, and aid him in reducing Zancle, which should be theirs if they agreed. The proposal was accepted. The Zancaeans were defeated by land and sea and fled to sanctuary. Anaxilas advised the Messenians to put them to death, but the leaders of the immigrants refused. They came to terms with the defeated Zancaeans, with whom they afterwards lived side by side in the old city with a new name—the name of the Messenian conquerors.¹⁵ All this happened, we are told, in 644–3 B.C.¹⁶ and a memorial of the Messenian occupation still remained in the time of Pausanias—the temple of Heracles Manticles without the wall.

All this is extraordinary stuff. Anaxilas, whose date is well known, is moved up nearly 200 years before his time, and made fourth in descent from the leader of the original Messenian element at Rhegium. Freeman has analysed the story in an appendix to the second volume of his *History of Sicily*.¹⁷ His conclusions, briefly, are that the details of the story are due to a confusion of passages from Herodotus,¹⁸ including the story of the Samian settlement cited above, and that the account of the Messenian settlement is derived from the poet Rhianus, who used very freely his historical data. At the same time he is of the opinion that there is 'something in it.' It is remarkable that *Strabo* brings Messenians into connexion with Zancle in two places. In speaking of the foundation of Rhegium,¹⁹ he quotes Antiochus of Syracuse to the effect that the Zancaeans induced the Chalcidians to settle at Rhegium, and goes on to state (whether on the same authority or not is not clear) that among the original settlers of Rhegium were Messenians who had been exiled in a party-struggle before the First Messenian War. The story is given at length and in detail, and in confirmation Strabo states that the rulers (ήγεμόνες) of the Rhegines were of Messenian stock μέχρι Αναξίλα. In another place²⁰ he describes Messina as a colony of the Messenians of the

¹⁴ Paus. *l.c.* § 6 Ἐν τοσοῦτῳ δὲ Ἀναξίλας ἐτυράννευε μὲν Ῥηγίῳ, τέταρτος δὲ ἀπόγονος ἦν Ἀλκιδαμίδου μετῴκησε δὲ Ἀλκιδαμίδας ἐκ Μεσσηνίας εἰς Ῥήγιον μετὰ τὴν Ἀριστοδήμου τοῦ βασιλέως τελευτηῆν καὶ Ἰθώμης τὴν ἄλωσιν.

¹⁵ Paus. *l.c.* § 9 Γόργος δὲ καὶ Μάντικλος παρρητοῦντο Ἀναξίλαν μὴ σφᾶς, ὑπὸ συγγενῶν ἀνδρῶν πεπονθῆτας ἀνόσια, ὅμοια αὐτοῦς εἰς ἀνθρώπους Ἑλλήνας ἀναγκάσαι δρᾶσαι. μετὰ τοῦτο δὲ ἤδη τοὺς Ζαγκλαίους ἀνίστασαν ἀπὸ τῶν βομῶν καὶ ὄρκους δόντες καὶ αἱτοὶ παρ' ἐκείνων λαβόντες ᾤκησαν ἀμφοτέροι κοιῆ· ὄνομα δὲ τῇ πόλει μετέθεσαν Μεσσηνίην ἀντὶ Ζάγκλης καλεῖσθαι.

¹⁶ Paus. *l.c.* § 10 Ταῦτα δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ὀλυμπιάδος ἐπράχθη τῆς ἐνάτης καὶ εἰκοστῆς, ἦν Χλόνις Λάκων τὸ δεύτερον ἐνίκα, Μιλτιάδου παρ' Ἀθηναίοις ἄρχοντος.

¹⁷ Freeman, *Sicily*, vol. ii. pp. 484–488.

¹⁸ The passages are vi. 22–24 (cited above), i. 170, where Bias of Priene counsels the

Ionians to found a colony in Sardinia, and v. 106, where Histiaeus proposes the subjugation of Sardinia (Freeman, *Sicily*, vol. ii. p. 486).

¹⁹ Strabo vi. 16, p. 257 ὡς δ' Ἀντιόχος φησι, Ζαγκλαῖοι μετεπέμψαντο τοὺς Χαλκιδίους καὶ οἰκιστὴν Ἀντίμνηστον συνέστησαν ἐκείνων. ἦσαν δὲ τῆς ἀποικίας καὶ οἱ Μεσσηνίων φυγάδες τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ καταστασιασθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν μὴ βουλομένων δοῦναι δικὰς ὑπὲρ τῆς φθορᾶς τῶν παρθένων τῆς ἐν Ἰλμναίς γενομένης τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἅς καὶ αὐτὰς ἐβιάσαντο πεμφθεῖσας ἐπὶ τὴν ἱερουργίαν, καὶ τοὺς ἐπιβοηθοῦντας ἀπέκτειναν. . . ὁ δ' Ἀπόλλων ἐκέλευσε στέλλεσθαι μετὰ Χαλκιδίων εἰς τὸ Ῥήγιον. . . οἱ δ' ὑπήκουσαν. διόπερ οἱ τῶν Ῥηγίων ἡγεμόνες μέχρι Ἀναξίλα τοῦ Μεσσηνίων γένους αἰεὶ καθίσταντο. The last sentence will come up again for consideration.

²⁰ Strabo vi. 2, p. 268 Κτίσμα δ' ἐστὶν (scil. ἡ Μεσσηνίη) Μεσσηνίων τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ, παρ' ὧν τοῦνομα μετέλλαξε καλουμένη Ζάγκλη

Peloponnesian, who changed the name from Zancle. Now these statements are vague and confused. The latter is vitiated by the addition that Zancle was a colony of Naxos;²¹ and it bears no date. The former is impossible if the traditional dates of the foundation of Zancle and the First Messenian War be retained, but Freeman²² has shown cause for thinking that Antiochus, who was probably the original authority for Sicilian chronology, put the Messenian War later than the traditional date, and that the story in Strabo may be accepted, if we put the end of the war for the beginning. It is probable that the accounts represented by the two passages in Strabo lie at the root of the narrative in Pausanias.

Pausanias, then, stripped of the impossible elements of his story, may be taken to contradict Thucydides so far as to attribute the change of name to immigrants from Messenia in the Peloponnesian, instead of to Anaxilas; and in this he may be regarded as receiving confirmation from the briefer notice in the earlier writer Strabo. It is remarkable that he has nothing to say of the Samians; but the fact that he makes Crataemenes, who in Thucydides²³ is one of the original *οἰκισταί* and a Chalcidian, a Samian,²⁴ would seem to indicate a consciousness on the part of his authority that the possessors of Zancle at the time of the change of name were partly of Samian extraction.²⁵

So far, and no farther, we are able to gather information from our literary authorities with reference to the problem before us. Various attempts have been made to obtain from them a consistent account. Generally the tendency has been to reconcile Herodotus and Thucydides and throw over Pausanias (and Strabo) as hopeless.²⁶ Freeman, however, has attempted to build upon the whole evidence, including Pausanias and Strabo. His theory is worked out in an appendix to his *History of Sicily*, on 'Anaxilas and the naming of Messina.'²⁷ Briefly stated, the theory is as follows. The Herodotean

πρότερον διὰ τὴν σκολιότητα τῶν τόπων (ζάγκλον γὰρ ἑκαλεῖτο τὸ σκόλιον), Ναξίων οὖσα πρότερον κτίσμα τῶν πρὸς Κατάνην.

²¹ Freeman, *Sicily*, vol. i. p. 585, has shown the probable origin of this error. It must be added, however, that Dr. A. J. Evans (*Nixon Chron.* 1896, p. 107) is inclined to believe Strabo on this point and to suppose a fusion of four elements at Zancle, suggesting a connexion with the four rectangular protuberances which appear on the 'sickle' in many of the coins.

²² *Sicily*, vol. i. appendix xx. pp. 584-587.

²³ Thuc. vi. 4 § 5 Ζάγκλη δὲ τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ Κύμης τῆς ἐν Ὀπικίᾳ Χαλκιδικῆς πόλεως ληστῶν ἀφικομένων φάσθη, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ Χαλκίδος καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Εὐβοίας πλῆθος ἐλθὼν ξυγκατενεύμαντο τὴν γῆν· καὶ οἰκισταὶ Περιήρης καὶ Κραταιμένης ἐγένοντο αὐτῆς, ὃ μὲν ἀπὸ Κύμης, ὃ δὲ ἀπὸ Χαλκίδος.

²⁴ Paus. iv. 23 § 7 Ζάγκλην δὲ τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς κατέλαβον λησταί, καὶ ἐν ἐρήμῳ τῇ γῆι τειχίσαντες ὅσον περὶ τὸν λιμένα δρμητηρίῳ πρὸς τὰς καταδρομὰς καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἐπίλους ἐχρῶντο·

ἡγεμόνες δὲ ἦσαν αὐτῶν Κραταιμένης Σάμιος καὶ Περιήρης ἐκ Χαλκίδος. Περιήρει δὲ ὕστερον καὶ Κραταιμένει καὶ ἄλλοις ἐπαγαγέσθαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔδοξεν οἰκῆτορας. Here Thucydides' 'oecists' appear as the original leaders of the 'pirates' (for the meaning of the foundation by pirates see Freeman, *Sicily*, vol. i. p. 393). This is a very easy misunderstanding, and no doubt Thucydides is right.

²⁵ Strabo of course betrays no sign of any such consciousness. He distinctly states that up to the time of the change of name by the Messenian immigrants the inhabitants were Chalcidians of Naxos.

²⁶ E.g. Rawlinson on Hdt. vi. 24 observes: 'The narrative of Pausanias (iv. 23 § 3) is completely at variance with the narrative of Herodotus, and equally so with the brief notice of Thucydides. It seems to be a mere misrepresentation of the events here related.' Macan (note *ad l.c.*) very justly censures this as 'unmerited.'

²⁷ See Freeman, *Sicily*, vol. ii. pp. 484-491.

narrative of the Samian settlement,²⁸ confirmed by the brief notice in Thucydides,²⁹ and by a passage in the *Politics* of Aristotle,³⁰ is to be accepted, and dated as soon as possible after the battle of Lade (494 B.C.). The expulsion of the Samians and re-peopling of Messana by Anaxilas is probably to be accepted on the authority of Thucydides; but he is wrong in his account of the re-naming of the city. The real date of the latter is indicated by the change from Ζάγκλη to Μεσσήνη in Diodorus,³¹ which takes place between the narratives of events in 476 and those in 461 (if Diodorus has his dates correct: at any rate they are approximately right). In this latter year Diodorus records a re-peopling of Messana with mercenaries, etc., from various places all over Sicily,³² and it is probable that they were joined by a body of Messenians from the *Third* Messenian War, who changed the name of the city. Thucydides has confused this settlement of a 'mixed multitude' with that carried out by Anaxilas some twenty years previously.

This may be taken to represent the best that can be done by a criticism of the literary evidence; but it entirely ignores a considerable body of *numismatic evidence* which has recently been made accessible by the thorough study of coins from the Sicilian hoards. Freeman in his appendix³³ merely copies the notice of coins of Messana from the *Dictionary of Geography*³⁴ without any apparent consciousness of their importance. As early as 1876 Professor Percy Gardner had pointed out the discrepancy between the view of these events gathered from an exclusive study of the literary sources, and that which was suggested by an examination of the coinage.³⁵ He followed up this brief notice in passing with a slightly longer account in an article on 'Samos and Samian Coins,' published in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1882.³⁶ Starting from some hints thrown out by Professor Gardner, I propose to examine the numismatic evidence in some detail, and to attempt a reconstruction of some sort which shall aim at a reconciliation of the numismatic and literary evidence.³⁷

It will facilitate matters to give at once a list of representative coins which will be the subject of consideration. We have a good series of coins of Zancle-Messana, and a less satisfactory series of those of Rhegium. There are also some unscripted coins which must be noticed. The coins

²⁸ Hdt. vii. 22-24.

²⁹ Thuc. vi. 4 §§ 5-6.

³⁰ Ar. Pol. vi. 3. 1303^a. 35 Ζαγκαλαῖοι δὲ Σαμίους εἰσδεξάμενοι ἐξέπεσον αὐτοί.

³¹ See Diodorus xi. 48 and 76 (I take the references from Freeman *l.c.*).

³² Diod. xi. 76: Αἱ πόλεις σχεδὸν ἅπασαι . . . κινὸν δόγμα ποιησάμεναι . . . τοῖς ξένοις τοῖς διὰ τὰς δυναστείας ἀλλοτρίας τὰς πόλεις ἔχουσι, κατοικεῖν ἅπαντας ἐν τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ [sc. ἀπέδοσαν].

³³ Freeman, Sicily, vol. ii. pp. 488-489.

³⁴ Smith, *Dict. of Class. Geog.* s.v. 'Messana' s.f.

³⁵ Article 'Sicilian Studies' in *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1876, pp. 6-7. His words are—

'It must be confessed that this story' (scil. the 'harmony' of Hdt. and Thuc. which at that date held the field) 'excites some serious doubts. It does not seem to account at all for the appearances of Samian types at Rhegium: the Samians were never masters there. Nor does it satisfactorily account for the types at Messene. For the name Messene was not given to the city until, as we are told, the Samians were dispossessed, whereas the inscription on the pieces of Samian type is MESSENION.'

³⁶ See *op. cit.* pp. 236-238.

³⁷ It must now be added that there is a brief discussion of the question in Mr. G. F. Hill's new book '*Historical Greek Coins*,' pp. 29-35.

here given are all published in M. Ernest Babelon's *Description Historique des Monnaies Grecques et Romaines*.³⁸ I have also referred for materials to Dr. B. V. Head's *Historia Numorum* and Mr. G. F. Hill's *Coins of Sicily*, as well as to the articles of Professor Percy Gardner already cited, to articles in the third, fourth, and fifth volumes of the *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, and to Dr. A. J. Evans' *Contributions to Sicilian Numismatics* in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1896.³⁹

*A. Coins of Rhegium.*⁴⁰

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. <i>Obv.</i> ΗΘΗΙΕΡΡ: human-headed bull. | } ἈR drachm 87 grains. ⁴¹
(Aeginetan weight.) |
| <i>Rev.</i> Human-headed bull incuse. | |
| 2. <i>Obv.</i> Lion's head facing. | } ἈR drachm 88 grs.
(Aeginetan wt.) Pl. XXVI. 1. |
| <i>Rev.</i> ΗΘΗΙΕΡΡ: calf's head l. | |
| 3. <i>Obv.</i> Lion's head facing. | } ἈR tetradrachm 272 grs.
(Attic weight.) Pl. XXVI. 2. |
| <i>Rev.</i> ΗΘΗΙΕΡΡ: calf's head l. | |
| 4. <i>Obv.</i> Mule car (ἀπήνη) driven r. by
bearded charioteer. | } ἈR tetradrachm 272 grs. ^{41a}
(Attic weight.) Pl. XXVI. 3. |
| <i>Rev.</i> ΗΘΗΙΕΡΡ: hare running r. | |
| 4a. The same, but inscription l.-r.—PECINON.
(Many coins of various denominations are found with these types.) | |
| 5. <i>Obv.</i> Hare running. | } ἈR obol.
(Attic weight.) Pl. XXVI. 4. |
| <i>Rev.</i> PEC in circle of dots. | |
| 6. <i>Obv.</i> Lion's head facing. | } ἈR tetradrachm (also drachm).
(Attic weight.) Pl. XXVI. 5. |
| <i>Rev.</i> RECINOS: male figure, seated,
naked to waist, leaning on staff
(? deity or Demos); beneath,
hound, or other symbol: the
whole in laurel wreath. | |

*B. Coins of Zancle-Messana.*⁴²

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. <i>Obv.</i> ΔΑΝΚ: Dolphin l. in sickle
(δρέπανον, ζάγκλον). | } ἈR drachm 90 grs. ⁴³
(Aeginetan weight.) Pl. XXVI. 6. |
| <i>Rev.</i> Dolphin in sickle incuse. | |

³⁸ E. Babelon: *Traité des Monnaies Grecques et Romaines*, 2^{me} partie, Description Historique, tom. i.

³⁹ *Num. Chron.* 1896, pp. 101 *sqq.*

⁴⁰ Babelon, *op. cit.* nos. 2187-2199; Head, *op. cit.* pp. 91-94.

⁴¹ Babelon, *op. cit.* Pl. LXXI. 8. The weights of the coins are given approximately and on an average, except in cases where a coin stands alone and demands more exact

treatment.

^{41a} Examples of this coin are also found with the addition on the obverse of a Νίκη above, crowning the mules: cf. the corresponding coins of Messana (B. 4, 5).

⁴² Babelon, Nos. 2200-2215; Head, pp. 133-135, cf. Evans in *Num. Chron.* 1896, pp. 101 *sqq.*

⁴³ This coin is fully discussed in *Num. Chron.* *l.c.*

2. *Obv.* ▷ANKVE: Dolphin l. in sickle. } ἈR drachm 90 grs.
Rev. Scallop-shell in incuse pattern } (Aeginetan wt.) **Pl. XXVI. 7**
- 2a. Similar to preceding. } ἈR didrachm 116 grs.^{43a}
 (Attic weight)
3. *Obv.* Lion's head facing. } ἈR tetradrachm 270 grs.⁴⁴
Rev. MESSENION: calf's head l. } (Attic weight.) **Pl. XXVI. 8.**
4. *Obv.* Ἀπήνη driven r. by bearded }
 charioteer: in exergue, laurel }
 leaf. } ἈR tetradrachm 270 grs.⁴⁵
Rev. MESSENION: hare running r.: } (Attic weight.) **Pl. XXVI. 9.**
 usually *bucranium* or other }
 symbol in field. }
5. *Obv.* Ἀπήνη etc. as above. }
Rev. MESSANION: hare and symbol } ἈR drachm 67 grs.
 as above. } (Attic weight.) **Pl. XXVI. 10.**
6. *Obv.* Naked deity (? Poseidon or Zeus) }
 advancing r. with l. arm ex- }
 tended, and r. arm raised and }
 grasping trident (? *fulmen*); } ἈR tetradrachm 263·5 grs.
 across shoulders, *chlamys*; in } (Attic weight.) **Pl. XXVI. 11.**
 front, lofty altar with palmette }
 decoration: border of dots. }
Rev. ▷ANKVAION: dolphin l.; be- }
 neath, scallop shell. }
- 6a. *Obv.* Dolphin l. in border of dots. } ἈR litra 12 grains.⁴⁶
Rev. ▷AN in border of dots. }

C. *Uninscribed Coins.*⁴⁷

1. *Obv.* Round shield, on which lion's scalp }
 facing. }
Rev. Prow of *samaina* in circular de- } ἈR tetradrachm 267 grs.
 pression with ring of dots: } (Attic weight.)
 above ship to l., A. }

^{43a} Babelon, *op. cit.* No. 2209.

⁴⁴ These coins seem to have been regarded indifferently as Aeginetan tridrachms: there are obols of about 14 grains with the same types. (See *Num. Chron. l.c.*)

⁴⁵ Examples of this coin also occur with the addition on the obverse of a *Nike* crowning the mules: cf. the corresponding coins of Rhegium (A. 4). I am indebted to Mr. G. F. Hill, of the British Museum, for calling my attention to a remarkable coin recently sold in the Strozzi Sale at Rome (see Auction Catalogue No. 1337).

The coin in question is a small Attic *ἔκρη* (wt. 1·46 gramme), of gold, bearing the same types (without the *Nike* on the obverse) and the same inscription as No. 4. The occurrence of a gold coin in the West at this period is startling, although paralleled by the early gold issue of Cumae in Campania. The coin appears to have been regarded as genuine, and fetched a sensational price at the sale.

⁴⁶ This coin is fully discussed in *Num. Chron. l.c.*

⁴⁷ Babelon, Nos. 2191, 2192; Head, p. 134;

2. The same without A on reverse. AR tetradrachm 267 grs.

PI. XXVI. 12.

To these must be added a coin of Crotonian type which will come up for consideration :

D. *Obv.* QPO Tripod and stork.

Rev. DA Same type : in field, incense altar : border of dots.

AR didrachm 119.7 grs.⁴⁸

PI. XXVI. 13.

We are now in a position to consider these coins with a view to assigning to them their places in the history of the towns with which they are connected. The first coins of Zancle and of Rhegium alike are clearly those bearing a type on one side, and the same type incuse on the other (A. 1, B. 1.). They are struck on the Aeginetic system, which was never very extensively used in the West, and early died out there, but in style and fabric they are closely similar to the very peculiar coins of the Achaean colonies in Magna Graecia. These latter were certainly struck before 510 B.C., when Sybaris fell. Hence it is not unreasonable to suppose that these earliest issues of Zancle and Rhegium were struck about that date. This is the date arrived at by Professor Gardner in his *Sicilian Studies*.⁴⁹ These incuse coins are very rare, for both cities. Zancle appears to have early dropped this quasi-Italian coinage, substituting the types of dolphin and scallop-shell represented by B. 2. The general style of this latter coin recalls the Syracusan coins attributed to the end of the sixth century, and having on the reverse a head in the midst of an incuse pattern. It would not perhaps be unreasonable to suppose that coins of this type were struck about 500 B.C. in imitation of the general style which had previously been in use at Syracuse. With Rhegium the case is different. The incuse coins of this city are even rarer than those of Zancle, and further, we have no other examples until we come to the entirely different types represented by A. 2. The evidence for the early coinage of Rhegium is in fact very fragmentary and unsatisfactory. We have at present no means of knowing what kind of coins the Rhegines struck between the old incuse pieces after the Achaean model and the lion-and-calf issues, which are clearly later, and certainly well within the fifth century. These coins, with the closely similar types at Zancle, are those which cause the trouble. These therefore we will pass by for the present, and go on to the next types which can be identified with reasonable certainty.

Both at Rhegium and at Zancle we find a series of coins coming in distinguished by the types of the ἀπήνη and hare (A. 4, 4a, 5 ; B. 4, 5). Now

Gardner, *Samos and Samian Coins*, Plate I. Nos. 17, 18. The lion's scalp (not head) is quite unmistakable. Friedländer in *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* iv. p. 17 quotes from the Wiczay Catalogue another specimen bearing B on the reverse.

⁴⁸ See Hill, *Coins of Sicily*, p. 71 : British Museum Catalogue, *Italy*, No. 47.

⁴⁹ *Num. Chron.* 1876, p. 7. Evans in *Num. Chron.* 1896 l.c. also dates them to the latter half of the sixth century B.C.

we have the authority of Aristotle⁵⁰ for attributing these types especially to Anaxilas, 'tyrant' of Rhegium, who is known to have won the mule-car race at Olympia about 480 B.C., and is said to have introduced the hare into Sicily. We need have no hesitation therefore in putting down these coins as those of Anaxilas, and dating them between about 480 and 476 B.C.

We have now a roughly fixed *terminus post quem* and *terminus ante quem* for the coins with the heads of the lion and the calf (A. 2, 3; B. 3). They are to be placed somewhere between 500 and 480 B.C. Now the types of these coins must at once strongly recall the well-known coins of Samos. They are not indeed Samian types, for Samos has a lion's *scalp* and a *bull's* head, while the types we are here dealing with are a lion's *head* facing and a *calf's* head. These differences are quite clearly seen on an examination of the coins. Still the lion's *head* does actually occur on some early coins attributed with probability to Samos,⁵¹ and at any rate the types are close enough to justify the prevalent attribution of these coins to the Samian immigrants mentioned by Herodotus and Thucydides.

But here we encounter difficulties. In the literary sources we found nothing that would lead us to expect Samian influence at *Rhegium*. Yet the Samian types appear in identical form at both cities. Not only so: the earliest coins of this type at Rhegium would seem to be earlier than those at Messene. There is a Rhegine coin of Samian type (A. 2) belonging to the period previous to the change from Aeginetic to Attic weight. There is no analogous coin at Zancle. The first appearance of the Attic standard here apparently coincides with the introduction of Samian types. This creates at least a presumption in favour of an earlier date for the Samio-Rhegine coin than for the Samio-Messenian, for it would require a clumsy hypothesis to account for the facts on the contrary supposition.^{51a} But our literary

⁵⁰ Julius Pollux v. 15 (quoted by Freeman, *Sicily*, vol. ii. p. 488) 'Αναξίλας ὁ Ῥηγίνος, ὀσσης, ὡς φησιν Ἀριστοτέλης, τῆς Σικελίας τῆως ἀγρόνου λαγῶν, ὃ δὲ εἰσαγαγῶν τε καὶ θρέψας, ὁμοῦ δὲ καὶ Ὀλύμπια νικήσας ἀπήνη, τῷ νομισματικῶν Ῥηγίνων ἐνετύπωσεν ἀπήνην καὶ λαγῶν. Head (*Hist. Num.* p. 93) criticises the hare legend, and shows reason for supposing that it is due to a misconception: Anaxilas introduced 'hares' into Sicily in the same sense that Athens exported 'owls' and Syracuse used Corinthian 'colts.' None the more on that account is the tradition attributing them to Anaxilas to be neglected: if we accept Head's version of the story the direct connexion between Anaxilas and the coins is made closer. What seems clear is that the hare appears on the coins as a symbol of the god Pan, who on a later Messenian coin appears caressing the animal. Babelon notes that Pan was especially connected with the mountainous district of the Peloponnese, whence, according to the uniform tradition, came the ancestors of

Anaxilas.

⁵¹ See Gardner, *Samos and Samian Coins*, Plate I. Nos. 2 and 3.

^{51a} The case is even stronger if the coin given above as B. 2a is really Attic. For in that case we have the Attic standard already in force at Zancle before the arrival of the Samians. But this coin is a very puzzling one. Babelon puts it down as a Euboic didrachm; but it is about 14 grains short of the proper Attic-Euboic weight, and yet from the plate does not look much worn. In any case one could hardly base an argument on a solitary coin in the fairly numerous series of Zancle-Messana for this period. There is yet another difficult coin of the Zancle series in the Ward Collection [see *Greek Coins and their Parent Cities*, by John Ward, with a catalogue of the author's collection by G. F. Hill, No. 202]. This coin weighs 146.3 grains. It is very much worn, and might possibly be an Aeginetic didrachm. If so, it is the only one known. But the shortage of weight (nearly

authorities, so far from establishing Samian influence at Rhegium first, do not bring the immigrants to that city at all. The message of Anaxilas, according to Herodotus, reaches them at Locri, and they apparently sail direct for Zancle. Again, the first Samian coin on the Sicilian side of the Straits has the inscription **MESSENION**. So far, therefore, from the re-naming of the town being immediately connected with the expulsion of the Samians, it would appear to coincide with their original settlement. Two attempts have been made to avoid this conclusion, and to discover a Zancaean coin struck during the Samian domination.

(i) Dr. Head⁵² seizes on the Poseidon coin (B. 6) as fulfilling the required conditions. He points out that the style and fabric of the coin preclude an earlier date than 490 B.C., while the name *Δαγκλαίων* indicates that the coin was struck before the change of name. Hence he puts it during the earlier part of the Samian domination. But it is hard to see what least indication there is of Samian influence on the coin. There was indeed a temple of Poseidon on the island of Samos, but the cult does not seem to have affected the coinage until quite late times.⁵³ On the other hand the reverse types are the familiar 'town-arms' of Zancle—the dolphin and scallop-shell,—while it is not surprising that a city on the Straits should honour Poseidon.⁵⁴ It would be much more tempting to see in this coin a prolongation of the native coinage previous to the Samian conquest, and contemporary with the Samio-Rhegine coins of earlier type and Aeginetic standard (A. 2). If this could be accepted, the Samian occupation would have to be brought considerably later than we should otherwise have suspected—in fact as late as possible before 480 B.C. (the approximate date of the *ἀπὴνη*-and-hare types). We can, however, get rid of this troublesome coin very simply, if we accept Dr. Evans' theory worked out in his *Contributions to Sicilian Numismatics*.⁵⁵ He regards the style and fabric of the coin as indicating a date about half-way through the fifth century. The epigraphy indeed suggests an earlier date, but archaism is so common in coin inscriptions that this counts for little. Further, by a comparison of this coin with an approximately dated one of Caulonia, he is able to make it extremely probable that the Caulonian and Zancaean coins are contemporary, and that in consequence the Poseidon-coin of Zancle must be dated to about 440 B.C.—well out of our present period. He attributes the re-appearance of the old name to an unrecorded counter-revolution after the fall of the dynasty of Anaxilas. There would of course be nothing surprising in such an unrecorded counter-revolution, considering the highly charged condition of the political atmosphere in Sicily about this period, and the extremely fragmentary nature of our evidence for the history of the island in these centuries. Dr.

34 grains) is excessive. These two coins await explanation. They stand quite alone, without, apparently, helping at all to explain one another.

⁵² Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 133.

⁵³ See Gardner, *Samos and Samian Coins*.

⁵⁴ The figure is almost certainly Poseidon; if, however, it is Zeus, the argument is not affected, for that deity is, so far as our knowledge goes, an equal irrelevancy on the coins of either city.

⁵⁵ *Num. Chron.* 1896, pp. 109 sqq.

Evans quotes as another relic of this hypothetical counter-revolution the small coin given above as B. 6*a*, which is inscribed ΔAN and bears the dolphin, but does not easily fall into the old Zanclean series, while it offers parallels with Sicilian coins of the middle of the fifth century.⁵⁶ Another possible item of confirmatory evidence is given by Mr. Hill, who regards Dr. Evans' theory as highly probable. He calls attention to the Crotoniate⁵⁷ coin (given as D. above), which bears the ordinary types of Croton, with the addition on the obverse of the inscription ΔA. According to analogy, this would indicate an alliance of Croton and Zancle (for ΔA can hardly stand for anything but ΔANKΛAION), and Mr. Hill may very likely be right in deducing that the revolutionary party who succeeded for a short time in restoring the supremacy of the old Zanclean element at Messina were in alliance with Croton, as the Messanians are known to have been allied with Locri—an alliance which is also commemorated by a coin bearing the names of both states.⁵⁸

(ii) The second attempt to save the credit of the literary authorities on this point rests upon the uninscribed coins of Attic weight and pure Samian types, given above as C. 1 and C. 2. Several of these coins were found in a hoard near Messina, and it is contended that they are Zanclean coins struck during the early part of the Samian domination.⁵⁹ It may be observed that even if this were established it would not save the situation, for the literary authorities make the change of name a sequel of the *termination* of Samian rule, while the coins at the very least show that the change took place *during* the Samian domination. But the argument resting upon these coins is a singularly insecure one. In no science is the *argumentum e silentio* less reliable than in archaeology, and at best the contention is based only on the *absence* of a name which may have been either Zancle or Messina. But further, these coins do *not* belong to the same series as the known Samio-Messenian or Samio-Rhegine types. The fabric is not identical, and the obverse type is a lion's scalp (as on the coins of Samos), and not a lion's head (as on the Samian issues at Rhegium and Messene). It may be worth while to consider these coins in more detail. The hoard found near Messina consisted of several specimens of these uninscribed coins, many ordinary Samian types of Rhegium and Messene, some twenty archaic tetradrachms of Athens, and four coins of Acanthus in Macedonia. No place could be found for the uninscribed specimens in the series of coins of Samos, since they are of Attic weight, while Samos coined on the Phoenician standard, and there seemed some *prima facie* evidence for attributing them to the Samian settlers at Rhegium or Zancle. The hoard was described by Dr. von Sallet in two articles in the *Zeitschrift*

⁵⁶ *Num. Chron.* 1896, p. 111.

⁵⁷ *Coins of Sicily*, p. 71; Evans, *Num. Chron.* 1896, p. 106.

⁵⁸ Is it possible that this temporary revival of the old name of Zancle misled Diodorus, or his authority, into placing the change of name at 461, and that the change he had in mind

was in reality a *restoration* of the name Messina, and not its first application? (See *Diod.* xi. 48 and 76.)

⁵⁹ Head (p. 134) attributes the coins to the Sicilian city, but without committing himself on the question of their place in the Zancle-Messana series.

for *Numismatik*.⁶⁰ He discussed the attribution of these coins and came to the conclusion that they were struck in Samos for the use of the emigrants, who on their voyage called at Acanthus and Athens, and so arrived in Sicily well provided with coins of Attic standard. It was natural enough to suppose that the Samian refugees should have provided themselves with money struck with native types on the Attic standard, which in its various forms was almost ubiquitous in the West. No city-name could of course be inscribed, as the emigrants were *ἀπόλεις ἄνδρες*. This theory has received pretty wide acceptance. A serious difficulty, however, is raised by the consideration of the style and fabric of the coins, which, although peculiar, approach more nearly to Western than to Eastern models. In particular the circular incuse is very rare in the East. In consequence it has been suggested that, although the coins cannot be attributed either to Zancle or to Rhegium, yet they may have been struck *in the West* for the emigrants, while they were still without a home.⁶¹ Here, however, another coin comes to our assistance. In connexion with his discussion of these coins, Dr. von Sallet published another coin in the Berlin collection, of somewhat similar fabric and closely similar style, the *provenance* of which was unknown. It bears on the obverse the lion's scalp, and on the reverse both the (Samian) bull's head and the prow of the 'samaina.'⁶² There is no inscription. The weight of this coin is 12.83 grammes, and it thus conforms to the Phoenician standard in use at Samos. Now in the British Museum⁶³ there is an example closely similar, bearing in addition the legend ΣA on the reverse, above the ship, l. These two coins are published by M. Babelon,⁶⁴ who discusses them and arrives at the only possible conclusion, that they are Samian coins struck at Samos.⁶⁵ These coins serve to some extent to bridge the gap between the regular Samian issues and these unclaimed coins from the Messina find, and at least to diminish the difficulty raised by the question of the fabric. But there is another coin which has a more decisive bearing upon the problem. The Berlin Münzkabinett has come into possession of another example of the issue of uninscribed coins hitherto known only from the Messina find. This coin, which is as yet unpublished, has on the obverse the lion's scalp on a shield, and on the reverse the prow of the *samaina*, exactly as on the specimens already known. Unfortunately it is damaged so as to make it uncertain whether or not any letter was present on the reverse, but most likely there was none. The coin weighs 17.21 grammes, and so is of the Attic standard. Now

⁶⁰ *Zeit. für Num.* iii. pp. 135, 136; v. pp. 103-105.

⁶¹ This is the view of Babelon: he prints the coins among those of Rhegium, and holds that they were coined in the West for the Samian colonists immediately after their disembarkation.

⁶² *Zeit. für Num.* v. p. 103: the primary object of this second article was to reply to Friedländer, who in an article in vol. iv. (pp. 17 sq.) had maintained a later date for the

coins. Friedländer's view has not, I think, been revived.

⁶³ *B.M.C. Ionia, Samos*, No. 30 (wt. 199.4 grs.).

⁶⁴ *Traité, Description Historique*, vol. i. Nos. 463, 464.

⁶⁵ He suggests, however, that *these* coins were struck in Samos for the use of the emigrants of 494 B.C.—a theory which has singularly little in its favour: see *op. cit.* vol. i. pp. 293-294.

this coin was found in *Egypt*, along with a considerable number of coins from the Aegean area, including several *Athenian* coins, and some from Torone, Mende, and *Acanthus*.⁶⁶ This example makes it very difficult to maintain the theory that the coins in question belong either to Zancle or to Rhegium, or that they were struck in the West at all, for coins of the Western Hellas are in Egypt practically non-existent. It may in fact now be regarded as almost certain that this issue belongs to the East, and if to the East, then naturally to Samos itself. The most reasonable explanation of the occurrence of such coins at Messina would seem to be von Sallet's theory, that the coinage of Attic weight and Samian types without inscription was struck in Samos for the use of the emigrants, and carried over by them to their new home in the West. But further, some pieces must somehow have passed into circulation at Samos before their departure, or, we may suspect, at Athens, where their weight would find them ready acceptance. Von Sallet may therefore very likely be correct in supposing, as is indeed probable in the nature of things, that the voyagers touched at Piraeus on their way out. It is, however, hardly necessary to take them out of their course to call at Acanthus, as von Sallet did, for the occurrence of coins of the Macedonian and Thracian coast-district along with those of Athens in the Egyptian, as well as in the Messinian, find, would suggest that these coins found currency in the East wherever the Attic standard was in force.

This concludes our examination of the coins. It would appear that there is a direct conflict between the literary and the numismatic evidence. The evidence of the coins shows clearly Samian influence predominant at Rhegium, and probably there earlier than at Zancle, while the literary authorities do not so much as bring the Samians to Rhegium at all. And in the second place the appearance of the name Messene absolutely coincides, so far as our evidence goes, with the introduction of Samian types at the Sicilian city; whereas the literary authorities make the re-naming an immediate sequel of the expulsion of the Samians. It seems necessary therefore to form some hypothesis which will bring the Samians first to Rhegium, and place them there in a position to influence the coinage, and which will also provide some explanation of the coincidence of the change of name with the Samian settlement at Zancle.

In the first place let us consider the position of Anaxilas in 494 B.C., when the Samians set sail for the West. It becomes important in this connexion to determine his relation to the former *régime* at Rhegium.⁶⁷ We may start with Strabo's statement,⁶⁸ already quoted, that the *ἡγεμόνες* of Rhegium were of Messenian stock *μέχρι Ἀναξίλα*. There are here two problems: (i) who were the *ἡγεμόνες* of Rhegium, and (ii) does *μέχρι Ἀναξίλα*

⁶⁶ I have to thank Professor Dressel, Director of the Königliches Münzkabinett at Berlin, for kindly showing me this coin, together with the other examples from the Egyptian find now in the Berlin Collection.

⁶⁷ Freeman has collected some evidence in

connexion with the question in the Appendix on 'Anaxilas and the naming of Messana' (*Sicily*, vol. ii. pp. 489-91), from which several references are here borrowed; but he draws no conclusion.

⁶⁸ Strabo vi. 6, p. 257 (quoted on p. 60).

mean that Anaxilas was the last of the *ἡγεμόνες*, or that he was the originator of a new order, a usurper who abolished the power of the *ἡγεμόνες*? These two problems hang together. The word *ἡγεμόεις* is a peculiar one.⁶⁹ It may of course be quite general in signification and mean merely 'magistrates' or 'generals.' On the other hand, the use of the term seems as if it might imply something more definite. It suggests the powers of a dynast. Now if we have a line of Messenian dynasts at Rhegium, and then a Messenian ruler named Anaxilas, it looks as if Anaxilas must be one of the line of rulers and not the destroyer of an older *régime*. This view would appear to derive some support from the statement of Pausanias,⁷⁰ that Anaxilas was fourth in descent from Alcidas. But Pausanias is hopelessly confused about Anaxilas, and not much weight can be given to his statements. Moreover, Anaxilas is regularly called a *τύραννος*, by Herodotus,⁷¹ by Thucydides,⁷² by Pausanias,⁷³ by Strabo⁷⁴ himself, and in general by almost everyone who mentions him. The only exception apparently is a scholion on Pindar which styles him *ὁ τῶν Ῥηγίων βασιλεύς*.⁷⁵ This is hardly sufficient to set against all the evidence for calling him a 'tyrant.' But if he was the legitimate successor of a line of rulers of his own race and family, it is difficult to see how he could be styled *τύραννος*, unless indeed he did as Pheidon is sometimes said to have done at Argos, and extended a power which he held as a constitutional ruler to unconstitutional lengths. But the Pheidon story is very doubtful, and one can hardly rely upon it as a parallel. Further, we have the express statement of Aristotle that Anaxilas was an actual 'tyrant' who overthrew an oligarchy.⁷⁶ But what sort of oligarchy was it? Freeman quotes from Heraclides a statement to the effect that Rhegium was governed previously to Anaxilas'

⁶⁹ The word is used by Aristotle, *Pol.* v. 4 1303^b 28: *Διόπερ ἀρχομένων εὐλαβεῖσθαι δεῖ τῶν τοιοῦτων καὶ διαλύειν τὰς τῶν ἡγεμόνων καὶ δυναμένων στάσεις*. He has been speaking of the overthrow of the Syracusan 'Gomori,' a landed aristocracy, and may be influenced in his choice of the word by the nature of the particular case. The phrase *καὶ δυναμένων* appears to explain *ἡγεμόνων*—'the hegemones, i.e. the ruling class.' In iii. 17. 1288^a 9 on the other hand, he uses it of the kingly power: a people is *βασιλευτὸν φύσει* when it can endure the rule of a *γένος ὑπερέχον κατ' ἀρετὴν πρὸς ἡγεμονίαν πολιτικὴν*. Cf. Cic. *de Nat. Deor.* ii. 11 '*Principatum autem id dico quod Graeci ἡγεμονίαν vocant: quo nihil in quoque genere nec potest nec debet esse praestantius*.' Cicero is speaking of the Stoic doctrine, which uses *τὸ ἡγεμονικόν* for *τὸ κυριώτατον τῆς ψυχῆς*. Here too, we may quote Hdt.'s use of *ἡγεμονίη* for the power of the Persian king (vii 2), the frequent use of *ἡγεμών* in Greek tragedy for the heroic kings (e.g. *Adios ποθ' ἡγεμών γῆς τῆσδε* in *O. T.*), and possibly the frequent use of *ἡγεμονία* for

the Roman empire (or is this derived from the 'hegemony' of Athens and Thebes, inherited by Philip and Alexander and their successors?). On the other hand Plut. *Rom.* ch. 13 uses *ἡγεμόνας* for the 'patres conscripti' (one thinks of the *βασίλειων συνέδριον* of id. *Pyrrh.* ch. 19).

⁷⁰ Pausanias iv. 23 § 6 '*Ἀναξίλας ἐτυράννευε μὲν Ῥηγίου, τέταρτος δὲ ἀπόγονος ἦν Ἀλκιδάμιδου, μετῴκησε δὲ Ἀλκιδάμιδας ἐκ Μεσσηνίας εἰς Ῥήγιον μετὰ τὴν Ἀριστοδήμου τοῦ βασιλέως τελευτὴν καὶ Ἰθάμης τὴν ἄλωσιν*.'

⁷¹ Hdt. vi. 22-24 *passim*.

⁷² Thuc. vi. 4 § 6.

⁷³ Paus. *l.c.*

⁷⁴ Strabo, p. 256—*ἰσθμὸν . . . ἐν Ἀναξίλας ὁ τύραννος τῶν Ῥηγίων ἐπετίχισε τοῖς Τυρρηνοῖς*.

⁷⁵ Scholion on Pind. *Pyth.* i. 98, quoted by Freeman, *Sicily*, vol. ii. p. 490.

⁷⁶ *Ar. Pol.* v. 12. 1316^a 34 *σφφ.* *Καὶ εἰς τυραννίδας μεταβάλλει ἐξ ὀλιγαρχίας, ὥσπερ . . . ἐν Ῥηγίῳ εἰς τὴν Ἀναξίλαου*. Note that Aristotle in this passage regards Anaxilas as one of the *Sicilian* tyrants.

tyranny by a senate of 1000 chosen out of the wealthiest.⁷⁷ This would be a genuine 'oligarchy.' On the other hand Strabo's statement seems to imply rather an aristocracy of race. This might of course be styled an oligarchy in a loose way of speaking. If Strabo is to be accepted, we should conceive of Anaxilas as a member of the ruling clan who seized for himself the whole of the power which had previously been divided among a whole group of families, or perhaps as a second Cypselus. Possibly there was an interval between the Messenian aristocracy and Anaxilas' tyranny, filled in by an oligarchy of wealth. In any case we must certainly conclude that Anaxilas overthrew the existing constitution, of whatever sort it was, and set up personal rule. This is confirmed by a statement of Dionysius of Halicarnassus cited by Freeman⁷⁸ to the effect that Anaxilas seized the Acropolis of Rhegium—the usual step towards the establishment of a *τυραννίς*.

Now this being so, Anaxilas must be conceived as being at the beginning of his reign⁷⁹ in conflict with a class whom he had deposed from power—probably a group of Messenian families, from whom Anaxilas was himself sprung. Accordingly, when the Samians came to the West, seeking for a home, Anaxilas was casting about him for any means of establishing his power. What more likely than that he should invite the Samian adventurers into his city as a support to his 'tyranny'? Surely it is more probable that at this date Anaxilas should be seeking to establish his power at home than that he should be already casting his eyes across the Straits. We may therefore conjecture, not perhaps too rashly, that the message which reached the Samian emigrants at Locri Epizephyrii was an invitation, not to Zancle, but to Rhegium, and that it was accepted promptly. The Rhegines now fall under the sway of a sort of coalition—Anaxilas reigning as 'tyrant' under Samian protection. The establishment of this new *régime* is signified by a change of coinage. The old civic mint is superseded by a new issue belonging to the ruler (a frequent step in the rise of 'tyrannies'), in which the old 'bull' types yield to new types modelled on the native coinage of the invaders. Zancle meanwhile remains under the rule of Scythes (as a semi-independent vassal of Hippocrates), and continues to issue native coinage. Dr. Evans⁸⁰ has made it probable from a comparison of the coins of different cities contained in a hoard discovered near Messina, that the hoard was buried at the time of the Samian conquest of Zancle. Among these coins

⁷⁷ Heracleides ap. Freeman, *Sicily*, vol. ii. p. 489 Πολιτείαν δὲ κατεστήσαντο ἀριστοκρατικὴν· χίλιοι γὰρ πάντα διοικοῦσιν, αἰρετοὶ ἀπὸ τιμημάτων νόμοις δὲ ἐχρῶντο τοῖς Χαράνδου τοῦ Καταναίου. ἐτυράννησε δὲ αὐτῶν Ἀναξίλας Μεσσηνίος. The present διοικοῦσι is curious, and might possibly imply that this was the constitution at a much later date.

⁷⁸ Dion. Hal. *frag.* xix. 4 ap. Freeman, *Sicily*, vol. ii p. 490.

⁷⁹ The date which is ascertained for the beginning of Anaxilas' reign from Diodorus

(see p. 59) is 494 B.C. But we have no means of knowing whether this was the date at which he first rose against the 'oligarchy,' or that at which his power was established. At any rate he does not seem to have struck any coins before the Samians came, and if so, can hardly have been secure in power for any length of time. But, as we have already seen, the early numismatic evidence for Rhegium is too fragmentary to allow any weight to the *argumentum e silentio*.

⁸⁰ *Contributions to Sicilian Numismatics* in *Num. Chron.* 1896, pp. 101 sqq.

are some dolphin-and-scallop-shell types of Zancle (B. 2) absolutely fresh from the mint. We may therefore fairly assume that the native coinage of Zancle continued without a break to the very eve of the Samian occupation.

Anaxilas' power now steadily grew. We read of wars which he waged against the Etruscans,⁸¹ and no doubt there were other undertakings which increased the prestige of the monarch of Rhegium. It may have been about 488 that he felt strong enough to reach over the Straits to Sicily. At the same time it is probable that the 'tyrant' was restive under the restraints which would doubtless be imposed upon him by the formidable power of his Samian supporters.⁸² Accordingly he seized the opportunity when Scythes, the agent of his rival Hippocrates, was absent, to gratify at once his ambition, and his desire to get rid of the Samians. He probably represented to them the advantages of having a city of their own, and pointed out the town on the Sicilian side of the Straits as a suitable field for their enterprise. The result was a combined expedition of Anaxilas and the Samians ending in the occupation of Zancle, as recorded by Herodotus. Hence the Samian coinage at the Sicilian city (B. 3).

But it still remains to account for the name **MESSENION** on coins of the Samian occupation. The account of Thucydides derives the name from the Messenian fatherland of Anaxilas. There is indeed a unanimous agreement among the authorities as to the Messenian extraction of the despot of Rhegium, but for all that, Thucydides' motivation, which even to Freeman sounded suspicious, becomes almost incredible when faced by the fact that the Samians were quite evidently dominant at Messene when the name was first used. We must therefore attempt to find some other ground for the change of name. Our theory here of necessity becomes in the highest degree constructive, for there seems to be something like a dead disagreement between our different sources of evidence. Pausanias, as we have seen, directly attributes the change to Messenian exiles after the Second Messenian War, and Strabo also traces it to Messenians from the Peloponnese, but without any definite chronological indications. It seems difficult to ignore these statements absolutely, and yet, as we have seen, Freeman's theory, however ingenious and plausible, if we look at the literary evidence only, completely breaks down when faced with the numismatic data. Now I suggest as a

⁸¹ Strabo, p. 256 *Ἐκδέχεται δ' ἐντείνεν τὸ Σκυλλαῖον, πέτρα χερρονησίζουσα ὑψηλή, τὸν ἰσθμὸν ἀμφίδυμον καὶ ταπεινὸν ἔχουσα, ὃν Ἀναξίλας ὁ τύραννος τῶν Ῥηγίων ἐπετείχισε τοῖς Τυρρηνοῖς.*

⁸² The adoption of the Attic standard for the Rhegine coinage, which brought Rhegium into line with the great trading cities of the West, may fairly be taken as a sign of the opening up of new commercial relations. This commercial development would most probably be in the hands of the Samian settlers. They were *Σαμίων οἱ τι ἔχοντες*, that is, no doubt, the heads of the great mercantile houses in their

native city. Now Samos belonged to the great commercial league which also included Chalcis and Phocaea (Hdt. v. 99, i. 163, *op. cit.* with iv. 152, etc.). Hence the invaders would already have commercial connexions in the West. Probably therefore we are to suppose that their settlement in Rhegium led to an expansion of Rhegine trade, the profits of which would mainly go to the immigrants, with the result that they acquired considerable prestige in their adopted city. On their subsequent settlement at Zancle the Attic standard was probably introduced simultaneously with the Samian types (but see note 51a).

tentative explanation that Pausanias' exiles of the second war may have gone like Strabo's exiles of the first (in the passage cited and in part quoted on p. 60⁸³), to *Rhegium*, and not to Zancle. Very possibly indeed these two sets of exiles are the same, duplicated through a chronological misconception. At Rhegium they would strengthen the governing group of Messenian families overthrown by Anaxilas. Even after the 'tyranny' was established these out-of-work aristocrats would be a thorn in the side of the ruler, and we may suspect that the Samian oligarchs who had come to help the 'tyrant' were not without sympathy for the Messenian nobles of Rhegium. What then more likely, than that the whole pack of dangerous nobles should be sent off to seize and hold an outpost, where they would be out of the despot's way, and yet would stand decidedly for Rhegium as against the Sicilian powers? The Messenian element in the colony, especially as it would have the peculiar prestige arising from its connexion with the monarch, would be considerable enough to give its name to the city; and no doubt Anaxilas himself was the sponsor. On the other hand the Samian coinage prevalent at Rhegium naturally formed the model for the reformed coinage of the new state.

It can hardly have been before 480 B.C. that Anaxilas found himself strong enough to assert his direct sovereignty at Messene. The Anaxilaean types at Rhegium—at any rate those with a retrograde inscription (A. 4)—are probably earlier than the similar types at Zancle, but there is no evidence for this beyond general likelihood. At Messene it would seem that the arrangement did not work satisfactorily for Anaxilas, and he determined to establish thoroughly his rule over the new colony. Whether he actually expelled the Samians, or only completely broke their power,⁸⁴ is doubtful, but at any rate there was no more trace of Samian predominance. Anaxilas seems indeed from this time to have settled at Messene himself, leaving his son Leophron (or Cleophron) to govern Rhegium. In a scholion on Pindar⁸⁵ he is mentioned as 'tyrant of Messene and Rhegium' (not 'Rhegium and Messene') at the time of his war with Locri, and another scholiast states quite clearly that Anaxilas himself reigned at Messene and his son at Rhegium.⁸⁶

Finally we may observe, though it does not bear directly upon the

⁸³ Strabo, p. 257.

⁸⁴ The retention of the Ionic form **MES-SENION** with Anaxilas types would perhaps tend somewhat in favour of the view that there was still a strong Ionic element in the population, whether Samians or survivors of the original Chalcidic colonists, unless indeed it is due to mere conservatism.

⁸⁵ Scholion quoted by Christ on Pind. *Pyth.* ii. 34: 'Αναξίλα τοῦ Μεσσήνης καὶ Ῥηγίου τυράννου Λοκροῖς πολεμοῦντος. The Locrian war is also referred to by Justin in a passage quoted

by Freeman (*Sicily*, vol. ii. p. 490)—Justin xxi. 3 'Cum Rheginorum tyranni Leophronis bello Loerenses premerentur . . .'

⁸⁶ Schol. on Pind. *Pyth.* ii. 34 (quoted by Freeman *l.c.*) 'Αναξίλας καὶ ὁ τοῦτου παῖς Κλεόφρων Ἰταλίας ὄντες τύραννοι, ὁ μὲν ἐν Μεσσήνῃ τῇ Σικελικῇ, ὁ δὲ ἐν Ῥηγίῳ τῷ περὶ Ἰταλίαν. We have here in fact a curious parallel to the scheme of Periander recorded in Hdt. iii. 53, by which Periander was himself to reign in Corcyra while his son Lycophron held the sovereignty in the mother-city Corinth, the original seat of the dynasty.

problem proposed, that when the tyranny was overthrown at Rhegium in 461 the people reverted not to the old bull-coinage, but to the Samian lion-head, with a figure on the reverse probably representing the Demos (A. 6). By this time the earlier *role* of the Samians as supporters of the 'tyranny' of Anaxilas had been forgotten, and they were remembered only as the tyrant's enemies whose coin-types had been displaced by the symbols of his power. Messene retained the Anaxilaan coinage, and there is here no abrupt change of type (if we except the assumed temporary revival represented by the coins numbered B. 6, B. 6*a*, and D.) right down to the overthrow of the city about 396 B.C. One notable, though slight, change is the introduction of the Doric form MESSANION (B. 5), which, as the old form of Sigma is still used, probably came in not long after the time of Anaxilas. It must mean a growing preponderance of the Dorian element. It was in the Doric form Μέσσανα that the name passed into Latin, although in the end the forms Μεσσήνη, Μεσσίμη, prevailed, and gave rise to the modern name Messina.

The above is an attempt to indicate a possible line along which a reconciliation of the sources might be effected. In the interests of definiteness the theory has doubtless been stated with a dogmatism that is hardly justified. The available evidence is indeed a precarious foundation on which to build. But I have tried to bring out a few facts which I think are necessary deductions from that evidence, such as it is; and facts which seem to me in part to be in conflict with statements repeated by historians on the authority of a supposed deduction from the literary sources; and in addition I have attempted to show that it might not be impossible to account for these facts with some degree of consistency. It will be well to recapitulate these points:

(i) There is a Rhegine coinage modelled on Samian types, contemporary with native types at Zancle, probably to be dated to the beginning of the reign of Anaxilas, say 494-488 B.C. Hence we must assume a period during which Anaxilas ruled at Rhegium under Samian protection, while Zancle was still in the 'sphere of influence' of Hippocrates.

(ii) There is no ground whatever in the numismatic evidence for assuming a period of Samian occupation at Zancle previous to the change of name, and Samian types certainly do not cease when the name Messene appears. Hence the Samian occupation, which is to be put later than the traditional date, must have been combined in some way with Messenian influence—whether due to a large Messenian element in the party which seized Zancle, or merely to Anaxilas' personal prestige—sufficient to change the name of Zancle to Messene; and the idea, derived from literary sources, that the re-naming followed the expulsion of the Samians must be abandoned.

(iii) At some date between the change of name and the death of Anaxilas, the authority of the tyrant was thoroughly established at both cities. The Samian coinage disappeared at Messene for ever, and at Rhegium only to be resumed on the establishment of the democracy about 461 B.C.

(iv) The settlement of Messene by Anaxilas was permanent. The old name was never revived, unless for a very brief period about the middle of the fifth century, represented by only three extant coins. The Anaxilas types persevere in the coinage with various developments, but without any violent change down to the end of the individual existence of Messana about 396 B.C.

C. H. DODD.

THE POPULATION AND POLICY OF SPARTA IN THE FIFTH CENTURY.

It is, perhaps, somewhat venturesome to attempt to say anything upon a subject which demands full treatment from anyone who would write a History of Greece, and which has, therefore, been discussed at considerable length by many great historians. Still the research of the last twenty years has led to such material modifications of the views which formerly prevailed as to the exact significance of various important factors in the history of the Greek race, that the learned world has become emancipated from the tyranny of stereotyped tradition, and has ceased to regard deviation from the accustomed views as necessarily fanciful and untrue.

The present writer is therefore encouraged to state his conclusions, strange and novel as they may appear at first reading, by the assured feeling that they will be addressed to many who will not reject them out of hand by reason of a certain strangeness and novelty, but will form a judgment as to their truth or otherwise on an examination of the premisses and of the validity of the logical arguments drawn therefrom.

There are certain chapters in Greek history, which, in the form in which they are commonly presented to the student, convey an impression of irrationality—of a story taken from the history of a world in which the ordinary laws of cause and effect do not hold good. No one of these chapters leaves the student with a more unsatisfactory feeling that he has not arrived at the truth than that which relates to the position and policy of Sparta with reference to external politics.

Lacedaemon was an enigma to its contemporaries. To that fact may be attributed the difficulty which has always existed with regard to its true presentment, and the very varied judgments which have been formed and expressed as to the motives and morale of its policy and actions.

Sparta's conduct on various occasions has been subjected to the severest criticism not merely in modern but in ancient times; yet a consideration of the whole long story of this unique state is apt to leave behind it the feeling that its critics have judged it too severely, and have above all blamed it for not doing that which was not in its power to do. There is such an extraordinary consistency in that 'unambitious,' 'vacillating,' 'dilatatory' policy, which even her friends and admirers condemned in the fifth century before Christ, and less passionate critics have condemned in the nineteenth century

after Christ, that a thoughtful student of history may well feel some doubt as to whether that policy was dictated by an innate, unintelligent, selfish conservatism, or was due to motives of such a compelling character as rigidly to condition the relations of Sparta with the outside world.

The statistics with regard to the population of Ancient Greece, which have been collected in Dr. Julius Beloch's work on the population of the Ancient World, have a significance which has been recognised but not always fully appreciated in relation to the history of some of the Greek States. But Dr. Beloch has not said the last word on the subject. He has failed to estimate the importance of the evidence which Greece at the present day affords. He tends also to discredit certain statements of numbers, from which larger estimates of the population of Greece in ancient times might be deduced than would be the case were the calculations founded on certain other existent data. The reasons which he gives for the rejection of this evidence are by no means conclusive, and betray at times a failure to appreciate certain factors in that Greek military history from which these data are largely drawn.

The cultivated, and, indeed, cultivable area in Greece at the present day is undoubtedly smaller than it was in the flourishing days of the fifth century. Pausanias notices the ruin of the hillside cultivation, of which the traces are still apparent in many parts of Greece; and in a climate such as that of the Eastern Mediterranean this form of cultivation, if once allowed to go to ruin, is almost beyond the possibility of reconstitution, owing to the soil being washed down into the valleys by the heavy rains of the Autumn and Spring. There is perhaps no country in the civilised world which has had a more distressful economic history during the last two thousand years.

Devastation and misgovernment have alike played havoc with the productiveness of a land whose cultivable area was, under the most favourable circumstances, but a little more than one-fifth of its whole extent. From returns published by the Greek Government in 1893 it appears that the total area in Greece which is capable of yielding food products other than cattle amounts to only twenty-two per cent. of the whole area of the country; and of this a very large proportion is in the one district of Thessaly. Moreover, the area actually cultivated in that year amounted to only fifteen per cent. of the surface of Greece. It is also stated—and this is a significant statement for our present purpose—that, were that seven per cent. of area, which is the difference between those two amounts, under cultivation at the present day, the necessity for the import of foreign grain would cease, and this in spite of the fact that large areas of land in the Peloponnese which are capable of yielding food products are sacrificed to the growth of the currant crop. But it is further reckoned that were the 72,000 acres of cornland which at present lie fallow in Thessaly brought under cultivation, the deficit of home food products would be supplied; and this acreage is but a fraction of the seven per cent. to which reference has been made. It would therefore appear that at the present day, in spite of the cultivable area being in all probability appreciably smaller than it was in the fifth century before Christ, it would, if

brought under cultivation, be enough and even more than enough to meet the needs of the present population in respect to food supply.

When we turn to the evidence of the circumstances as they existed in the fifth century we find a state of things which contrasts strongly in certain important respects with that existent at the present day. The population of the country at that time was larger, probably far larger, than the country could support. All the states from Boeotia southwards seem to have been more or less dependent on foreign corn. This dependence was of old standing. It had existed in Boeotia, and, if in Boeotia, almost certainly in the less fertile districts of Greece, so early as the days of Hesiod.¹ Aegina and Peloponnese were importing corn from the Pontus early in the fifth century.² Later in the same century Peloponnese was importing corn from Sicily.³ The evidence with regard to the import of corn into Attica is so well known that it need not be produced in detail for the purposes of this paper. One passage is, however, worthy of special consideration, because it shows the magnitude of the deficiency in the case of this particular state. In the middle of the fourth century Attica was importing 400,000 medimnoi of corn annually from the Pontus alone, and 800,000 annually from all parts.⁴ The passage from which these figures are derived seems to assume that this corn was intended for consumption within Attica itself, and not for re-export. If so, taking 7 medimnoi (and this is a liberal computation) as the annual consumption per head, it points to the fact that 114,000 of the population of Attica in the middle of the fourth century were dependent for food on imported corn, and this at a time when the population had very considerably decreased from what it had been at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War. Taking these broad facts drawn from ancient and modern evidence into consideration, it seems impossible to accept Dr. Julius Beloch's low estimate of the population of Greece in the fifth century. The contrast of circumstances between the fifth century and the present day is twofold. The cultivable and cultivated area was greater in that century than it is now; yet this larger area failed to meet the needs of the then population, whereas at the present day, were the cultivable area all utilised, modern Greece could supply the wants of its present inhabitants. Only one conclusion can be drawn from this, namely that the population of Greece in the fifth century was certainly larger, and probably considerably larger than at the present day.

The total population of Greece as given in the census list of 1896 is 2,433,806. Dr. Beloch arrives at the population of Ancient Greece by adding together the numbers which he attributes to the individual states.

He thus estimates a total of 1,579,000, or, including slaves, 2,228,000. To discuss the various items in his calculations would involve the writing of a small volume. He shows a marked tendency towards the belittlement of the ancient data, and suspects exaggeration where no exaggeration can be

¹ Hesiod, *Works and Days*, ll. 42 and 236.

² Herod. vii. 147.

³ Thuc. iii. 86.

⁴ Dem. Πρὸς Λεπτινῶν, 31, 32.

proved. The result is that he arrives at a sum total which, judged by the substantial evidence which the country at present affords, must err considerably on the side of under-statement. Anything approaching certainty upon this question is impossible, but the general, and indeed the particular evidence on the question, if treated without prejudice, point to an aggregate population in the fifth century at least 33 per cent. larger than the numbers at which Dr. Beloch arrives.

The ancient evidence with regard to the population of Laconia and Messenia varies greatly according as to whether the inquiries be dealing with the Spartiate, the Perioekid, or the Helot element.

For the purpose of this paper the important point to determine is the ratio which existed between the numbers of those three sections of the inhabitants of the Lacedaemonian state. There can be no question that the two first elements were small in comparison with the third, and it is further possible to arrive at some conclusion as to the maximum numbers which can be attributed to them. Whether these maxima are accurate or not is another question. Still it is possible to attain certainty on the point which is all important for the present consideration, namely that these numbers did not exceed certain limits which may be deduced from the ancient evidence. On the question of the numbers of the Helot population the ancient evidence affords but little help. The data are almost exclusively military; and only at Plataea in 479 did Sparta put a large body of Helots in the field. The unusual numbers on that occasion were probably due to two causes. The Greeks knew that they were about to meet a foe which was peculiarly strong in respect to light-armed troops. Furthermore, the occasion was so critical that Sparta, like the other states of Greece, thought it necessary to make the utmost effort; and, taking the field with her full Spartiate force, did not dare to leave the ungarrisoned capital at the mercy of the Helots.

From the numbers given by Herodotus, namely 5,000 Spartiates, 5,000 Perioeki, and 35,000 Helots, a ratio of 1 : 1 : 7 might be deduced between the elements of the population.

Dr. Beloch places no reliance on the numbers stated by Herodotus to have been present at Plataea; but a comparison between them and the data relating to an earlier and a later period tends to confirm the Herodotean estimate in nearly every respect. It is only in relation to some of the smaller contingents present at the battle that possible exaggeration may be suspected. This 5,000 is the largest number which we find attributed to a purely Spartiate force by Greek historians. But the occasion was unique and the effort was unique. It is almost certain that the full Spartiate force never passed beyond the frontier of Laconia during the fifth century save on this occasion. It was necessary to leave a garrison in Sparta when the army marched out. At Mantinea in 418 the numbers are either 3,552 or 3,584 according to the method of calculation employed, and this in face of serious danger. Moreover, the numbers contain *Σκιρίται*, *Βρασιίδειοι*, and *Νεωδαμώδεις*. At Corinth in 394 Sparta puts 6,000 hoplites into the field:

but we know that the *Morae* at this time were 600 strong,⁵ so that the Spartiate contingent of six *Morae* would amount to 3,600 men, the remainder being made up of a *Mora* of 600 *Σκιρῆται*, and 1,800 *Νεώδαμῶδεις*.

There can be little question that 5,000 represents the maximum of the Spartiate force. It may be a slight overstatement of numbers: it is certainly not an understatement!—and that is the important point in reference to the argument of this paper. By the middle of the fourth century there had been a considerable decrease in the numbers of the Spartiates.⁶

Assuming this 5,000 to represent the able-bodied male population between 20 and 50 years of age, it would, on a calculation based on age-statistics of modern Greece, amount to 40 per cent. of the whole male population. This would imply 12,500 male Spartiates, or a total population of 25,000, inasmuch as the number of males and females is about the same in Greek lands.⁷ For the Perioekid population no satisfactory statistics exist. The 5,000 at Plataea might suggest something like an equality with the Spartiate population; but it is unlikely that Sparta armed the whole of the able-bodied of this section of the population as a hoplite force.⁸

For the Helots the 35,000 of Herodotus is the only evidence in ancient history. But here again it is improbable that anything like the whole able-bodied Helot population was called out even on this occasion. It is, in fact, to the modern census tables that we must turn in order to arrive at some estimate of the ratio between the free and the non-free population of Lacedaemon.

The modern population of the regions included within its old boundaries is as follows:

Messenia	..	..	..	..	181,280
Laconia	..	..	..	..	138,313
Sciritis	..	..	..	..	19,911
Cythera	..	..	..	..	12,306
					<hr/> 354,810

It has already been shown that any assumption that these numbers were larger than the numbers of those inhabiting this region in antiquity would be against the evidence which is available. It is on the contrary probable that Laconia and Messenia in the fifth century contained not less than those 400,000 souls. If so, the proportion of free to non-free population was 1:15. It certainly was not much smaller than this.

It is on this fact that the argument of this paper is based. Greek historians, though, of course, aware that the Spartiates were largely

⁵ Xen. *Hell.* iv. 2. 16.

⁶ Cf. Xen. *Hell.* iii. 3. (5 and 6) where the Spartiates not belonging to the *ἄμωτοι* are reckoned as 4,000, while the *ἄμωτοι* are said to consist only of the King, Ephors, Senators, and about 10 others.

⁷ Caes. *B.G.* x. 3 reckons the warriors of the Helvetii to be 25 per cent. of the whole population. Dionysius ix. 25 multiplies the census

list by four to find the total. Were we to accept these ratios, the Spartiate population would work out at a maximum of 20,000. But for the purposes of this paper we will assume the larger number, 25,000.

⁸ Dr. Beloch, relying chiefly on data from the fourth and later centuries, computes their number at 15,000 males, which would imply a population of 30,000 Perioeki.

outnumbered by the Perioekid and Helot populations, have not until the last few years had at their disposal the means whereby they may realise the extraordinarily large ratio which the non-free bore to the free population of the country. Furthermore, the economic conditions of life in Greece have not been realised by writers, very few indeed of whom have had anything resembling an intimate acquaintance with the country.

I venture to say that this new evidence, when duly weighed and evaluated, does not merely present the Spartan state in a new light, but gives the clue to that strange and apparently tortuous policy which puzzled the contemporary world, and of which later writers, aided by the survey of the facts of centuries, have never been able to give a satisfactory explanation.

Nature had rigidly conditioned the part which Sparta should play in the life of its time. The external Greek world, seeing Sparta in possession of the most effective military force of which it had any experience in the fifth century, expected it to play a different and much larger part. The Spartiate, living face to face with danger so great that it would have been dangerous to confess its magnitude to the outside world, had not in the fifth century any illusions as to the nature of the policy which he must pursue. The policy of the state had, for him, limitations which the Greeks of the other states could not understand, because they could not realise the compelling nature of the motives which lay behind them. Sparta could not wholly conceal the truth, but she dare not let it all be known; hence of the most important element in the Spartan system Thucydides, a diligent enquirer, has to admit *διὰ τῆς πολιτείας τὸ κρυπτὸν ἤγνοεῖτο*. Alike by geographical situation and by her internal institutions she was cut off from the outside world. She was situated at the extremity of a peninsula. Her sea communications were rendered difficult to the navigators of those days by the capes which projected far on either side of her harbours. Her land communications were scarcely less difficult. A rugged region separated her from the interior of the peninsula; and further north another rugged region lay across the path to the Isthmus. Moreover, all the roads thither save one, and that a circuitous route, were barred by Argos, her rival and enemy in Peloponnese. Nature had designed her to lead a life of retirement in the valley of the Eurotas, a pleasant but secluded spot. Owing to her geographical circumstances alone, it would not have been easy for her to play the imperial part in the Greece of the fifth century.

But the Spartiate of the fifth century was heir to institutions which set even stricter limits on his activities. How those institutions had originated neither he nor those who wrote his history seem to have had any clear idea; but the fact remained that he had to face the problem of governing and exploiting in servitude a population many times larger than his own. It was a fierce, not a docile race which he sought to keep in subjection. He ruled by fear, but himself reaped the crop which he sowed. The situation could only be met, as it had been met, by the formation of a military community. His life had to be sacrificed in order that it might be preserved. He was

ever on the strain, holding, as it were, a wolf by the throat; and he knew it, and knew it better than that outside world, which had only half-grasped the reality of the situation. Compromise was impossible. The system was of long standing, and it had begotten a mutual bitterness which would have rendered any alleviation of the system dangerous to those who controlled its working.⁹ When we consider the proportion and the relations existing between the rulers and their serf subjects, when we realise that the former must have been outnumbered by *at least* ten to one, it becomes a matter of surprise, not that Sparta did so little in Panhellenic politics, but that she did so much. Every other page of Greek history testifies to her own fear of her own situation; and the evidence from the statistics of population testifies to the reality of the grounds whereon the fear was based. Aristotle, who spoke from the experience of several centuries of recorded history, says: 'For the Penestae in Thessaly made frequent attacks on the Thessalians, as did the Helots upon the Lacedaemonians; indeed, they may be described as perpetually lying in wait to take advantage of their masters' misfortunes.'¹⁰ The awful tale which Thucydides tells of the treatment of the two thousand Helots shortly after the affair of Pylos exemplifies the extremity of the fear with which the ruling race regarded them.¹¹ But it is unnecessary to quote numerous examples of what is a commonplace in Greek history. What neither the Greek nor the modern world realised, and that which Sparta wished to prevent her contemporaries from realising to the full, was the extent of the danger which ever menaced the ruling minority in the state. The Spartan accepted a life of hardness, because he was face to face with a situation whose sternness he could not mistake. His ideas were ultimately limited by the confines of his own territory, because he had therein enough to occupy his mind. He was called narrow-minded and unambitious; but men who have to guard against destruction every day of their lives have no time for day-dreams or large ambitions. Sparta produced in the fifth century but few exceptions to her norm; and men like Pausanias and Lysander were the products of periods of panhellenic excitement, men who were carried away by the greatness of the positions in which the action of interests far larger than those of the self-centred Spartan state had placed them. But Sparta, with eyes intent on dangers near at hand, refused during the fifth century to be dazzled by distant splendours. It can hardly be doubted that she was wiser than her more ambitious sons. She treated their ambitions as crimes against the state.

The essential thesis of this paper is that Spartan policy is ultimately conditioned either directly or indirectly by her home circumstances. These

⁹ The dilemma is stated—perhaps understated—in Aristot. *Pol.* II. ix. p. 45, line 7, ed. Bekker: 'What is the right way of dealing with them? If they are left without restraint, they grow insolent and claim equality with their masters; while, if they

are harshly treated they are in a state of conspiracy and bitter ill-will.'

¹⁰ Aristot. *Pol.* II. ix. (Welldon's translation.)

¹¹ Thuc. iv. 80.

dominated her policy and dominated it absolutely, even if not always directly. That policy may be represented diagrammatically by three concentric circles: the inmost one, her home policy; the intermediate one, her Peloponnesian policy; the outermost one, her policy outside Peloponnese. The Peloponnesian policy is conditioned by her home circumstances, and the same is ultimately the case with her extra-Peloponnesian policy: but here the influence is indirect, because, until the rise of the Theban power in the fourth century, the world outside Peloponnese could only affect Sparta through Peloponnese itself.

Of the Peloponnesian policy of Sparta it is not necessary to speak at any length. It was absolutely determined by the Helot question at home. Her neighbours, especially the Arcadian cities, had to be kept under sufficient control to prevent their tampering with that serf-population. Hence Arcadia was kept divided. Its two greatest cities, Tegea and Mantinea, were played off against one another, and any attempt at combination or even *συνοικισμός* within the region was treated as a *casus belli*. Yet even here the limitations of the power of Sparta are shown. She might have conquered Arcadia at any time in the fifth century. In one sense this could hardly have failed to save her much trouble and anxiety. But she had not any surplus Spartiate population to expend on imperialist policy.

Elis was in some respects a more, in some respects a less difficult, problem. Its population was, as a rule, contented and unambitious. Its land was more fertile than that of most of the Greek states, and it was cut off from the rest of Peloponnese by rugged mountainous regions, and from the rest of the world by a coast-line which afforded but little shelter to navigators. Still it was within easy reach of Messenia, and so Sparta kept a watchful eye upon it. She brought it within the League, and sternly repressed its perverse ambition to combine with Argos. Probably the Eleian agriculturalist resented the necessity of furnishing contingents to the Peloponnesian League army during the seasons of corn and vine harvest.

The possession of Lepreum too, was a persistent cause of quarrel between the two states. Sparta's action in this matter seems to have been dictated by a consideration of her all-important interests in Arcadia.

Achaea was a negligible quantity, and was treated as such. It was cut off from the rest of the Peloponnese by the great barrier of Erymanthus, and for this reason, and in consequence of its general weakness, could not in any way endanger the internal affairs of Lacedaemon.

The states of the Argolid presented a special problem, or series of problems. Sparta's policy in relation to Argos illustrates too in a special way the necessary limitations of her general policy. Argos was hardly less dangerous than Arcadia, and more powerful than any single Arcadian city. She was anxious to win back that hegemony in Peloponnese which Sparta had usurped from motives of self-preservation. She had a large population for a Greek state. Her citizens outnumbered the Spartiates. She was inclined to tamper with the Arcadian cities, and, furthermore possessed in the Thyreatic plain a region which was in contact with the Helot district of eastern Laconia. So Sparta

took the plain from her, and ultimately settled the exiled Aeginetans there. Three times in the course of the century, at Sepeia, Dipaea, and Mantinea, she taught Argos lessons on the danger of interfering with Sparta's interests in Peloponnese; and moreover, as a set policy, she played off Epidaurus and Troezen against her. On the three occasions above mentioned she had Argos in the hollow of her hand. But she neither wiped her out of existence, nor even garrisoned the Larissa. Yet it was manifestly to her interest to hold this important strategic point. Of the five routes to the Isthmus, four, those via Carya and the springs of Lerna, by Hysiae, the Prinus, and the Clinax routes were all commanded by Argos. The circuitous route by the Arcadian Orebomenos was the only one which Argos did not command.

Sparta demonstrated that she could crush Argos if she so willed. It has been suggested that she refrained from so doing out of deference to Hellenic sentiment, which would have been shocked by the destruction of a Greek state. There were probably more practical reasons for her forbearance. The destruction of Argos' independence would have brought upon Sparta more difficulties than advantages. She was the kite which frightened the other cities of the Akté to take refuge under the wing of Sparta. But far more important than this was the influence which she exerted upon Corinthian policy. Since at least the time of Pheidon, Argos had had close connexion with Aegina, that trade rival which until the time of the sudden growth of Athenian power Corinth most hated and feared. Hence the trading town of the Isthmus regarded Argos with fear and hostility, and sought in alliance with Sparta protection against the possible combination of the two states against her. The first twenty years of the fifth century changed the circumstances without relieving the situation, as far as Corinth was concerned. For the rivalry of Aegina was substituted the far more formidable rivalry of Athens; and Athens, too, soon showed a disposition to make use of Argos. Little use she got of her. She tried to employ her as a cat's paw to get certain Peloponnesian chestnuts out of the fire. The cat's paw got badly burnt, but the chestnuts remained in the fire; and on one occasion, in 418, Athens burnt her own fingers. The connexion with Argos was one of the capital blunders of Athenian policy in the fifth century. Argos reaped advantages and disadvantages from it: Athens disadvantages alone. The reputed slow wit of Sparta had probably arrived at a more correct estimate of Argos than had the imaginative cleverness of Athens. Of course the situation was one which contained elements calculated to cause Sparta anxiety, especially in times of political stress; but it entailed one advantage, in that it made Argos more formidable to Corinth than she would otherwise have been after the fall of Aegina: and, for the rest, the alliance was not of such a character as would preclude Sparta from forcing Argos to accept a position of neutrality on treaty conditions. But above all it kept Corinth more or less in order; and, of all the members of the Peloponnesian team, Corinth had the hardest mouth. It was a narrow, well-defined road along which Sparta sought to drive the team, and Corinth at times sought to drag her yoke-mates along other paths. Moreover at times she succeeded in so doing; and it is mainly these

divergences from the set policy of Sparta which tend to give it an appearance of width such as Sparta neither did nor could wish that it should possess. So much for the present with regard to the relation of the two states. They are of far more importance in connexion with the extra-Peloponnesian than with the Peloponnesian policy of Sparta.

Sicyon's connexion with the Spartan league was probably more due to the fact that it exploited and controlled the internal trade of the Peloponnese, than to anything else. Doubtless Sparta would have exercised coercion, had not interest been sufficient as a factor with a state so situated with reference to the allies of Sparta. The case of Megara, though intimately bound up with Peloponnesian policy, is, like that of Corinth, more really concerned with the relations of Sparta to the world outside Peloponnese.

The extra-Peloponnesian policy is that element in the matter under consideration which presents the greatest difficulties to the student of Greek history. It seems at times as if Sparta gave way, even in the fifth century, to attacks of imperialism. Even so, the attacks are brief, and the political actions of Sparta which may be attributed to them neither form a continuous chain of policy, nor even are pursued in themselves for any length of time. She stretches out her arm at times, but only to withdraw it both rapidly and soon. Sparta had no human capital to expend on such enterprises: what she had was fully employed at home and in the neighbourhood of home. As far as the government and the people are concerned, the imperial tinge of these acts is a false colouring. The action of Sparta outside Peloponnese was taken absolutely in reference to her position in Peloponnese, and was conditioned by it; and that again was equally absolutely conditioned by the situation at home. Spartiates of large ambition did now and then mistake or wilfully ignore the true situation, and tried to use the resources of the state for larger, and for the most part, for selfish ends; but their fellow countrymen had no mind to sacrifice their lives at home for the advancement of other people's ambition abroad. Their conservatism was the Conservatism of self-preservation.

But Corinth was the *enfant terrible* of Spartan foreign politics. It is very difficult to gauge exactly the grounds of the influence which this state exercised in the Spartan league. Intensely commercial, she afforded a strange contrast to her uncommercial leader. There can have been little community of sentiment between the two. A certain community of interests supplied its place. In so far as the interests were common, they were political. Yet political interests were subordinated in the case of Corinth to trade interests. As a great commercial state her interests were as world-wide as those of Sparta were narrow.

Though a complete understanding of the relations between Corinth and Sparta may be unattainable on the existing evidence, yet there are certain factors recognisable which must have played an important part in determining them. Corinth was the only state of the League which was *potentially powerful* on the sea. She was probably more wealthy than any other of the states, though there is no evidence to show in what way this affected the

situation. But above all she commanded the Isthmus, the highway to the states of the north,—a highway along which Sparta must have free passage unless she was prepared to allow her interests in Peloponnese to be endangered from the north; for just as it was necessary that sufficient control should be exercised in Peloponnese to prevent interference in Spartan territory, so also it was necessary, though in a fainter and more distant sense, that control should be exercised in Northern Greece sufficient to prevent interference with Peloponnesian interests. Sparta would have limited her interests to Laconia and Messenia, had she dared to do so, or at the Isthmus, had that been a practical possibility. But the chains of the stern necessity laid upon her linked her with regions in which her direct interest was hardly perceptible. Her position with respect to her own dominions and her own ambitions is clearly analogous to that of Rome in the third and second centuries before Christ. Rome's personal ambition was limited by the shores of Italy. It did not even pass the Sicilian strait. Italy was her Laconia and Messenia, and the subject Italians were her Perioeki and Helots. But she soon found herself under the necessity of controlling these lands from which her position in Italy could be threatened; and even then she could not stay her hand ere she had brought into subjection an outer circle of territories from which the regions surrounding Italy might be endangered. Still Rome could afford to incur responsibilities which she disliked, whereas Sparta could not.

Sparta would have left the states of Northern Greece to go to Elysium or Tartarus their own way, if only they had been in the impossibility of interfering in Peloponnese. But that was not so; and hence the right of way across the Isthmus was all important to her as a land power; and the good will of Corinth had to be maintained by concessions which involved departures from that rigidly limited policy in which alone Sparta had a personal interest. How embarrassing for Sparta was the position which Corinth could, if she would, create, was shown in the wars of the early part of the fourth century.

The position of the Megarid astride the Isthmus rendered it necessary for Sparta to exercise a control over that state also. It is evident that she regarded its occupation by Athens in the middle years of the fifth century with the utmost disquietude. That extraordinary expedition which ended at the battle of Tanagra, had doubtless more than one motive; but it is probable that one object at which it aimed was to force Athens by direct or indirect means to relax her grasp of the northern part of the Isthmus.

It may be well to say a few words with regard to the general policy of Sparta in Northern Greece, before proceeding to deal in detail with the various occasions on which Sparta displayed activity outside Peloponnese. The Tanagra expedition aimed, among other things, at the establishment in Boeotia of a power which might threaten and consequently restrict the dangerous activities of Athens. Throughout the rest of the century, save for a brief period succeeding the peace of Nicias, this is the policy pursued in

and towards Bœotia. With the Bœotians themselves the fear of Attic aggression was sufficient to make them wish to maintain relations with Sparta, until the time came in the fourth century when Athens ceased to be the formidable state which she had been. Then Sparta found she had fostered the growth of a power which she could not control.

But, in the fifth century, at any rate, and especially in the earlier half of it, the influence of Delphi was the factor in North Greek politics which Sparta especially desired to have on her side. Fortunately for her, Delphi was just as much interested in Sparta's support, owing to the claims which the Phocians set up to the control of that influential sanctuary. Delphi's influence, if exerted against Sparta, might have been very dangerous to her both inside and outside Peloponnese.

The relations with Thessaly, though the two states rarely came into contact, are not unimportant. Sparta evidently feared that she might as ally of Athens be troublesome in matters in which Sparta was interested. On the whole the fear proved groundless. The Thessalian feudal lords had to deal with a problem of a similar nature, though not in so marked a form as that which presented itself in Laconia.

But the thesis of this essay cannot be fully maintained by generalisation in Greek political history, and it is necessary to turn to the detailed records of the foreign policy of Sparta during the latter part of the sixth and the whole of the fifth century, in order to show the influence of her home problem on her actions abroad.

About the middle of the sixth century, probably in the years between 550 and 546, Croesus, so Herodotus tell us,¹² formed an alliance with Sparta. He had discovered, we are told, upon enquiry, that Sparta and Athens were the most powerful of the Greek states. The acceptance of this alliance by Sparta is spoken of in some Greek histories as a first plunge of Sparta into Asiatic politics. The question may, however, be raised whether the action of Sparta on this occasion is to be regarded as implying any intention at all to incur responsibilities in Asia. Croesus had, doubtless, a special reason for seeking the alliance. What Sparta's reasons for accepting it were, we do not know. Croesus was threatened by danger from Persia. Whether Sparta knew this when she joined hands with Croesus is another question. It is probable that to her the alliance had no definite intent, for it was probably made before the danger from Persia had taken a definite form. But it is somewhat gratuitous to suppose that the Spartan government intended to embroil itself in Asiatic matters. When the critical moment came, Sparta showed neither preparedness nor even readiness to undertake her part of the obligation. There is a tale of a bowl having been sent to Croesus, which never reached him. There is no mention whatever of any expedition having been prepared.¹³ Why then was the alliance ever made? To the Greeks of that day the Lydian power appeared great and, perhaps, threatening. It had subdued the Greeks of Asia and was winning influence in Greek Europe.

¹² Hdt. i. 56.

¹³ Hdt. i. 70, 71.

The friendship of a power which might some day be expected to make itself felt on the near side of the Aegean might be valuable to a state which was forced to exercise a wide control in that part of the world. Sparta demonstrated again and again in the next century and a half that she had no intention whatever of undertaking responsibilities in Asia. Her indifference to the fate of the Asiatic Greeks appears heartless. She refused to send them assistance against Cyrus, confining herself to expostulations which that monarch treated with contempt. In 499-8 she refused to send aid to Ionian rebels. In 479, after Mycale, she would not undertake any responsibilities on their behalf if they remained on the Asiatic coast. She appears as fighting for their freedom in the last years of the Peloponnesian War. But her object is the ruin of Athens, to be attained by bringing about the revolt of the allies of the Asiatic coast. Those allies welcomed her as a liberator, but they were soon disillusioned in a two-fold sense. Lysander had no intention of playing the disinterested part of a pan-hellenic patriot on a limited income. He dreamed of a Spartan empire, with the founder of it, himself, the arbiter of the Hellenic world. With that end he planted harmosts and boards of control in the revolted towns, a régime which soon dispelled all dreams of liberty. But the situation was intensely complicated. Sparta's position on the Asiatic coast had been attained by financial aid from Persia. The fleet and the manning of the fleet had been dependent on the sums which Persia had advanced. The ships had to be paid for, and Sparta lacked, as we have seen, the human capital. Moreover, that capital had been terribly depleted by the long years of war. Persia could not be expected to supply funds for the prosecution of a policy directly hostile to her interests. The former allies of Athens must pay for their 'liberty.' They would have to pay tribute to their new master. Up to the time of the fall of Athens all went well with Lysander's designs. But there was at Sparta a party, led by King Pausanias, which clung to the old policy and distrusted the new. For the time it prevailed. But Lysander had involved Sparta in ways from which there was no complete turning. The State had incurred obligations from which it could not recede. The Lysandrian system had created for it among the cities of the Aegean potential enemies which would fly at its throat if it relaxed its grasp of them. Moreover, many of its influential citizens, adherents of Lysander, had tasted the sweets of despotic power abroad, and were by no means minded to return to the obscurity of life under the stern levelling system at home. Amidst the intense excitement of the last years of the death struggle with Athens, Sparta had incurred obligations, some of which she could not perform, some of which she had to try to carry through whether she would or not; and furthermore it had come about that with respect to the latter the will of the state was divided. With the fourth century dawned an era which for Greece itself was in some respects better, in many worse, than the preceding age; but which for Sparta was wholly worse. The new designs depleted a population which had never been more than enough to maintain the less ambitious policy of the fifth century.

But of the new policy and its results it will be necessary to speak at the conclusion of this paper. The tale of the last years of the fifth and the opening years of the fourth century shows that Sparta had no interests on the Asiatic coasts save such as the last years of the fifth century had created for her. But those new interests were fatal to her. She might and did sacrifice the continental cities of Persia, because she had not the means, despite Agesilaos, of maintaining their independence, and because, under Persian control, they could not endanger her interests on the European side. But she had attained to a new position from which in certain respects she could not recede without danger to herself; and thereby she was ultimately ruined. It was part of the tragedy of her national life that she was forced in the fourth century to depart from that necessarily restricted policy which she had pursued in the fifth, and to which we must now return.

In speaking of Spartan policy on the Asiatic coast of the Aegean, no reference has been made to the expedition against Polycrates of Samos. The omission has been deliberate. The policy which lay behind the incident is of a piece with other examples in the sixth and fifth centuries, but has little connexion with Sparta's general attitude towards Asiatic affairs and Asiatic Greeks. The tale, as told by Herodotus,¹⁴ fails to carry conviction with it. The special motive for the expedition attributed to the Lacedaemonians is absurdly insufficient to account for their action. The substantial element in their story is the part played by Corinth. Behind the whole affair there obviously lies some trade dispute, which would seem to have arisen out of relations between Samos and Corinth's colony and enemy Coreyra. In such a trade dispute Sparta cannot conceivably have had any direct interest; and her action in the matter must have been determined by the necessity of maintaining good relations with Corinth; in fact, this is the first recorded of the various instances in which that important Peloponnesian state was able to divert Sparta from her customary and narrow path of policy. It was necessary for Sparta's safety that she should lead in Peloponnese; but leadership entailed the incurring of responsibilities on behalf of those she led, above all on behalf of that Peloponnesian power whose position was so embarrassingly strong.

Even amidst the obscurity which hangs over the history of Greece in the sixth century, it is possible perhaps to discern the main thread running through the apparently tangled skein of the relations between Sparta and Athens in the last twenty years of it. Athens under the Peisistratids, in consequence mainly of the economic reforms of Solon, had become a considerable factor in Hellenic politics. This alone would have attracted Sparta's attention to her, inasmuch as a disturbance of the political equilibrium in Middle or Northern Greece would ultimately mean the possibility of difficulty in the Peloponnese. Though Sparta's relation with the Peisistratids were friendly, the establishment of relations between them and Argos would be peculiarly calculated to arouse Spartan apprehension. Thus two policies were adopted, both aiming at the curtailment of the growing great-

¹⁴ Hdt. iii. 44.

ness of Athens. The first was simple enough, namely, the elevation of the power of Boeotia to an equality and rivalry with that of Athens. Plataea's appeal for protection is referred to Athens, in order that that state may become embroiled with Boeotia. In the last decade of the century Boeotia is encouraged to join in an attack on Athens. The policy failed for the time being, but it bore fruit in the next century.

The second policy must have been, in a sense, alternative to the first. It consisted in an attempt to establish an aristocracy in Athens, which both by sentiment and by its numerical weakness would tend to be dependent on Sparta.

It is, of course, the case that we only know a certain amount of the truth with regard to the expulsion of the Peisistratids and the events which followed thereon in the course of the succeeding years. No doubt Delphi played a part in the matter; but no doubt also the increase in Athenian power and the relations with Argos rendered Sparta anxious for a change of régime in Attica, especially as that change might be anticipated to result in the restoration of the aristocracy of a previous period. Sparta miscalculated the power of democracy in the rising state. She tried to rectify her mistake by expeditions to support Isagoras; and, when those failed, by a continuance of that alliance with the aristocratic party which is so marked at the time of Marathon. That alliance becomes a traditional policy in the fifth century. It comes to the surface at the time of Tanagra, and later in the century at the time of the Revolution of the Four Hundred and during the tyranny of the Thirty. But its tangible results were little or nothing. Had it borne substantial fruit, there might have been no Peloponnesian War.

The influence of Corinth is shown, too, in these last twenty years of the sixth century. She brings about a temporary reconciliation between Athens and Thebes, with reference to the troubles respecting the acceptance by Athens of the responsibility for the protection of Plataea. By passive resistance she wrecks Cleonenes' expedition to Attica. She protests successfully against the proposed restoration of Hippias. And Sparta, the great, the powerful Sparta, has to bow to her influence, and dare not punish her. Corinth was playing her own game, as she always did, knowing well that she was an absolutely necessary factor in Spartan policy. And what was the game? Probably she wanted Athens to be free to develop her rivalry with Aegina, and to crush that trade rival of them both. It was a mistake; but it was, at the time, a genuine policy all the same.

The war of 480-479, while it lasted, set up an abnormal state of things, under which the normal policies of the Greek states had to be laid aside. Sparta was, like the other patriotic states, fighting for her very existence. Doubtless her home circumstances tended to influence her plans; but the strategic questions as to the defence of Thermopylae, the defence of the Isthmus, and fighting at Salamis and Plataea, were debated on considerations which have nothing to do with Sparta's position at home or in the Peloponnese. A recent writer¹⁵ has tried to show that Argos' doubtful

¹⁵ Mr. J. A. R. Munro in the *J.H.S.*, 1902.

attitude hampered Spartan strategy, and accounted above all for the meagreness of the force sent to Thermopylae, and the dilatoriness in the dispatch of troops to Plataea. The argument ceases to be convincing when we consider that the available fighting force of Argos had been wiped out by Cleomenes less than half a generation before; and that a mere tithe of the Peloponnesian hoplite army which appeared at Plataea would have sufficed to keep Argos in check. If the Peloponnesians could put some 25,000 hoplites into line there, are we to suppose that they could not spare more than 3,000 for the defence of Thermopylae? Was the remainder required to watch a state which could never put more than 6,000 men into the field, and cannot, on any reasonable calculation, have been in a position at the moment to raise a force of more than half the number? No doubt Sparta had to watch the Helots in 480, and to take them with her in 479, but the two facts have little traceable effect on the Greek plan of campaign.

The war of 480 and its preliminaries brought about a great change in the policies of the Greek States. The increase in the Athenian fleet had disillusioned Corinth. For the rest of the century, even including the actual period of the Persian War, she is conscious of the dangerous character of Athenian rivalry. Except, perhaps, during the decade from 446 to 436 she is intensely hostile to Athens, and consequently far more dependent on Sparta. Thus far Sparta gained. But Athens issued from that national war with a strength and prestige which excited apprehension in Sparta. The balance of power for which Sparta had worked, and for which she continued to work, was upset. Henceforth she was profoundly distrustful of Athens, but also profoundly distrustful of herself. The situation is a curious and incomprehensible one as it appears in the pages of extant history. Some important factor is lacking from the historical record. Sparta lives for the greater part of the rest of the century in a dilemma of apprehension, fearing alike the position of Athens and the dangers which must be incurred in breaking it down. Wherein lay the danger? If that can be discovered, it will doubtless prove to be the missing factor in the situation. Sparta believed that the power of Athens could be broken, unless Thucydides gives a very misleading picture of the views entertained there in the period immediately preceding the Peloponnesian War. She thought that the devastation of Attica must force Athens either to fight or submit, and she had no doubt of her capacity to beat Athens on land. Yet her participation in the war between 460 and 450 was singularly half-hearted, and Thucydides makes it quite clear that she would have ignored the causes of the dispute of the period preceding the Peloponnesian War, had Corinth allowed her to do so. In the years succeeding the Peace of Nicias her reluctance is still more marked. In the case of the first of these three periods the abstention may be accounted for by the earthquake and the Helot revolt, if, as implied in the received text of Thucydides,¹⁶ the latter took ten years to suppress. Moreover, Sparta had

¹⁶ The reference is, of course, to the well-known crux in the text of Thuc. 1. 103. In

Hude, Bekker and Stuart Jones (Oxford edition) the *δεκάτη* is maintained. Steup has restored it

failed in the campaign of Tanagra to break the grip of Athens on the Megarid: and when, after Oenophyta, Boeotia passed into the possession of Athens, the invasion of Attica became a matter of extreme difficulty and danger.

In the third case the reluctance might be due to the disappointing results of the Ten Years' war, and to the fact that she could no longer rely on the support of her disillusioned allies, Corinth and Thebes. Still her forbearance in taking offence, except when imminent danger in Peloponnese threatened her in 418, is unnatural, and cannot be satisfactorily accounted for except on the assumption that she feared her position at home; an assumption supported by the extraordinary alarm which the capture of Pylos, and, later, the capture of the Spartiates at Sphaeria excited in Sparta. One cause of fear was, of course, possible revolt among the Helots; another was the loss of her citizens. But the Spartiates captured or killed at Sphaeria cannot have amounted to more than 175 men, the rest of the force being formed of Periœki. Loss of prestige may account for the feeling at first excited by this disaster, but the ardent desire to get back the prisoners can only be attributed to the fact that the loss was severe relative to the Spartan population. How far that had decreased since Plataea, it is impossible to say: but that there had been a decrease, and probably a considerable decrease, is practically certain.¹⁷

The whole attitude of Sparta to imperial Athens up to the time of the disaster in Sicily is best explained by a sense that a direct attack on her was one which, even if successful, would imperil the position at home, by reason of the losses which would be involved in the defeat of a state so powerful. And so she sought to shun a war in which even victory might be too dearly purchased. Moreover, after 447 Athens was not too formidable on land, and it was only by land that Sparta's position might be imperilled. Athens as a moderately powerful land power was not without her uses in Spartan policy. She was a factor in maintaining the balance which was Sparta's political ideal in North Greece. Boeotia she had sought to play off against Attica in 506 and at the time of Tanagra. In both cases the policy had for the moment been a failure. But from 447 until 421 Boeotia played the part which Sparta designed for her. But if Boeotia was useful as a check on Athens, the existence of Athens secured the fidelity of Boeotia and Corinth to Spartan interests. Thus, as far as Sparta herself was concerned, the position of affairs north of the Isthmus in the years succeeding the Thirty Years' Peace was at least fairly satisfactory. Athens, hard hit in the last

to Classen's text, though Classen preferred $\tau\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\eta$. Busolt and Holm prefer this latter reading. I must confess that the language of Ch. 103 seems to me to imply that the settlement of the Messenians in Naupaktos took place before Megara called in the aid of Athens against Corinth. It is mentioned before this latter event, and Thucydides, careful in

chronological detail, gives no hint that he is departing from the chronological order of events. Were the matter of first-class importance in relation to my present subject the question would demand further discussion. Under the circumstances I need only add that I believe $\tau\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\eta$ to be the original reading.

¹⁷ Cf. note, p. 81.

years of the previous war, showed a disposition to be content with what she had got; and Sparta had little real interest in the fortunes of the states of the Athenian Empire—states which could not affect the interests of the Greeks on the mainland, and which were therefore a negligible quantity to her. There were hot heads among her allies who wished to intervene on behalf of the revolted Samians in 440–439, but the plan was suppressed—by Corinth, so Corinth said—though there is no reason to suppose that Sparta showed any enthusiasm for it.

The reluctance of Sparta to enter upon the Peloponnesian War is, at first, most marked. Even Thucydides does not conceal the fact, though he is intensely interested in proving his own original theory with regard to the causes of the war. It is clear that Sparta saw that the possession or control of Coreyra by either Corinth or Athens must inevitably lead to war between those powers. She took a bold step on the path of conciliation when she sent ambassadors of her own to accompany the Coreyraean embassy to Corinth. Nor does Thucydides conceal the difficulty which, even after the failure of that embassy, Corinth experienced in getting Sparta to take action. That is brought out in the Corinthian speech at the first congress at Sparta. Even after that, Sparta professed to be prepared to make peace, if only the Megarean decree were revoked. The language of Thucydides¹³ implies that the questions of Potidaea and Aegina were regarded as capable of settlement, perhaps of compromise, if only the decree were wiped out. Pericles, so Thucydides says, had no belief that such would be the case. Still Pericles may have mistaken the true inclination of Sparta, or have regarded the dispute with Corinth as only soluble by war. It seems, even from the evidence of Thucydides, that the Megarean decree forced Sparta to take a course which she had been peculiarly reluctant to take. The reason may possibly be conjectured. She had among her allies various states which were dependent upon foreign corn. Megara was peculiarly dependent on this source of supply, because she was a manufacturing state with a population far larger than the unfruitful Megarid could support. Athens controlled one at least of the main sources of supply, the Pontus trade. If Athens were allowed to mete out such measure to one of the states of the Peloponnesian League, she might adopt the same policy to others. On this point, therefore, there could be no compromise: and Sparta's hand was necessarily forced, as, no doubt, Pericles had intended that it should be. To Athens with her discontented allies a state of war was far safer than a condition of uncertain peace.

The Peloponnesian War changed the face of Greek politics. Something has already been said about the position after the Peace of Nicias. Sparta had discovered to her dismay that Athens could not be reduced by land warfare only, whereas Athens had threatened Sparta's position at home by the occupation of Cythera and Pylos. The enormous effect which the seizure

¹³ Thuc. i. 139.

of these small fractions of Lacedaemonian territory had on Lacedaemonian politics itself goes far to prove that the Spartiate position at home was far more critical than either Sparta admitted, or Greece knew it to be. The neglect which Sparta showed of the interests of her allies when she consented to the terms of the Peace of Nicias has been ascribed to mere selfishness of disposition. It would have been a strangely perverse selfishness to sacrifice the support of Corinth and Boeotia for any save a compelling motive. And the motive is there, in the pages of Thucydides:—the extreme fear excited by the position at home. That position had first of all to be put to rights: the situation in Northern Greece could be dealt with afterwards. And so Sparta spent the next few years feeling about in a blind sort of way for alliances which might restore the situation north of the Isthmus, a prey meanwhile to the irritating pin-pricks of Athenian policy. Once only, when the danger came terribly near to her, was she moved to action—at Mantinea in 418; but only to lapse once more into a state of lethargy from which even the Sicilian expedition could not arouse her. It is probable that she mistook its real intent, until Alcibiades opened her eyes on the matter. She probably regarded with satisfaction the diversion of Athenian energies to a distant field, and against states whose weal or woe could not effect the situation in Laconia. But when she discovered the true nature of the Athenian ambitions, and recognised that the disaster in Sicily afforded an opportunity for ridding Hellas for ever of the threatening power of Athens, she was forced to take action.

Of the Ionian War and its results we have already spoken. It involved Sparta in a situation which she was wholly unfitted to maintain. Yet she had to maintain it in part because she could not wholly renounce it without running the risk of self-destruction. Moreover, she could only maintain it by means which rapidly exhausted her limited resources, and brought upon her the condemnation alike of contemporaries and of after-time. She was forced into a policy which made fearful demands upon her already depleted population. It was no longer a policy of spheres of influence; it was a policy of direct control of lands outside her own by means of garrisons. She had indeed to modify her policy towards the Helots, because she had to employ them more largely in regular hoplite service; but the conspiracy of Cinadon shows that they were still a serious danger. It was probably the Spartiate's greatest enemy, Epaminondas, who saved the Spartiate from destruction, by withdrawing Messenia from his control. But Leuctra and Mantinea are the direct sequel of the Ionian War.

It is impossible in the limits of a short article to deal in full detail with such a large historical question as the policy of Sparta. All that has been attempted is to show by reference especially to the less obvious factors in the history of Lacedaemon in the fifth century that that policy was, from the very nature of the circumstances, singularly limited, and, in a sense, singularly consistent. The contemporary world tended to condemn it, because it could not understand what Sparta could not afford to confess, the perilous weakness

of the situation at home. *Διὰ τῆς πολιτείας τὸ κρυπτόν ἡγροεῖτο*,—though Thucydides did not apply the words to a situation of which he accepted, probably, the account current in the Greek world generally. Hence far more was expected from Sparta than she could possibly perform ; and a great deal of condemnation has been pronounced upon her for failing to do in the fifth century that which brought about her ruin in the fourth.

G. B. GRUNDY.

THE APHRODITO PAPYRI.¹

IN vol. iii. (1902) of the *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* Mr. J. E. Quibell gave an account of a large discovery of papyrus at Kom Ishgan, a village situated 7 kil. to the S.W. of Tema in Upper Egypt. The discovery was made in 1901 by some of the villagers who were digging a well, and the papyri found were divided among the inhabitants. News of the discovery coming to the authorities, a police-guard was despatched, only to find that the papyri had disappeared: some seem to have been burnt, the rest were hidden for the time being and afterwards no doubt disposed of to various dealers, through whom, like the famous and much larger 'Faijûm-fund,' they became dispersed through Europe. Excavations subsequently made by Mr. Quibell yielded only some household utensils, small fragments of papyrus, and a number of ostraca, many of which bore the name ΑΦΡΟ^δ.

The papyri thus discovered have since found their way into various museums. The first publication of any portion of the collection was the

¹ The following abbreviations are employed in this article:—

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| <i>Ar. Pal.</i> | = B. Moritz, <i>Arabic Palaeography</i> , Cairo, Leipzig, 1905. |
| <i>BGU.</i> | = <i>Ägyptische Urkunden aus den Koeniglichen Museen zu Berlin.</i> |
| Becker, <i>Beiträge</i> | = C. H. Becker, <i>Beiträge zur Geschichte Ägyptens unter dem Islam</i> , Strassburg, 1902, 1903. |
| — <i>PSR.</i> | = id. <i>Papyri Schott-Reinhardt</i> i., Heidelberg, 1906. |
| — <i>PAF.</i> | = id. <i>Arabische Papyri des Aphroditofundes in Zeitschrift für Assyriologie</i> xx. |
| Crum, <i>Catalogue</i> | = W. E. Crum, <i>Catalogue of Coptic MSS. in the British Museum</i> , London, 1905. |
| <i>Gr. Pap.</i> ii. | = Grenfell and Hunt, <i>Greek Papyri, Second Series</i> , Oxford, 1897. |
| <i>PERF.</i> | = <i>Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer. Führer durch die Ausstellung</i> , Vienna, 1894. |
| <i>PERM.</i> | = <i>Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer</i> . Vienna, 1886-1897. |
| <i>RKT.</i> | = <i>Corpus Papyrorum Raineri. Koptische Texte</i> , herausgegeben von Joseph Krall, Vienna, 1895. |
| Wellhausen, <i>Ar. Reich</i> | = J. Wellhausen, <i>Das Arabische Reich und sein Sturz</i> , Berlin, 1902. |
| Wessely, <i>Prolegomena</i> | = C. Wessely, <i>Prolegomena ad Papyrorum Graecorum Novam Collectionem Etdendam</i> , Vienna, 1883. |
| — <i>UKF.</i> | = id. <i>Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde</i> iii. <i>Griechische Papyrusurkunden u. Kleinere Formate</i> , Leipzig, 1904. |
| <i>WS.</i> | = <i>Wiener Studien</i> . |
| <i>WD.</i> | = <i>Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften</i> (Vienna) xxxvii. Wessely, <i>Die Pariser Papyri des Fundes von El-Faijûm</i> . |

The remaining abbreviations will explain themselves.

valuable *Papyri Schott-Reinhardt* i. edited by Dr. (now Prof.) C. H. Becker. The volume consists chiefly of Arabic letters from the Governor, Ḳurrah b. Sharik, to Basilius, *sāhib* of Ašqūh (*i.e.* Kom Ishgau: in the Coptic papyri in the British Museum the name is Jkōw). Besides the Arabic letters, however, there are five bilingual (Arabic and Greek) letters addressed to various places (*χωρία*) in the district of the *κώμη* of ᾿Αφροδιτά, the latter being the Greek name of Jkōw; and in an appendix are published twelve similar documents preserved in the library at Strassburg.

Not long before the publication of Becker's volume there had appeared in the *Arabic Palaeography* of Prof. B. Moritz facsimiles (without transcription) of three Arabic letters from Ḳurrah to Basilius, and a bilingual document which may perhaps also belong to the Aphrodito collection.²

Portions then of the Aphrodito collection are at Cairo, Heidelberg, and Strassburg, and others may have found their way to other libraries; but by far the largest portion, so far as known, was acquired in 1903 by the British Museum. In 1906 some more fragments were acquired, several of which were found to belong to documents of the 1903 collection. These B.M. papyri are chiefly in Greek and Coptic, but they include a few, very fragmentary, Arabic letters, which were published by Becker along with the three Arabic documents of *Ar. Pal.* in vol. xx. of the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*. With these purely Arabic letters Becker republished the bilingual papyri *PSR.* vii., viii., and ix., of which the missing portions had been discovered in the British Museum collection. Before this there had appeared, in *New Pal. Soc.* Pl. 76, a facsimile with transcript of one of the Greek letters in the Museum; and five additional facsimiles were included in the atlas to the *Catalogue of Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, vol. iii. A complete edition of the whole Aphrodito collection in the Museum, with the exception of the Arabic documents, is now being prepared; but owing to the very fragmentary state of many of the papyri the work of sorting and piecing them together has been a slow one, and it is not likely that the volume will appear till next year. It seems therefore advisable to give some account of the collection, so far at least as the Greek documents are concerned; of the Coptic I am not competent to speak.

The collection is of unusual interest and value; and not only for the historian, to whom it will furnish an abundance of new material for the organization and government of Egypt under the early Khalifate. Palaeographically it is of the first importance; for hitherto our knowledge of Greek writing on papyrus has stopped short (with a few insignificant exceptions) at

² This bilingual document is a receipt from two officials (not one as Karabacek, *Vienna Oriental Journal* xx. p. 143, states; see Becker, *PAE.* p. 101) of the barns at Babylon for a tax-payment of 617½ artabas of wheat (*σίτος*, which at this period means wheat as opposed to barley, not grain generally). The Greek portion of the receipt is clear and straightforward except the last line of the main portion,

which I read $\phi\phi\phi\phi$. $\mu\delta\theta\epsilon$ (*i.e.* Sept.-Oct. A.D. 706), which is inconsistent with the Arabic date as given by Karabacek, Dū-l-ka'dah a.H. 87=13 Nov.-11 Dec. A.D. 706. The Arabic and Greek dates of bilingual papyri at this date are generally inconsistent (*cf.* Becker, *PSR.* p. 28, though the explanation there suggested is untenable in view of the evidence of the B.M. papyri).

the date of the Arab conquest of Egypt. The various hands found in this large collection of documents carry on our evidence for nearly a century later, and serve to bridge over the gap between the cursive of papyrus and the minuscule of vellum MSS. The many new words which occur, the curious phrases used in the letters, the mistakes in spelling, and the grammatical peculiarities are all of value for the study of the Greek language in its later developments; and to the Arabic and the Coptic scholar also even the Greek documents furnish much new material.

The collection falls into two main divisions, letters and accounts. The letters, all of which are from the Governor, may again be divided into two classes, those addressed to the head of the district, and those (known as *ἐντάγματα*) addressed to the people³ of the single *χωρία* in the district, the former being much the more numerous.

Of the first class, the letters from the Governor to the local administrator, there are seventy-five separately numbered documents, besides some collections of small fragments, and the dates preserved range from 25 Dec. A.D. 708 to 1 June, A.D. 711. During the greater part of this time the Governor was Qurrah b. Sharik, and all the dated letters, with two exceptions, though in many cases the beginning is lost, may be assigned to him. The two referred to, dating from the Governorship of his predecessor 'Abd-allāh b. 'Abd-al-Malik⁴ have unfortunately both lost the earlier part.

As regards the form of the letters, it is to be noticed that they are all in Greek only, whereas the similar letters published by Becker are in Arabic only. It seems probable therefore that in every case two copies of the letter were sent, one in Greek and one in Arabic; the letters being often too long for both copies to be conveniently given on the same roll, as was done with letters of the second class (*ἐντάγματα*).⁵ The letters are all in roll-form, written, as is usual with Byzantine documents, across the fibres, the lines being parallel to the width of the roll, and they have on the *verso*, when the beginning of the roll is preserved, the address and a minute by a clerk at Aphrodito noting the date of receipt, the name of the courier who brought them, and the subject to which they refer.⁶ Several have also at the top minutes in Greek and sometimes also in Arabic written by the clerk at headquarters; and at the foot of one or two is a short account relating to the taxes dealt with in the letter. The majority have been torn in two down the whole length of the roll, and arrived at the Museum in separate halves; but

³ Or the officials (*οἱ ἀπό*); cf. Hohlwein, *Musée Belge* 1905, pp. 191 f., 1906, pp. 40 f.; but Becker, *PSR.* p. 114, shows that the former interpretation is the more probable.

⁴ Qurrah entered Fustāt, the capital, on the 3rd or 13th of Rabi' I. a. H. 90 (= 20th or 30th Jan. A.D. 709); Becker, *PSR.* p. 17.

⁵ *PSR.* i. and B.M. Inv. No. 1346, though they are not duplicates in wording, are probably the corresponding Arabic and Greek versions of the same letter.

⁶ Similar minutes were written on the Arabic letters, to judge from *PSR.* ii. The space there left between the name of Qurrah and that of Basilus is regular in the Greek letters also. The Greek minute should probably read Π^ν κδ ηγη^ς δ/λαμ^{ερ} βερ^δ ρ' σιτου, i.e. Παχών κδ ἡγήθη διὰ 'Αμ^{ερ} Βερεδάρου περὶ σιτου. The omission of the indiction is not usual, but is paralleled in the B.M. letters. A courier 'Αβου 'Αμ^{ερ} occurs in Inv. No. 1356.

fortunately in many cases both halves were included in the collection, and have been pieced together subsequently; and it may be hoped that the missing portions of the remainder will come to light elsewhere.

The letters afford a good illustration of the extraordinary centralization of Arab government in Egypt and the immense activity of the Civil Service; for example, there are contained in this single collection no less than nine Greek letters written during the month of January, A.D. 710, to this one not very important place in Upper Egypt, three of them on the 30th., and each no doubt accompanied by its Arabic counterpart and, in most cases, its *ἐντάγμια*.⁷ In no case is more than one subject treated in a single letter, and if, as on the 30th of January, communications are to be made on several subjects, a separate letter is devoted to each.

The letters are probably all addressed to Basilus, who is described as *διοικητής* (Ar. *ṣāhib*) of the *κώμη* of Aphrodito, his district being known as a *διοίκησις*. These are somewhat vague terms, and it is not altogether clear from them what position Basilus held. Becker, in *P.A.F.* p. 70, states, on my authority, that *παγαρχαίαι* appear in B. M. Pap. 1341 as identified with *χωρία*, and therefore as 'Unterbezirke' to Aphrodito; and he concludes that Basilus is 'kein Pagarch, sondern der Chef vieler Pagarchen'; adding 'demnach ist wahrscheinlich, dass *διοίκησις* für den in anderen Teilen Aegyptens noch durchaus üblichen Terminus *νομός* steht.' I regret to have misled him as to the evidence of our papyri: but subsequent evidence, both in the Greek and in the Coptic papyri, shows conclusively that Basilus was a pagarch; nor is the evidence of Inv. No. 1341 necessarily to be interpreted as I at first took it.⁸ In the Greek documents the principal evidence is furnished by the following three passages:—Inv. No. 1353, *παρασκευάζων παρευρεθῆναι [σεαυτὸν π]ιστὸν ἐπίσκοπον τῆς παγαρχίας* (addressed to Basilus); Inv. No. 1357, which concerns *τῆς τ[α]γ<ε>ί[σ]η[ς] διὰ σου ζημί[ας] καὶ τῶν ὑπουργῶν τῆς διοικήσεως σου* is headed *(πε)ρ(ί) ζημία(ς) παγ(ύρ)χ(ου) (καὶ) ὑπου(ργῶν)*; Inv. No. 1451 (*id.*), a fragmentary protocol, has on the back the minute [+ *κώμη(ς) Ἀφροδιτώ χάρτ(ης) τῶ(ν) δ(ο)θ(έντων) συγελλίου (sic) Ὀννοφρίου Παιεανε ἀπὸ τῆ(ς) αὐ(τῆς) κώ[μη(ς)] ὄντ(ων) εἰ(ς) τ(ὸ) χωρίου Ψινε παγαρχίας Ἀντ(αίου) (καὶ) Ἀπόλ(ωνος) εἰ(ς) τ(ὸν) δημ(όσιον) λόγο(ν) ἦτοι τῶ(ν) (sic) δε<σ>πό(την) ἡμῶν Φλ(αούσιον) Βασιλείου (sic) τῶν (sic) ἐνδ(οξότατον) πάγαρχον +*. The evidence of the Coptic papyri is even more decisive, as the following two instances among others (kindly given me by Mr. W. E. Crum) will show:—Or. 6218, 'the κύρις Basilus, ἰλλούστριος and pagarch of the village Jkôw'; Or. 6205, 'the

⁷ See below, p. 117.

⁸ The passage in question is:—*ποιῶν κατάγραφον ὀνομασίας καὶ [πατρωνυμίας] τῶν στελλομένων προσώπων οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς ποῖα χωρία τῆς διο[ικ]ή(σεως) σου προσέφε<υ>γον καὶ τί διαφέρει ἐκάστῳ ἔν τε υποστάσει κ[αὶ] γηδίοις, γράφων ὡσαύτως τῆ (sic) τει<οῦ>τρ (sic) σκαρίφω τοὺς εὔρισκομέν[ο]υς*

ἐκ τῆ[ς] παγαρχίας ποιήσαντας ἐν περιττοῦ τοῦ ὄρου τοῦ (sic) ἐξεθέμεθα. At first I took *ἐκ τῆς παγαρχίας* as referring to the *χωρίον* in which the fugitives happened to be; but it may equally well refer to the *διοίκησις* in general. In *P.A.F.* ix. l. 11 the reading should probably be *ἐκ τ(οῦ) ὑμε(τέρου) παγάρχ(ου), i. e. Basilus.*

κῆρις Basilius by God's will ἰλλοῦστριος and pagarch of Jkōw and its ἐποίκια and πεδιάδες.' In the Coptic papyri Basilius is never called διοικητής.

Basilius then was undoubtedly a pagarch and Aphrodito a pagarchy; but is the second part of Becker's statement, that Aphrodito was a nome, therefore necessarily incorrect? In other words, is it perhaps possible that at this period παγαρχία and νομός were the same? I believe this to have been the case; but the supposition is so completely opposed to the accepted theory⁹ that it requires a somewhat lengthy justification.

I will discuss first the evidence other than that of the Aphrodito Papyri. And to begin with, it must of course be admitted that at an earlier period a pagus was undoubtedly not the same as, but a subdivision of, the nome, probably in fact, as Wileken suggests,¹⁰ a later form of the old τοπαρχία. Thus in *BGU*. 21 (A.D. 340) a γραμματικός of the 14th pagus of the Hermopolite nome is mentioned: in *Amh. Pap.* 147 (4th or early 5th cent.) occurs an 11th pagus of the Heracleopolite nome: and in the Florentine papyri and elsewhere are many similar instances. There is, however, no *a priori* improbability of a further change in organization, and I believe the evidence favours the supposition that there was such a change.

In the first place, there is evidence in the Rainer *Führer* which, in appearance, is conclusive. In *PERF.* 550 and 551 occurs a 'Pagarch Apa Kyros von Heracleopolis Magna': in 553 and 554 the same person is described as 'Pagarch des nördlichen Theiles des heracl. *Nomus*': and in 556, 557, and 559 we hear of a pagarch or of 'Pagarchen-Stellvertreter des heracl. *Gau*s': the same persons occurring in 558 as 'Pagarchen-Stellvertreter von Heracleopolis Magna.' The evidence, however, though strong, is not so conclusive as it at first seems, since, as Dr. Wessely kindly informs me, the word νομός does not occur. The readings are:—553, εδ^θ δ^δ του βορρειου σκελ^ο Ηρακλεους δια Αππα Κυρο^ο μεγαλοπρ^ς παγαρχ^ς αυ^τ: 556, τω παρχ^ς της Ηρακλεους: 557, Χρισ[τοφ]ορω και Θεοδωρακιω παγαρχ^ς Ηρακλεους: 559, υμιν Χριστοφορω ε Θεοδωρακιω παγαρχ^ς Ηρακλ^ς: 550, 551, and 554 have no indication of the pagarchy. In 561 it is to be noticed that a διοικητής of Heracleopolis Magna occurs: probably this person was also pagarch, in which case the papyrus furnishes a parallel to the use of διοικητής in the Aphrodito Papyri.

As further evidence for the meaning of the word πάγαρχος I give a list of instances of its occurrence and of that of the word παγαρχία¹¹:—

B.M. Papp. 113, 5 (c, vol. i. p. 212 (A.D. 600), τῷ πανεμφήμῳ πυγάρχῳ [καὶ ὑπάτῳ] τῆς Ἀρσινοῦτῶν καὶ Θεοδοσιονπολιτῶν¹²; 113, 10. p. 222 (A.D. 639-640), τῷ μεγαλοπρεπστάτῳ

⁹ Cf. Milne, *Hist. of Egypt under Roman Rule*, p. 13: 'Among the subordinate officials the strategoi almost (quite; cf. Wileken, *Hermes*, xxvii. pp. 287 ff.) disappear in the Byzantine period, and their place appears to have been taken in the Arsinoite nome by the pagarchs, who were not, however, like them, appointed to the charge of a nome, but merely to that of a pagus or division of a nome.'

¹⁰ *I.c.* p. 299.

¹¹ This list makes no claim to be exhaustive, but I trust I have overlooked nothing vital. Instances of the words used absolutely, without a place-name or any other useful data, are not noticed. Where no date is mentioned it is to be understood that no date is assigned by the editor.

¹² For καὶ ὑπάτῳ see *H.D.* App. 792 below.

παγά[ρχω about 40 letters] κώμης Καμ[νω]ν τοῦ Ἀρσινοΐταιν νομοῦ, where the pagarch seems to be the chief official of the nome; 1075, vol. iii. p. 282 (Arab period?), *χρεία ἐστὶν τιμηθῆναι τοὺς παγίρχας, ἐξαιρέτως ἐν τοῖς τόποις*; 1547 (A.D. 553, unpublished), Φλ(αουίω) Ἰουλιανῶ τῷ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτῳ ἀπὸ ἀρχόντων καὶ Μητῶ λαμπροτάτῳ σκρ[ι]νιάρῳ καὶ παγάρχαις τῆς Ἀνταιοπολιτῶν:—*BU.* 304 (period of Arab conquest), παγίρχ(ω) τοῦ βορρ(ινοῦ) σκέλους ταύτης τῆς πολ(ι)τ(είας) (Heracleopolis); 305 (A.D. 556), τῷ ἐνδοξοτάτῳ στρατηλάτῃ [καὶ π]αγίρχῳ τῆς Ἀρσινοΐτων καὶ Θεοδοσιουπολιτῶν; 320 (Byz. or Arab period), τῷ ἐνδ. στρατηλάτῃ καὶ παγάρχῳ ταύτης τῆς Ἀρσινοιτοπόλεως ἵσταν ἑπινοήσαντα τοῦ Θεοδοσι[ο]πολίτου νομοῦ; 366 (Arab period), τῷ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτῳ π[αγίρχῳ] ταύτης τῆς Ἀρσ. πόλεως; 396 (Arab period), ἐνδοξοτάτῳ ἰλλουστρίῳ καὶ παγίρχ[ω] ταύτης τῆς Ἀρσ. πόλεως]:—*W.D.* p. 109, παγαρχ Ἀρσινοητου (sic); *App.* 197, p. 140 (A.D. 584), τῷ ἐνδ. σ[τρατηλάτῃ] παγίρχῳ [τῆς Ἀρσ. καὶ Θεοδοσιου]πολιτῶν; *App.* 792, p. 172 (A.D. 591), πανευφήμῳ ἱπ[άτῳ] καὶ παγίρχῳ τῆς τε [. . . Ἀρσινο]ει(τῶν) καὶ Θεοδ.:—Wessely, *Prolegomena*, p. 13, cxxi. Φλ(αουίω) Μητῶ τῷ ἐνδοξο[τάτῳ] στρατηγῷ (l. στρατηλάτῃ) καὶ παγίρχῳ τῆς Ἀρσ. π. καὶ Θεοδ. (also on pp. 15, 17, and 59, and cf. *PERF.* 474); p. 15, D 58, π[αγίρχ]ος τῆς Ἀ[ρσ. π.]; p. 70, F 97 (A.D. 602-609) Φλ(αουίω) Κυρολλῶ τ[ῷ] ἐνδοξο[τάτῳ] στρατηγῷ (l. στρατηλάτῃ)] τῆς Ἀρσ. καὶ Θεοδ.:—*UKF.* 111 (= *Rev. Egypt.* iii. p. 175, Pap. vii.), Τιμοθέου τοῦ περιβλέπτου παγάρ[χου], from residents of Arsinoe, concerning a village in the Arsinoite nome; 253 and 254, Φλ(αουίω) Πιπτήριος σὺν Θε(ω) πάγ(αρχ)ο(ς), in the first to a person of Bubastus in the Arsinoite nome, in the second in connexion with corn-payments to Babylon; 260, Ἰαεὶ νί(ος) Ηλαλ¹³ ἐπικ[είμενος] παγαρχ(ίας)¹⁴ Ἀρσινο[ίτου], a statement of the tax-quota due from certain persons; 392, παγίρχῳ ταύτης τῆ[ς] Ἀρσ.; 421, ἐνδ. παγίρχ(ου) ταύτης τῆ[ς] Ἀρσ.; 448 (A.D. 708-709), ἐνδ[οξ.] ἰλλου(στρίῳ) καὶ παγίρχ(ω) ταύτης, from a resident of the Heracleopolite nome:—Crum, *Catalogue*, 398, p. 187 (A.D. 749), ευκλ/ αμιρα παγαρχίας ερμονθεως και τριων καστρων και κωνδρολατων και καστρο/ μεμνιων (sic):—*RKT.* cxxii. (8th cent.),] **ΙΑΜΙΟΥΤΙ**] **ΧΑΑΜ' ΠΑΓΑΡΧ' ΠΙ** **ΙΑΜ** (Arsinoe):—Revillout, *Actes et Contrats des Musées du Boulaq et du Louvre*, 1 (= Egger, *Rev. Arch.* 23, p. 147, Wessely, *Prolegomena*, pp. 5, 66), Μαμετ αμιρα ευκλ/ αμιρα της παγαρχίας (R. παγαρχίας) Ερμονθεως (A.D. 730):—*B.M. Or.* 4884¹⁵ (= Crum, *Catalogue*, 425), 'Justinus, pagarch of the city Ermont' (Hermonthis); 6721 (10),¹⁵ φλαιω σααλ τω ευκλ' αμιρ^α απο διωσπο^λ εως λατω παγαρχη:—Berlin Museum P. 10607,¹⁵ φλ σααλ νιο αβδελλα τω ενδ^δ αμιρα απο παγαρχ διωσπο^λ εως λατω:—*Eg. Expl. Fund. Fragm.* 7,¹⁵ 'the μεγαλπ/ pagarch Ioannarios of the city Ermont':—*PERF.* 564 (A.D. 647), 'Ara Kyros, Pagarchen von Nord-Heracleopolis'; 586 (A.D. 695), 'Pagarch des arsinoitischen Gaues, Flavius Atias'¹⁶ (cf. *UKF.* 260 above, a document of similar character); 587 (A.D. 699), 'den arsinoitischen Pagarchen Flavius Atias'; 562 (7th cent.), 'Der ungenannte Absender will die Stadt verlassen, um einige Districte der *Pagarchie* zu inspiciere':—*Oxy. Pap.* 133 (A.D. 550), τῆς κώμης Τάκωνα τοῦ Ὁξυρυχίτου νομοῦ, παγαρχουμένη[ς] ὑπὸ τοῦ οἴκου τῆς ἱμῶν ἐνδοξότητος; 139 (A.D. 612), ἀπὸ κώμης

Kenyon read [καὶ στρατηγῷ] after Wessely's readings in *Prolegomena*, etc., but, according to the view of Wilcken, *l.c.*, incorrectly. Since the catalogue was published another fragment (continuous with the previous one) of this papyrus has been found. It reads:—

πολιτων Αρρηλιος Ουεναφριος υἱος
 Ιερεμιου και Αβρααμ υιος Πεγνουθῶ
 [.] αμ υιος Ουεναφριῶ απο
 [χωριου Ψι]νευρεως τῷ Ἀρσιν, νομου
 [ομολογουμ]εν εξ αλληλεγγυης εκουσια
 [γνωμη. . .

For Ψινευρεως see Wessely, *Topographie des Fayûm*, p. 164, Grenf. and Hunt, *Tebt. Pap.* ii. pp. 410 f.

¹³ The same man occurs in Wilcken, *Tafeln zur Alterth. Gr. Palaeographie*, xix. d, l. 9. The first letter there is certainly H rather than K, as in *PERM.* v. p. 61.

¹⁴ W.—(α, but the genitive is regularly used with ἐπικείμενος in this sense.

¹⁵ These references to unpublished papyri I owe to Mr. Crum. Or. 6721 (10) and Berlin 10607 are not very clear; Dr. Kenyon suggests that the person referred to was pagarch of the whole district from Thebes to Latopolis. Dr. Hunt would take απο παγαρχ as ἀπὸ παγάρ[χων], 'one of the pagarchs.'

¹⁶ In *PERF.* 588 this same man is called *Duc.*

'Αδίου τοῦ Ὁξυρ. νομοῦ παγαρχομένη) παρά τῆς ἐμετέρας ἐπερφησίας. — B. M. Pap. 776 A. D. 552), vol. iii, p. 278, ἀπὸ κώμης Κιωθ[έ]ως τοῦ ἄνω Κυ[α]πολίτου νομοῦ ταγαρχομένης ὑπὸ τῆς ἐμετέρας [ε]περφησίας.

Among all these passages there is not a single one which militates strongly against the view that *παγαρχία* was equivalent to *νομός*, and there are several which give strong support to that view. The evidence of the papyri relating to the house of Flavius Arion, where villages are spoken of as *παγαρχοῦμεναι* by the landholder, is indeed peculiar, but on no theory would these passages be easy to explain if the verb *παγαρχέω* were taken in its literal sense. It seems probable then that it implies merely the dependence of the village upon the house of Flavius Arion.¹⁷

To turn now to the other evidence: it will be noticed that in most cases a pagarch is described as pagarch of a city; but in all cases these cities are capitals of nomes, and the pagarchs are in several cases seen in relations with inhabitants of villages within the nome; and this moreover in an official capacity. In two cases, however, *WD.* p. 109 and *UKP.* 260 (probably also in *PERF.* 586) the word *πάγαρχος* is followed by the phrase *τοῦ Ἀρσινοίτου* (sc. *νομοῦ*); and it seems very probable that in the other cases the city stands for the nome. In the Aphrodito Papyri *κώμη Ἀφροδιτώ* certainly includes much besides the village itself: the pagarchs, as pointed out, have to do with inhabitants of the nome, outside their cities; such a phrase as *τοῦ βορρινοῦ σκέλους* of a *πόλις* or *πολιτεία* would be difficult to explain if the words are to be taken literally: the use of *νομός* with *πόλις* in Coptic texts as 'in the *νομός* of the *πόλις* Ermont' points in the same direction; and finally in B. M. Pap. Inv. No. 1380 occur the words *τοῦ Ἀρσινοίτου καὶ Ἡρακλέους καὶ Ὁξυρύγχου*, where, as the first name stands for a nome (sc. *νομοῦ*), the two last should do so too.¹⁸ Again it seems very improbable that at this period a Muslim, as in *UKP.* 260, should be the head of a mere pagus. It may be objected that the cases of a pagarch of half a *πολιτεία*, as of Heracleopolis (*PERF.* 553, etc.) or Hermopolis (see below, p. 105) prove the pagarchy to have been smaller than a nome: but there is nothing improbable in the supposition that a nome might at times be divided.

But further, the common identification of *παγαρχία* = *πάγος* and *πάγαρχος* = *praepositus pagi*¹⁹ may well be doubted. The word *πάγος* does not seem to occur in late Byzantine times, and the question may be raised whether the term *πάγαρχος* ever did mean the head of a *πάγος*: for certainly in the earlier period, when the word *πάγος* was used, its official is always in papyri called *πραιπόσιτος*.²⁰

¹⁷ Cf. Milne, *op. cit.* p. 14.

¹⁸ Cf. too Wilcken in Becker, *PSR.* p. 22.

¹⁹ Wilcken, *Hermes* xxvii. p. 299.

²⁰ In Isidorus Pelusiota, lib. ii. ep. 91 (*Migne, Patr. Gr.* 78, col. 536) occur, however, the words *πάγαρχοι καλοῦνται παρά τισιν, οἱ τῶν κωμῶν ἢ τόπων τινῶν ἄρχοντες*, where the pagarch seems a small local official. In Justinian's Edict xiii. *De Dioc. Neg.* (ed. Zachariae

von Lingenthal, p. 11) οἱ παγάρχοι καὶ οἱ πολιτευόμενοι are mentioned, and the editor explains the latter word as 'curiales earum urbium Aegyptiarum, quibus *Βουλῆν* i.e. curiam habere concessum erat'; cf. too Pap. Lips. 31, l. 11, οἱ πολιτευόμενοι τῆς Ἐρμο[ῦ] π[ό]λεως. This might possibly, though not necessarily, make it appear that the pagarch had no jurisdiction over towns which had a *Βουλῆ*;

Even on the pre-existing evidence then the reigning theory as to the word *παγαρχία* seems to me to rest upon very uncertain foundations. The evidence against it is strongly reinforced by that to be found in the Aphrodito Papyri, which I will now proceed to summarize.

First of all, one piece of seeming evidence must be set aside. As we have seen, Basilinus, who was a pagarch, is called *διοικητής* and his district a *διοίκησις*. Now in Inv. No. 1341 mention is made of *φυγάδας τῆς ἄνωτέρω λεχθείσης διοικήσεως τοῦ Ἀρσινοΐτου*. If *διοίκησις* were a definite term this passage would tend to prove the contention that *παγαρχία* = *νομός*: but unfortunately it, or at least *διοικητής*, seems to have been used loosely. Thus in Inv. No. 1341 occur the words *τόν τε μείζονα καὶ διοικητὴν καὶ φύλακας αὐτοῦ (sc. τοῦ χωρίου)*, where *διοικητής* seems to be a local official: and in Inv. No. 1440 payments to the treasury are recorded as made in one year by Dioscorus, *διοικ(η)τ(ή)ς* and Ioannes, *πάγ(α)ρχ(ος)*, where the two terms should be distinct. Again in B. M. Or. 5985 a certain Chael son of Psamo is named as *διοικητής* of Jéme, and in B. M. Or. 4878 the same person recurs as *ΛΑΨΑΙΗΘ*: but *ΛΑΨΑΙΗΘ* is equivalent to *πρωτοκομῆτης*.²¹ In the Jéme documents indeed the *διοικητής* regularly appears as an official distinct from (and apparently inferior to) the *αμῖν*. It seems likely then that *διοικητής* and *διοίκησις* in these letters are used in a general sense, as respectively 'administrator' and 'administrative district,' and no argument can be founded upon them.

There is, however, other and stronger evidence in the Aphrodito Papyri. In the first place it is, as remarked by Becker (*PSR*, p. 36), in the highest degree unlikely that the central government would maintain immediately so constant a correspondence with the mere head of a pagus. Again, there is not in all the Aphrodito Papyri a single instance of the occurrence of the word *νομός*, whereas, on the other hand, *παγαρχία* seems regularly used as the administrative unit: for example in the following passages:—Inv. No. 1332, *ἀπὸ ποίου χωρίου καὶ ἐν ποίῳ τόπῳ καὶ ἐν ποίᾳ παγαρχίᾳ προσέφηνεν*: Inv. No. 1341, *τοῦ Θεοῦ γὰρ συνεργούντος οὐ μὴ παρέάσωμεν (sic) ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ μίαν παγαρχίαν καὶ μόνην εἰ μὴ κ.τ.λ.*: Inv. No. 1344, *χωρίου Μουναχθη παγαρχίας Ἀνταίου καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος*: Inv. No. 1379, *εἰ δὲ καὶ τι[μες εὔρεθῶσιν] ἐν τῇ διοικήσει σου ἀπ' ἐτέρων πα[γαρχιῶν*: Inv. No. 1382, *τινας τῆς διοικί[σεως σου εὔρισκομέ(ους)] ἐν ἐτέραις παγαρχία<ι>ς*.²²

but the *βουλή* is not heard of in the later papyri, and it is certain from the evidence given above that the pagarchs had authority over towns like Arsinoe. Perhaps a change was made at about the time of Justinian's edict (A.D. 524). Isid. Pel. is too early to be any evidence for the latest Byzantine period, but is very likely an instance of *πάγαρχος* as = *praepositus pagi*. Paris App. 244 (to which and not to Rain. Geo. 183 the reference should be in *Tebt. Papyr.* ii. p. 352) specifies *pagi* in the Arsinoite nome (Wessely, *Topogr. des Faijûm*, pp. 53, 81, etc.).

It is not specifically dated by Wessely, but on p. 121, s.v. *Πελεκησι*, he implies that it is 6th–8th cent. The mention of *pagi* makes it very improbable that it is later than the 5th.

²¹ Crum, *Coptic Ostraca*, p. 28, note to No. 131. I owe these references to Mr. Crum. It is of course possible that Or. 5985 is later than 4878 and that Chael had become *διοικητής* in the interval. In Or. 6205 (from Jkôw) *ΛΑΨΑΙΗΘ* = *μειζότερος* (Crum).

²² In Justinian's Edict xiii. the Augustal and *duces* are expressly forbidden to remove the

Moreover there are many names of pagarchies mentioned in these papyri, and in practically every case these are certainly the names of ancient nome-capitals. The following are those at present discovered:²² Κοινῶν, νοτιῶν σκέλου(ς) Ἐρμουπόλ(εως), Ἀνταίου καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος and Ἀπόλλωνος alone, Ἐψηλῆς, Ἀντινόου, Πανός, Λύκων, Θινάτου), Κοπτῶ, Νο (obscure), Θεοδοσίου, Ἀλεξάνδρεια) and Σάις. One or two of these names call for some remark. Νο is obscure, and occurs in the badly written Pap. Inv. No. 1494. I suspect in view of the many errors of that papyrus, that it stands for Πανο (= Πανός). Alexandria was of course never a nome-capital; but neither was it ever in a nome, and from a city occupying so exceptional a position no arguments can be drawn. Moreover it is not unlikely that at some time after the revolt in A.D. 645 Alexandria may have been organized differently.²³ For the νοτιῶν σκέλος of Hermopolis we may compare the case of Heracleopolis mentioned above:²⁴ but it must be added that, though it occurs with a number of pagarchies (in Inv. No. 1503 *o*) it (and it alone) is not preceded by the word παγαρχ; hence it may not have been a pagarchy at all. Ἀπόλλωνος requires a word of explanation. The place meant is Apollinopolis Minor, the next city to the south of Hypselé.²⁵ Wilcken²⁶ has shown that this place was for a time the head of a separate nome. Afterwards it disappears as a nome-capital, and it has commonly been assumed (*e.g.* Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v.*) to have been one of the places in the Hypselite nome. In these papyri it sometimes occurs alone as a pagarchy; sometimes along with Antaeopolis, the capital of the next nome to that of Hypselé. Antaeopolis, however, never occurs alone, from which it appears that Ἀπόλλωνος was merely a shorter form of Ἀνταίου καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος, that in fact when Apollinopolis ceased to be a nome-capital it was annexed to the Antaeopolite nome and that the nome was now denoted by a double name. This supposition is confirmed by the already quoted Inv. No. 1344, where a single χωρίον is named as in the παγαρχία Ἀνταίου καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος: for if two pagarchies united under one government were intended by the phrase, the χωρίον would have been stated to be in one, not both, of them. That Ἀπόλλωνος is sometimes named alone is perhaps due to the fact that it had by now become the more important place. The last name which calls for remark is Θεοδοσίου. A Theodosiopolite

pagarchs for misconduct themselves, but are in all cases to refer the matter to the central government at Constantinople.

²² Most of these occur in Inv. No. 1494 (see below, pp. 109 f.). It is a document much damaged and written in an uneducated hand of Coptic type and in very corrupt Greek. In several cases the names of pagarchies and χωρία are mutilated or corrupt. If any of these obscure passages should hereafter yield a pagarchy-name which is clearly not a nome-name, the remarks in the text would require modification.

²³ Cf. Eutychius, *Annals* (in Migne, *Patr.*

Gr. 111), ii. 369, col. 1119, and Becker's remarks on the passage, *Beiträge* ii. p. 98.

²⁴ It may be noted also that the Arabic name, Ashmūmāin, means 'the two Shmūn,' as a dual form; cf. Becker, *PSI*, p. 21.

²⁵ Hierocles, *Synecd.* 731, 3; Georgius Cypri. 767; Parthey, *Nol. Episcopatus* i. 767; *Anton. Itin.* 158, 1; in the last case Hypselé is not mentioned, and *Apollonias minoris* follows *Lycos*. Mr. Crum informs me that the evidence of the new Petrie Papyrus (*Greek and Syriac*, double vol. p. 39) shows the town to be the modern Kom Eslahit.

²⁶ *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, iv. pp. 163 ff.

nome, near the Arsinoite nome and usually mentioned as joined with it, is well known from the Fayum papyri:²⁸ but the context in which the present name occurs makes it overwhelmingly probable that it was, like the other pagarchies mentioned with it, in the Thebaid. Its position is given by the following authorities:—Georg. Cyr. 760 ff., Ἐπαρχία Θηβαίδος, Ἀντινὴ μητρόπολις. Ἐρμούπολις, Θεοδοσιούπολις, Κοῦσος (= Κοῦσαι). Λυκῶ; Hierocles, *Synecd.* 730–731, Ἐπαρχία Θηβαίδος τῆς ἔγγιστα, ὑπὸ ἡγεμόνα, πόλεις ἴ. Ἐρμούη (= Ἐρμού ἢ μεγάλη), Θεοδοσιούπολις, Ἀντινὴ, Ἀκούασα (= Κοῦσαι), Λύκων: *Not. Episcop.* i. 760–765, Ἐπαρχία Θηβαίδος πρώτη. Ἀντινὴ μητρόπολις. Ἐρμούπολις, Θεοδοσιούπολις, Κάσος (= Κοῦσαι), Λυκῶ.²⁹ From these it would appear that it was situated immediately to the south³⁰ of Hermopolis, and the fact that all the three authorities mention also a Theodosiopolis in the eparchy of Arcadia proves that that in the Thebaid was a distinct place. Now from *RKT.* cxvi. it appears clearly that this Theodosiopolis, in Coptic **ⲧⲟⲩⲱ**, Ar. Tahā, was a nome.³¹

Thus we see that all these pagarchy-names, with the exception of Alexandria and the obscure No, are old nome-names, and the inference seems obvious that the place of the nomes had now been taken by pagarchies. This conclusion is further strengthened by the Arabic evidence. The διοίκησις of Aphrodito is several times alluded to in the letters as ἡ χώρα: e.g. Inv. No. 1336, οὐ μέλειταί σοι οὔτε μὴν τοῖς τῆς χώρας μὴ ἐκτελέσαι μῆτε δοῦναι πέρασ παντοίῳ ἔργῳ. Now χώρα is the Greek original of the Arabic *kāna*, and *kāna* is always used for νομός.³² Lastly in *PAB.* x. 2, Ashkaw = Aphrodito is called *mudīnah*; and *mudīnah* always denotes an old μητρόπολις.³³

Taking all the foregoing facts into consideration, the conclusion seems, I think, inevitable that the παγαρχία of the late Byzantine and Arabic periods was the equivalent of the old νομός. It may indeed be suggested that though it was perhaps the administrative unit it was not really equivalent to the nome; that the division into nomes had been abandoned and a smaller sub-division adopted instead; but against this supposition must be adduced the fact of the non-occurrence of pagarchy-names which were not also nome-names. That when the re-organization was carried out the boundaries of the nomes may have been considerably modified is likely enough,³⁴ but it seems most probable that the new pagarchies were substantially and in the main equivalent to the old nomes.

The conclusion to which the foregoing argument leads is that in κώμη Ἀφροδιτώ we have the old Aphroditopolite nome: and here a fresh

²⁸ The latest discussion of the vexed question of the nature of this Theodosiopolite nome is in Grenf. and Hunt, *Theb. Papyri*, ii. pp. 363 ff.

²⁹ In *Not. Dignitatum* xxviii. 20 an *ala Theodosiana* is mentioned, but it is not clear what Theodosiopolis is intended. As an *ala Arcadiana* also occurs, it is perhaps the one in the Thebaid.

³⁰ But the Coptic and Arabic authorities cited by Amélineau, *Géogr. de l'Égypte*, p. 471,

place it to the north. At any rate it is clear that it was near Hermopolis.

³¹ *RKT.* cxvi., note on l. 2, *PERM.* II/III. p. 59.

³² Becker, *PSR.* p. 22.

³³ Karabacek, *Vicenna Or. Journal*, xx. p. 144, note 2.

³⁴ The arrangement of nomes was always liable to alteration; cf. Mahaffy in *Rev. Loes.* xlv. § 10.

difficulty arises. Aphroditopolis is now³⁴ universally identified with Itfu or Edfa, which is situated some twenty-three miles to the south of Kom Ishgan. If this identification is correct, we can only conclude that the headship of the nome had been transferred from Itfu to Jkôw, and that with the transference the latter had received the Greek name formerly applied to Itfu, but it seems very much more probable that the accepted identification of Aphroditopolis with Itfu is wrong; the evidence of the Aphrodito Papyri seems strong enough to outweigh that on which the identification rests.³⁵

As regards the subjects of the letters, most of them, as is natural, deal with taxation in some form or other. One important section there is, however, which relates to certain fugitives; and though there is unfortunately no indication as to the cause of their flight, the letters are nevertheless of considerable interest. An important clue is furnished by a document at Cairo (*Ar. Pal.* 105), of which a portion probably exists at Heidelberg (*PSR.* xii.). The portion of this letter relating to the fugitives is thus translated by Becker³⁷:—'Hišām b. 'Omar hat mir schriftlich mitgeteilt, dass sich Flüchtlinge seines Bezirkes auf deinem Gebiet befinden, und ich hatte doch zuvor den Präfekten geschrieben, dass sie keinen Flüchtling bei sich aufnehmen sollten. Drum gib ihm, wenn dieser mein Brief zu dir kommt, seine auf deinem Gebiet weilenden Flüchtlinge zurück, und nicht will ich (wieder) hören, dass du seine Boten zurückschickst oder er schriftlich bei mir über dich Klage führt.' The fragment at Heidelberg has on the *verso* a minute, '[Über Hišām], den Sohn 'O[ma]rs, betreffs seiner flüchtigen (Colonen).' Becker explains the *jālīya* (fugitives) as 'die Colonen, die, um die Bebauung des Landes zu garantieren, an die Scholle gefesselt werden mussten';³⁸ and he refers to such documents as *PERE.* 601, 602, 631, which show that an official pass was necessary for any peasant who desired to leave his district. These *jālīya* then were peasants who for some reason had fled from their *kāra* or nome and made their way to the Thebaid; and as good cultivators would of course be a valuable acquisition for any *kāra*, it is natural that the heads of the districts to which they fled should show some reluctance to give them up.

Now for the evidence of the B.M. papyri. The earliest dated letter (*Inv.*

³⁴ It was formerly identified with Tachta; cf. A. von Prokesch, *Erinnerungen aus Aegypten und Kleinasien*, vol. i. p. 152, Pauly, *Real-Encycl.* ed. 1, Smith, *Dict. of Class. Geogr.*

³⁵ The evidence for Itfu is given by Dümichen, *Geogr. des alten Aegyptens*, p. 162, Brugsch, *Geographische Inschriftenaltag. Denkmaler*, i. pp. 215, 216, and Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Aphroditopolis. The only real argument seems to be the name (*old Aeg.* Tēnu or Dbôt—*Copt.* ⲁⲧⲃⲐ — *Arab.* Itfu); but the form ⲁⲧⲃⲐ (primarily ⲧⲃⲐ, Crum) seems never to occur for Aphroditopolis, but only for Apollinopolis (Edfa); it may probably be traced back to a conjecture of Champollion's, *L'Égypte*

sous les Pharaons, i. p. 268. It should be added that in some unpublished B.M. papyri a κᾶμη 'Αφροδίτης occurs in the Antaeopolite nome (6th cent.). As in one mention is made of τὴν περὶ τῆς Πανοσπόλειως, the village was evidently on the west bank and must almost certainly have been on Aphroditopolis. Hence it appears that at one time the Aphroditopolite nome (as to which see e.g. *Prod.* 4. 5. 47) was united to Antaeopolis. The nomes in this part of Egypt were evidently subject to a great deal of alteration.

³⁷ *PAF.* p. 97.

³⁸ *PSR.* p. 40.

Nos. 1332 and 1333, duplicates, except in one respect) relating to this subject was written on Choiach 29, 7th indiction = 25 Dec. A.D. 708, and the latest on Mesore 7, 9th indiction = 31st July A.D. 710. It appears from this that the fugitives left their homes in the governorship of Kurrāh's predecessor, 'Abd-allāh, and probably all the undated letters relating to them are to be assigned to the earlier part of Kurrāh's term of office. They are regularly described as the *φυγάδες τοῦ Ἀρσινοΐτου*, but in Inv. No. 1380 two other nomes are named; *τοῦς φυγάδας τῆς διοικήσεως σου [! ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρσιν]οΐτου καὶ Ἡρακλέους καὶ Ὁξυρύγχου*. In the earliest of the dated letters, Inv. Nos. 1332 and 1333, mention is made of six³⁹ men who are apparently charged with the duty of searching for fugitives, and Basilius is ordered to send to them a clerk who is to accompany them to 'the commissioners for the fugitives' (*οἱ ἐπικείμενοι τῶν φυγάδων*) and there draw up a list of the fugitives, specifying the name and patronymic of each, the place of his origin, and the *τόπος* and pagarchy to which he fled. This list is to include both those ordered to be sent home and those who are to be left *ἐνθα κατέμενον ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ*; the last phrase meaning apparently that certain of them were to be allowed to remain in the pagarchies to which they had fled, bearing their share of the public burdens.⁴⁰ In a short memorandum at the foot of the letter is shown the destination of the six men mentioned above. Two⁴¹ are to be sent to Salāmāh b. Jukhāmīr in Arcadia, two to Zūrāh (?— MS. *Ζωρα*) b. Al-Wāsīl in the Thebaid, two to 'Abd-allāh b. Shurāih in the *λίμιτον*.⁴² The sending of these men is apparently a public *ἀγγαρεία* or compulsory service, and the letter shows clearly that the fugitives were numerous and widely diffused. Apparently the three Arab officials just named were the commissioners referred to in the letter.

In Inv. No. 1338, a letter in which Basilius is instructed to come to headquarters, bringing his papers with him, he is ordered to include in these a *κατάγραφον* of the fugitives in each *χωρίον* of the *διοίκησις*.

In Inv. No. 1341 orders are given to draw up a similar *κατάγραφον*, which, in addition to the information demanded in Inv. Nos. 1332-3, is to include the property of the fugitives and also the names, age, and property of all those in the pagarchy guilty of disobedience to the Governor's instructions. The fugitives are to be sent back with their families (*φαιμηλῖαι*) and goods, and Kurrāh declares that he has ordered his messenger not to leave Aphrodito till all the fugitives are sent, 'from twenty years and onwards' (*ἀπὸ εἰκοσαετοῦς καὶ ὄδε*). Threats of heavy punishment in case of

³⁹ In 1332, nine; in other respects the letters are duplicates.

⁴⁰ Cf. Becker, *PSR.* p. 10: 'Diese *ἐπίσκοποι* scheinen sich aber doch zuweilen angesiedelt zu haben und müssen dann an der Kumulativquote der neuen Gemeinde nach Kräften teilnehmen (*ἡτάτ' i. 77, 12*).'

⁴¹ In 1332, three in each case.

⁴² These names are interesting, as they show, contrary to what Becker says (*PSR.* p. 36) that

the old eparchies still continued to exist, at least for some purposes. The names require a word of explanation. The first two are the old eparchies of Arcadia and the Thebaid, the latter either *ἡ ἕγγιστα* and *ἡ ἄνω* combined or the first alone. The *λίμιτον* is new. Possibly it represents the two Aegypti of Justinian's Edict xiii. In the *Nol. Dignit.* xxviii. the authority of the 'Comes limitis Aegypti' extends apparently much further.

disobedience are added, and Basilus is told to read the letter to the people of his *διοίκησις*, to send copies of it to every *χωρίον* and to have it published in the churches.⁴¹ Finally a reward is offered to informers.

Inv. No. 1342 is concerned with a fine to be levied on the whole *διοίκησις*; and though the fugitives are not mentioned, it is very likely that they may be the cause.

In Inv. No. 1379 occur the clauses *τινὲς ἐκ τῶν ταγέντων ἀποστραφῆναι ἀπ' αὐτῆς* (*sc. τῆς διοικήσεως*) *εἰς ἑτέρα[ς] παραρχίας* and *εἰ δὲ καὶ τινὲς εὐρέθωσιν* ἐν τῇ διοικήσει σου ἀπ' ἑτέρων παγ[α]ρ[χιῶν, again showing that a number of pagarchies were concerned.

Inv. No. 1380, a very incomplete letter, adds, as already stated, the Heracleopolite and Oxyrhynchite pagarchies, and it contains also, in an obscure context, the name Al-Mughira b. Selim, who is described in the minute on the *verso* as governor of the Fayum (*ἐπικείμενος τ(οῦ) Ἀρσινοῖ(του)*).

Finally in Inv. Nos. 1381 + 1382, instructions are given as to the punishment to be dealt out to offenders. The fugitives themselves, those who have given them shelter, and the local officials are to be fined, rewards are to be offered to informers, and Basilus is to call together all the local officials, read the letter to them, and order them to send copies to their *χωρία*. These copies are to be published in the churches, and Basilus is to proclaim a period (the number of days is lost) within which all fugitives must be surrendered. On their surrender they are to be fined, scourged to the extent of forty lashes, and 'nailed' into *ξυλομάγγαλα*, by which apparently is meant some kind of apparatus for confining the arms and perhaps also the neck during the march. Then they are to be sent somewhere, apparently to Qurrah, in charge of an agent, who is to be commissioned to receive an *ἀπόδειξις* or receipt for them; similar receipts are to be given by Basilus to those who bring to him fugitives of his own *διοίκησις*; and Qurrah concludes by announcing that he is sending an agent to search for fugitives, who is to subject all persons concerned to similar penalties to those already mentioned in case any further fugitives are allowed to enter the *διοίκησις*.

The other letters on this subject add nothing of importance; but among the accounts are two documents which may with great probability be referred to the fugitives. The first (Inv. No. 1494) is the account-book already mentioned in connexion with the question of the pagarchies. It has a protocol apparently dated in the governorship of Abd-allāh, and consists of a list of names with patronymics, each followed by the word *ἀπό* and a place-name with the name of a pagarchy. Any general heading there may have been is lost, but there are several sub-headings, which furnish a clue to the character of the account. They consist of the name of some *ἐποίκιον* of Aphrodito, followed by the words *ἀπὸ κ χρο(νων) (καὶ) ἄνω*; and this heading is succeeded lower down by a similar one, *ἀπὸ ιε χρο(νων) (καὶ) κάτω*. It will be remembered that Basilus was ordered to send a *καταίγραφον* of the fugitives,

⁴¹ Cf. *RKT.* iii. where the meeting of inhabitants for the preparation of *διαγραφαί* is also to be held in the church.

and that every fugitive ἀπὸ εἰκοσαετοῦς καὶ ὧδε was to be sent home. The similar heading in the present document, together with the fact that no amounts in money occur, as would be the case if the persons mentioned were tax-payers, suggests very strongly that the document is the *κατάγραφον* in question, or rather perhaps, as it is in so illiterate a hand, that it is the rough list on which the official report of Basilius was based.⁴¹ Probably the persons named were fugitives from other pagarchies discovered in Aphrodito; but it is curious that none of them are described as from Arsinoe.

The second document (Inv. No. 1503*a*) consists of the scanty remains of another book. No folio is complete, and there is no complete line, but by putting together *recto* and *verso* of each fragment we can form an idea of what the complete line must have been. The following specimen (fragm. 5) will show the character of the account:—

Recto.

[εἰ(ς) τ(ῆν)] παγαρχ(ίαν) Ὑψηλῆς·
 ἐν τ(ῆ) πόλει·
 — Ἰωάννου Εριτ[
 Μάρκος Γεωρ[γίου
 Διαννη Πεσ[
 [εἰ(ς) τ(ῆν)] παγαρχ(ίαν) Ἀνταίου (καὶ) Ἀπόλλω[υος·

Verso.

]ιας, ὄν(ομα) α.
 Π]εβω (καὶ) Μηνᾶ Πασίνου, ὄν(όματα) β.
]ούθιος (καὶ) ἀδελφὸς(ς) αὐ(του), ὄν(όματα) β.
]
] (καὶ) υἱ(οὶ) αὐ(του) [

This may very likely be a list of the fugitives, the numbers placed after the names apparently referring to each man's family (*φαμηλία* as in Inv. No. 1341).

All this evidence makes it probable that we have to do with no mere local movement, no mere migration of agriculturists from one district to another, but a general disturbance and unrest, originating in Middle Egypt,

⁴¹ Since this was written Mr. Crum has kindly sent me a translation of a Coptic letter in the Rylands collection (No. 277 in the forthcoming catalogue), which still further increases the probability that the document refers to the fugitives. The letter is in Coptic but in its phraseology strongly resembles the Greek letters of the Aphrodito collection, and is probably, like them, from the Governor. It is addressed to a pagarch, probably of Ashmunain, and many of the phrases are identical with Greek phrases used in the Aphrodito letters. It concerns certain 'strangers' whom

the pagarch is ordered to 'bring forth' from his pagarchy; and mention is made, as in Inv. No. 1494, of 'such of them as have fled away, from fifteen years and under.' [Since this article was sent to press, Mr. Crum has discovered another fragment of this Coptic letter, from near the beginning. It reads 'The men of Peiom (*i.e.* Fayum) and those of . . . and those of Shmoun and those of Kôs.' This makes it almost certain that the letter relates to the same fugitives as the Aphrodito letters; and it seems to make against the letter being from Ashmunain.]

communicating itself also to the Thebaid, and extending over some years. There does not, it is true, appear to be any record of an actual revolt of the Copts so early as this, and indeed Al-Makrizi⁴⁵ expressly states that the first Coptic revolt took place in the year 107 (= A.D. 725-726); but there may have been minor disturbances which have not been recorded, and it is significant that 'Abd-allāh, in whose governorship the disturbance began, is known as an oppressor of the Copts.⁴⁶

Before leaving this subject it may be well to refer to two other documents, not in the Aphrodito collection, which relate to fugitives. One is *PERP*. 562 (see above p. 102), in which the writer, apparently a high official, speaks of a former tour of inspection which he had made 'wegen der Flüchtlinge.' The letter is assigned by the editor to the period of the Arabic conquest, but as fugitives are seen to have been widely scattered over Upper and Middle Egypt in the early years of the eighth century, it is possible that it relates to the same period and occasion as the Aphrodito letters.

The second document referred to is B.M. Pap. 32, published first by Forshall (*Gr. Papyri in the B.M.* xliv.) and afterwards by Wessely (*WS*. 1886, p. 212) and Kenyon (*Catulogus*, i. p. 230). The analogies of the Aphrodito Papyri enable it to be read more completely than was done by the previous editors: and as it is in any case an interesting letter, I publish it anew.

- 1 ⁴⁷ [ἀ]πελύσαμεν ἐξελθε[ί]ν εἰς Ἀγατρο[λήν]⁴⁵ . . .
 2 δεδωκότες αὐτοῖς προθεσμίαν μηνῶ[ν] ἀπὸ τῆς σήμερον]
 3 [ῥ]μ[έ]ρ[ας], ἥτις]⁴⁹ ἐστὶ μ(ηνὸς) Π(υ)ῦ(νι) ἐνδ(ικτιόν)ο(ς) δωδεκάτης
 [.] [. τῆς]
 4 αὐτῆς δωδεκάτης [ἰ]νδ(ικτιόν)ο(ς) ὅστις οὖν ὑπαι[τ]ήση αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῶν
 ὑπουργῶ[ν] τοῦ]
 5 Ἀμι[ρ]αλμ[ο]υμνιν⁵⁰ τῶν ὄντων εἴ(ς) τε⁵¹ Ἀνατολήν καὶ Αἴγυπτον
 μετὰ τὴν δ[εδομένην]
 6 αὐτοῖς παρ' ἡμῶν προθεσμίαν τούτους κρατή[σ]η καὶ ἀποστρέψη εἰ(ς)
 τ[οὺς οἴκους?]
 7 [αὐτῶν].⁵² Ἀπαιτήση ἕκαστον [α]ὑτῶν γομίσματα τρία· οὕτω γὰρ
 ἐθεμ[ατίσαμεν]⁵³
 8 [αὐτοὺς δο]ῦναι, καὶ πρὸς τὸ δῆλον εἶναι τῷ πα ὄντι σιγιλλίῳ
 ἐχρησάμεθ[α]

⁴⁷ In the translation by U. Bouriant, *Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique Française du Caire*, 1895, p. 227.

⁴⁸ S. Lane-Poole, *Egypt in the Middle Ages*, p. 27.

⁴⁹ K. marks a lacuna before all the lines, but in ll. 2, 4 6 the beginning is, I think, certainly preserved.

⁵⁰ See below, p. 115.

⁵¹ The tops and bottoms of the letters in these two words are visible.

⁵⁰ Ar. *Amir-al-Mu'minin*, 'Commander of the Faithful,' i.e. the Khalif.

⁵¹ MS. *εἰτε*. This seems to make no sense, and in the Aphrodito Papyri *εἰ/* is the regular abbreviation for *εἰς*.

⁵² The dot here (which is in the MS.) can hardly be a symbol for *καὶ*, but seems intended as a punctuation-mark. It is followed by a blank space.

⁵³ *θεματίζω* is regularly used in the same sense in the Aphrodito Papyri.

- 9 [Ἀραβικοῖς] (καὶ) Ἑλληνικοῖς γράμμασιν, ἐπιτ[ί]θεντες ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν συνήθη[ν] γνῶσιν⁵⁴ ?]
 10 [Ἐγράφη μ(η)νός Π](α)ϋ(ν)ι ε, ἰνδ(ικτιόνος) δωδεκάτης.

This letter evidently relates to certain fugitives, and if, like most of the papyri in the volume, it came from the Fayum, it may relate to the very fugitives mentioned in the Aphrodito Papyri. The mention of Ἀνατολή, however, makes it appear more probable that the fugitives were sailors requisitioned for the κοῦρσον Ἀνατολῆς,⁵⁵ who had fled to escape the service: cf. B.M. Inv. No. 1505, (ὑπὲρ) προστίμου ναυτ(ῶν) μα φυγόντων τῶν παρὰ χ(ωρίου) Τ[.]⁵⁶

Another subject of frequent occurrence, both in the letters and in the accounts, is the naval organization of the early Khalifate, on which a good deal of light is thrown by these papyri. The maintenance of the fleet was charged upon the inhabitants in three ways: the payment of money for specified purposes, the provision of articles of various kinds, and the supply of sailors. It appears that sailors were raised by government requisitions from all parts of Egypt, and not only from the coast-towns, as we might expect, and as assumed by v. Kremer.⁵⁷ The service was evidently a compulsory one, but the sailors requisitioned received wages, and sometimes instead of the sailors themselves an ἀπαργυρισμός or money-payment was accepted. In one letter (Inv. No. 1336) Kurrāh writes to the effect that as Basilios had neglected to send the sailors asked for he has been compelled to hire them elsewhere, and he therefore orders Basilios to send the amount of their wages; and another interesting document, the Coptic papyrus Or. 6220 (1), concerns a refusal by the government to accept ἀπαργυρισμός. It appears

⁵⁴ The word is frequent in the Aph. Papp., denoting an account. If used here, it will probably refer to a list of persons missing, placed at the foot of the document.

⁵⁵ See below, p. 115.

⁵⁶ The text on the verso, taken by Droysen for a glossary of some foreign language, but correctly explained by Wessely as an account and published by him, though in a rather unintelligible form, in *WS.* 1887, p. 243, receives, like the letter, some light from the Aphrodito Papyri. Crum (*Catalogue*, p. 310, No. 698) has shown that it contains Coptic headings but the main portion of the text is Greek, though the place-names are of course Coptic. It appears to be a μερισμός or assignment of the taxation-quotas among various estates. As a specimen I give lines 2 and 3, following the Coptic heading:—

2] νο(μισματα) ιβ γ' γηδ(λου) Παβερτ νο(μισματα) γ' οὐσία(ς) Χεμεσοφθ κ... × γηδ(λου) Ταερμος (ὑπὲρ) ἰ(ν)δ(ικτιόνος) γ νο(μισματα) δ (καὶ) ἰ(ν)δ(ικτιόνος) δ νο(μισματα) blank

3] . . . γηδ(λου) υἰῶ(ν) sic Μαρῶ (ὑπὲρ ?) ἰ(ν)δ(ικτιόνος) [γ νο(μισματα) η (καὶ) ἰ(ν)δ(ικτιόνος) δ νο(μισματα) ι : γηδ(λου) Μηρῆ νο(μισματα) ιθ : λάκκ(ου) Πζοετ νο(μισματα) β/ (= #) × μικροῦ πωταμοῦ (καὶ ?) γηδ(λου) νο(μισματα) ζ . .

Under the indiction numbers of 1. 3 are placed in the following lines the entries δμ(ολως) with an amount in *solidi*. Wessely has frequently read the *vo* of νομισματα, which at this period becomes a mere symbol, like our inverted comma, as *o*. γηδ stands, not, as explained by Wessely, for γῆς δημοσίας, but for γηδίου, a word frequently used in the accounts of the Aphrodito collection to mean, apparently, a smaller land-unit than the τῶπος. The crosses are more probably symbols to mark revision (similar ones occur in the accounts of the Aphrodito collection) than the sign for ὑπὲρ. The word at the beginning of 1. 3 may end in *αγρ*, but is hardly διαγρα(φῆς).

⁵⁷ *Culturgesch. des Orients unter den Chalifen*, i. p. 248.

that the *lashane* of an *ἐποίκιον* under Aphrodito paid through the pagarch Basilius *ἀπαργυρισμός* in lieu of workmen ordered for work at Babylon. The pagarch received the money and paid it to the tax-official at Hypsele. When Kurridi's messenger, 'Garrāh the Saracen,' arrived, he declared that only the workmen themselves could be accepted; 'and we' (it is the *lashane* who is speaking) went and hired the aforesaid workmen. Basilius therefore, at the request of the *lashane*, applied to the tax-official for the return of the money; and the document is a receipt for it from the *lashane*.

As regards the method of choosing the sailors it is probable that this was the same as that for the raising of ordinary taxes. The number required was stated in the Governor's letter to the pagarch; the quota for each *ἐποίκιον* was specified in the *ἐντάγγιον* addressed to it; and the choice of men would be left to the local officials. There are indications that the choice was made on the basis of a register, in accordance with which certain persons were noted as liable to service.

The sailors having been chosen, the next step was to take security for their due fulfilment of the service. Among the accounts are lists of sailors and workmen requisitioned for various services; and in some of these the names are in each case followed by the name of the surety (*ἀντιφωρητής*). The agreements themselves were probably always in Coptic; the Coptic documents include several of this kind.⁵⁸

In addition to the Egyptian sailors obtained by this kind of conscription, we meet two other classes of persons connected with the fleet, the *μωαγαρίται*⁵⁹ and the *μαῦλοι*.⁶⁰ The former word is the Ar. *Mudāḡirāu*, which originally denoted the Arabs who had taken part in the Hegira, or flight from Mecca to Medina; but by this time it had come to be applied not only to them but to Arabs who left their homes subsequently; Hegira in fact now meant, not *flight*, but *emigration*.⁶¹ These emigrants were the Arabs who had settled in the military colonies established in various parts of the Khalifate, such as Kairawān in Africa and Fustāt in Egypt. On the original Muslim theory the whole of a conquered country became the property of the conquering army, but this practice, impossible to carry through, was soon given up, and the Arab settlers, instead of this huge and unmanageable booty, received an allowance for their support.⁶² This was of two kinds, the *ρόυζικόν*, explained by Becker⁶³ as the Ar. *rizk*, an allowance in corn from the *tabala*, and the *ρόγά*, a similar allowance in money from the

⁵⁸ The protocol fragment in *PSI*, xvi, is probably from such an agreement. The *verso*, l. 2^a, should no doubt be read *ἀμολογία* γενα-
μ(ένη) παρ(ὰ) Ἱερημία μ . . . χάρ(ιν) τ(ῶν)

⁵⁹ Or *μωαγαρίτες*: the nominative never occurs.

⁶⁰ In Inv. No. 1348 (*Nouv Pal. Soc.*, Pl. 76) l. 5, and several other places occurs a mysterious word *μαχαν* (gen. plur.) Professor Becker has suggested in a letter that *μαυλων* should be

read. The reading in all cases is certainly *μαχαν*, and the fact that it occurs several times, sometimes as an abbreviation (μλ), shows that it cannot be a slip of the pen. *μαυλοι* would make very good sense.

⁶¹ Wellhausen, *Ar. Reich*, p. 16; Becker, *P.AE.*, p. 93.

⁶² Wellhausen, *Ar. Reich*, pp. 19 f. et.

⁶³ *P.AE.*, p. 93.

χρυσικά δημόσια.⁶⁴ Other supplies were however raised for the Muslims, for example clothing.⁶⁵ It appears from these papyri that the *Μηλαίτην* were largely employed in the fleet.

In *μαῦλοι* we have the Ar. *mauālī*,⁶⁶ a word which denotes either freedmen or persons of non-Arab race who had embraced Islām. In these papyri it seems often to be used of the former, and we thus get phrases like *Αβου Σαειδ μαυλ' Αλερθ υι Αλαχαμ*, where the second name is that of the person whose client or freedman the former was. The *mauālī* were of course employed in various capacities, and were affiliated to Arabic tribes; and it appears from the Aphrodito Papyri that some of them served in the fleet, the provision of their food and wages being charged upon the tax-payers.

Besides sailors, workmen, such as carpenters, unskilled labourers (*ἐργάται*), and caulkers (*καλαφάται*), were requisitioned for naval purposes; and money and supplies in kind were regularly called for from Aphrodito. Among the latter are ropes, cables, wood for building, nails, bread, wine, *ὄξος*, *ἔψημα*, and butter. In one case nine measures of butter are ordered for a fleet apparently just setting out. They are to be sent to Alexandria and delivered to the Augustal.⁶⁷

Coming now to the disposition of the fleet itself, we find that it was regularly employed in making raids upon the coasts of the Byzantine Empire. These raids, known as *κοῦρσα*, from the Latin *cursus*,⁶⁸ were made yearly, the taxes for each *κοῦρσον* being raised in the previous indiction.⁶⁹ This system of periodical raids was, according to Amari,⁷⁰ commenced by Mūsā b. Nusair in A.D. 704, and it was certainly fully established during the governorship of 'Abd-allāh and Qurrah.

The word *κοῦρσον* seems to have been transferred from the raid itself to the fleet making the raid,⁷¹ and we thus find it used with certain place-names, showing that the Arabic navy was sub-divided into distinct fleets with their own organization, probably much like our Home Fleet, Channel Fleet, etc. The fleets which occur are the following:—*κοῦρσον Αἰγύπτου*, *κοῦρσον Ἀφρικῆς*, *κοῦρσον Ἀνατολῆς*, and *κοῦρσον θαλάσσης*. These names are interesting as they throw incidentally some light on the organization of the Khalifate. The first two are the provinces respectively of Africa and

⁶⁴ In *BGU*. 301, l. 11 *ρωγά* (*sic*) is used of corn; but in the Aphrodito Papyri it always means the money-allowance, as opposed to the *ρουζικόν*.

⁶⁵ *καμίασια*, Ar. *kaamis*, *P.A.F.* v.; cf. Becker, *Beiträge*, ii. p. 85.

⁶⁶ For them, see Wellhausen, *Ar. Reich*, pp. 45, 46, 171, etc.; Goldziher, *Mohammedanische Studien*, pp. 104 ff.; v. Kremer, *Kulturgesch.* ii. pp. 154 ff.

⁶⁷ It is interesting to find this official so late. This is a later instance than Amélineau, *Vie d'Isaac, Patriarche d'Alexandrie*, p. 73; another instance is in Crum, *Coptic ostraca*, 320. l. 5.

⁶⁸ Hence our *corsair*. In Inv. No. 1388 the persons making a *κοῦρσον* are called *ποκορυσάριοι*.

⁶⁹ In *P.A.F.* p. 90 Becker quotes me as stating that *κοῦρσον* is used also as a dating-system. This was a misapprehension on my part, due to such expressions as *ἐπὶ παρούσης ἰνδικτιόνος η, κοῦρσον δὲ ἰνδικτιόνος θ*.

⁷⁰ *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*. i. p. 124.

⁷¹ Mr. Crum points out that in no case is it necessary to assume this transference; but it would be very natural with such an expression as *κοῦρσον Αἰγύπτου*.

Egypt representing the Byzantine *dioceses* of the same names. The third again in all probability is the old *ἀνατολική διοίκησις*⁷² or *Oriens*,⁷³ or so much of it as was under Arab rule. It appears from this, taken together with the fact that the eparchies still existed,⁷⁴ that the Arabs had modelled their empire very closely on that of the Byzantine Emperors, even to the retention of such a name as *Oriens*, which, to them, was no longer appropriate. The *κοῦρσον θαλάσσης* is obscure.

The *κοῦρσον* of which we hear most is naturally that of Egypt. There were two great arsenals connected with this, that in 'the island of Babylon,' under the control of 'Abd-al-A'lā b. Abī Ḥakīm, and that at Clysma on the Red Sea, under 'Abd-er-Rahmān b. Ilyās.⁷⁵ As to the headquarters of the *κοῦρσον* of Africa we hear nothing in these papyri; those of the *κοῦρσον* 'Ανατολῆς were perhaps at Laodicea in Syria, as we hear in an account of *ναυτῶν ὀνοματίων δ τῆ(ς) ὑμε(τέρας) κώμ(ης) σταλέ(ντων) εἰ(ς) τ(ῆν) Ἀνατολ(ῆν) λ(ό)γ(ω) ναυτικ(οῦ) ἀκ(α)τι(ῶν) (καὶ) δρομο(ναρίων) κούρσου) ἰ(ν)δ(ικτιόνος) ἰβ(καὶ) ἐξελθ(όντων) ἀπὸ Λαοδικί(ας) (καὶ) ἐπανελθ(όντων) ἐπὶ (τῆς) παρού(σης) ἰνδ(ικτιόν)ο(ς) ἰγ.* It will be noticed that sailors were requisitioned not only for the *κοῦρσον* of Egypt but for others as well.

Besides the *κοῦρσον* fleets we hear also of a fleet called *παραφυλακῆ τῶν στομίων*, evidently a squadron occupied in guarding the mouths of the Nile; and it appears that *μαιωῖ* were employed in this as well as in the *κοῦρσα*.

The letter relating to naval matters which is of most general interest is Inv. No. 1347, of which a facsimile was given in the third volume of the *Catalogue of Greek Papyri*, Plate 98. It is a request for information as to the *ναυτῶν ἐν τῇ διοικήσει σου ἐκ τῶν ἐξελθόντων εἰς τὸ κοῦρσον Ἀφρικῆς μετὰ Ἀτα υἱοῦ) Ραφε, ὠνπερ ἀπέστειλεν Μουση υἱὸς Νοσαειρ.* The reference is to the expedition in A.D. 703-4 against Sicily or Sardinia by 'Atā b. Rāfi', whose fleet, on its return voyage, was wrecked off the African coast, the commander being drowned.⁷⁶ According to the so-called Ibn Kutaibah,⁷⁷ 'Atā was despatched by 'Abd-al-'Azīz b. Marwān, the Governor of Egypt, against Sardinia, and having put in to an African port was forbidden by the Governor, Mūsā b. Nusair, to proceed, on the ground that the season was too late for safety; but he disobeyed the command, with disastrous results. The present letter seems to show that the despatch of the expedition was due to Mūsā himself; but it confirms the statement that at least part of 'Atā's fleet came from Egypt.

⁷² Georg. Cypr. 798a.

⁷³ *Not. Dignit.* i. 42-48, etc.

⁷⁴ See above, p. 108.

⁷⁵ This may be the headquarters of the *κοῦρσον θαλάσσης*, but it is difficult to see what a raiding fleet could do there. Under the Fātimid Khalifs the headquarters of the Red Sea fleet were at Aīdhāb, further south (Wus-

tenfeld, *Calcaschandi's Geogr. und Veric. von Äg.* in *Abhandl. der Kgl. Gesellsch. der Wissensch. zu Göttingen*, Bd. 25, p. 215).

⁷⁶ Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, i. p. 478; J. H. Jones, *Ibn Abd-el-Hakem's Hist. of the Conqu. of Spain*, pp. 23, 24; Anari, *Biblioteca Arabo-Sicula*, i. pp. 273-5.

⁷⁷ Anari, *loc.*

Workmen, money, and various articles are naturally raised for other purposes than the navy: and among others for the buildings erected so plentifully by the Khalif Al-Walid. One of these, frequently mentioned, is the 'mosque of Jerusalem' (μασγίδα Ἱεροσολύμων), evidently the great Akṣā mosque, about the foundation of which the tradition is somewhat uncertain. The great majority of historians attribute it to the Khalif 'Abd-al-Malik (A.D. 683-705), and the founder's inscription in the building seems to bear this out:⁷⁸ but Ibn Al-Athīr, who wrote in the first half of the thirteenth century, states that 'El-Walid . . . built of mosques the mosque of Damascus, the mosque at El-Madīnah, supported on columns, and the Akṣā mosque.'⁷⁹ The testimony of the Aphrodito Papyri is not conclusive, but it seems clear that extensive building was going on during the reign of Al-Walid. Mujīr-al-Dīn⁸⁰ states that in this Khalif's reign the east part of the mosque fell, and had therefore to be repaired: but we hear in Inv. No. 1515 of the νεοῦ κτίσ(ματος) τοῦ⁸¹ Ἀμιραλμου(μιν) εἰς) Ἱερου(σόλυμα).⁸² It seems likely therefore that if 'Abd-al-Malik must, on the evidence of the inscription and the majority of historians, be regarded as the founder of the mosque, yet it was greatly enlarged by his successor.⁸³

Another building of which we hear a good deal is the mosque of Damascus, which all historians attribute to Al-Walid: and a third is the αὐλή κτιζομένη τῷ Ἀμιραλμουμιν ἐν τῷ Φοσσάτῳ παρὰ ποταμὸν ὑπὸ Ἰαειε υἱὸν (sic) Ἀνδαλα (Inv. No. 1374). As this Yahyā b. Ḥanḍala is known as the builder of the mosque at Fustāt, which was re-built under Al-Walid,⁸⁴ it seems likely that αὐλή is here used as *mosque*.

As with the fleet, so with these mosques, the contributions of Aphrodito were of three kinds—money, materials, and workmen. The materials consist of building materials, such as copper-plates (χαλκώματα κύπρου) and wood, and of provisions for the workmen. Workmen, it should be added, are requisitioned even for mosques outside of Egypt, such as Damascus and Jerusalem.⁸⁵

⁷⁸ See C. J. M. De Vogüé, *Temple de Jérusalem*, pp. 85, 86. The inscription at present bears the name of the 'Abbāsid Khalif Al-Ma'mūn, but the date is given as a. H. 72, the inference being obvious that Al-Ma'mūn substituted his own name for that of 'Abd-al-Malik, but forgot to alter the date; and this conjecture is supported by the appearance of the inscription.

⁷⁹ G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 557.

⁸⁰ *Histoire de Jérusalem et d'Hebron*, transl. by H. Sauvaire, p. 52. Mujīr-al-Dīn died in A.D. 1521.

⁸¹ Οἱ κτιστοῦ; there is no sign of contraction after κτισ.

⁸² It should however be added that there is some doubt as to whether this really refers to

the mosque, as in one case the word αὐλή is used as the equivalent of the above expression. If αὐλή is not the same as μασγίδα (*masjid*, mosque) the remarks in the text should be modified: a discussion of the question must be reserved for the volume in which these texts are published.

⁸³ Cf. too Eutychius, 2, 372 (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* 111, col. 1119), 'Mittens hic (sc. Al-Walid) Hierosolyma templum Hierosolymitanum extruxit, atque opere albario ornavit,' etc.

⁸⁴ Becker, *PSR*, p. 19.

⁸⁵ Cf. Leontius, *Life of St. John of Alexandria* (ed. Gelzer), ch. xx. p. 37, where the patriarch sends for the rebuilding of the church at Jerusalem χιλίους Αἰγυπτίους ἐργάτας. This was under the Empire.

In concluding this account of the letters it may be well to add that they go with the Arabic letters⁸⁶ to vindicate the character of Qurrah b. Shark as Governor. Most of the earlier Arabic historians wrote under the 'Abbāsid Khalifs, with the result that the tradition has been almost consistently hostile to the Omayyads and their subordinates.⁸⁷ Qurrah has suffered with others from this tendency, and though he does not reach quite such a depth of infamy as the notorious Hajjāj, with whom tradition tends to associate him, he is nevertheless represented as oppressive and irreligious in the extreme. This literary tradition finds no support in the Aphrodito Papyrus: on the contrary Qurrah appears in a distinctly favourable light. Many of the letters are indeed filled with threats of summary punishment against Basilius and the people of his *διοίκησις* in the event of disobedience to the Governor's orders; but this was probably the usual tone of the officials at headquarters to the local officials;⁸⁸ and as Basilius continued month after month to retain his post, and the rebukes for neglect of duty had to be constantly renewed, Qurrah's threats can hardly be taken *au pied de la lettre*. Certainly Qurrah is careful to safeguard the interests of the tax-payer. Thus in Inv. No 1353, in giving instructions for a *μοιρασμός* or assessment, he threatens Basilius and the assessors with punishment *ἐὰν εὐρωμεν παντοῖον χωρίον βαρεθὲν (sic) [παρὰ δύναμι] αὐτῶν ἢ καὶ ἐλαφρωθὲν παρ' ὃ ἦν δίκαιον ἐκταγήναι*; and similar injunctions occur several times. In the letter just quoted he seems to be finding fault with Basilius for being too inaccessible to the complaints of the inhabitants, and he says:—'*ἀποσχόλασον σεαυτὸν τοῖς τῆς διοικῆ(σεως) σου [εἰς τὸ ἀ]κουσαι τὰ παρ' αὐτῶν λεγόμενα καὶ κρίναι ἐκάστῳ [τὸ δίκαιο].*'

Leaving now the letters to Basilius, we need not devote much time to the *ἐντάγμια*. The word *ἐντάγμιον* usually means *receipt*,⁸⁹ but in these papyri it is used of the official order for the raising of a tax. These *ἐντάγμια* were addressed by the Governor to the people of the village concerned and contained a specification of the amount of the tax; and they were enclosed with the letter to the pagarch.⁹⁰ As already said, they were bilingual, the Arabic being written first, and afterwards the Greek. The Greek, though written at headquarters, like that of the letters, is in a different style of hand from them. The hand of the letters is a flowing, sloping cursive; that of the *ἐντάγμια* is a compact and regular minuscule, almost identical with the early minuscule hand of vellum MSS. and therefore of value for palaeographical purposes.⁹¹ The Museum collection includes only five

⁸⁶ Cf. Becker, *PSR.* pp. 18, 35; *PAF.* p. 96.

⁸⁷ Cf. v. Kremer, *Culturgesch.* i. p. 141.

⁸⁸ Cf. the peremptory tone of *EKT.* iii, addressed probably to the pagarch of Arsinoe.

⁸⁹ Cf. *c.g.* B.M. Papp. 1051, 7; 1060, 8; *PERF.* 146; *Gr. Pap.* ii. 97, 7, 8; 98, 5, 7, all of the late Byzantine period. In Pap. Lips. 58, l. 13 etc. of the early Byzantine period the word is used in a sense approaching that of the Aphrodito Papyrus, which, as Mitteis shows

there, is probably the original meaning.

⁹⁰ *UKF.* 260 is a document of similar character, but is addressed by a pagarch to individuals. In *PERF.* 586 however the pagarch of Arsinoe addresses an *ἐντάγμιον* to the 'Bewohner von Pantikos.'

⁹¹ For specimens, see *PSR.*, Plates VII., VIII. and *Ar. Pal.*, Plate 101; cf. 100 Wilcken, *Tafeln*, xix. d.

ἐντάγια, all incomplete. Three of them supply the missing halves of *PSR.* vii.-ix.

This article is already so long that little space remains to speak of the accounts; and indeed the problems connected with them are so many and at present so obscure that it would in any case be useless to deal with them in detail here. They are, however, not less interesting in many respects than the letters and perhaps even more valuable for the light they throw on the details of administration. Their difficulty arises from various causes: in part from the fragmentary state of many of them, in part from the extent to which abbreviation is carried, and in part (and this is perhaps the chief cause) to the novelty of their contents and the fact that accounts are inevitably much more summary and disconnected in their phraseology than letters. Fortunately the collection included several accounts practically complete: and these have been of great assistance in sorting and piecing together the innumerable fragments; for the papyri arrived at the Museum in terrible disorder, hundreds of fragments, large and small, being jumbled together in endless confusion. Naturally many fragments are too small to be of any value, and others, containing nothing but lists of names, are scarcely worth the trouble of piecing together; but the whole collection has been gone through several times, the scattered fragments of the more complete documents united to the main portions, and all fragments of any interest sorted out and if possible pieced together. In some cases it has been possible from these *disjecta membra* to restore the greater part of the original MS.: and even where the collected fragments of an account do not fit together, it is in many cases worth while to publish them in full. So far as can be seen at present, the volume will contain texts of forty-eight Greek accounts, complete or fragmentary, varying in length from four or five to over fourteen hundred lines: besides which somewhat full descriptions will be given of all such fragments as, though not worth publishing in full, contain anything which seems of value.

With very few exceptions the accounts are in book-form: and they are written in various types of the minuscule hand seen in the ἐντάγια. Some are coarsely written, but as a rule the writing is neat and clear to read, and sometimes is astonishingly regular and elegant. Only a few of the documents can be certainly dated, but it seems clear that they all fall within the last few years of the seventh and the first twenty years of the eighth century A.D. Their value is great in many directions. To the Coptic scholar the many Coptic names both of persons and places will be of great interest: the Arabic names which occur plentifully will furnish, in their transliterations, material for estimating the pronunciation and vocalization of Arabic: and a number of new Greek words or words used in new senses will appeal to the lexicographer. The chief importance of the collection is of course for the historian of Arabic Egypt, to whom it is likely to yield a great amount of information as to the organization of Egypt under the early Khalifate, and especially as to the kinds of taxes and the method of their collection. It includes registers relating to the *χρυσικά*

δημόσια and *ambula* generally, to the poll- and land-taxes, and to διανομαί or extraordinary taxes (requisitions), μερισμοί or assessments for taxation, lists of sailors and workmen, and special accounts. Of the last the most interesting is Inv. No. 1448, an account of the expenses of the Governor's household and those of the *Mohājirūn*, which, besides the names of Greek notaries, etc., contains a good many names of Arabs and *mawālī*, with a specification, in the case of the former, of the tribes to which they belonged. The tribes which occur are the Shujā', the Ḳuraish and the Anṣār.⁹²

It will be seen that the interest and value of the Aphrodito Papyri are great; indeed there has probably never before been discovered so large a collection of papyri from any single place, all falling within so short a period. There are, as already stated, innumerable difficulties in the explanation of the documents, especially the accounts, but it may be hoped that the united labour of other scholars, both Arabic and Greek, will avail to clear up many points which in the forthcoming edition must be left doubtful.

In conclusion I must express my thanks to Mr. W. E. Crum for information as to the Coptic papyri and many hints on other points, to Dr. Kenyon for advice on various matters, to Mr. A. G. Ellis and Professor Becker for assistance in questions of Arabic history and nomenclature, and to Dr. Hunt, who has read through the proofs and made several suggestions.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE.

Since the article was in type a few modifications and corrections have been suggested, which, for convenience, are collected here:—

P. 102, note 15.—Mr. Crum remarks that these Coptic Papyri are all of the second half of the eighth century. He suggests for *απο παγορχ* 'late pagarch.'

P. 105, note 26.—These Petric Papyri are about contemporary with the Aphrodito Papyri, and in them 'the νομός of the πόλις of Sbeht (Apollinopolis)' is always so named (Crum).

P. 106, ll. 14, 15, and notes 30 and 31.—Mr. Crum shows that Krall's identifications in the passage referred to are very precarious. The subject is a complicated one, but its decision is not of great importance to the argument, as it is clear from the Coptic and Arabic *scalae* that there was a Theodosiopolis—**ΤΟΥΤΩ**—Ṭahā al-Madīnah, which was a nome-capital. There were probably two places called **ΤΟΥΤΩ**, Ṭahā, *Θεοδοσίον*.

P. 107, note 36.—The whole series Tebu—Dbôt—**ΤΒΩ** as applied to Itfa is very possibly a myth. These are the names of Edfu = Apollinopolis. Delete the sentence beginning 'as in one.' The phrase quoted proves nothing, as it probably means not 'the Panopolite nome opposite' but 'the portion of the Panopolite nome on the opposite side to Panopolis.' A number of papyri from this κώμη 'Αφροδίτης are at Florence; see Vitelli, *Ausonia*, ii. pp. 137 f. The evidence of the B.M. papyri and of those at Florence, according to information kindly supplied me by Prof. Vitelli, seems to indicate that the village was our Aphrodito.

⁹² I owe these identifications to the kindness of Professor Becker, to whom I sent a transcript of the fragments first discovered. The

Ḳuraish and Anṣār were the two most distinguished of Arab tribes.

P. 108, note 42.—‘Abd-allāh b. Shuraiḥ appears in B.M. Or. 6218 in connexion with the nome of Koeis (Crimm); possibly, therefore, the *λίμνον* was simply the border district between Arcadia and the Thebaid.

P. 109, note 43.—Mr. Crum informs me that the translation of *RKT*. iii. given by Krall is quite wrong; the letter merely asks for information as to palm-trees belonging to churches.

P. 116, note 82.—The Arabic minute of one of the letters, read since the article was in type, shows that *αὐλή* = *palace*, not *mosque*. Consequently the reference in Inv. No. 1374 is to a palace built at Fustāt for the Khalif, probably as an official residence for the Governor. Another *αὐλή* was built at Jerusalem.

H. I. BELL.

RELICS OF GRAECO-EGYPTIAN SCHOOLS.

IN the winter of 1905-6 Mr. C. T. Currelly and I acquired a large number of ostraka from the dealers of Luxor and Karnak, amongst which were several examples of school exercises. A few ostraka of this class, and tablets of a similar kind, have already been published; and, by comparison of these with our collection, it is possible to gather some facts in connexion with the methods of instruction pursued in the Greek schools of Egypt.

The ostraka purchased were said by the dealers to have come mainly from the neighbourhood of Karnak, and to have been found at different times during the preceding five years. The majority of those here published—all those from our collection except numbers II, IV, VI, IX, X, XVI, and XVII—appear, however, to belong to one group: they are written on pottery which is discoloured in a rather unusual way, and are very distinct in this respect from any other of those bought with them; while from the general character of the writing the texts upon them may with reasonable probability be regarded as contemporary. It seems in accordance with the facts to suppose that the finder of these ostraka had chanced on a spot where a schoolmaster of Thebes had taught his classes in the open air near a rubbish heap, on which material for writing exercises might be obtained in plenty, to be thrown away again as soon as used: or possibly, if it is more in accordance with educational dignity to imagine the school as held among more savoury surroundings, we may have here the contents of the waste-ostrakon-basket which were deposited on the dust-tip after a day's work. The date of this group seems, judged by the writing and the character of the pottery, to be about the middle of the second century A.D., and so is approximately the same as that of the dated ostrakon published by Jouguet and Lefebvre to which reference is made below. The other ostraka here published are probably of slightly later date, except No. III, which is of the fourth fifth century; No. X, of the third century; No. XVI, of the third, fourth century; and No. XVII, of Ptolemaic date, probably early first century B.C.

The most elementary in character of all is an alphabet.

I. (G. 5). .079 × .064.¹

A	Ω	Γ	Π
B	Ψ	Κ	Ο
Γ	Χ	Λ	Ξ
Δ	Φ	Μ	Ν
Ε	Υ		
Z	Τ		
H	Σ		
Θ	Ρ		

¹ The dimensions given are the extreme height and breadth, in millimetres. The numbers in brackets are those provisionally assigned to the ostraka as catalogued.

Abecedaria are not uncommonly found in Greek lands: but the curious *boustrophedon* arrangement adopted in this instance is quite unusual. The nearest parallel seems to be in an alphabet found at Sparta cut on a small column of blue marble, in which the letters are arranged in six vertical rows of four.² The principle may be that enunciated by Quintilian,³ who advised that pupils should be taught to recognise the forms of the letters apart from their position in a regular order. The hand in which the ostrakon is written is a clear and firm one, doubtless that of the teacher.

Another example is also to be connected with instruction in the alphabet.

II. (G. 20). .080 × .096. Lower right-hand corner broken away.

ΑΧΙ . . ΕΥΣ	Ἀχι[λλ]εὺς
ΒΙΩΝΓΑΙΟΣ	Βίων Γαίος
ΔΙΩΝΕΡΩCΖΗΝΩΝ	Δίων Ἐρως Ζήνων
ΗΡΩΝΘΕΩΝΙΩΝ	Ἡρών Θεων Ἴων
ΚΛΕΩΝΛΕΩΝΜΑΡΩΝ[	Κλεων Λεων Μαρων [N
ΞΕΡΞΗCΟΡΦΥC[	Ξερξης Ὀρφ(ε)ὺς [Π
ΡΟΥΦΟ[	Ρουφο[ς Σ Τ Τ . . .
ΦΙΛΩ[	Φιλω[ν Χ Ψ Ω

Here the order of the letters is impressed on the mind of the pupil by a catalogue of familiar names. Two similar lists are contained in a papyrus from Tebtunis published by Grenfell and Hunt⁴: the first gives an alphabetical catalogue of trades—*ἀρτοκόπος*, *βαφεύς*, *γναφεύς*, and so forth: the second is slightly more elaborate and furnishes a kind of nursery-story, beginning,

ἀπόλλυται μου [. . .
βίαιος ὁ . . πλ . . [
γενναῖος ὁ ἄρας

and continuing with short sentences through the alphabet. This ostrakon also appears to have been written by the teacher.

The next stage in the education of the child was the instruction in syllables, or word-building. A good example of this process in its most elementary form is given by an ostrakon from Oxyrhynchus found by Grenfell and Hunt in their excavations of the season 1905-6 and now in the

² H. J. W. Tillyard in *Annual of British School at Athens*, xii. p. 476.

³ Quintilian *Inst. Or.* i. 1. 25. Quae causa est praecipientibus, ut etiam, cum satis adfixisse eas pueris recto illo quo primum scribi

solent contextu videntur, retro agant rursus et uaria permutatione turbent.

⁴ B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, *Tebtunis Papyri*, ii. 278.

British Museum, which shows a scheme of the letters of the alphabet each in turn combined with the different vowels. A considerable part of the ostrakon is lost. I have to thank the Museum authorities for permission to publish this.

III.

Η|
 Θ|
 Ι|
 Κ|
 Λ|
 Μ|
 ΝΑΝΕΝ|
 ΞΑΞΕΞΗΞΙΞΟΞ|
]ΑΟΕΟΗΟΙΟΟ|
]ΑΠΕΠΗΠ|
 ΡΑΡΕΡΗΡ|
 ΣΑΣΕΣΗΣ|
 ΤΑΤΕΤΗΤ|
 ΥΑΥΕΥΗΥ|
 ΦΑΦΕΦΗ|
 ΧΑΧΕΧΗΧΙ|
]ΥΕΨΗ|

(In l. 11 ΡΗ is corrected from ΡΕ).

This scheme might almost have served as a text for the performance described by Athenaeus,⁵ in which a chorus sang 'βῆτα ἄλφα βᾶ, βῆτα εἰ βῆ, βῆτα ἦτα βῆ, βῆτα ἰῶτα βῆ, βῆτα οὐ βῆ, βῆτα ὕ βῆ, βῆτα ὦ βῆ,' and so on in antistrophes through the alphabet: but it is slightly fuller, as it contains combinations of two vowels as well as of a consonant and a vowel, the latter only of which would appear to have been included in the song.

A word-building exercise of a somewhat similar kind has been found at Athens.⁶ In this the scheme is

αρ βαρ γαρ δαρ
 ερ βερ γερ δερ

The following ostrakon may have been intended to serve for instruction in word-building, though the results can hardly be regarded as satisfactory.

⁵ Athenaeus, 453d.

p. 89, from Girard. *L'Éducation Athénienne*,

⁶ Quoted by K. J. Freeman, *Schools of Hellas*, p. 131.

IV. (G. 19). 256 × 131. Broken at left bottom corner

ΝΟΥC
 ΖΑΡ
 ΟΥC
 ΠΟΥC
 ΡΩΜΑΙΟ . .
 CΟΦΟΥC
 ΤΑΥΡΟΥC
 ΥΙΟΥC
 Φ]ΙΛΟΥC
 Χ .] . ΟΥC
 Ψ . .] . . .
 Ω . . .]C

The first letter in each line is well written and regular: the following ones are clumsy and in most cases faint. The general appearance of the ostrakon suggests that the teacher wrote the initial letters in a column and directed his pupil to complete in each line a word ending in *-ουc*. He may have intended that the words should be simply monosyllabic compounds of *-ουc* with the initial letter; and though the pupil was beaten by Ζ, he got on all right with Ν, Ο, and Π. After that, however, he forsook the monosyllabic principle and completed words of two or three syllables.

A similar method seems to have been pursued in another case. Unfortunately the ostrakon is a mere fragment; but enough remains to show that the initial letter of each line is in a different hand from the later ones, and is by a more practised writer. These letters, however, are not in alphabetical order.

V. (G. 25). 118 × 673. Broken on all sides except left.

Ο[
 ΚΑ[
 CΤ[
 ΜΕΤ[
 ΤΗ[
 ΦΑΙ[
 ΤΗ[
 Κ[

Passing on to instruction in writing, we do not find any clear instances of ostraka used for 'copy-book' purposes. The nature of the material would interfere with many copies being made on a single ostrakon: it is more likely that the teacher would write out his specimen on one piece of potsherd, and the pupil proceed to reproduce it on others. There is, however, one example which seems to have been utilised for practice in the formation of numerals

VI. (G. 17) 0.96 x 0.76.

		α	α	·	Α
		β	β		Β
			β	β	
β	β		β	β	

There is a good specimen of a writing exercise on papyrus in Hawara pap. 24, which shows on the *recto* the remains of seven repetitions of the line

Non tibi Tyndaridis facies [innisa Iacoenae]

in a large sprawling uncial hand, and on the *verso* seven repetitions, apparently in the same hand, of

]int uelocius

followed by a number of flourishes.

Other instances of reproductions of a sentence, presumably set as a copy, on waxed tablets have been published by Fröhner⁷ and Goodspeed.⁸ In the former case, on one tablet is written "Αμπελος ὕδωρ πιούσα παρὰ τοῦ δεσπότου ἀκράτου αὐτῶ ἀποδίδωσι τὴν χάριν διπλῆν φιλοπονεῖ: while three other tablets contain each three copies of this in smaller characters, with some errors and corrections, all three being signed above by M. Aurelius Theodorus, son of Anoubion. These can be dated by another tablet of the same collection to about 294 A.D. Goodspeed's tablets show epigrams similarly copied: in one instance

ὃ μὴ δέδωκεν ἡ τύχη κοιμωμένῳ
μίτην δραμεῖται κἄν ὑπὲρ Λάδαν δράμη

in another

ὅταν ποιῶν ποιηρὰ χρηστά τις λαλῆ
καὶ τὸν παρόντα πλησίον μὴ λαιθάνῃ
διπλάσιος αὐτῶ γίνεται ἡ ποιηρία.

These examples of sentences set as 'copies' show that the teachers in choosing them followed the doctrine laid down by Quintilian⁹ that moral

⁷ W. Fröhner, *Tablettes d'écrites du Musée de Marseille* Paris, 1867.

⁸ E. J. Goodspeed, *Greek Documents of New York Historical Society* in *Melanges Nicolé*, pp. 181-2.

⁹ *Inst. Or.* i. 1. 35. "i quoque uersus, qui ad imitationem scribendi proponuntur, non otiosus uelini sententias habeant, sed honestum aliquid momentis."

sentiments should be used for this purpose. Of the same nature is a verse on one of our ostraka.

VII. (G. 7). '066 x '098.

ΟΜΗΘΕΝΔΑΔΙΚΩΝ	ὁ μηθεν ἀδικων
ΟΥΔΕΝΟCΔΕΙΤΑΙΝΟ	οὐδενος δειται νο-
ΜΟΥ	μου

Here the writer has made two corrections, the ϵ of ΜΗΘΕΝ having been originally written as α and the Δ of ΟΥΔΕΝΟC as Θ . These mistakes suggest that this is the work of a scholar, either reproducing a copy set by his teacher or writing from dictation a piece of moral instruction. A similar moral purpose, in a more advanced stage of the course, is found on another ostrakon, which appears to give the end of an elementary composition on the advantages of virtue.

VIII. (G. 9). '108 x '106. Broken above.

ΔΟ[	δο[
ΤΗΝΘΥΙΟΝΕΩ[	την θυιονεω[
ΚΑΛΗΝΤΕΚΑΙΠΟΝ	καλην τε και πον-
ΗΡΑΔΙΕΚΠΕCΗΚΕΙ	ηρα διεκπεση κει-
ΜΑΖΕΤΑΙΑΠΑΝΤΑ	μαζεταιι ἀπαντα
ΔΙΑΤΕΛΟΥCΤΕΤΟΝ	δια τελους τε του
ΒΙΟΝ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΙC	βιον. Ἀνθρωποις
]ΚΩΝΕΑΝ	]κωνεαν
]ΙΟΜΕΝΟ'ΟΝΥΜΕΝΙ'	]ιομενος ὁ Νυμενι(ου).

The last two lines and a half are written in a smaller hand: the last is presumably the signature of the pupil. The purport of the exercise is paralleled in a papyrus published by Grenfell and Hunt,¹⁰ which contains a little story of a man who slew his father and fled into the desert, where he met his punishment from a lion and a serpent: it was, however, copied by a less advanced scholar than the above ostrakon.

There are several analogous examples on other ostraka and tablets, in form more nearly resembling the last but one of those here edited, inasmuch as the sentences are arranged in verse. Such are a group of waxed tablets now at Paris published by Weil¹¹ and said to have come from Saqqara, on which are written, in a late third century cursive with many errors, some

¹⁰ B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, *Greek Papyri*, Series II. 84.

¹¹ *Mélanges Perrot*, p. 331. R. Weil, *Nouvelles tablettes Grecques provenant d'Égypte*.

distichs in iambic trimeters, wherein the teacher appears to have dictated moral sentiments placed in the mouths of mythical personages. One of these may be quoted as a specimen—

Ἴκαρος ἔλεξεν καταπεσῶν ἀπ' αἰθέρος
ύψηλὰ μὴ κόμπαζε, μὴ πέσης μακρά.

Of later date—possibly sixth century—is a collection of hexameter apophthegms on a papyrus at Heidelberg,¹² such as an address from Phoenix to Achilles intended to stay the wrath of the latter, in six lines: the scholastic character of this document seems to be shown by the numerous mistakes and corrections. A more ambitious effort of a Theban student is preserved on one of Jouguet and Lefebvre's ostraka,¹³ which is fortunately dated by the writer in the fourth year of Antoninus Pius: this bears an unfinished account, in seven lines of iambic trimeters, of a father who brought his son, who refused to contribute to his support, before Anacharsis the Scythian for judgment: in this exercise there are only three errors of spelling.

An ostrakon, unfortunately very fragmentary, from our collection seems to show that the moral instruction was extended to include the duties of a citizen.

IX. (G. 10). 106 × 069. Broken on r. and below.

ΕΙΝΕΙΣΑΠΑΝΤΑ[
ΒΙΟΝΚΑΤΑΚΚΕΠ[
ΕΙΝ . . . ΓΥΝΑΙ[
ΤΟΣΚΑΙΔΗΜΟΚΡ[
ΤΟ . ΟΥΣΝΟΙΟΚ[
ΘΕΣΤΟΙΣΚΟΙΝΟ[
ΩΔ . . ΟΙΚΑΙΠ[
ΤΟΙΣΑΘΕΝΕΣ[
ΠΟΝΤΩΝΩΣ . [
ΚΑΙΔΙΑΙΤΩΝ[
ΤΡΙΩΝΠ . ΟΪΣ
 . ΔΙΤΙΑΝ . . ΤΡ[
ΟΥΤΟΥΣΤ[
 . ΙΝ[

¹² *Mélanges Nicole*, p. 615. O. Crusius and G. A. Gerhard, *Mythologische Epigramme in einem Heidelberger Papyrus*.

¹³ *B.C.H.* 1901, p. 201. P. Jouguet and G. Lefebvre, *Deux ostraka de Thèbes*.

The recourse to mythological characters, especially Homeric heroes, which is found in some of the documents quoted above as examples of moral instruction, recurs in others which seem to be more of the nature of exercises in composition—at any rate their moral purpose is not evidenced by what remains of them. One of the largest fragments is the following.

X. (G. 4). 095 × 133. Broken diagonally across from left.

]ΗΝΑΧΙΛΛΕΩΣΤΕΛΕΥΤΗΝΚΑΙΕΔΝ
]ΛΧΑΣΟΜΑΝΤΙΣΚΕΛΕΥΕΙΤΟΙΣ
]ΕΤΑΠΕΜΨΑΣΘΑΙΦΙΛΟΚΤΗΤ
]ΛΗΜΝΟΥ ΟΣΕΙΧΕΝΤΑΤΟΥΗ
]ΣΤΟΞΑ ΚΑΤΕΛΕΙΠΕΝΓΑΡ
]ΔΡΟΥΠΕΠΛΗΓΜΕΝΟΝ
]ΩΣΕΘΕΡΑΠΕΥΘΗ Ο
]ΚΑΙΔΙΟΜΗΔΗΣ
]ΟΥΣΙΚΑΙΘΕΡΑ
]ΧΑΩΝΟΑΣΚΛΗ
]ΔΕΚΑΡΤΕΡΑ[
]ΗΤΗΣ[

Μετα τ]ην Ἀχιλλεως τελευτην και θαν
 ατον(?) Κα]λχας ὁ μαντις κελευει τοις
 Ἀχαιοις μ]εταπεμψισθαι Φιλοκτητ-
 ην ἐκ της] Λημνον· ὅς εἶχεν τα του Ἡ-
 ρακλεου]ς τοξα· κατελειπεν γαρ
 αὐτον ὑφ' ὕ]δρου πεπληγμενον
 και οὐδαμ]ως ἐθεραπευθη· Ὀ-
 δυσσευς δε] και Διομηδης
 αὐτον καταγ]ουσι και θερα-
 πειναι αὐτον Μα]χαων ὁ Ἀσκλη-
 πιου]δε καρτερα[. .
 Φιλοκτ]ητης[. . . .

The grammar of this exercise is evidently shaky, and in the third line the scholar has blundered over the spelling of the name of Philoktetes: the τ is written above the line and the second τ is corrected from ζ .

Other smaller fragments show the names of Homeric heroes but are too incomplete for any connected sense to be made out of the remains upon them. They may, however, be cited.

XI. (G. 1). 122 × 1082. Complete at bottom only.

]ΙΣΣ.[
]ΕΣΧΗΤΟ[
]ΛΕΝΟΥ . ΠΡΟ[
]ΨΩΔΟΥΚΑΠΕΔ[
]ΔΟΜΕΔΟΝΤΑΚΑ . [
]ΜΟΝΟΝΑΣΤΥΟΧΗΣ[
]Η΄ΤΑΥΤΗΝΔΕΝΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΝΙΣ[

XII. (G. 8). 1067 × 103. Broken above and on right.

Ο . [
 ΜΑΚΙΑ[
 ΠΡΟΚΑΛΕΙΤΑΙΤΟΝΑΚ[
 ΕΚ
 ΔΧ . ΔΑΝΟΝΚΑΙΙΔΟΝΤ[
 ΜΟΣ . ΙΝΟΣΝΕΔΝΕΝΠ[
 ΔΕΠΕΙΘΗΤΟΝΔΙΝΕΙΑΝ[
 . ΔΙΟΔΕΠΕΙΘΕΙΣΠΟΡΕ[
 ΜΑΧΟΥΣ ΔΕΔΙΝΕΙ[
 ΕΝΤΟΣΕ[

XIII. (G. 11). 1091 × 1062. Broken on all sides.

] . ΣΥ[
]ΝΕΝΤΩΠΑΙ[
]ΣΕΔ . . . ΕΛΘΕ[
] . ΣΑΝ . ΕΣΤΑΙ[
]ΟΣΔ . . . Δ . . [
 ΔΦ[
] . ΕΤΟΥΣΑ[
]ΔΘΑΝΑΤ[
] . ΕΙΝΕΤ[
]ΛΛΕΥΣ[

With these may be classed one of Fröhner's waxed tablets,¹⁴ which contains the remains of a story of Kalchas and Agamemnon.

An example of a theme dealing with more recent events is given by an ostrakon on which has been written a letter apparently from Alexander to the Carthaginians—more probably a composition of the student than a copy from any historical document.

XIV. (G. 26). 135 × 140. Complete at top only.

Κ	
]ΝΔΡΟΧΑΡΧΗΔΟΝΙ[	Ἄλεξα]νδρος Καρχηδου[οις
]ΛΗΣΕΤΕΚΑΙΔΥΤΟΙ . . . Λ[	]λησετε και αυτοι . . . λ[
]ΙΑΦΥΛΑCCONTECΕΠΕΙΔΗ[	]ια φυλασσουντες επειδη[
]ΤΩΝΠΕΠΟΜΦΑCΙΝΠΡ[	]των πεπομφασιν προ[
]ΛΟΓΙΑΝΔΕΔΩΚΑCΙΝ[	]λογιαν δεδωκασιν[
] . ΝΔΕΞΑΜΕΝΟCΚΑ[	] ν δεξαμενος κα[
]ΚΛΗΜΑΙΟΥΝ . [	]κλημαι ουν[
]ΙΚΗΝΔΙΝ[	]ικην δ' ιν[

The last five ostraka may be classed together as bearing specimens of the exercises described by Quintilian as *narrationes*.¹⁵ He complained that the stage of training at which such exercises should be practised had been usurped by the grammatici, though it properly belonged to the rhetores; and, as our ostraka clearly come from schools taught by the former class, it would appear that the usurpation had been made in Egypt as well as in Rome. Some of the more ambitious quasi-historical narratives preserved on papyri may perhaps represent the compositions of more advanced students in the schools of rhetoric.

A somewhat different side of the instruction, developed from that previously mentioned, where the pupil transcribed apophthegms or epigrams, appears to have consisted in giving selected passages to be written out with comments. The following is a good example: a line and a half of verse followed by some observations, which from their nature may perhaps be ascribed to the scholar rather than to the teacher, and then another sentence of poetry, apparently quite unconnected with the previous one, which was doubtless expounded in its turn.

XV. (G. 27.) 121 × 175. Broken at bottom.

ΠΛΑCΣΩΝΟΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥC	Πλαστων ο Προμηθευc
. . . Λ . ΘΗΡΙΩΝΓΕΝΗΟΥΘΕΝ	[τὰλ]λ[α] θηριων γενη ουθεν
Γ . ΝΑΙΚΩΝ : ΝΗΤΟΝΔΙΔΑΤΟΝ	γυναικων νη του Δια του

¹⁴ W. Fröhner, *l.c.*

¹⁵ *Iust. Or.*, ii, 1.

ΜΕΓΙΣΤΟΝΕΥΓΕΥΡΕΙΠΙΔΗΕΙ	μεγιστον· εὐ γ' Εὐρειπιδη· εὐ εὐ-
ΡΗΚΕΝΤΗΝΓΥΝΑΙΚΕΙΑΝΦ	ρηκεν την γυναικειαν |φ|
ΦΥΣΙΝΠΑΝΤΩΝΜΕΓΙΣ	φυσιν παντων μεγισ-
ΤΗΤΗΝ . ΕΔΑΝΜΕΝΓΑΡΕΠΙ	|τη|την. Ἐαν μεν γαρ ἐπι-
ΧΕ	
ΤΥΧΗΤΙΣΕΥΤΥΙΝΒΙΩΜΟ	τυχη τις εὐτυχειν βιω μο-
ΧΘΩΝ . [.] . ΙΠΟΛΛΩΝΤΑΡ	χθων [. . .]ι πολλων ταρ-
]. ΝΔΕΙΣ	]· υδεις

There are several corrections in this exercise: in l. 2 the Η of ΓΕΝΗ is altered from Π: in l. 4 the second Ε of ΕΥΡΕΙΠΙΔΗ has been struck out and rewritten above the line: the φ at the end of l. 5 and the second ΤΗ at the beginning of l. 7 are partly erased: and in l. 8 ΧΕ in ΕΥΤΥΧΕΙΝ is inserted above the line.

Copies of passages of poetry without comment are found fairly frequently: some of the innumerable Homeric fragments on papyri may be schoolboy exercises, and the same origin may be more certainly ascribed to the wooden tablets with Homeric quotations. One ostrakon with a line from Homer upon it has been published,¹⁶ and two with passages from Euripides—respectively Hippolytus 616/624¹⁷ and Phoenissae 107/118 and 128/139.¹⁸

It is noteworthy that the two latter are both of Ptolemaic date, and so much earlier than most ostraka of the scholastic class. Another Ptolemaic ostrakon of literary character, which may be a school exercise, has been edited by Reinach:¹⁹ it contains an erotic dialogue, couched in prose of poetical diction.

Mathematical ostraka are rare; but there are two in our collection which may be placed under this head. The first is an extremely ill-spelt list of ordinals from first to twelfth in a very irregular hand.

XVI. (G. 14). 086 × 159. Chipped at bottom.

Π ΠΡΟΤΗΤΕΥΤΕΡΑ
 ΤΡΙΤΗΤΙΤΑΡΘ
 ΠΕΜΤΗΕΚΤΗΣΕΒΤΟ
 ΜΗΟΚΤΩΗΣΕΝΝΑΤΗΣ
 ΤΕΤΚΑΤΗΣΕΝ
 ΔΟΔΗΚΑΤΗ
 ΤΕΚΑΤΗ

¹⁶ U. Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka*, 1149.

¹⁷ *Id.* 1147.

¹⁸ H. R. Hall, *Cl. Rev.* xviii. 2.

¹⁹ *Mélanges Perrot*, p. 291. Th. Reinach, *Un ostrakon littéraire de Thèbes*.

The second τ in $\tau\epsilon\tau\kappa\lambda\tau\eta\varsigma$ is partly erased.

The other is of much earlier date, and seems to be an exercise in weights and measures.

XVII. (G. 30). $\cdot 083 \times \cdot 072$

$\bar{\alpha}N$	$\bar{\alpha}\epsilon$	ϵ	ϕ	N	ϵ	ι	ς
$\bar{\alpha}I$	$\bar{\alpha}A$	λ	P	I	λ	$=$	
							v
							ΛB
							/
							ΞΔ
							PKH
							CNS
							φIB
							/
							ΑΚΔ
							/
							ΒΜΗ
							/
							ΔϚS

The arrangement of the two top lines is not quite clear. It would seem that each figure is intended to be one-tenth of the one to the left of it, and those in the second line one-fifth of the ones above them; but in reducing from talents to drachmae there is a break, 5 talents being followed by 5000 drachmae, and 1 talent by 1000 drachmae; and the final signs do not fall in with the series, the last in the upper line being 4 chalki, which is not one-tenth of three obols, and the last in the lower 2 obols, which is neither one-tenth of one drachma nor one-fifth of 3 obols. The vertical line gives a regular series of fractions of the aroura, beginning with $\frac{1}{5} \cdot \frac{1}{2}$ and dividing by two in each line down to $\frac{1}{4} \cdot \frac{1}{6} \cdot \frac{1}{6}$ th.

Finally it may be worth while to note a fragment of school material of a more finished nature than the ostraka. This is part of a well-made limestone tablet, 14 mm. in thickness, with a bevelled edge, both faces of which are ruled in squares: on one side these measure approximately 12 mm. each way, on the other, approximately 19 mm. There are traces of writing in Greek on both sides, unfortunately almost entirely effaced; but enough remains to show that the ruled lines were carefully followed. The only place where the writing is consecutively preserved seems to read as the end of a line—presumably of an iambic trimeter—

]των οὐ σθέρει

J. GRAFTON MILNE.

WHERE DID APHRODITE FIND THE BODY OF ADONIS?

IN ancient Cyprus no one could have hesitated to point out the spot in question. But in the present day we have nothing to guide us except a hint of the famous *Καινὴ ἱστορία* of Ptolemy Hephaestion, as recorded by Photius in chap. cxc of the *Myriobiblos*.

The mythographer deals in the seventh book with the *Λευκὰς πέτρα*, which had the miraculous power of curing those who, when afflicted with love, dared to jump from it. It was this extreme remedy that Apollo counselled to Aphrodite, disconsolate at the death of Adonis: *Μετὰ τὸν Ἀδωνιδὸς φασὶ θάνατον περιερχομένη καὶ ζητοῦσα ἢ Ἀφροδίτῃ, εὕρεν αὐτὸν ἐν Ἀργεὶ πόλει τῆς Κύπρου ἐν τῷ τοῦ ἐριθίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερῷ καὶ ἀνείλεν αὐτόν.*¹

Whereabouts in Cyprus was this *πόλις Ἀργος*? None of the ancient geographers tells us, and, so far as I know, no modern scholar has elucidated this point. All of them mention *Ἀργος* among the towns in Cyprus not yet identified.

A short while ago I expressed the opinion (in *Ἀθηνᾶ* vol. xviii, p. 343) that this *Ἀργος* was *Ἀρσος*, and I now explain the reasons which appear to me sufficient to justify my conjecture.

The reading *Ἀρσος* for *Ἀργος* is by no means a venturesome one. In whatever form of writing it was written, *ΑΡΣΟΣ* or *Ἀρσος*, Photius, or, what is more probable, his copyists could read the well known name of *Ἀργος* instead of *Ἀρσος*, which later became quite unknown in Christian times. But if the name of the town was really *Ἀργος*, Ptolemy would hardly have added the word *πόλει*, since everybody knew of other towns named *Ἀργος*, and he would only have said *ἐν Ἀργεὶ τῆς Κύπρου*. On the contrary, for the expression *ἐν Ἀρσει πόλει* there was a reason, which we shall see later on.

Now in Cyprus there are two villages called *Ἀρσος*, one in the district of *Κυλάνι* and the other in the district of *Mesarea*.

But it is to be feared that many archaeologists will be disposed to repeat the contemptuous phrase, with which Richard Neubauer rejected the conjecture that *Γιόρκοι* of to-day is the ancient *Γολγοί*, 'bloss weil die dortige Gegend bei der heutigen Bevölkerung Jorgos heisst!'² But Neubauer, being compelled to offer some other etymology of the name, found

¹ See *Μυθολογία*, edit. A. Westermann, Braunschweig, 1843, p. 198.

² *Commentationes Philologicae in honorem Theodori Mommseni*. Berolun, 1877, p. 678.

mit Recht in dem hentigen Namen von Altraphos Kuklia oder Kukla den alten Namen Golgoi.'

To this discovery of the German scholar we may put, in our turn, two notes of exclamation. In the 'Αγών of Athens (No. 176 and in 'Αθηνά, vol. xviii, p. 376) I gave the etymology of Κούκλια, which was Κου(β)ούκλια,³ and later on I shall attempt to explain how Γολγοί became in the new Cypriot Γιόρκοι, as it is not irrelevant to the question of "Αρσος.

Now, what can "Αρσος stand for? As a substantive it is not in use to-day, nor was it in mediaeval Greek. Then we must accept the fact that the name comes down from ancient times. Furthermore, all those who are familiar with modern Greek must have observed that before the consonants we pronounce ρ where the ancient Attics pronounced λ, for instance ἄρμυρός, ἦρθε, ἀδερφός. Especially in Cyprus, before every consonant λ is pronounced as ρ, for instance 'Αρβανίτης, κεφαλαρκά (viz. κεφαλαλγία), ἦρτα, 'Αρκιβιάδης, ἄρμη, 'Ερπινίκη, Μιρτιάδης, ἀδερφός. Consequently it is quite easy to infer that Γιόρκοι was Γόλγοι and that "Αρσος was ἄλσος. Dr. Max Ohnefalsch-Richter⁴ has really noticed that 'The ancient word ἄλσος, holy grove, has survived in the name of the modern village.'

But I am of opinion that like the Cypriots of to-day their ancestors also pronounced not ἄλσος but ἄρσος. Prof. Psichari in a special pamphlet⁵ gives numerous examples of this changing from modern, mediaeval, and also ancient Greek. But of this same word ἄρσος we have evidence in the Lexicon of Hesychius,⁶

ἄρσεα· λειμώνες <ut ἄλσεα>.

Knowing, as we do, that the Alexandrine grammarian preserved to us several ancient Cypriot words, we must accept the conclusion that the Cypriot pronunciation was from the outset ἄρσος, which agrees with the etymology from ἄρδω.⁷

Such ἄλση, viz. ἀφιερωμένα χωρία, afforested or not,⁸ were, of course, numerous in all Greece, and in some places the name is still living. In Κοσ there is a place Παναγιὰ τ' Ἄρσου, and it was there that Rudolph Herzog excavated the Ἄσκληπιεῖον. What the meaning of τ' Ἄρσου (= τοῦ ἄλσους) was, has been explained in the periodical Πανδώρα (of Athens, vol. xvi, 1865, p. 138). But Mr. D. A. Mylonas complains in the Ξενοφάνης (of Athens, vol.

³ 'Κουβουκλια' occurs in the Chronicle of Μαχαίρας (Sathas, *Bibliotheca medii aevi*, vol. ii. Venice, 1873, p. 384). The French also wrote 'Couvoucles.' In the *Chorographia . . . dell' isola di Cipro* of Stephen Lusignan, fol. 7, 1 (Bologna, 1573) where the v is always printed u, the word has been misprinted Couuclia, and this caused Mr. M. R. J[ames] to suggest (in *J.H.S.* ix. 191) that 'if Couuclia is right, it may have some connexion with κούνικλος, a rabbit.' The misprinting, however, is corrected in the last folio of Lusignan (without No. 124)

'couuclia, couvouclia 7, 1.'

⁴ *Kypros, Bible and Homer*, Berlin, 1893, p. 12, No. 18.

⁵ *Essai . . . sur le changement de λ en ρ (Extrait des Mémoires Orientaux*, Paris, 1905)

⁶ *Editio minor* Mauric. Schmidt, Jenae, 1867, p. 234.

⁷ Georg Curtius, *Grundzüge der Griech. Etymologie*, Leipzig, 1878, p. 356.

⁸ Cf. *Scholiam vetera in Pinulari Carmina*, edit. Drachmann, *Olymp.* iii. 31.

iii. p. 372) that this perfectly just conjecture had not been taken into consideration by the archaeologists who excavated there.

In Cyprus we have the testimony of Strabo (xiv. 6. 3, pp. 681-685) that there was a Διὸς ἄλσος at Arsinoë and another at Idalium, and it would be unreasonable to deny that the other gods also must have had such spots sacred to their cult. We may consequently conclude that it was in the ἄρσος of Ἐρίθιος Ἀπόλλων that Adonis died.

With this conclusion the whole legend in question, so romantic in itself, agrees, and so also do the ancient poets. The poet of Βουκολίσκος says (v 35)

οὐ τὸν Ἄδωνιν
ἐν δρυμοῖσι φίλασε καὶ ἐν δρυμοῖσιν ἔκλαυσεν;

(viz. ἡ Κύπρις). Also Bion (Ἀδωνίδος Ἐπιτάφιος v. 68)

μηκέτ' ἐνὶ δρυμοῖσιν τὸν ἀνέρα μύρεο, Κύπρι.

It is obvious that here δρυμός is equal to ἄλσος.

But it is equally evident that the testimony of Ptolemy, that Adonis died in a πόλει τῆς Κύπρου, appears to be against our suggestion.

Richard Neubauer, in order to show that Γολγοί had not been a πόλις, observes that Pausanias viii. 5. 2 states τέως δὲ ἡ θεὸς παρὰ Κυπρίων τιμὰς εἶχεν ἐν Γολγοῖς καλουμένῳ χωρίῳ, and he adds (p. 677): 'Aber auch nicht von einer Stadt Golgoi' (speaks Pausanias). This argument seemed so strong that in the latest excellent Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Cyprus⁹ we read 'Cesnola's identification with Athienou is a guess, founded on the modern name of the locality Yorgos. Indeed, there is some doubt whether a separate city of Golgoi ever existed.'

Athanasius Sakellarius, the modest Greek scholar, who, guided by his linguistic feeling, had expressed many years before Cesnola and the 'Franzosen' (viz. the Comte de Vogüé) the suggestion that 'Γόργοι' is Γολγοί (in the first edition of his *Κυπριακά*, Athens, 1855, vol. i, p. 187), in the second edition (vol. i. p. 195) cited many passages in order to show that the word χωρίον had also the meaning of a πόλις and he adduced τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρία.

It is easy to show that the word χωρίον was used with the meaning both of uninhabited places and of townships, and is still used as equivalent to κώμη, as χώρα is now equivalent to πόλις. But it is much more useful to illustrate the evolution of such places, devoted to a deity, like Γολγοί and Ἄρσος.

I agree that in this passage of Pausanias τέως δὲ ἡ θεὸς τιμὰς εἶχεν ἐν Γολγοῖς καλουμένῳ χωρίῳ the writer means an uninhabited place, but τέως uninhabited, viz. before the Palaepaphos temple was established. Of course, that is no proof that Golgoi remained always uninhabited, but rather the reverse, and on the contrary the words of Ptolemy, ἐν Ἄρσει, πόλει τῆς Κύπρου, are

⁹ By G. F. Hill (London, 1904, p. xlv).

no proof that Ἄρσος had always *πολίτας*, but rather that in his time it was a town.

This can be proved from other place-names which, like Ἄρσος, were originally common substantives and then became in some places proper names. In Cyprus we have villages Βᾶσα, Δρύμου, Δρυνιά, Λεμῶνα, (Ἀγιά) Νάπα, viz. βῆσσα, δρυμός, δρυμία, λειμών, νάπη. For every one of these names we have ancient testimonies from other Greek countries that they had become proper names before the Christian era.

Strabo ix. 4. 5 Βῆσσα ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ δρυμώδους ὀνόμασται ὀμωνύμως, ὡσπερ καὶ Νάπη ἐν τῷ Μηθύμνης πεδίῳ. Well known is also Βᾶσαι in Arcadia. Stephanus Byzantius: Δρυμία πόλις Φωκίδος· τὸ ἐθνικὸν Δρυμιάς. Pausanias ii. 35. 3 ὄνομα δέ ἐστι τῷ χωρίῳ Λειμών.

Now it is important to examine what was the cause of such afforested places becoming settlements. I think that it was a temple of a deity which had been built there in accordance with some ancient legend. Who was the deity of Δρύμου of Paphos has been shown by two Cypriot inscriptions excavated there, and dedicated τῷ θεῷ τῷ ὑλάτα (Deecke, *Kypr. Inschriften*, Göttingen, 1883, p. 18, Nos. 26-29). In the δρυμός there was an altar of the god of ὕλαι, as Hogarth explained the epithet (*Devia Cypria* 30), and δρυμός after having been inhabited became ὁ Δρύμος, and then ἡ Δρύμος, τῆς Δρύμου. At Δρυμία or Δρυμαία of Phocis was a temple of Δημήτηρ. Pausanias x. 33. 11 says Δημήτρος δὲ Θεσμοφόρου Δρυμαίοις (or Δρυμίοις), ἱερόν ἐστιν ἀρχαῖον καὶ ἄγαλμα ὀρθὸν λίθου πεποιήται. The expression is not precise. It is plain that this ἄγαλμα and ἀρχαῖον ἱερόν were there before the δρυμός became Δρυμία πόλις.

In exactly the same manner Ἄρσος had been ἄλσος dedicated to Ἐρίθιος Ἀπόλλων, and later on with the help of the Adonis legend became a πόλις, as Ptolemy styles it.

Equally, Γολγοῖ had been a χωρίον, dedicated to Aphrodite, perhaps on account of a ξάανον found among γολγοῖ or βολβοῖ (Ἀφροδίτη ἐν γολγοῖς like Ἀφροδίτη ἐν κήποις), but afterwards, when the cult of Venus extended all over the island, the place became a πόλις, which was called Γόλγοι or Γόργοι, and its citizens were known as Γόλγοι. Pliny enumerates it as last of the fifteen Cyprian oppida, existing in his epoch (*Nat. Hist.* v. 35).

The population of these ἱερὰ χωρία increased with the honour attributed to their deities, or, to speak more concretely, with the success of the πανηγύρεις held there, which were religious as well as commercial. I mean that the formation of such settlements in ancient times is comparable to the formation in later times of the villages in the proximity of our monasteries or country chapels, dedicated to saints. I will give an example.

Παλουρκώτισσα is the name of an ikon of the Theotokos, which, according to tradition, had been found among παλλοῦρες, viz. παλιούροι. In honour of this ikon a nursery had been built at the place and then a village was formed.¹⁰

¹⁰ Σίμου Μενάρδου, *Τοπωνυμικὴ τῆς Κύπρου* in Ἀθηνᾶ, vol. xviii, pp. 382-384.

Hermias Sozomenos gives us a striking description of the last pagans, who ἀπεστρέφοντο τὸ δόγμα τῶν Χριστιανῶν, ἀρχαιότητος τε ἐπεμελοῦντο καὶ τῶν πατρῶων ἑθῶν καὶ πανηγύρεων. When Constantine the Great prohibited γράμμασι βασιλικοῖς the continuation of these customs, γυμνωθέντες τῆς τοῦ πλήθους ῥοπῆς οἱ νεωκόροι καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς προῦδσαν τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς τιμιώτατα καὶ τὰ διοπετῆ καλούμενα.¹¹

Thus some of these dedicated places were deserted, some were converted to Christianity, while the ancient πανηγύρεις continued with the ancient names of the places in honour of the new religion. Νάπα of Cyprus became a monastery of Παναγία.

But how large or how small were these settlements like Γόλγοι, or Ἄρσοι, or Δρύμος during their prosperous times, we cannot estimate from the mere use of the word χωρίον, or πόλις, or even from the silence of the ancient authors, who never visited them. We can only form some idea from the excavations and inscriptions.¹² We know nothing from ancient authors with regard to a town in Cyprus called Παλαίστρα, but we know of an estate called Ἄπαλαίστρα, and an inscription, excavated near there, mentions citizens Παλαιστρίτας (*C.I.Gr.* vol. ii. p. 441, No. 2627).

Now, which of the two existing settlements called Ἄρσος of Cyprus was the πόλις mentioned by Ptolemy Hephaestion?

The reply is easy. It was that of Mesarea, as is proved by the excavations made there.

Dr. Max Ohnefalsch-Richter (*Kypros, Bible and Homer*, p. 12) says: 'To the N.E. of the village are the remains of a temenos, dedicated to a male divinity. I investigated the spot in 1883. A small bronze votive ox and a small bronze group of a man leading an ox to sacrifice (now in the Louvre) had been found here by the peasants. I discovered, among other things, fragments of figures representing Geryon, who often in Cyprus appears as a companion of Apollo.'

Unless my judgment is much at fault, this τέμενος was that of Ἐρίθιος Ἀπόλλων, ἐν Ἄρσει πόλει τῆς Κύπρου, where Aphrodite found the body of Adonis.

Σίμος Μενάρδος.

¹¹ Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας, Book ii. ch. v. Migne, Patrol. gr. vol. 67, p. 945 v.

¹² In the village of Athienon (nearest to

Γιόρκοι) two inscriptions were lately found, the one on the pedestal of a statue and the other on a column. These I intend to publish shortly.

A STATUE FROM AN ATTIC TOMB.

[PLATES XXVII.-XXIX.]

THE reliefs upon the tombstones of the Attic cemetery of the Ceramicus have long been among the most familiar of the products of Greek art, and have enjoyed a popularity, even beyond their artistic merit, because of their direct appeal to a common basis of human sentiment—*mentem mortalia tangunt*. The sculptors who made these reliefs did not probably, for the most part, enjoy any very exalted position in their profession. The artistic quality of the work varies greatly; while some of it preserves the best traditions of the school that made the Parthenon frieze, some is comparatively commonplace and mechanical. There is little reason to suppose that any of the extant reliefs are from the hands of a distinguished sculptor. We know, however, that well known sculptors were sometimes employed on works to be set up over tombs. Pliny expressly says of Praxiteles '*opera sunt eius in Ceramico*', and Pausanias mentions a statue by Praxiteles of a soldier standing beside his horse, set up just outside the Dipylon Gate. There is therefore good reason for looking for statues of the highest artistic value among those set up as monuments over tombs. The reason why they have not hitherto attracted the same general interest as the reliefs that served the same purpose is partly their much more limited number, partly the difficulty of recognising them with certainty.

It has, of course, long been known to students that such tomb-statues were to be found in Greece. There is evidence that all the three most familiar types of early Greek sculpture, the nude male standing type (commonly called Apollo), the draped female standing type, and the seated type, were sometimes used as statues representing the deceased and set up above his tomb. The well known 'Apollo' of Tenea is said to have served this purpose; and the feet of a statue of the same type as the draped female figures on the Athenian Acropolis were found attached to an inscribed basis, which shows that the statue was set up as an image of the deceased upon the mound over a tomb at Bourbà in Attica, and that it was the work of a sculptor named Phaedimus.¹

The most satisfactory records of statues set up for a similar purpose in

¹ See *J.H.S.* xii. p. 389; *Δελτίον Ἀρχ.* 1890.

later times relate to a series of groups of two figures, of a special character. In each of these a richly draped female figure is set up beside a nude male figure; but the male figure in each case seems to be identified as Hermes, while the female figure is in all probability a portrait—or rather a conventional representation of the deceased. If this identification be correct—and there is, perhaps, no sufficient reason to doubt it—the intention of the artist seems to be to represent Hermes Psychopompus as escorting the inmate of the



FIG. 1.—BUST FROM RHENIA.

tomb on her journey to the other world.² The best known of these groups³ consists of the Hermes of Andros, a statue well known as a variation on the type of the Hermes of Praxiteles, and a woman whose drapery is a fine example of the study of surface and texture that is associated with Praxiteles. Her head, which was made in a separate piece, is lost; she is fully draped,

² It has also been suggested that the Hermes typifies a dead man or 'hero,' just as the female figure typifies a dead woman. See P. Gardner, *Sculptured Tombs of Hellas*, p. 138. The dis-

cussion does not really concern us here, as the female statue certainly represents the deceased.

³ Athens, *National Museum Cat.* 218 and 219.

with her arms, all but the now lost right hand, enveloped in the folds of her cloak, which was of some light and diaphanous material. Her right arm was bent, so that her hand was in front of her breast, her left hung down by her side. It is especially attested in this case that the two statues had been set up on a common basis near a tomb. Another similar pair was found at Aegion.⁴ The Hermes is of a different type from the Hermes of Andros; the lady is fully draped, in a walking position with the left foot advanced, and with both her arms enveloped in her cloak.

Other instances of richly draped figures set up over the tombs of women are known. An interesting example, found at Rheneia, is the unfinished figure representing the upper part of a lady with a veil over her head⁵ (Fig. 1); here again the arms are enveloped in the cloak, and the right hand holds part of the veil over the head; the expression of grief or melancholy is already clear, though the statue is only blocked out; there is little doubt that it was intended to be set up over a tomb. There is a curious similarity of type about all these statues, all the more conspicuous because of their variety of style. We also find the type repeated, with a certain amount of variation, in a series of statues which seem to have been meant more or less for portrait statues, but which are not known to have been set up over tombs, and in some cases were certainly set up elsewhere. The most familiar examples are the two statues from Herculaneum (one of which is shown in Fig. 2) now at Dresden,⁶ and a statue almost exactly similar which was found in a private house in Delos.⁷ It is commonly stated that statues of this kind represent some individual lady in the character of a Muse; and this view at first sight appears to receive confirmation from the figures of the Muses on the Mantinean relief, which are all variations on the type, while one of them resembles very closely one of the Herculaneum statues. It is, however, by no means easy to say, apart from attributes, whether such a female figure is intended to suggest a Muse or not. The differentiation of the Muses into a certain number of clearly defined and easily recognisable types is comparatively late; and the series of Muses which we see on the Mantinean relief is not to be distinguished from any group of female figures, such as the 'Mourners' on the Sidon sarcophagus, or any set of Tanagra statuettes.

If we are justified in assigning the design of the Mantinean reliefs to Praxiteles, we have a presumption that the origin of the type must be attributed to him also; but here we are on somewhat dangerous ground. It is true that the relief was on the basis of a group by Praxiteles, and therefore must probably be a work of his school, even if it be not designed by himself. But in one figure at least, that of Marsyas, the type is borrowed from Myron; and it may be suggested that the Muses also follow conventionally accepted types. Nor need we look far for the originals of

⁴ Athens, *Nat. Mus. Cat.* 241 and 242; *Ath. Mitt.* 1878, pls. 5 and 6.

⁵ Athens, *Nat. Mus. Cat.* 779.

⁶ *Revue Arch.* 1900, ii. Pl. XX.

⁷ *B.C.H.* 1895, Pl. VII.

these types, when we remember that there were sets of the Muses on Mount Helicon made wholly or in part by Cephisodotus. There is, however, a certain refinement and elegance in the treatment of drapery which seems to distinguish these Mantinean Muses from the work of Cephisodotus, who in his *Eirene* and *Plutus* seems to follow very closely the simple and



FIG. 2.—THE 'MAIDEN OF HEROCLANEUM.'

dignified Phidian tradition. Even if we grant, however, that the type of figure exemplified by the Mantinean Muses is to be assigned in its origin to Praxiteles, we have still to consider whether this type is exclusively

suitable for Muses. Its use in later times for more or less generalised portrait statues, whether set up on tombs or elsewhere, suggests some doubt on this point. But the evidence hitherto available has been somewhat unsatisfactory; and therefore a statue which is evidently of fourth century workmanship, and which gives us an example in the round earlier than has hitherto been known and near to the original of the type, even if it be not that original itself, is of the highest value to us. Such a statue we now fortunately possess in that recently acquired by the British Museum from the Duke of Sutherland's collection at Trentham (Plates XXVII.—XXIX.).^{7a}

The Trentham statue represents a lady advancing slowly, her weight thrown on the right leg, and the left dragging behind it; the head is bent, as in an attitude of grief. The effect of the position is greatly enhanced by the drapery; her cloak is drawn across the front of her body, so as to envelop both arms, and hang down behind over the left shoulder; it is drawn into a kind of roll below the neck, and a portion of it is drawn over the head from behind so as to form a veil. Beneath the cloak the left arm is lowered, the wrist pressing a gathered knot of the drapery to the side; the right arm is bent at the elbow, so that the hand is in front of the breast. In most other statues in the same position, this hand grasps the edge of the cloak. Here, however, it is turned over, so that the drapery clings close to its back and clearly outlines its form. There is a line round the lower edge of the cloak showing where a border of some sort was once added in colour. The state of preservation of the statue, and the evidence as to its history, call for some comment. The amount and character of the restoration it has undergone are best reserved until we have noticed the vicissitudes through which it has passed. When I first saw the statue at Trentham in 1906, it was placed in the conservatory; but I understood that it had been moved to that position at the suggestion of Mr. R. Burn, who appreciated its artistic value. Previously it had been set up in the open on the terrace before the house, protected only by a small circular canopy supported on columns; and this exposure to the smoke and acrid air of the district of the potteries has been most disastrous. The discoloration has now, indeed, been removed by the Museum workmen; but the granulation of the marble stands out all over the surface of the statue, and nothing of the original finish can now be seen. There does not appear to be any exact record of the acquisition of the statue; but there seems to be little doubt that it was acquired in Italy by the second Duke of Sutherland between 1830 and 1845. Trentham Hall was being rebuilt between those dates, and the Duke was collecting works of art for the house and grounds during the building operations.⁸ We have no information as to where it was found; but the state of the basis supplies evidence that it had been used a second time in the Roman age. The

^{7a} This statue has already been published by Mr. Cecil Smith in the *Burlington Magazine* for March, 1908. The photogravure accompanying his article, here repeated, gives two rather unsatisfactory aspects; but the other

illustrations show the character of the work.

⁸ For this information I am indebted to Mr. Alexander Simpson, whom I wish also to thank for his help during my visit to Trentham to examine the sculptures.

portion of flat ground surrounding the feet and the bottom of the drapery, and made of the same block of marble with them, is cut in a roughly oval shape, approximately following the contour of the statue⁹; this oval was probably originally sunk in a square plinth, according to a common practice in Greek work. It is now surrounded by a kind of marble 'collar' with a debased moulding on its outside, and cut away flat at the back. Round the edge of the top surface of the original basis is an inscription, cut in very shallow and narrow lines, and now partially defaced—

· P · (Maxim)INA · SEXTILI · CLEMENTIS ·

It is impossible, in view of the style of the statue, to suppose that this inscription has anything to do with its first erection. It is evidently an example of the appropriation in Roman times of an earlier statue for a new purpose. This custom is familiar enough, especially in Cicero's stricture '*odi falsas inscriptiones statuarum alienarum.*'¹⁰ Examples of it are already known from the Ceramicus at Athens, as well as in the fifth century relief from Thespiae inscribed in Roman times with the inscription '*Ἀγαθοκλῆ χαίρει.*'¹¹ It seems probable, however, that Maximina, or her survivors, did not merely alter the inscription, but carried the statue away bodily, and had it set up in Italy: or it may have been part of a consignment of statues carried off from Greece and sold for fresh use in Italian markets. In its new function it seems to have been set up against a wall, in such a position that it would only be seen from the front. It is possible that a certain amount of restoration may have taken place at the time of this second use. There is no evidence as to the place where the statue was originally set up: but style and subject alike suggest the Athenian Ceramicus.

It is now necessary to consider how far the statue as we now have it is identical with that originally set up in Greece; and circumstances make this investigation peculiarly difficult in the present instance. Recent weathering has made it impossible, from a mere examination of the surface, to distinguish modern restorations or insertions from ancient ones; and the double use of the statue in ancient times also offers alternative possibilities as to the date of different portions. In the first place, the head is not only made in a separate piece from the body, but is also in a different marble, of coarser grain: in all probability it is Parian, while the body is Pentelic. There are also a good many repairs in different parts of the body, especially in the front of the breast and in the folds of the drapery: some of them are in finer, some in coarser grained marble: the veil at the back of the neck is a modern restoration in plaster. The left hand is also a restoration, and a rather clumsy one; it is too large, and spoils the effect of the outline from several points of view. This hand is certainly not original, though it is difficult to say whether it belongs to the Roman or the modern restorer. As

⁹ Mr. Cecil Smith suggests that this basis was originally larger, and has been cut down; but I see no sufficient evidence for this.

¹⁰ *Ep. ad. Att.* vi. 1.

¹¹ *Nat. Mus. Cat.* No. 712.

to the patches on the body and drapery, it is more difficult to judge. Some of them, which are of the same marble as the body, may even have made good some flaws in the marble in the original finishing. What interests us most, however, is clearly the head. From the style it is evident that the head is ancient, not a modern restoration; and its harmony in character with the body, as well as such details as the lines of the veil, shows that it cannot be an ancient head of independent origin. It might, indeed, be a part of another almost exactly similar statue in different material, fitted in either by the Roman or the modern restorer; another possibility that must be considered is that the original head may have been damaged, and have been replaced by a copy in Parian marble by the Roman restorer. The state of the surface makes it very difficult to judge whether this last is the true explanation¹²; but there is certainly nothing now visible in the workmanship to compel us to accept it. There is nothing unusual in the head of an Attic statue being made of a different piece of marble from the body. It is not so common for the head to be of Parian while the body is Pentelic. But the superior quality of the Parian for rendering the texture of the flesh was recognised even by Attic artists—Praxiteles among them. And of the use of the superior material for the head alone a familiar example may be seen in the Demeter of Cnidus.

If then we find that the head and the body appear to combine in a harmonious effect, and that there are no technical reasons against their association as parts of the same original statue, we need not hesitate to consider them together. The head is covered at the back by the portion of the cloak drawn over to form a veil; the hair is also bound above the forehead by a broad fillet or a *σφενδόνη*, which spreads in the middle, and has the hair drawn over it in wavy curls at the sides. The nose and lips are inserted in what seems to be the same marble as the rest of the head; its texture is certainly similar; but they probably date from the Roman restoration, if not more modern. The weathering of the lips, since this restoration, has exaggerated the opening of the mouth, so as to give a somewhat vacant expression. The shape of the face, the simple and broad modelling, the treatment of the eyes, just sufficiently shadowed by the brow but not sunk deep below it to gain expression, the wavy hair, are all of them characteristic of Attic work of the age succeeding the sculptures of the Parthenon; they find their closest analogy in the heads on the best Attic tomb-stones, but are represented with more grace and delicacy of work, and with a more refined oval of the face than we usually find upon those monuments. The work is that prevalent in Athens before the influence of the great masters of the fourth century, Scopas and Praxiteles, was making itself felt. The expression of sorrowful contemplation is in a great degree due to the bent position of the head.

The treatment of figure and drapery is by no means inconsistent with that of the face. At first sight it may seem to show some later character-

¹² This was suggested to me in conversation by Mr. Cecil Smith; but he has not mentioned it in his article.

istics. Mr. Cecil Smith compares the drapery of the Antioch by Eutychides, and is therefore inclined to attribute the Trentham statue to the beginning of the third century. Like the Antioch, this figure certainly recalls the character and style of the Tanagra statuettes; but the resemblance may be otherwise explained. It is generally recognised that the Tanagra statuettes, with their graceful poses and subtle arrangements of drapery, are inspired by the art of Praxiteles, and that their prototypes may be seen in figures such as the Muses on the Mantinean basis. Now the Trentham statue has much in common with those Muses, and when we compare it with later variations on the same type, such as the Delian or the Herculanean ladies, its earlier and simpler character is at once obvious. Whether M. Salomon Reinach be right or not in associating this Herculanean type with Lysippus, it certainly represents a later elaboration, prevalent in the Hellenistic age, of a Praxitelean original. With all these indications to guide us, we may feel some confidence in attributing the Trentham statue to the earlier part of the fourth century rather than to its close; and the character of the head, as we have seen, clearly indicates the same date. The head is not Praxitelean, but pre-Praxitelean. Can we say the same of the drapery?

At the close of the fifth century we find two main tendencies in the Attic treatment of drapery. On the one hand there is the simple and severe style, based on the Phidian tradition, which is exemplified by the Eirene of Cephisodotus. The dress is treated in broad and simple folds, but the outline of one leg is usually seen through the drapery. On the other hand we have the delicate and somewhat affected style exemplified by the Aphrodite of Fréjus (Venus Genetrix) and the Balustrade of the Victories, with its devices of drapery now clinging to the limbs as if damp, now sweeping away from them in tempestuous and often exaggerated folds. This last was frequently imitated in later times, notably in the neo-Attic reliefs, but we also see its influence in much work done by Attic artists or under Attic influence in the late fifth or early fourth centuries—for example, the sculptures by Timotheus at Epidaurus, or those of the Nereid monument in Lycia. When we turn from these two styles of drapery to that of the Trentham statue, we feel at once that we have before us a new and original treatment. The regular folds of the chiton,¹³ indeed, which show just above the feet, are not unlike those of the Phidian tradition, and the moulding of the left leg through the drapery also suggests a similar comparison, though the cloak obscures it. But the treatment of the cloak itself is characteristic. The roll into which the material is gathered round the shoulders and below the neck is not easy to parallel in earlier work; the upper edge of a cloak is more often turned over in a flat fold. A fairly near analogy may be seen in the way the upper edge of the drapery is made into a roll round the waist of the Aphrodite of Arles, and this certainly represents a Praxitelean type, even if we do

¹³ They are more regular than they appear in the photograph, many apparent breaks in the lines being due to damage of the surface.

not accept Furtwängler's identification of this figure as the portrait of Phryne. In the general scheme of the drapery we have nothing of the cross strain in two different directions, and the somewhat restless effect that marks the Lysippean or Hellenistic variations. In this respect, as in many others, it is nearer to the Mantinean Muses and to the Mourning Women of the sarcophagus from Sidon. But in the clear indication of the form of the right arm through the thin drapery we have a characteristic that we do not find in any of these figures. On the other hand, the way in which this effect is attained is totally different from what we see in the Balustrade of the Victories and in the other works that show the same influence. It does not cling, as if wet, all round the limb, and then float away from it in sweeping folds; but there is here the strictest moderation and harmony, above all the most exact observation of the nature of the stuff; there is nothing of the seeking after effect at the expense of truth. But while the drapery is in the best sense realistic and not conventional, it also avoids the accidental, and every detail is in harmony with the general scheme of the arrangement. Such a treatment at such a time, when other tendencies were paramount, seems to imply a high degree of originality, and may even incline us to attribute the statue to the hand of a master.

The question whether we can go further than this is a difficult one. If we turn to the literary evidence, suggestive comparisons occur readily enough. We have already noticed that Praxiteles is said to have made statues set up over tombs in the Attic Ceramicus: his Mourning Lady (*flens matrona*) must have been similar in subject and treatment to the Trentham statue, and we have already been led by a technical similarity to quote in comparison the statue identified by Furtwängler as the Phryne of Praxiteles—the triumphant courtesan (*meretricem gaudentem*) which is quoted by Pliny as a counterpart to the 'Mourning Lady.' We must, however, remember that it is probable that other sculptors besides Praxiteles made such tomb-portraits; the fact is recorded of Sthennis, a contemporary of Lysippos. On the other hand, we do not know of any other Attic artist of the required date and tendencies, to whom the Trentham statue may be assigned. In view of the fact that the face does not show any distinctively Praxitelean characteristics, it seems safer to assign the statue to some unknown master inheriting many of the same tendencies from which Praxiteles started, and a contemporary of that master during the earlier part of his career. If so, we must also admit some influence of this unknown sculptor on Praxiteles himself, as well as on the numerous statues and statuettes that are generally regarded as Praxitelean in type. It is hard to believe he was influenced by Praxiteles, since the head of his statue—assuming it to belong—is pre-Praxitelean in character.

If, then, our estimate of the position of the Trentham statue in the history of art be correct, it supplies us with valuable information as to the origin of a type that has been very popular in all later art, and that

has had a wide influence not only in Greece and Rome, but also in mediaeval sculpture.

It is needless to enumerate later variations upon the type. Several have already been mentioned; and the list, to be complete, would have to be a very long one, for the type became a favourite one in Hellenistic and Roman times for more or less idealised portraits. Examples from later art are quoted by Prof. Strzygowski in his article on the Cook Sarcophagus published in the last volume of this *Journal*, notably in connexion with the figure reproduced in Plate X., which he assigns to a Praxitelean origin. One example of the persistence of the type in mediaeval art must suffice, the two figures in the beautiful group of the Visitation of St. Elizabeth on the Cathedral at Rheims, a work of thirteenth-century sculpture. The figure of the Virgin in this group is a good example of the type which the Trentham statue shows us in its earliest form. It may not be easy to trace all the channels through which the influence has passed; but it would not be easy to find a clearer instance of that continuity of artistic development which may be traced through the finest sculpture of all ages.

E. A. GARDNER.

PYLOS AND SPHACTERIA.

GRATEFUL as we must all be to Mr. Compton and Mr. Awdry for their adventurous climb,¹ which to my mind has finally settled the path that the Messenians took to reach the foot of the gorge or gully, we have probably been puzzled by some of their incidental remarks. I feel the less reluctance in commenting on them that most of my criticisms would, by their kindness, have been embodied in the article itself, had I not been absent in Greece at the time it was being written.

In the first place what they call the 'notch' is what Dr. Grundy and I both call the 'hollow.'² The word hollow was kept by Messrs. Lindsay, Bosanquet, and Crowfoot,³ and there is no reason, I understand, for the change except inadvertence. It is more serious, however, that the part played by this hollow in the last struggle of the Spartans is misconceived. On p. 277 of the article we read, 'the summit was gained behind the backs of the Spartans; the Messenians when they appeared were above them'; 'it was in the notch that the Messenians gathered their forces before they ascended to the summit'; and on p. 281, 'from the notch to the summit, as has been shown, the final scramble of the Messenians would be accomplished in a very few minutes; so that we may conclude that they were sighted on the summit within one-and-a-half hour of the time when they offered to the Athenian general the prospect of seeing the Spartans outflanked.' All this assumes that to command the Spartan position it was necessary to get to the summit, and that this summit could only be reached by such a climb as the Messenians made along the cliff and up the gully. The Spartans are imagined as facing west, and lining the walls of the *παλαιὸν ἔρμα* numbered AA, BB, in my original plan,⁴ while the Athenian forces face east. The summit on such an hypothesis must have been some little distance from the walls, as the narrative makes it clear that when they had reached it the Messenians did not *ipso facto* come to close quarters with the Spartans.⁵ Mr. Compton and Mr. Awdry have unfortunately not noticed my discussion of the problem of the relation of the hollow to the summit,⁶ the discovery of wall CC, and the photographs and plan of the fort with which Mr.

¹ *J.H.S.* xxvii. pp. 274-83.

² *E.g. ib.* xvi. pp. 40, 60.

³ *Ib.* xviii. pp. 153, 154, 157.

⁴ *Ib.* xvi. p. 57.

⁵ *Thuc.* iv. 36. 2.

⁶ *J.H.S.* xvi. pp. 60-2, xviii. p. 155.

Lindsay and Mr. Crowfoot supported my views.⁷ If the Spartans had only faced west and defended nothing but walls AA, BB, the Athenians would without a doubt have passed round north-east to the north end of the hollow, and scrambled up the summit, without waiting for the elaborate stratagem of the Messenian climb. There would have been nothing to prevent them. Once on the summit, too, there would have been no chance for delay or parley. They would have been right on the top of the Spartans, and must either have fought or retired. In point of fact the Spartans were defending wall CC, which ran along the north of the hollow, as well as walls AA, BB; they faced north as well as west. The Athenians, as Thucydides says,⁸ could not surround them except by the plan the Messenians carried through. What, then, was the position that the Messenians won? It was not the summit at all. They never got to that. The position they won was the top of the gully itself. The part of the Spartan force that they primarily threatened was that defending wall CC, and the Athenians by whom they were sighted were those attacking that wall. They were still some way off, so that parley was possible. But they had complete control of the situation. One body of the Spartans was already surrounded from a point of vantage. If the attack were pressed home and this body were defeated, the Athenians would swarm up the hollow, mount the summit, and take in the rear the defenders of the western wall.

There is a further point in regard to the plan that Messrs. Compton and Awdry print on p. 276. While adopting my position⁹ as to the slope at the south-east corner of Pylos, where the Spartans intended to land and attack with engines, they have followed Dr. Grundy¹⁰ as to the main line of Demosthenes' defence on the south side.¹¹ Their hypothetical wall runs, as his did, from south-east to north-west, and leaves a considerable gap between it and the Sikia channel. As I have pointed out,¹² this is against all the probabilities of the case. All along the shore of the Sikia channel Demosthenes must have built close to the water's edge, where foundations of later walls still run to-day. He carried it inland only at the south-west corner, where it was impossible to build across the jagged rocks. This corner was where Brasidas tried to force a landing and Demosthenes led his men outside the wall. A glance at Mr. Lindsay's photographs¹³ will drive my point home.

While on the subject of Dr. Grundy's views, I should like to break a lance for him. In an incidental note to his 'Thucydides Mythistoricus,'¹⁴ Mr. Cornford has inadvertently put forward as 'new' the view that the two entrances to the harbour referred to by Thucydides are, first the Sikia

⁷ *Ib.* xviii. Figs. 10, 11, pp. 152, 154, and Plate X. Fig. 9.

⁸ Thuc. iv. 35. 4.

⁹ *J.H.S.* xvi. p. 64, and Plan p. 57; xviii. pp. 148-9, 350, and Plate VII. Fig. 1 VIII. Fig. 4; *Cl. Rev.* xi. pp. 2-4.

¹⁰ Though the point does not come under

discussion in the text of their article.

¹¹ *J.H.S.* xvi. p. 25; *Cl. Rev.* xi. pp. 156-7.

¹² *Cl. Rev.* xi. p. 3; *J.H.S.* xviii. p. 149.

¹³ See *J.H.S.* xviii. Plate VIII. Figs. 4 and 5.

¹⁴ P. 86, n. 2.

channel, and secondly the gap between the west end of the southern sandbar and the north-east corner of Sphacteria. This view, which makes the two channels really two ways of approach to an inner harbour, covering the area of the present lagoon, is not new at all. It is not unlike one that I discussed but rejected in my first article,¹⁵ and exactly the same as that which Dr. Grundy brought forward soon after the appearance of his first article.¹⁶ Further, in answer to my criticisms,¹⁷ Dr. Grundy used identically the same arguments in defence of it¹⁸ that Mr. Cornford does.

In conclusion, I should like to emphasize the fact that Mr. Compton and Mr. Awdry have made a real discovery. I have for a long time¹⁹ looked on any hypothesis that involved re-embarkation as a *pis aller*, and, when I was last at Pylos in 1905, tried myself to find a land route. None that I could see was more than barely possible, while that described by Mr. Compton and Mr. Awdry is convincing.

RONALD M. BURROWS.

¹⁵ *J.H.S.* xvi. p. 71.

¹⁶ First as an addendum to the special copies of his *J.H.S.* xvi. article, then in *Cl. Rec.* xi. pp. 158-9. For the germ of it, see his plan, *J.H.S.* xvi. Plate II. and p. 22.

¹⁷ *Cl. Rec.* xi. pp. 8, 9.

¹⁸ *Ib.* p. 158. For my further answer see *J.H.S.* xviii. pp. 150-1.

¹⁹ *Cl. Rec.* xi. p. 2; *J.H.S.* xviii. p. 155.

LOST FRAGMENTS OF THE IPHIGENEIA GROUP AT COPENHAGEN.

IN the *Anzeiger* of the *Arch. Jahrbuch*, 1904, pp. 224 ff., the discovery and reconstruction of a life-size marble group, now in the Ny-Carlsberg Museum, is briefly reported: it is described as an original marble work, approximately contemporary with the Niobids, and representing Artemis substituting the hind for Iphigeneia.

The complete investigation and publication of this fine work have been up till now retarded by the disappearance of two important fragments, originally found with the rest at Rome in 1886, in the Gardens of Sallust, on the Spithöver Estate. Towards the end of the last century these fell into the hands of Roman dealers, and in spite of much searching have not so far been rediscovered. They were, however, known from brief written memoranda (supplemented by oral statements), and in particular from a photograph taken by Herr Joseph Haass at the time of their discovery. This photograph is here reproduced. The circular altar with the figures of seasons which is so conspicuous thereon does not belong to the group, but was at one time in the hands of a dealer at Florence. On this altar may be seen, besides other fragments of the group, found therewith or rescued from dealers' hands, the right foot of the Artemis, in high hunting-boot with crossed straps: below the thick sole are remains of the plinth. The heel is evidently raised, and the motive of the foot is therefore similar to that of the Diana of Versailles, a figure of the same proportions.

Even more important for the reconstruction is the large fragment in the lower left-hand corner, of which only half is visible in the photograph. It represents the back part of the hind, slightly under life-size. The letter *a* marks the broad flap-like tail (compare the animal in the Versailles group); *b*, the broken right hind thigh. The rest of the hind-legs, one fore-leg, as well as the neck, head, and rump, are mostly preserved, the hide being admirably reproduced by means of fine chiselling.

The heads of Artemis and Iphigeneia do not appear ever to have come to light: nevertheless they may have been concealed by the workmen at the time of the original excavation. Of the former, the knot of hair, resembling that of the Versailles statue, and the ends of the fringed diadem have been preserved; of the Iphigeneia, the lower lip of the half-opened mouth.

The object of this preliminary publication is to draw the attention of archaeologists to the missing fragments, with a view to a complete restoration.

If anyone should meet with the least trace of these fragments, he is earnestly requested to communicate at once with the undersigned, who is undertaking



the reconstruction and publication of this masterpiece, in conjunction with the founder and head of the Ny-Carlsberg Museum, Dr. Karl Jacobsen.

F. STUDNICZKA.

LEIPZIG, *Leibnizstrasse* 11.

[The above is a free translation of a note by Prof. Studniczka in the *Archäologischer Anzeiger* for 1907, which we insert at his request, together with a reproduction of the photograph for which he has kindly supplied a *cliché*.—EDD.]

ARCHAEOLOGY IN GREECE—A CORRECTION.

IN my article on Archaeology in Greece (1906-1907), published in vol. xxvii. of this *Journal*, I inadvertently misrepresented Dr. Doerpfeld's views on the relation of Geometric to Mycenaean objects in Greece, and as he has pointed this out to me, I am anxious to rectify the error as soon as possible. At the bottom of p. 295 I wrote that 'few will follow him [Dr. Doerpfeld] in his revolutionary view that the "Geometric" finds at Olympia are pre- and not post-mycenaean.' This is not Dr. Doerpfeld's view. He has kindly told me that he holds that the 'Geometric' objects belong to a different sphere from the Mycenaean, and thus may be some older than, some contemporary with, and some later than, the Mycenaean period. If I had written that his view is that some of the 'Geometric' finds at Olympia go back into the Mycenaean and even into the pre-mycenaean period, or had even written 'some of the "Geometric" finds' instead of 'the "Geometric" finds' in the sentence in question, I should have presented his theory correctly. I have to thank Dr. Doerpfeld for the kind way in which he privately pointed out this mistake, and am glad to have this opportunity to put the matter right.

I should also add that Zacháro, the site identified (p. 296) with the Homeric Pylos, is south and not north of Samikón.

R. M. DAWKINS.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

The Rise of the Greek Epic. By GILBERT MURRAY. Pp. xii+283. Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1907. 6s.

The interest and enthusiasm which these brilliant lectures aroused when delivered at Harvard and Columbia Universities will assuredly be felt by all who read them in book form. Mr. Murray, setting out from the axiom that the poetry of the nations represents gradually progressive ideas in social ethics, essays to show that, in this respect, the Homeric Epics contain ideas not only inconsistent with each other, but to some extent also inconsistent with the times to which they refer, and in which they must, in part at any rate, have come into being. From these considerations he deduces that many strata have been superimposed one on another in the text as we have it, the Iliad, in particular, having been a traditional book in the private possession of a certain school of bards, and having been altered and added to from time to time, as we know to have been the case with similar heroic chronicles in many other literatures. The whole, he sees reason to think, was *remanié* comparatively late, and greatly expurgated, but by no means perfectly welded or rendered flawless from a literary point of view. He shows successfully that many similes, for example, are not appropriate, as they stand, and many incidents are historically inconsistent. These represent different passages in the old traditional songs, too popular or too fine to be discarded by the later editor, and left standing for the edification of a generation which did not read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest, but got its 'Homer' rapidly by oral recitation. The original large period which he thinks the lays, as first composed, reflected was the epoch of disintegration, subsequent to the collapse of Aegean civilisation. In this fell the disturbance of the Greek seas by a Semitic expansion, and the great Early Migrations of the Hellenes, during which old local associations went into the melting-pot with much traditional religion and morality.

The idea is, of course, not new, but Mr. Murray's method is largely so. He goes very far to convince his hearers that the Iliad is a 'traditional book,' and his final lecture on that subject is a most fascinating piece of reading. We may not always go all lengths with him : we may feel that the argument is often dangerously circular, especially where original characteristics of the poem are inferred from their absence in our present text ; we may become uneasily conscious, as we proceed, that Mr. Murray's criterion of early, late, and revised passages is no more scientific than anyone else's, but, if anything, more subjective than ever ; we may suspect a 'neoteristic' tendency in the author's mind, which leads him to favour the theory on which the ink has had least time to dry ; but not only do we succumb to the spell of brilliant suggestion and brilliant style, but we feel for the first time that the Epics are being treated by a great scholar who is at the same time himself a poet, and we are only too ready to sit at his feet and learn all we may.

The Eumenides of Aeschylus : with an Introduction, Commentary, and Translation, by A. W. VERRALL, Litt.D. Pp. lxi+208. Macmillan, 1908. 10s.

Die Eumeniden des Aischylos. Erklärende Ausgabe. Von FRIEDRICH BLASS. Pp. 179. Weidmann, 1907. 5 m.

All scholars know what to expect in a new book of Dr. Verrall's upon Aeschylus. This edition of the Eumenides is quite up to the high standard of its predecessors, and shows

very much the same qualities, both for good and for evil. It is the work of a fine scholar, with an intimate and profound understanding of Greek tragedy. Every line of it is alive; no difficulty has been shirked either through mere deference to authority or through slackness of imagination. These qualities give it at once a high place, in many ways a unique place, among modern commentaries on the Greek classics. On the other hand, the reader will, unless he is in some special sense a disciple, find abundant points to disagree with in the book. On almost every page Dr. Verrall says things which the average scholar will think wrong; but his wrongness often teaches one more than the rightness of others.

He starts with an analysis of the story as it was before Aeschylus and as Aeschylus transformed it in order to reach a satisfactory solution to the moral tangle of the Choephoroi. The Delphi of Aeschylus is totally different from the real Delphi; the treatment of the Semnai or the Eumenides is obscure, but certainly in some way special: the moral problem receives a solution which must be the original work of Aeschylus, if only for its 'profound unlikeness and immense superiority to the common religious products of the Greek mind.' It is, according to Dr. Verrall, the mystic identity of Vengeance and Grace. It does not depend on the chance vote of the Areopagite jury; no vote of a jury can alter eternal laws. Still less is it dependent on Apollo's famous physiological argument in defence of Orestes, that the child receives life only from the father, or with Athena's pronouncement that she is 'thoroughly on the father's side;' or with the various considerations of expediency that are allowed to affect the court. In fact, it is not really the verdict that matters. What matters is the conciliation of the powers of Vengeance, and their transformation into powers of Grace. How this is effected must in the nature of the case be a mystery; nothing in the words of the play seems to Dr. Verrall to explain it. He believes that at a certain point, just after v. 887, Athena's voice ceases to be heard. She is communing with the Furies in silence. During this silence they become calm and shew a great awe of her. The mysterious word has been spoken! This explanation is very interesting and deserves consideration; but the present writer must confess that to him it is incredible. He thinks not only that the stage-craft implied is of an unexampled sort, but also that Dr. Verrall errs by raising metaphysical subtleties which were not present in the mind of the poet; and that altogether there is more of primitive pre-Hellenic tradition in the Eumenides than the editor quite likes to admit.

The treatment of the text also is in detail unconvincing, but again very instructive. As usual, Dr. Verrall rejects wholesale the critical work of the many generations of scholars who have studied Aeschylus, the 'universally accepted conjectures,' the vulgate text which imposes upon us as if it possessed authority. This is a useful process. Then, when he has got rid of all the superstructure of modern emendation, he proceeds to use his manuscript—practically he considers only the Medicean—in his own way. He employs all his immense ingenuity to extract sense out of passages that seem corrupt; he sometimes takes refuge in what seems to us the fallacious argument, that a given form 'cannot be demonstrated to be impossible.' Scarcely any conceivable form ever could. The editor's task is to choose what is most probable among many uncertainties. Again, we cannot help thinking that in handling his MS. he ought to allow more for errors of mere chance. It is not in the least true that all errors in MSS.—or in anything else—can be deduced from specific processes of misunderstanding. Dr. Verrall conceives of the scribes as persons who never nodded, however much they might mis-interpret through conscientious-stupidity. This is the impression left on one from reading articles on textual criticism, where the most interesting emendations are collected; but it is not the impression left by MSS. themselves. The result in the present case is a text which perhaps does more to advance our knowledge and to make us think than any text since Kirchhoff's, but which in itself probably contains more wrong readings than the average.

It is interesting to compare this edition with that of the same play by Blass, published after that great scholar's death in 1907. It contains text, complete scholia, critical notes, and a full and detailed commentary at the end of the book. Blass, though on

the whole conservative in his treatment of the text, probably accepts fully five conjectures where Dr. Verrall accepts one. His immense learning, aided by his general common-sense, makes the notes exceedingly valuable, and we think that in many cases Blass successfully explains a received view which Dr. Verrall treats as impossible. But it is striking to notice, not how much the two editors differ in their explanations, but what different problems they select to explain. Most of the large questions treated by Verrall are hardly noticed by Blass, whereas there is in Blass a constant stream of close linguistic comment and of erudite illustration which finds no place in Verrall. It is seldom indeed in the history of scholarship that two editions of a classical text so different and both so brilliant can have appeared at the same time.

The Riddle of the *Bacchae*, the last stage of Euripides' Religious Views.

By GILBERT NORWOOD. Pp. xix + 188. Manchester: Univ. of Manchester, 1908.

This clever but, in our judgement, wrongheaded book applies to the *Bacchae* the methods and theories of Dr. Verrall. Euripides is a sceptic forced by the conditions of his art to perform at a sacred festival; that is, as it were, in Church. (A good instance, this, of confusion between ancient and extremely modern conceptions of Religion.) He conceals his scepticism from the public, but to the elect his plays are meant to be not so much plays as philosophic dissertations, in the spirit of Euhemerus, on the origin of religious belief. In the *Bacchae* his point is to show how the belief in Dionysus as a god may have arisen, without of course admitting any miraculous element. Dionysus in the *Bacchae* is so revolting a character that he cannot be divine; he must be human. (Other students of ancient religion would perhaps make the 'must' and the 'cannot' change places.) His divine power purports to be shown by the earthquake which wrecks the palace; but since no one but Dionysus himself and his worshippers, all of them interested parties, say that the palace is wrecked, and the Second Messenger for instance makes no remark upon it, it must be assumed that the Palace was not wrecked at all. It was a delusion: a delusion into which Dionysus hypnotized the hysterical Asiatic women. Dionysus, when analysed, proves to be no god, but a professional 'medium' from Asia Minor, morbidly ambitious, daring, and cowardly. Pentheus is a just and patriotic prince, and—most readers will be surprised to hear—has much the best of it in his discussions with the medium. Tiresias is a mischievous old medicine-man who has been bribed by the medium. Every miraculous element in the play is then taken separately and explained away; some are not miraculous at all, some are only reported by insane or credulous people.

The main theory seems to us not merely wrong, but utterly disastrous to any adequate appreciation of the wonderful beauty of this play. Sympathetic imagination, not the acumen of a cross-examiner, is the quality which Euripides chiefly needs in his readers; happily he now often receives it. But as an application of the Verrallian method to a new object the book is of value. It is well and vigorously written; it makes an attempt, not in our judgement a successful one, but still an attempt, to find a parallel to Euripides' supposed method of work in Marlowe's *Jew of Malta*; and much of the detail shows close observation and good scholarship.

Les *Épigrammes de Callimaque*: étude critique et littéraire, accompagnée d'une traduction. Par A. HAUETTE. Pp. 63. Paris: Leroux, 1907.

Prof. Hauvette prints no text of Callimachus; his work is therefore to be regarded as a companion to, and commentary on, the recent edition by Wilamowitz, to which frequent reference is made. He defends the authenticity of the epigrams, classifies them by subjects,

translates, and explains them. Some of the explanations will appear to many readers as forced and improbable, but in general this pamphlet will be found a useful aid to the comprehension of poems which stand in considerable need of commentary.

A Book of Greek Verse By W. HEADLAM. Pp. xxiii+310. Cambridge University Press, 1907. 6s. net.

Mr. Headlam's volume may be cordially recommended to all scholars. It contains a preface on the art of translation, translations to and from Greek verse, and a few notes. The versions in both kinds are often quite admirable, and give Mr. Headlam a place in the same class as Sir R. Jebb and Mr. Gilbert Murray. The translations from Sappho are not, indeed, wholly satisfactory, but the Danaë-fragment of Simonides is perfect, and so are several of the smaller pieces; and the longer passages (the choruses from the *Supplices* and *Eumenides* of Aeschylus, the *Antigone* of Sophocles, and the *Φαρμακεύτρια* and *Θαλύσσα* of Theocritus) are excellent. The translations into Greek also rank with the best of their kind; notably the version of Hugo's *Gustibelza* in Theocritean verse. It is a book written by a scholar for scholars, with that taste for great literature which is the fine flower of scholarship.

Fragments d'un Manuscrit de Ménandre. By G. LEFEBVRE. Pp. xiii+221. Cairo, 1907. 25 f.

The recovery of some 1300 lines of Menander must rank as unquestionably the most important event in the history of Greek literature since the reappearance of Bacchylides. If a complete play had been found, it might easily have even taken the first place among all the discoveries of the present generation. Unfortunately the leaves of the papyrus codex obtained by M. Lefebvre at Kôm Ishgau, in Upper Egypt, are divided between four plays. The play best represented is the *Ἐπιτρέποντες*, of which about half (530 lines) is preserved: in addition there are the prologue and 50 lines of the *Ἦρωσ*, about 320 lines of the *Περικειρομένη*, and about 340 of the *Σαμία*, besides a few detached fragments. The identification of the first and last of these three is not certain, but appears highly probable. Much of the *Περικειρομένη* is seriously and often hopelessly mutilated; but where the papyrus (the age of which must remain uncertain until a facsimile is published) is intact, it appears to be easily legible. M. Lefebvre's edition (in which he has had considerable assistance from M. Maurice Croiset) appeared within two and a half years of the date of his original discovery, and for this promptitude (in the circumstances of the case) scholars are greatly indebted to him. It contains a transcript, restored text, translation, and brief introductions and notes. The difficulty of preparing it in Egypt, at a distance from libraries, and in the midst of official work, must have been great; and in consequence many defects are left which a more careful revision would have removed. Several obvious emendations or supplements are overlooked; and not a few lines have been left with defective metre. A second edition is promised, with a facsimile of the papyrus; and materials for the revision of the text have meanwhile been contributed by many scholars. The most noteworthy of these contributions are two articles by Wilamowitz (in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Berlin Academy and in the *Neue Jahrb. kl. Alt.*, Bd. xxi) and a pamphlet by Mr. Walter Headlam (*Restorations of Menander*, Cambridge, 1908). In particular, it has been shown by Wilamowitz and Legrand that the leaves containing ll. 342-486 of the *Σαμία* as published in the *editio princeps* really belong to the *Περικειρομένη*. It may be added that the more complete portions of the *Ἐπιτρέποντες* and the *Σαμία* (about 500 lines in all) have already been reprinted in a very neat little edition by MM. Bodin and Mazon (Paris: Hachette, 1908), with brief notes.

More important, however, than the details of textual criticism is the question as to the general literary quality of the recovered comedies. They suffer, no doubt, from their mutilation, but wherever a complete scene is preserved (and notably in the *Ἐπιτρέποντες*) it is bright, lively, and natural. The action moves briskly, and the characters are alive. The plots are unpleasing and show little variation in theme, and the verbal wit is not especially striking; but it is easy to imagine that the plays would be amusing and effective on the stage. They have a life and spirit which their Roman imitators too often fail to reproduce; and they are not so sententious as the extant quotations might lead one to expect. In short, though we are still without sufficient materials for a full and fair estimate of Menander, the recovered fragments are not unworthy of his reputation.

The Oxyrhynchus Papyri. Part V. By B. P. GRENFELL and A. S. HUNT. Pp. viii + 342; 7 Plates. London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1907. 25s.

The fifth volume of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* puts all its predecessors into the shade. It contains only five texts, but of these, two are new classical works of considerable size and interest, two are unusually long MSS. of known works, and one is theological. The last, a single vellum leaf (fourth or fifth century) from an apocryphal Gospel, may be left to theologians. The two known classical works are the *Symposium* of Plato and the *Panegyricus* of Isocrates, of each of which approximately half is preserved in papyrus rolls of about the second century. The text in both cases is eclectic, as usual in papyri. The Plato MS. rarely supports the inferior MSS. or modern conjectures, but it oscillates between the better MSS. and has a few good readings peculiar to itself. The Isocrates MS., like the British Museum and Marseilles papyri of the same author, agrees with the Urbino oftener than with the vulgate, but not by any means invariably, and its peculiar readings do not command respect.

Of the new texts, the first consists of portions of nine Paeans of Pindar, written in two hands on the *verso* of a roll which is assigned to about the end of the first century. None is perfect; but about 60 lines of the second paean, 33 of the fourth, 13 of the fifth, 95 of the sixth, 13 of the eighth, and 36 of the ninth, are either complete or can be approximately restored. In general character they resemble the epinician odes, and contain some striking passages; but no doubt their mutilation detracts from their effect. Prof. Blass and Prof. Bury have made contributions towards the restoration of the text. The second discovery is a historical work, comprising 21 broad columns (some imperfect) written on a *verso* of a land-register of the second century. The editors have succeeded in combining the remains into four groups, the relative order of which is somewhat uncertain. If the order finally adopted by them is correct, the events recorded belong to the years 396-5 B.C.; if the alternative (for which there are considerable external grounds) is correct, the whole falls into the year 395. The principal contents are an analysis of the anti-Spartan feeling in various states of Greece, the naval campaigns of Conon, the operations of Agesilaus, and the Boeoto-Phocian war (including a valuable description of the Boeotian federal constitution). There are marked divergences from Xenophon. The style is very plain and undistinguished, and the tone impartial. Internal evidence shows that it was written between 387 and 346, and perhaps as a continuation of Thucydides; but the identity of the author is very uncertain. Three claimants are considered by the editors—Ephorus, Theopompus, and Cratippus. Blass was in favour of the last, and Bury is disposed to agree with him; but so little is known of Cratippus that scarcely any positive argument in his favour is possible. Meyer and Wilamowitz argue for Theopompus, and the editors, after a very clear and impartial statement of the arguments on either side, cast their vote with them. The main difficulty in this identification is the style of the new writer, which is totally unlike all that we know of Theopompus. Since the publication of the volume, Prof. De Sanctis, of Turin, after adducing several strong arguments against Theopompus, has proposed to identify the work with the *Ἄρθις* of Androtion; but here again

positive grounds of identification are scanty. Probably the question will have to stand over until further discoveries have been made. Meanwhile the whole volume is admirably edited, as usual, and specimen facsimiles are given of each MS.

Papyrus grecs. Tome i, fasc. i. By P. JOUGNET and J. LESQUIER. Pp. 64. Paris: Leroux, 1907.

This small but handsomely printed fasciculus is the first-fruits of the Institut Papyrologique de l'Université de Lille, founded and directed by M. Jouguet. It contains seven non-literary documents, with introductions and commentary after the manner now usual except at Berlin. Their interest is mainly for specialists, but for them the first text in particular is of some importance. It is a description (with plan) of a plot of ground with its irrigation canals, and incidentally it solves a problem in metrology which has been a puzzle since the first publication of the Petrie Papyri, namely the dimensions of the *ναύβιον*, a measure of capacity used especially for measuring excavations of soil. It is now shown to be the cube of two royal cubits. The other texts (all of which belong to the third century B.C.) include a fragment of a land-survey, some letters of a *βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς*, correspondence relating to *κληροῦχοι*, or military settlers (giving useful evidence as to the conditions under which the allotment might pass from father to son), orders for advances of seed-corn, and petitions of various kinds. It is to be hoped that the Lille Institut will shortly be able to complete the volume of which this is the first part, and supply it with facsimiles and indices.

The Works of Aristotle. Translated into English under the Editorship of S. A. SMITH (Fellow of Balliol College) and W. D. ROSS (Fellow of Oriel College). Part 1: The *Parva Naturalia*, translated by J. I. BEARE and G. R. T. ROSS. Part 2: *De Lineis Insecabilibus*, translated by H. H. JOACHIM. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 3s. 6d. net and 2s. 6d. net.

We notice these as the first two parts of what, it is hoped, will be a complete translation of the extant works of Aristotle. The undertaking is the outcome of the desire of the late Dr. Jowett, that the proceeds from the sale of his works should be used to promote the study of Greek Literature, especially by the publication of new translations and editions of Greek authors, and that the translation of Aristotle should be proceeded with as speedily as possible. The editors would be glad to hear of scholars who are willing to coöperate. The *Organon*, *Physics*, *De Caelo*, *De Anima*, *Historia Animalium*, *De Animalium Generatione*, *Metaphysics*, *Eudemian Ethics*, *Rhetoric*, and *Poetics* have already been arranged for.

The Palaces of Crete and their Builders. By ANGELO MOSSO. Pp. 348. With 187 illustrations and 2 plans. T. Fisher Unwin, 1907. 21s.

The Discoveries in Crete. By Prof. R. M. BURROWS. With Illustrations. Reprinted, with Addenda on the Season's Work of 1907. Pp. xv + 251. Murray, 1907. 5s.

La Crète Ancienne. Par le Père M. J. LAGRANGE. Pp. 153. Illustrated. Paris: Gabalda, 1908.

Dr. Mosso's book is a translation of a description of the Cretan discoveries which is 'chatty' enough, and occasionally slightly amusing, but is not a contribution to scientific literature. Although from his own account Dr. Mosso would appear to have taken a considerable part in Dr. Pernier's excavations of 1906, he makes no claim to be a *Fachmann*. Only in the last chapter does he definitely speak of 'the conclusions to which I have come' on the subject of the racial affinities of the Mycenaeans, and evidently regards these conclusions as original. As a matter of fact, however, these opinions, whether they are right or

wrong, have always been in the air, and were first put forward in a systematic theory by another writer some seven years ago. Since then all archaeologists have been thoroughly familiar with the ideas which Dr. Mosso apparently considers to be novel.

Dr. Mosso is apt to let his pen run away with him, especially when he is discussing the appearance and costume of the Minoan ladies, to whom he constantly returns with gallant but wearisome iteration. Speculations as to Minoan cookery also interest him mightily.

The best thing about the book is the illustrations, which are chiefly good and include numerous photographs, some of which have not yet been published in England, notably the Agia Triada vase shewing a king receiving a warrior, or sending him forth to war. The worst thing about the book is its price. A guinea, even for these good photographs, is a heavy price to pay.

Prof. Burrows's book has been reprinted, with additions. It is evident that its low price has in great measure atoned for the lack of sufficient illustrations. We are glad that it has been so successful, as there is no doubt that it has supplied the want, much felt among university men, schoolmasters, and the large body of those who are interested in Greek antiquity, of a succinct and *critical* description of the results of the archaeological work in Crete, which should not be written by one of the actual discoverers, nor by a mere summarizer of their views, like Père Lagrange. Others have thought of supplying this want, but had preferred to wait till yet more was known and Mr. Evans had published his results *in extenso*, but Prof. Burrows has thought it best to step in and publish his book now, with results that are encouraging to those who believe in the paramount importance of the work of investigating the older culture of Greece. After all, there is something live and young about 'Minoan' study, which, properly advertised, would interest far wider circles than do the discussions of later Greek sculpture and vase-painting, of which 'classical' archaeology seems chiefly to consist. This advertisement has been given by Prof. Burrows: his book is a cheap poster which has attracted attention, and has probably determined the course of a certain number of guineas into the unhappily none too well filled offertory-bag of the Cretan Exploration Fund.

Of the general trend of Prof. Burrows's criticism we have not space to say more than that it is eminently sensible, and quite free from the so-called 'criticism' of those dull souls who cannot see that only men with some power of imagination could have understood the significance of what they were finding at Troy, at Mycenae, at Knossos, or at Phaestos. By imagination is not meant invention, but the power of visualizing the ancient civilization under investigation as it probably was, which a trained sense of the probable and improbable gives; it is the greatest gift of an archaeologist, without which he is only fit to keep the records and compile the indices of those who have it. A good point of Mr. Burrows's book, which might well be imitated by other writers, is his full recognition of the part which Egyptological knowledge must play in the work of recovering the lost history of Heroic Greece. Indifference to the Oriental sources of knowledge, and ignorance of their importance, are still displayed by far too many classical scholars, so that Prof. Burrows's complete discussion of the views of the Egyptologists may open the eyes of some. Perhaps, as when in the last addenda (Oct. 1907) he discusses the sex of the body found in the tomb of Queen Tyi, or the possible identification of the Exodus of the Israelites with the Expulsion of the Hyksos, he sometimes is too Egyptological, and strays beyond the bounds of his subject; but it is such a novel sensation to find any Greek archaeologist but Mr. Arthur Evans able to be interested in Egypt and what Egypt can tell him, that we can forgive this little fault. Prof. Burrows's discussion of Egyptian dates is extremely good, and should be read with attention. He points out that the Egyptologists are practically all agreed on the date of the Eighteenth Dynasty, contemporary with the Cretan Great Palace Period: the discrepancies begin only with the Twelfth Dynasty. And here there are many signs that the low date of Prof. Eduard Meyer and the German scholars will prevail, and that Prof. Petrie will have to abandon the very high dates lately put forward by him.

The Eastern evidence must be studied by the investigator of prehistoric Greece, which

was an Oriental land as it is again to-day. As Prof. Burrows writes on p. 135 : ' We are so accustomed to thinking of Classical Greece as the bulwark of the West against the East, that we forget that this attitude of imperviousness is only a short chapter of history. The political aggression of Persia meant that for the 180 years during which our attention is most concentrated on the Greek World it is the frontier fortress of Europe, resisting and not receiving. That all this was changed by the conquests of Alexander is accepted as a commonplace. Greece did not so much give to Europe a Semitic religion, as help the Semites to create one ; and the Roman-Greek Empire was a good half Oriental. It is our classical prejudices that hinder us from accepting as true for before Marathon what we do not shrink from after Arbela.' And we have not yet altogether abandoned the 'Aryan' superstitions of the days of Max Muller, Gladstone, and Cox, when everything that was not virtuously Aryan was wickedly Phœnician and Semitic. Nowadays between the upper and nether claims of Mediterraneans and Sumerians to have fathered their civilization, the Semites seem in danger of being abolished altogether ! When we say that Minoan culture was Oriental, it is not meant that it was Semitic. Even the 'Canaanite' type of religion is Mediterranean, not Semitic, in origin.

Another good point of Prof. Burrows's book is his discussion of the northern evidence, from Russia and Servia, which is also extremely important as showing the far northern extension of the Aegean culture from its Mediterranean starting-point. Prof. Burrows accepts this, the usual view at the present time. His criticisms of the theories of Northern origin, and also of Prof. Doepfelf's Carian theory, are very useful. As in Père Lagrange's book, the references and notes are very full and good. Both these books differ from Dr. Mosso's in being scientific works, but Prof. Burrows's is of course far superior to that of Père Lagrange, in that it is critical and original in treatment. We only deplore the lack of illustrations, which, we suppose, were impossible at the price.

Père Lagrange's little book on ancient Crete was published after Dr. Mosso's, so that he is able to utilize some of the latter's conclusions in his final chapter, 'Les Origines.' His book is a useful summary of the results of the excavations in Crete, which has this one advantage over Prof. Burrows's similar work, that it is well illustrated, though some one or two of the drawings by Père Vincent are rather crude: the coloured reproduction of the 'Cupbearer,' which acts as frontispiece, is frankly hideous in colour, and not at all 'like.' To French readers Père Lagrange's book will be of great value, as giving them an idea of what has been done in Crete during the last ten years.

Necessarily there is not much that is original, strictly speaking, in the book, and in the one case in which the author does broach a new and original theory, we fear it is one that will not hold water, as when he compares Minoan with Proto-Elamite antiquities, and dreams of a possible Elamite conquest of Crete before 2000 B.C., or at least of a racial connexion between Elam and the Aegean (pp. 87, 111). On this point the author does not seem to have revised his work very carefully ; this idea contradicts other passages in which we are given the usual theory of the non-Aryan 'Mediterranean' character of the 'Minoans.' If they were Mediterraneans, who probably came originally from Africa, they can hardly have been Elamites !

It may be that Père Lagrange thinks the 'Mediterraneans' were nearer akin to the 'Indo-Europeans' than they really were, but the pro-Aryan prejudice is one not easily shaken off. He emphasizes the 'European' character of Cretan art and culture, and (up to a certain point) quite correctly : but European does not mean 'Indo-European,' and for the Minoans means in reality only 'Greek' : Europe was not invented in their day, and while themselves the originators of Greek ('European') civilization, they are, according to the usual theory to which we have already referred, probably to be traced to Africa.

In dealing with art and religion Père Lagrange's work is succinct, well argued, and often suggestive. But we doubt not that he much exaggerates the supposed symbolism of Mycenaean art, even going so far on p. 108 as to give a qualified adhesion to the fantastic ideas of Houssay and his 'Théories de la Genèse à Mycènes.'

The author shows a little and rather dangerous acquaintance with Egyptian lore. We marvel at his serious quotations of the Napoleonic 'Description de l'Égypte' as a scientific

authority, and still more at his reproduction of one of its pictures (p. 91) which shows a late, stylized, and mongrel headdress of a goddess, with three hawks above it, of absolutely no archaeological authority, and with no possible applicability to the author's argument.

To English readers the book will be of use as giving more illustrations of the Italian results in an accessible form. The delay of the Italians in publication is regrettable, and they cannot be surprised when one of their own countrymen (Dr. Mosso) anticipates them in publishing the 'King and Warrior' vase from Agia Triada, and Père Lagrange in giving a sketch of the famous sarcophagus from the same place (p. 61). It is very regrettable that Prof. Burrows could not obtain leave to publish the vase, if Dr. Mosso was able to do so.

Life in the Homeric Age. By THOMAS DAY SEYMOUR. Pp. xvi + 704. Illustrated. New York : The Macmillan Company, 1907. 17s.

This book represents the principal life's work of the late professor T. D. Seymour of Yale. In a long introduction he takes note of the Homeric Question in all its bearings, literary, philological, and archaeological, but decides that, for the purpose which he has in view in the text, he must treat the Epics as wholes, one and indivisible. This is reasonable, since 'Homer,' as it is put now into the hands of students at universities and schools, is a fixed text-book, and a Companion to Homer must take account of the whole *textus receptus*. He then proceeds to coordinate and set out all the information to be derived thence as to the contemporary life, with comments drawn from Mycenaean discoveries. So far as Homer goes, this book supplies an extraordinarily full and complete concordance, and the archaeological material is brought into play wherever it is in any way appropriate; but the latter is regarded in an uncritical spirit and without much distinction into locality or epoch. In fact, even as 'Mycenaean' seems to be accepted as an adequate designation for all the Aegean remains, so all these are spoken of as though products of one homogeneous period. The value of this volume, therefore, lies rather in its purely textual reference, in its collection of all passages bearing on such subjects as the Homeric State, Dress, House, Food, Property, Slavery, Trade, Crafts, Sea-faring, Agriculture, Fauna, Gods, Religion, and War. The book may be summed up as the latest and best example of a rapidly disappearing class of Homeric commentary.

The Architecture of Greece and Rome : a Sketch of its Historic Development. By WILLIAM J. ANDERSON, A.R.I.B.A., and R. PHENÉ SPIERS, F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A. Second Edition, Revised and Enlarged by R. PHENÉ SPIERS. Pp. xxii + 359. 255 Illustrations. London : Batsford, 1907.

This edition is enlarged by the addition of about 60 pages of text and 75 new illustrations, the most important additions being a description of the Cretan palaces, and a new restoration, by the author, of the great vaulted tomb at Mycenae. What is even more satisfactory is the careful revision which has corrected almost all the errors of detail that impaired the value of the first edition. In its new form the book can be recommended without reserve. The new illustrations are also most valuable.

Die Burgtempel der Athenaia. Von EUGEN PETERSEN. Pp. 147. Four Illustrations. Berlin : Weidmann, 1907. 4 m.

On such a theme as this it might well seem that there was nothing new to be said; but Professor Petersen, by a careful discussion of all the evidence, has reached some new results which will have to be considered in all future works on the subject, though some

are uncertain and few are likely to be undisputed. He maintains that the earliest temple consisted of a double shrine on the site of the present Erechtheum; and that the representation of this shrine formed part of the same pediment as the group of gods with the apotheosis of Heracles. He regards the earliest worship of Athena as aniconic, superseded under Homeric influence first by the standing image with brandished spear, which later came to be regarded as primitive, and later by the seated type originated by Endoens. Further discussion of the nature and affinities of Erechtheus associates him and his cleft with a 'puteal' and hole in the roof above it marking the falling of a thunderbolt. Finally we have a discussion of the Erechtheum itself, and the contents and relations of its various parts; and here also new light is thrown on well-known difficulties.

Greek Buildings represented by Fragments in the British Museum.

(1) *Diana's Temple at Ephesus.* By W. R. LETHABY. Pp. 36. London: Batsford, 1908. 2s.

This pamphlet is an architect's study of the fragments in the British Museum, derived from Wood's excavation of the temple site at Ephesus. The early temple is lightly dealt with, since the evidence of the new excavations was not available. In the discussion of the Hellenistic temple the author dissents from Mr. Murray's well-known arrangement, which used the square sculptured piers to make bases for the sculptured drums, rising from the staircase, and having their upper surfaces level with the stylobate. Mr. Lethaby makes the piers, the drums, and the Ionic bases serve as corresponding members of the first, second, and subsequent rows of columns, as counted from the end. The stone beneath the base in the British Museum, which Murray regarded as part of the stylobate, is used here as a plinth, similar plinths being postulated under each of the three forms of base.

Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek. Billedtavler til Kataloget over Antike Kunstvaerker. 73 Plates. Copenhagen, 1907.

Like Amelung's Vatican Catalogue, the present work is an attempt to illustrate an entire collection by photographic methods. It consists of about 850 admirably executed half-tone blocks, printed on 73 plates. The letterpress consists only of number, title, and dimensions under each subject. An inscription announces that the work was published on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Museum, Nov. 5, 1907. Its seventy-three plates give an impressive idea of the growth of the collection during the comparatively brief period of its existence.

Olympische Forschungen I. Skovgaards Anordnung der Westgiebelgruppe vom Zeustempel. By G. TREU. [Abhandlungen der Philol.-hist. Klasse der k. Sächs. Ges. d. Wissenschaften, xxv.] Pp. 15, and three folding plates. Leipzig: Teubner, 1907. 2 m. 40 pf.

The Danish painter Skovgaard published in 1905 a discussion of the arrangement of the western pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia. He based himself on the last-issued restoration of Prof. Treu (submitted as a loose leaf to the forty-fourth congress of Philologists at Dresden), but proposed the transposition of the two groups of combatants on each side of the central trio. Instead of Treu's order (E—R) that of Skovgaard runs E P Q N O K L M H J F G R. In the present paper Treu proves, by actual experiments made within the pediment frame at Dresden, that Skovgaard's scheme is inadmissible.

Scopas et Praxitèle. La Sculpture grecque au IV^e siècle jusqu'au temps d'Alexandre. By MAXIME COLLIGNON. [Les Maîtres de l'Art.] Pp. 175, and 24 Plates. Paris: Librairie Plon, 1907. 3 f. 50 c.

M. Collignon has made a study, with characteristic delicacy and subtlety of criticism, of the sculptors of the first three quarters of the fourth century B.C. After discussion of the period of transition from Pheidias to Scopas, two chapters are devoted to Scopas and his works; two chapters to Praxiteles. A chapter is given to the contemporaries of Scopas whose names are known to us, especially to the artists of the Mausoleum. Another chapter describes some of the extant works, such as the Demeter of Cnidus, that appear to belong to the period. The book is completed with a notice of decorative work done at Athens during the fourth century, and a summing-up of the whole character of the sculpture of the time. It is supplied with a chronological table, a sufficient bibliography, and an index, and is adequately illustrated.

The Rendering of Nature in Early Greek Art. By E. LOEWY. Translated by J. FOTHERGILL. Pp. xii+109, with 50 Plates. London: Duckworth, 1907.

The author starts with the psychological thesis that the primitive artist does not consciously copy natural objects. He seeks rather to express the generalized mental image which he retains of an object. This image will always be the one 'which shows the form with the property that differentiates it from other forms, makes it thereby most easily distinguishable, and presents it in the greatest clearness and completeness of its constituent parts.' Accordingly, it will usually be coincident with the form's greatest expansion—*e.g.* that of a quadruped will be a side view. The essay examines how far this fact conditions the earliest forms of art, and how far its effects can be traced, even in works comparatively advanced, long after the period when the introduction of foreshortening and perspective proves conscious reproduction of observed objects.

Examples of Classic Ornament from Greece and Rome. Drawn by LEWIS VULLIAMY. Edited by R. PHENÉ SPIERS. Pp. 4, and 20 Plates, folio. London: Batsford, 1907.

Lewis Vulliamy (1790–1871) made a tour in the Mediterranean countries in 1818–21 as a travelling student of the Royal Academy. He published in 1825 his 'Examples of Ornamental Sculpture in Architecture,' as a folio work, with copper engravings by Henry Moses, of admirable draughtsmanship. A selection of twenty of the original copper plates has now been reissued, with the necessary commentary by Mr. Phené Spiers. The ornaments chosen for illustration are mainly variations of the palmette, and the acanthus.

The Attic Theatre. By A. E. HAIGH, M.A. Third Edition, by A. W. PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE. Pp. xvi+396, with 35 Illustrations. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907.

In this new edition a thorough revision has been necessitated by the appearance of many important contributions to our knowledge of the subject, notably Dörpfeld and Reisch's *Griechisches Theater* and Puchstein's *Griechische Bühne*. These and other recent literature have evidently been carefully considered by Mr. Pickard-Cambridge, and have led to considerable additions and modifications; but it is to be noted that the editor finds himself able, after weighing them all, to retain Haigh's theory of a low stage in the fifth century. As to more obscure technical details, such as the probable restoration of the Lycorgan

stage, it is still necessary to go to other books, especially the two just cited. A summary of the arguments of Dorpfeld and Puchstein on some of these matters would have been welcome, and also a larger number of plans.

Ausonia, Rivista della Società Italiana di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte. Anno I. MCMVI. Roma: Tip. Unione Coop. Editrice, 1907. Pp. xiii + 203. 4 plates. $11\frac{1}{2} \times 9$ ins. 15 lire to non-members.

The volume before us is the first published by the Società Italiana di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte, which was founded at the end of 1905.

The first half of it consists of interesting and important original articles by some of the most eminent of Italian archaeologists and art critics, among which may be specially mentioned that by Orsi, on the (up till now) somewhat scanty traces of Mycenaean commerce in the pre-Hellenic cemeteries of Sicily; that of Comparetti upon an inscription from Cumae belonging to the fifth century B.C. and marking the burial-ground of the members of the Dionysiac *θίασος* of the city, and noteworthy as being considerably the oldest inscription of the kind; that of Brizio, in which he maintains that the statue of a youth found in the ruins of the Villa of Nero at Subiaco, and now in the Museo delle Terme, is a representation of one of the sons of Niobe; that of Nogara, in regard to the so-called 'Byblis' of Tor Marancia—a painting which does not really belong to the series of Greek heroines at all, but was found near the Via Nomentana (cf. *Papers of the British School at Rome*, iii. 99); that of Toesca on some bronze objects of the Lombard period (7th cent. A.D.) found in a tomb at Lucca; that of Signorina Ciaccio on the last period of Gothic sculpture at Rome; that of Lanciani, who publishes various new documents relating to works of 16th century artists in Rome; and that of Ghislanzoni upon the original position of the decorative bronze heads (lions, wolves, and Medusa) from the ships of the Lake of Nemi, in which he proves that they were arranged along the upper part of the bulwarks.

The rest of the volume is devoted to notices of recent excavations (Crete, Etruria, Rome—the former paper being by Pernier, and dealing in part with his own work at Phaestos and Prinià), a lengthy critical bibliography arranged by subjects (pp. 125-185), reviews of recent publications and paragraphs of news. The volume is well got up and freely illustrated, and the editor, Prof. Mariani, and the society to which it is due may be congratulated upon making such a good beginning to what we may hope will be a long and useful series of publications.

Meidias et le style fleuri dans la Céramique Attique. By GEORGES NICOLE. (Extrait du Tome xx des Mémoires de l'Institut National Genevois.) Pp. 112. 15 Plates and 43 Cuts. 4to. Geneva, 1908. 20 f.

M. Nicole has done a useful piece of work in devoting a well-illustrated monograph to the study of the artist Meidias, whom, following M. Pottier, he regards rather as the master of an *atelier* than as the actual painter of the vase bearing his name, now in the British Museum. He collects all the vases which can be assigned to the school, including four unsigned hydriæ which may fairly be regarded as produced by Meidias and his pupils. But the very late date which he assigns to this artist (the first half of the fourth century) seems somewhat open to question; Furtwängler places him about 430-420 B.C. A useful chapter is devoted to the discussion of points of style, and the writer sees in many details the influence of the sculptor Alcamenes.

Catalogue of the Finger Rings in the British Museum, Greek, Etruscan, and Roman. By F. H. MARSHALL, M.A. Pp. li + 258. 160 Illustrations in the Text, 35 Plates. London: British Museum, 1907. £1 5s.

This Catalogue differs in one important respect from any previously published by the authorities of the British Museum: it includes not only the Greek, Etruscan, and Roman finger rings which are to be found in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, but also those rings which, although Greek and Roman of the classical period, have, for various reasons, been placed in other departments of the Museum. The advantages of this new departure are obvious: it has enabled Mr. F. H. Marshall to deal with the subject as a whole, instead of omitting large groups of rings merely because they were found in Great Britain, in Egypt, or in Assyria. The resulting volume cannot fail to be of the greatest use, both to the student and to the collector, who will find in the fifty pages of introductory matter not only all that can be gleaned from ancient authors as to the uses to which rings were put, the way they were worn, the people who were entitled to wear them, the materials of which they were made, etc., but also the results of Mr. Marshall's own study of these subjects. One of the most valuable sections deals with the different types of rings in the collection, Egyptian, Mycenaean, Phoenician, Greek, Etruscan, Graeco-Roman, and Later Roman. The types are fully illustrated, and this section alone would make the volume indispensable to every collector, for it gives him in a small compass a vast amount of hitherto inaccessible information, and should save him from most of the expensive pitfalls which beset the path of the beginner. The Trustees would earn the gratitude of the educated public if they would reprint in pamphlet form not only the Introduction to this particular Catalogue, but those to many others. Much original work is lavished on them, but their existence is unknown except to the few who have professional occasion to consult the Catalogues of which they form part.

Turning to the Catalogue itself, we find that the rings are grouped under classes, in which they are arranged according to types, and as far as possible in chronological order. The first group contains gold rings with designs engraved on the gold, a series which starts from Egyptian and Mycenaean times, and ends with Late Roman work of the fifth century A.D.; the next, gold rings with designs in relief, begins with Ionic- and Graeco-Etruscan work of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.; it includes some fine Greek specimens, and ends with Late Roman rings, many of which have coins set in the bezel. These are invaluable as giving a *terminus ante quem* for the various shapes of hoop and bezel. The third group contains gold rings set with scarabs, engraved stones, pastes, or cameos. The fourth includes all the rings, mostly of Roman date, in which the inscription forms the principal feature; these are of various kinds: some are addressed to the recipient, as *Dulcis dulci*; some have the name of the giver, *Sostenes dat*, or of the owner, *Sabbina*; others are prophylactic, as, for instance, a Gnostic legend which contains the frequently found phrase '*Sesengen pharanges*' (wrongly spelt) and the 'Names of Power,' Sabaoth, Adonai, and Michael. The rest of the gold rings fall into two groups, those with plain inset stones, and the plain gold rings. The classification is then repeated for rings of silver, bronze, iron, glass, stone and other materials, of which the collection contains 631 as against 1,000 of the more precious metal.

In addition to 160 illustrations in the text, there are 35 excellent plates reproducing the more important specimens described. The volume is completed by a bibliography of the subject, five full indexes of localities, subjects, inscriptions, materials, and the topics dealt with in the Introduction.

The Priests of Asklepios. A new method of dating Athenian Archons. By W. S. FERGUSON. [Univ. of California Publications: Classical Philology, Vol. I. No. 5, pp. 131-173.] Berkeley: The University Press, 1906. \$0.50.

This paper, from a study of the inscriptions preserving the names of the priests of Asklepios, who were selected in the official order of their tribes (with certain exceptions which are

explained by historical circumstances), establishes the dates of some inscriptions (such as *I.G.* ii. 835 and Add. 373 b) and of a number of archons, chiefly of the third century. The breaks in the order of the tribes of the priests, as also of the prytany-secretaries, are satisfactorily explained.

La Colonne Torse et le décor en hélice dans l'art antique. Par VICTOR CHAPOT. Pp. 176, with 210 Illustrations in the Text. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1907.

This book is a collection of examples of spiral decoration, more especially as it occurs on columns, from the Minoan period to about 400 A.D. An appendix deals with some examples of a later date. The spiral has been supposed to have a religious significance, but M. Chapot, though admitting that this is true in the case of the Creto-Mycenaean spiral column, rightly maintains that in most instances it is simply decorative. The Greeks avoided this form of column as one which would appear to lack strength, and reserved the spiral decoration for small objects, notably their jewellery. The spiral column becomes exceedingly common under the Roman Empire. M. Chapot thinks that the type is indigenous in Italy, and not borrowed from the East, in this point, therefore, giving no support to Prof. Strzygowski's theory. The book would be more useful if it were furnished with an index.

L'Archéologie Grecque. By MAXIME COLLIGNON. Pp. xi+394; 218 Illustrations. Paris: Picard, 1907. (Bibliothèque de l'Enseignement des Beaux-Arts.)

This second edition of M. Collignon's well-known book appears just twenty-six years after the first, and in the interval many things have occurred which make it more than a mere revision. The results of recent excavations are naturally more strongly emphasized than usual, and the bibliographies have been brought up to date. But the old form has been kept throughout, and the book has not been greatly added to in size, notwithstanding the mass of new material and the increased number of illustrations. Attention may be called to the immense superiority of the photographic process, even if the blocks are not the best of their kind. Changes have of course been made in the treatment of the Mycenaean period, but perhaps most progress has followed from the new light cast upon archaic sculpture by the excavations at Athens and Delphi, and in the whole subject of vase-painting. Apart from its value as a handbook, the new edition offers an instructive retrospect upon the work of the last generation.

Index of Archaeological Papers, 1665-1890. Edited by GEORGE LAURENCE GOMME. Pp. xii+910. London: Archibald Constable and Company, Ltd., 1907. 25s.

Mr. Gomme has earned the gratitude of all archaeologists by the publication of this admirably and laboriously compiled volume. For the classical archaeologist indeed its value may not be so great as for others, but it contains the articles in the *Hellenic Journal* down to 1890, as also those in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, *Archaeologia*, and other journals in which classical articles occasionally appear. The arrangement is exclusively alphabetical under authors, and we are glad to learn that the work will eventually be supplemented by a subject-index covering the same ground.

Rambles and Studies in Greece. By J. P. MAHAFFY. Fifth Edition. Pp. xii+439. London: Macmillan and Co., 1907.

This book is too well known to readers of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* to need any but the briefest notice. The new edition is little modified, except by the alteration of a few statements that are obviously antiquated, and a few additions—partly in notes—to bring in more recent discoveries. As to details, it may be noted that the Dr. Reich associated with Prof. Dörpfeld in his book on the theatre is not Dr. Emil Reich, and that the workmen who restored the Daphne mosaics were not German but Venetian.

Greece and the Aegean Islands. By P. S. MARDEN. Pp. ix+386. With Maps and Illustrations. London, Boston, and New York: Constable; Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1907. 12s. 6d.

Mr. Marden's book is an account of a hasty scamper, for the most part through the regions of Greece and the Aegean most accessible to the unenterprising traveller. The writer makes no pretence of scholarship or literary finish and gives no information of value that cannot be obtained from ordinary sources.

Guide to Greece, the Archipelago, Constantinople, the Coasts of Asia Minor, Crete, and Cyprus. (Macmillan's Guides.) Pp. 1+217; 13 Maps and 23 Plans. London, Macmillan. 9s.

This is the third edition of the 'Eastern Mediterranean' guide. Half the volume is occupied by the section on Greece, where the main tourist-routes are described, and a further quarter is given up to Constantinople. New features are the brief descriptions of Salonica and Athos. Part i. (Greece) has been revised by Mrs. Ernest Gardner, and Asia Minor by Mr. D. G. Hogarth. Dr. Evans and Professor van Millingen have checked the descriptions of Cnossos and Constantinople respectively. A handy book of this size—no other single volume covers the same ground—is of course designed primarily for tourists (particularly 'conducted' and archaeological tourists) in Aegean waters and for yachtsmen, to whom are devoted nineteen pages of notes on the anchorages and sport of the coasts described. The archaeological side is treated in great detail. Professor E. Gardner contributes a sketch of the History of Greek Art, plans of the more important sites (including Cnossos and Sparta) are generously distributed, and the contents of museums are described at some length; we note, however, that the growing collection at Brusa—a branch of the Imperial Museum—is not mentioned. The index is not very satisfactory, and some statements, such as those about the disaster to Nea Moni in Chios, and the present state of Corone, seem to require correction.

Murray's Handbook for Egypt and the Sudan. Eleventh Edition. Edited by H. R. HALL. Pp. [170]+613. 58 maps and plans. London: Stanford, 1907.

This guide-book, of old established reputation, has been 'revised, largely rewritten, and augmented' under the capable editorship of Mr. H. R. Hall of the British Museum, himself a successful explorer in Egypt. The archaeological interest of the Nile valley is insisted upon, but, naturally, Greek and Roman remains occupy but a minor place. Hellenists will turn to the sketch of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods in the introductory matter, and find it very brief indeed—too brief, to our thinking, seeing that we know far more of these periods than of any others, largely owing to recent discoveries of papyri.

Alexandria is very adequately treated, however, except perhaps in regard to its Museum, the account of which is hardly up to date. The Antoniadès collection, for instance, is not a recent acquisition, compared with others, but was almost the original nucleus of the Museum. A new and praiseworthy feature is the notice of the Græco-Roman sites of the north central Delta, about which Mr. Hall knows all the latest *data*. As for Naukratis, a doubt, surely needless, is expressed as to the correctness of Prof. Petrie's identification. It would have been well to warn tourists that there is practically nothing to see on the site now. Of other places, interesting to classical scholars, *e.g.* the Fayum, Eshmunên, Arsinoë, Antinoöpolis, Coptos, and Syene, a very good account is given: but, in the first case, the ease and the attractiveness of the excursion are rather obscured by depreciation of the hotel accommodation at Medina, and insistence on difficulties of transport, which, so far as we know, are by no means the rule. The Hotel Karim is considerably better than what is usually understood by a 'Greek locanda.' This guide-book went to press, apparently, in July, and in certain matters, *e.g.* the resignation of Lord Cromer, the discovery of the Tii tomb, and the explorations at Der-el-Bahari, is well up to date. In others, and unfortunately here and there in very important respects, *e.g.* hotel accommodation and means of transit, it is not. For example, no mention of the railway to the Great Oasis occurs, though it is marked on a map; yet it was in building a year ago or more. The two latest and best hotels at Alexandria are not named, and there are no indications of the comparative quality of the rest, though they differ widely. At Cairo, on the other hand, certain hotels are starred; but why this distinction is withheld from Shepheard's and given to the New Continental, denied to the Semiramis and accorded to the Angleterre, we know not. The Ramleh railway has long been extended beyond San Stefano, and there has been, for a year, a second hotel at Khartoum. These are minor blemishes, however, in a vastly improved guide, the archaeology of which is particularly sound.

A Report on the Antiquities of Lower Nubia. By A. E. P. WEIGALL (Egyptian Department of Antiquities). Pp. xii+142, with 94 Plates. Oxford: University Press, 1907.

This fine volume has been compiled, at the request of the Director General of the Egyptian Department of Antiquities, by the chief Inspector for Upper Egypt, a British archaeologist, who received part of his training from Professor Flinders Petrie. For the purposes of his survey he spent eight weeks in Nubia in the winter 1906-7, and this Report sums up the observations made then and on previous visits. It is confessedly a rapid piece of work designed to call attention to the different classes of remains between the First and Second Cataracts, but not to provide an exhaustive record of them. The special reason for this survey was, of course, the impending submergence of a great part of the lower Nubian banks by the projected extension of the Nile reservoir. The Egyptian Government intends first to explore thoroughly all the territory about to be flooded (extending as high as Maharaka), and needed to know the extent and kind of the remains with which it must deal. Mr. Weigall's preliminary survey is, however, valuable not only to his government, but to all scholars. So well trained an archaeologist, whose attention had, moreover, been directed especially to the 'pan-grave' culture of the lower valley, could not traverse Nubia without discovering a good deal that was new—in particular several Greek *graffiti* and remains of the Roman occupation and of the small native kingdoms, from that of Ergamenes onwards. Nor, in view of the rapidity with which destructive agencies have worked of late in Nubia, can we be other than thankful for a record of what was existent in the beginning of 1907. Mr. Weigall's Report will be largely superseded by the systematic exploration to be directed by Dr. Reisner and Captain Lyons; but the chapter of accidents is so voluminous in Egypt that we are very glad to have as full a record as this to go on with.

Ancient Italy. By ETTORE PAIS. Translated from the Italian by C. DENSMORE CURTIS. Pp. xiv+441, with 11 Plates and 11 Illustrations. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press; London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1908.

This is a volume of twenty-six essays upon historical and topographical problems connected with Italy, Sicily, and Sardinia in ancient times. They give evidence of an immense amount of learning and original research, and are calculated to stimulate all students of ancient history, though the probability or improbability of most of the conclusions arrived at must inevitably be left to the decision of specialists. The points raised in some of the more important of these essays may be briefly indicated. Such is the question as to the origin of the Ansonians, and the extent of Italy inhabited by them. Professor Pais finds indication from literary allusions and survivals of place names that they were spread over the whole of Southern Italy, and that a large proportion of them at least came from Epirus. Another essay deals with the sites of various cities (such as Morgantina) on the Heraean plateau in the south-east corner of Sicily. In this connexion an interesting archaic Greek relief, found in 1837 near S. Mauro above Gela, is illustrated for the first time. It represents a frieze of dancing satyrs above two sphinxes placed back to back. The position of the Assinarus, which witnessed the final overthrow of the invading Athenian army in 413 B.C., is also discussed; the identifications suggested by previous authorities are rejected, and the river is held to be the same as the modern Tellaro. Perhaps the most important of all the essays is that which seeks to show how largely the Greek cities of Sicily influenced the early history of Rome. Many incidents, such as the first secession of the plebs, are held to be simple repetitions of events in Siceliot history. The tribunes of the plebs are regarded as equivalent to the *προστάται τοῦ δήμου* of the Greek cities in Sicily. However much we may be inclined to doubt some of the 'duplications' averred, we may feel confident that Syracuse, from the victory of Hieron at Cumae in 474 B.C. to the fall of Dionysios II. in 357 B.C., exercised a far greater influence on Rome than is usually supposed. Her artistic influence on Etruria was certainly considerable. The final essay discusses the date of the Historical Geography of Strabo, and an attempt is made to show from internal evidence that the work was written at some time previous to 7 B.C. in a literary centre (Rome or Alexandria), and that it was subsequently revised hastily about 18 A.D., when Strabo, then about eighty years old, was living in retirement in Asia Minor. The translation of the book from the Italian appears to have been well done.

The Silver Age of the Greek World. By JOHN PENTLAND MAHAFFY. Pp. vii+482. Chicago and London: Fisher Unwin, 1906.

This interesting, if somewhat rambling book, is intended to replace the author's *Greek World under Roman Sway*. The condition of the Greeks under Roman rule is justly regarded as an unhealthy one. It is true that they were treated with a scornful indulgence, but they were never considered the equals of the Romans, or given opportunity to exercise the higher functions of citizenship. Deprived of political responsibility, the Greeks showed but too frequently that moral weakness which, even in their best period, is sometimes noticeable. The interesting chapter on the Hellenism of Cicero and his friends demonstrates how little real respect even the philhellenes among the Romans had for the Greek character. The most inspiring products of Greek thought in this period are to be found in the stern practical philosophy of the Stoics, and the high, if rather mystical, ideals of revived Pythagoreanism. The extracts from Strabo and Dio Chrysostom given in the book are welcome, in view of the fact that these authors are not so widely read as they deserve to be. The rhetorician shows that the Greek cities of Asia Minor were in a flourishing condition towards the end of the first century A.D. One or two remarks may be made regarding points of detail. Dio Chrysostom severely upbraids the Rhodians for their cheap way of honouring distinguished persons by inscribing their names on statues

which had nothing to do with them. This practice is perhaps illustrated by a statue recently acquired by the British Museum, and published in the present number of this *Journal*. Here the name *P. Maximina Sertili Clementis* has been inscribed on the base of a statue of a woman, which the best authorities assign to the fourth century B.C. To the instances of the title of *μῦνάρχος* given to chief magistrates of towns (p. 116, n. 1) may be added some from Kos (*e.g.* Paton and Hicks, 94 and 125). A protest should be made against the careless proof reading, which leaves the book disfigured by numerous misspellings and errors. The result is somewhat curious in certain instances, *e.g.* on p. 256, where we are told of 'a Sicilian bandit whom Strabo publicly executed at Rome,' and on p. 292, where it is stated that certain Greek prose novels are published in a *column* called the *Lore-Tale Writers*. A feature of the book worthy of special commendation is the frequent introduction of apt illustrations from modern life.

Ancient Britain and the Invasions of Julius Caesar. By T. RICE HOLMES.
Pp. xvi+764. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907.

In prehistoric Britain there is little derived immediately from the Hellenic world, and it is significant that in the index to this most comprehensive work there are but three references to Greeks and Greek letters, all of secondary importance. Though the Druids used Greek characters in official documents and private correspondence, it was mainly from Italy that our early civilisation was derived, and the reader will find almost everything but Hellenic lore in this admirable volume. There are, however, certain problems in British archaeology which may eventually be solved by reference to the early civilisation of Greece and the Mediterranean islands; and in view of the Achaean controversy it may be of interest to state the position taken up by Mr. Holmes with regard to the Celts. The earliest Celtic invasion of Britain took place six or seven centuries before the Christian era, and the invaders were Goidels, speaking an Aryan dialect represented in modern times by Erse, Manx, and Highland Gaelic. They were tall in stature and either mesocephalic or dolichocephalic, thus contrasting with the Alpine or Grenelle race (also represented in Britain), which was characterised by a round head, short stature, and dark complexion. The latter people were of Neolithic descent in Gaul, and formed the substratum of the population of Gallia Celtica, the Celtic language being introduced there about the eighth century B.C. by a dominant race from the east. The Celts properly so called were a tall stalwart people with fair or red hair, apparently not far removed from what is generally considered the Germanic type; and in this view Mr. Holmes is in substantial agreement with Prof. Ridgeway, who writes thus: 'a body of tall fair-haired immigrants came into Greece from the Danubian and Alpine regions somewhere about 1500 B.C., and this people, known to us as Achaeans, were part of the great fair-haired race of Upper Europe termed by the ancients the Keltioi, and now commonly described as Teutonic. This people brought with them the use of iron, they burned their dead instead of burying them as did the aborigines, they had garments of a different kind, which they fastened with brooches, and they brought with them a peculiar form of ornament, which is commonly termed geometric or Dipylon.'

The services rendered to British archaeology by Dr. Arthur Evans and other Hellenists are fully appreciated, and should inspire others to develop the connexion between Ancient Britain and the Mediterranean. Several pages are devoted to the derivation of our first coinage from Greek types, but Mr. Holmes omits to mention an interesting point with regard to the British substitute for coins. The iron bars mentioned by Caesar as a form of currency and found in the central area of southern England find an analogue in Greece itself. Prof. Waldstein has published the discovery of a bundle of iron bars on the site of the Heraeum at Argos, which he very reasonably identifies as the 'obelisks' offered to Hera by Pheidon on his introduction of a coinage; and it has yet to be explained why this peculiar form of currency should have been adopted nowhere but in

Greece and Britain. It is from analogies of this kind that further information may be expected with regard to prehistoric Britain; and the classical scholar has only to read the present volume to be well posted in matters that can be made plain only by additional light from the wonderful civilisations of the South.

The Cities of St. Paul: their Influence on his Life and Thought. By SIR W. M. RAMSAY. Pp. xv+452. With 18 Plates and other Illustrations. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1907.

Accounts of cities and countries connected with St. Paul are, too often, apt to read like eloquent expansions of the Dictionary of Classical Geography. Prof. Ramsay's descriptions are of a very different order, based on minute personal research, yet always vivid and suggestive and singularly informing to the student of ancient city-communities.

In the present volume five cities are dealt with in detail, namely Tarsus, the Pisidian Antioch, Iconium, Derbe, and Lystra; all cities of Eastern Asia Minor which offer, even apart from their connexion with St. Paul, an instructive 'study in amalgamation' between European and Eastern races. At Tarsus, for instance, the harmony of Greek and Asiatic was particularly noticeable.

An admirably written introductory chapter sketches in bold outlines the position of Paulinism in the Graeco-Roman world. Paul is regarded as a shaping force in history and not only in religion. A hater of idolatry—the chief characteristic of Pagan religion—he is yet a lover of old Hellenic freedom and ready to discern even in Paganism a certain perception of divine truth. If there could be no truce with the popular cultus of the divine Augustus and his successors, the Imperial scheme of things could still be viewed with equanimity as furnishing the high political idea of a world-province—a unity which Paulinistic Christianity might hope to vitalize—a great field in which the universal religion of Christ might be sown with promise.

Dei agricultura estis. The Mediterranean world was decaying and degenerate: all was fluid and changing and there were infinite opportunities of growth and development. Like the author of the Fourth Eclogue (on which an interesting commentary is offered), Paul places the Golden Age not in the past but in the future. The fairest hope came from the more easily christianized provinces of the East; but when, at length, Constantine threw in his lot with Christianity, it was too late for the social and moral resuscitation of the ancient Empire of the West.

The illustrations from photographs and drawings are interesting and unhackneyed, and numerous coins (of which much use is made in the text) are reproduced, drawn on an enlarged scale. This method of enlargement, if not always desirable in a purely numismatic treatise, has much to commend it. In another edition the author will, we hope, add an index.

Adonis, Attis, Osiris. By J. G. FRAZER. [Part IV. of 'The Golden Bough.'] Second Edition, Revised and Enlarged. Pp. xix+452. Macmillan, 1907. 10s.

The second edition of this book, which supersedes the first after a year's interval, contains much new matter: notably a chapter on 'Sacred Men and Women,' a section on 'Influence of Mother Kin on Religion,' and three appendices. But the whole of the work shows signs of a careful revision, many references being added where the actual text is untouched. The new chapter deserves careful attention (pp. 50-83); among interesting suggestions we may note Mr. Frazer's explanation of the burial of young children at Gezer, who have been considered to be sacrificial victims. Mr. Frazer believes that they were buried by their parents in the sanctuary with the hope that they might be reincarnated. In discussing the influence of Mother Kin on Religion, the author adopts a middle position: he

rightly rejects the extreme theory that 'under a system of Mother Kin the women rule the men and set up goddesses for them to worship,' remarking that such a view scarcely deserves the serious attention which it appears to have received. On the other hand, he thinks that Mother Kin is favourable to the growth of goddesses.

In the Appendices we may especially notice the discussion on the significance of children of living parents in ritual. It is usual to explain the choice of such children as due to ideas of pollution from death. Mr. Frazer suggests that a child of living parents was originally preferred as being endowed with a higher degree of vitality than an orphan. The vitality of a sacred minister would be important, whether to ensure the fertility of the crops or to avert danger of death and other calamities.

Philosophy and Popular Morals in Ancient Greece. By ARCHIBALD E. DOBBS, Junr. Pp. xi+282. London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co.; and Dublin: Edw. Ponsoby, 1907.

Mr. Dobbs's little book is a sound and useful summary of the data relating to his subject; although a really satisfactory treatment of it would require somewhat wider acquaintance with the literature than the author seems to possess.

The following books have also been received:—

- AGAR (T. L.). *Homericæ: Emendations and Elucidations of the Odyssey.* Pp. xi+440. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- CARY (E.). *Victorius and Codex P of Aristophanes.* [Trans. Amer. Philolog. Soc.] Pp. 216. Harvard Univ., 1907.
- GARDIKAS (Γ. Κ.). *Κρίσις τῆς ὑπὸ Σπ. Μωραΐτου Πλατωνικῆς Ἐκδοσιῶς.* Pp. 72. Athens: Sakellarios, 1908.
- HELLEMS (F. B. R.). *The Epigram and its greatest Master, Martial.* [Univ. of Colorado Studies, Vol. IV., No. 1.] Colorado, 1906.
- HERODOTUS. *The Seventh, Eighth, and Ninth Books.* With Introduction, Text, Apparatus, Commentary, Appendices, Indices, Maps. By R. W. MACAN. Vol. I., Part. I. Pp. c+356. Part II. Pp. 357-831. Vol. II. Pp. x+462. With 6 Maps. London, New York, and Toronto: Macmillan and Macmillan Co., 30s. net.
- HEWITT (J. F.). *Primitive Traditional History.* Vol. I. Pp. xviii+448; Vol. II. Pp. v.+1024. With 4 Plates. London: Parker, 1907.
- HOFFMANN (O.). *Die Makedonen, ihre Sprache und ihr Volksthum.* Pp. 284. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht, 1906, 8m.
- HOGARTH (D. G.). *British Museum Excavations at Ephesus: the Archaic Artemisia.* With Chapters by C. H. Smith, A. H. Smith, B. V. Head, and A. E. Henderson. 2 Vols. Text: Pp. x+344, with 52 Plates and 101 Illustrations. Atlas: 18 Plates. London: British Museum, 1908. 50s.
- JAMES (M. R.). *A descriptive Catalogue of the MSS. in the Library of Trinity Hall.* Pp. viii+46. Cambridge: University Press, 1907.
- JONES (H. STUART). *The Roman Empire, B.C. 29—A.D. 476.* Pp. xxiii+476; 53 Illustrations and Map. London: Unwin, 1908. 5s.
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- PRESCOTT (H. W.). *Some phases of the relation of Thought to Verse in Plautus.* Pp. 262. Berkeley: California Univ. Press, 1907.

- REICH (E.). General History of the Western Nations from 5000 B.C. to 1900 A.D. Antiquity
Vol. I. Pp. xxvi+485. Vol. II. Pp. x+479. London: Macmillan, 1908. 15s.
- . Atlas Antiquus. 48 Maps with Text. London: Macmillan, 1907. 10s.
- RIDGEWAY (W.). Who were the Romans? [Proc. Brit. Acad. Vol. III.] Pp. 44.
Oxford: University Press, 1907. 2s. 6d.
- SALINAS (A.). Due Teste di Rilievi Funebri Attici rinvenute in Sicilia [Miscell. di
Archeol. di Storia e di Filologia].
- SANDARS (H.). Pre-Roman Votive Offerings from Despeñaperros, Sierra Morena, Spain.
[Archaeologia, Vol. LX.] Pp. 24+14. With Plates and Illustrations. London:
Nichols, 1906.
- WHITE (J. W.). Enoplic Metre in Greek Comedy. Chicago, 1907.
- WOOD (MARY H.). Plato's Psychology in its Bearing on the Development of Will. Pp. 63.
Oxford: University Press, 1907. 2s. 6d.
- WROTH (W.). Catalogue of the Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum. 2 Vols.
Pp. cxii+687. With 79 Plates. London: British Museum, 1908. £2 15s.

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TWO CYRENAIC KYLIKES.

THE intrinsic interest of the two Cyrenaic kylikes, which I am now able to publish owing to the kindness of the authorities of the National Museum at Athens and of the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, is not very great, but the desire to complete so far as is possible the list of the extant vases of this class is sufficient apology for making them known.

The Fitzwilliam kylix (Fig. 1*a*) is said to have been found near Corinth and hence, though a very poor specimen of the Cyrenaic style, has some interest as coming from Greek soil.



FIG. 1*a*.

The dimensions are: Ht. .106 m.; diam. .195 m. x .190 m.; ht. of foot .039 m.

The clay is the usual hard variety, in colour light brown with a slightly pink tinge.

The decoration is very simple. The black of the inside is only relieved by a line on the lip, another below the lip, three circles lower down, and a circle and a dot at the centre, all reserved in the colour of the clay. The decoration of the outside is shewn in Fig. 2*a*, where the hatched lines represent purple; the characteristic creamy slip, considerably frayed, covers the lower part of the cup between the outer purple bands.

There are here neither lotus buds nor pomegranates, but the thin rays rising from the foot and the double row of leaves between the handles are patterns as characteristic of the Cyrenaic style as is the partial use of slip.

The simplicity and carelessness of the ornament, especially to be noted in the rude travesty of a palmette on either side of the handles, the splash of paint which takes the place of a lotus flower below them, the irregularity of the ray pattern, and the absence of a branch between the rows of leaves, place the vase in Dugas' fourth class, the class of decadence.¹ This is confirmed not only by the unusual thickness of the clay (·006 m. at the rim), but also by the proportions between the height of the bowl and the foot (1·7:1), and between the diameter and the height of the bowl (2·9:1). This shows a lowness of foot and a depth of bowl characteristic according to Dugas of the fourth class.²

The Cyrenaic kylix in the National Museum at Athens (Fig. 1*b*), for permission to publish which I have particularly to thank Dr. Stais, the Ephor of the Museum, was seen by Thiersch at a dealer's shop in Athens in 1901.³ Unfortunately there is no knowledge of where it was found.



FIG. 1*b*.

The dimensions are: Ht. ·122 m.; diam. ·183 m. × ·192 m.; ht. of foot ·052 m.

The outside decoration (Fig. 2*b*) bears a close resemblance to that of the Cassel kylix.⁴ The offset rim is painted black but for a bare line where the characteristic pinkish clay is contrasted with the creamy slip covering the rest of the bowl. I know of no other Cyrenaic Vase with a crescent pattern resembling that on 'Fikellura' ware except that at Cassel.

On the inner side of the rim are two lines reserved in the natural colour of the clay. The centre of the bowl has a man's head on a white ground framed by two purple and three thin brown circles (Fig. 3). He wears a purple band across his hair, the outline of which is undulated to indicate curls. The profile is very finely drawn, but the artist has been

¹ Dugas, *Rev. Arch.* 1907, Tom. ix. p. 406.

Tom. x. p. 58, No. 87.

² Dugas, *loc. cit.* p. 407.

⁴ *Arch. Anz.* 1893, p. 189.

³ *Acgina*, p. 457; Dugas, *Rev. Arch.* 1907,

careless over the incisions marking the curls on the forehead and the ear. The notice in the inventory of the Museum suggests that an Ethiopian is intended, but I do not know if this can be upheld.



FIG. 2a.

The breakage unfortunately makes it uncertain whether the hair was here also worn long in the fashion shown on other vases of the class, but this is, I think, indicated by the incised line rippling back from the ear.⁵



FIG. 2b.

The shaven lips and the beard clearly follow the fashion in vogue on most Cyrenaic vases. But as this head is on a much larger scale than

⁵ Cf. the figure of Arcesilas, the seated figure on the Munich kylix, and the figure of Zeus on

the kylix in the Louvre. Studniczka, *Kyrene* Figs. 1, 3, 7.

any other on a vase of this class it is not unreasonable to take it as a criterion of what that fashion really was.

It is now clear that the beard was merely kept rather short on the cheeks and trimmed neatly to a point. I think, indeed, that Studniczka's⁶ description of the Boreades on the Cyrene kylix as having 'ägyptisch



FIG. 3.

stilisirte Bärte' is as misleading as Hauser's⁷ comparison of them with the openwork bronze plaque from Crete published by Milchhoefer.⁸

There is not much difficulty in giving this vase its place in the Dugas' classification. The good profile, indeed, brings to mind the third group, but

⁶ Studniczka, *Kyrene*, p. 17.

⁷ Hauser, *Jahresh.* x. p. 14.

⁸ Milchhoefer, *Annali*, 1830 T; *Anfänge*, p. 169.

the carelessness shewn not only in the incisions marking the curls, the neck, and the ear, which is particularly gross in a drawing on so large a scale as this, but also in the lotus pattern on the outside, combines with the laziness betrayed by the excessive use of black in the interior, and the rudeness of the handle palmettes, to put the vase in the fourth group.

As in the case of the Fitzwilliam vase the thickness of the clay (.006 m. at the rim) tallies with this, as do the comparative shortness of the foot, and depth of the bowl; for the proportion between the height of the bowl and that of the foot is 1.34:1, and that between the diameter and the height of the bowl 2.61:1.

Both these vases shew a peculiarity in the foot (Fig. 4), namely a band reserved in the natural clay just below the cushion on which the bowl rests. This band is moulded into three or four rings in low relief.

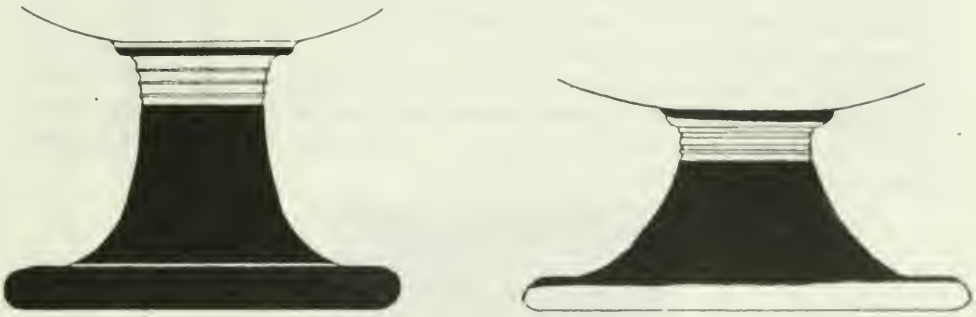


FIG. 4.

Among the Cyrenaic sherds found at the excavation of the Heraeum of Argos,⁹ which I may add to the very complete catalogue given by Dugas, are ten broken kylix stems which also show this peculiarity. Eight of these, it is true, can only be assigned to the class by the characteristic clay but two retain sufficient of the inside of the bowl to make the attribution certain. The same trait occurs on a Cyrenaic kylix stem found in Samos,¹⁰ and the stem of the Cassel kylix shows a somewhat similar decoration.

In view then of the comparatively late date of our two kylikes it is, I think, reasonable to look on these ridges¹¹ as the expression in a degenerate period of the taste for a decorated stem, to which witness is borne at an earlier date by the painted purple rings which are found in the same place on the stem of the Arcesilas vase.

J. P. DROOP.

⁹ *The Argive Heraeum*, ii. p. 173.

¹⁰ Boldan, *Aus ionischen und italischen Necropolen*, p. 126, Taf. x. 3.

¹¹ The Heidelberg kylix, admittedly a late example, also shows such ridges.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM ASIA MINOR, CYPRUS, AND
THE CYRENAICA.

THE following inscriptions, with the exception of No. 7, were copied during the cruise of Mr. Allison V. Armour's yacht 'Utowana' in the Eastern Mediterranean in the spring of 1904. The copying was done by Mr. D. G. Hogarth, of Magdalen College, Oxford, Mr. Richard Norton, Director of the American School of Classical Studies in Rome, and myself; and in preparing the material for publication I have had the benefit of Mr. Hogarth's advice and assistance. The inscriptions Nos. 1 and 25, as well as the three stelae from Larnaca mentioned under No. 30, are now at the American School in Rome: No. 21 is in America.¹

ASIA MINOR.

Halicarnassus.

I.

A stela of white marble purchased in Budrüm, and now at the American School in Rome. The part preserved measures 0·46 × 0·33 × 0·07 m. Letters 0·009 m. high. Broken R. lower corner. Read by A. W. Van Buren.

ΞΝΑΟΥΣΕΝΕΡΩΝΠΡΟΣΑΛΑΜΠΡΕΑΣΙΚΕΟΚΟΙΤΑΣ
ΜΟΙΡΩΝΕΥΚΛΩΣΤΟΙΣΝΗΜΑΣΙΝΑΝΤΙΟΧΕ
ΤΑΙΑΔΕΣΕΞΕΙΝΑΤΟΝΟΜΩΝΥΜΟΝΥΙΕΑΠΑΤΡΙ
ΤΥΨΕΝΥΠΟΪΟΦΕΡΟΙΣΚΕΥΘΕΣΙΔΕΞΑΜΕΝΑ
5 ΑΤΡΑΔΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΙΑΓΑΛΛΑΙΣΤΡΙΤΑΝΣΕΤΟΝΑΚΡΟ.
ΜΥΡΕΤΕΤΙΪΑΘΕΩΝΕΝΤΡΟΦΕΓΥΜΝΑΣΙΩΝ
ΤΟΙΟΝΣΕΚΤΕΡΙΣΑΣΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣΑΙΝΕΤΟΝΕΙ . . .
ΪΑΛΟΝΕΝΙΟΝΑΤΟΪΣΑΓΑΘΟΣΕΚΦΕΡΕ . . .

ΝΤΙ

*Ἄγενάους ἐνέρων πρὸς ἀλαμπρίας ἵκειο κοίτας
Μοιρῶν ἐνκλώστοις νήμασιν, Ἄντιόχε
γαῖα δέ σε ξείνα τὸν ὁμώνυμον νιέα πατρί
τύψεν ὑπὸ ζοφεροῖς κεύθεσι δεξαμένα*

¹ [Mr. A. E. Housman is to be thanked for suggestions have been made also by the Editors a revision of the metrical epitaphs. Certain of the *Journal*.—D.G.H.]

5 π]ίτρα δ' Ἀντιόχεια παλαιστρίταν σε τὸν ἄκρο[ν
 μύρετ' ἔτι, ζαθίων ἔντροφε γυμνασίων
 τοῖόν σε κτερίσας Διονύσιος αἰνετὸν ἔ[ργου?
 ζᾶλον ἐνι θνατοῖς ἀγαθὸς ἐκφέρει[ται.

Ἀ]ντί[οχος Ἀντιόχου.

L. 1. Cf. *Anthol. Pal.* app. 260: κείμαι ἐς ἀύχμηρὸς καὶ ἀλαμπέας
 ἄιδος εὐνίς.

L. 2. Cf. *Anthol. Pal.* vi. 284: εὐκλωστον δὲ γυναικῶν | νῆμα.

L. 4. τύψειν, lapicide's error for κρυψεν'.

L. 6. Cf. *Anthol. Pal.* ix. 242: Θασίων ἔντροφος αἰγιαλῶν.

L. 7. Mr. Housman suggests ἔργου, remarking that ἔργου ζᾶλον
 ἐκφέρεται = ἐξ ἐ. ζ. φέρεται, i.e. 'wins glory from the deed.'

Telmessus (Makri).

2.

A small round altar in the house of K. Paulides. Read by R. Norton.
 Fig. 1.



FIG. 1. No. 2.

*Horseman, mounted,
 galloping to right.
 Kantharos, between
 two serpents.*

ΦΙΛΕΤΑΙΡΟΞ
 ΟΝΗΞΙΦΟΡΟΥΞΡΜΟΛΥΚΟΝ
 ΤΟΝΕΑΥΤΟΥΑΔΞΕΛΦΟΝ
 ΗΡΩΑ

Φιλέταιρος
 Ὀνησιφόρου Ἐρμόλυκον
 τὸν αὐτοῦ ἀδελφὸν
 ἥρωα

This altar is of considerable interest in its relation to primitive hero-worship and its survival at a late period. The deceased was worshipped as hero, and on this monument is represented in both human and serpent form, the serpent regularly being considered the embodiment of a chthonic divinity. The representation of *two* serpents may be due to considerations of symmetry or convention, or to a certain vagueness in the mind of the dedicant.

For the hero as serpent, see Miss J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, pp. 326-332; note especially the altar illustrated there on p. 331, after A. Conze, *Reise in der Insel Lesbos*, Pl. IV. Fig. 5, cf. p. 11. See also Gruppe, *Gr. Mythol. u. Religionsgesch.* pp. 807 ff.

For the conception of the dead as chthonic divinities, cf., in addition to Miss Harrison, *op. cit.*, *θεοῖς καταχθονίοις καὶ τοῖς γονεῦσιν* C.I.G. 4439 (=Dessau *Inscr. Lat. Sel.* 8876); *θεοῖς καταχθονίοις καὶ ἥρωσιν ἰδίοις ἠρ.* Heberdey u. Wilhelm, *Reisen in Kilikien*, p. 33, n. 79, quoted by Dessau *l.c.* (both these inscriptions are from Cilicia); and for corresponding Italic expressions, cf. *deis inferum parentum*, C.I.L. i. 1241=x. 4255=Ritschl *PLME. LXVII*=Dessau, *Inscr. Lat. Sel.* 7999, with Dessau's note. Also, in general, Roscher, *Lexicon*, s.v. *Heros*; Rohde, *Psyche*, ii. pp. 348 ff.

3.

On a stone in the wall of a house below the western group of graves. Read by D. G. Hogarth and R. Norton, from a tissue-paper rubbing,

Τ//ΙΚΚ
 ΜΟΝΗΣΕΙ . . ΟΥΔΕΜΗ (*complete*)
 ΔΕΝΟΣΤΗΝΟΥΣΑΝΠΡΟΕ
 ΤΗΜΑΑΠΕΝΑΝΤΙΤΟΥΚΕ//
 5 ΑΜΕΙΟΥΗΝΤΙΝΑΚΑΜΑΡΑ//
 ΚΕΕΠΕΓΡΑΨΑ////ΣΤΕΕΑΝΒ .
 ΑΕΥΣΟΜΕΤΙΝΑΠΟΤΕΤΩΝΕΜ//
 ΝΕΤΙΖΩΧΣΜΟΥΘΙΝΑΙΤΙΝΑ (*complete*)
 ΕΙΔΕΤΙΣΜΕΤΑΤΑΥΤΑΤΟΛΜΗ////
 10 ΣΙΑΝΥΖΕΚΕΕΝΘΑΨΕΤΙΝΑΜΕ
 ΤΑΤΗΝΕΜΗΝΤΕΛΕΥΤΗΝΔΩΣ
 . ΙΣΠΡΟΣΤΙΜΟΥ . ΘΓΟ

[Ἐγὼ ἢ δεῖνα κα-]
 τ[ε]ισκ[ε]ύασα ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ
 μόνης, ἐ[τέρ]ου δὲ μη-
 • δενὸς τὴν οὐσαν πρὸ ἔ-
 τη μ' ἀπέναντι τοῦ κε[ρ]-
 5 αμείου, ἦντινα καμάρ[α]ν
 κὲ ἐπέγραψα, [ὄ]στε, ἐὰν β[ου]-
 λεύσομε, τινά ποτε τῶν ἐμ[ώ]-
 ν ἔτι ζώσης μου θίναί τινα.

10 Εἰ δέ τις μετὰ ταῦτα τολμή-
 σι ἀνῶξε κὲ ἐνθάψει τινὰ με-
 τὰ τὴν ἐμὴν τελευτήν, δώσ-
 ει]ς προστίμου - - - - -

The inscription is illiterate as regards spelling (κὲ = καὶ l. 6; βουλεύσομε = βουλεύσωμαι l. 7; θῖναι = θῆναι l. 8; τολμήσει ἀνῶξε κὲ ἐνθάψει = τολμήσει ἀνοίξει καὶ ἐνθάψει l. 9); vocabulary (καμάρα *i.g.* *cubiculum* l. 5); and syntax (πρὸ ἔτη μα² l. 3, cf. Moschion 114: †πρὸ ὀλίγας ἡμέρας, quoted *ap.* Sophocles, *Gk. Lex. of Rom. and Byz. Periods*, s.v. πρὸ 3; Johannes Moschus *ap.* Migne, *Patrol. Gr.* vol. 87, 2985 c: πρὸ ἔτη εἰκοσιδύο, and the modern Greek idiom; the irregular gen. absol. ἔτι ζώσης μου l. 8; and the redundant τινὰ l. 8).

Patara.

4.

On a small cippus in a wall just E. of the city gate. Copied by D. G. Hogarth and R. Norton.

ΖΟ	<i>Draped</i>	ΣΙΚ
ΟΣ	<i>standing</i>	Τ
ΩΙ	<i>figure.</i>	
Ω		ΤΕ
5 Κ Ν Ω Μ Ο Ν		
Ω Ν Μ ΝΕ		
Η Μ Η Ε Ν Ε		
Κ Ε Ν		

Ζόσικ|ος τῶ ἰ[δί]ω τέκνω μόν|ω<ν> μν<ε>|ήμης ἔρε|κεν.

Ζοσικός seems best taken for Ζωσικός, a perfectly possible form, although it does not occur elsewhere. Both Ζώσιμος and Ζωτικός occur.

5.

The fragments of an inscription on a building near the shore, published *C.I.G.* 4297 and (partly) by Benndorf and Niemann, *Reisen in Lykien u. Karien*, p. 117. We found fragments 1 and 7; also 2 and 5, which we read thus:

2.	5.
ΘΠΑΙ	ΣΕ:
ΥΑΣΕ	ΑΤC

² [These words cannot be regarded as certain, having been read only from a tissue-paper rubbing. It is very strange that the date should be given so precisely, and that *καμάραν* should be left to be inferred from the subsequent clause. But I cannot suggest any better restoration.—D.G.H.]

We found also this fragment :

8.
ΟΥΚ

Xanthus.

6.

On a small rectangular block of stone N.E. of the theatre, between the wall and the river ; it has probably fallen from the wall. Copied by D. G. Hogarth and R. Norton.

	ΙΜΒΡΑΙΜΙΣΙΑΣC		"Ιμβραιμῖς Ἰάσο-
	ΝΟΣΤΟΥΙΜΒΡΑ		νος τοῦ Ἰμβρα[ί-
	ΜΙΟΣΞΑΝΘΙΟΣ		μιος Ξάνθιος
	ΙΕΡΑΣΑΜΕΝΟΣ		ἱερασάμενος
5	ΠΑΤΡΩΟΥΘΕΟ	5	πατρῶου θεοῦ
	ΞΑΝΘΟΥΤΟΝΑΝ		Ξάνθου τὸν ἀν-
	ΔΡΙΑΝΤΑΞΥΝΤΗ		δριάντα σὺν τῇ
	ΒΑΣΙΕΚΤΩΝΙΔΙ		βάσι ἐκ τῶν ἰδί[ων].

Cf. the similar Xanthian inscriptions *C.I.G.* 4275. add. 4269 c.

L. 1. The root of the name Ἰμβραιμῖς occurs in a number of proper names from western Asia Minor and vicinity ; cf. Pape-Benseler *s.v.* Ἰμβραμος, Ἰμβράσιος, Ἰμβρασος, Ἰμβριος, Ἰμβρος.³

L. 4. ἱερασάμενος from ἱεράομαι = ἱερεύειν or ἱερατεύειν. Beside these Xanthian inscriptions, the word occurs in many others, as in one from Delos, *B.C.H.* vi. (1882), p. 20, l. 158 ; p. 33, ll. 43, 44, 45 ; cp. also Dittenberger, *Or. Gr. Inscr. Sel.* Index viii. *s.v.*

7.

The inscription [Ξ]ανθίων ἡ βουλή κ.τ.λ. in honour of Q. Veranius Tlepolemus, published by Cagnat, *Inscr. Gr. Rom.* iii. 628, 'ex schedis Instituti archaeologici Vindobonensis.' This was read by D. G. Hogarth, during a previous visit to the site, Apr. 17, 1897. It is on a slab of white marble, on the upper slope of the river bank, broken at the bottom, and worn on the left ; fine lettering. Hogarth's reading varies as follows from that published by Cagnat :

Iota adscriptum is never indicated. L. 3, *init.* | ΚΑΙ. L. 4, ΤΛΗΠΟΛΕ|//ΟΝ. L. 7, |Κ'Α'ΑΓΑΘΟΝ. L. 9, |//ΕΝΟΝΥΙΟΝ ΚΟΙΝΤΟΥΟΥΗΡΑΝΙΑΝΟΥ. L. 11, *init.* no letter is visible before ΑΣΤΩΝ. L. 12, *init.* |////Ε////////ΔΙΚΑΤ. L. 12, ΕΘΝΕΙ|. L. 16, |////ΑΙΤΕΤΕΙΜ. L. 16, ΠΟΛΛΑ|//ΙΣ. L. 17, *fin.* ΑΡΓΥ//.

³ Also Ἐμβρομος (Petersen and von Luschan, *Reisen in Lykien*, ii. p. 106), and the Lycian genitives + ΠΡΟΜΑ+ and +ΧΡΡΨΜΑ+ (B.M.C. *Lycia*, p. xxxvii f.).

Chimæra.

8.

On a broken block, presumably a fragment of a statue base. Read by R. Norton.

Υ ΕΙΜΟCΕΡΜΑΓC
ΙΜΙΝΘΕΟΤΕΡ
ΥΙΟΝΦΙΛC
ΑΙΜΝΗ

Σώτ]ειμος Ἐρμαγό[ρου Ἰμβ-
ρα]ιμιν Θεοτερ[- - - -
υ]ίων φιλο[στοργίας
κ]αὶ μνή[μης ἔνεκεν.

L. 1. The name [Σ]ώτειμος occurs in *C.I.G.* 4321 *c*; Ἄρτειμος, another possibility, in *C.I.G.* 4321 *d*. Both these inscriptions were found in the same part of Lycia as the Chimæra.

[Ἰμβρα]ιμιν, cf. Ἰμβραιμης, No. 6 *supra*, and note there.

L. 2. Θεοτερ[- - - - : the restoration is uncertain. The only name known to me beginning in Θεοτερ- is Θεότερμος; Θεοτέρ[που] also might be suggested; but more letters are needed to fill the space. Perhaps one might read Θεοτερ[μίδου], or Θεοτερ[πίδου].

9.

In the wall of a church. Published by Le Bas 1340, with some variants. Read by D. G. Hogarth. We can give more exact readings than Le Bas in the following instances.

Omega has the form Ω. L. 1, ΑΒΔΡΑ. L. 2, ΓΑΘΟΥΠ. L. 7, ΕΙCΘΔΙΑCΑΙΘ.

L. 7. One would have expected ἐξοδιάσαι (= *spend*); εἰσοδ. elsewhere = *collect*. An error of the stone-cutter is possible.

10.

Petersen, *Reisen*, p. 142. We read YENYBATHOY.

Phaselis.

11.

On a rectangular block of stone over 450 m. high. Letters about 035–038 high. Copied by R. Norton; a squeeze was also used. Published *C.I.G.* 4336, 'ex schedis Mülleri Beaufortianis.' Our reading is more exact in some respects, although some of the letters recorded in *C.I.G.* are no longer visible. Our reading:

ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΙ	Ἀὐτοκράτορι
ΚΑΙΣΑΡΙΤΡΑΙΑΝΩ	Καίσαρι Τραιανῶ
ΑΔΡΙΑΝΩ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩ	Ἄδριανῶ Σεβαστῶ
ΠΑΤΡΙΠΑΤΡΙΔΟ	πατρὶ πατρίδῳ
5 ΟΛΥΜΠΙΩ ΣΩΤΗ	5 Ὀλυμπίῳ σωτῆρι
ΟΥΚΟΣΜΟΥΥΠ	τ]οῦ κόσμου ὑπ[έρ
ΗΣΕΠΙΒΑΣΕΩΣ	τ]ῆς ἐπιβάσεως
ΑΥΤΟΥΑΚΑΛΙΣΕΩ	αὐτοῦ Ἀκαλισέω
ΗΒΟΥΛΗΚΑΙΟΔΗΥ	ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος.

Date, 129 A.D. or a few years later; for Hadrian's visit, see Pauly-Wissowa, i. 509 f.; for the epithet Ὀλύμπιος, *o.c.* i. 500, 5.

L. 8. ΑΚΜΙΣΕΩ, *C.I.G.*; ΑΚΑΛΙΣΕΩ was given by E. A. Gardner, from Cockerell's papers, in *J.H.S.* vi. (1885), p. 343. Bérard, who apparently had not seen Gardner's article, stated in *B.C.H.* xvi. (1892), p. 442, that he was unable to find the stone at Phaselis, but conjectured Ἀκ[αλ]ισέων. Our reading confirms Cockerell's copy and Bérard's conjecture.

12.

The inscription commemorating Hadrian's visit in 129 A.D. (see note on No. 11), published *C.I.G.* 4337, 'ex schedis Mülleri Beaufortianis,' with corrections iii. add. p. 1157; and, with further corrections, by Bérard, *B.C.H.* xvi (1892), p. 442; and, following him, by Cagnat, *Inscr. Gr. Rom.* iii. 757 (where C. fails to indicate that ll. 1-3 are restored). Total height of the stone, at least 420 m. Letters 040 m. high. Read from a squeeze. Our reading differs from Bérard's as follows:

L. 4 (of C.'s numbering), the r. and bottom hastae of Δ are visible before Ο. L. 6, the r. hasta of Μ is visible before ΟΥ. L. 8, the reading Κορυδ]ΑΛΛΕΩΝ is certain; before the Α, the two upper hastae of Δ are visible; Bérard's ΔΑΛΕΩΝ is obviously a misprint, as he has [Κορυ]δαλλέων in his transcription and commentary.

13.

On a broken rectangular block of stone. Copied by D. G. Hogarth. Published, with variants, in *C.I.G.* 4335, 'ex schedis Mülleri Beaufortianis,' and after *C.I.G.* by Cagnat, *Inscr. Gr. Rom.* iii. 759. Our reading:

ΟΕΟΥΤΡΑΙΑΝΟΥΠ,	ΟΥΥΙΟΘΕΟΙ////////ΟΙΑΥΙΩΝ
ΤΡΑΙΑΝΩΙΑΔΡΙΑΝΩΙ	Σ. ΩΑΡΧΙΕΙ////////ΕΓΙΣΤΩΙ
ΔΗΜ. ΧΙΚΗΣΕΞΟΥΣΙ	ΕΥ-ΑΤΟΤΟΒΤΟΙΘΕΟ
////ΥΜΠΙΩ. Ο////////	ΥΜΠΑΝΤΟΞΚΟΣΜΟ
5 //////////////, ΜΙΡΙ,	////////Τ////////Ω////
ΤΡ////ΔΑΡΙΣΔΙΟΤΕΙΝ	, ΙΣΕΙΓ////ΙΟΥΛΙΚΙΝΙΟΥ
ΜΑΡΚΟΥΥΙΟΡΟΥΦ	ΤΕΤΡΙΠ. . ΝΟΝΑΓΟΡΑΝ

letters after ΚΟΥΟΚΩΝΙΟΝ are ΟΥΥΙΟΝ. L. 3, the ΤΗ of στρατηγόν forms a ligature. L. 5, ΒΕΙΘΥΝΙΑΣ. L. 7, ΟΥΛΕΡΙΑ - - - (*sic*). L. 8, ΤΙΕΒΟΥΡΤΕΙΝΗΣ (*sic*). L. 8, ΑΥΤΟΙΣ; this reading bears on the *cursus honorum* of C. Voconius Saxa Fidus.

17.

The inscription published, with considerable variants, in *C.I.G.* 4332, after Beaumont, and, following *C.I.G.*, by Cagnat, *Inscr. Gr. Rom.* iii. 764 *C.I.G.* iii. *add.* p. 1156 gives the reading of Barth from *Rhein. Mus.* vii. (1850), p. 252, No. 6. Barth could read only comparatively few letters in each line, and used the expression 'folgende sehr unleserliche auf einer in höchst unglücklicher Stellung im Gebüsch liegenden gut gearbeiteten Basis.' It is on a rectangular block of stone on the road from the harbour towards the theatre; the top, with most of the first five lines, is broken off. Read by D. G. Hogarth and R. Norton, using Norton's copy and a squeeze.

///ΣΗΛΕΙΤΩΝΗΒΟΥΛΗΚΑΙΟΔΗΜΟΣ
 ///ΙΟΝΔΙ.ΙΟΥ//ΟΛ///Α
 ΤΙΠΙΑΝΙΑΚ' - . .
 ΜΙΑΟ . . ΤΕΝΟ . . . ΝΟΝΚΛΟ . .
 5 ΟΤΟΥΤΑ΄ΜΑΙ ΟΤ
 ΙΚΟΣΑΠΡΟΤΕΥΣΑΝΙΑ
 ΖΚΡΙΤΟΥ//ΗΣΖΩΗΣ.ΡΧΙ
 =ΡΕΥΣΑΝΤΑΤΗΣΠΡΟΚΑΘΙΓΕΙ
 ΙΔΟΣΤΗΣΠΟΛΕΟΣΘΕΑΣΛΘΗΝ/Σ
 10 ///ΙΛΔΟΣΚΑΙΤΩΝ'ΛΩΝΣΕΒΑΣ
 ΤΩΝΠΡ'ΤΑΝΕΥΣΑΝΤΑΦΙΛΟΤΕΙ
 ΜΩΣΥΠΟΦΥΛΑΞΑΝΤΑΤΟΥΛΥΚΙΟΝ
 ΕΘΝΟΥΣΩΣΚΑΘΕΚΑΣΤΗΝΑΡΧΗΝ
 ΤΕΤΕΙΜΗΣΘΙΑΥΤΟΝΥΠΟΤΗΣ
 15 ΠΟΛΕΟΣ ΠΟΛΛΑΚΑΙΜΕΓΑ
 ΛΑΠΑΡΕΣΧΗΜΕΙ//ΟΝΤΗΠΑΤΡ///
 ΕΝΤΩΤΗΣΣΩΗΣΑΥΤΟΥΧΡΟΝΩ
 ΚΑΙΜΕΤΑΤΗΝΤΕΛΕΥ/////////
 ΑΙΩΝΙΟΥΣΔΩΡΕΑΣΚΑΤΑ/////////
 20 . ΟΤΑΤΗΠΑΤΡΙΔΙΕΙΣΤΕ'ΑΝΑΘΗΜ . . .
 ΑΙ'ΕΩΡΙΑΣΚΑΙΔΙΑΝΟΜΑΣΑΡΕΤΙ Σ
 Ε. ΕΚΕΝΤΗΣΕΙΣΑΥΤΟ' . ΤΗΝΔΕΤΟΥ
 ΑΝΔΡΙΑΝΤΟΣΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΝΕΠΟΙΗΣΑΤΟ
 //ΙΕΝΝΗΣΣ//ΗΚΑΙΤΕΡΤΙΑΙ'ΑΡΟΙΟ
 25 Α . ΙΛΕΙΤΙΣΙΙΘΕΙΑΚΑΙΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΟΣΑΥΤΟΥ/////////
 ///ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΣΔΙΕΤΑΞΑΤΟ

- Φα]σηλειτῶν ἢ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος
 Πτολεμα]ῖον δι[ς τ]οῦ [Πτ]ολ[εμ]α[ίου
 Φασηλει]τ(ήν), ἄν(δρ)[α καλὸν
 καί](ἀγ)α[θὸν] γ]εινός[με]μον κ[αὶ τοῦ
 5 πρ](ῶ)του τά[γμα]τος τῆ[ς π]ύλεος,
 ε]ἰκοσιπρ(ω)τεύσαν[τ]α
 καὶ μέ](χ)ρι τοῦ [τ]ῆς ζωῆς [ἀ]ρχι-
 ερεύσαντα τῆς προκαθ[η]γέ[τ]-
 ιδος τῆς πόλεος θεᾶς [Ἄ]θην[ᾶ]ς
 10 Πολ]ι[ἀ]δος καὶ τῶν [θε]ῶν Σεβασ-
 τῶν, πρ[υ]τανεύσαντα φιλοτεί-
 μως, ὑποφυλάξαντα τοῦ Λυκί(ω)ν
 ἔθνους ὡς καθ' ἐκάστην ἀρχὴν
 τετειμῆσθ(αι) αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῆς
 15 πόλεος, πολλὰ καὶ μεγά-
 λα παρεσχημέ[ν]ον τῇ πατρί[δι]
 ἐν τῷ τῆς (ζ)ωῆς αὐτοῦ χρόνῳ,
 καὶ μετὰ τὴν τελευτή[ν]
 αἰωνίους δωρεὰς κατα[λελοι]-
 20 π]ότ[α] τῇ πατρίδι εἰς τε [ἀ]ναθήμ[ατα
 κ]αὶ [θ]εωρίας καὶ διανομὰς, ἀρετ[ῆ]ς
 ε[ἶ]νεκεν τῆς εἰς αὐτο[ῦς]· τὴν δὲ τοῦ
 ἀνδριάντος ἀνάστασιν ἐποίησατο .
 Μ]έννησ[α] ἢ καὶ Τερτία [- - - - -
 25 Φαση]λεῖτις, (ἡ) θεία καὶ κληρονόμος αὐτοῦ, [καθως
 ὁ] Πτολεμαῖος διετάξατο.

Aspendus.

18.

Behind the basilica ; on the hem of the himation of a female statue, in rather small letters. Copied by R. Norton.

ΜΟΣΧΟΣΜΟΣΧΟΥΟΚΑΙΚΑΛΛΙΠΠΟΣΣΥΝΑΔΕΥΣ

Μόσχος Μόσχου ὁ καὶ Κάλλιππος Συναδεύς.

Cf. the artist's (?) inscription Μόσχος *C.I.G.* 6970; and the metrical epitaph from Piræus, *I.G.* iii. 1360, beginning Συναδεύς θεράπων Ἀπολλώνιος ἐνθάδε Μόσχου.

Side.

19.

On a marble block over the gate at the north corner of the theatre ; published, with variants, after Beaufort, in *C.I.G.* 4360, cf. *add.* p. 1164 ; and Cagnat, *Inscr. Gr. Rom.* iii. 807.

ΕΠΙΑΝΘΥΠΑΤΟΥ
ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΥΚΛΑΔΙΟΥ
ΒΙΘΥΝΙΚΟΥ

ἐπὶ ἀνθυπάτου
Τιβερίου Κλα(υ)δίου
Βιθυνικοῦ.

Date, after 135 A.D., according to *Prosopogr. Imp. Rom. s.v. Ti. Claudius Bi[th]ynicus, q.v.*

20.

A large marble base, having figures, etc., carved on the sides. On the front, two draped male figures with an omphalos between them; a tree on the left and a tree (?) on the right. On the left side, four dancing figures; similar figures on the right side; on the back, two bigae. Length of side 1.24 m.; of back 2.45. *a, b*, copied by R. Norton; *c*, by D. G. Hogarth; *d*, by A. W. Van Buren, from a photograph and a rubbing.

(*a*) On the left side (this inscription is chipped on the right).

ΣΥΔ

ΣΗΝΑΡΕΤΗΝΑΓΝΟΤΑΠΕΡΙΣΚΕΠΙΑΜΦΙΒΑΛΟΥ
ΑΙΔΟΙΜΕΙΛΙΧΙΟΝΤΕΚΑΤΑΙΝΕΤΟΝΕΡΓΟΝΑΝΥΣΣΑΙ
ΠΑΝΤΙΝΟΩΝΣ·ΣΥΤΑΛΕΥ·ΒΑΘΕΟΙΣΙΝ
ΑΛΕΝΟΠΙΤ//////ΤΟΠΕΡΙΦΡΑΔΕΩΣΣΥΤΕΔΡΣΣ

(*b*) On the band across the omphalos.

ΙΕΡΑΠΥΘΙΑ

(*c*) On the front.

. ΩΓΘΙΩΒ.Π. . . . ΠΘΙΛΕΥΚ. . . . ΛΙ.Υ ΣΥΔΙΩ
. ΟΣΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΣ·ΚΑΙΜΑΡΚΟΣΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΣ·ΣΕΛΕΥΚΙΑΝΟΣΣ. . .
ΚΟΣΤΕΤΡΑΚΙΝΕΟΣΟ
ΥΙΟΣΒΟΥΛΕΥΤΑΙ·ΤΟΝΒΩΜΟΝΚΑΤΑΣΚΕΥΑΣΑΝΤΕΣΚΑΙΧΡΥΣΩ
ΣΑΝΤΕΣ·ΑΝΘΕΣΑΝ
ΣΥΝΤΗΒΑΣΕΙ·ΑΓΩΝΟΣΑΓΟΜΕΝΟΥΤΟΤΡΙΤΟΝΙΕΡΟΥΟΙΚΟΥΜΕΝ
ΙΚΟΥ·ΙΣΟΠΥΘΙΟΥΑΠΟΛ
5 ΛΩΝΙΟΥΕΚΕΧΕΙΡΙΟΥΕΙΣΕΛΑΣΤΙΚΟΥΕΙΣΑΠΑΣΑΝΤΗΝΟΙΚΟΥ
ΜΕΝΗΝΑΓΩΝΟΘΕΤΟΥΝ
ΤΩΝΜΕΤΑΔΗΜΙΟΥΡΓΙΑΝ·ΟΥΕΤΤΙΑΝΟΥΠΟΜΠΩΝΙΑΝΟΥΚΛΑΥ
ΔΙΑΝΟΥΔΙΟΓΕΝΟΥΣ·ΙΠΠΙΚΟΥ
ΚΑΙΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΥ·ΔΙΦΙΛΙΑΝΟΥ·ΔΙΦΙΛΟΥ·ΙΠΠΙΚΟΥ·ΑΛΥΤΑΡ
ΧΟΥΝΤΟΣ·ΔΕΚΜΟΥ·ΙΟΥΝΙΟΥ
ΑΙΚΙΝΝΙΟΥ·ΤΙΤΙΑΝΟΥ·ΥΙΟΥ·ΤΙΤΙΑΝΟΥΦΙΛΟΔΟΞΟΥ

(d) On the right side (this inscription is chipped on the right)

LNΘ

ΟΥΣΤΙΑΠΝΑΙΣΕΣΘΗΣΙΚΕΚΑΣΜΕΝΟΣΕΙΔΕΑΤΑΣ
 ΣΗΗΤΟΣΚΑΘΑΡΗΔΕΝΟΩΠΕΡΙΛΑΜΠΕΑΙΑΙΓΛΗ
 ΚΑΙΣΕΘΕΟΙΤΙΟΥΣΙΚΑΙΕΚΤΕΛΕΟΥΣΙΝΕΕΛΔΩ
 ΟΤΤΙΚΕΝΑΡΗΣΕΟΣΟΦΗΦΡΕΝΙΜΕΤΡΙΑΕΙΔΩ

(a)

L οδ'.

Σὴν ἀρετὴν ἄγνω(ε)τα, περισκεπ(ε)ῖ ἀμφιβαλοῦ[σα
 υἱδοῖ, μειλίχιόν τε καὶ αἰνετὸν ἔργον ἀνύσσαι
 παρτὶ νοῶν β[ιότ]ω· σύ τ' ἀλεύ[αο τόσσ]α θεοῖσιν
 οὐχ] ἄ(δ)εν ὄ(ττ)ε τ' [ἔφερ]το περιφραδέως σὺ τέ(λ)εσσ[ας].⁴

(b)

Ἱερὰ Πύθια.

(c)

[- - - - -]

- -]ος Σέλευκος καὶ Μάρκος Λύρηλιος Σελευκιανός [Σωτι]κὸς Τετρακίεος ὁ
 υἱὸς βουλευταὶ τὸν βωμὸν κατασκευάσαντες καὶ χρυσώσαντες ἀνέθεσαν
 σὺν τῇ βάσει, ἀγῶνος ἀγομένου τὸ τρίτον ἱεροῦ οἰκουμενικοῦ Ἰσπιθίου
 ἸΑπολ-

5 λωίου ἐκεχειρίου εἰσελαστικοῦ εἰς ἅπασαν τὴν οἰκουμένην ἀγωνοθετούν-
 των μετὰ δημιουργίαν Οὐεττιανοῦ Πομπωριανοῦ Κλανδιανοῦ Διογένους
 Ἰππικοῦ
 καὶ Λύρηλιον Διφιλιανοῦ Διφίλου Ἰππικοῦ· ἀλυταρχοῦντος Δέκμου
 Ἰουρίου

Λικινίου Ἰτιτιανοῦ υἱοῦ Ἰτιτιανοῦ Φιλοδόξου.

(d)

L νθ'.

Οὐ στιλπναῖς ἐσθῆσι κεκασμένος εἶδεα τᾶξ[ω
 θηητὸς, καθαρῇ δὲ νόω περιλάμπει αἴγλη
 καὶ σε θεοὶ τίουσι καὶ ἐκτελέουσιν ἐέλδω[ρ,
 ὅττι κεν ἀρήσει σοφῇ φρενὶ μέτρια εἰδώ[ς.

(e), line 1. The line is too incomplete to make a restoration in full possible. One may conjecture

- - - - -] (Σέ)λευκ[ος Λύρη]λί[α]υ [υἱὸς - - - Σ]ό[σ]το[ς] - - - - -

⁴ [Restorations here mainly due to Mr. Housman.—D. G. H.]

3. Ἴσοπυθίων cf. Ἴσολύμπιος, Ἴσονέμεος. See Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, 2nd ed., *Indices*, s. v. The meaning is made clear by, e.g. Dittenberger, *Syll.*, 2nd ed., 206. 16. τὸν μὲν μουσικὸν Ἴσοπ[ύθιον, τὸν δὲ γυμνικὸν καὶ ἵππικὸν Ἴσονέμεον ταῖς τε ἡλικίαις κ[αὶ ταῖς τιμαῖς; *id.* 206. 25; *id.* 260. 22 ff. καὶ τοῖς νικῆσασιν Χαλκ[ι]δ[έων τ]ὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦτον διδόν[αι τὰ ἴσα ἄθλα, ὅσαπερ (κ[αὶ] τοῖς τ]ᾶ Πύθια νικῆσασιν | ἐκ τοῦ νόμου καθήκε[ι] δίδοσθ[αι]. Cf. also the coin of Ancyra in Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 629, with the inscription ΑΓΩ(νες) ΙΣΟΠΥΘΙΑ. Note also in this connexion the *ophthalos* in the relief on the front of our stone.

L. 4. οἰκουμηνικοῦ=εἰσελαστικοῦ εἰς ἅσασαν τὴν οἰκουμένην l. 5. Cf. *C.I.G.* 2932 (Tralles), ll. 4 ff. τῶν [ί]ερ[ῶν] εἰ[σε]λαστικῶν | [εἰ]ς τὴν οἰκουμένην | [Πυ]θίων . . . ἀγών[ω]ν; *C.I.G.* 3426 (Philadelphia), ll. 9 ff. νικῆ[σας] ἀγῶνας ἱεροῦς [εἰσε]λαστικοῦς μῦ.

L. 5. ἀγωνοθετούντων μετὰ δημιουργίαν I do not know of this expression occurring elsewhere. For *δημ.* at Side, cf. No. 21 and note there.

L. 7. ἀλυταρχούντος apparently an important office at Side; cf. Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Ἀλυτάρχης.

These games at Side are, I believe, not mentioned elsewhere on stones or in literature; but they are referred to on coins of Side by the words ΙΕΡΟΣ, ΠΥΘΙΟΣ, ΜΥΣΤΙΚΟΣ, ΟΛΥΜΠΙΑ ΟΙΚΟΥΜΕΝ., ΟΙΚΟΥΜΕΝΙΚΟΣ (Head *Hist. Num.*, p. 587).⁵ *Apollo* is a frequent coin-type.

[The era, from which the numerals heading texts *a* and *d* are reckoned, is possibly that of Hadrian's visit to Asia (129 A.D.). The names in text *c* imply a date towards the end of the second century at earliest; and therefore one cannot reckon from the Cilician provincial era (74 A.D.), still less from the Claudian provincial organisation. Unfortunately neither coins nor inscriptions of Pamphylia inform us about local eras.—D.G.H.]

21.

On a slab of marble purchased by Mr. C. D. Curtis, and now in America,

ΔΗΜΙΣΡ	[- - - -]
ΚΑΙ ΠΑΣΑΣ	]δημιουργήσαντ-
ΟΛΕΙΤΕΥ	α] καὶ πίαςας [ἀρχὰς
ΛΙΤΟΙΣΠΑ	π]ολεῖτευσάμενον
ΥΡΕΟΥΣ	κα]ὶ τοῖς πα[ισίν
ΕΝΑΥΤΩ	ἀργ]υρέους [στεφάν-
	ους] ἐν αὐτῶ[

L. 1. *δημ.* cf. Pauly-Wissowa iv. 2858 ff., esp. 2861. 32 ff. The office was already known as existing in Side, *C.I.G.* 4347.

⁵ See B.M.C. *Lycia and Pamphylia*, Side, No. 93 (Valerian). Games are alluded to also in Nos. 87 (Julia Paula; *Apollo* is on the same coin), 89 (Julia Mammaea), 91 (Maximinus), 97 (Valerian I.), 101 (Gallienus; *Athena* is on the

same coin), 117 (Gallienus; inscription ΙΕΡΟΣ ΜΥΣΤΙΚΟΣ | ΣΙΔΗ | ΤΩΝ | ΝΕΟΚΟ | ΡΩΝ), 118 (Gallienus), 121 (Salonina).

22.

Marble block in the yard of a house, probably complete on all sides though worn at the edges. The text is, however, obviously not complete on the right, the last portion having been cut on another block. Fig. 2.

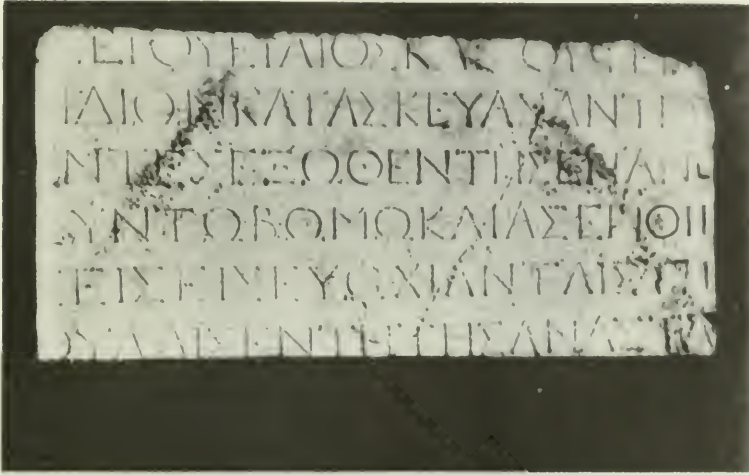


FIG. 2. No. 22.

Σ]ερονείλιος κα[ι 'Ρ]ουτειλ[ία ἡ γυνὴ ἐκ τῶν
 ἰδίων κατασκευύσαντες [τὴν στήλην? καὶ θέ-
 ντες ἔξωθεν τῆς ἐπανε[σταμένης σοροῦ
 σὺν τῷ βωμῷ καὶ ἄς ἐποίησε ἑορτὰς? ποιή-
 σεις εἰς εὐωχίαν ταῖς τῆ[ς 'Ρουτειλίας δ-
 ούλαις ἐν τῇ τῆς ἀναστά[σεως δαπάνῃ?

[For the number of letters lost in each line on the right there is no guide except the very probable restoration of line 1. The last legible character in l. 3 is certainly *iota*, and the last in l. 4 is a *hasta* which, if not *iota*, could be part only of *cti*, *mu*, *nu*, *pi*, or *rho*. The oblique line, apparently joining the two *hastae* in the photograph and making a *nu* after *επο-*, is deceptive. On an untouched print it appears as a flaw in the stone continuing up into the line above. For the phrase *ποιεῖν ἑορτήν* see Thuc. ii. 15.

Since l. 3 ends on the stone with *iota*, the restoration of the sequel, given above, is almost unavoidable. A sarcophagus raised up on a high pedestal (*βάσις*) must be in question. I suggest *στήλην* in l. 2 because this text is actually cut on a slab, not on a sarcophagus. For the use of the second singular of the future in the final injunction cp. our No. 3. —D.G.H.]

23.

On a rough stone set in a wall. The second line is entirely erased.
Copied by R. Norton.

ΕΝΠΡΟΠΑΙ	ἐ(πιτ)ροπαι-
//////////	[- - - - -]
ΘΟΥΣΣΑΧΓΕΝ	[- - - - -]
ΕΠΕΘΗΚΕΝ	ἐπέθηκεν
5 ΣΥΜΟΥΝ	5 Σύμουν
ΚΛΥΒΟΥΛΗ	Κλυβούλη
ΑΛΑΜΛΙΣ	Ἄλαμ(α)ῖς

24.

On a marble slab, 505 m. long by 18 m. high, broken at the end. At
the l. end is carved a basket-like object. Copied by R. Norton.

	a.
ΙΛΙΕΝΔΟ· <u>Ω</u> ·Ω	^{??} κα]ι ἐνδοξο[s - - - -

b. (sloping across the basket (?))

ΟΠΥΘΝ

Perhaps *a* should be read *ἀ ἐνδοξο[s*; cf. the inscription in Lanekoronsky, *Städte Pamphyliens u. Pisidiens* i. 186, No. 108.

25.

Seven fragments of a slab of white marble; 013-016 m. thick; the
largest is 180 m. long; height of letters 030 m.; the *minimum* of the letters is
partially preserved. Now in the American School in Rome, having been
donated by Mr. A. V. Armour. (No. 123 of the School's inventory.) None of
the fragments join, and none of the words can be made out. Fig. 3.

26.

On a slab near the sea. Letters are 011 m. high.

<ΛΡΗΙΤ·ΙΑΙ,

27.

On upright slabs S.W. of the theatre, in the Street of Columns.

a.	b.
Η_	
ΠΑΛΠΑ	ΦΑΙΓΑ

28.

ΑΥΙΟΥ

Probably a fragment of a dedication to Trajan, *Νερού]α υἱοῦ*.



FIG. 3. No. 25.

29.

On a marble slab.

Ι Κ Ι Ε Φ Ρ Ο Ν Τ Ι Σ Τ Η Σ Τ Η Ε Α Γ Ι Ω Τ Α Τ
 Π Ρ Ω Τ Η Σ Σ Υ Ν Α Γ Ω Γ Η Σ Ε Σ Τ Η Ν Ε Υ Τ
 Ξ Ε Κ Α Ι Α Ν Ε Π Λ Η Ρ Ω Σ Α Τ Η Ν Μ Α Ρ Μ Α Ρ Ω Σ Ι Ν Α Π Ο
 Α Μ Β Ω Ν Ο Σ Ε Ω Σ Τ Ο Υ Σ Ι Μ Μ Α Κ Α Ι Ε Σ Μ Η Ξ Α
 5 Ξ Δ Υ Ο Ε Π Τ Α Μ Υ Ξ Ο Υ Σ Κ Α Ι Τ Α Δ Υ Ο Κ Ι Ο Ν Ο Κ Ε
 Φ Α Λ Λ Α Ι Ν Δ Ι Ε Μ Δ

-]κίς φροντιστής τῆς ἁγιωτά-
 ης] πρώτης συναγωγῆς ἔστην εὐ-
 χῶ]ς, καὶ ἀνεπλήρωσα τὴν μαρμάρωσιν ἀπὸ
 τοῦ] ἄμβωνος ἕως τοῦ σίμματος, καὶ ἔσμηξα
 5 τὰ]ς δύο ἑπταμύξους καὶ τὰ δύο κιονοκέ-
 φαλα, ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ιε' μη(νός) δ'.

Ego, - - -]cis, archisynagogus (?) sanctissimae] primae synagogae fui felicitate]r, et perfecit solum marmoreum ab ambone usque ad sigma, et polivi

5 *duas lucernas septenarias et duo capita columnarum, indictione XV mense IV.*

L. 1. - - -]κίς. There is so little of the inscription lost on the left that this must be the end of a (Jewish ?) name, rather than of *πολλάκις*, *δεκάκις*, or the like.⁶

φροντιστής: cf. Grenfell and Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* i. No. lviii.; *I.G.* xiv. 715 (Naples); *id.* 759 (Naples), ll. 3, 8, 22, *ὁ φρήταρχος ἢ οἱ χαλκολόγοι ἢ ὁ φροντιστής ἢ οἱ διο[ι]κηται ἢ ἄλλος τις τῆς φρητρίας τῆς Ἀρισταίων κτλ.* I can find no exact parallel for the use of the word in connexion with a synagogue; but cf. *C.I.G.* iv. 190 (Aegina), (a) *Θεόδωρον | νεω[κ](όρου ?) φροντίζοντ(ος) κτλ.*; (b) *Θεόδωρος ἀρχισυν[άγωγος φ]ροντίσας ἔτη τέσσαρα | ἐχ θεμελίων τὴν συναγωγῆν] οἰκοδόμησα κτλ.*, which makes it not unlikely that the *φροντιστής* of our inscription = *ἀρχισυνάγωγος*.

τῆς ἀγιωτάτης πρώτης συναγωγῆς: this method of distinguishing two or more synagogues as 'first,' 'second,' etc., seems to be unknown elsewhere. Nowack, *Lehrbuch der hebr. Archäol.* ii. p. 86, Anm. 2, speaks of the use of emblems (the vine-branch, etc.) for this purpose; one of his examples is quite doubtful; see S. Reinach's article in *B.C.H.* x. (1886), p. 329, where other methods of designating synagogues are also enumerated.

L. 4. By *ἄμβων* must be meant the reading-desk and platform, *βῆμα*. I know of no other instance of the use of the word *ἄμβων* in connexion with synagogues; it is not used of the *βῆμα*, *suggestus*, *pulpitum*, of the Christian church until the fourth century. [Prof. H. Hirschfeld says that it is used for 'pulpit' in Syriac.—D.G.H.]

L. 4. *σίμμα*: a recognized Byzantine variant for *σίγμα*. A portico shaped like the letter *sigma* is meant, cf. *C.I.G.* 8623 (Bostra), *ἐκτίσθη ἐκ θεμελίων τὸ τρίκογχον σίγμα*, and the note there, '*σίγμα porticum denotat in litterae C formam curvatam.*' I am unable to consult Du Cange, *Const. Christ.* lib. ii. p. 112, referred to in *C.I.G.* For the designation, cf. also *C.I.L.* vi. 10284 (=Dessau 7947), *duabus in gamma porticibus*; *C.I.L.* vi. 11913, *porticus coheren[tes in ga]mma undis productis*, where *si]mma* seems a possible restoration. If the form \sqsubset is meant, *σίμμα* would probably be another way of saying *duae in gamma porticus*.

The *σίμμα* must be the portico at the front (entrance) of the synagogue. S. Reinach, *B.C.H.* x. (1886), 327 ff., and *Rev. des Études Juives*, xii. 236 ff., shows that the Greco-Jewish synagogue consisted of the synagogue proper—a roofed building—and, in front of it, a court, open to the sky, and generally surrounded by colonnades. If, as is natural to assume, the *ἄμβων* stood

⁶ [Nevertheless I believe we have here the end of a numeral: the name ought to have occupied a larger space than was available here; it was probably cut on an upper block. D.G.H.]

near the back end of the synagogue, the phrase ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄμβωνος ἕως τοῦ σίμμα is equivalent to the entire length of the synagogue.

L. 5. The seven-branched candlesticks, as furnishings of synagogues, were known before.

The purpose of the δύο κιονοκέφαλα may perhaps be explained by specialists in Hebrew antiquities.⁷

L. 6. The year and month of the indiction are given, but not the number of the indiction itself. This is the usual form. As the origin of this method of chronology cannot be placed earlier than the time of Constantine, this gives a *terminus a quo* for this inscription.

This inscription is of considerable interest as throwing light on the Jewish community at Side and their synagogue. It gives the following items of information :

(1) There were at least two synagogues at Side or in the vicinity (τῆς ἀγ. πρώτης συν.).

(2) The epithet ἀγιωτάτη was used.

(3) In the First Synagogue there was an official styled φροντιστής.

(4) This building had a marble pavement (μαρμύρωσις); it must therefore have been a structure of some dignity.

(5) It had apparently near one end a reading-desk (ἄμβων), and

(6) at the other a portico shaped like the letter *sigma*.

(7) It contained two seven-branched candle-sticks, and

(8) two κιονοκέφαλα.

(9) We may infer from the above that the Jews of Side were numerous and well-to-do.

In general, our knowledge as to synagogues, their organization and furniture, in early Christian times is not extensive. See Nowack, *Lehrbuch der hebr. Archaeologie*, ii. (Freiburg u. Leipzig, 1894), pp. 83 ff., and Keil's *Manual of Bibl. Archaeology*, tr. Christie, ed. Crombie (Edinburgh), 1887, i. pp. 201 ff.

CYPRUS.

Larnaca (near *Citium*).

30.

At the house of K. Karemphylaki. On a columnar stele of the well-known local type.⁸ Copied by A. W. Van Buren. Lettering irregular.

⁷ [Had these two κιονοκέφαλα anything to do with Solomon's *Jachin* and *Boaz* with their pomegranate capitals? See I. Kings vii. 15, 21; II. Chron. iii. 15, 17.—D.G.H.]

⁸ Similar stelæ are published or described by Ceccaldi, *Rev. Archéol.* ser. ii. 27 (1874), pp. 79 ff.; 29 (1875), p. 24, note 3, pp. 95 ff.; and by Perdrizet, in *B.C.H.* xx (1896), pp. 343 f. Perdrizet's Nos. 11 (which has C not

C), 13 (which has ΧΡΗCΤΗ not ΧΡΗCΤΕ), and 14 were purchased from K. Karemphylaki by Mr. Armour, and presented by him to the American School in Rome. There are also a number of similar stelæ in the Imperial Ottoman Museum in Constantinople and in the Metropolitan Museum of Fine Arts in New York.

ΑΦΡΟΔΕΙ	'Αφροδεί-
ΣΑΧΡΗΣΤΗ	σα χρηστή
ΧΑΙΡΕ	χαίρε.

Cf. *B.C.H.* 20 (1896), p. 344, No. 20, 'Αφροδισία | χρηστή | χαίρε. A name 'Αφροδείσα or 'Αφροδίσα is not found elsewhere; here it may be the stone-cutter's mistake for 'Αφροδειςία.

Riphos Nova.

31.

On a fragment of a marble architrave, circ. 1·50 m. long, lately excavated in the yard of the house of K. Ioannis Hadjipapagiorgi. Copied by R. Norton.

ΚΑΙΤΩΙ·ΥΙΩΙΑΥΤΟΥ·Μ·ΑΥΙ
ΛΜΑΤΑΚΑΙΤΑΣΑΝΟΔΟΥΣΚΑ

]καὶ τῷ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ Μ. Αὐ[ρηλίῳ - - -
ἀγά]λματα καὶ τὰς ἀνόδους κα[τεσκευάσεν!

Date, 196-211 A.D.

32.

Cut on a step in the native rock at the back of the house of K. Ioannis Hadjipapagiorgi. The π is 0·16 m. high.

π ο

33.

On a block in the wall of the new church.

φ α

CYRENAICA.

Apollonia.

34.

A red granite slab, 91 × 95 m. broken to left, serving for a step before the guest-room of the camp; lettering, 15 m. high, much defaced.

STRIB

It is possible that this belongs to the same inscription as the fragments *C.I.L.* iii. 12. They apparently had to do with an aqueduct.

35.

On a frieze over the door of a tomb.

ΑΜΜΩΛΙΟΥ
ΠΥΘΑΤΟΣ

Ἀμμωλίου
Πύθατος.

- L. 1. Ἀμμωλίου for Ἀμμωνίου!
L. 2 Πύθατος 'pet-form' for Πυθάρετος!

36.

a. above the door, *b.* at the l. of the door of a tomb.

a.
ΑΥΛΟΥΑΥΣ Αὔλου Αὐσ-
— ΔΛΗΝΟΥ οληνοῦ.

b.

Κ

Α

Ι

Ε

Γ

Λ

Ο

Γ

Η

Τ

καὶ Ἐγλογῆ τ[οῦ] Λουκά.

In *a.* Αὐσοληνοῦ is a peculiar name; but I have no other suggestion as to the reading.

Λ

Ο

Υ

Κ

Λ

37.

Over the r. corner of the cornice of the door of a tomb. Copied by R. Norton.

ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟ

Διόδοτος.

38.

On the l. of the door of a tomb.

	ΙΕΡΛΓ	Ἱερὰ Π-
	ΑΡΙΝΑ	αρινὰ
	ΝΑΡΙ	? Ἀρί-
	ΑΝΤ	αντ-
5	ΟCΕΤ	5 ος ἐτ-
	ΩΝ	ὦν[- - -]

L. 1. Παρινὰ for Παριανὰ.

L. 3. Ἀρίαντος for Ἀρίανθος.

39.

In the necropolis W. of the harbour. On a panel (·65 × ·34 m.) above the door of a rock-cut tomb. Very roughly and irregularly cut. Copied by R. Norton.

ΜΥΡΩΠΤ	Μυρὼ Πτ-
ΟΛΕΜΑΙΟ	ολεμαίο-
ΥΑΝΥΙΗ	υ Ἀ(μ)υνή- ?
ΩCΕΤΩΝ	ως ἐτῶν
ΙΓ	ιγ'.

40.

Above the door of a tomb. Letters are about ·11 m. square. Copied by R. Norton.

ΠΑΡΙΑ	Παπία.
-------	--------

41.

Over the door of a tomb ; much weathered.

ΤΛΠΛΕΓ////
 ΝΔΑΠΟΠ////
 ΟΓΚΛ ΝΛ
 //////////////////////////////////
 ΤΛΠΛΙΜΓ

42.

On a panel over the door of a tomb. There are traces of four lines.

//////////

IAI

T₁C

//////////

The above inscriptions from Apollonia can hardly be those referred to by Letronne in *Rev. Archéol.* v. (1848); speaking of a letter from M. Vattier de Bourville, who was travelling in the Cyrenaica, he says: 'D'autres inscriptions, trouvées à Sousset el Hammam à l'ouest d'Apollonie, sont informes, et ne contiennent que des noms propres altérés.'

A. W. VAN BUREN.

THE FLEET OF XERXES.¹

Two extreme views obtain as to the numbers of this fleet. Many modern writers² have unaffectedly accepted, sometimes with conviction, the 1,207 (or 1,327) triremes of Herodotus. In sharpest contrast, we have Prof. Hans Delbrück's estimate of not over 300 triremes for Xerxes' fleet at the outset, or anyhow at Artemisium.³ Delbrück discards all Herodotus' numbers as equally worthless, and sets out to deduce the true figure from criticism of the naval battles and of probabilities; it leads to the result that at Salamis the Persians were actually outnumbered, which is the point that really matters. Several intermediate views have also been put forward; Dr. H. Welzhofer⁴ and Prof. J. Beloch⁵ have taken the figure as 1,207 ships, not warships, Welzhofer putting the warships at something over 400; Prof. J. B. Bury⁶ and Dr. J. A. R. Munro⁷ have suggested 800 triremes at the outset; while Dr. E. Meyer⁸ gives 600-800 to start with, not all triremes, and 400-500 at Salamis, the fleet being brought up by transports, etc. to the popular figure of 1,000. Naturally, most of these figures are guesses from the probabilities of the case; but Dr. Munro has recognised the crucial fact of the four divisions of the fleet.

I hope it is not inconsistent to believe that Herodotus was sincerely anxious to tell the truth, and at the same time to sympathise with Delbrück's

¹ [Dr. R. W. Macan's *Herodotus, Books VII.-IX.*, was only published after this paper was already in the editors' hands. I have seen no reason to make any substantial alterations beyond the addition of a few notes, distinguished by square brackets; but I must apologise for the brief notice of Dr. Macan's theory of Salamis, a full discussion of which would occupy much space.]

² Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* ii.² 672, n. 4, 'glaublich'; A. Hanvette, *Hérodote*, 313; Th. Nöldeke, *Aufsätze zur persischen Geschichte*, 44; A. Bauer in *Jahresh.* vol. iv. (1901), p. 94, very emphatic; Dr. G. B. Grundy, *The Great Persian War*, 219, 'no solid grounds for doubting it'; H. Raase, *Die Schlacht bei Salamis* (1904); to name only the most recent. It is

curious to see how Raase's really learned pamphlet ignores Delbrück and Meyer, and still talks of the Greeks not being heavily outnumbered at Salamis, only by some 300 ships! In fact, the authentic *fleets* of as many as 300 in antiquity can almost be numbered on one hand. [Dr. Macan gives 1,200, divided (arbitrarily) into three squadrons of 400 each, but suspects there may be some exaggeration.]

³ *Gesch. d. Kriegskunst*, vol. i. p. 70: cf. pp. 76, 78.

⁴ *Zur Gesch. d. Perserkriege* (*Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik*, 145, 1892, p. 158).

⁵ *Griech. Gesch.* i. 368.

⁶ *Hist. of Greece*, i.² 287.

⁷ *J.H.S.* xxii. (1902), pp. 294, 300.

⁸ *Gesch. d. Alterthums*, iii. § 217.

method. On the latter point however, one cannot help feeling that Delbrück's two chapters on the Persian fleet are among his least happy efforts. His calculations appear to be based on two assumptions: one, that Xerxes may have been ignorant of Themistocles' shipbuilding, which I find incredible: the other (implied, not expressed), that one trireme was as good as another, irrespective of nationality, which surely all naval history to date refutes. Nevertheless, it is a great thing that someone should have taken the Persian fleet seriously. As to Herodotus, granting (as everyone now grants) his sincerity, the only assumption which we require to make is that among his patchwork of sources there was at least one which did know the real strength of the Persians, surely no particular mystery. I start then from the point that, while a fleet of 1,207 triremes is (to me) incredible and absurd, still we are not justified in jettisoning all Herodotus' numbers and taking to guesswork unless and until we have made every effort to extract sense from them. As I do not like to patch the fifth-century evidence with that of the fourth,¹⁹ I do not propose to use Diodorus-Ephorus as argument, though I cannot help it if the argument itself brings us round to Diodorus.

This paper, by a different method from that of Delbrück, arrives at a somewhat similar result: in the main battle of Salamis, as fought, the Persians were probably outnumbered. I hope I need not apologise for the investigation of figures in §§ 1 and 8: it seems to me that one must first settle on a numerical basis (so far as possible) before one can form clear ideas about any war whatever.

§ 1.—*The Numbers.*

We possess three formal totals for the Persian fleet.

(a) 1,000, Aeschylus, *Pers.* 341-3. Some have doubted whether Aeschylus does not mean 1,207; but the messenger is surely clear enough. 'The number of ships that Xerxes led was 1,000: that I know,' οἶδα—a thing that could be seen, counted; 'and there were 207 surpassing swift; thus says report,' λόγος—a thing that could not be seen or counted, but had to be told. I take the distinction between οἶδα and λόγος to be conclusive that the 207²⁰ were included in the 1,000, as the Schol. *ad loc.* understood.

(b) 1,207, Herod.: the number of the Persian fleet at Doriscus, without, he it noted, the ships of Abydos. The relation of this number to that of Aeschylus, and its source, will be considered later.

(c) 1,327, Herod.; the number of the Persian fleet at Thermæ, arrived at by adding 120 ships from 'the Hellenes of Thrace and the contiguous

¹⁹ I assume that Prof. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf has sufficiently shown that the account of Salamis in the *Persæ* of Timotheos is merely a sea-fight at large of Timotheos' own time, whatever corrections may ultimately be made in interpretation of details.

²⁰ I do not know what this 207 means. One is familiar in the later Athenian navy with ships reckoned as first class, ἰθαίετοι; but for a fleet in large part newly built, 207 such is a highly improbable number; cf. n. 62.

islands' to 1,207. It does not appear what has happened to the ships of Abydos.

Now Herodotus has a stereotyped figure for a Persian fleet, 600; so on Darius' Scythian expedition, 4, 87; so at Lade, 6, 9; so under Datis and Artaphernes, 6, 94. This figure reappears again in the fifth-century Atthidographer Phanodemus as the number of the Persian fleet at the Eurymedon.¹¹ It has often been pointed out that the Persian loss in the two storms, 400 + 200, looks like an attempt to reduce their fleet of 1,207 to 600.¹² I believe it was so meant; only it does not work, for the number before the storm was not 1,207 but 1,327. Herodotus has forgotten all about the 1,327; it is then no real number; the addition of 120 to the 1,207 is just a misunderstanding of his own, and has nothing to do with his sources. No source gave 1,327; on the contrary, his attempt to reduce 1,207 to 600 shows that *these* are the two numbers between which he has got confused, and that the extra 120 has nothing to do with the case at all. If so, there was a second source, or group of sources, that gave Xerxes not 1,207 ships but 600. From the fleet of Xerxes this number 600 became transferred to other and less famous Persian fleets.

We can now begin from the two points fixed by Herodotus. The first is that the Persian fleet which was at Doriscus was commanded by four admirals; it was therefore in four divisions;¹³ for there is no hint of the four admirals being other than equal in authority. Two of the admirals were sons of Darius; of these, Ariabignes commanded the Ionians and Carians, Achaemenes the Egyptians. The other two, Megabazos and Prexaspes,¹⁴ men otherwise unknown, commanded 'the rest.' That is to say, on Herodotus' figures the two brothers of Xerxes commanded 370 ships, the two commoners 837; a sufficient absurdity. But the commands of Ariabignes and Achaemenes give the other fixed point; the divisions were *territorial*. Now it is obvious that, on any territorial arrangement, the third admiral must have commanded the Phoenicians; that they were the most important part of the

¹¹ Plut. *Cimon*, 12.

¹² Several writers—*c. g.* Busolt, ii.² 694, n. 6; Welzhofer, *Die Seeschlacht bei Salamis* (*Hist. Taschenbuch*, 1892, p. 48); Meyer, *G. d. A.* iii. § 217; Munro, *l.c.* p. 299; C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Klio*, vol. ii. (1892), p. 338, n. 2; [and Macan on H. 8, 66]—accuse Herodotus of raising his figure for the *fleet* again after the storm to its original strength by supposing that reinforcements from the islands, etc., balanced the losses. Fortunately, he never said anything so foolish. What he does say (8, 66) is that Xerxes' *men*, both those that marched overland and those who came on shipboard, were as numerous at Phalerum as before Thermopylae; for the losses of *men* in the storms, at Artemisium, and at Thermopylae, were balanced by reinforcements. There is not a word about *ships*. The Boeotians turned out *πανστρατιᾷ*, except the men of

Plataea and Thespieae; if we reckon them at 8,000–10,000, the latter being one half of their *total* levy at Delium (see Beloch, *Griech. Aufgebote* ii. in *Klio*, vi. 1906, p. 35), and add another 2,000 for the Malians, Dorians, Locrians, and islanders, then H.'s statement is sobriety itself, provided that (as regards the fleet) he is reckoning the loss in fighting men only and not in rowers, *i.e.* the loss as it affected the Persian army, of which the Persian marines formed part.

¹³ Aeschylus gives as total 1,000 ships, and later on a division of 250 (*Pers.* 323); it looks as if we had another allusion here to the four divisions.

¹⁴ If Megabazos' father be the Megabates of H. 5, 32, he was a collateral of the royal house. It does not appear if Prexaspes was related to the well-known Prexaspes of Cambyses' reign.

fleet qualitatively is clear on every page of the story,¹⁵ a point Herodotus naïvely brings out by giving them the largest contingent of any people. This leaves for the fourth admiral two separate groups of ships, separated by the Iono-Carian group, viz.: (1) those of Cyprus, Cilicia, Pamphylia, Lycia, 330, and (2) those of Aeolis and the Hellespont, 160. That one admiral commanded both groups is, on a territorial arrangement, out of the question. The total Persian fleet therefore was not in four divisions but in five, viz.: (1) Egypt; (2) Phoenicia; (3) Cyprus, Cilicia, Pamphylia, Lycia; (4) Ionia and Caria, including of course the 'Dorians of Asia'; (5) Aeolis and the Hellespont, or rather everything north of the northern boundary of the Ionian fleet, whatever that was. I shall refer to each of the five groups as 'fleets,' and shall call (3), (4), and (5) the central, Ionian, and northern fleets respectively. Probably each of the five was in fact a separate fleet with a separate organisation. Herodotus' national numbers are worthless, as often noticed.¹⁶

There were only four fleets at Doriscus. The fifth then, if employed at all, joined after the expedition left Doriscus. Now Herodotus says that the ships of Abydos were not at Doriscus, they were guarding the bridges. The only object of this was in case a Greek flying squadron should appear; and in that event the ships of Abydos *alone* would have been of little use. The fleet then that was not at Doriscus was the northern fleet, left to guard the bridges, its own waters. Now Herodotus says that Xerxes was joined later by those 120 ships from 'the Hellenes of Thrace and the contiguous islands.' Everyone has seen that these had not the remotest chance of supplying 120 ships, if indeed they could supply any at all.¹⁷ We have seen too that these ships were some sort of a misunderstanding on the part of Herodotus, which he promptly forgets all about again, when reducing the 1,207 of his first source to the 600 of his second. This 120 then does not come from the same source as the 1,207, *i.e.* from the source which exaggerates; and it may therefore be a correct figure. There is only one thing that it can represent; it is meant for the northern fleet, which (and which alone) joined Xerxes after he had left Doriscus,¹⁸ no doubt picking up on the way its contingents, if any, from towns west of Doriscus. The name of its admiral is unknown.

¹⁵ One of one's difficulties is the constant use of 'Phoenician' for a Persian fleet generally. See, *e.g.*, for Herodotus, the proceedings of that fleet after Lade; for Thucydides, 1, 100 (the Eurymedon campaign).

¹⁶ The total of the Ionian and northern fleets is 360, *i.e.* the 353 of Lade in round figures. Most of the exaggeration falls on the (less known) Asiatic contingents. [Dr. Macean treats H.'s navy-list as substantially correct, but has no new reasons.]

¹⁷ Hanvette, *Herodotus* 314, justly points out that the expense of provisioning the army must have precluded the towns of Thrace and Chalcidice from doing much else. They also furnished land troops.

¹⁸ Diodorus has an extraordinary figure here. His total for the first four fleets corresponds with that of Herodotus, though he makes the Ionian fleet 20 larger, the central 20 smaller, than does the latter. But Aeolis and the Hellespont do not correspond; H. gives 160 for the two, Diodorus 120. D. then tacks the surplus on to the islands. I draw no deductions from this: but see § 9. I see, however, little to warrant the conjecture of A. von Mess, *Untersuchungen über Ephoros* (*Rhein Mus.* 1906, vol. 61, pp. 360, 399), that Ephorus here used, in addition to Herodotus, a (supposed) navy list of Ctesias giving a total of 1,000 ships, and consequently smaller separate contingents. See also n. 117.

Now if we have five territorial fleets, which in Herodotus' second source total 600; and if one of these fleets is 120 strong, a number which at any rate does not come from the first source; then the second source probably presupposed the following: the Persian fleet was organised in five fleets of 120 ships each, totalling 600. I think we shall see every reason for believing this to be correct. 600 would be the *paper* strength on a general mobilisation; but in 480 B.C., if ever, the fleets were at paper strength. A fleet of 600 triremes would, I suppose, be quite unmanageable in fact;¹⁹ but five separate fleets of 120 each would not.

§ 2.—*The Composition of the Fleets.*

Before proceeding to examine Herodotus' record in the light of the above supposition, it may be useful to analyse the composition of the fleets a little further.

The sea-coast of the Persian empire was not all acquired in one way. Egypt, Ionia, Caria, were conquered by force. Cilicia treated with Cyrus as an independent state, and came in on favourable terms at a time when Syennesis' co-operation was vital.²⁰ Phoenicia also came in of her own free will; on what terms we do not know, but the acquisition of the Phoenician fleet without fighting for it was so tremendous a gain to Persia that the terms for Phoenicia must have been good ones. It is probable enough that both Phoenicia and Cilicia would bargain for a fixed limit to their military (or rather naval) service. Now Herodotus says (3, 19) of Cambyses *πᾶς ἐκ Φοινίκων ἤρτητο ὁ ναυτικός στρατός*: all his navy depended on, or 'was hung upon,' the Phoenicians. This does not mean that he had only Phoenician ships: he had Cilician, Cyprian (3, 19), and Ionian as well. It means that the Phoenicians were the principal part of the organisation: that the rest were organised round or upon them. If then Xerxes' navy was organised in fleets of 120, and organised upon the Phoenicians, the number would seem to be due to this, that 120 was the agreed limit of Phoenician naval service. I shall return to the question of why 120 (§ 8). The actual organisation of the fleet as it appears under Xerxes must be due to Darius, and be connected with his general organisation of the empire, involving doubtless the abolition of the old 'sea-province' of Cyrus.²¹

¹⁹ No other power in antiquity ever collected a fleet of 600 warships. Octavian may have controlled 500, partly borrowed from Antony, and organised as two distinct fleets in different seas, at the beginning of the campaign which ended with Nauplochos. In that year, 36 B.C., there were about 1,000 ships in commission in the whole Mediterranean. In 450, apart from the Greek and Persian fleets, totalling together almost 1,000, we have those of Coreyra, Carthage, Syracuse, Etruria, Marseilles. If we take Kromayer's view, that in

the civil wars the fleets, reckoning in quinqueremes and Liburnians, came out at about the average power of a fleet of triremes of the same total, we must rank the total sea-power of the early part of the fifth century extraordinarily high. It seems possible, however, that the zenith of Mediterranean sea-power would have to be placed about 260–250 B.C.

²⁰ See J. V. Prášek, *Gesch. der Meder und Perser*, i. 215.

²¹ See Prášek, *op. cit.* 223, 239. If the Phoenician terms were as I suggest, 120 per-

Now if the Phoenicians were the kernel of the fleet, and its best material,²² why (allowing that Achaemenes of necessity commanded the ships of his satrapy²³) did Xerxes' other brother Ariabignes command the Ionians, while the Phoenicians were under an admiral of less importance? The answer is not difficult. The real admiral of the Phoenicians was the King himself. Xerxes, while commander-in-chief of the whole fleet,²⁴ was in particular admiral of the Phoenicians, precisely as a modern admiral in command of a fleet will in particular command the battleship squadron. With the Phoenician fleet was Xerxes' own flagship, the Sidonian galley on which he embarked to review the fleet at Dorisens, and to see Tempe, and on which, says Herodotus (7, 128), he always did embark; and his pleasure when the Sidonians won the race at the regatta (5, 44), otherwise meaningless, becomes natural enough when we realise that they were his own personal command. But as his duties with the land army, the superior service throughout antiquity, prevented him from actually sailing with his fleet, the Phoenicians were in fact under the orders of one who, in theory, can only have been Xerxes' second in command in the Phoenician fleet; while to the Ionians was given a commander of the highest possible consequence, in view of the jealousy between their fleet and the Phoenician which appears so clearly at Salamis.²⁵

The Persian admirals were not really admirals, as we understand it. They were generals of marines, *οἱ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ στρατηγοί*, commanding the land troops on board; a fact which comes out most clearly at Mycale (§ 6). An ancient sea-fight took a double form, according as whether the ship herself, or her epibatae, were for the moment the weapon in use. As regards the ship herself, Artemisia (H. 8, 67) expressed a candid but rash opinion that the central and Egyptian fleets were of no use, a remark

tekontors must have been the force contemplated. Doubtless the extension of the meaning of these terms, however worded, so as to apply to triremes, would be one of those measures of reorganisation which earned for Darius his nickname *ὁ κάπηλος*. We can see that the division between the northern and Ionian fleets must correspond to that between the satrapies of Daskyleion and Sardis, whatever it was.

²² That the Greeks dedicated Phoenician triremes after Salamis is conclusive as to their opinion.

²³ I mean, if he had a military command at all. (Egypt sent no land troops.) I am not expressing an opinion on the controversy whether, in the ordinary way, the satraps had the military command.

²⁴ The Greeks of a later time were much perplexed over the Persian command, and felt it necessary to manufacture a single admiral for the fleet; so Megabates (Diod. 11, 12), perhaps meant for the father of Megabazos; and Plu-

tarch's Ariamenes (*Them.* 14), who appears to be a conflation of Ariabignes and Achaemenes. See on these names Marquart, *Untersuchungen zur Gesch. von Iran* (*Philol.* 54), 499-502. It is hardly worth mentioning that Ctesias has the same error.

²⁵ A fine field for speculation can be opened up if one treats the jealousy as really existing between Phoenicians and Carians, and going back to the 'dark ages' when they may have fought over the relics of Minoan sea-power. We find the Phoenician circumnavigation of Africa matched by that of Western Asia under the Carian Skylax; and now we have another Carian, Heraclides of Mylasa (see § 4), teaching men how to meet the Phoenician dieplus. Naturally, the duel between Phoenicia and Themistocles ended in the latter acquiring a Carian mother (Plut. *Them.* 1); and there may be a lot of other material of the sort to be collected. Doubtless the Phoenician version of Salamis dealt very faithfully with the Cretocarian Artemisia.

perhaps reflecting the temper of the Ionian fleet, which no doubt thought itself as good as the Phoenician. As to the Egyptian fleet, prior to the Ionian revolt, we know that Apries fought with the Tyrians and that Amasis conquered Cyprus; but we do not know how far their fleets were manned by mercenaries. Of the central fleet, we only know that the Lycians, centuries before, had had a fine reputation as 'pirates,'²⁶ and that the Cilicians were, at a later date, to astonish Rome with what they could do in that line; while the Cypriotes were either Phoenician or Greek, good fighting stock. And, after all, the Phoenician reputation itself, prior to the fifth century, has to be taken on trust. We may suppose that the ships of the central and Egyptian fleets were not quite up to the standard of the other two; further than this we need hardly go. As to epibatae, all the fleets but the Egyptian carried, either solely or principally, Persians, Medes, and Sacae, and were therefore on a level.²⁷ The Egyptian carried, either solely or principally, native marines, hardly perhaps of Persian fighting quality, but with the great advantage of a heavy armament. If we reckon Caria with the Greeks, then as regards rowers two of the fleets were Greek, two Asiatic, one (the central) thoroughly mixed. The strength of the fleet lay in speed,²⁸ seamanship, and courage; its weakness, in the divided command and in the root fact that the bow had no chance against the spear

²⁶ Mr. H. R. Hall, *The Oldest Civilisation of Greece*, 88; Prof. F. Hommel, *Grundriss d. Geog. u. Gesch. d. alten Orients*, i. 57, 58.

²⁷ [As Dr. Macan thinks there were native epibatae throughout the fleet, I must give my reasons for this statement. The navy-list (7, 96) says that all the marines were Persians, Medes and Sacae. Persian epibatae on a Sidonian ship (7, 181 compared with 8, 92). This is again borne out by 8, 130; see p. 226 *post*. But 7, 184 (the chapter of the great exaggerations) refers to native as well as Persian, etc. epibatae. One might discard this as an obvious means of working up a large figure; but we hear of Egyptian epibatae (9, 32), heavy-armed troops (7, 89). To my mind, two sets of epibatae on one ship are impossible; the ships of this epoch did not carry, probably could not carry, many epibatae. I can only conclude that four fleets carried Persians, etc., and the Egyptian fleet natives. I do not say that the four fleets carried *no* native epibatae; but if they did, these were few and unimportant. On the contrary, the Egyptian marines were a substantial body, or Mardonius would hardly have landed them: *ergo*, there can have been little or no room for Persian marines in the Egyptian fleet. It will be seen, I hope, that this fits the story extremely well.] Now thirty epibatae to each trireme is too high. Meyer properly cuts down the rowers to 150, and twenty is ample

for the epibatae; the Greek ships, if we like to follow Plutarch, carried eighteen, but the regular Athenian number later was ten. Four hundred and eighty ships at twenty epibatae each = 9,600 men, or with officers say a round 10,000. I cannot help suspecting that the total Persian army on mobilisation was not 360,000 in six corps of 60,000, but 60,000 in six corps of 10,000, one complete corps being assigned to the fleet. [Dr. Macan does not see why H. should give the armament of each of the nations that contributed to the fleet unless they sent epibatae. But on the analogy of any other fleet, *e.g.* the Roman, the rowers must have had their arms with them; and this is expressly stated of the Samians, 9, 99.]

²⁸ H. 8, 10. The Greek ships were heavy by comparison, 8, 60. Plutarch (*Them.* 14) says the Persian ships were tall, with lofty poops, compared with the Greek ships, which were much lower in the water. It is a pity that theories have been built on this, for it is mere moralising, like his similar statement about Actium; the just cause must have the smaller ships. The galleys on the fourth-century coins of Sidon and Aradus are not in the least like Plutarch's description; and his reference to Ariamenes fighting *ἔσπερ ἂν πρὸ τεύχους* shows that what he has in his mind is not the fifth century at all, but the *τεύχομαχία* of the first century.

except under its own conditions. It was therefore vital for the fleet to have plenty of sea-room and never to be compelled to close against its will (H. 8, 60), to have free play for the archer and the ram; unluckily for itself, it was to meet an antagonist of genius who soon mastered this fact.

The ships were all triremes. Aeschylus in 472 B.C. could never have made the Persians wail for the three-tholed ships that had betrayed them, *τρίσκαλμοι νᾶες ἄναες*, had it been otherwise. Now the ships lost by Mardonius at Athos in 492 were all or chiefly pentekontors, as is shown by H. reckoning seventy men lost to each, his reckoning elsewhere for a pentekontor being eighty (7, 184). No doubt there were some triremes before 480, but not many: the point of Darius' preparations for three years was, that he was 'scrapping' his pentekontors and building triremes. The pentekontors, with a few old triremes, were utilised for the bridges over the Hellespont; chiefly the former, as Herodotus talks of the gaps left in 'the pentekontors.'²⁹ One of the really noteworthy points is that triremes did the scouting for both sides, as appears by the engagement of scouts off the Magnesian coast. The Persians therefore had no light craft, and certainly they had no pentekontors, for the bridges must have absorbed every pentekontor in Asia. The 3,000 'triakontors, pentekontors, cereuri, and horse transports' of Herodotus 7, 97, which by 7, 184 have grown to 3,000 pentekontors, with crews calculated accordingly, are all a mere legend, sprung no doubt from the supply ships.

No figures in antiquity are so hard to check as those of naval transport or supply. Fortunately we possess trustworthy figures for one well-equipped fifth-century expedition, the first Athenian to Syracuse; and they come out at about one supply or service vessel to each warship.³⁰ I do not see how one is to give to the finely-equipped fleet of Xerxes less than one supply vessel to every two triremes, perhaps rather more. In this case we at once get the popular or Aeschylean total of 1,000 for the whole armada.³¹

In conclusion, I note two detailed figures. (1) Paphos sent twelve ships. If this is correct, Cyprus sent a good half of the central fleet. This may be right; for the Cilician contribution must have been, for the reasons given above, a small one, and, to judge by the coinage, Pamphylia can only have had two towns important enough to send ships, Aspendus and Side. Phaselis in Lycia may have sent a substantial contingent, from the galley on its coins and Lycia's old reputation for piracy. (2) Artemisia brought five ships. This startling figure is given as the contingent, not only of Halicarnassus, but of the important islands of Cos and Calymna, which were wealthy enough.³² It appears to me to preclude absolutely any higher figures

²⁹ [Macan reads τῶν πεντηκοντέρων καὶ τριπρίων, but this last word is merely an emendation. It is not very material.]

³⁰ Thuc. 6, 42; 134 triremes and two pentekontors to 131 supply and service ships; many volunteer merchantmen also accompanied the fleet for the sake of trading. This last may

be true of Xerxes' fleet also.

³¹ If we like to assign eighty to each fleet, we get, not only Aeschylus' 1,000, but the 200 ships per squadron so common in H. and later writers.

³² *B.M.C. Caria*, Introduction.

than those which I have taken for the fleet. That Halicarnassus, Cos, Calymna, and Nisyros could have sent more than five ships seems clear; and probably Ionia and Caria, even allowing for damage done in the Ionian revolt, could have sent more than 120: this seems to bear out what is above stated, that there was a limit depending on something else, *i.e.* Phoenicia.

§ 3.—*The Storm.*

I will now briefly go through the story of the expedition after it left Dorisens.

At Therme (7, 124) the marines were camped 'by the Axios, at Therme, and at the cities between;' the fleets were therefore at separate stations, and moving independently. After leaving Therme, the story goes that the whole fleet sailed from Therme to the strand 'which is between the city Casthanaea and C. Sepias' (Dr. Grundy calls it 120 miles), in one day; the strand not being large, they anchored in eight lines; in the storm ships were wrecked, some at Ipni in Pelion, some on the strand, some on C. Sepias, some at the city Meliboea, some at Casthanaea. After the storm the Greeks capture fifteen ships under Sandoces. The Phoenician, Egyptian, Ionian, and central fleets all appear again in the story; of the northern fleet we hear no more. These are the main points; and I cannot find that the story told in H. 7, 188-195 has ever been properly analysed.

The first thing necessary is to get some clear idea of that part of the coast-line³³ which stretches from the mouth of the Peneus to Kato Georgi (commonly called C. Sepias) opposite Skiathos, and which is roughly divided into three sections by the capes of Kissabo (Ossa) and Pori (Pelion). Meliboea is Thanātu; epigraphic evidence fortunately renders this certain. According to the Admiralty chart (No. 1,085) there is a long stretch of beach here. Casthanaea was 'identified' by Mr. H. F. Tozer³⁴ and Georgiades³⁵ with some ruins on the cliffs below Keramidhi; but Georgiades adduces no evidence beyond that of Herodotus, while the reason which Tozer gives, *viz.* that Casthanaea is 'the only town besides Meliboea mentioned by Strabo as being on this side of Pelion,' is a mistake; Strabo merely says that Casthanaea was 'under Pelion,'³⁶ and it may just as well be Zagora,³⁷ or

³³ Of the ancient writers, Strabo 9, 443 is best, though he complains that he could not get information. The modern authorities are given by Mr. A. J. B. Wace in *J.H.S.* 26 (1906), p. 143, *The Topography of Pelion and Magnesia*; and I am much indebted to him for further information as to this coast-line, and some references, which he most kindly sent me in reply to some questions. The accompanying map has been drawn by Mr. F. Anderson from Admiralty chart no. 1,085, reduced to $\frac{1}{4}$ scale, with some alterations in the way of names for which I am responsible. It has not been

possible on the reduced scale to indicate the little beaches in the manner done in the chart itself.

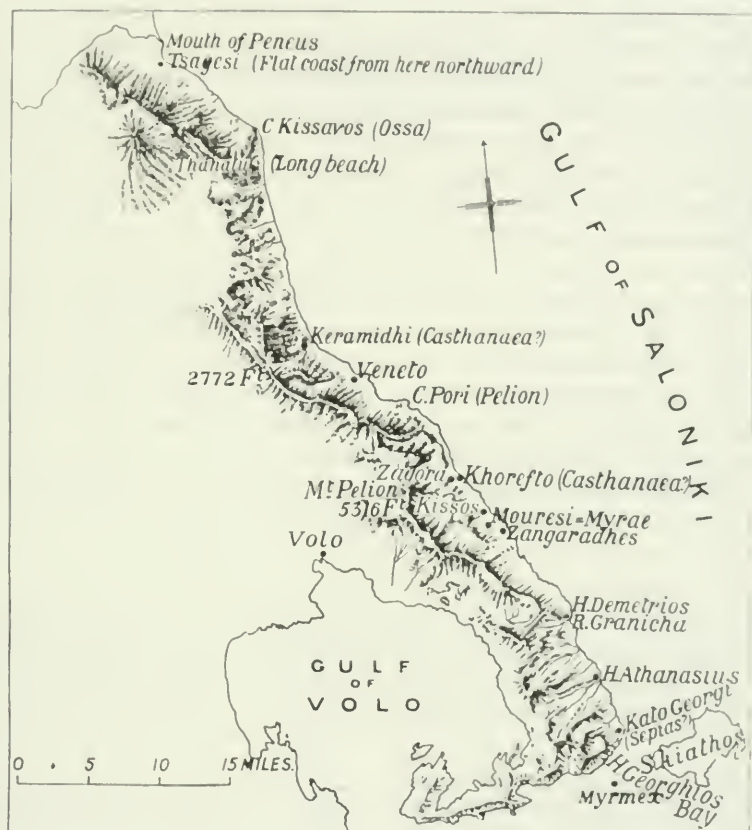
³⁴ *Researches in the Highlands of Turkey*, ii, 104.

³⁵ *Θεσσαλία*, first edition (1880), pp. 213, 218. I regret that I have been unable to see the second edition, so my quotations must stand subject to correction.

³⁶ *Κασθαναίας κώμης ὑπὸ τῷ Πηλίῳ κειμένης.*

³⁷ Mr. Tozer states that the learned men of Zagora claimed that that place was Casthanaea, and supported their claim 'by the abundance

even the port of the latter, Khorefto, which is the only village now actually on the shore, south of Tsagesi. As Zagora, according to the Admiralty chart, lies right under the highest point of Pelion, 5316 feet, while Keramidhi is far to the north under outlying spurs of the mountain, none of which are over 2,772 feet, it seems obvious that Zagora best suits Strabo's description: but the actual position of Casthanæa can only be settled by epigraphic evidence. As to C. Sepias, the ordinary view is that it was the heel of Magnesia, Kato Georgi, opposite Skiathos. Mr. Wace has attempted



to show that it was C. Pori, but I cannot feel convinced by his arguments.³⁸ I will, however, consider both alternatives.

of chestnut trees in that neighbourhood, while there are none near Keramidhi.' According to Georgiades, Zagora is the most important place in the neighbourhood.

³⁸ *J.H.S.* 26, 146. If C. Sepias had been Kato Georgi, why did not the Persians put to sea and run round the corner, out of the wind? I fancy that with a gale blowing on shore this

would be easier said than done with galleys; however, I hope this paper will answer the question; the fleets were strung out in detachments at least as far north as Thanâth (Melibœa). This leaves only a passage from Apollonius Rhodius, an unsatisfactory passage (see Georgiades) in an unsatisfactory geographer, and it is only a deduction at that. The

Now as to the strand where the Persian fleet is said to have anchored before the storm.

If Casthanaea be Keramidhi and C. Sepias be C. Pori, we have between the two a coast of rugged cliffs, where no strand is or ever could have been,³⁹ and the whole story of this strand is a myth.

If, however, Casthanaea be either Keramidhi or else Zagora (or Khorefto) and C. Sepias be Kato Georgi, the Admiralty chart shows a beach at Khorefto, a place which Mr. Wace tells me does a good trade; but from the chart this beach cannot be very large, and, moreover, can hardly be described as *between* Casthanaea and C. Sepias, if (as I suppose) Casthanaea be Zagora or Khorefto. Going down the coast, we find a small beach at the Granicha river, and a bay at H. Athanasius. Mr. Wace tells me that the latter, which he has visited, would not, he thinks, hold more than seventy-five large caiques with comfort; and that the Granicha beach looks no bigger; that there is a small sandy beach at H. Georghios (round the corner from the cape), used by sponge fishers, and a small harbour below Zangaradhes called *Καραβοστασία*. Georgiades mentions another little harbour at Kissos.

This then is a coast of rocks and cliffs from Keramidhi to Kato Georgi, broken here and there by a small beach or a small anchorage. There is no locality that can represent a strand at which the whole Persian fleet can have anchored.⁴⁰ Mr. Wace tells me that the sea has gained on the land at Kato Georgi and is thought to have done so at Keramidhi; and it is, I suppose, just conceivable that 2,000 years ago there may have been a large beach, now submerged; but nothing probably could determine this except a geological survey expressly made with this object in view, and it is clear that, having regard to the nature of the coast, the burden of proof would be on anyone who should assert that the 'Sepiad strand' ever existed.

The topography then lends no support to Herodotus' narrative.

We can now, however, see that that writer's account combines two irreconcilable stories; stories, I may add, that would be equally irreconcilable were the 'strand' located somewhere under water to-morrow. One is that, when the storm broke, the Persian fleet as a whole was huddled together

natural view is certainly that of Bursian, *Geog. von Griechenland* i. 99; C. Pori is Strabo's *Ἰρῆι, τόπον τραχὺν τῶν περὶ τὸ Πήλιον*. If we make Pori, Sepias, and *Ἰρῆι, Venéto* (Georgiades), then the heel of Magnesia is left nameless both by H. and Strabo, which seems unlikely. Mr. Wace proposes Myrae; but surely Mézières' identification of Myrae with Moursi is, in the absence of inscriptions, sufficiently probable.

³⁹ Mr. Wace states (*l.c.* 147) that north of Kato Georgi at least as far as Zagora there is no beach at all to accommodate a fleet, and uses this as an argument for Sepias being C. Pori. But, whereas there are *some* little beaches south of C. Pori, there is absolutely nothing between

C. Pori and Keramidhi (see Bursian, *l.c.* i. 99); so the argument is at least double-edged. It will be seen that Mr. Wace's premises, which I fully accept, seem to me to necessitate a very different conclusion.

⁴⁰ I did not know when I came to this conclusion that Georgiades (*l.c.* p. 213) had said the same thing twenty-eight years ago. He thought that the Persian fleet was strung out at all the little harbours below Zagora, Kissos, etc. It is strange that no one has followed up this very just conclusion. [Dr. Macan says that the *αἰγιαλός* is defined in H. 7, 188, 2 as 'extending from Kasthanaia to Sepias.' Can *μεταξύ* bear this meaning? Anyhow the *αἰγιαλός* is conceived as small, 7, 188, 5 and 15.]

πρόκροσσαι⁴¹ close inshore, a position in which a N.E. gale *must* have sent every ship that got wrecked straight on to the beach. But then follows the statement that wrecks came ashore at a number of places from Meliboea to C. Sepias, two of which, at least (Meliboea and Casthanaea), were N.N.W. of the supposed 'strand' on any theory, and Meliboea perhaps some considerable distance N.N.W. A N.E. gale cannot carry wreckage in a N.N.W. direction; even Boreas the Preserver could not blow both ways at once. Of these two conflicting accounts, the second implies, either that a fleet was wrecked out at sea, or that different detachments were wrecked in different places, or both.

I take it to be clear that the Persian fleet did not all sail together as a whole.⁴² The five fleets sailed separately, at least, with scouts thrown out far in front; possibly the supply ships were all under convoy of the rearmost divisions; but more probably with their own fleets. Whether therefore the storm broke on them afloat or ashore, I regard it as pretty certain that they were caught in different places. The storm got up in the *morning*, after giving the usual warning, which doubtless plenty of the sea-captains understood.⁴³ The triremes would be got ashore wherever they were at anchor, strung out along the little beaches, at Khorefto, at Meliboea; possibly many were not yet past the flat coast at the mouth of the Peneus. But in the absence of harbours the supply ships must have suffered; and their wrecks came ashore at a number of different places. All this is quite consistent.

To turn now to the other story. It is simply a poetical invention. The fleet together moves from Therme to somewhere near C. Sepias in one day (7, 183), perhaps 120 miles. Dr. Grundy has defended this; but it seems a wild impossibility.⁴⁴ To credit it would amount to believing that,

⁴¹ Aristarchus ad *Il.* Ξ 34 explains this as κλιμακῆδὸν γενεωλκημέναι, ὥστε θεατροειδὲς φαίνεσθαι, which Dr. Leaf explains as *en échelon*, each projecting somewhat beyond the other, like the steps of a staircase. I take this to mean that, in Aristarchus' opinion, the sterns of row two would be between the prows of row one, and so on, to save as much space as possible. Homer is certainly describing some method of getting more ships ashore than the shore would hold in the ordinary way, as the context shows. This too seems what Hesychius means by ἐπάλληλοι. Stein, however (*H.* 7, 188), explains πρόκροσσαι as parallel files of ships, eight deep, each file perpendicular to the line of coast. I prefer Aristarchus myself, as Stein's explanation would hardly increase the number of ships ashore; but if I am right in what follows, it is not very material.

⁴² This follows from their dispositions at Therme. But even the first Athenian expedition to Syracuse, 136 warships and about as many supply ships, sailed in three separate divisions.

⁴³ Herod. 7, 188, ἐξ αἰθρίας τε καὶ νημεῖης τῆς θαλάσσης ζεσάσης: *Medit. Pilot*, vol. 4, 1900, under 'winds', the north wind blows with much force, even in summer. Summer gales are almost always preceded by calms with a dark appearance round the horizon.

⁴⁴ *Great Pers. War.* p. 327, n. We have little real evidence of the pace of triremes: and even so, single ship voyages are no evidence for a fleet, tied to its slowest member, and moving at an economical rate, *i.e.* using its rowers in relays of one-third at a time. Bauer has frequently and justly pointed this out. We rarely know the conditions of any recorded voyage, or even if the sails were being used. A lot of such evidence as exists is given by Droysen in Hermann's *Lehrbuch*, ii.³ 2, 302; the best is Xen. *Hell.* i. 1, 13 (on which Bauer relies in his account of Salamis), Alcibiades with eighty-six ships, going fifty kilom., takes all night in late autumn and up to ἔριστον, some eighteen hours. Xenophon was at least a practical man, who knew what a trireme meant. In allowing for twelve hours' rowing, we must

through a long summer day, a fleet of triremes, lame ducks and all, could, at their 'economical rate,' maintain some ten miles an hour, that is, pretty nearly the economical rate of a fleet of modern battleships. Three days would be nearer the mark; it may be here that the difference of two days between the journals of Artemisium and Thermopylae comes in. If only one day really elapsed before the storm, then the bulk of the fleet was certainly not south of Meliboea.

Next, the fleet arrived at a beach too small for it. What does a fleet do when it gets to a beach too small for it? The author (I do not mean Herodotus) does not know; he therefore turns to the fountain-head of all wisdom, and finds in *Il.* Ξ 34⁴⁵ that the Greeks in a similar predicament drew their fleet ashore in an arrangement called *πρόκροσσαι*, while under the sterns of the row furthest inland they built a wall because of the Trojans. Our poet, however, must needs improve on Homer; he makes the Persian fleet *anchor* in the formation called *πρόκροσσαι*, an impossible feat if Aristarchus' explanation of the word be correct, and I doubt if Stein makes things much better; one need scarcely remark that ships at anchor in line, triremes or other, must have room to swing and room to turn. Our poet has not troubled about this. The eight rows might perhaps show that he has some idea of four fleets or divisions, each in double line; but he does not reflect, when he comes to the storm, that a line of (say) sixty triremes at anchor off a beach implies a length of beach that would suffice for several times that number of ships in a line ashore, with their oars unshipped.

Lastly, as Homer has a wall, he must have a wall; and the crews accordingly (7, 191), *ex hypothesi* a great many thousand men, all armed, build a *ἔρκος*⁴⁶ of wreckage to keep off—whom? Shall we say with our poet, the (medising) Thessalians? or a few 'wreckers' from some village on the hills?

All that we know then for certain is that a storm, big or little, broke on the fleets strung out; and that we hear no more of the northern fleet.⁴⁷ *Ergo*, the northern fleet was at sea, and perished. And if so, it was the northern fleet that was sent round Euboea.⁴⁸ I need not attempt to add to the

remember that much time would be lost over launching the fleet, dinner, anchoring, or drawing ashore again.

⁴⁵ Stein justly remarks, 'Die ganze Stelle ist unter dem Vorbilde von *Il.* ξ 33 ff. geschrieben,' but unfortunately goes on to say that H. interprets Homer.

⁴⁶ Welzhofer, *Neue Jahrb. f. Phil. und Päd.*, 145, p. 660, rightly discredits this *ἔρκος*. Is it perhaps a real reminiscence of using wreckage to make a breakwater?

⁴⁷ Themistocles' explicit appeal to the Ionians and Carians (8, 19 and 22) quite precludes the idea that any other large body of Greeks was still with the fleet. Neither is it possible that the northern fleet never sailed at all, but

remained at the Hellespont; the story presupposes that the bridges were *not* guarded, and it does not appear (as it would have to) either at Mycale (where the number of Persian *στρατηγοί* is conclusive: see *post*) or after. Neither can it be hidden under the term 'Ionians'; for elsewhere H. is precise: 4, 89, the Scythian expedition, τὸ ναυτικὸν ἦγον Ἴωνές τε καὶ Αἰολεές καὶ Ἑλλησπόντιοι; 6, 98, Datis to Eretria ἀγόμενος καὶ Ἴωνας καὶ Αἰολεάς.

⁴⁸ It is certain that the Persians, after elaborately organising their fleet, would not proceed to disorganise it by picking out the ships to go round Euboea 'from all the ships' (8, 7). A definite squadron, accustomed to work together,

reasons given by Prof. Bury,⁴⁹ which I fully accept, for sending off these ships from somewhere north of Skiathos. Whether they were all wrecked in the first storm,⁵⁰ or whether some got round, riddled in the Hollows, and were wrecked in a new storm from the S.W., is a matter on which, as Meyer says, certainty cannot be attained. They never appear again.

Herodotus says that he knew several versions of the Persian losses in the storm, the smallest making it 400 apart from the 200 ships sent round Euboea. Fortunately he has preserved indications of a very different story. In this, the Persians after the storm merely launched 'the ships' (7, 193), not, as we should expect, the remnants of them; and the Greeks, who had expected (7, 192) to find the Persian fleet sadly diminished, are amazed when they see what good plight the barbarians are really in.⁵¹ There is no trace at Artemisium of the Persians being either disorganised or demoralised, and they had no time to put things right. We have got to suppose that the loss, apart from the northern fleet, was small, and fell chiefly on the supply vessels; but there was *some* loss of triremes, as shown by the Persians 'numbering' their fleet at Aphetæ.

We may assign the heavy storm-loss with confidence to the same poetical source that we have already commented on; and I have no hesitation in also ascribing to the same source the loss of eleven out of twelve Paphian ships in 7, 195, which must belong to a version that gave a very heavy storm-loss. The question of the fifteen ships under Sandoces, hyparch of Cyme (7, 194), is more difficult. τῶν ἐστρατήγεε Σανδώκης, says Herodotus. Elsewhere he keeps the term στρατηγός for the admirals. I lay no stress on this; but even if we suppose that Cyme was included in the Ionian and not in the northern fleet, and that consequently it is conceivable that Sandoces had under his orders a dynast of Caria (Aridolis), it is absolutely impossible on any ground that he can have commanded a dynast from Paphos in Cyprus. We might suppose that these were storm-tossed ships, separated from their fleets, of which Sandoces had *de facto* taken command; but with a N.E. gale, blowing *on shore*, this is impossible. Neither is it likely that the main fleet, with the Greeks so close, would have left Sandoces to collect along the coast and bring in any ships left behind to repair slight damages, which would be making a present of them to the Greeks. A ship of Cyme too should have been with the

was sent. It meant something, I suppose, even to bring 120 ships to anchor without collisions: see Thuc. 6, 42 on the anchor drill of the Athenians before sailing for Syracuse, ξύνταξιν ὥσπερ ἐμελλον ὀρμεισῆσθαι . . . οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐποίησαντο.

⁴⁹ *B.S.A.* ii. 83. In his history, Prof. Bury sends these ships off from Aphetæ. Has he abandoned his earlier view [which Dr. Maean has adopted]?

⁵⁰ Bury in *B.S.A.* ii. and Munro, *l.c.* p. 310. Note that in 8, 66 H. knows only of 'the storm'; he must have had two versions at least before him. D. Müller, *Klio*, vol. 7

(1907), 29, treats the whole storm-incident as a duplicate of the storm that destroyed Mardonius' ships at Athos in 492. If I am right about the fleets, this is impossible. I note that the Mediterranean Pilot, in its Athens table (the nearest), gives an average of three days' gale for August, more than for any month but January and February. [Dr. Maean treats the two storms as certainly one, lasting for three days.]

⁵¹ H. 8, 4: ἐπεὶ αὐτοῖσι παρὰ δόξαν τὰ πρήγματα τῶν βαρβάρων ἀπέβαινε ἢ ὡς αὐτοὶ κατεδόκειον.

northern fleet; though it is always possible that one or two stragglers from that fleet got back [or that (as Dr. Macan suggests) Sandoceus was not on a ship of Cyme at all]. Possibly the Greeks captured fifteen ships somehow; but the details I look on as quite untrustworthy, and as belonging to the same source as the loss of the eleven Paphian vessels.

The fleet was 'numbered' at Aphetac, which I take to mean that the ships from the islands, which had now joined, were told off to their squadrons. We see this clearly from the story of the Samothracian ship at Salamis, which fought in the Ionian fleet, but as epibatae carried Samothracian *ἰκοντισταί*, not Persians (8, 90). She was therefore no part of the Ionian fleet as originally organised; and it is indeed the whole point of the story that the Ionian good name was saved by the exploit of a ship which had nothing to do with Ionia. The same appears in the case of the ships of Naxos, Lemnos, and Tenos that deserted to the Greeks; had they carried Persian epibatae they could not have gone over, a point on which Themistocles had no delusions when he realised that 'strong necessity' might prevent the Ionians from deserting.⁵² I cannot help thinking that the seventeen *νησιῶται* of H. 7, 95, a figure and a contingent quite out of place where it occurs, represent the island reinforcements, but it is not very material.

If we take it then that the Persians lost 120 ships in the northern fleet, with perhaps fifteen captured and three wrecked on Myrmex, received a dozen or so reinforcements and lost a few in the storm, say twenty or thirty, I think we may put it this way: that at Aphetac they cannot well have had *over* 450, and may of course have had a great many less. But I think that 450 as a highest possible is safe to work with: it will appear presently why I want to consider the outside possible figure.

§ 4.—*Artemisium*.

The Greek fleet the first day was 268 triremes (three lost scouting) and nine pentekontors. We have got to explain how it came about that the Greeks had rather the best of it against the superior Persian numbers.

One explanation has been suggested by Prof. Wilcken⁵³ in publishing the recently discovered fragment of Sosylos, viz., that this was the occasion on which Heraclides of Mylasa so brilliantly countered the Phoenician dieplus. F. Ruehl⁵⁴ has objected to this, that, if so, the total silence of Herodotus, who must have known of Scylax's narrative, is very extraordinary; and he suggests that Heraclides' feat belongs to some (unknown) battle of Artemisium in the Ionian revolt. To which Wilcken⁵⁵ replies that, if so,

⁵² H. 8, 22: εἰ . . . ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης μέζονος κατέξευχθε ἢ ὥστε ἀπλοτασθαί.

⁵³ *Hermes* 41 (1906), p. 103.

⁵⁴ *Philol.* 61, p. 352.

⁵⁵ *Hermes* 42 (1907), p. 512. But for the name Artemisium, it would fit in well enough

with the battle off Cyprus in H. 5, 112, in which the Ionians defeated the Phoenicians, for there must be something behind H.'s statement that that day the Ionians were 'at the top of their form,' *ἄκροι γενόμενοι*. Having learnt how to meet the dieplus, they then, before

the silence of Herodotus is still every bit as extraordinary, and that such a victory can hardly be fitted in with Herodotus' account of the Ionian revolt. I may remark, perhaps, that though, if the story comes from Seylax, we are in a difficulty either way, still there is no certainty that it does; Sosylos does not profess to be citing Seylax, neither does he suggest that the Massilian knew anything about Heraclides; he may be quoting some commonplace book of naval tactics, in which the manœuvre was of more importance than its correct attribution, the sort of book that we possess at fourth hand in the naval portions of Polyænus. And it does not do to forget that Polybius called Sosylos a mere chatterer. While reserving the possibility of Wilcken proving to be right, I do not see how we can use Sosylos for Artemisium till a good deal more light has been thrown on the matter, attractive as it would be to do so.

Putting Sosylos aside, I believe that Ephorus hit on the key to what happened when he described the Persians as issuing from different anchorages. Their four fleets were, as usual, at separate stations. The Greeks waited till late afternoon, and then attacked *one* of the fleets, the idea being to do what harm they could before the rest came up in support.⁵⁶ Hence the late afternoon, to give the Persian fleet, when combined, little time for operations. It was no *πέτρα*; the strategical position compelled the Greeks to attack; they were only holding Thermopylae to enable the fleet, their best arm, to strike a severe blow, if so it might be.⁵⁷ The scheme answered pretty well; and on the other fleets coming up the Greeks managed to hold on till dark without receiving too much damage, retreating in convex line with their prows to the enemy and occasionally charging them.⁵⁸ The ships they took must have been taken *before* their retirement. From the reference to the capture of Philaon's ship we may suppose that the central fleet was the one they attacked; probably it lay nearest to the Greek position.⁵⁹

The next day the Greeks put out still later, attacked the central fleet

Lade, try to practise it themselves.—But though there were many Artemisiums and Dianiums all about the Mediterranean, I cannot find one in these particular waters, or nearer than the one in Caria which Ruehl gives.

⁵⁶ Welzhofer (*l.c.*), in his excellent study of Artemisium, came to much the same conclusion: the Greeks overwhelmed a portion of the Persian fleet before the rest came up. Ephorus perhaps had the same idea, but Diodorus does not actually say so, though he comes rather near it: 11, 12, τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων ἐκ πολλῶν λιμένων ἀναγομένων (before we have ἐκ πολλῶν καὶ διεστηκότων λιμένων), τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οἱ περὶ τὴν Θεμιστοκλέα διεσπαρμένοι τοῖς Πέρσαις συμπλεκόμενοι πολλὰς μὲν ναῦς κατέδυσαν κ.τ.λ.

⁵⁷ This now seems a fixed point; Th. Lenschau, *Jahresb. über gr. Gesch.* 1904, p. 195. [Macan ii. 261 and 270.]

⁵⁸ By no means the same as the Corinthian tactics against Phormio in the gulf of Corinth. The line would probably become an arc, as they would be overlapped.

⁵⁹ [Dr. Macan's view is, that when the Persians rounded C. Sepias the Greeks were holding the Oreos channel, in case the enemy should try to force it; the Greeks did not attack the main Persian fleet as it made for Aphetæ, but managed to cut off the rear-guard under Sandoces, capturing according to the Asiatic version fifteen ships, according to the Greek thirty; this was the first day of Artemisium. This is a wide departure from the tradition; nor do I see how ships of Paphos and of Caria could really be in one squadron. But I have already dealt with the Sandoces story, and cannot think that it has anything to do with the first day of the battle of Artemisium.]

again shortly before dark, and sank some of the Cilician ships. There was no time for the others to come up. Diodorus, who has possibly here got hold of a genuine bit of the lost Phoenician tradition,⁶⁰ makes Artemisium a two days' fight only; to the Phoenicians it was. The Greeks had this day been reinforced by fifty-three ships which had been guarding the Euripus.⁶¹ I have felt much difficulty over these fifty-three ships, because the number will not fit in with any possible squadron-arrangement,⁶² and of course the 200 Athenian ships had a definite squadron-arrangement: I conclude, however, that the story implies an Athenian squadron of fifty ships, and three others, not necessarily Athenian, sent to act as scouts.

It was evident that this sort of thing could not go on: the Persian fleet, against Persian policy (which was to strike with their best arm, the army), received definite orders to attack. The Greek numbers were now well over 300, the Persians not much over 400 at the very outside; the latter attacked in full force, and the Greeks got a very rough handling. No doubt it was a hard-fought day, and the Persians too suffered; but that it was a Persian victory there can be no doubt whatever. The real proof of this is the effect on the mind of Themistocles. He, who had previously been content that battle should be given in open water, now saw that it was life and death to the Greeks that the next fight should be fought in waters where the Persians could not manœuvre and had to come to close quarters; and he risked everything, his fair name included, to bring this about. Beside this, no other argument matters. Delbrück, for instance, lays stress on the Persian failure to pursue: but is there a single case in ancient history of a pursuit really pressed where the beaten fleet had a line of retreat and was not forced ashore? Rowers are not engines; also we do not know how far the Persian supply was disorganised by the storm, and we do know that it was their invariable policy that army and fleet should move strictly *patri passu*.

More to the point would be a query, why the Persian fleet, if really superior in numbers, did not do more damage than it did. The answer is to be sought in those limitations to which I referred above. Given equal courage, a lighter fleet that dare not either board or ram prow to prow could not make very rapid progress, one would think, whatever its skill.⁶³ Herodotus'

⁶⁰ *I.e.* that on both days the Sidonians did best. See § 9.

⁶¹ Bury in *B.S.A.* ii. 83.

⁶² A consideration quite neglected by those writers who seem to look on every number as suspect unless it be a surd. Given a town with a large fleet, this was bound, when at paper strength, to be an easily subdivided or round number. How far subdivision went we do not know: but there is an interesting story in Polyænus iii. 4, 2 of Phormio manœuvring a fleet in small squadrons of five ships each (*πενταταία*) as units; which shows (whether true of Phormio or not) that at a later time the

writers of the ordinary books on naval tactics were familiar with the idea of handling a fleet in small sub-squadrons.

⁶³ The glamour of Thucydides must not blind us to the fact that those tactics of manœuvre which we associate with Phormio and the fleets of Periclean Athens were always a failure in the long run. The power that adopted more robust methods of fighting, refusing to consider the sea as the monopoly of established skill and sea-power, invariably won. So the Athens of 480 beat the Persians; so Syracuse beat the Athens of 413; so Rome beat Carthage.

reference to the Egyptians as doing best on this day may be perfectly correct; their heavy-armed marines were not compelled to avoid a *πεζομαχία*, as were the Persian archers. And Themistocles had the genius to grasp the Persian limitations for future use.

One last point on the third day of Artemisium. If some 400 triremes on one side were really engaged with over 300 on the other, then this was far and away the greatest sea-fight, as regards numbers of ships, ever fought in the ancient world. Taking a trireme as about 5 m. wide, with oars 3.3 m. out-board (Schmidt's calculation), we have a total breadth of about 12½ yards. The rather common reckoning of 100 triremes in line abreast to a mile gives each vessel about 17½ yards, which seems to me far too little, as it gives no possibility of turning; however, on this figure, and in double line, the Persian line of battle was at least two miles long; perhaps it was much longer. Two consequences follow, of importance when we come to consider the sources. Even in the absence of smoke, a man at one end of the line can have had little idea of what was happening to the bulk of the fleet; and, as a fact, the battle must have broken up into several independent actions. We see this happening clearly, to much smaller fleets, both at Ecnomus (Polybius) and at Salamis in Cyprus (Diodorus); most clearly of all at Chios (Polybius), which was really two separate battles.

§ 5.—Salamis.

The first thing is the Greek numbers. The 310 triremes of Aeschylus cannot well be wrong; he must have known the numbers of the fleet he fought in. Apart from Aeschylus, we can see that the 380 triremes of Herodotus are wrong for *Salamis*, as he presupposes that the larger contingents, Athens, Corinth, Megara, were in the same force as at Artemisium, which is absurd. I take it that Herodotus' figures are *campaign* totals, the sum total of the individual ships of each state commissioned during the summer of 480 B.C.⁶⁴

⁶⁴ Much of the criticism of these figures is rather perverse. Beloch's condemnation of them as round numbers, 180 Ath., 200 the rest, has been sufficiently met by Hauvette (*Hérodote*, 391-3), who pointed out, first that H.'s figure is not 380 but 378 plus two deserters (really 374+6 deserters, *i.e.* four Naxians included), and secondly that we cannot neglect the pente-kontois. I hope I have said enough already about round figures (n. 62); and no doubt Themistocles' aim was a fleet roughly equal in power to the rest of Greece. More elaborate is the criticism of R. Adam, *de Herodoti ratione historica*, which I cite because Delbrück seemed to think there was something in it (*G. d. Kriegskunst*, i. 12). By *omitting* the twenty ships lent to the Chalcidians—or rather manned

by Athenian cleruchs—Adam makes Athens furnish half the fleet, the other states half, *including* the deserters; next by *omitting* two of the deserters, he makes the Peloponnese furnish half of the latter half; and so on, ending in complete incoherence. This is supposed to prove that H. invented his figures on a scheme. We can all prove anything with any set of figures if we may juggle with them like this. I regret I have not been able to see Laird, *Studies in Herodotus*, who, I believe, holds that many of H.'s figures are mere calculations. If any reader will for a year or two keep count of the curious coincidences met with in the figures that he comes across in daily life, he will become very shy of rejecting figures as 'duplicates' or 'schemes.'

I accept that emendation of the lacuna which gives Aegina forty-two ships.⁶⁵

I take the Artemisium figures as correct : 325 triremes (of which 200 were Athenian and 1 a Lennian deserter) and 9 pentekontors. It is obvious that Athens, Corinth, and Megara were bound to send their full fleets ; and the fact that the remaining northern state, Aegina (which was equally interested in sending its full contingent), is represented as *not* doing so adds considerably to one's sense of Herodotus' veracity. 200 is correct for Athens ; 100 built under Themistocles' law, and the other 100 made up of pre-existing ships and the later building mentioned by Herodotus.⁶⁶ The 20 lent to Chalcis were presumably manned by Athenian settlers. Meyer has shown that Athens could at this time have easily manned 180 triremes, allowing to each 150 rowers, 14 hoplites, and 4 archers ;⁶⁷ no doubt, too, the usual methods of manning the fleet were suspended, as before Arginusae,⁶⁸ and all men of military age, including the zeugites, had to serve if and so far as required. I may add that plenty of boys under 18 can pull an oar well enough.

No severely damaged ships could be repaired between Artemisium and Salamis. The reinforcements received were as follows, according to Herodotus : Lacedaemon 6, Sicyon 3, Epidaurus 2, Hermione 3, Ambracia 7, Leucas 3, Aegina 24 (assuming 12 Aeginetan to fill the lacuna between the total of 378 and the addition of the several contingents), Cythnos 1, Croton 1, and 4 Naxian and 1 Tenian deserters ; total 55 triremes ; and 7 pentekontors against 9 at Artemisium, Locri with 7 having medised in the interval. Taking triremes only, 310 at Salamis less 55 reinforcements = 255, the total remaining after Artemisium. Total before Artemisium 325. Losses at Artemisium therefore 70 triremes, which is the difference between the Salamis total of Aeschylus and the campaign total of Herodotus. This may well be about correct. With losses proportionate to contingents, the Athenian loss would have been 43 ; but perhaps Pindar⁶⁹ is evidence that Athens bore the brunt of the fighting, and if so her loss could not well be under 50. We may perhaps say that Athens, including Chalcis, furnished some 150 ships at Salamis, nearly half the fleet.⁷⁰

We cannot well put the Persian loss at Artemisium lower than the Greek. If we call it also 70 (\pm), then, taking the highest possible figure before the battle as 450, we get somewhere about 380 (\pm) as a highest

⁶⁵ [Dr. Macan conjectures for Aegina 42 + 18 on guard at home = 60, which one would like to believe.]

⁶⁶ 7, 144 ; see W. Kolbe, *de Ath. re navali* (*Philol.* 58, 1899), p. 509, etc. I may add that 200 would be four times the number (50) furnished by the nauceraries (with the Paralos and Salaminia) ; this squadron of fifty appears in H. 6, 89. If Prof. Bury be right about Aristides being *στρατηγός* at this time, with the command ashore (*Cl. Rev.* x. 414), it is tempting to suppose that at Artemisium each of the other

nine *στρατηγολ* commanded twenty ships, the remaining vessels, which should have been Aristides' command, going to Chalcis.

⁶⁷ *G. d. A.* iii. 358 ; *Forschungen* ii. 183.

⁶⁸ *Xen. Hell.* i. 6, 24.

⁶⁹ *Ap. Plut. Them.* 8 = *de gloria Ath.* § 7 = *de Herod. malig.* 34. Cf. H. 8, 18.

⁷⁰ I look on the 110 of Ctesias, which Beloch adopted, as absolutely worthless. It occurs, moreover, in a context where Ctesias is trying to belittle Athens.

possible for the Persian fleets as they entered Phalerum. Now Herodotus (8, 13) says of the storm, that it was sent by divine power to equalise the two fleets; this afterwards got turned⁷¹ into a statement that at Salamis they *were* equal. It looks very much as if Herodotus' better source gave him a *number* for the Persians at Phalerum, and that number not far off the Greek total as he conceived it; and as if therefore one were right in working on the highest possible Persian number. But of course 380 (\pm) *may* be very considerably too high.

Happily I need not go into the vast literature relating to the topography of Salamis and the positions of the fleets; for it really bids fair to secure a definite result.⁷² There seems a pretty general agreement now that the old view of Leake and Grote, which Busolt adopted, viz., that the Persian fleet sailed in by night and took up a position along the Attic coast, is not only indefensible in itself, moon or no moon, but is not even Herodotus; and that what happened, as deduced from Aeschylus and confirmed by Herodotus, was that the Persians sent ships overnight to block the Megara channel, and that at dawn the rest of their fleet was drawn up from Cynosura to Munychia, outside (*i.e.* S. of) Psyttaleia. There is fortunately no need to support this conclusion by quoting later writers, though it does in fact agree with the deductions drawn by Ephorus. In order to get at what happened, I assume this result to be correct.

First, what ships were sent round Salamis? As the Ionians and Phoenicians were in the main battle, the choice lies between the central and Egyptian fleets.⁷³ We can, I think, see that it was the latter, though not because Ephorus says so. Of the four Persian admirals, Ariabignes was killed in the battle, and Prexaspes and Megabates superseded after it;⁷⁴ but Achaemenes was not superseded, as far as we know, for he was still satrap of Egypt at the time of Inarns' revolt (H. 3, 12; 7, 7). This can have had nothing to do with his being Xerxes' brother: that ruler was not over-tender of his brethren, as the story of Masistes shows. It is that for some reason a distinction was drawn between the Egyptian and the other fleets: the former was not included in the disgrace of the defeat.⁷⁵

When were the Egyptians sent off? Here comes in the really grave difficulty of the circumnavigation theory. Dr. Bauer, who supported the old

⁷¹ *E.g.* in Plutarch, *Them.* 15: τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐξισούμενοι τὸ πλῆθος.

⁷² References since Meyer: Raase, *op. cit.*, with full bibliography; F. Cauer reviewing Raase in *Woch. für klass. Phil.* 1905, no. 36 (a substantive contribution); Prof. W. W. Goodwin, *Battle of Salamis (Harvard Studies in Class. Philol.* vol. 17, 1906), p. 75, very full and giving a new explanation, after Lieut. Rhediades of the Greek navy, of the *locus desperatus* τὸ πρὸς Ἐλευσίνος τε καὶ ἐσπέρας κέρας, which Cauer thinks cannot be made sense of on any view.

⁷³ Aeschylus' reference to the main Persian battle as ἐν στοίχοις τρισίν imports that three of the fleets were there; στοῖχοι, not 'lines,' but 'divisions', as Prof. Bury (*Hist.* i.² 301) has taken it.

⁷⁴ See under Mycale, *post.*

⁷⁵ If Aeschylus bears on the question at all (see Goodwin, *l.c.*, p. 83) he only proves that the Egyptians were in action somewhere. Mardonius' speech (H. 8, 100) proves nothing at all; if it did, it would prove that the Ionian fleet was, not in action. At best it is mere rhetoric.

view, brought forward the objection⁷⁶ against the circumnavigation of Salamis that, if the ships sent were not sent till after the receipt of Themistocles' message, there was no time for them to get round to Leros (Nera), and that if they merely reached the bay of Trupika their presence there would not have been sufficient. According to him, it is 53·5 kilom. from Piræus round to Leros; and he relies on Xenophon's account of Alcibiades with 86 ships taking some 18 hours to do 50 kilom.⁷⁷ I feel the full force of this objection. So does Raase, who consequently halts the ships at the bay of Trupika. But I think Munro has shown that on the day of Salamis the Corinthians fought with the Egyptians;⁷⁸ and if so, the latter were more probably at Leros, for it is very unlikely that the Corinthians could get to the bay of Trupika, fight, and return ἐπ' ἐξεργασμένοις.⁷⁹ Anyhow, we must at least have a theory which will suit either event and not preclude the possibility of the Egyptian fleet blocking the strait at Leros.

We have therefore to count on the possibility of the Egyptians being sent off the preceding afternoon, before the arrival of Themistocles' message. But nothing, I suppose, is clearer now than that, but for Themistocles' message, there would have been no fight at all. Why then were they sent off?

I would suggest that what happened was somewhat as follows.

The Persian council of war was divided. One party, appearing in the tradition as Demaratus and Artemisia,⁸⁰ wished to ignore the Greek fleet and sail for the Isthmus, obviously the correct strategy. The other, represented in the tradition by the Phoenician kings and other naval leaders, wished to attack the enemies' fleet. The Phoenician leaders, who were really loyal to Persia, are hardly likely to have given such advice; they knew the disadvantages of a fight in the narrows; no doubt what they did was to profess a general readiness to fight the King's enemies at any time and anywhere.

⁷⁶ *Jahresh.* 4 (1901), p. 101. Repeated *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 1905, p. 158.

⁷⁷ Already commented on, n. 44.

⁷⁸ Favourably received: Lensehan, *l.c.*: H. Kallenberg, *Herodot.* in *Jahresb. d. Philol. Vereins in Berlin*, 1904, p. 248.

⁷⁹ No doubt the point reached by the Corinthians was the temple of Athene Skiras; but we do not know where it stood. Raase, *l.c.*, p. 33, has a useful list of the writers who think that the 'Egyptians' must have gone past Trupika to Leros.

⁸⁰ Demaratus' advice (H. 7, 236), given, he it noted, after Thermopylae, must belong here, *i.e.* after Artemisium. I take Artemisia's speech at the council (H. 8, 68) to mean the same thing. Parts of this speech must be genuine (so Welzhofer and Meyer); or, if not Artemisia's own, must at least represent the opinion of Halicarnassus. One sign of accuracy is the belittling of the central and Egyptian fleets, but *not* of that of the traditional enemy of the Asiatic Greeks, the Phoenicians; for a

contemporary would have seen the absurdity of running down the Phoenicians, however hated. Another is the amazing 'quotation' from Aeschylus: δειμαίνω μὴ ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς κακῶθι τὸν περὶν προσδηλήσῃται = *Pers.* 728, ναυτικὸς στρατὸς κακῶθι περὶν ὤλεσε στρατόν. (I have not seen this 'quotation' noticed [not even by Dr. Macan], though *Plut. de malij. H.* 38 has some curious observations.) As H. was not really likely to make his heroine quote the best known, and least true, line of the *Persae*, we must suppose that Aeschylus himself was quoting a well-known saying; and as no one can have coined a phrase so remote from facts *after* the battle of Plataea, it may well have been a prophecy, traditionally attributed to Artemisia, though reflecting little credit on her judgment. It is true that the Scholiast on *Pers.* 728 interprets περὶν στρατόν as the troops on Psyttaleia; but the contexts are quite clear to show that neither Aesch. nor H. meant this for a moment.

Unfortunately for the fleet, Xerxes, or his staff, took half measures only.⁸¹ The army was sent off toward the Isthmus (II. 8, 71); and *one* fleet, the Egyptian, was sent to turn the Peloponnesian defences by occupying a harbour in the friendly Argolid.⁸² Doubtless the Egyptians were selected because their heavy-armed marines might be more useful for a brush ashore, when unsupported by cavalry, than Persian archers. Possibly too Achaemenes really opposed the scheme (II. 7, 236); and it would therefore appeal to a despot's sense of humour to select his command to carry it out. It was calculated that on the news the Greek fleet would break up, and the Persians could pick them up in detail; or if not, then that the main fleet could hold the Greeks in position long enough to give the Egyptians a sufficient start. On the afternoon before the battle, therefore, the Egyptians started; and the rest of the Persian fleet made its demonstration in force, to hold the attention of the Greeks.⁸³

The passing of the Egyptians was of course reported to the Greek admirals at Salamis. It might mean one of two things, according as their objective was the Argolid or Leros. But the mere possibility of the former raised (as the Persians intended) commotion in the minds of the Peloponnesian leaders: when Herodotus (8, 74) says they feared for the Peloponnesians and wanted to go home, he is literally correct. Themistocles therefore, on the fateful night, had to solve not one problem, but two. He had of course to induce the Persians to fight; but he also had to prevent the Peloponnesians from going off to defend their homes, precisely as Herodotus says. His message to Xerxes must have sounded to the King as follows: 'The Peloponnesians are going home; the Athenians are ready to medise;⁸⁴ block the straits and attack, and you can end the war in a blaze of spectacular glory.' Xerxes fell to the bait; a swift ship, or fire-signals, diverted the Egyptians; and at the critical moment Aristides, chased by them through the bay of Trupika,⁸⁵ was able to report to the council at Salamis that it was too late for anyone to go home.

The Persian fleet therefore, as it put out again in the darkness, must have expected anything rather than a battle. This seems to me to be the crucial point of the whole thing. The only possible explanation of that fleet fighting at all where and how it did is that Xerxes was completely taken in by Themistocles. The Persians must have expected a more or less complete Athenian surrender, and the mopping up of a few scattered detachments; and, says Aeschylus dryly, 'they were disappointed of their

⁸¹ Du Sein, *Histoire de la marine*, i. 110, suggested that the Persian action at Salamis must have been the result of a compromise.

⁸² The principal argument used by Delbrück and Meyer to show that the Persians were not stronger, or appreciably stronger, than the Greeks at Salamis, is that, if so, they must have divided their fleet and sent part to the Argolid. But suppose they did?

⁸³ I need not recapitulate the shifts to which

different writers have been put to account for the Persians drawing out their fleet the day before the battle. Of course Aeschylus does not mention it; but he is writing drama, not a diary.

⁸⁴ Munro, p. 331.

⁸⁵ So Raaso. The arguments seem irresistible. It explains why the Tenian deserter, which of course came the other way, was required to confirm truthful Aristides.

expectation.⁸⁶ It was not their numbers that hampered them—that is a Greek legend—but lack of sea-room. They had put themselves in a position where they could be, and were, brought to close quarters whether they would or no; Themistocles had won the battle before a blow was struck.

As to the battle. Herodotus is clearly right on three points: on the Persian right were the Phoenicians, Xerxes' command; on the Greek right the Spartans, Eurybiades'; and as Athens and Sparta could not be together, the Athenians formed the Greek left. We may therefore believe Herodotus, that the Ionians formed the Persian left. The other Dorians who were present, including Aegina, were of course with Sparta. Herodotus conceives of both lines as in two divisions only; no definite centre is mentioned on either side. The Ionians broke first (H. 8, 90), though the Phoenician accusation of treachery is groundless: strong necessity, as Themistocles called the Persian troops on board (H. 8, 22), saw to that. The battle then was decided by the Aeginetans breaking the Ionian line—hence their prize for valour—and taking the Phoenicians, who had perhaps successfully resisted the Athenian attack, in flank.⁸⁷ Athens may well have felt that to her had fallen the harder and less showy task; hence the later stories (not in Herodotus) which show jealousy of Aegina. The Phoenicians probably felt the same; they had held the Athenians, while the Ionians had broken before the Dorians. We have also got to remember that the Phoenician tradition is lost, that we have only the account of their bitter enemies, and that it is only the fair-mindedness of Herodotus *ὁ φιλοβάρβαρος* which enables us to do any justice at all to that silent race. The discredited story of Xerxes beheading the Phoenician captains is absurd; a revolt in Phoenicia was the last thing that he could afford at the time; while the story of the Ionians being saved by the exploit of a Samothracian ship, which did not really belong to the Ionian fleet at all,⁸⁸ is part of the same impossible legend. If this last incident took place at all, it happened, like Artemisia's exploit, at the latter stage of the battle, when it had become, as Themistocles desired, a mere *méléc*.

And the central fleet? It is not once mentioned. Whether, if the Persians entered in one column between Psyttaleia and Attica, it formed the tail of the column and never got into the bay; or whether, if the Persians entered in two columns, one on either side of Psyttaleia, it formed the centre and was crowded out, much as Hauvette supposed; or whether it was deliberately held in reserve, *οἱ ὄπισθε τεταγμένοι* of H. 8, 89, as is perhaps most likely, seeing that the Persians did not really expect a fight and that the waters were narrow: it is at any rate reasonably clear that it took no part in the battle.⁸⁹ If then the highest possible total for the

⁸⁶ *Pers.* 392, *γνώμης ἀποσφαλεῖσιν*.

⁸⁷ See Bury, *Hist.* i.² 302. [If the Persians were roughly on the line Aigaleos-Psyttaleia or Aigaleos-Cynosura (see n. 92), this would bring the Aeginetans across their line of retreat, and account for the story in H. 8, 91.]

⁸⁸ See p. 216.

⁸⁹ Mardonius' speech is no evidence, as I have pointed out above. All Herodotus' details refer to two fleets only, the Ionian and Phoenician; and the fact that after the battle

four Persian fleets at Phalerum be 380 (\pm), and allowing that the central fleet had suffered most at Artemisium, the total of the two Persian fleets actually in action in the main battle cannot have exceeded 200 and may well have been less. Even then if we allow that Adeimantus had a few ships with him besides the Corinthians, say some 50 all told, the Greeks had some 260 in the main battle; they therefore in the actual fighting thoroughly outnumbered their enemy. It appears therefore that on the point that matters we have come round, by a very different path, to a view rather similar to that of Delbrück. It also appears why I have tried to work with the highest possible Persian numbers.

Adeimantus, however, unlike the Athenians, really may have fought against odds, even supposing that the Egyptians' orders were merely to hold a line on the defensive and let no one pass. No wonder that Corinth hated Athens, especially as the accusation that Adeimantus would have run away if he could may, as we have seen, have contained just that amount of truth that makes a lie peculiarly bitter. It was hardly his fault if his heroism was partly due to circumstance.

The Persians, then, with a probable slight numerical superiority, contrived, by using half measures and by changing their plans at the bidding of Themistocles, to have a numerical inferiority at the decisive point, employed under conditions the worst possible for themselves. Bad generalship is hardly a strong enough term to use in such a connexion. To Aeschylus, the only explanation was a madness sent from heaven. The opinion of Themistocles on the point is not recorded.⁹⁰

One question remains, to my mind the worst of all the problems connected with Salamis, yet generally taken for granted: the Persians on Psyttaleia. If the Persians expected a hard fight, then, having regard to the constant desire of an ancient fleet to fight with its back to its land troops, one can see some sense in men being landed there; but the Persians did not expect such a fight—till it began. What men were they? Aeschylus speaks of them in terms that might fit the Persian general staff, at least. This no doubt is pure poetry. They were not land troops; the army had started for the Isthmus *before* Themistocles' message came, and could never have been recalled in time.⁹¹ Herodotus merely says, that on receipt of that

the Greeks, who seem never to have left the straits, expected Xerxes to attack again τῆσι περιούσησι νηυσί shows that part of the Persian fleet had not been engaged, as he could not attack again merely with the squadrons that had just been badly defeated. It is possible that the central fleet helped to embarrass the fugitives, 8, 89; but by that time the real battle was over. Even if we reckon in the central fleet, the Persian total, which cannot have exceeded 280, would be barely superior to the Greek total at the best, and may well have been very considerably inferior to it.

⁹⁰ In spite of his words in H. 8, 109 (spoken for a purpose), we might once well have doubted whether he himself did not consider a live Themistocles more useful than any number of dead ἥρωες. Yet we have lived to see the merit of another Salamis ascribed no less to the dead than to the living: rescript of the Emperor of Japan after Tsu-shima, 'The result is due in a large measure to the benign spirits of our ancestors as well as,' etc.—ἥρωσι συμμαχοῖσι.

⁹¹ I am assuming that the Persian land forces were strictly limited in number.

message the Persian admirals disembarked (*ἀπεβιβάσαντο*) on Psyttaleia 'many of the Persians,' *i.e.* of the marines. Again (8, 130) he says that in the spring of 479 *most* of the Persian and Median marines were on board the fleet;⁹² *i.e.* some were not. The inference is, that it was part of the marines who were landed and killed on Psyttaleia. Yet it is incredible that an attacking fleet should have denuded itself of part of its chief weapon. The only explanation I can see is that the central fleet, held in reserve, and seeing that (contrary to expectation) it was indeed going to be a battle, landed part of its marines *after the fighting began*. In some way the central fleet was connected with the general Persian failure, as we know by the supersession of its admiral. But the whole thing is so difficult that one is sorely tempted to believe that it is all a mistake of our anti-Themistoclean tradition, and that the only contribution made that day by the just Aristides to the cause of Greek freedom was the butchery of a few shipwrecked crews.

The Persian loss cannot be estimated. It was enough to make the Persians resolve not to tempt fate again on the incomprehensible sea: but not very great, as the Greeks expected another attack.⁹³

⁹² [Dr. Macan thinks that H. only meant that the majority of the marines were Persians and Medes, and that an allusion to the original Medo-Persian *epibatae* 'would be far-fetched.' Why? It would be a natural enough allusion for any source which regarded the fleet as an organised force and not as a mob.]

⁹³ [Dr. Macan's theory of Salamis is, very briefly, as follows: The Persians, on the day before the battle, decide to blockade the Greeks in the bay of Salamis; they therefore send the Egyptians round to the Megara channel, the main fleet to the Psyttaleia end (this avoids the time difficulty for the Egyptians, and also accounts for the Peloponnesians wanting to go home, 8, 74, when they heard of the Egyptians passing, though Dr. Macan does not notice either point; it also accounts for the Persian fleet drawing out the day before the battle). On receipt of Themistocles' message they alter their first plan and sail in not expecting any battle (it will be seen that I agree with both these points). On the morning the Persians sail in in column of three lines (*ἐν στολχοῖς τρισίν*) between Psyttaleia and the mainland; the Athenians take the head of the column in flank and break it, deciding the action. The Persians on Psyttaleia, were either landed during the action, or else belong to the first (abandoned) plan and were meant to invade Salamis.—While there is much to be said for this, I adhere to what I have written above, on the few points where I differ. (1) Dr. Macan admits that the Persians, if they meant to fight (first plan), were bound to try to get the

Greeks into open water; why then blockade them? A blockade would have given Themistocles just what he wanted: the Persians could not have avoided close quarters. (2) Even if Themistocles' message reached, not Xerxes (Aesch.), but the admirals (H.), it is clear that the latter could not change the whole plan without consulting their commander-in-chief, as the army and fleet were co-operating; the fleet then must have been back at Phalerum when the message arrived in the early part of the night, and put out (afresh) that night, as Aesch. says. Consequently, the movement of the fleet on the day before was a demonstration only; and what becomes of the blockade? (3) Dr. Macan has to treat the objective of the army as the Megara channel, to co-operate with the Egyptians. But, after all, H. says the Isthmus; let us keep what of tradition we can. (4) The battle *must*, I think, have been fought in line; Dr. Macan (ii. 315-6) cannot explain the Aeginetan *ἀπιστεία*. No doubt the Persians entered in column, either one column or two; but (supposing now with Dr. Macan that it was one column) they could never have been caught in column by a fleet coming across from Salamis, when a mere half-turn by each ship would have brought them into line abreast facing the enemy; and we cannot press Aeschylus' *ῥεῦμα* to prove the contrary. Two hundred triremes in column of two lines, 100 in each line, would cover about a mile from end to end; the whole column would be in the bay in six to seven minutes, or even less (Fincati's trireme did nine miles an hour, and the Phoenicians might

§ 6.—*Mycalē*.

After Salamis, the Egyptian fleet handed over its marines to Mardonius (H. 9, 32) and went home.⁹⁴ In the spring of 479, what remained⁹⁵ of the other three fleets was at Samos, under three new admirals, Mardontes, Artayntes, Ithamitres; as only Ariabignes is recorded to have been killed, we see that the admirals of the central and Phoenician fleets had been superseded. Tigranes was at Mycale with land troops. The Persian commanders decided not to fight at sea; they therefore sent home the Phoenicians,⁹⁶ and no doubt the central fleet also, though this is not expressly mentioned. But the *στρατηγοί* of these two fleets disembarked the Persian marines before sending off the ships, and kept them with Tigranes;⁹⁷ this illustrates very clearly the fact that the Persian 'admiral' of a fleet was really only the general in command of the division of Persian troops acting as *ἐπιβαταί* on that fleet.⁹⁸ The Ionian fleet could not be sent home, the crews being disaffected; neither could it face the Greek fleet of 110 ships: its numbers by now must have been considerably less than 110. The ships were therefore drawn ashore; and in the ensuing land battle we find all four Persian *στρατηγοί*, *i.e.* the three admirals commanding the marines of the

do better than that for a short distance); by the time the Greeks had got under way, hesitated, backed water, and finally attacked, the enemy might have formed line abreast, roughly on the line Aigaleos-Psyttaeia. No doubt, however, there was some confusion. (5) Psyttaeia. We might suppose that the object of the 'blockade' was to throw a corps, behind and under shelter of the main Persian fleet, across into Salamis, capture the Greek base from the land side, and leave the Greek fleet in the air. But the tradition contains no hint of anything so exciting; and, if this were the plan, *why* land the troops on Psyttaeia ?]

⁹⁴ This follows from the fact that its admiral Achaemenes, who was not superseded, was not at Samos (H. 8, 130), or at Mycale, or with Mardonius.

⁹⁵ H. gives 300 ships. This figure is of no use; like Mardonius' loss at Athos, it is so obviously one half of the whole.

⁹⁶ H. 9, 96. It has been pointed out by A. von Domaszewski, *Beiträge zur Gesch. d. Perserkriege* (*Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher*, 1891), p. 187, that H. does not expressly say that the Phoenicians went *home*, and he has an attractive theory that the bulk of the Persian fleet, after Salamis, returned to the North Aegean to guard Mardonius' communications.

I am afraid that the presence of three admirals at Mycale disposes of this view; no fleet could keep the sea without its marines. Moreover, Leotychides could not possibly have sailed for Samos with a strong Persian fleet, unopposed, on his flank and rear; and we can hardly suppose that the Greeks had a *second* fleet at sea, plus the army at Plataea.

⁹⁷ This follows, as to the Phoenician fleet anyhow, from the *στρατηγός* remaining after the ships were sent off.

⁹⁸ Hence the fleet is a *στρατός* and its camp a *στρατόπεδον* (H. 7, 124, etc.). One is reminded of the fleets of the Roman Empire. Unfortunately we have no information as to the relations, on a Persian ship, of the trierarch to the commander of the marines, that terrible crux of the later Roman fleet. Artemisia appears as mistress in her own ship; yet, though the marines were few compared with those on a Roman vessel, they were of an alien and dominant race. One would like to know how Darius solved the problem. The fact that Achaemenes, after landing his Egyptian marines, took his fleet home, may show that his position differed somewhat from that of the other *στρατηγοί*, and that he as a satrap was not merely a general of marines. But it might also mean that he shipped Persian troops in their place, with a view to possible disaffection in Egypt.

Ionian, central, and Phoenician fleets, and Tigranes.⁹⁹ It is hardly worth remarking that Leotychides must have known, before he sailed for Mycale with 110 ships, that all the Persian fleets but one had been sent home.

§ 7.—*Other Battles.*

It seems then that the numbers adopted in this paper fit in well with Herodotus' narrative. If they be correct, we can see that the figure of 600 Persian warships for the Scythian expedition,¹⁰⁰ Lade, and Marathon is mere transference: also that the various attempts made to deduce the Persian army at Marathon from the number of ships are waste paper. We can also, without going into the questions connected with the Ionian revolt, understand better two obscure statements in Herodotus' account. Hecataeus' advice to the Ionians to get command of the sea becomes practical; had they secured all of Greek blood they would have had about two and a half of the five fleets (counting the Carians as with them), and the temple treasures of Didyma would have done the rest. And the nervousness of the Persian commanders before Lade is based on the fact that they were very likely outnumbered: they had the Phoenician, Egyptian, and central fleets, *i.e.* 360 less their previous losses, and with the Cypriotes still untrustworthy, possibly much less than 300 effective ships; the Greeks, who had manned every craft that would float, should have had 300 anyhow.

The battle of the Eurymedon, too, falls into its proper place. The success of Cimon's operations consisted in this, that he succeeded in preventing the junction of the Phoenician and central fleets, capturing the latter, 100 (\pm) strong, at the Eurymedon, and the Phoenician (80 ships) in Cyprus later.¹⁰¹ Thucydides' figure, 200 'Phoenician,' *i.e.* Persian, ships, then refers to the *campaign*, the 100 of all later writers to the actual day of the double battle. These numbers alone ought to be conclusive against the popular exaggeration of the numbers of Xerxes' fleet.

§ 8.—*The Divisional Numbers.*

The question, however, remains, *why* 120? As we do not suppose that Darius took 600 as a likely number, cut his coast-line into five sections, and divided 600 by five, we must conclude that 600 grew up round a nucleus of a

⁹⁹ Taking the 110 Greek ships at 150 rowers and 18 marines, they could land some 18,000 troops of all sorts. If we take each of the three Persian fleets at say 80 ships (they can hardly have been stronger by now) we get, at 20 marines per ship, 4,800 troops, or say 4,000, for some were not there (H. 8, 130). Tigranes had what remained of his army corps, perhaps originally 10,000 (n. 27; not 60,000, as H. says), and the Persians were encumbered by

some 12,000 armed and disaffected Ionian rowers. The extreme weakness of their position is apparent.

¹⁰⁰ Hauvette, *l.c.* 195, has shown that H. did *not* get his figure here from Darius' stelai on the Bosphorus.

¹⁰¹ See Meyer's reconstruction of the narrative of Callisthenes of Olynthus in his *Forschungen*, ii. pp. 1 *seq.*, *Die Schlacht am Eurymedon*.

fleet of 120 furnished by a district of roughly one-fifth of the power of the whole, in this case undoubtedly Phoenicia. That is to say, the number that Phoenicia engaged to furnish was reckoned on the sexagesimal and not on the decimal system, and was obviously two divisions of sixty ships each. The coins appear to show that the sexagesimal system only obtained a partial footing in Phoenicia, notwithstanding its grasp upon Western Asia generally;¹⁰² and it may be that, as some have supposed, the engagements of Phoenicia to Cyrus merely repeated her former engagements to Babylon. Be this as it may, the hypothesis of a Phoenician naval organisation in divisions of sixty can be checked. For there was another navy which inherited the tactics¹⁰³ and traditions of that of its mother-land; and if this hypothesis be correct, we ought to find that the Carthaginian navy was organised upon a sexagesimal system. We do.

We get at Carthage the following set of figures:¹⁰⁴ Alalia 542 B.C. 60 ships; 480 B.C., 200 (doubtless too high); 409 B.C. 60; 406 B.C., 120; against Dionysius I. and again against Timoleon, 200. In 311/10 B.C., against Agathocles, 130 (Diod. 19, 106, 2); sent to Rome as a help against Pyrrhus either 120 (Justin 18, 1, 2) or 130 (Val. Max. 3, 7, 10); 278 B.C., probably 130;¹⁰⁵ at the opening of the first Punic war, 130 (Polyb. 1, 23). I have, I hope, shown that in the wars with Rome 200 ships meant a supreme Carthaginian effort.

Now in 480 B.C. a battle fleet did its own scouting (above, p. 209). But by 260 B.C. a fleet was accompanied by regular scouts. The Romans, who were copying Carthage, used lembi for this purpose;¹⁰⁶ whether the Carthaginians used lembi or triremes or what not is immaterial so long as they did use scouts. We see then that the Carthaginian navy works out as follows. In 542 B.C. and 409 B.C. it consisted of one division of 60; in 406 B.C. of two such divisions; in 311 B.C. its two divisions had become 65 ships apiece, *i.e.* 60 ships of the line plus 5 scouts (Justin omits the scouts) and so remained till after the shock of Mylae. In time of great stress a third division was mobilised. The figures of 200 ships in the fourth century *might* be round figures; but for the Punic wars they are exact, the third division consisting of 70 ships, *i.e.* 60 plus 5 scouts plus an extra 5 ships, either fleet scouts or reserve ships. We have an express mention of this third division in Polybius (1, 53, 2); after Drepana, where Adherbal had probably something under 123 ships (two weak divisions), Carthalo reinforced him with 70 ships. I may also refer to Polybius' account of Ecnomus, where the Carthaginian fleet is in three divisions, against the four divisions of the Roman.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰² For recent discussions of this system see F. K. Günzel in *Klio*, vol. i. pp. 349-380, and C. F. Lehmann-Haupt in ditto, pp. 381-400.

¹⁰³ Sosylos is at least evidence for this much, when, in referring to the Carthaginian navy, which he knew, he says that the *Phoenicians* always do so and so.

¹⁰⁴ I am indebted here to the chapter on the

Carthaginian navy in Meltzer, *Gesch. d. Karthager*, vol. ii.; and for what follows I refer once for all to my paper in *J. H. S.* xxvii. (1907), 48.

¹⁰⁵ This is only a combination (Meltzer, ii. 234), but a good one.

¹⁰⁶ Polyb. 1, 53, 9.

¹⁰⁷ My conclusion (*J. H. S.* xxvii. 57), that the (successful) object of Rome in the first Punic

In the second Punic war, the Carthaginian figures are at first irregular and small, Carthage undertaking raids with small squadrons only; but in 215 they mobilised their two divisions, given as sixty each (Livy, as not infrequently, omitting the scouts), consequent upon the intervention of Philip in the war; and they again and for the last time, in 212, mobilised two divisions, given as 130, in a vain effort to save Syracuse (Liv. 25, 27). (The fleet of Spain was separate.) After this, the figures represent what they *could*, not what they *would*.

We are, I think, entitled to look upon it as a fact, that the division of sixty ships of the line formed the basis of the Carthaginian naval organisation; and it can hardly be a coincidence that a similar arrangement of the Persian fleet, arrived at merely by following out Herodotus, is supported by Carthaginian figures partly expressly given in the tradition and partly arrived at merely by following out Polybius without a thought of such a thing as the sexagesimal system.¹⁰⁸

§ 9.—Sources.

It remains to consider, very briefly, some points about the sources. We have traced a thread of what looks like accurate information running through Herodotus' narrative of the Persian fleet. The number 120 for the northern fleet, the number 600 for the whole, the four admirals at Doriscus, Xerxes' personal command of the Phoenicians, the separation of the several fleets at Themis and on the voyage down the Magnesian coast, the storm falling on them so separated, the loss of the northern fleet, the small storm-damage otherwise, the late attack on the first two days of Artemisium, the Persian demonstration the day before Salamis, the number of Artemisia's squadron, the Persian number at Salamis (this last doubtful)—these are some of the points we have seen reason to think accurate, apart from matters such as the general arrangements at Salamis, which I omit as having been fully thrashed out by

war was to keep afloat a fleet of 20-40 ships more than Carthage, ought to be expressed differently. They aimed at maintaining four divisions to the Carthaginian three. These divisions were not necessarily of the same strength as the Carthaginian, but there is little evidence for the strength of a Roman division in the first Punic war, and possibly it was not constant.

¹⁰⁸ In case anyone should think the whole question of these divisions fanciful, I append a few figures from the Roman navy, taken from the mass of material in Livy, Polybius, and Appian. From 218 to 214 a Roman division (as in the first Punic war) fluctuated between 60, 55, and 50. In 214 Rome answered the Carthaginian mobilisation of 215 with a decree for a (standing) fleet of 150 quinqueremes in home waters (Livy 24, 9), and henceforth the

Roman division was 50 ships of the line. The two standing fleets from 214 to 206 were, Sicily 100, Adriatic 50. In 208 two additional special squadrons of 50 quinqueremes each were formed for Italy and Sardinia. After 206 Rome laid up ships fast, and the figures fall. War against Philip (193): 100 tectae, 50 apertae (probably allies), and lembi (Liv. 32, 21). Against Antiochus, first 100, then 50, quinqueremes ordered; not all built; at sea in 191, one division (50) under Livius, with a half-division (25) taken over from Atilius, and allies (Liv. 36, 41). Against Perseus, 50 quinqueremes ordered (Liv. 42, 27). Against Carthage in the last war (App. Lib. 75), 50 quinqueremes, and allies. A complete analysis of the second Punic war is really conclusive. Livy omits the scouts from the divisions, or gives them separately, as being generally allies.

others. On the other hand, we have found two stories that stand on a different footing; the number 1,207 for the Persian triremes, with the concomitants of this number, such as a heavy storm-loss and the overcrowding of the Persian ships at Salamis; and the story of the Sepiad strand, with its accompanying incidents, also including a heavy storm-loss.

Now this last is pure poetry. If the difficulty of date can be overcome, one would be inclined to assign it to Choerilus of Samos,¹⁰⁹ though I have not the qualifications for determining this; the fact that Herodotus in this connexion gives the story of Boreas and Oreithyia, which occurred also in Choerilus,¹¹⁰ is strong, as Mulder pointed out. I have already given my reasons for thinking that the story of the Sepiad strand, whether from Choerilus or some other poet, is ultimately taken from Homer.

The figure 1,207 does not, I think, come from any definite source at all: certainly it must be a Greek figure, and would hardly come from Dionysius of Miletus¹¹¹ or any other Asiatic Greek, who must have known the facts. I take the genesis of this number to have been somewhat as follows. The original total at Athens for Xerxes' armada was the round 1,000, including triremes both ordinary and *ταχέλαι* and supply ships; this was accurate enough. The next step was 1,000 warships, including *ταχέλαι*¹¹² (Aeschylus), but excluding supply; then 1,000 warships, excluding the 207 *ταχέλαι*, = 1,207 warships (Herodotus). Meanwhile supply, separated from the warships, grew at pleasure, and is still fluid in Herodotus, as we see by the 3,000 'triakontors, pentekontors, cercuri, and horse transports' of 7, 97, which in 7, 184 become 3,000 pentekontors, with crews calculated accordingly. All this is the mere talk, or self-glorification, of the man in the street at Athens.

To turn now to Herodotus' more accurate information. No doubt a good deal of this—the numbers 120 and 600, Xerxes' command and organisation generally, the arrangements before Salamis—was known to and may well be derived from either Demaratos or more probably Megabyzos.¹¹³ But this cannot apply to that part of the story of the fleet that lies between its departure from Therme and its arrival at Phalerum; for here army and fleet were separated throughout. Consequently we get the striking, but I think unnoticed, phenomenon that at Salamis we are (more or less) in the Persian councils, while at Artemisium we are not;¹¹⁴ we do not know what the Persian headquarters were about in that three days' fighting. Herodotus' informant, then, as to the voyage down the Magnesian coast, and Artemisium, was not in the councils of the leaders; but the voyage shows clearly that he was with the fleet. As the details of the *mîléc* at Salamis are all given from the point of view of the Ionian fleet; and

¹⁰⁹ See D. Mulder in *Klio*, 7, 29, already cited.

¹¹⁰ Frag. 5 in Kinkel, *Epic. Græc. fragmenta*. Also Choerilus in *Pauly-Wissowa* (Bethe)

¹¹¹ As C. F. Lehmann-Haupt in *Klio*, 2, 338, n. 2.

¹¹² What Aeschylus' unlikely figure of 207

for these means can hardly perhaps be ascertained. It may relate to something else and have got transferred.

¹¹³ Mr. J. Wells, *The Persian Friends of Herodotus* (*J.H.S.* xxvii, 1907, p. 37).

¹¹⁴ The speeches of Demaratos and Achæmenes belong after the battle.

as the precise information as to the number of Artemisia's ships, and her conduct, can only have been of interest to, or derived from, Halicarnassians; it is easiest to suppose that Herodotus' ultimate source for the actions of the Persian fleet between Therme and Phalerum was not merely Ionian, but was someone in the Halicarnassian squadron, perhaps on Artemisia's own ship.¹¹⁵ And this is not rendered unlikely by his very scanty information as to Artemisium. Artemisia says that she fought bravely in this battle (and we may grant that if the lady was in action at all the adverb is superfluous); but the Ionian fleet may (as we have seen) have only got into action very late on the first day; on the second day it probably was not engaged at all; while as to the great battle of the third day, I have already tried to show that no one ship could have known much of what was going on except in its own immediate neighbourhood. Herodotus may well have despaired of any attempt to describe the third day, when he laments that he could not even get information about the confined fight at Salamis.

One word as to Diodorus. It seems to me unlikely that anyone, who tries to understand the naval operations of 480 B.C., should accept the ordinary view that the Diodorus-Ephorus narrative is a mere working up of, or deduction from, that of Herodotus (I refer to the naval portions only).¹¹⁶ The fact is, that, with much rubbish, Diodorus (or Ephorus) is in some important respects the more understanding of the two; and on one matter, the Egyptians at Salamis, the world has been forced to come round to what he says. The best instance is the first day of Artemisium; here, although on the question who attacked Herodotus is right and Diodorus is wrong, still on the actual fight Diodorus writes clear sense (though not the whole sense), while Herodotus is conscientiously groping about. Now it is perfectly possible to deduce Diodorus' account of this day from that of Herodotus and from general tactical and other considerations, except on one point, viz., the ἀριστεία of the Sidonians on both days of the battle; and this last may be a mere guess in the dark, based on the general reputation of the Sidonians in Herodotus. All this is possible; still, the common sense of the matter is, that Diodorus on the first day of Artemisium, and perhaps elsewhere, may represent, however imperfectly, a better tradition than that of Herodotus. And if the information of Herodotus here (where not Greek) be Halicarnassian, or otherwise drawn from the Ionian fleet, a better tradition could, as I have already hinted, be derived ultimately from one source only, the version preserved by the Phoenicians. Have we here, in Ephorus, some echo from that association of Athens and Phoenicia which culminated in a Phoenician fleet under Conon

¹¹⁵ The information may have only reached H. at second or third hand, of course. It need not, either, have been exclusively Halicarnassian; he has some Samian details about Salamis, which, however, Mülder (*l.c.*) attributes also to Choerilus.

¹¹⁶ Cf. Polyb. 12, 25^f, of Ephorus, ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς τῶν μὲν κατὰ θάλατταν ἔργων ἐπι

ποσὸν ὑπόνοιαν ἐσχηκέναι μοι δοκεῖ, with illustrations. This is pared away by Schwartz in *Paulyn-Wissowa s.v. Ephoros* (vi. i. 11). But I think we may agree with A. von Mess, *l.c.* p. 406, that the question of Ephorus' sources for this period is more complex than is usually supposed.

restoring the Long Walls of its erstwhile rival? Be this as it may, it has a very definite bearing on the important fact that Diodorus does give 120 as the number of the northern fleet.¹¹⁷ Whether Ephorus is likely to have deduced this figure from Herodotus, as is done in this paper, I must leave to my readers to answer.

W. W. TARS.

¹¹⁷ It is always possible that the number of the northern fleet was preserved in the traditions of Cynic, and that Ephorus, with his known

local patriotism, adopted that tradition. This would explain his radical divergence from Herodotus over the *one* fleet.

THE MARQUISATE OF BOUDONITZA (1204-1414).

OF all the feudal lordships, founded in Northern Greece at the time of the Frankish Conquest, the most important and the most enduring was the Marquisate of Boudonitza. Like the Venieri and the Viari in the two islands of Cerigo and Cerigotto at the extreme south, the lords of Boudonitza were Marquesses in the literal sense of the term—wardens of the Greek Marches—and they maintained their responsible position on the outskirts of the Duchy of Athens until after the establishment of the Turks in Thessaly. Apart, too, from its historic importance, the Marquisate of Boudonitza possesses the romantic glamour which is shed over a famous classical site by the chivalry of the middle ages. What stranger accident could there have been than that which made two noble Italian families the successive guardians of the historic pass which is for ever associated with the death of Leonidas!

Among the adventurers who accompanied Boniface of Montferrat, the new King of Salonika, on his march into Greece in the autumn of 1204, was Guido Pallavicini, the youngest son of a nobleman from near Parma who had gone to the East because at home every common man could hale him before the courts.¹ This was the vigorous personality who, in the eyes of his conquering chief, seemed peculiarly suited to watch over the pass of Thermopylae, whence the Greek archon, Léon Sgonróis, had fled at the mere sight of the Latins in their coats of mail. Accordingly, he invested him with the fief of Boudonitza, and ere long, on the Hellenic substructures of Pharygae, rose the imposing fortress of the Italian Marquesses.

The site was admirably chosen, and is, indeed, one of the finest in Greece. The village of Boudonitza, Bodonitza, or Mendenitza, as it is now called, lies at a distance of three and a half hours on horseback from the baths of Thermopylae and nearly an hour and a half from the top of the pass which leads across the mountains to Dadi at the foot of Parnassos. The castle, which is visible for more than an hour as we approach from Thermopylae, stands on a hill which bars the valley and occupies a truly commanding position (Figs. 1 and 2). The Warden of the Marches, in the Frankish times, could watch from its battlements the blue Maliaic Gulf with the even then important town of Stylida, the landing-place for Zetounion, or Lamia; his eye could traverse the channel up to, and beyond, the entrance to the Gulf

¹ Litta, *Le famiglie celebri italiane*, vol. v. Plate XIV.

of Almito, as the Gulf of Volo was then called; in the distance he could descry two of the Northern Sporades—Skiathos and Skopelos—at first in the



FIG. 1.—BOUDONITZA: THE CASTLE FROM THE WEST.
(From a Photograph by Mrs. Miller.)

hands of the friendly Ghisi, then reconquered by the hostile Byzantine forces. The northernmost of the three Lombard baronies of Euboea with the bright



FIG. 2.—BOUDONITZA: THE CASTLE FROM THE EAST.
(From a Photograph by Mrs. Miller.)

streak which marks the baths of Aedeptos, and the little island of Parania, or Canaia, between Euboea and the mainland, which was one of the last

remnants of Italian rule in this part of Greece, lay outstretched before him; and no pirate craft could come up the Atalante channel without his knowledge. Landwards, the view is bounded by vast masses of mountains, but the danger was not yet from that quarter, while a rocky gorge, the bed of a dry torrent, isolates one side of the castle. Such was the site where, for more than two centuries, the Marquesses of Boudonitza watched, as advanced sentinels, first of 'new France' and then of Christendom.

The extent of the Marquisate cannot be exactly defined. In the early years after the Conquest we find the first Marquess part-owner of Lamia;² his territory extended down to the sea, upon which later on his successors had considerable commercial transactions, and the harbour from which they obtained their supplies would seem to have been simply called the *skala* of Boudonitza.³ The Pallavicini's southern frontier marched with the Athenian *seigneurie*; but their feudal relations were not with Athens, but with Achaia. Whether or no we accept the story of the 'Chronicle of the Morea,' that Boniface of Montferrat conferred the suzerainty of Boudonitza upon Guillaume de Champlitte, or the more probable story of the elder Sanudo, that the Emperor Baldwin II. gave it to Geoffroy II. de Villehardouin,⁴ it is certain that later on the Marquess was one of the twelve peers of Achaia,⁵ and in 1278 Charles I. of Naples, in his capacity of Prince of Achaia, accordingly notified the appointment of a bailie of the principality to the Marchioness of that day.⁶ It was only during the Catalan period that the Marquess came to be reckoned as a feudatory of Athens.⁷ Within his dominions was situated a Roman Catholic episcopal see—that of Thermopylae, dependent upon the metropolitan see of Athens. At first the bishop resided at the town which bore that name; on its destruction, however, during those troublous times, the bishop and canons built an oratory at Boudonitza. Even there, however, the pirates penetrated and killed the bishop, whereupon in 1209 the then occupant of the see, the third of the series, begged Innocent III. to allow him to move to the abbey of 'Communio'—perhaps a monastery founded by one of the Comneni—within the same district.⁸ Towards the close of the fourteenth century, the bishop was commonly known by the title of 'Boudonitza,' because he resided there, and his see was then one of the four within the confines of the Athenian Duchy.⁹

Guido, first Marquess of Boudonitza, the 'Marchesopoulo,' as his Greek subjects called him, played a very important part in both the political and

² *Epistolae Innocentii III.* (ed. Baluze), ii. 477.

³ *Fontes Rerum Austriacarum*, Abt. II., xiv. 201, 213, 218, 222.

⁴ *Τὸ Χρονικὸν τοῦ Μορέως*, ll. 1559, 3187; *Le Livre de la Conquête*, 102; *Libro de los Fechos*, 25, 26; *Cronaca di Morea*, apud Hopf, *Chroniques gréco-romanes*, 424; Dorótheos of Monemvasia, *Βιβλίον Ἱστορικόν* (ed. 1814), 461;

Sanudo, *Istoria del Regno di Romania*, apud Hopf, *op. cit.*, 100.

⁵ Canciani, *Barbarorum Leges Antiquae*, iii. 507; Muntaner, *Cronaca*, ch. 261.

⁶ *Archivio storico italiano*, Ser. IV., i. 433.

⁷ Rubió y Lluch, *Los Navarros en Grecia*, 482.

⁸ *Epistolae Innocentii III.*, ii. 265.

⁹ Rubió y Lluch, *op. cit.* 481.

ecclesiastical history of his time—just the part which we should have expected from a man of his lawless disposition. The 'Chronicle' above quoted represents him as present at the siege of Corinth. He and his brother, whose name may have been Rubino, were among the leaders of the Lombard rebellion against the Latin Emperor Henry in 1209; he obstinately refused to attend the first Parliament of Ravenika in May of that year; and, leaving his castle undefended, he retreated with the still recalcitrant rebels behind the stronger walls of the Kadmeia at Thebes. This incident procured for Boudonitza the honour of its only Imperial visit; for the Emperor Henry lay there one evening—a certain Wednesday—on his way to Thebes, and thence rode, as the present writer has ridden, through the *closure*, or pass, which leads over the mountains and down to Dadi and the Boeotian plain—then, as now, the shortest route from Boudonitza to the Boeotian capital,¹⁰ and at that time the site of a church of our Lady *S. Maria de Clusurio*, the property of the abbot and canons of the Lord's Temple. Like most of his fellow-nobles, the Marquess was not over-respectful of the rights and property of the Church to which he belonged. If he granted the strong position of Lamia to the Templars, he secularised property belonging to his bishop and displayed a marked unwillingness to pay tithes. We find him, however, with his fellows, signing the *concordat* which was drawn up to regulate the relations between Church and State at the second Parliament of Ravenika in May, 1210.¹¹

As one of the leading nobles of the Latin kingdom of Salonika, Guido continued to be associated with its fortunes. In 1221 we find him acting as bailie for the Regent Margaret during the minority of the young King Demetrius, in whose name he ratified a convention with the clergy respecting the property of the Church.¹² His territory became the refuge of the Catholic Archbishop of Larissa, upon whom the bishopric of Thermopylae was temporarily conferred by Honorius III., when the Greeks of Epirus drove him from his see. And when the ephemeral kingdom had fallen before them, the same Pope, in 1224, ordered Geoffroy II. de Villehardouin of Achaia, Othon de la Roche of Athens, and the three Lombard barons of Euboea to aid in defending the castle of Boudonitza, and rejoiced that 1,300 *hyperperi* had been subscribed by the prelates and clergy for its defence, so that it could be held by 'G., lord of the aforesaid castle,' till the arrival of the Marquess William of Montferrat.¹³ Guido was still living on May 2, 1237, when he made his will. Soon after that date he probably died; Hopf¹⁴ states in his genealogy, without citing any authority, that he was killed by the Greeks. He had survived most of his fellow-Crusaders; and,

¹⁰ *Cairels apud Buchon, Histoire des Conquêtes*, 449; *Henri de Valenciennes apud Buchon, Recherches et Matériaux*, ii. 203, 205-6.

¹¹ *Epistolae Innocentii III.*, ii. 261-2, 264, 477, 835-7; *Honorii III. Opera*, iv. 414.

¹² Raynaldus, *Annales Ecclesiastici* (ed. 1747),

i. 492.

¹³ *Regesta Honorii III.*, ii. 96, 167, 207, 333.

¹⁴ *Chroniques gréco-romanes*, 478; and *apud Ersch und Gruber, Allgemeine Encyclopädie*, lxxxv. 276.

in consequence of the Greek reconquest of Thessaly, his Marquisate was now, with the doubtful exception of Larissa, the northernmost of the Frankish fiefs, the veritable 'March' of Latin Hellas.

Guido had married a Burgundian lady named Sibylle, possibly a daughter of the house of Cicon, lately established in Greece, and therefore a cousin of Guy de la Roche of Athens. By her he had two daughters and a son, Ubertino, who succeeded him as second Marquess. Despite the feudal tie which should have bound him to the Prince of Achaia, and which he boldly repudiated, Ubertino assisted his cousin, the 'Great Lord' of Athens, in the fratricidal war between those prominent Frankish rulers, which culminated in the defeat of the Athenians at the battle of Karydi in 1258, where the Marquess was present, and whence he accompanied Guy de la Roche in his retreat to Thebes. In the following year, however, he obeyed the summons of the Prince of Achaia to take part in the fatal campaign in aid of the despot Michael II. of Epiros against the Greek Emperor of Nicaea, which ended on the plain of Pelagonia; and in 1263, when the Prince, after his return from his Greek prison, made war against the Greeks of the newly established Byzantine province in the Morea, the Marquess of Boudonitza was once more summoned to his aid.¹⁵ The revival of Greek power in Euboea at this period, and the frequent acts of piracy in the Atalante channel were of considerable detriment to the people of Boudonitza, whose food supplies were at times intercepted by the corsairs.¹⁶ But the Marquess Ubertino profited by the will of his sister Mabilia, who had married Azzo VII. d'Este of Ferrara, and bequeathed to her brother in 1264 her property near Parma.¹⁷

After the death of Ubertino, the Marquisate, like so many Frankish baronies, fell into the hands of a woman. The new Marchioness of Boudonitza was his second sister, Isabella, who is included in the above-mentioned circular note, addressed to all the great magnates of Achaia by Charles I. of Anjou, the new Prince, and notifying to them the appointment of Galeran d'Ivry as the Angevin vicar-general in the principality. On that occasion, the absence of the Marchioness was one of the reasons alleged by Archbishop Benedict of Patras, in the name of those present at Glarentza, for the refusal of homage to the new bailie.¹⁸ So important was the position of the Marquisate as one of the twelve peerages of Achaia.

The Marchioness Isabella died without children; and, accordingly, in 1286, a disputed succession arose between her husband, a Frank settled in the East, and the nearest male representative of the Pallavicini family, her cousin Tommaso, grandson of the first Marquess's brother, Rubino. The dispute was referred to Guillaume de la Roche, Duke of Athens, in his capacity of bailie of Achaia, before the feudal court of which a question

¹⁵ Τὸ Χρονικὸν τοῦ Μορέως, II. 3196-3201, 3295-6, 4613; *Le Livre de la Conquête*, 119, 160; *Cronaca di Morca*, 438-9; *Libro de los Fechos*, 56, 75.

¹⁶ *Fontes Rerum Austriacarum*, Abt. II.,

xiv. 201, 213, 218, 222.

¹⁷ Litta, *l.c.*

¹⁸ Τὸ Χρονικὸν τοῦ Μορέως, I. 7915; *Le Livre de la Conquête*, 260.

relating to Boudonitza would legally come. Tommaso, however, settled the matter by seizing the castle, and not only maintained himself there but transmitted the Marquisate to his son, Alberto.¹⁹

The fifth Marquess is mentioned as among those summoned by Philip of Savoy, Prince of Achaia, to the famous Parliament and tournament on the Isthmus of Corinth in the spring of 1305, and as having been one of the magnates who obeyed the call of Philip's namesake and successor, Philip of Taranto, in 1307.²⁰ Four years later he fell, at the great battle of the Kephissos, fighting against the Catalans beneath the lion banner of Walter of Brienne,²¹ who by his will a few days before had bequeathed 100 *hyperperi* to the church of Boudonitza.²²

The Marquisate, alone of the Frankish territories north of the Isthmus, escaped conquest by the Catalans, though, as at Athens, a widow and her child were alone left to defend it. Alberto had married a rich Euboean heiress, Maria dalle Carceri, a scion of the Lombard family which had come from Verona at the time of the Conquest. By this marriage he had become a hexarch, or owner of one-sixth of that great island, and is so officially described in the Venetian list of Greek rulers. Upon his death, in accordance with the rules of succession laid down in the *Book of the Customs of the Empire of Romania*, the Marquisate was divided in equal shares between his widow and his infant daughter, Guglielma. Maria did not, however, long remain unconsolated: indeed, political considerations counselled an immediate marriage with someone powerful enough to protect her own and her child's interests from the Catalans of Athens. Hitherto the Wardens of the Northern March had only needed to think of the Greek enemies in front, for all the territory behind them, where Boudonitza was most easily assailable, had been in the hands of Frenchmen and friends. More fortunate than most of the high-born dames of Frankish Greece, the widowed Marchioness had avoided the fate of accepting one of her husband's conquerors as his successor. Being thus free to choose, she selected as her spouse Andrea Cornaro, a Venetian of good family, a great personage in Crete, and Baron of Skarpanto. Cornaro thus, in 1312, received, by virtue of his marriage, his wife's moiety of Boudonitza,²³ while her daughter conferred the remaining half, by her subsequent union with Bartolommeo Zaccaria, upon a member of that famous Genoese race, which already owned Chios and was about to establish a dynasty in the Morea.²⁴

Cornaro now came to reside in Euboea, where self-interest as well as patriotism led him to oppose the claims of Alfonso Fadrique, the new viceroy of the Catalan Duchy of Athens. His opposition and the natural ambition of Fadrique brought down, however, upon the Marquisate the

¹⁹ Hopf, *apud* Ersch und Gruber, *Allgemeine Encyclopädie*, lxxxv. 321. The original document has now been rendered illegible by the damp.

²⁰ *Le Livre de la Conquête*, 165; *Liber de las Fechos*, 111.

²¹ *Ibid.* 129; Hopf, *Chroniques grecques*, 177; Sambo, *op. cit.* 125.

²² D'Arbois de Jubainville, *Essai sur l'épigraphie dans le Département de l'Attique*, 357.

²³ Sambo, *loc. cit.*

²⁴ *Archivio Veneto*, xx. 87, 89.

horrors of a Catalan invasion, and it was perhaps on this occasion that Bartolommeo Zaccaria was carried off as a captive and sent to a Sicilian prison, whence he was only released at the intervention of Pope John XXII. It was fortunate for the inhabitants of Boudonitza that Venice included Cornaro in the truce which she made with the Catalans in 1319.²⁵ Four years later he followed his wife to the grave, and her daughter was thenceforth sole Marchioness.

Guglielma Pallavicini was a true descendant of the first Marquess. Of all the rulers of Boudonitza, with his exception, she was the most self-willed, and she might be included in that by no means small number of strong-minded, unscrupulous, and passionate women, whom Frankish Greece produced and whom classic Greece might have envied as subjects for her tragic stage. On the death of her Genoese husband, she considered that both the proximity of Boudonitza to the Venetian colony of Negroponte and her long-standing claims to the castle of Larmena in that island required that she should marry a Venetian, especially as the decision of her claim and even her right to reside in the island depended upon the Venetian bailie. Accordingly, she begged the Republic to give her one of its nobles as her consort, and promised dutifully to accept whomsoever the Senate might choose. The choice fell upon Niccolò Giorgio, or Zorzi, to give him the Venetian form of the name, who belonged to a distinguished family which had given a Doge to the Republic and had recently assisted young Walter of Brienne in his abortive campaign to recover his father's lost duchy from the Catalans. A Venetian galley escorted him in 1335 to the haven of Boudonitza, and a Marquess, the founder of a new line, once more ruled over the castle of the Pallavicini.²⁶

At first there was no cause to regret the alliance. If the Catalans, now established at Neopatras and Lamia, within a few hours of Boudonitza, occupied several villages of the adjacent Marquisate, despite the recommendations of Venice, Niccolò I. came to terms with them, probably by agreeing to pay that annual tribute of four fully equipped horses to the Vicar-General of the Duchy of Athens, which we find constituting the feudal bond between that state and Boudonitza in the time of his son.²⁷ He espoused, too, the Euboean claims of his wife; but Venice, which had an eye upon the strong castle of Larmena, diplomatically referred the legal question to the bailie of Achaia, of which both Euboea and Boudonitza were technically still reckoned as dependencies. The bailie, in the name of the suzeraine Princess of Achaia, Catherine of Valois, decided against Guglielma, and the purchase of Larmena by Venice ended her hopes. Furious at her disappointment, the Marchioness accused her Venetian husband of cowardice and of bias towards his native city, while more domestic reasons increased her indignation. Her consort was a widower, while she had had a daughter by her first marriage, and

²⁵ Raynaldus, *op. cit.* v. 95; Thomas, *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levanticum*, i. 120-1.

²⁶ *Archivio Veneto, l.c.*; Misti, xvi. f. 97 r^o.

(See Appendix.)

²⁷ Rubió y Lluch, *l.c.*; Çurita, *Anales de la Corona de Aragón*, ii. f. 537.

she suspected him of favouring his own offspring at the expense of her child, Marulla, in whose name she had deposited a large sum of money at the Venetian bank in Negroponte. To complete the family tragedy played within the walls of Boudonitza there was only now lacking a sinister ally of the angry wife. He, too, was forthcoming in the person of Manfredo Pallavicini, the relative, business adviser, and perhaps paramour, of the Marchioness. As one of the old conqueror's stock, he doubtless regarded the Venetian husband as an interloper who had first obtained the family honours and then betrayed his trust. At last a crisis arrived. Pallavicini insulted the Marquess, his feudal superior; the latter threw him into prison, whereupon the prisoner attempted the life of his lord. As a peer of Achaia, the Marquess enjoyed the right of inflicting capital punishment. He now exercised it: Pallavicini was executed, and the assembled burgesses of Boudonitza, if we may believe the Venetian version, approved the act, saying that it was better that a vassal should die rather than inflict an injury on his lord.

The sequel showed, however, that Guglielma was not appeased. She might have given assent with her lips to what the burgesses had said. But she worked upon their feelings of devotion to her family, which had ruled so long over them; they rose against the foreign Marquess at their Lady's instigation; and Niccolò was forced to flee across to Negroponte, leaving his little son Francesco and all his property behind him. Thence he proceeded to Venice, and laid his case before the Senate. That body warmly espoused his cause, and ordered the Marchioness to receive him back to his former honourable position, or to deliver up his property. In the event of her refusal, the bailie of Negroponte was instructed to break off all communication between Boudonitza and that island and to sequester her daughter's money still lying in the Euboean bank. In order to isolate her still further, letters were to be sent to the Catalans of Athens, requesting them not to interfere between husband and wife. As the Marchioness remained obdurate, Venice made a last effort for an amicable settlement, begging the Catalan leaders, Queen Joanna I. of Naples, as the head of the house of Anjou, to which the principality of Achaia belonged, and the Dauphin Humbert II. of Vienne, then commanding the Papal fleet against the Turks, to use their influence on behalf of her citizen. When this failed, the bailie carried out his instructions, confiscated the funds deposited in the bank, and paid Niccolò out of them the value of his property. Neither the loss of her daughter's money nor the spiritual weapons of Pope Clement VI. could move the obstinate Lady of Boudonitza, and in her local bishop, Nitardus of Thermopylae, she could easily find an adviser who dissuaded her from forgiveness.²⁵ So Niccolò never returned to Boudonitza; he served the Republic as envoy to the Servian Tsar, Dushan, and as one of the Doge's Councillors, and died at Venice in 1354. After his death, the Marchioness at once admitted their

²⁵ Misti, xvii. f. 71; xviii. f. 10; xx. ff. 37 63, 102¹., 103 (see Appendix); Predelli, *Commemorials*, ii. p. 153.

only son, Francesco, the 'Marchesotto,' as he was called, now a youth of seventeen, to rule with her, and, as the Catalans were once more threatening her land, made overtures to the Republic. The latter, glad to know that a Venetian citizen was once more ruling as Marquess at Boudonitza, included him and his mother in its treaties with Athens, and when Guglielma died, in 1358, after a long and varied career, her son received back the confiscated property of his late half-sister.²⁹

The peaceful reign of Francesco was a great contrast to the stormy career of his mother. His Catalan neighbours, divided by the jealousies of rival chiefs, had no longer the energy for fresh conquests. The establishment of a Servian kingdom in Thessaly only affected the Marquess in so far as it enabled him to bestow his daughter's hand upon a Servian princelet.³⁰ The Turkish peril, which was destined to swallow up the Marquisate in the next generation, was, however, already threatening Catalans, Serbs, and Italians alike, and accordingly Francesco Giorgio was one of the magnates of Greece whom Pope Gregory XI. invited to the Congress on the Eastern question, which was summoned to meet at Thebes³¹ on October 1, 1373. But when the Athenian duchy, of which he was a tributary, was distracted by a disputed succession between Maria, Queen of Sicily, and Pedro IV. of Aragon, the Venetian Marquess, chafing at his vassalage and thinking that the moment was favourable for severing his connexion with the Catalans, declared for the Queen. He was, in fact, the most important member of the minority which was in her favour, for we are told that 'he had a very fine estate,' and we know that he had enriched himself by mercantile ventures. Accordingly he assisted the Navarrese Company in its attack upon the duchy, so that Pedro IV. wrote in 1381 to the Venetian bailie of Negroponte, begging him to prevent his fellow-countryman at Boudonitza from helping the King's enemies. As the Marquess had property in the island, he had given hostages to fortune. The victory of the Aragonese party closed the incident, and the generous policy of the victors was doubtless extended to him. But in 1388 the final overthrow of the Catalan rule by Nerio Acciajuoli made the Marquisate independent of the Duchy of Athens.³² In feudal lists—such as that of 1391—the Marquess continued to figure as one of the temporal peers of Achaia,³³ but his real position was that of a 'citizen and friend' of Venice, to whom he now looked for help in trouble.

Francesco may have lived to see this realisation of his hopes, for he seems to have died about 1388, leaving the Marquisate to his elder son, Giacomo, under the regency of his widow Euphrosyne, a daughter of the famous insular family of Sommaripa, which still survives in the Cyclades.³⁴

²⁹ *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium*. iii. 160; Predelli, *Commemoriali*. ii. 181; Misti, xxvii. f. 3; xxviii. f. 28.

³⁰ Orlini, *Regno degli Slavi*, 271.

³¹ Raynaldus, *op. cit.* vii. 224; Jauna, *Histoire générale des royaumes de Chypre, etc.*,

ii. 882.

³² Rubió y Lluch, *op. cit.* 436, 482; Curita, *Le.*; Misti, xxxiv. f. 88^o.

³³ *Chroniques gréco-romanes*, 230.

³⁴ Misti, xli. f. 58.

But the young Marquess soon found that he had only exchanged his tribute to the Catalan Vicar-General for a tribute to the Sultan. We are not told the exact moment at which Bajazet I. imposed this payment, but there can be little doubt that Boudonitza first became tributary to the Turks in the campaign of 1393-4 when 'the Thunderbolt' fell upon northern Greece, when the Marquess's Servian brother-in-law was driven from Pharsala and Domokó, when Lamia and Neopatras were surrendered, when the county of Salona, founded at the same time as Boudonitza, ceased to exist. On the way to Salona, the Sultan's army must have passed within four hours of Boudonitza, and we surmise that it was spared, either because the season was so late—Salona fell in February, 1394—or because the castle was so strong, or because its lord was a Venetian. This respite was prolonged by the fall of Bajazet at Angora and the fratricidal struggle between his sons, while the Marquess was careful to have himself included in the treaties of 1403, 1408, and 1409 between the Sultan Suleyman and Venice: a special clause in the first of these instruments released him from all obligations except that which he had incurred towards the Sultan's father Bajazet.³⁵ Still, even in Suleyman's time, such was his sense of insecurity, that he obtained leave from Venice to send his peasants and cattle over to the strong castle of Karystos in Euboea, of which his brother Niccolò had become the lessee.³⁶ He figured, too, in the treaty of 1405, which the Republic concluded with Antonio I. Acciajuoli, the new ruler of Athens, and might thus consider himself as safe from attack on the south.³⁷ Indeed, he was anxious to enlarge his responsibilities, for he was one of those who bid for the two Venetian islands of Tenos and Mykonos, when they were put up to auction in the following year. In this offer, however, he failed.³⁸

The death of Suleyman and the accession of his brother Musa in 1410 sealed the fate of the Marquess. Early in the spring a very large Turkish army appeared before the old castle. Boudonitza was strong, and its Marquess a resolute man, so that for a long time the siege was in vain. 'Giacomo,' says the Venetian document composed by his son, 'preferred, like the high-minded and true Christian that he was, to die rather than surrender the place.' But there was treachery within the castle walls: betrayed by one of his servants, the Marquess fell, like another Leonidas, bravely defending the mediæval Thermopylae against the new Persian invasion. Even then, his sons, 'following in their father's footsteps,' held the castle some time longer in the hope that Venice would remember her distant children in their distress. The Senate did, indeed, order the Captain of the Gulf to make inquiries whether Boudonitza still resisted and in that case to send succour to its gallant defenders—the cautious Government added—'with as little expense as possible.' But before the watchmen on the keep could desery the

³⁵ Thomas and Predelli, *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levanticum*, ii. 292; *Revue de l'Orient latin*, iv. 295, 302.

³⁶ Sathas, *Μημεΐα Ἑλληνικῆς Ἱστορίας*, ii. 210.

³⁷ Predelli, *Commemoriali*, iii p. 310 (given in full by Lámpros, *Ἐγγραφα ἀναφερόμενα εἰς τὴν μεσαιωνικὴν ἱστορίαν τῶν Ἀθηνῶν* 399).

³⁸ Sathas, *op. cit.* ii. 145.

Captain sailing up the Atalante channel, all was over; both food and ammunition had given out and the Zorzi were constrained to surrender, on condition that their lives and property were spared. The Turks broke their promises, deprived their prisoners of their goods, expelled them from the home of their ancestors, and dragged young Niccolò to the Sultan's Court at Adrianople.³⁹

Considerable confusion prevails in this last act of the history of Boudonitza, owing to the fact that the two leading personages, the brother and eldest son of the late Marquess, bore the same name of Niccolò. Hopf has accordingly adopted two different versions in his three accounts of these events. On a review of the documentary evidence, it would seem that the brother, the Baron of Karystos, was not at Boudonitza during the siege, and that, on the capture of his nephew, he proclaimed himself Marquess. Venice recognised his title, and instructed her envoy to Musa to include him in her treaty with the Sultan and to procure at the same time the release of the late Marquess's son. Accordingly, in the peace of 1411, Musa promised, for love of Venice and seeing that he passed as a Venetian, to harass him no more, on condition that he paid the tribute established. Not only so, but the Marquess's ships and merchandise were allowed to enter the Turkish dominions on payment of a fixed duty.⁴⁰ Thus temporarily restored, the Marquisate remained in the possession of the uncle, from whom the nephew, even after his release, either could not, or cared not to claim it. He withdrew to Venice, and, many years later, received, as the reward of his father's heroic defence of Boudonitza, the post of *châtelain* of Pteleon, near the mouth of the Gulf of Volo, the last Venetian outpost on the mainland of North-Eastern Greece—a position which he held for eight years.⁴¹

Meanwhile, his uncle, the Marquess, had lost all but his barren title. Though the Turks had evacuated Boudonitza, and the castle had been repaired, he felt so insecure that he sent his bishop as an emissary to Venice, begging for aid in the event of a fresh Turkish invasion and for permission to transport back to Boudonitza the serfs whom he had sent across to Karystos a few years before.⁴² His fears proved to be well founded. In vain the Republic gave orders that he should be included in her treaty with the new Sultan, Mohammed I. On June 20, 1414, a large Turkish army attacked and took the castle, and with it many prisoners, the Marquess, so it would seem, among them—for in the following year we find his wife, an adopted daughter of the Duke of Athens, appealing to Venice to obtain his release from his Turkish dungeon.⁴³ He recovered his freedom, but not his Marquisate. In the treaty of 1416, Boudonitza was, indeed, actually assigned to

³⁹ *Revue de l'Orient latin*, vi. 119; Sáthas, *op. cit.* iii. 431; *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum*, ix. 90-91; Misti, *xlvi*. ff. 143, 148.

⁴⁰ *Revue de l'Orient latin*, iv. 513; Thomas and Predelelli, *op. cit.* 203.

⁴¹ *Revue de l'Orient latin* vi. 119; Sáthas,

op. cit. 430-1.

⁴² Sáthas, *op. cit.* ii. 270-1.

⁴³ Sanudo and Navagero, *apud* Muratori *S.R.I.* xxii. 890, xxiii. 1080; *Cronaca di Amadeo Valier* (Cod. Cicogna, N. 297), ii. f. 259; *Revue de l'Orient latin*, iv. 546.

him in return for the usual tribute; but nine years later we find Venice still vainly endeavouring to obtain its restitution.⁴⁴ He continued, however, to hold the title of Marquess of Boudonitza with the castle of Karystos, which descended to his son, the 'Marchesotto,' and his son's son,⁴⁵ till the Turkish conquest of Euboea in 1470 put an end to Venetian rule over that great island. Thence the last titular Marquess of Boudonitza, after governing Lepanto, retired to Venice, whence the Zorzi came and where they are still largely represented.

Of the castle, where for two hundred years Pallavicini and Zorzi held sway, much has survived the two Turkish sieges and the silent ravages of five centuries. Originally there must have been a triple enclosure, for



FIG. 3.—BOUDONITZA: THE KEEP AND THE HELLENIC GATEWAY.
From a Photograph by Miss Gray.

several square towers of the third and lowest wall are still standing in the village and outside it. Of the second enclosure the most noticeable fragment is a large tower in ruins, while the innermost wall is strengthened by three more. In the centre of this last enclosure are the imposing remains of the large square donjon (Fig. 3), and adjoining this is the most interesting feature of the castle—the great Hellenic gateway (Fig. 4), which connects one portion of this enclosure with the other, and which Buchon has described so inaccurately.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Sanudo and Navagero, *ibidem*, xxii. 911. xliii. 1081; *Revue de l'Orient latin*, v. 196.

⁴⁵ Sáthas, *op. cit.* iii. 429-30; Hopf, *Dissert.*

lezioni documentata sulla storia di Karystos (U. Sarlagna, 91-5).

⁴⁶ *La Grèce continentale et la Morée*, 256.

It is *not* 'composed of six stones,' but of three huge blocks, nor do 'the two upper stones meet at an acute angle'; a single horizontal block forms the top. Buchon omits to mention the Byzantine decoration in brick above this gateway. Of the brick conduit which he mentions I could find no trace, but the two cisterns remain. The large building near them is presumably the Frankish church of which he speaks; but the window which he found there no longer exists. Possibly, when the new church in the village was erected, the builders took materials from the chapel in the castle for its construction. At any rate, that very modern and commonplace edifice

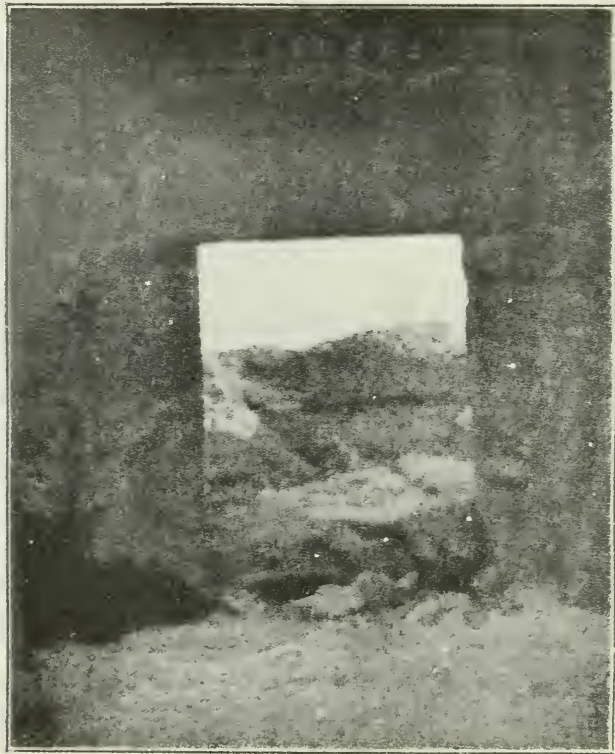


FIG. 1.—BOUDONITZA.—THE HELLENIC GATEWAY.
(From a Photograph by Miss Gray.)

contains several fragments of ancient work. Thus, the stone threshold of the west door bears three large roses, while on the doorway itself are two stars; and the north door is profusely decorated with a rose, two curious creatures like griffins, two circles containing triangles, and a leaf; above this door is a cross, each arm of which forms a smaller cross. As usually happens in the Frankish castles of Greece—with the exception of Geraki—there are no coats of arms at Boudonitza, unless this composite cross is an allusion to the 'three crosses,' said to have been originally borne by one branch of the

Pallavicini. The 'mediaeval seal' in the possession of a local family dates from the reign of Otho! The Marquesses have left behind them neither their portraits—like the Palatine Counts of Cephalonia of the second dynasty—nor any coins—like the French barons of Salona, to whom they bear the nearest resemblance. One of their line, however, the Marquess Alberto, figures in M. Rangabès's play, *The Duchess of Athens*, and their castle and their oft-times stormy lives fill not the least picturesque page of that romance which French and Italian adventurers wrote with their swords in the classic sites of Hellas.

W. MILLER.

APPENDIX.

I.

1335 DIE XVI JANUARI.

Capta. Quod vir nobilis Ser Nicolaus Georgio, cum sua familia et levibus arnesiis possit ire cum galeis nostris unionis. Et committatur Capitaneo, quod eum conducat Nigropontum, et si poterit eum facere deponi ad Bondenizam, sine sinistro armate faciat inde sicut ei videbitur.—Omnes de parte.

Misti, xvi. f. 97 v.

II.

1345 DIE 21 JULII.

Capta. Cum dominacio ducalis ex debito teneatur suos cives in eorum iuribus et honoribus cum justicia conservare et dominus Nicolaus Georgio, Marchio Bondanicie, sit iniuriatus ut scitis, et Marchionatu suo per eius uxorem indebite molestatus, et dignum sit, subvenire eidem in eo quod cum honore dominacionis comode fieri potest, ideo visa et examinata petitione ipsius marchionis, et matura et diligenti deliberatione prehabita, consulunt concorditer viri nobiles, domini, Benedictus de Molino et Pangracius Justiniano; quod committatur consiliario ituro Nigropontum, quod postquam illic applicuerit vadat ad dominam Marchisanam, uxorem dicti domini Nicolay pro ambaxatore, exponendo eidem, quomodo iam diu ipsam ad dominacionem misit suos procuratores et ambaxatores petens sibi per dominacionem de uno nobilium suorum pro marito provideri, et volens dominacio suis beneplacitis complacere, consensit quod ipse dominus Nicolaus curus civis suus ad eam iret, quem ipsa domina receptando, ostendit id habere multum ad bonum. Et quoniam ob hoc semper Ducale Dominium promptum et favorabilem se exhibuit ad omnia que suam et suorum securitatem respicerent et augmentum, trenguas quamplurimas confirmando et opportuna alia faciendo. Sed cum nuperrime per relacionem ipsius domini Nicolay viri sui ad ducalis magnificentie audienciam sit deductus de morte cuiusdam Pallavesini inopinatus casus oecursus qui mortuus fuit in culpa sua, sicut postmodum extitit manifestum, quia dum ipse Marchio eorum omnibus burgensibus congregatis, de velle et consensu dicte domine exponeret rei geste seriem, ab ipsis habuit in responsum quod ipse Palavesin dignam penam luerat propter foliam suam, et melius erat, quod ipse, qui vaxillus erat mortuus fuisset quam dicto suo domino iniuriam aliquam intulisset, quod eeciam ipsa domina in presencia dictorum burgensium ratificavit. Unde consideratis predictis vellit amore dominij, ipsum dominum Nicolaum honori pristino restituere, quod si fecerit, quamquam sit iustum et honestum nobis plurimum complacere, et erimus suis commodis strictius obligati. Verum si dicta domina dubitaret

de recipiendo ipsum dicat et exponat ambaxator prefatus, quod firmiter dominatio hanc rem super se assumpsit et taliter imposuit civi suo quod minime poterit dubitare. Que omnia si dicta domina acetabit bene quidem, si vero non contentaretur et ipsum recipere non vellet, procuret habere et obtinere omnia bona dicti Marchionis que secum scripta portet antedictus ambaxator et si ipsa ea bona dare neglexerit, dicat quod bona sua et suorum ubicumque intromitti faciemus, et protestetur cum notario, quem secum teneatur ducere, quod tantam iniuriam, quam dominatio suam propriam reputat, non poterit sustinere, sed providebit de remediis opportunis sicuti honori suo et indenitati sui civis viderit convenire, firmiter tenens quod sicut semper dominatio ad sui conservacionem et suorum exhibuit se promptam favorabilem et benignam, sic in omnibus reperiet ipsam mutatam, agravando factum cum hijs et alijs verbis, ut viderit convenire. Et rediens Nigropontum omnia, que gexerit, fecerit et habuerit, studeat velociter dominacioni per suas literas denotare. Verum si dictus consiliarius iturus tardaret ire ad regimen suum, quod baiullus et consiliarij Nigropontis determinent quis consiliariorum de inde ad complendum predicta ire debeat.

Et scribatur baiullo et consiliarijs Nigropontis, quod si habebunt post redditum dicti ambaxatoris, quod ipsa domina stet dura nec vellit ipsum dominum Nicolaum recipere, quod possint si eis videbitur facere et ordinare quod homines Bondanicie non veniant Nigropontum et quod homines Nigropontis non vadant Bondaniciam.

Item prefati baiullus et consiliarij sequestracionem factam de aliqua pecunie quantitate que pecunia est damiselle Marulle filie dicte domine firmam tenere debeant, donec predicta fuerint reformata, pacificata vel diffinita, vel donec aliud sibi mandaretur de hinc.

Et scribantur litere illis de la compagna, quas dominus baiullus et consiliarij presentent vel presentari fatiant, cum eis videbitur, rogando dictos de compagna, quod cum aliique discordie venerint inter virum nobilem dominum Nicolam Georgio et eius uxorem Marchisanam se in aliquo facto dicte domine intromittere non vellint quod posset civi nostro contrariare ad veniendum ad suam intentionem.

De non 14—Non sinceri 13.—Alij de parte.

Misti, xxiii. f. 26.

III.

1345 DIE V AUGUSTI.

Capta. Quod respondeatur domine Marchisane Bondanicie ad suas litteras subtinendo ius civis nostri Nicolai Georgio, cum illis verbis que videbuntur sequendo id quod captum fuit pridie in hoc consilio in favorem civis nostri.

Misti, xxiii. f. 30 te.

IV.

1346 DIE XXIV JANUARIJ.

Capta. Quod scribatur nostro Baiulo et Consiliariis Nigropontis quod Ser Moretus Gradonico consiliarius, vel alius sicut videbitur Baiulo et Consiliariis, in nostrum ambaxatorem ire debeat ad dominam Marchionissam Bondenicie, et sibi exponat pro parte nostra quod attentata honesta et rationabili requisitione nostra quam sibi fieri fecimus per virum Nobilem Johannem Justiniano nostrum consiliarium Nigroponti, quem ad eam propterea in nostrum ambaxatorem transmisimus super reformatione scandali orti inter ipsam et virum nobilem Nicolaum Georgio eius virum in reconciliatione ipsius cum dicto viro suo: Et intellecta responsione quam super premissis fecit nostro ambaxatori predicto gravamur et turbamur sicut merito possumus et debemus, de modo quem ipsam servavit et servat erga dictum virum suum. Nam sibi plene poterat et debebat sufficere remissio et reconciliatio cum [eo?] facta coram nobis per dictum eius virum, secundum nostrum mandatum, et nuncio suo in nostra presencia constituto de omni offensa et iniuria sibi facta, et debebat esse certa quod quicquid idem Marchio in nostra presencia et ex nostro

mandato promittebat effectualiter observasse. Et quod volentes quod bona dispositio dicti viri sui et paciencia nostra de tanta iniuria facta civi nostro sibi plenius innotescat deliberavimus iterato ad eam mittere ipsum in nostrum ambaxatorem ad requirendum et rogandum ipsam quod debeat reconciliare cum dicto viro suo et eum recipere ad honorem et statum in quo erat antequam inde recederet, nam quamvis hoc sit sibi debitum et conveniat pro honore et bono suo, tamen erit gratissimum menti nostre et ad conservacionem ipsius marchionisse et suorum avidius nos disponet et circa hoc alia dicat que pro bono facto viderit opportuna.

Si vero dicta marchionissa id facere recusaret nec vellet condescendere nostre intentioni et requisitioni predictæ, dictus Ser Moretus assignet terminum dicte Marchionisse unius mensis infra quem debeat complexisse cum effectu nostram requisitionem premissam. Et sibi expresse dicat, quod elapso dicto termino nulla alia requisitione sibi facta, cum non intendamus dicto civi nostro in tanto suo iure deficere, faciemus intronitti personas et bona suorum et sua ubicumque in foreis nostris poterunt reperire. Et ultra hoc providebimus in dicto facto de omnibus favoribus et remediis, que pro bono et conservacione dicti civis nostri videbimus opportuna. Et si propter premissa dicta Marchionissa ipsum recipere et reintegrare voluerit bene quidem sin autem scribatur dicto baiulo et consiliariis quod elapso termino dicti mensis et ipsa marchionissa premissa facere recusante mittant ad nos per cambium sine aliquo periculo yperpera octomillia quinquaginta vel circa que sunt apud Thomam Lippomanum et Nicolaum de Gandulfo, qua pecunia Venecias veniente disponetur et providebitur de ipsa sicut dominationi videbitur esse iustum.

Capta. Item quod scribatur domino Delphino Vihennensi et illis de Compagna in favorem dicti civis nostri et recommendando ei iura et iusticiam ipsius in illa forma et cum illis verbis que dominationi pro bono facti utilia et necessaria videbuntur.

Non sinceri 15—Non 12.—De parte 57.

Misti, xxiii. f. 46^o.

V.

1348 DIE XI FEBRUARIJ PRIME INDICTIONIS.

Capta. Quod possint scribi littere domino Pape et aliquibus Cardinalibus in recommendacione iuris domini Nicolai Georgio marchionis Bondinicie nostri civis in forma inferius anotata.

Domino Pape.

Sanctissime pater pro civibus meis contra Deum et iusticiam aggravatis, Sanctitati Vestre supplicationes meas porrigo cum reverentia speciali: Unde cum nobilis vir Nicolaus Georgio Marchio Bondinicie honorabilis civis meus, iam duodecim annis matrimonii iura contraserit cum domina Marchionissa Bondinicie predictæ et cum ea affectione maritali permanserit habens ex ea filium legitimum, qui est annorum undecim, ipsa domina Marchionissa in preiudicium anime sue, Dei timore postposito ipsum virum suum recusat recipere, et castrum Bondinicie et alia bona spectantia eidem suo viro tenet iniuste et indebite occupata in grave damnum civis mei predicti et Dei iniuriam manifestam precipientis, ut quos Deus coniunxit homo non separet: Unde Sanctitati Vestre humiliter supplico quatenus Clementie Vestre placeat dictum civem meum habere in suo iure favorabiliter commendatum, ut dicta domina eum tanquam virum legitimum recipiat et affectione maritali pertractet sicut iura Dei precipiunt, atque voluit, et salus animarum etiam id exposcit. Cum ipse civis meus sit paratus ex sua parte ipsam dominam pro uxore legitima tractare pacifice et habere.

Misti, xxiv. f. 63.

Note.—The 'Misti' are cited throughout from the originals at Venice. I have corrected the dates to the modern style.

W. M.

THE OLYMPIAN THEATRON AND THE BATTLE OF OLYMPIA.

* * * NOTE.—This article was placed in the hands of the Editors by the author shortly before his untimely and deeply-regretted death. They feel that the best tribute which they can pay to his memory is to print the essay with only the most necessary modifications, such as they suppose he would have himself desired to make. Their thanks are due to Mr. E. Norman Gardiner, who, having at Mr. Dyer's own request agreed to write certain additional notes (here distinguished by his initials), has further undertaken to prepare the MS. for press and to read the proofs. The note on ἀγών, which the author would probably have developed into a separate article, has been transferred to a more convenient position in an Appendix.—EDD. J.H.S.

ONCE only—seven years after the battle of Leuctra—there was actual fighting within the sacred precinct, the Altis, of Olympia,—in the 104th Olympiad (364 B.C.). From time immemorial, before and since that year, the inhabitants of Elis, as Polybius (iv. 73) phrased it 200 years later, ‘enjoyed on account of the Olympian games’ so unique and privileged a dispensation that Olympia and the whole of Elis was a Holy Land, and feared no ravages of war. The Eleans, by the same token, were ideally conceived of as living consecrated lives (*ἐπὶ βίον*), and enjoyed immunity from battle and sudden death. In his account of the one and only battle of Olympia, Xenophon—writing after he had lived for twenty-three years¹ within an afternoon's stroll of the Olympian Altis—alludes in passing to the *θέατρον*, by way of explaining just where the fighting took place.^{1a} Although

¹ Xenophon lived in retirement at Scillus from just after the battle of Coronæia (394 B.C.) to just after the battle of Leuctra (371 B.C.). The closing years of his life were spent at Corinth. When first he settled upon his Scylluntine domain, the new Dromos at Olympia had been in use for rather less than sixty years. Spectators presumably forsook the stepped terrace in order to witness contests in the Dromos at the eighty-third celebration of the Olympia (B.C. 446) four years before the probable date of Xenophon's birth (B.C. 444). It is accordingly natural—if the local Olympian application of *θέατρον* was finally driven out of currency by the multiplication in Greece of stone theatres—that Xenophon should have remembered what Plutarch, Pausanias, and others of the first two centuries A.D. could never have heard of—an obsolescent but perfectly clear application of

the word *θέατρον*, chiefly current before full-fledged stone theatres had come to play a conspicuous part in Greek civic and religious life. Pausanias' silence is most significant since his account of the Olympian Altis is the most carefully and successfully minute of all his topographical delineations. The Olympian guides with whom he conversed, the Peloponnesian antiquaries whom he consulted (VII. xviii., VIII. xxiv.), and the authors referred to by him in his two books on Elis (Anaximenes, VI. xviii. 2; Androtion, *ib.* viii. 6 f.; Aristarchus, V. xx. 4 f.; Philistus, *ib.* xxiii. 6; Theopompus, VI. xviii. 5; Thucydides, *ib.* xix. 3), all of them failed to suggest to him the idea that there was or had been a theatre at Olympia.

[^{1a} I have recently come across another late reference to a *θέατρον* at Olympia in Johann. Chrysostom, *De Nom. Mutat.* p. 851, οὐχ ὄρατε

there exists no other mention whatever of a θέατρον at Olympia. Xenophon's unrivalled familiarity with the site fully justified the expectation that, when Olympia should be excavated, remains of a theatre similar to those elsewhere in Greece would appear. But, after the most thorough search in all the annals of archaeology, no vestiges of such a theatre have anywhere appeared. Eleusis, hardly second in importance to Olympia, offers a similar and even more perplexing puzzle. Although inscriptions found on that site speak of a θέατρον, no traces of any theatre have been discovered, and nothing of the kind was seen there by Pausanias. And at Eleusis, as at Olympia, there is no site adjoining the precinct where such a theatre might plausibly be located. The meaning of θέατρον in Eleusinian inscriptions² is doubtful, but can hardly differ very materially from that of θέητρον in the well-known (but, I venture to think, universally misconceived) passage of Herodotus³.

τοὺς Ὀλυμπιακοὺς ἀθλητὰς εἰς μέσον τοῦ θεάτρον ἰστώτας ἐν μεσημβρίᾳ μίση, καθάπερ ἐν καινῷ τῷ σκάμματι. Here θέατρον is used of the Stadium or the place where athletes competed. The athletes who contested at midday were the boxers and wrestlers. If the argument in this paper is correct and the θέατρον of Pausanias denotes the triangular space contained between the treasury terrace and the Colonnades, this passage gives some support to my suggestion that these events continued to be held in this space as long as the festival existed, and were never transferred to the Stadium. It is but fair to add that the passage would equally well suit Dr. Dörpfeld's view that the θέατρον is the Stadium. —E. N. G.]

² Dr. Dörpfeld (*U. Trav.* ii. p. 79) argues from *I. G.* ii. 176, τῶν σταδίου καὶ τοῦ θεάτρον τοῦ Παρθηναϊκοῦ, that in the fourth century B.C. Stadia were subdivided into two parts, (1) the στάδιον κατ' ἐξοχήν, and (2) the surrounding accommodation for spectators, called the θέατρον. This view is adopted by Dr. Phillos (*J. M.* xx. p. 266) in correction of his original account of an Eleusinian inscription (*Ditt. Syll.* ii. 538; Hicks and Hill, *Hist. Inscr.* 161) containing the words τὸ θέατρον τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ σταδίου. That the word θέατρον in both these inscriptions must and does refer to places for spectators in the Panathenaic Stadium and the Stadium at Eleusis respectively is clear. This, however, was simply because θέατρον was at this time still a comparatively vague term, not yet the technically fixed designation for stone theatres, which had not yet come into prominence and were only just building. When these were built and constantly used throughout Greece, the term θέατρον ceased to be current for any part of a stadium or for places like the Olympian terrace or colonnades. Before their advent θέατρον applied to any *spectatorium* however shaped, e.g. (1) to the

seating of the Panathenaic Stadium at Athens, (2) to the seating of the Eleusinian Stadium, (3) to the terrace of the Olympian treasuries before 450 B.C., (1) to that terrace, supplemented after 450 B.C. by its southward extension, the Painted Colonnade, and the Front Colonnade of the South-eastern Building.) Just such another *spectatorium* was that of the Spartan Agora from which Demaratus departed in high dudgeon (ca. 485 B.C.) according to Herodotus (vi. 67). Excavations yet to be made may enlighten us further as to the exact application of Herodotus' word θέητρον in this passage, but even now we know (a) from Pausanias III. xi. 3 that the most conspicuous monument there to be seen was the Persian Colonnade, (b) from Thucydides that there were no κατασκευαὶ πολυτελεῖς in Sparta at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war. It is obvious therefore that Pausanias is 'hedging' when, having described the Persian Colonnade as ἀπὸ λαφύρων ποιηθεῖσαν τῶν Μηδικῶν, he straightway adds: ἀνὰ χρόνον δὲ αὐτὴν εἰς μέγεθος τὸ εἶν καὶ εἰς κόσμον τὸν παρόντα μεταβεβλήκασι. The glyptic eccentricities and elaborations of the Persian Colonnade were plainly of much later origin than the times just after the Persian wars. Thus the θέητρον, from which Demaratus so abruptly withdrew, certainly comprised in its plainest and most primitive dimensions what afterwards was improved into the spacious and somewhat grotesque fabric seen and described by Pausanias.

³ Hdt. vi. 67: ἦσαν μὲν δὴ γυμνοπαῖδιαι θεωμένου δὲ τοῦ Δημαρήτου, ὁ Λευτεχίδης . . . ἐπὶ γέλωτι τε καὶ λάσθῃ εἴρωτα τὸν Δημάρητον, ὑκοῦν τι εἶπὶ τὸ ἄρχειν μετὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν. ὁ δὲ ἀλγήσας τῷ ἐπειρωτήματι εἶπε φάς αὐτὸς μὲν ἀμφοτέρων ἤδη πεπειρησθαι τὴν μνηστοὶ ἐπειρώτησιν ταύτην ἄρχειν Λακεδαιμονιοῖσι ἢ μνηστοὶ κακότητος ἢ μνηστοὶ εὐδαιμονίης. ταῦτα δὲ εἶπας καὶ κατακαλεψάμενος ἦεν ἐκ τοῦ θέητρον εἰς τὰ

There the recently deposed Demaratus, while witnessing the festal dances of the Spartan Gymnopaïdai in the *Dancing-place* (χορός), which was another name for the ἀγορά,⁴ received from King Leotychides a taunting message, and, after an ominously threatening rejoinder, veiled his head and went his way ἐκ τοῦ θεήτρου ἐς τὰ ἑωυτοῦ οἰκία. Here θεήτρον cannot mean a stone theatre, because we know there was none such anywhere in Sparta until many generations after the beginning of the Peloponnesian war.⁵ This

ἑωυτοῦ οἰκία . . . Herodotus uses θεήτρον twice (vi. 21 and 67). In 21 it has the meaning of Paus. VIII. i. 4, οἱ θεαταί.

⁴ Paus. III. xi. 9: Σπαρτιάταις δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς Πυθαίως τέ ἐστιν Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Λητυῶς ἀγάλματα. Χορὸς δὲ οὗτος ὁ τάπος καλεῖται πᾶς, ὅτι ἐν ταῖς γυμνοπαιδαίαις,—ἐορτῇ δὲ εἴ τις ἄλλη καὶ αἱ γυμνοπαιδαίαι διὰ σπουδῆς Λακεδαιμονίοις εἰσὶν,—ἐν ταύταις οὖν οἱ ἔφηβοι χοροὺς ἰστᾶσι τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι. Plutarch's allusion (*Agesilaus* 29) to the γυμνοπαιδαίαι as held ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, cannot possibly apply to the episode of Demaratus, which, if not historical, is assuredly *ben trovato*, and certainly belongs somewhere about 485 B.C. Plutarch, in this passage, is obviously expatiating *currente calamo*, after his genial wont, upon Xenophon's contemporary account of how news of defeat at Leuctra came to the Spartan ephors on the last day of the gymnopaïdai τοῦ ἀνδρικοῦ χοροῦ ἔνδον ὄντος (*Hell.* VI. iv. 16). Xenophon says nothing about the theatre, and means obviously that they were still performing in the ἀγορά; but Plutarch, who cared little about topographical minutiae, paraphrases by saying they were ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ. Doubtless Plutarch had seen or heard of the Spartan theatre. A still more striking instance of Plutarch's superiority to topographical minutiae is found in his anecdote about the ovation to Themistocles in the Olympian stadium (*Themist.* 17, παρελθόντος [Θεμιστοκλέους] εἰς τὸ στάδιον) at a time when there was no stadium or running-ground at Olympia. On this point Pausanias (VIII. i. 4) would naturally be more trustworthy, and accordingly, where he alludes in passing to the apocryphal story of the Olympian ovation to Themistocles, he says simply Θεμιστοκλέους ἐς τιμὴν ἐπανεῖστη τὸ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ θεάτρον, meaning by θεάτρον simply and solely, as Dr. Frazer has pointed out (*Pausanias* iii, p. 637 n.), οἱ θεαταί. But this whole anecdote about Themistocles at Olympia is of late invention, and entirely apocryphal: (1) because the festival at which it must have taken place would almost certainly be the 76th (476 B.C.), which came just after the organization of the first Athenian Confederacy at Delos—a consummation not popular

in the Peloponnesus; (2) because Herodotus, the only contemporary authority as to the triumphal progress of Themistocles, knows nothing about it. In fact Herodotus (viii. 124), after detailing the honours paid to Themistocles at Sparta, ends with a guard of honour which accompanied him to Tegea *on his way back to Athens*, whereas the Plutarchian story implies that he went from Sparta to Olympia, in which case he would have been escorted not to Tegea, but up the valley of the Eurotas to the headwaters of the Alpheius; (3) Neither Thucydides (i. 74) nor Diodorus (xi. 27) knows anything about the ovation to Themistocles at Olympia, although they are quoted along with Hdt. viii. 123 f., as vouching for this figment of latter-day enthusiasm by Dr. Westermann, in Pauly's *Realencyclopädie*, s.v. *Themistocles*. How the tale of Themistocles at Olympia came to be invented is shewn by Pausanias' mention of it (VIII. 50. 3) as an illustration of the ovation to Philopoemen at Nemea. Pausanias does not vouch for its truth, since he introduces it with *πυνθάνομαι*, 'I understand.' The common source from which Plutarch and Pausanias derived it was presumably popular report. It was a tale popularly invented as a pendant to the historical episode of Philopoemen at Nemea. Such tales invented themselves among Greeks.

⁵ That there can have been no stone theatre at Sparta at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war is clear from Thucydides' (I. x. 2) description of the insignificance of Spartan monuments at that time *ὅπτε ξυνοικισθείσης πόλεως ὅπτε ἱεροῖς καὶ κατασκευαῖς πολυτελέσι χρησαμένης, κατὰ κόμας δὲ τῷ παλαιῷ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τρόπῳ οἰκισθείσης*. The date of the Spartan stone theatre has been determined by excavation as of the first or second century B.C. (*B.S.A.* xii. pp. 405 f.). No traces of a theatre of Hellenic or Hellenistic construction have been found, so that the notion that the word θεήτρον in Hdt. vi. 67, can mean a stone theatre which existed at the time of the Persian wars, is completely exploded, along with the parallel notion that the Spartan gymnopaïdai were celebrated either in part or as a whole in the stone theatre.

passage therefore illustrates the primitive and comparatively indeterminate use of *θέατρον* to designate any place of vantage, however shaped or built, commanding an altar,⁶ which afforded room for spectators of dances, dramatic performances, or sacrifices.

Not only was there at Olympia no stone structure of semi-circular tiers of seats built at any time early or late, but there was nothing there until about 450 B.C. that could be called either a running-ground (*δρόμος*) or a full-fledged stadium. The Olympian Stadium—in the final and completed shape which alone deserves that name—dates from Macedonian times after Chaeroneia. Even then there was no provision for seats. The spectators there, apparently, witnessed athletic events, standing the while on slopes, more or less grassy, that surrounded a quadrilateral running-ground (*δρόμος*), sloping away from it at a convenient gradient, and running parallel to its sides and ends.⁷

Dr. Borrmann (*Ol. Text* ii. Fig. 28) represents the base of the southern slope as so far extended that the new and steeper slope measured 40 metres from the running-ground up to its top, the old spectators' field having measured 30 metres, *i.e.* the breadth of the running-field adjacent. The new area was of 26,000 square metres, and on the southern slope alone nearly

⁶ Not till the fourth century B.C., if even by that time, was Greek social life of any kind so far divorced from ritual observance as to admit of provision for onlookers in places where there was no altar. Indeed the ancient altar of Artemis Orthia at Sparta, as lately excavated (R. Bosanquet in *B.S.A.* xii. pp. 303-319) admirably illustrates the traditional centring of sight-seeing crowds around altars of immemorial worship. It was not until the reign of Caracalla (*ca.* 214 A.D.) that a stone theatre—not to be confused with the larger one discussed in the previous note mentioned by Pausanias III. xiv. i, Athenaeus iv. 139 c, and Lucian, *Anacharsis* 38, but not by Herodotus vi. 67—encircled this altar of immemorial service, where was focussed a 'continuous cult of the goddess . . . for at least 1200 years' (R. M. Dawkins, *Proceedings of the Classical Association* 1907, p. 81). What exactly was the provision for spectators before Caracalla's time is not yet known (*B.S.A.* xii. p. 310). There certainly was no stone theatre of Hellenic or of Hellenistic date either here or in the *ἀγορά* where the *gymnopaidiai* were celebrated (Paus. III. xi. 9) and frequented by crowds of strangers (Xen. *Mem.* I. ii. 61). Plutarch is quite alone in the erroneous statement—see the preceding note—that this festival was held *ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ* (*Agesilaus* 29). When there was a proper stone theatre at Sparta—in Imperial days, various performances, none of them connected

with the *gymnopaidiai*, took place there, such as are alluded to by Athenaeus (iv. p. 139 c) and by Lucian, *Anacharsis* 38.

[Professor E. A. Gardner points out to me an excellent illustration of provision for spectators round an altar at Oropus. Close to the Amphiaranum is an altar and above it is a miniature theatre consisting of some semi-circular tiers of steps. At Eleusis too there are not only steps all round the *sekos* itself but the steps extend outside it along the face of the rock and there are other steps lower down commanding the sacred way. When we remember that the theatre proper centred round the altar of the orchestra, we are surely justified in attaching a religious meaning to the word *θέατρον*, and in using the word of the provision for spectators at Oropus, Eleusis, Sparta, and Olympia. A further indication of the religious association of *θέατρον* may perhaps be found in the use of the cognate words *θεωρία* and *θεωροί* of the representatives sent by cities to the great festivals.—E.N.G.]

⁷ Even in this, its improved and extended condition after the battle of Chaeroneia (338 B.C.), the Olympian Stadium entirely lacked the curved, theatre-like end—*σφενδόνη*—which is to-day the most useful portion of the rehabilitated Panathenaic Stadium at Athens, and was a characteristic feature of several Greek Stadia elsewhere.

40,000 spectators could stand—fully 10,000 more than were possibly accommodated before the enlargement.

At its best, then, when, in the days of Philip and Alexander, the spaces overlooking the quadrilateral running-ground had been mounded up and extended for the convenience of spectators, the Olympian Stadium was anything rather than what would now be called 'up to date.' Before Chaeroneia it was indeed a primitive affair. Between the years 450 B.C. and 338 B.C. there was (1) the running-ground for actual contests, and (2) a field for spectators south of it where onlookers could stand.⁸ Like the running-ground north of it, this field had an area of an acre and a half, more or less. It was also, like the running-ground north of it,⁹ not far from

⁸ It has been not unnaturally suggested that benches of wood must have been provided for spectators at Olympia, but the fact remains that, except in the Palaestra, which was not built before Macedonian times, and presumably in the Gymnasium, which was built still later, arrangements for sitting are everywhere conspicuous by their absence at Olympia. The hardships of travel in early days effectually prohibited from attendance the old and infirm, and the young would not scruple to lie down on the ground when tired. Certainly no traces appear of any normal contrivances for seating spectators, whether in the Stadium or elsewhere. There was clearly no chance to sit down in the Eleusinian Telesterion. Worshipers appear to have sat as little in witnessing Olympian Games as in viewing Eleusinian mysteries. Athletic training and clothes that hampered the limbs far less than those of the present day appear to have made continuous standing far easier for the frequenters of the Olympia than we imagine. Socrates and his contemporaries were inured to a life in the streets and porches of Athens which was the very reverse of sedentary. Hence Alcibiades' after-dinner story of Socrates at Potidaea (Plato, *Symp.* 220). He began one morning to think about something and continued till noon from the break of day. After supper in the evening, certain Ionians slept out in order to see him at it all night. There he stood till the following morning, when, with the return of light, he offered his prayer to the sun, and went his way. Probably Alcibiades' tale, like other after-dinner stories, is not to be taken too literally, and Socrates did not stand continuously for twenty-four hours. But after all the point of the anecdote is sadly blunted unless one realizes that Alcibiades and the Ionians did not wonder at his standing for so long a time—what really amazed them was that he was rivetted by thought about something he could not resolve, and would not give the puzzle up.

[Sitting was regarded as a slavish habit. In Xenophon's *Oeconomicus* x. 10, Ischomachos tells his wife not to sit down like a slave, but to stand over her slaves like a master directing and correcting them, and to walk round the house to see what is wanted. Again in the *Memorabilia* iii. 13. 5 Xenophon tells us that an Athenian walks in five or six days as far as from Athens to Olympia.—E.N.G.]

⁹ The western end of the running-ground was so much lower than the eastern end that an independent source of water-supply for the latter was required (*Ol. Text* ii. 174 b). The water supply of the northern and eastern sides of the Altis and of the western half of the Dromos derived, before the improvements of Herodes Atticus, from a tank north of the north-western angle of the Heraeum. An open conduit started from there and then skirted the north side of the Heraeum and the bottom step of the terrae until it reached the way down into the running-ground. There it branched (1) into a major conduit which went along the northern retaining wall (supplanted by the northern support of the barrel-arch in Roman days) down into the Stadium, and (2) a minor conduit which turned southward, crossing the way into the Stadium overhead, *i.e.* above a hypothetical postern gate which then led eastward into the Dromos. See Graeber (*Ol. Text* ii. p. 171), Dörpfeld (*Ol. Text* i. p. 77), and Borrmann (*Ol. Text* ii. p. 77). This overhead communication appears to have been supplanted—probably at the time of the Macedonian extension of the Stadium, demolition of the first Colonnade of Echo, and reconstruction of it further west—by an underground conduit, which, however, did not work well. Thus the earlier overhead water-supply connected with the tunnel discovered along the back wall of the first Colonnade of Echo, where its course slanted from an altitude at the northern end, corresponding to that of the postern gate, to a much lower level near the

level, its gradient being about 1:13. Exactly what chance for onlookers there may have been on the three other sides of the quadrilateral Dromos is not known, except that there was nowhere so much space as in the southern field just mentioned. Dr. Borrmann has estimated that about 20 000 spectators could view from these various fields adjacent the athletic events of this very primitive arena.¹⁰ Primitive though it was, this was the only arena known to Xenophon, and to this he applies the name *Δρόμος*. It will accordingly be convenient to reserve his own term Dromos for the running-ground, which Xenophon knew, and to restrict the practically equivalent term Stadium strictly to the perfected and extended arena of Macedonian or later date.¹¹

southern end of the Colonnade, where traces of it have been discovered (*Ol. Pl.* ii. no. li). The hypothetical postern gate was presumably suppressed at the time of the Macedonian extension, and supplanted by some underground conduit connected with the open tunnel, still visible *in situ*, along the bottom step of the reconstructed (western) Colonnade of Echo. It is important to bear in mind that these two successive schemes of water-supply for the two successive Colonnades of Echo both connected at the terrace of the treasuries with the open tunnel which ran along the footstep of the stepped terrace. The major conduit above mentioned as leading down into the Stadium, distributed water into a series of shallow basins set at intervals of *ca.* 15 metres around the western half of the running-ground.

¹⁰ A low-lying stretch of ground, quadrilateral and all but rectangular, the Olympian running-field lay *ca.* 7½ m. below the mean level of the terrace of the treasuries, and *ca.* 3½ m. below the stylobates of the two great Temples. Its boundary lines figured what might be called a parallelogram with entasis, since its breadth at the east end was 29·70 m. (but 30·70 m. at a point lying 12·73 m. west of the eastern starting lines, 29·60 at the western starting lines and 28·60 at the western end, next the Altis). It extended from the eastern extremity of the terrace and treasuries 212 odd metres north-eastward, skirting the foot of Mt. Cronias. Its breadth was 29 odd metres. It is not known what changes were made in the running-field proper when the spaces adjoining it for the use of onlookers were cut down and moulded up (*Paus.* VI. xx. 8) in Macedonian times; but the Olympian Stadium certainly was anything rather than a *στάδιον ἀτροφές* like that at Laodiceia on the Lycus. Before the Eleans built what they called the Painted Colonnade—the name of ‘Colonnade of Echo,’ conventionally given to the later colonnade built further west

in Macedonian times and rebuilt in Roman times is, properly, the Pisatan name applied successively to both (*Paus.* V. xxi. 7)—and fenced out the whole region of the Dromos from the Altis, there were presumably in that region several centres of specifically Pisatan observance. Dim suggestions of these local cults, whose shrines would naturally border on the site of the vanished tribe centre of the Pisatans, survive in Pausanias’ mention of Demeter Chamyne and the Pisatan king Chamyneus, and of his location of the sanctuary of this chthonic cult in the Dromos (VI. xxi. i.). Demeter’s priestess had a seat of honour in the Stadium (*Paus.* VI. xx. 9), a peculiarly significant fact in view of the otherwise peremptory exclusion of women (*Paus.* V. vi. 7), as well as in the naming of the Colonnade of Echo (*cf.* *Paus.* II. xxxv. 10, V. xxi. 7 and *Ol.* xi. 632-635). For the remains of the gorgeous shrine of Demeter Chamyne of which Regilla, wife of Herodes Atticus, was priestess see *Ul. Trav.* i. p. 916. They were used by the builders of the early Olympian Basilica.

¹¹ Dr. Borrmann (*Ol. Trav.* ii. p. 68) dates the enlargement approximately in the middle of the first century B.C. or a trifle later—an astonishingly late date, in view (a) of the crowds which resorted to Olympia and must have required additional room, and (b) of the fact that the first century B.C. was by no means a brilliant epoch for the Olympian games, as is made plain by the fact that Olympia was plundered by Sulla, and by the general helplessness that characterized Greek circumstances in this period. There is even a tale representing that Sulla summoned all the adult competitors at Olympia to grace his triumph at Rome in 81-80 B.C., so that Epænetus of Argos, winner in the boys’ running race is the only recorded victor at Olympia for the 175th Olympiad (*cf.* Forster’s *Sieger* etc., Africanus and Arabian *d.b.* *cir.* i. 99). Be that as it may, Dr. Borrmann

Where then stood the spectators, and where took place the contests prior to 450 B.C.? Go back to the prehistoric time when there was no building on the Altis—only the Grove and the mounded Barrow of Pelops with the chief altar just north of it. At that time, if games there were, these are likely to have taken place north of the altar—on the site afterwards covered by the Heraeum—and may have been viewed from that southwestern footspur of Mt. Cronius, which in the seventh century A.D. overwhelmed the Heraeum. In the first quarter of the fifth century B.C. this same spur of Mt. Cronius shewed nine low and shallow steps¹² running parallel and close

argues that the constantly rising level of the running-field—always a receptacle for the surface water of the Altis (which was not far from 12 feet above it) by reason of the gentle downward slope which began as far west as the Metroum—enforced alterations of an extensive character and not confined to the running-ground. He dates from about 50 B.C. an elaborate scheme which was carried out completely within a generation of that date. This scheme comprised: I. the building of a new Echo Colonnade, west of the old one; II. the extension of the western slope of the stadium so as to cover the space previously occupied by the old colonnade henceforward dismantled; III. the tunnelling of the hitherto open way leading down to the running-ground; IV. the construction of a monumental gateway in front of III. Dr. Borrmann convincingly argues that IV. must have been built about 175 years before the 226th Olympiad, when the two Zanæ flanking it on either side were set up (Paus. V. xxi. 15), i.e. ca. 50 B.C. He argues not quite so convincingly that III. the tunnel, and II. the westward extension of the stadium slope, must have been part of one and the same scheme, because the amount and weight of earth required to mound up the western slope to the top of its new retaining wall (6½ metres high) required a tunnel, if there was to be direct access from the Altis to the running-ground. The tunnel being according to his view of Roman date, it follows then that the extension of the slope was also a part of the Roman scheme, to which, then, the building of the new colonnade must also be added, since it cannot be separated from the extension which dismantled the earlier colonnade. There are, however, three serious objections to conceiving items I.-IV. as each and all of Roman date, and these are met by concluding that IV. and III., the Gate and the Tunnel are of Roman date, while I. and II., the rebuilding of the colonnade further west and the extension of the slope, are of the Macedonian era (ca. 330 B.C.) after Charoneia. The first objection is that the sill

of IV. is laid so high that its foundations extend over those of I. in such a manner as to preclude their forming part of one consistent scheme of improvements. The second is that in the walls of II. have been found—notably in the northern wall of the tunnelled way—the materials forming the retaining walls of an earlier passage-way running to about the height of the spring of the Roman barrel-arch, which may well have served from the date of the Macedonian extension to the building of the Roman Gate (I.) and Tunnel (II.) as a means of direct access to the running-ground. Along the southern retaining wall of this earlier passage-way ran also a stone bench, remains of which were found *in situ*. The third objection is that Dr. Dörpfeld has pointed out several detailed features, which the new Colonnade of Echo has in common with the Philippeum, and the date of the Philippeum is unquestionably ca. 330 B.C. These features are: (1) the elaborate and workmanlike treatment of the steps and of the stylobate; (2) the use for the steps of coarse-grained white marble, poros being used for other parts; (3) the use for the steps of U-shaped clamps, while the drums of the columns and the blocks of the stylobate are fastened together with thick wooden dowels (*Ol. Text* ii. 786). The numerous architectural fragments of Roman workmanship belonging to the site of the Macedonian Colonnade must therefore be attributed to extensive Roman repairs, while the western or second Colonnade of Echo must be dated as contemporaneous with the Philippeum, and with the extension of the western slope of the primitive Dromos, which made it into a full-fledged Stadium.

¹² This very notable flight of steps occupies practically the whole of the north side of the Altis, 180 m. in extent. Only the Prytaneum with its shrine of Hestia intervenes between the west end of this lavishly broad flight of very shallow steps and the later western wall of the Altis. It is hard to believe that these steps were thus extended merely as a convenient means of approaching the several treasuries and as an especially safe retaining wall to the north

to the northern colonnade of the Heraeum and designed partly to protect it from just the catastrophe that was destined finally to overwhelm it, and partly to provide accommodation for spectators. These nine steps were built continuously with those which ran along the whole eastward stretch of the long terrace of the eleven treasuries so called. When the Heraeum and the shrine of Hestia just north of it were newly built, the altar of prehistoric observance spoken of above, being crowded in between the new Heraeum and the old-world Barrow of Pelops, fell into neglect, and the great Ash Altar of daily sacrifice located just east of the barrow usurped its more ancient importance. The building of the Heraeum may thus be supposed to have crowded spectators and athletes alike to the east, where the latter had a new Ἄγων east of the Great Ash Altar, the former a new θέατρον or *spectatorium* overlooking it on the site where later were built the eleven Olympian treasuries.

Such was the posture of affairs when,—as the most tangible indication that the Olympian games attracted more than the provincial resort of Pisatis, Arcadia, Triphylia, Messenia, and Elis—the Geloans came from the far west about the year 610 B.C. and built the curious Old-Geloans' ark remodelled a century later into something more like the other treasuries so called. Ten of these sprang up alongside of the ancient ark of Gela in the course of the sixth and the first quarter of the fifth century B.C. Pausanias, describing this by no means effective crowd of Communal Houses or Chapels huddled together in a monotonous row—more like one side of a suburban street than anything else of to-day—says: *there is in the Altis a terrace (κρηπίς) made of poros stone; back of it and north of the Heraeum extends Mt. Cronius . . . on this terrace are the Treasuries, just as at Delphi some of the Greeks have made Treasuries of Apollo.* His words *just as at Delphi καθὰ δὴ καὶ ἐν Δελφοῖς* require much qualification, to supply which is easy, now that both Olympia and Delphi have been so thoroughly excavated. Pausanias, without asserting it, leaves us to imagine that the location of treasuries at Olympia and Delphi respectively is similar. As a matter of fact there is almost every possible contrast in that respect between the two sanctuaries. There is also a striking contrast as to the dates at which Olympian and Delphian treasuries were founded. At Delphi treasuries perched here and there and were scattered, often singly, along the steep.

of the Heraeum. Under the Roman emperors lordly flights of steps and royal approaches of various kinds were multiplied in Greek lands, but these terrace-steps are too shallow to make a fine effect. The point seems to have been to have as many as possible, that spectators might perch on them in as great a number as possible.

[Various traditions connect games with altars. In funeral games the altar or the funeral pyre was the natural place for the finish of a race. In the Iliad the footrace must have finished at a place of sacrifice: for Ajax slipped just before

the finish 'where filth was strown from the slaughter of loud bellowing oxen which Achilles slew in honour of Patroclus,' *Iliad* xxiii. 775. The chariot race between Oenomaus and Pelops was from the altar of Poseidon at the Isthmus to Olympia. The torch-race of course was always ended at an altar. Finally the traditional connexion of the races at Olympia with the altar is proved by the account preserved by Philostratos of the origin of the various races, *Gym.* viii. x. — E. N. G.]

They occupied every ledge available from which some segment of the Sacred Processional way was visible. At Olympia the eleven treasuries were huddled together in a row, as if nothing preoccupied their builders so much as to find and occupy some few square feet of ground from which to view advantageously the treeless arena, the Homeric *'Αγών*, at the eastern foot of the Great Ash Altar. At least three of the Delphian 'treasuries'—the Cnidians' Lesche, The Treasury of Brasidas and the Acanthians, and the Thebans' Treasury—were dedicated long after the dedication of treasuries at Olympia had entirely ceased. There must have been reasons peculiar to Olympia which dictated the crowding together in one long line of all the Olympian treasuries ever dedicated, and also especial and local reasons to account for the sudden and entire cessation of new dedications after the end of the first quarter of the fifth century B.C. Even when all available space on the terrace was occupied, sites could certainly have been found elsewhere and treasuries would have been dedicated elsewhere on the Altis, had not a great crisis supervened in the management of the Festival—the assumption by the Eleans of the sole presidency of the Games and the inauguration of plans for new buildings and dispositions for sight-seers effectually superseding¹³ the old *laissez-faire* policy of which the dedication of treasuries or Communal Houses had been the outcome. If, at Olympia as at Delphi, one of the chief objects, if not the only aim, in dedicating a treasury had been to secure a view of sacrifices and processions, the location on the terrace of the eight treasuries last built—built that is to say before the great crisis just alluded to—could hardly be accounted for. Only the three treasuries first dedicated—the Geloans' (xii. 610 B.C.), the Metapontines' (x. 590 B.C.), and the Megarians' (xi. 590–85 B.C.)—occupy sites chosen on their merits and suitable for solid foundations. The next three—the Cyrenaeans' (vii.), the Sybarites' (vi.), and the Byzantines' (v.) built about 550 B.C. west of the Altar (viii.)—stand upon a subsoil so insecure that, when (about 530 B.C.) the Selinuntines appeared upon the scene, they felt compelled to crowd their Communal House (ix.) into the last available space east of the altar. Why then did not they build elsewhere? Why were the four treasuries subsequently dedicated (iv., iii., ii., and i.) built on the western extremity of the terrace and not elsewhere? How account for the pains submitted to by the Sicyonians in laying the foundations of their treasury—westernmost of all—to which alone its comparative stability is due? Alike the solidity of the Sicyonians' treasury (i.), the dilapidation of the six treasuries just east of it, and the cramped position of the Selinuntines' House, betoken one and the

¹³ It looks indeed as if the interest so long maintained by remote communities in their several 'treasuries' at Olympia had died down after the laying out of the Dromos and the building of the earlier Colonnade of Echo—an undoubtedly public-spirited measure of the Eleans, analogous no doubt, in the motives which prompted it, to the building by the

Athenians of their 'Marathonian' Colonnade at Delphi. This last indeed, whether dated with M. Homolle (*ca.* 610 B.C.) or with Dr. Köhler (490 B.C., *cf.* *Hdt.* vi. 92) or with Messrs. Haussoullier, Hicks, and Dittenberger (460–458 B.C.) may have suggested their Colonnade of Echo to the Eleans.

same cardinal fact. Built, all of them, before the Eleans seized undivided control and planned the earlier Colonnade of Echo and the Dromos, the location of each and all these houses, as well as their cramped and ungainly grouping, tells of the time when Pisa shared control with Elis, and no specially devised arena for athletic events was deemed requisite. Running, wrestling, boxing, javelin and discus throwing—all contests in fact not requiring the Hippodrome or its primitive equivalent—took place east of the Great Ash Altar in the ancient Ἰγών, and were witnessed from the terrace of the treasuries, the early θέατρον of the Olympian Altis. Each treasury built there was, so to speak, a privileged point of vantage, and its porch was a sort of Royal Box from which those dedicating it could view not only processions and sacrifices at all times and as long as the Olympia lasted,¹⁴ but also before 450 B.C. all such athletic events as after 450 B.C. were transferred to the Dromos.¹⁵

The sudden and entire cessation at Olympia of the building and dedication of new treasuries has, however, quite as much to do with the Eleans' first Colonnade of Echo and front Colonnade of the Hellanodiceum as with their scheme for a Dromos. The only possible sites for new

¹⁴ Though the terrace remained at all times a choice position whence sacrifices and processions were viewed, it was not, after 450 B.C., the only one. Suggested no doubt by the accommodations for spectators recently provided at Eleusis in the Telesterion, and at Delphi by the Athenians' colonnade, the Eleans' first Colonnade of Echo and the front Colonnade of the south-eastern building were probably planned within a generation of the memorable Pan-Hellenic Olympiad of 476 B.C. The first Colonnade of Echo was ready in 448 B.C. and commanded a view of sacrifices on the Great Ash Altar nearly as well as the terrace and the porches of its several Treasuries. That the Terrace was a centre for crowds on the Altis is proved for times even later than Pausanias' visit to Olympia by two facts: (1) The construction of the monument miscalled the 'Exedra' of Herodes Atticus on that portion of the Terrace just east of the Heraeum. It cannot properly be called an Exedra, since no human being ever sat there, and the statues which adorned this mammoth *ex toto* offering were all standing. No doubt it served as a monumental façade or grandiose terminus of the generous latter-day system of water-supply. But it would have been absurdly incongruous, standing *as* it does beside the ancient Heraeum, if there had not been a ceremonial justification for it, harmonizing to the inner eye at least its garish pretentiousness with the religious observance to which were dedicated alike the treasuries vast of it and the temple west of it.

This ideal justification was to be found in the fact that it contained upwards of twenty-two life-size statues of spectators—eight or more members of the Imperial family and fourteen of the houses of the pious founder and of Regilla his wife. These figures stood looking out over the Altar and viewing processions. By this *ex toto* on the terrace all frequenting worshippers were reminded of the permanent interest felt in Olympian observance by the great people of the earth. That Herodes built his generous tanks on a site frequented by crowds is further proved by (2) an episode in Lucian's *De Mortis Peregrini* xix. *ad fin.* Peregrinus railed at the effeminacy promoted by the luxurious water-supply of Herodes, and was consequently mobbed 'while in the act of benefitting by it' (ἔμα πίνων τοῦ ὕδατος) says Lucian. Indeed it was only by hastily taking sanctuary at the Great Ash Altar near by, that the perverse cynic got off alive—ἔπι τὸν Δία καταφυγῶν ὁ γενναῖος εὔρε τὸ μὴ ἀποθανεῖν.

¹⁵ [As I point out in a later note, there is no evidence to prove that events like wrestling and boxing were ever transferred to the Dromos, or even to the Stadium. Cp. *J.H.S.* xxiii. p. 57, n. 13. Martin Faber's arguments to prove that they were transferred (*Philologus* l. 495) are all inconclusive, and I incline more and more to the opinion that they had not been transferred when Xenophon wrote the *Hellenica* and probably were never transferred. *V. sup.* n. 12. —E.N.G.]

treasuries, which might have been located within eyeshot of processions and sacrifices, were preëmpted by the all-embracing Elean projects. These resolute administrators provided in their colonnades for the general Hellenic public, against whose prior claims no individual state hankering after a site for a new treasury could expect to prevail.

The dedication of Olympian Treasuries ceased at the end of the first quarter of the fifth century B.C., because,—though none of them were yet built,—the Dromos, the first Colonnade of Echo, and the front Colonnade of the Hellanodicaeum were then projected. Meanwhile the ancient Homeric ἄγων¹⁶ in front of the treasuries continued in use. Certainly this old arena was used at that great Pan-Hellenic celebration of the Olympia which took place in 476 B.C.,—the opening year of the 76th Olympiad—just after Thermopylae, Artemisium, Plataea, and Mycale. This 76th celebration was the Olympiad of Olympiads, and marks for Olympia the intensest moment of Pan-Hellenic fervour. It came just the year after the formation of the Athenian Confederacy at Delos,—a consolidation made necessary by the still menacing power of Persia, but not one at which all Greeks could rejoice as one man. Not at Delos therefore but at Olympia was held the universal festival of rejoicing after the invaders were gone. The volleys of glorification which greeted the victors in these absolutely unique and ideally Pan-Hellenic

¹⁶ The lists in the triangular treeless plain east of the Great Ash Altar at Olympia and commanded by the terrace and the 'treasuries' were at the foot of the barrow of Pelops, just as the ἄγων where Achilles held the games of *Il.* xxiii. was at the foot of the barrow of Patroclus (*Il.* xxiii. 255-258, 619), and the Pylian analogue and prototype of the Olympia is described (*ib.* 630-643) by Nestor in his reminiscences of the funeral games of Amarantheus at Buprasium. Throughout the Twenty-third *Iliad*, where it occurs eleven times, the word ἄγων means not a contest but an arena, the place or the lists of the games (vv. 273, 448, 451, 495, 507, 617, 654, 696, 799, 847, and 886). In the same sense exactly ἄγων applies to the arena of the Phaeacian games in *Od.* viii. 200, 238, and 380, and xxiv. 86. Exactly what the word means in *Od.* viii. 259 depends upon whether ἄγωνα or ἀγῶνας is read. Four MSS. there read ἀγῶνα, and if their reading is adopted, the word has the same sense of arena attaching to it in the very next line (260) as well as in the fifteen cases above cited. In *Il.* vii. 298 and xviii. 376 ἄγων still means a place, the temple or τέμενος of the gods—a sense in which it would be applicable to the Olympian arena in question. Thus in nineteen Homeric cases ἄγων means a place and not a contest, nor is the meaning of contest known to the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*. Twice and twice only (*Il.* xxiv. 1

and xxiii. 258) it means the people assembled for the games, and it probably has this sense also in *Od.* viii. 260, if ἀγῶνας is read in place of ἀγῶνα. The only remaining examples of the word in Homer occur in the *Iliad* (xv. 428, xvi. 239 and 500, xix. 42, and xx. 33). In these five places ἄγων νεῶν means an assemblage of ships. Hesiod only used ἀγῶν four times (*Th.* 91 and 435, *Scut.* 204 and 312), everywhere in the sense of an arena. It is therefore plain enough that Homer and Hesiod had no knowledge of ἀγῶν in the sense of contest but used it in the sense of lists or arena for contests. How firmly the Homeric associations clung to the word ἄγων even when it came to be used of suits in the law courts is shewn by the metaphors of the arena involved in some of the most commonplace of current idioms: cf. *Lycurgus* i. 117 ἔρημον τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐάσαντα, see also the elaborate metaphor in *ib.* 47, cf. *Lycurgus* i. 10 εἰς τόνδε τὸν ἀγῶνα κατέστην, also *ib.* ii. 104, 105 and 121 with *Dinarchus* i. 109. Two cases where ἄγων has the sense of contest, like the Homeric ἕθλος, occur in the Homeric Hymns (vi. 19 and *h. Apoll.* 150). Ἄθλα appears to have the meaning of the Homeric ἀγῶν in *Pl. Laws* 868 A: ἀκάθαρτος ὢν ἀγορὰν τε καὶ ἄθλα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἱερὰ μίαινη and *ib.* 935 B: μηδεὶς τοιοῦτον φθέγγεται μηδέποτε μηδέν, μηδ' αὖ ἐν ἕθλοισι μηδ' ἐν ἀγορᾷ μηδ' ἐν δικαστηρίῳ μηδ' ἐν ξυλλόγῳ κοινῶ μηδενί.

Olympia were never paralleled either before or after 476 B.C. Both Pindar and Bacchylides hymned in Odes unexcelled by either poet on any other occasion that year's victory, won for his owner Hiero of Syracuse by the good horse Phereñicus. Vying in splendour with this his first Olympian Ode is Pindar's second, composed like his third in celebration of the chariot-victory of Theron the Agrigentine, won in this same year. Asopichus, an Orchomenian youth, victor this year in the boys' foot-race is the theme of Pindar's last Olympian, while his tenth and eleventh Olympians celebrate the triumph,—also in these games of 476 B.C.,—of a boy boxer from Locris in the far west, Agesidamus, son of Arcestratus. Just six, one less than half, of Pindar's Olympians thus deal with victories won at this celebration of celebrations during which for a brief moment all Greeks stood together in the presence of Zeus as members of one Pan-Hellenic communion. It is above all in these six Odes that Pindar's intimate affection for the actual site and soil of the Olympian Altis finds fullest expression.¹⁷

It is from one of the six Odes that may be derived, I think, the absolute certainty that in 476 B.C., athletic events were fought out in the *Ἀγών* east of the great Ash Altar of Zeus, a full view of which was commanded at that time only from the terrace of the treasuries, which indeed had lately been stepped for the convenience of spectators. There,—possibly on one of the nine steps of the terrace—Pindar finally alights, ending as follows his tenth Olympian Ode: 'Whosoever, Agesidamus, a man who has compassed deeds of honour must go unsung to Hades' homestead, that man with vain breath over his toil wins thereby but fleeting joy. But around thee the sweet expressive lyre and mellifluous pipe shed charm. The Pierian daughters of Zeus foster thy wide-flung fame, while I, with zeal like theirs fervently fold in my embrace the Locrians' famous clan, bedewing with honey a commonwealth of stalwart men. I glorify Arcestratus' son *whom I saw prevailing by the vigour of his arm beside the Olympian Altar*¹⁸ *in that memorable hour* (κείνον

¹⁷ Indeed a comparison at large shews nothing in his local allusions to Nemea and the Isthmus, or even in his marvellous flash-light pictures of Delphi and the Parnassus, which betokens a local attachment at all comparable to that which he felt for every inch of the precinct of Olympian Zeus at Olympia. This is constantly evinced not only throughout each and all of his Olympians, but his Pythian, Nemean, and Isthmian Odes abound in frequent glances at Olympia and its Premier Lists.

¹⁸ In two other Olympian Odes Pindar describes more or less definitely the actual moment of victory (a) in *O. i. 21* Hiero's horse Phereñicus is spoken of *ὅτε παρ' Ἀλφειῶ σὺτο δέμας*, 'when he darted on near the Alpheius,' *παρὰ* having a sense just less vague than 'in the domain of Alpheius'; (b) in *O. viii. 17 f.* Zeus made an Olympian victor of (θῆκεν Ὀλυμπιονίκαν) Alcimelon, the boy wrestler, *παρ Κρόνου λόφῳ*.

In neither of these cases, when compared with that of Agesidamus, is the event so distinctly represented as actually in progress. Nor is the localization at all comparable with that of Agesidamus actually seen at a definite time winning in a definite place. This vision of Arcestratus' son alongside the Olympian altar is unique. Elsewhere Pindar merely localizes victories *at Olympia*, resorting to various circumlocutions in order to avoid monotonous repetition. (a) Phereñicus darted on *παρ' Ἀλφειῶ* (*O. i. 21*), (b) Perhaps in his grave is resting by the courses of Alpheius, *Ἀλφειοῦ πόρῳ κλιθεῖς* (*Ib. 92*), (c) Zeus rules the Olympian sanctuary (*ἴδος Ὀλύμπου*), the chief of games and the courses of Alpheius, *ἀέθλων τε κορυφᾶν πόρῳ τ' Ἀλφειοῦ* (*O. ii. 13 f.*), (d) Diagoras is crowned *παρ' Ἀλφειῶ* and *παρὰ Κασταλίζ*, at Olympia and at Delphi, (e) Praxidamas brought the olive crown *ἀπ' Ἀλφειοῦ*

κατὰ χρόνον), comely his frame and dowered with such flush of dawning prime as erst from Ganymedes fended off grim death by favour of the Goddess Cyprus-born.' Patriotism wide enough to embrace all Greeks dictated the elusive argument of this tenth Olympian Ode, a subtly conceived lyric by means of which Pindar contrives as it were to extend the right hand of Pan-Hellenic fellowship to the remotely dwelling and unfamiliar Bruttian Colonists of Epizephyrian Locris, first championed in the Olympian arena by the redoubtable Euthymus winner of the boxing match in 484 B.C.,—eight years before. At the end of this Ode, which I have just attempted to translate, Pindar folds in his embrace 'the Locrians' famous clan, bedewing with honey a commonwealth of stalwart men'; but at its beginning, he hints that he has barely heard of them: 'do ye read me out,' he says to the man in the street, so to speak, 'that Olympian victor's name,—the son of Arcestratus,—where it is writ in my mind, I forgot I was owing him a sweet song.' Then begins one of those genial mystifications about the price of his praise, in which Pindar's humorous vein so abounds. He beseeches the Muse, daughter of Zeus, and Ἀλάθεια, Candour, to keep him straight and fend off reproach for broken troth. Far-off to-morrow took him at unawares—found him bankrupt through arrears of debt. Only payment with usury can clear his honest name. 'Look how the breaking wave shall dash the seething shingle down and how we too will pay down a generous accounting of grace for our friend and his kindred.' This humorous pretext of bankruptcy serves the poet's turn, for it carries his audience with him to the unfamiliar home of Agesidamus. There dwells Truth,—not Candour, Ἀλάθεια, such as Pindar has appealed to in acknowledging his bankruptcy, but plain dealing, Ἀτρέκεια, who makes bankruptcy unthinkable. 'Heracles himself was once worsted in combat with the Locrian Cyenus' the poet instantly adds, by way of linking Locris to the traditions of Olympia, and of hinting at the same time that young Agesidamus has not always come off victor as now. This last point is driven home straightway. 'Agesidamus won at last, let him thank Ius, his

(N. vi. 61). These five periphrastic mentions of Olympia as on the Alpheius, can be matched with the five periphrases in which Mt. Cronius is alluded to. Undoubtedly the far seen and perfectly conical silhouette of Mt. Cronius played its part in focussing just at Olympia and nowhere else in the valley the primitive observances of the grove sanctuary. (a) Pindar is come to the side of the sunlit Cronius παρ' εὐδείαλον ἐλθὼν Κρόνιον (O. i. 111), (b) Epharmostos and his revelling comrades lead off the victor's strain Κρόνιον παρ' ὕχθον (O. ix. 3 f.), (c) Aristagoras would have won glory παρὰ Κασταλίῃ and παρ' εὐδένδρῳ ὕχθῳ Κρόνου, at Delphi and at Olympia (N. xi. 25), (d) Zeus made Alcimdon victor παρ Κρόνου λόφῳ (O. viii. 17), (e) Alcimidas and Polytimidas lost two Olympian crowns through the 'random lot' Κρόνιου παρ τεμένει (N. vi. 105 ff.), at the

precinct of Mt. Cronius. These ten passages exhaust Pindar's circumlocutions for the Olympian site, excepting where he designates it as the abode of Oenomaus and Pelops (O. v. 9 f.), or where it is identified with Pisa (O. xiv. 22 ff.).

[The Alpheius and Mt. Cronius formed the natural boundaries of the τέμενος at Olympia as opposed to the artificial boundaries of the Altis or grove, cp. Pindar O. xi. 43–51. Pausanias tells us that women were not allowed to cross the Alpheius during the Olympia (v. 6. 7). Similarly at Epidaurus, though there seems to have been a holy of holies, the whole valley including the stadium and theatre was sacred. What were the Eastern and Western boundaries at Olympia, is uncertain: the Western boundary certainly extended up to and beyond the Cladeus, Xen. *Heil.* vii. 4.—E.N.G.]

trainer. Without toil few indeed can win the gladness of victory to be a light at the forefront of the life of achievements.'

Here the *Θέμιτες* flash down upon our poet, the Ordinances of Zeus rivet his mind upon the '*Ἀγὼν ἐξαιρέτος*, the *Premier Arena* laid out by Heracles near the old-world Barrow of Pelops in the Olympian Altis. Pindaric Commentators of recent days, with the notable exception of Professor Gildersleeve, have not perceived that this *ἐξαιρέτος ἀγὼν* founded near the tomb of Pelops, and described by Pindar as embracing six altars, *βωμῶν ἐξάριθμον*, must be a *place*, and can only signify a *contest* by implication. Just so in English we imply fighting when we speak of the *lists* or the *field* of honour. Here, and in eight other equally clear cases, Pindar uses the word *ἀγὼν*, as¹⁹ Homer habitually and Hesiod always used it before him, and Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides occasionally used it after him, to designate the arena of contest. Pindar means quite unambiguously the place near the altar of Zeus in the Olympian Altis at which he stands gazing when the ode now in progress ends from the Olympian *θέατρον* of the 76th and earlier Olympiads.

Returning to the poet whose mind has, by inspiration of the Ordinances of Zeus, rivetted itself upon the *Premier Lists* of Olympia, and their inauguration by Heracles, we find his fancy expatiating first of all on the legendary struggle of Heracles with those uncanny Siamese-twins of Old-Elean folk-lore, the Molionids. Their final overthrow at Cleonae made room for his foundation of the Olympian arena. Next he enters with enthusiasm into all the minutiae of the Heracleian foundation itself. Heracles, he avers, with his marshalled hosts from Pisa, *measured off the consecrated grove for his sovereign father, and having set boundary marks around the Altis, he laid it off, in a clear space, while the plain round about he appointed for comfort of feasting.* The fates stood over him when he proceeded to found the games, and Time was on his right hand. Oconns of Midea won the Stadium race, Echemus of Tegea the Wrestling Bout, Doryclus of Tiryns the Boxing match. In the Chariot-race, Samus the Mantinean was victorious, Phrastor and Nikeus in the Javelin throw and the Hurling of the stone, *and the lauded fellowship of war gave peals of thunderous applause . . . then upon the fall of eventide gleamed forth the gracious brightness of the moon's full shining face.*—*αἰείδετο δὲ πᾶν τέμενος*,—*while all the hallowed ranges rang with gladsome songs, familiar in our hymns for victors of to-day.* With these strains our poet brings us at last into the very midst of the Altis. Then he adds a word about his own procrastination, and the pealing triumph of his song, likened to those heroic hymns that thrilled the Grove on founder's day, is hushed while he stands in ecstasy, where we have seen him—gazing at Agesidannus winning at the Altar's side.

Imperialism,—if that hardworked word may be rudely pressed for archaeological duty,—is writ large in all the six lyrics of Pindar commemorating, along with victors and victories in the 76th Olympiad, the universal

¹⁹ See Appendix.

Pan-Hellenic glorification of the great triumph over invading Persia. It is therefore, I venture to think, no mere chance that five of these Odes magnify victors from the antipodes, so to speak, Hiero of Syracuse, Theron of Acragas, and the plucky boy Agesidamus, from Locris in the West. Agesidamus was the only one of the three who could possibly feel himself a stranger. It was therefore peculiarly fitting that the Ode celebrating Agesidamus should, above all the others, abound in intimate details of the Sanctuary, and thus as it were confer upon its hero the freedom of the Altis. The splendour of Pindaric song was, in fact, but the lyrical expression of what, for lack of a word more suitable, we must term Pan-Hellenic imperialism,—a universally prevalent impulse prompting for that brief hour all Greeks, while the thrill of remembered perils was yet upon them, to serry their ranks. Consolidation, organization were the watchwords of the hour. At Delos a confederation offensive and defensive had just been formed. At Olympia the newly-organized state of Elis was called to a similar work. Shamed on the stricken field of Plataea,—where they arrived too late—the villagers of Hollow Elis resolved to set their house in order and while the Athenians were busy at Delos, these Eleans organized their scattered village-centres into a city-state. This done, they determined to manage the Olympia without the countrified Pisatans, to extend the duration of the Games, and to increase the number of the Hellanodicae—managers—from two to nine. But their new programme of organized efficiency went further. The Terrace of the treasuries, which had been but newly stepped for the greater safety of the more recently and precariously footed treasuries, and also for the better accommodation of the steadily swelling crowd of onlookers, was obviously inadequate.

A careful consideration of the dates attaching to improvements carried out, and buildings erected at Olympia after 476 B.C., forces one, I think, to recognize that the Eleans—perhaps with advice from competent frequenters of the 76th festival—projected a vast and thoroughgoing scheme of improvements—which included six main items.²⁰ Taken in the order in which they

²⁰ There is sufficient evidence for dating the construction of the Colonnade of Echo late in the first half of the fifth century B.C., and the building of the Hellanodicaeum early in the last half of the same century. Of the front colonnade of the last-named building few remains were identified, but fortunately enough to arrive at the approximate date just mentioned. For the name of the Colonnade of Echo, Pausanias is our authority. Speaking of the reconstructed (later) colonnade he says (V. xxi. 17) *πρὸ τῆς Ποικίλης στοᾶς καλουμένης . . . εἰσὶ δ' οἱ τὴν στοᾶν ταύτην καὶ Ἐχούς ὀνομάζουσι*, and then mentions the sevenfold echo. This suggests that the Eleans called it the Painted Colonnade, while the Pisatans persisted in calling it the Colonnade of Echo. Since

there was a sevenfold echo, it supplied the Eleans with a good reason for the popular alternative for their official designation, and covered the awkward fact that various chthonic shrines in this neighbourhood had been suppressed when the Dromos was laid out after the building of the great temple of Olympia of Zeus (see above, notes 7 and 9). The name Colonnade of Echo was evidently applied equally to the earlier and the later colonnade. The building of the great temple of Zeus would naturally harmonize with the suppression of more primitive chthonic observances, and the fact that the earlier colonnade was built either just after or during the closing years of the building of Libon's temple (468-456 B.C.) is clearly demonstrated. (a) Stones plainly derived

were carried out in the teeth of an intense opposition offered by the Pisatans, who remained villagers even to the last ditch, these six items were: (1) A new South wing, called the *Προεδρία* and meant as business quarters for the nine Hellanodicae, which the Eleans added to the Council-House between 476 and 474 B.C.: (2) The building (468-456) of Libon's Temple of Zeus, only begun after a life and death struggle with Pisa: (3) The running up (ca. 456-452) of an eastern wall for the Altis, primarily designed as part—the back wall that is—of the first Colonnade of Echo, whence spectators could view sacrifices at the Great Ash Altar and processions between the two great temples, not to speak of any athletic events which from time to time might still be contested in the ancient arena, now superseded for such uses by (4) Xenophon's Dromos. This was laid out either simultaneously with the Painted Colonnade or, immediately afterwards (451-450): (5) The laying out of the Hippodrome with the *ἄφεισις* of Cleoetas (ca. 450 B.C.): (6) The long front Colonnade of the Hellanodicaeum, which was built after 450 B.C., as a dwelling house for the newly increased board of Hellanodicae or managers. Its front Colonnade formed a southward continuation of the Painted Colonnade, and afforded a view of the formal distribution of crowns to the victors, which took place just opposite in the eastern or front end of Libon's Temple.^{20a} The Eleans' two projected Colonnades—an enormous amplification of the old

from the demolition in Macedonian times of the earlier colonnade shew marks of T-shaped clamps as contrasted with the U-shaped clamps used in fastening together stones of the stylobate of the later colonnade. (b) Cast-off triglyphs made for the great temple and then rejected were found in the bottom course of the south-eastern foundations of the earlier colonnade. These were used for the water-course (see above, p. 254, n. 9). The same back wall also yielded fragments of drums made for Libon's temple. The whole of this water-course must have been built after the Terrace of the Treasuries was stepped (ca. 478-77 B.C. or a trifle earlier), since it hugs the lowest of the terrace steps from the north-west corner of the Heraeum to the entrance of the Dromos, where it bifurcates. In fact cast-off triglyphs from the temple also appear in the runnel at the foot of the terrace steps. The date of this water supply in fact gives a *terminus post quem* both for the laying out of the Dromos and for the building of the earlier colonnade. The Great Temple must have been practically completed before these improvements were made. Here is not the place for the intricate and voluminous arguments which quite definitely determine the date of Libon's building as B.C. 468-456. That date being accepted, the stones which Libon's builders rejected become the top and corner-stone of Olympian chronology. They fix the date of the earlier

Colonnade of Echo and determine the time when Xenophon's Dromos was laid out, ca. 450 B.C. The south wing of the Council House alone remains to be dated. Its architectural details, when compared with Libon's Doric, are so unmistakably earlier as to make it imperative to suppose an appreciable interval of time between the two. This necessity is accentuated by similar detailed comparisons with the Doric of the Sicyonians' and Megarians' 'treasuries' (see my 'Details of the Olympian Treasuries,' *J.H.S.* vol. xxvi. p. 81, n. 112). The south wing must therefore be very definitely dated ten years more or less before Libon's temple. The more so because it is now plain (see my 'Olympian Council House and Council,' *Harvard Studies*, vol. xxvi.) that the Eleans were straining every nerve in a 'social war' during that interval.

^{20a} [The place of the distribution of crowns is a point which I never discussed with Mr. Dyer. Mie in *Quaestiones Aeonisticae* states that the crowns were presented immediately after each event. This view is accepted by Roberts and in the article on Olympia in *Dar.-Sag.* The evidence is hardly sufficient to enable us to decide the point. But if the crowns were presented immediately after each event they must have been presented at the spot where the event took place, i.e. in Pindar's time by the altar of Zeus, in later times in the Stadium for all events which took place there.—E. N. G.]

Olympian *Θέατρον* of the Treasuries and one which stretched away from its eastern end at right angles—extend practically along the whole east side of the Altis southward as far as the Council-House beyond. Meanwhile the projected Dromos provided the amplest accommodation—such as it was—for onlooking bystanders at the athletic contests—banished henceforward presumably from the old *Ἀγών* where Oeonus of Midea, Echemus of Tegea, and Doryelus of Tiryns won their crowns, on founder's day.

Remembering that this Homeric *ἀγών*, and with it something of the simplicity of Homeric funeral games, clung to the Olympia as long they were governed jointly by village-dwelling Pisatans and Eleans, and that the old arena was in use until about 450 B.C. turn now to the details of Xenophon's description of the battle of Olympia in 364 B.C. In that summer the Arcadians and the Pisatans laid violent hands on Olympia. The 'Arcadians,' says Xenophon (VII. iv.), 'not dreaming of attack, went on with their conduct of the festival assisted by the Pisatans. The chariot-racing was over, as well as those events of the Pentathlon that require the use of the Dromos,'—*τὰ δρομικὰ τοῦ Πεντάθλου*, words which may, however, mean *The running that formed part of the Pentathlon*. 'Then the Dromos was vacated,' says Xenophon, 'and those still competing entered upon the wrestling-bout between it and the great altar.' Where, let it be asked, were now those who had stood in the Dromos outside witnessing the four first events of the Pentathlon? Obviously they had followed the Pentathletes and were either on the stepped terrace or on the steps of the Painted Colonnade. The wrestling-bout of the 104th Olympiad certainly took place where Pindar saw Agesidamus winning the Boxing match of the 76th Olympiad—*βωμόν παρ' Ὀλύμπιον*, alongside the great altar and in front of the stepped terrace.²¹

'At this moment,' says Xenophon—meaning the moment while the wrestlers were grappling, and the onlookers were standing on the steps of the terrace and Colonnade—'the Eleans in battle array were in the precinct.' Then followed fighting at the Cladeus in which the Arcadians were routed. 'When the Eleans had carried victorious pursuit'—here I again translate Xenophon's actual words—'into the space between the Council-House, the Shrine of Hestia and the *Θέατρον*' (*Spectatorium*, let us call it) 'adjoining these buildings respectively—*τοῦ πρὸς ταῦτα προσήκοντος θεάτρον*—they were exposed to a shower of missiles from the Colonnades, the

²¹ [It is impossible to ascertain from Xenophon's language whether the transference of the wrestling to the space near the altar was ordinary or exceptional. But from this very doubt we may feel sure that the holding of the wrestling by the altar was not unprecedented, or Xenophon must have vouchsafed his readers more explanation. Either it was the usual custom or a reversion to an older custom which existed almost within living memory before the permanent *δρόμος* was made *ca.* 450. Certainly it must have been the custom in Pindar's time.

Even after the laying out of the *δρόμος* the triangular space before the altar must have been far more convenient than the racecourse for events like boxing, wrestling, and the pankration, and my own view is that these events continued to be held there at least down to the time of the further improvements in the stadium, if not afterwards. This view gives additional importance to the colonnades as places commanding a view not only of the sacrifices and processions, but also of some of the games.—E.N.G.]

Council-House, and the Great Temple. And, though they maintained the combat, and bore back their opponents toward the altar, their losses were heavy, and Stratolas himself, captain of the 300, was slain. At this juncture they drew off to their encampment. In spite of this retreat, the Arcadians and their friends were so nervous about the next day's fighting that they did not close an eye during the night, but occupied themselves in pulling to pieces their elaborately constructed quarters and making a stockade of the materials. When the Eleans advanced the next day, and saw a stout rampart confronting them, and the roofs of the temples strongly manned, they went home again.' Thus ended the ingloriously-famous battle of Olympia so as to verify someone's *obiter dictum* that in a Greek battle, one army always runs away, and sometimes both.

And here should end this discussion, were it not advisable to say a word or two of the only two accounts of the Olympian *Θέατρον* now prevailing—Professor Frazer's (*Pausanias*, iii. pp. 636 f.), and Dr. Dörpfeld's (*Ol. Text*, ii. p. 79). Though agreeing with Professor Frazer exactly in our translation of all and every other word in the passage of Xenophon just read, we, Mr. E. Norman Gardiner²² and the writer, join issue with him in his translation of *θέατρον* as Theatre, if, as he plainly thinks, a stone semi-circular fabric of the usual kind must in that case be supposed to have been before Xenophon's eye. That being insisted on, I for one should boldly coin the term *Spectatorium* to designate the place at Olympia, where spectators from time immemorial had congregated, and where they actually were congregated at the moment of Xenophon's narrative. Professor Frazer is not, however, in the least degree positive in dealing with this whole question—his main difficulty being one fully shared by Mr. Gardiner and the present writer, *i.e.* the wholly unconvincing account of the Olympian *θέατρον* ingeniously offered by Dr. Dörpfeld.²³ Demanding, as the only alternative then before him, a stone Theatre of the usual kind, and that being sternly refused by the site as known, he somewhat hesitatingly denies what everyone else admits, that the Council-House is where it certainly is, and suggests that it may possibly lie still unexcavated somewhere to the north-west of the Shrine of Hestia, with the equally unexcavated Theatre somewhere near by (*Pausanias*, iii. pp. 636 f.). This solution, if solution it can be called, unfortunately withdraws from human comprehension the whole of the

²² At the meeting of the Hellenic Society, February 18th, 1908, where the substantive points of this paper were read by me, it was made quite clear that the conclusions here presented had been independently arrived at on other grounds of proof by Mr. E. Norman Gardiner, who gave his argument at that same meeting.

²³ [If Dr. Dörpfeld is right in his contention that *θέατρον* could be used of the arrangements for spectators in the stadium which at Olympia had neither a semi-circular ending nor stone seats, it follows *à fortiori* that the word could

be used of the far more elaborate arrangements in the Altis either of the steps of the Treasury Terrace alone, or of the steps and the colonnade, especially as these commanded a view of the altar. His contention that the steps are too narrow to have been used for spectators to sit or even stand upon can be readily disproved by experiment. The steps are 25 cm. in depth. Many readers will be able to find staircases in their own houses the steps of which are no greater or even less in depth: *aperto corde*.—E.N.G.]

detailed account of the battle of Olympia. Dr. Dörpfeld on the other hand understands the whole of the battle as we do, but entirely at Xenophon's expense. He requires us to believe that in bounding the battle-field, Xenophon was momentarily bereft of his usual common-sense, bereft also of his habitual gift of simple, lucid, and consistent diction. Dr. Dörpfeld's explanation of the word *θέατρον* as meaning in this context that western part of the Dromos meant to be occupied by spectators which adjoined the triangular treeless area at the foot of the altar, implicates Xenophon's established reputation in two very serious particulars. Are we to suppose, when Xenophon has just told us that the wrestling took place not in the Dromos, but in the space between it and the Altar, he will immediately relate how the pursuing Eleans entered that same space, *now* described as between the Council-House, the Shrine of Hestia, and that western part of the Dromos (meant to be occupied by spectators though actually vacant of them) which adjoined—*ταῦτα*? In this explanation the meaning of *ταῦτα* hangs hopelessly in mid-air. Also Xenophon, if Dr. Dörpfeld's meaning for *θέατρον* was his, would have said that the wrestling took place not 'between the Dromos and the altar' but between the *θέατρον* and the altar. Moreover, as Mr. Gardiner has suggested, it is absolutely incredible that Xenophon while in his senses, should have neglected to mention, in bounding the battle-field, the long Colonnade of Echo which stared both him and his pursuing Eleans in the face, and loomed up along the whole eastern side of the field throughout the battle. Could Xenophon or any one else think to gain in clearness by overleaping this Colonnade and talking about an embankment which it completely masked?

LOUIS DYER.

APPENDIX.

ON THE MEANING OF *ἀγών*, *ἀγώνιος*. ETC.

(1) In interpreting Pindar, the prevalent explanation of his word *ἀγών* has most unhistorically derived from the later and post-Homeric meaning attached to that word in the dramatists. Thus not only have numerous Pindaric passages been misunderstood where *ἀγών* is used after the Homeric manner, to designate not a contest, but the *arena* of a contest, but also the same has happened to numerous passages where Pindar uses *ἀγών* meaning a contest but also the arena of the contest, the two ideas being inextricably combined. These last—when the example of the Homeric poems is borne in mind—can be most conveniently translated by *arena* or *lists*. When all the passages thus indicated have been subtracted, the remaining ones, where *ἀγών* not only means *contest*, but also is best translated by *contest*, are surprisingly few. The general soundness of this view is borne out by Pindar's use of the adjective *ἀγώνιος*.

I. The following are all the places in Pindar where *ἀγών* clearly means *arena* or *lists* and cannot, howsoever translated, be understood as meaning *contest*. (a) *O.* vi. 79: *ὅς* [Hermes] *ἀγῶνας ἔχει μοῖράν τ' ἀέθλων.* (b) *O.* xi. 24 f.: *ἀγῶνα δ' ἐξαίρετον αἰεῖσαι θέμιτες ὤρσαν.* (c) *P.* i. 44 f.: *ἔλπομαι μὴ χαλκοπίρασον ἄκονθ' ὡσεὶτ' ἀγῶνος βαλεῖν ἔξω.* (d) *P.* ix. 114: *ἔστασεν γὰρ ἅπαντα χορὸν ἐν τέρμασιν αὐτίκ' ἀγῶνος.* (e) *P.* xi. 11-17: *ἑπταπύλοισι Θήβαις || χίριον ἀγῶνί τε Κίρρας || ἐν τῷ Θρασυδαῖος ζῆνασεν ἔστιαν || τρίτων ἐπὶ στέφανον*

πατρῶν βαλῶν, || ἐν ἀφνειῷσι ἀρούραισι Πηλαδα || νικῶν . . . (f) *N.* ii. 19-24 : παρὰ μὲν ἐψι-
 μέδοντι Παριυσῶ τέσσαρας ἐξ ἀέθλων νίκας ἐκόμισαν || ἀλλὰ Κορυθίων ἰπὸ φωτῶν || ἐν ἰσλοῦ
 Πίλοπος πύλαις || ὀκτῶ στεφάνοις ἔμιχθεν ἤδη || ἐπτά δ' ἐν Νεμείῳ, τὰ δ' οἴκοι μίσσον ἀριθμοῦ, ||
 Διὸς ἰγῶνι . . . (g) *N.* iv. 17-21 : Κλεωναίου τ' ἀπ' ἀγῶνος ὄρμον στεφάνων || πῖμψαντι καὶ
 λιπαρὰν εὐωνύμων ἀπ' Ἀθανᾶν, Θήβαι τ' ἐν ἑπταπύλοισ || οὔνεκ' Ἀμφιτρώωνος ἀγλαῶν παρὰ
 τίμῳν || Καδμείοι μιν οἶκ ἀίκοντες ἀνθεσι μίγνον. (h) *I.* i. 18 f. : ἔν τ' ἀίθλοισι θίγον
 πλείστων ἀγῶνων || καὶ τριπύθεσσιν ἐκόσμησαν δέμον. (i) *I.* viii. 65-68 : ἐπεὶ νιν || Ἀλκαθόου
 τ' ἀγῶν σὺν τίχῃ || ἐν Ἐπιδαύρῳ τε πρὶν ἴδεκτο νεότηας. With these nine passages should be
 classed three others where ἀγῶνιος is the adjective derived from ἀγῶν, in the sense of
arena or *lists* : *I.* iv. 8 : ἐν τ' ἀγῶνιοις ἀίθλοισι ποθεινὸν κλέος ἔπραξαν. *Fr.* i. 1 (4) : ταμίαι
 τε σοφοὶ || Μουσῶν ἀγῶνιον τ' ἀέθλων ; and perhaps also *O.* xi. 63 : ἀγῶνιον ἐν δόξῃ εἴχου
 ἔργῳ καθέλων. Also a tenth case where Pindar means *arena* and not *contest* by ἀγῶν must
 be added in *O.* vii. 84 (ἀγῶνις τ' ἔννομοι Βοιωτίας) if we heed Eustathius' comment on
Il. xxiv. 1 (where ἀγῶν means *assembly*) which runs as follows : ἀγῶν δὲ καὶ σὺν τῷ πλήθους.
 παρὰ δὲ Βυωτοῖς ἀγῶν τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἢ ἀγορά. ὅθεν καὶ ἀγορανόμος ὁ ἀγωνάρχης, καὶ παρ'
 Αἰσχίλῳ ἀγῶνιοι θεοὶ οἱ ἀγοραῖοι. One of Eustathius' etymologies here given is not only
 amusing but also instructive as implying that ἀγῶν means primarily a *place* : ἢ παρὰ τὴν ἁ
 στήρησιν καὶ τὴν γωνίαν ἀγῶν, οἰονεὶ τόπος κυκλοτερής, γωνίαν οἶκ ἔχων, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο εἰρύς.

II. There are four passages where Pindar uses ἀγῶν in the sense of *assembly* (cf.
Il. xxiv. 1) : *N.* x. 52, *O.* iii. 36, *P.* x. 30, and *Fr.* xi. 228 (Christ)=213 (Bergk) :
 τιθεμένων ἀγῶνων πρόφασις (cf. Plut. *An seni sit gerenda respublica* i. and *De soll. anim.* xxxiii.
 [In the first two passages the meaning of *lists* is equally applicable.—E.N.G.]

III. There are three passages where Pindar uses ἀγῶν so distinctly in the sense
 (unknown to Homer) of *contest* that it would be forcing matters to translate it *arena* :
O. viii. 76 and ix. 90 ; *P.* xii. 24.

IV. There remain eight passages where it is not very easy to say whether ἀγῶν
 means *arena* or *contest* because it means *contest in the arena*. Here the most satisfactory
 rendering is *arena* or *lists*, because these words so often definitely cover the idea both of
 the contest and of its arena : *O.* i. 8 : 'Even so shall we name no lists' (contests are
 referred to just before as ἀέθλα) ; *P.* viii. 78 f. : ἐν Μεγάροις δ' ἔχεις γέρας, || मुखῶ τ' ἐν
 Μαρθῶνος, Ἥρις τ' ἀγῶν ἐπιχώριον || νίκαις τρισσαῖς, ὧ ῥυστόμινες, δάμασσας ἔργῳ. *P.* xi.
 46-51 : where Ὀλυμπία ἀγῶνων πολυφάτων ἴσχον θοᾶν ἀκτίνα means, with the line
 preceding, 'Anciently in the chariot race they won the swift halo of glorious victory on
 the far-famed lists at Olympia' ; *N.* ii. 3-5 : where καταβολὰν ἱερῶν ἀγῶνων means the
 'first foundation of victory in the sacred lists' ; *N.* iii. 64-67 : where σίο δ' ἀγῶν means
 'thine too are the lists' ; *N.* iv. 87, vi. 61, and x. 22 f. In this last (ἀγῶν τοι
 χάλκεος || δᾶμον ὀτρύνει ποτὶ βουθυσίαν Ἥρις ἀέθλων τε κρίσει) mention of the 'lists of the
 brazen shield' is followed by that of 'the issue of contests,' so closely and so pointedly
 that a local sense for ἀγῶν is practically necessary.

Thus every case where Pindar uses the word ἀγῶν with the exception of three comes
 under the dispensation of Homeric usage, whereas the meaning prevalent in the
 dramatists is recognized only three times by our Boeotian poet. Doubtless the Boeotian
 use of ἀγῶν for ἀγορά influenced Pindar's adhesion to Homeric precedent.

This surmise is confirmed by Pausanias' evidence (IX. xvii. 2) that Pindar dedicated
 near the temple of Artemis Eucleia at Thebes (cf. Jebb on *Soph. O.R.* 161) a statue of
 Hermes ἀγοραῖος. Since Pindar nowhere uses the word ἀγοραῖος, but once mentions
 Hermes ἐναγῶνιος (*P.* ii. 10) and once Hermes ἀγῶνιος (*I.* i. 60), and twice describes
 Hermes as presiding over the ἀγῶνας (*N.* x. 51, *O.* vi. 79), it is quite clear (a) that
 this Hermes statue is to the god of the ἀγῶν, and (b) that the old Boeotian
 identification of ἀγῶν and ἀγορά appealed to its dedicator. What Pindar conceived
 poetically and piously the nature of the ἀγορά to be, can further be gathered from
I. vii. 26 where the μακάρων ἀγοραῖοι are alluded to (cf. *O.* xiii. 5), and from *P.* v. 87 (here
 ἀγορά stands for the place of ritual processions, where was ἐν πρυμνοῖς the tomb
 of Battus-Aristoteles, just as Pelops was buried in the forefront of the Olympian ἀγῶν)
 as well as from *N.* iii. 14 (ὧν παλ' ἄφατον ἀγοράν) from which passage Rauchenstein and

Kayser have endeavoured to expunge the word *ἀγοράν* in spite of the MSS. and Scholia (cf. also *Fr.* iv. 53 (Bergk), 74 (Christ)). In addition to these four places where Pindar idealizes the *ἀγορά*, he once (*P.* iv. 85) refers to it in a more conventional and prosaic vein, but this is only a periphrastic way he adopts for fixing the time of day for Jason's appearance (*ἀγορᾷ πλῆθοντος ὄχλου=πληθούσης ἀγορᾶς*). Note finally that in *N.* iii. 14, untampered with by text reformers, *ἀγορά=ἀγών*, i.e. the *arena* where the Pancration was fought out.

(2) As to the use of *ἀγών* by Aeschylus, the word occurs only eight times in his extant plays and thus appears to be less conspicuous in his vocabulary than in Pindar's. All of the four meanings found in Pindar are also found in Aeschylus.

I. The prevalent Homeric meaning of *arena* or *lists* appears once only, but very clearly in *Agam.* 1348 ff.—a passage where unfortunately little else is clear. Whether you read there with conservative editors, *ἀγών νίκης παλαιᾶς*, or, with those willing to emend *νίκης* to *νείκης*, *ἀγών νείκης παλαιᾶς*, in all cases the ineffective tautology of *ἀγών* ^(νείκης) _(νείκης) vanishes, if the meaning of *contest* is thrown into the shade and that of *arena* or *lists* is allowed to assert itself. Furthermore as a result of this locative meaning attached to *ἀγών*, the dramatic point of the line next following is made clear. 'The lists of victory long deferred' (*ἀγών ὄδ' οὐκ ἀφρόντιστος πάλαι*) give point to the *ἔνθ' ἔπαισα* of Clytemnestra's next line, 'ἔστηκα δ' ἔνθ' ἔπαισ' ἐπ' ἐξειργασμένοις.' If it were allowable to extract with Dr. Verrall from the combined effect upon the ear of *πάλαι* and *παλαιᾶς* a punning reference to wrestling, which would of course be helped by the associations of *ἀγών*, then the whole passage would be cleared up by insisting on the Homeric and Pindaric meaning for *ἀγών*, and could be translated:

These lists I long since schemed to wrestle in
Triumphantly, have come, though late, at last;
I stand even where I stabled, my work is done.

II. The secondary meaning of Homer and Pindar is also found for *ἀγών* (but only once) in Aeschylus *Agam.* 819, where *καυοῖς ἀγῶνας θέντες ἐν πανηγύρει | βουλειοσόμεσθαι* evidently calls for the meaning of *assembly*.

III. Aeschylus, like Pindar, yields three passages (*Persae* 407, *Eumen.* 647 and 714) where *ἀγών* unhomericly means *contest*, the locative implication having all but completely evaporated.

IV. The three remaining cases of *ἀγών* in Aeschylus, like the last eight in Pindar, require for it the meaning of *contest in the lists*, and are also best translated by *arena* or *lists*, since these words imply the contest quite as definitely as the word *ἀγών*. The passages are (1) *Choeph.* 713-716, where *ξίφοδῆλῆταισιν ἀγῶσιν* mean *lists where the sword* (not the discus or the javelin for the glory of victory) *is wielded* for destruction. Hermes *χθόνιος* and *νύχιος* is according invoked instead of Hermes *ἐγαγώνιος*; (2) *Choeph.* 575 f. where *ξίφηφόρος ἀγῶνας* has practically the same implications just noted in (1). In both cases these implications are in keeping with plentiful passages throughout the *Choephores* and the *Eumenides* where the tragic vengeance which Orestes has in hand is represented as an athletic event for which he requires training such as that for the arena (see *Choeph.* 330 f.; *Eum.* 559; *Choeph.* 446). The third passage being from the *Eumenides* (874 f.) has this same athletic 'atmosphere,' and *ἀρείφατοι ἀγῶνες* means much the same thing as *ἀγῶνες ξίφοδῆλῆται* or *ξίφοφόροι*. But perhaps the most instructive passages in Aeschylus for the understanding of the full sense attached by him to the word *ἀγών* are his five mentions of the *ἀγῶνιοι θεοί* (*Agam.* 496, Zeus, Apollo, and Hermes; *Suppl.* 185, 238, 327, and 350, Zeus, Poseidon, Apollo, and Hermes). In spite of the attempt of Dr. Verrall (see the latter's note on *Agam.* 499=518) to make out that *ἀγῶνιοι θεοί* in the *Suppliants* certainly, and in the *Agamemnon* probably, means *gods in assembly* and is derived from the very rare secondary meaning of *ἀγών* as an *assembly*, it is demonstrable that Aeschylus attaches to *ἀγῶνιος* practically the same

meaning attached to it by Pindar, *prevailing over the sacred arena*, which in most cases is identical with the *ἀγορά* (cf. *Schol.* in *Pind. P.* ii. 10: *ἐναγώνιος δὲ ὁ Ἑρμῆν ὡς τῶν ἀγῶνων πρῶτατῆς*). Thus *ἀγῶνιος* meant to Aeschylus as to Pindar the same thing as *ἐναγώνιον*, and when Aeschylus apostrophizes Hermes as *ἐναγῶνιε Μαιῖος καὶ Διὸς Ἑρμῆ* (*Fr.* in *ext.* 387) his meaning is not substantially other than Pindar's when he describes Alcibiades, the Aeginetan boy-wrestler as *παῖς ἐναγῶνιος* (*N.* vi. 13), and the god thus apostrophized is the self-same Hermes *ἀγοραῖος* to whom Pindar dedicated a statue at Thebes. How ideally conceived was Aeschylus' Zeus *ἀγοραῖος* may be gathered from *Eion.* 931 ff. where Athena proclaims aloud that the strife as to who shall confer most benefits inaugurated as the consummation of the ages is the triumph of Zeus *ἀγοραῖος*: *ἀλλ' ἐκράτησε Ζεὺς ἀγοραῖος· νικᾷ δ' ἀγαθῶν ἔρως ἡμετέρα διὰ παντός*. That the epithet *ἀγοραῖος* has here the force of *ἐναγῶνιος* and implies a contrast between the fraternal emulation of the arena, and the *ἄπληστος κακῶν στάσις* mentioned in the line next following (*τάνδ' ἄπληστον κακῶν μήποτ' ἐν πόλει στάσιον τᾶδ' ἐπέιχουμαι ἑρέμειν*) is self-evident, since the Eumenides give their solemn pledge in response to Athena's proclamation that Zeus *ἀγοραῖος* has prevailed at last. Since the difficulty raised by Dr. Verrall (note on *Agam.* 499=518) concerning the *ἀγῶνιοι θεοί* of the Suppliants alone gives plausibility to the contention that the *ἀγῶνιοι θεοί* of *Agam.* 449 are not the gods of the athletic *ἀγών* or arena, the only question remaining is whether Dr. Verrall and Wecklein are right in assuming that *κοινοβωμία* (*Suppl.* 219) of the *Suppliants* is not in an *ἀγορά* [= *ἀγών*], but in a lonely place near the sea. Three facts must be recognised at the outset; (1) Argos lies on rising ground not more than two miles from the sea; (2) at Sparta (*Plut. Lycurgus* vi.) and various Thessalian towns (*Aristot. Pol.* vii. 11, 2, and *Xen. Cyrop.* I. ii. 3) there were two *ἀγοραί*, one (*ἐλευθέρα ἀγορά*) for meetings of the people, another for more usual trafficking. Now, since a similar arrangement existed at Cyzicus (*C. I. G.* 3657—*ἀνδρεία ἀγορά*, *Theophrast. Char.* 2, and Menander cited by *Pollux.* x. 18—*γυναικεῖα ἀγορά*) which like Argos (*Suppl.* 627) was a *πελαγία πόλις*, it is no violent inference to conclude that Aeschylus knew of two *ἀγοραί* at Argos—one where was the joint altar of Zeus, Poseidon, Apollo, and Hermes, resorted to by Danaus and his suppliant daughters—the *γυναικεῖα ἀγορά*—and the other the *ἐλευθέρα ἀγορά* in which King Pelasgus convened the people and obtained their consent to harbouring the Suppliants; (3) the whole *scenario* of the *Suppliants*, probably the earliest drama extant, is extremely vague and cannot fairly be criticized with any sort of strictness. All this being granted, the fact that the Suppliants are no sooner in a position at the altar than the king of the land appears to question them, certainly favours their being in the *ἀγορά* rather than in a lonely place by the sea. That Danaus sees the ship from a point near the altar offers not the slightest difficulty. Nothing but the *ἀγορά* can be implied by line 339 addressed to the king by the Suppliants: *αἰδοῦ σὺ πρίμναν πόλιως ὧδ' ἐστεμμένην*. Indeed the absurdity of having the *πρίμνη πόλιως*—whether the reference be to the gods or to their common altar—in a lonely place by the sea is too obvious to require further comment. Here was the place where all strangers in distress placed suppliant boughs (cf. vv. 237 f.). It must have been in the *ἀγορά*. The only ground for doubting is removed when we conceive, on the strength of reasonable evidence, that there was another and a separate *ἀγορά* where the king convened the people. The play as it stands requires this, but it also requires that the altar of the *ἐναγῶνιοι θεοί* should be anywhere rather than in 'a lonely place'—in fact that it should be on the *ἀγορά γυναικεία* in the *πόλις* of Argos. That being firmly established, there is no further call for the wildly improbable suggestion that Pindar meant one thing and Aeschylus quite another by the *ἀγῶνιοι θεοί*. Above all we are rescued from the extremely uncomfortable necessity of spinning out reasons for Aeschylus' chimerical distinction between the Hermes *ἐναγῶνιος* of *Fr.* 387, who must be the god of the arena, and the *ἀγῶνιος* Hermes of *Suppliants* 185 (cf. 216), 238, 327, 350, and of *Agam.* 496 (cf. 501).

(3) Sophocles employs the word *ἀγών* in sixteen places and his extant works yield examples of each of the three senses found in Pindar and in Aeschylus.

I. The Homeric meaning of *arena* or *lists* is perfectly clear in *Electra* 680 ff.:

κάπεμπόμην πρὸς ταῦτα καὶ τὸ πᾶν φράσω.
 κείνος γὰρ ἔλθων ἐς τὸ κλεινὸν Ἑλλάδος
 πρόσχημ' ἀγῶνα, Δελφικῶν ἄθλων χάριν.

Here, at the beginning of the famous description of Orestes' death in a chariot-race at the Pythian games, the son of Agamemnon is described as 'entering the brilliant arena of Hellas for the sake of Delphian contests.' Again in *Trachin.* 503-506, 'ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τάνδ' ἀκοιτιν || τίνας ἀμφίγνοι κατέβαν πρὸ γάμων || τίνας πάμπληκτα πάγκονιτά τ' ἐξήλθον ἄεθλ' ἀγῶνων,' the combination ἄεθλα ἀγῶνων makes the meaning of ἀγῶνων perfectly unambiguous.

II. The secondary Homeric meaning of *assembly* is found in two Sophoclean fragments: 68 (Athen. 466 b.) and 675 (Stob. 45, 11).

III. The latter-day meaning of *contest* attaches to ἀγών in seven cases: *O.C.* 587, 1080, 1082, and 1148; *Aj.* 936 and 1240; *El.* 699.

IV. Five cases remain parallel to the three last cited in the preceding note on Aeschylus and the eight last cited in the note on ἀγών in Pindar. Here ἀγών means both the contest and its arena, but here as in the Pindaric and Aeschylean cases in point, the most conveniently effective translation is invariably *arena* or *lists*: (a) *Trach.* 20: δς (sc. the son of Zeus and Alcmena) εἰς ἀγῶνα τῷδε συμπεσῶν μάχης || ἐκλύεται με, *delivers me by grappling with this creature in the lists*; (b) *ib.* 159: πολλοὺς ἀγῶνας ἐξιών, *going forth to enter many lists*; (c) *Electra* 1440 f.: λαθραῖον ὡς ὀρούση || πρὸς δίκας ἀγῶνα, *hurling onward to the covert lists of justice*; (d) *Aj.* 1163: ἔσται μεγάλης ἔριδος τις ἀγῶν, *there will be lists of huge contention*; (e) *Electra* 1492 f.: χωροῖς ἂν εἶσω σὺν τάχει. λόγων γὰρ οὐ || νῦν ἐστὶν ἀγῶν, || ἀλλὰ σῆς ψυχῆς πέρι, Orestes requires Aegisthus to be in the right place before he slays him, as is shewn by his answer to 1493 f. (τί δ' ἐς δόμους ἄγεις με; etc.) which is (1495 f.):

μὴ τάσσε· χώρει δ' ἔνθαπερ κατέκτανες
 πατέρα τὸν ἀμόν, ὡς ἂν ἐν ταῦτῳ θᾶνης.

(4) The frequent occurrence of the word ἀγών in the extant plays and fragments of Euripides bears speaking testimony to the frequency with which allusions to the great national games were made in the common speech of the poet's contemporaries, and also to his notorious affectation of the speech of everyday life: hence the great preponderance of passages where ἀγών has completely lost its archaic meaning of *arena* or *lists* and means, as in everyday speech, simply *contest*.

I. But there are six cases where it means *arena* or *lists*, as follows: (a) *Orestes* 1291 f.: σκέψασθέ νυν ἄμεινον || ἀλλ' αἱ μὲν ἔνθαδ', αἱ δ' ἐκείσ' ἐλίσσετε. (b) *Ib.* 1342 f.: ἴθ' εἰς ἀγῶνα δεῦρ', ἐγὼ δ' ἠγήσομαι, σωτηρίας γὰρ τέρμ' ἔχεις ἡμῖν μόνῃ. (c) *Phoenissae* 1361 f.: ἔστησαν ἐλθόντ' ἐς μέσον μεταίχιμιον || ὡς εἰς ἀγῶνα μονομάχου τ' ἀλκῆν δορός (Athenaeus, p. 154 e, quotes the 'skit' on this passage perpetrated by Aristophanes in his *Phoenissae* as follows:

Ἐς Οἰδίπου δὲ παῖδε, διπτύχω κόρω,
 Ἄρης κατέσκηψ' ἔς τε μονομάχου πάλης
 ἀγῶνα νῦν ἐστᾶσιν.

Part of the fun here undoubtedly is derived from the archaic meaning of ἀγών (*arena*) which would strike the public as affected in Euripides, although it belonged as a matter of course to Pindar, Aeschylus, and Sophocles); (d) *Alcestis* 1103, φεῦ || εἴθ' ἐξ ἀγῶνος τήνδε μὴ λαβέεις ποτε; (e) *Andromache* 724 f.: εἰ δ' ἀπὴν δορός || τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις δόξα, καὶ μάχης ἀγῶν; (f) *Electra* 883 f.: ἡκείσ γὰρ οὐκ ἀχρεῖον ἔκπλεθρον δραμῶν || ἀγῶν' ἐς οἴκους ἀλλὰ πολέμιον κτανῶν || Ἀγισθον.

II. Since there is no case where Euripides uses ἀγών in the secondary Homeric sense of *assembly*, it is well to recall Photius s.v. ἀγῶνα: τὴν συναγωγὴν οὕτως Ἀριστοφάνης. This proves that the Homeric secondary meaning was not entirely obsolete in the days of Euripides and Aristophanes. Indeed Aristophanes emulated the everyday diction of Euripides, as he confesses himself (*Fr.* 307 from *Schol.* in *Plat. Apol.* p. 330:

χρῶμαι γὰρ αὐτοῦ (φησὶ) τοῦ στόματος τῷ στραγγύλῳ τοῖς νοῖς δ' ἀγοραίους ἦπτον ἢ κείνος ποιῶ). Thus it appears that Euripides might have used ἐγών = assembly, though no case of it has survived.

III. There are 51 cases where ἀγών means contest, as follows: *Hec.* 229; (2-10) *Orestes* 333, 491, 847, 861, 888, 1124; 1223, 1244, and 1537; (11-16) *Phoen.* 258, 787, 867, 1060, 1340, 1487; (17-19) *Med.* 235, 336, 403; (20-21) *Hippol.* 496, 1016; (22-26) *Alc.* 489, 504, 648, 1026, and 1141; (27-28) *Androm.* 233, 328; (29-35) *Suppl.* 71, 316, 427, 665, 706, 754, and 814; (36-37) *I.A.* 1003, 1254; (38) *Rhesus* 195; (39-41) *Heracl.* 116, 161, 992; (42-43) *Helena* 339, 849; (44-45) *Ion* 857, 939; (46-47) *Heracl. Fur.* 789, 1189; (48-49) *Elect.* 695, 751; (50) Fr. *Antiope* 189 (Stob. 82, 2); (51) *Troades* 363.

IV. Seven cases remain, parallel to the last five enumerated in the preceding note on Sophocles, to the last three cited in the note on Aeschylus, and to the last eight of the note on Pindar's use of ἀγών. These passages are: (a) *Phoen.* 588; (b) *Ib.* 937; (c) *Ib.* 1233; (d) *Heracl. Fur.* 811 (cf. Aesch. *Choeph.* 547 f.); (e-f) Fr. 68 (Stob. 8, 12).

L. D.

A GRAECO-ROMAN BRONZE LAMP.

[PLATE XXXIII.]

THE beautiful bronze lamp, of which two views are here given, was recently acquired by Mr. T. Whitcombe Greene in Frankfort-on-Main. It is 146 mm. long, 76 mm. high, and is said to have been found in Switzerland.

The lamp is in the form of a boat, the raised bow of which contains the hole for the oil. There are two projecting nozzles on each side of the boat, pierced with holes for the insertion of wicks. Their position suggests that they are intended to represent the rowlocks. A border of small circles with centre-dots is engraved round the top margin of the lamp; five waves are incised on each side of the bow, and another wave at its point. Three pairs of engraved lines run under the boat, one pair along the line of the keel, and one on each side. Within a shallow depression at the stern end of the boat is a nude figure of the infant Heracles in a half-reclining attitude, with his right leg slightly drawn up. He is strangling the two serpents sent, as the story goes, by Hera to attack the new-born infant. He grasps them tightly by the necks, and their bodies pass in a series of sinuous windings in front and behind him respectively. The lamp was clearly a hanging lamp, once suspended by means of chains attached to the end-loops formed by the windings of the serpents. It was originally silver-plated; for considerable traces of the silver can still be observed.

The representation of Heracles strangling the serpents in a boat seems to be a new one. The boat finds no place in the legend, but was probably adopted by the artist because it was a favourite shape with lamp-makers. A terracotta lamp in the British Museum closely resembles the present one in form, though it has three nozzles on each side and a flat bottom to enable it to stand. The Theocritean version of the serpent-strangling described Heracles as sleeping in the shield of Amphitryon, while Pindar does not mention the cradle at all.¹ The position of the figure on the lamp is pretty closely paralleled by several extant statues or statuettes. Among these may be mentioned a bronze group in the British Museum,² which perhaps ornamented the top of a cista; several marble statues;³ and a marble relief from Athens of the Roman period, where Heracles is represented in a posture very similar to that of the figure in the present lamp.⁴

F. H. MARSHALL.

¹ Pindar, *Nem.* i. 50 ff.; Theocr. xxiv.

² *Cat. of Bronzes*, 1243.

³ Clarac, Pl. 301, No. 1953, and Pls. 781, 782.

⁴ *Annali dell' Inst.* 1863, Tav. Q. 2. For the

various ancient monuments representing Heracles strangling the serpents, see *J.H.S.* xvi. (1896), pp. 145 ff.; *Arch. Zeit.* 1868, pp. 33 ff.; *Athh. Mitth.* 1878, p. 267.

THE STRUCTURE OF HERODOTUS, BOOK II.

It has long been recognised that the Egyptian history given by Herodotus is confused; but it is scarcely known that a single transposition will bring it into order. Before we assume that his information was wrong, we may at least consider how far it is likely that either the author or an early transcriber had made an accidental transposition of the rolls of manuscript.

From well known Egyptian history we can see that the correct order in Herodotus should be as follows:

- sect. 99, account of Egypt and Menes. Dynasty I.
- 124–136, the pyramid kings. Dynasty IV–VI.
- 100–123, 330 kings. Dynasty VI–XXV.
- 137– Sabacon. Dynasty XXV.

The inversion therefore is that 100–123 is interchanged with 124–136. This is the more likely as the catch words are the same.

- The section 100 begins, *μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον κατέλεγον . . .*
- „ section 124 begins, *μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον βασιλεύσαντα . . .*
- „ section 137 begins, *μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον βασιλεύσαι . . .*

These are not exactly at the beginning of the present sections 124–137, but at the beginnings of the subjects where division is likely in the rolls. This transposition was suggested in 1898 by B. Apostolides in *L'Hellénisme Égyptien*. Now if this hypothesis be taken, we should find that the lengths of the rolls required to agree with it ought to be approximately regular. For a unit we will use the lines in Sayce's *Herodotus* i.–iii. From sections

1–99	there are	1338	or	6×223	lines.
124–136	„	207	„		
100–123	„	446	or	2×223	„
137–end	„	668	or	3×223	„

These divisions are so nearly commensurate that it is clear how one roll containing 124–136 might be slipped in after two other rolls containing 100–123. Thus the lengths of rolls as indicated by this hypothesis agree with the probability of such a transposition, as indicated by known history.

But we reach thus the conclusion that there was in at least two instances a division of subjects between rolls which were approximately commensurate. This would only occur in the original writing, or in a

drastic editing. How far can we trace any such divisions in the other parts of this book? It seems that we can observe the following breaks in the subjects:

Rolls α, β, γ , 1-45, to worship of Herakles, 677 lines . . .	3×226 .
Roll δ , 46-63, worship of animals to festivals	223.
Roll ϵ , 64-83, religious purity to divination	218.
Roll ς , 84-99, medicine to Menes	220.
Roll ζ , 124-136, pyramid kings	207.
Roll η , 100-115, Sesostriis and Proteus	222.
Roll θ , 116-123, Helen and Rhampsinitus tales	224.
Roll ι , 137-150, Sabacon to Lake Moeris	236.
Roll κ , 151-163, Psammitichos to Apries' war	207.
Roll λ , 164-end, castes to end	225.

Even the end of the book is no better as a natural division than some of the divisions of rolls noticed here. Cambyses already comes in ii. 181, and there is a continuity of Egyptian affairs on to iii. 29. The Persian interference starts book iii., but that is quite equalled by such divisions as between rolls ς - ζ , ζ - η , θ - ι , ι - κ .

We conclude then that Herodotus here formally worked up to a uniform size of roll consciously; just as a modern writer will try to fit each break of his subject to the pages of foolscap, if the writing is to be permanently read in that form. Further, the division into twelve rolls, has somewhat of the same feeling about it as the division into nine books, named after the Muses.

It should, however, be said that this even division does not appear in other books. Book I. seems to consist of 14 rolls and a piece; containing 220, 233, 217, 222, 219, 220, 217, 219, 225, 217, 219, 219, 217, 213, and 82 lines, the rolls beginning with sections 1, 18, 34, 53, 67, 79, 91, 105, 119, 133, 152, 169, 185, 196, and 210. Book III. seems to consist of 10 rolls and a piece; containing 223, 227, 226, 221, 214, 219, 217, 219, 222, 220, and 107 lines, the rolls beginning with sections 1, 15, 30, 44, 60, 72, 85, 104, 121, 136, and 154. Thus it does not seem that the books each consist of an even number of uniform rolls. Only in Book II. the transposition of a roll points out the size of the average roll, and the fact that 12 such rolls composed the book.

W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE.

THEOPOMPUS (OR CRATIPPUS), HELLENICA.

'SINCE the discovery of the *Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία* in 1890,' the learned editors of the Oxyrhynchus papyri tell us, 'Egypt has not produced any historical papyrus at all comparable in importance to these portions of a lost Greek historian, obviously of the first rank, dealing in minute detail with the events of the Greek world in the years 396 and 395 B.C.' Drs. Grenfell and Hunt are indeed to be congratulated first on having made so great a discovery—a piece of luck which their long and arduous labours, systematically and scientifically conducted, have so richly deserved—and secondly they are still more to be congratulated on the success with which they have pieced together and deciphered the text and illumined their interpretation with clearly written and closely argued introduction and notes. They have not contented themselves, as they well might have done, merely with arranging and deciphering the text—a work demanding the greatest patience and the most exact scholarship—but they have boldly tackled, and with great acumen, the difficult question of the authorship of the work and many historical problems raised both by the fragmentary nature of the text itself and by comparison of its statements with those of other extant authorities.

I.

This historical work is written on the *verso* of an official document giving a land survey apparently of some portion of the Arsinoite nome. Its date may be assigned to the second century A.D. It is written in two hands and in the extant fragments some twenty-one columns can be distinguished. The first hand is responsible for cols. i.-iv., vi. 27-xxi. and almost all the fragments; the second hand is responsible only for cols. v. 1-vi. 27, with fragment 3 and perhaps 16. In order not to prejudge the question of authorship the editors call the work P. The papyrus, as discovered, is in four sections, separated by gaps of uncertain size, A containing cols. i.-iv., B cols. v.-viii., C cols. ix. and x., and D cols. xi.-xxi. The editors put D last from clear internal evidence. The remains of C are so scanty that the subject with which it dealt cannot be determined. So the only reason for putting it before D is the character of the handwriting on the *recto* side of the papyrus, but 'its relation to the other sections,' the editors tell us, 'is wholly uncertain.' Whether A should come before B, or B before A is

open to question. To put B first involves only one change of hand, viz. at vi. 27; but for historical reasons the editors prefer their own arrangement, although it involves two changes of hand, citing as a parallel the MS. of the Aristotelian *Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία*. This arrangement in itself seems to me much more satisfactory than the other alternative; but the historical arguments by which the editors justify it are at least open to question. They are (p. 115) mainly three: (1) that the *ἔτος ὄγδοον* of iii. 10 must be reckoned from the archonship of Euclides 403/2, 'a most natural and reasonable year to select for the commencement of a fresh epoch' and not from the archonship of Micon 402/1 in which 'no incident of particular note took place,' and that therefore this eighth year must be 396 B.C.; (2) that as in xv. 33 Cheiricrates is said to have succeeded Pollis in 395 as Spartan *ναύαρχος*, iii. 21 must have recorded (the passage is fragmentary) the arrival of this Pollis the year before, i.e. 396; and (3) that their view that 'A concerns 396 has the advantage of allowing more time for the change¹ of policy on the part of the moderate democrats at Athens with regard to a war with Sparta.'

The editors' argument therefore is that A precedes B because A relates to 396 and B to 395. Now the hypothesis which commends itself to the present writer, viz. that the *ἔτος ὄγδοον* is 395 (and not 396) is said on p. 209 to have for its direct consequence that B should precede A and not follow it. This the editors regard as so improbable that they describe it as not worth reviewing in detail. But does this consequence necessarily follow?

To take the arguments in order: (1) though of course it is quite possible that *ἔτος ὄγδοον* may refer to a definite epoch or event on the analogy of Polybius i. 6. 1—*ἔτος μὲν οὖν ἐνειστήκει μετὰ τὴν ἐν Αἰγὸς ποταμοῖς ναυμαχίαν ἐννεακαιδέκατον, πρὸ δὲ τῆς ἐν Λεύκτροις μάχης ἑκκαιδέκατον, ἐν ᾧ Λακεδαιμόνιοι κ.τ.λ.*, it is equally possible that it may refer to the subject matter of the treatise on the analogy of Thucydides, e.g. iv. 51 *ὁ χειμῶν ἐτελεύτα καὶ ἔβδομον ἔτος τῷ πολέμῳ ἐτελεύτα τῷδε δὲ Θουκυδίδης ξυνέγραψεν. τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους κ.τ.λ.*—a possibility favoured too by the occurrence of the dative *τῇ μὲν . . .* governed apparently by *ἐνειστήκει*. In the latter case we have to determine accurately the subject matter of the treatise, and of this more hereafter. In the former case we have to find an event of sufficient importance in the spring of 403 on the editors' hypothesis (or of 402 on mine), to serve as a chronological epoch. I say advisedly the spring² and not the summer: for not only do Thucydides and Xenophon always use such phrases as *τοῦ ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους, τοῦ ἐπιόντος θέρους* in the sense of the opening of the campaigning season, but the other similar marks of time in P itself (xi. 34 *τούτου τοῦ θέρους*, xx. 8 *τοῦ προτέρου θέρους*, xxi. 7 *χειμῶνος*, 34 *εἰς τὸ ἔαρ*, 35 *τὸν ἐπιόντα χειμῶνα*) obviously imply the same

¹ i. 16.

² In iii. 9 I would supply in the lacuna *ἐπιόντος* (or *τούτου*) *δὲ τοῦ θέρους* (1) on the analogy of Thucydides and Xenophon and

(2) because the parts of *ὅδε, ἧδε, τόδε* seem never to be used in P, or at any rate not in such temporal phrases.

military reference. The editors³ refer us to the archonship of Euclides: but against this there is the objection that though the expulsion of the Thirty seems to have taken place about February 403, the archonship of Euclides cannot have begun till the *ἀναρχία* was over, *i.e.* October 403. In fact there is no known epoch-making event in the spring of 403 any more than there is in the spring of 402. Moreover the text has *τῆ μὲν* - - -, and not *μετά*, and so favours, as already said, the subject-matter alternative.

(2) The weakness of their second argument based on the orderly succession of the Spartan admirals is admitted by the editors themselves. The list they propose on p. 213 is as follows: 398/7 (autumn) Pharax, 397 (autumn) to 396 (autumn) unknown; 396 (autumn) to 395 (summer) Pollis; 395 (summer to winter) Cheiricrates; 394 (winter) Pisander. The 'irregularities connected with the Spartan *ναυαρχία*' are known⁴ only too well, and it makes this list but little more irregular to assume, as I do, that Pollis entered on his office in the spring of 395 and was succeeded by Cheiricrates in the summer of the same year (*cf.* iii. 21, xv. 33).

(3) The third argument, the more gradual conversion of the moderate democrats at Athens, who just before the opening of the *ἔτος ὄγδοον* prevailed⁵ on the *δῆμος* to disown the expedition of Demacnetus, to the war policy of the extreme democrats has not much to commend it in itself. For not only are we told⁶ that for a long time previously the extreme democrats had been eager *τὴν πόλιν*⁷ <ἐκπολεμῶσαι>, but the definite allusion in ii. 3 to the alliance between the Boeotians, Thebans, Argives, and Corinthians, which was brought about in July or August 395, seems to lose much of its point, if the author is there treating of the events of 396 and not of 395. In fact it needed the *ἀπάτη*⁸ of Ismenias and his colleagues to convert the Thebans and other Boeotians—and that with some suddenness—to their own war policy, and the immediate result of this conversion was the alliance between Thebes and Athens.

If, however, the year 396 be abandoned, what can be said in favour of identifying the *ἔτος ὄγδοον* with 395?

The strongest argument is the order of events in Diodorus' narrative (xiv. 79–81) which—through whatever channels—is admittedly dependent ultimately on P for many of its details. Its chronological errors are obvious: thus it puts under the same year 396/5 Agesilaus' three campaigns in Asia and makes⁹ out Pharax to be blockading Conon at Rhodes at the same time that he was commanding (under the transparent *alias* Pharaeidas) the Spartan contingent sent to help Dionysius the elder in Sicily. But though his chronology is sadly at fault, the order of events in these three chapters agrees strangely well with the order of events in P. Whether the naval war between Sparta and Persia began in 397 or 396 is not of much moment.

³ *CF.* p. 208.

⁴ *CF.* pp. 208, 210 and my introduction to Xenophon, *Hellenica*, pp. 1–1v.

⁵ i. 21.

⁶ ii. 1. 10; xiv. 11.

⁷ i. 36.

⁸ xi. 16–21.

⁹ *CF.* xiv. 63–70.

The admiral Pharax certainly co-operated¹⁰ with Dercylidas in 397, and Conon,¹¹ who at first seems to have had only a small fleet—40 ships according to Diodorus—may very well have been blockaded at Caunus first by Pharax in the autumn of 397 and then in 396 and the very early part of 395 by his successors, if we are to interpret literally Isocrates' rhetorical statement¹² *τρία μὲν ἔτη [βασιλεὺς] περιεῖδε τὸ ναυτικόν . . ὑπὸ τριήρων ἑκατὸν μόνων πολιορκούμενον*, though Diodorus' statement of his relief by Artaphernes and Pharnabazus implies a much shorter blockade. At any rate the Spartans were not seriously alarmed for their mastery at sea till they heard¹³ in the spring of 396 of a large fleet being fitted out in Phoenicia. The arrival of these Phoenician reinforcements is the first point in common between P¹⁴ and Diodorus, who puts it *after* the revolt of Rhodes from the Spartans. Diodorus states the bare fact of the revolt without details. Androtion, on whose story Pausanias¹⁵ seems to cast some doubt, says that it was due to Conon, who instigated the democrats to revolt. P shows that there were two stages in the process: the expulsion of the Spartans and reception of Conon was followed by a family domination of the Diagoreii. P's account of the first stage is lost; but in col. xi. he gives full details of the assassination of the Diagoreii and the democratical revolution in the summer of 395. If then we follow Diodorus' order of events, we may presume that P's account of the first stage must have occurred under the *seventh* year of his history, viz. before col. i. Col. iv. is almost completely lost. But cols. v.–vi.—recounting the spring campaign of Agesilaus in 395, his great victory over Tissaphernes due to the ambush of Xenocles, and his return march when the omens proved unfavourable—are very adequately summarized by Diodorus in ch. 80, §§ 1–5. Similarly §§ 6 and 7 summarize cols. vii. and viii., dealing with the supersession and execution of Tissaphernes by Tithraustes; and § 8 must have done the same with what followed in P, but is now lost: for col. xviii. 38 alludes to the agreement between Agesilaus and Tithraustes, which forms the subject of this section of Diodorus. Again, col. xi. 1–34, the next decipherable portion of the papyrus, treats of the democratic revolution of Rhodes, which Diodorus, as already pointed out, omits as of no particular importance; but cols. xi. 34–xv. 32, which relate at great length the Boeotian intrigues with the Phocians in order to make Sparta declare war, are summarized by Diodorus in the first three lines of ch. 81, while the rest of this chapter goes on to events outside the extant fragments of the papyrus, omitting altogether Conon's success in quelling a serious mutiny¹⁶ in his fleet at Caunus and Agesilaus' autumn campaign of 395.

¹⁰ Cf. Xen. *Hell.* iii. 2. 12.

¹¹ Conon entered the Persian king's service at the beginning of 397 or a little earlier (cf. Diod. xiv. 39; Ctesias, 631). Whether he was commander-in-chief or nominally subject to a Persian commander, is perhaps rendered doubtful by the papyrus iii. 11. Cf. the

editors' note *ad loc.*

¹² Paneg. 142.

¹³ Xen. *Hell.* iii. 4. 2.

¹⁴ Col. iii. 23.

¹⁵ vi. 7. 6.

¹⁶ Justin (vi. 2. 11) alone of extant authorities alludes to this mutiny.

Hence it appears that all the events, related apparently in their strict chronological order by P, are summarized in the same order by Diodorus in xiv. 79. 8-81, except the unimportant incident of Demaenetus, which occurred just before the opening of the ἔτος ὄγδοον. Now in Diodorus nothing occurs between the arrival¹⁷ of the Phoenician reinforcements and Agesilaus' spring campaign of 395. It seems, therefore, a fair inference to suppose that in P no events of importance were related between the arrival of the Phoenician reinforcements in iii. 24 and Agesilaus' spring campaign of 395 in cols. v.-vi. In other words cols v.-vi. follow *immediately* on cols. i.-iv. On this hypothesis then, Diodorus' order of events adheres closely to the chronological arrangement of P.

On the other hand the editors' hypothesis (p. 117) that the ἔτος ὄγδοον of iii. 10 is 396 (1) reduces the assumed chronological arrangement of P to utter confusion; and (2) not only makes Diodorus abandon the order of events in P, but gratuitously assumes a further error in his chronology. For though they interpret the ἔτος ὄγδοον as 396, they think it likely that the dispatch of Agesilaus to Asia and the early part of his campaign were described *before* col. i. (not, as they might be expected to say, in the assumed lost columns between iv. and v. dealing on their hypothesis with 396); and they assume that P narrated the arrival of the Phoenician reinforcements¹⁸ (which they date in the summer of 396) *before* the revolt of Rhodes, and not *after* it as Diodorus relates. The revolt itself, they assume, must have been narrated in the gap between cols. viii. and xi. In other words Diodorus' summary misdates the arrival of the Phoenician reinforcements to 395 and abandons P's order of events altogether.

Again, the controversial passage (ii. 1-35) on the cause of the war against Sparta in my view points to the ἔτος ὄγδοον being 395. For in the first place the *πάσαι δυσμενῶς ἔχειν* of line 6 implies that the interval between the taking of the Persian gold and the conclusion of the alliances between the Boeotians and the *ἄλλαι πόλεις αἱ προειρημέναι* was only a short one. Secondly the plausibility of the theory of P's opponents [*αἴτια γίνεσθαι τὰ παρ' ἐκείνου χρήματα*]¹⁹ must have depended upon the short interval between the two events. And thirdly Xenophon's mistake (iii. 5. 1) in representing Tithraustes instead of Pharnabazus as the sender of Timocrates is most easily explained, if the mission occurred only a few weeks before the opening of the summer campaign of 395. Indeed the editors themselves admit²⁰ that the reference in *προειρημέναι πόλεις* (ii. 4 and 32) seems to be to a not very distant passage, and it is possible that the description of Timocrates' mission in the main narrative occurred shortly before col. i. Moreover the present participle *πορθοῦντος* in the passage²¹ of

¹⁷ It is noticeable that both Beloch ii. 149 and Meyer put the arrival of the Phoenician fleet in the spring of 395.

¹⁸ iii. 23.

¹⁹ Cf. the Spartan accusation against Ismenias, Xen. *Hell.* v. 2. 35.

²⁰ P. 204.

²¹ Polyaeus i. 48. 3. Κόνων φαρναβάζω συμμαχῶν Ἀγησιλάου τὴν Ἀσίαν πορθοῦντος ἔπεισε τὸν Πέρσην χρυσὸν πέμψαι τοῖς θυμαγωγοῖς τῶν πόλεων τῆς Ἑλλάδος, οἱ λαβόντες πείσους τὰς πατρίδας ἐκφέρειν τὸν πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους

Polyaenus, who alone of other authorities speaks of Pharnabazus and not Tithraustes as causing the gold to be sent, favours the year 395. According to him Agesilaus is already in Asia and Pharnabazus wishes to get him out. The gold is sent, the Corinthian war breaks out, and Agesilaus is consequently recalled. But the editors' date, the spring of 396, actually precedes Agesilaus' arrival in Asia, and so makes Polyaenus' story quite pointless.

Taken as a whole therefore the evidence seems to me much to favour 395 as the *ἔτος ὄγδοον* of P. The only serious argument to the contrary is the short period—only a few weeks—of Pollis' *ναυαρχία*. Still, any one who has tried to establish a chronological system on the list of Spartan admirals knows on what a foundation of sand he is building, and in the absence of any definite information as to the fate of Pollis the easiest way out of the many difficulties involved appears to be to curtail the period of his command. With this exception the events which we can decipher in P seem to fall into natural chronological sequence on the 395 hypothesis. Before the fragment begins we must assume P to have treated of the revolt of Rhodes and the mission of Timocrates in the first three months of 395. Then in cols. i–iii. 9, circ. March, comes the incident of Demaenetus: cols. iii.–iv. 42. 9, c. April, the naval war and the arrival of the Phoenician fleet: cols. v.–viii. c. April, the land war, with Agesilaus' march towards Sardis.

The problem of the *ἔτος ὄγδοον* raises, as has been said already, the question of the scope of P's history, and the internal evidence for settling it is very scanty. Taking this eighth year to be 395, we may safely assume that it included the chronicle of the seven years between 402 and 395, but, as the editors²² say, if its elaborate scale be taken into account, there is nothing to suggest that it went further than the battle of Cnidus in 394.²³ There is, therefore, a good deal to be said for Meyer's suggestion for filling the lacuna in iii. 10 with *τῆ μὲν [τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀρχῆ] ἢ ἡγεμονία*, which would imply that it was a history of the Spartan naval empire; or, as so much emphasis seems to be laid on the operations of Conon in the naval war, including the minute description of the adventures of the Athenian Demaenetus (i. 1–25, ii. 35–iii. 9), it may rather have been a history of the gradual recovery of the Athenian naval power. The editors prove²⁴ that the author wrote after 387 and before 346, indeed, Mr. Walker, they tell us, is prepared to say even before 356 on the ground that a reference to the Sacred War would be expected in xiv. 25 *sqq.*, if it had actually begun.

πόλεμον. οἱ μὲν δεκασθέντες ἔπεισαν καὶ συνέστη πόλεμος Κορινθιακός· οἱ δὲ Σπαρτιάται τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἀνεκαλέσαντα.

²² P. 122.

²³ A slight argument in favour of a very short period is the oblivion into which P

apparently fell: posterity may have felt that he treated the history of eight or nine years in too long and tedious a fashion to be worth reading, cf. *infra*. p. 290.

²⁴ Pp. 122, 134.

But within these rather wide limits there are absolutely no data for determining its *terminus ad quem*. Can the *terminus a quo* be more exactly fixed? On my theory it is fixed already to 402, but the editors, arguing from a reference in ii. 27 to a previous description of an incident of B.C. 411, think it probable that P's history 'comprised that portion of the Peloponnesian War which Thucydides did not live to narrate.' In the passage referred to P is recounting three exploits of the Corinthian Timolaus *κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον τὸν Δεκελεικόν*: (1) he sacked certain islands in the Athenian Empire (c. 412); (2) he vanquished the Athenian admiral Sichiis (c. 411); (3) he caused the revolt of Thasos from Athens (c. 411 end). Of the second exploit alone P remarks *ὅσπερ εἴρηκά που καὶ πρότερον*. Now whether this little victory over Sichiis happened before or after the time when Thucydides' narrative breaks off in the autumn of 411, is pure guess-work. But P makes no such remark about the revolt of Thasos, an event of some importance, about which Thucydides himself in viii. 64 narrates the preliminary stage; so that if P really continued Thucydides' narrative, we should expect to find here a similar reference to his own earlier passage. Furthermore in the three other allusions to the Decelean War xiii. 16, and 30 and xvi. 5 we find no such reference. The passages in xiii. record the long supremacy of the aristocratic party at Thebes and the enrichment of the Thebans through their purchase of the Athenian spoils at Decelea. It is difficult to suppose that if P really continued Thucydides' narrative—fond of digressions as he shows himself to be—he would nowhere have found occasion to deal with these subjects in his story of the last seven years of the war. Still more difficult is it to account for the omission of any reference to his previous work in the last of these passages (xvi. 5) where he illustrates the customary ill-payment of the Persian king's troops by what happened *κατὰ τὸν Δεκελεικὸν πόλεμον*, remarking *πολλάκις αὐ κατέλυθησαν αἱ τῶν συμμάχων τριήρεις εἰ μὴ διὰ τὴν Κύρον προθυμίαν*. Surely an author so interested in naval operations as P, if he had really continued the narrative of Thucydides, must already have dealt with the bad payment of the Peloponnesian fleet by the Persian king and his satraps in its proper place, and in the present passage would have inserted a reference to his previous account.

In my opinion therefore the natural inference from this series of passages taken together is that P himself had written no continuous history of the Decelean war from 411 to 404, but had dealt with Timolaus' victory over Sichiis in some earlier digression, *e.g.* in the passage referred to in the *προειρημέναι πόλεις* (ii. 4. 32), where he must have mentioned Timolaus in connexion with the Corinthian feeling against Sparta.

If these arguments be accepted we must suppose that P's history began with the year 403 or 402 and went on in annalistic fashion to 394 (*a priori* its most probable *terminus*) or, may be, to 387 or 378 or any date not later than 356. This result has, as we shall see, a distinct bearing on our next question.

III.

Who was P?

For the solution of this problem the editors with some light-heartedness lay down two conditions: 'The primary condition,' they tell us,²⁵ 'which must be satisfied with regard to the authorship of P's work is that the historian whose claims are put forward wrote a continuation of Thucydides on a very elaborate scale.' Their second condition is that he must be one of the known historians of the middle of the fourth century B.C. To 'take refuge in complete agnosticism,' they say,²⁶ 'is most unsatisfactory, for admittedly P was a historian of much importance who has largely influenced later tradition, and since his work survived far into the second century (A.D.) his name at any rate must be known.' Now the known historians living at the time required are Cratippus, Clidemus, Androtion, Ephorus, and Theopompus²⁷—or, to be exhaustive, Anaximenes and perhaps Herodicus must be included. Of these Hērodicus may be at once dismissed. Aristotle (*Rhet.* ii. 23. 29) quotes a pun of his on the name of the sophist Thrasymachus, apparently his contemporary, and a scholion on the passage simply states 'Ἀθηναῖος ἱστορικός τις. Nothing more is known. Clidemus or Clitodemus, the oldest of the Atthidae, judged by his scanty fragments, does not seem to have treated of any events later than the Athenian expedition against Sicily. Ephorus, in whose favour *a priori* one would expect much could be said, seems to be justly ruled out²⁸ by the editors; first, because he wrote a universal history and therefore can hardly have described with very great minuteness the period covered by P; secondly, because P's order of arrangement is chronological, while Ephorus' order was logical; and thirdly, because the characteristics of P differ in almost all respects from the known characteristics of Ephorus. Anaximenes, also a writer of universal history, for this same reason need not detain us.

Of the remaining three the claims of Theopompus are advocated by the editors, supported by Professors von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff and Meyer; of Cratippus by the late Professor Blass, Professor Bury, and Mr. Walker; and of Androtion by Professor de Sanctis.

Of these the positive evidence is rather in favour of Androtion: for we know from fr. 17²⁹ that he dealt with the capture and death of Hagnias, which is recorded by P, col. i. 30; and Pausanias (vi. 7. 6) tells us that he also dealt with the revolt of Rhodes from the Lacedaemonians and the death of Dorieus, the son of Diagoras. P, who in col. xi. relates the assassination of his kinsmen at Rhodes, must certainly have done the same. But on the other side it seems impossible to gainsay the negative arguments based on the scope, the scale, and the date of Androtion, which are stated by Mr. Walker in the May number of the *Classical Review*.

²⁵ P. 127.

²⁶ P. 139.

²⁷ E. M. Walker, *Class. Rev.* xxii. p. 88.

²⁸ Pp. 126, 127.

²⁹ Τοῦτον [i.e. Hagnias] καὶ τοὺς συμπροσβευτὰς αὐτοῦ φησὶν Ἀνδροτίων ἐν πέμπτῃ τῆς Ἀτθίδος καὶ Φιλόχορος, ὡς ἐάλωσάν τε καὶ ἀπέθανον ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων.

We are left then with Theopompus and Cratippus. As to Theopompus, while the positive evidence is but scanty, the negative evidence seems to be overwhelming. Here it will be sufficient to summarize the full and lucid statement³⁰ of the arguments, for and against, of the editors themselves, who after holding the scales with more than judicial impartiality, finally declare in favour of Theopompus. On behalf of his claims their arguments are the following. (1) Theopompus began his *Hellenica* where Thucydides left off, and ended with the battle of Cnidus in 394: P, they think, did the same. (2) The scale and subject matter of the fragments of Theopompus, books X. and XI. (as a matter of fact there are only two extant fragments definitely assigned to these books, one of six lines assigned to the tenth, the other of thirteen lines assigned to the eleventh book), tend to show that all the extant fragments of P, if Theopompus were the author, may very well have been included in Book X. (The next six arguments the editors have adopted from Meyer.) (3) Theopompus' 'combination of aristocratic leanings with a sincere desire for truth' corresponds to the attitude adopted by P, especially in his account of parties at Athens. (4) The extant fragments of the *Hellenica*—at least when they happen to be ordinary narrative and not rhetorical passages—are not dissimilar in style to P. (5) Theopompus, like P, was extremely prone to digressions. (6) The lucidity, careful collection of materials, wide range of subjects, deep insight into causes, and power of psychological analysis attributed by Dionysius of Halicarnassus to Theopompus, are to be found also in P. (7) Theopompus' works were serious histories like that of P, and no mere rhetorical exercises. (8) Polybius' censure on Theopompus' want of knowledge in describing battles accords with the suspiciously conventional character of the accounts of the two ambuscades in P v. 59 and xix. 22. The editors attach weight to the first five of these arguments and also to certain linguistic coincidences between P and the fragments of Theopompus—viz. *τυγχάνειν* with a participle in place of a simple verb, *παροξύνειν*, *χωρίον . . . κατεσκευασμένων καλῶς*, but lay most emphasis on the use of the verb *κατάραι* in the sense of *ἐλθεῖν* (P xviii. 39, Theop. fr. 327), and *Καρπασεύς*, meaning a man of Carpasus.

In passing we may remark that argument (1) stands or falls with the question of P having continued Thucydides' narrative. If he did not—as I have argued above—then *cadit quaestio*. As to (4), of the nineteen or twenty extant fragments of Theopompus' *Hellenica* only three contain more than three consecutive lines; and of these three one is only five, another is six, and the third is thirteen lines long. The three indeed are all straightforward narrative, but none of them are long enough or characteristic enough to serve as a basis for an argument either one way or the other. The real difficulty is not that these fragments are as unrhretorical³¹ as the narrative of P, but that the ancient critics mark no distinction of style between the *Hellenica* and the undoubtedly rhetorical *Philippica*. This at least is

³⁰ Pp. 127-139.

³¹ Cf. de Sanctis, *l.c.* p. 9.

evidenced by the famous passage of Porphyry³² comparing him and Xenophon, which, long as it is, is worth quoting in full: *κἀγώ, φησὶν ὁ Νικαγόρας, τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς ἐντυγχάνων αὐτοῦ (Theopompus) τε καὶ τοῦ Ξενοφώντος, πολλὰ τοῦ Ξενοφώντος αὐτὸν μετατιθέντα κατείληφα, καὶ τὸ δεινὸν ὅτι ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον, τὰ γοῦν περὶ τῆς Φαρναβάζου πρὸς Ἀγησίλαου συνόδου δι' Ἀπολλοφάνους τοῦ Κυζικηνοῦ καὶ τὰς ἀμφοῖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐνσπόνδους διαλέξεις ἅς ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ Ξενοφῶν ἀνέγραψε πάνυ χαριέντως καὶ πρεπόντως ἀμφοῖν εἰς τὴν ἐνδεκάτην τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν μεταθεῖς ὁ Θεόπομπος ἀργά τε καὶ ἀκίνητα πεποίηκε καὶ ἄπρακτα· λόγου γὰρ δύναμιν καὶ διὰ τὴν κλοπὴν ἐξεργασίαν ἐμβάλλειν καὶ ἐπιδείκνυσθαι σπουδάζων βραδύς καὶ μέλλων καὶ ἀναβαλλομένῳ εἰκῶς φαίνεται καὶ τὸ ἔμφυχον καὶ ἐνεργὸν τὸ Ξενοφώντος διαφθείρων.* From this passage it seems to follow that Theopompus at any rate inserted speeches in his *Hellenica* whether rhetorical or not—whereas perhaps the most marked feature of P's style is the absence of speeches in passages where they might well be expected, e.g. i. 14, ii. 1–35, xv. 7 (cf. Xen. *Hell.* iii. 5. 7–16, where the causes of the alliance between Athens and the Boeotians in 395 are put into the mouth of the Theban orator). Moreover Theopompus, as a young man, gained the prize offered by Queen Artemisia for a funeral oration in honour of her husband Mausolus (c. 352 B.C.), a fact which shows—if the date of his birth be rightly placed about 376—that he developed his rhetorical powers at an early age. The linguistic coincidences again are not so very remarkable: even the rare use of *κατὰραι* can be paralleled from elsewhere, and Stephanus of Byzantium quotes *Καρπασεῖς* and not *Καρπασέα* (xvi. 37) as used by Theopompus in his tenth³³ book (alluding probably to the tenth book of the *Philippica*). The other arguments do not seem to call for comment here, they are so fully dealt with by the editors themselves.

Now, however, let us summarize on the other side the negative evidence collected³⁴ by the editors, which, they admit, shows 'the existence of a number of weighty objections to the identification of P with Theopompus.'

(1) The most important and the most insuperable is the chronological difficulty. xiv. 25–37 proves that P wrote his history before the end of the Sacred War in 346, which resulted in the destruction of the Phocians. Indeed Mr. Walker's inference is almost irresistible that P must have written before the beginning of the war in 356, arguing that a reference to the Sacred War would be expected in this passage if it had actually begun. Now if any reliance can be placed on the accepted chronology of Theopompus' life, his authorship of our fragment is, with the earlier date, out of the question, and with the later date very improbable. For 376³⁵ is accepted as the date of his birth, and we know that he lived in Egypt under Ptolemy Soter (323–285 B.C.) and may even have survived the year 300. But even

³² *ap.* Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* x. 3, p. 465.

³³ It is perhaps noticeable that Stephanus in his nine other citations from definite books of the *Hellenica* adds the word *Ἑλληνικῶν*, but in quoting from the *Philippica* seems frequently

to omit *Φιλιππικῶν* after the number of the book.

³⁴ Pp. 131 *sqq.*

³⁵ Photius, *Cod.* 176.

with the later date 346 it is difficult enough to suppose that Theopompus had completed the tenth book of his *Hellenica* before the age of 30, if it began with the year 411 and were a work as detailed and elaborate as that of P. (2) Again, if Porphyry's accusation is true—he is none too reliable an authority as his mistakes about the plagiarisms of Ephorus in the immediate context show—that Theopompus plagiarized from Xenophon, since the latter cannot have published his *Hellenica* much before 356, it seems natural to assign a considerably later date to Theopompus' *Hellenica*. (3) The same conclusion seems to follow from Plutarch's³⁶ use in his *Life of Agesilaus* of both Xenophon and Theopompus as his authorities. For Plutarch's account³⁷ of the campaign of 395 against Tissaphernes is entirely independent of P, who, as we have seen, is followed by Diodorus. Moreover, if, as most moderns believe, Diodorus' fourteenth book is based chiefly on Ephorus, and Ephorus in his turn is based on P, it is much easier to suppose that P was some older historian and not identical with Theopompus, who was Ephorus' fellow-pupil and long outlived him. (4) The editors admit that P's account of Agesilaus does not accord at all well with what is known of the treatment of him by Theopompus. To Theopompus the Spartan king was³⁸ μέγιστος ὁμολογουμένως καὶ τῶν τότε ζώντων ἐπιφανέστατος, but P 'shows no tendency to illustrate the personal character of Agesilaus nor any enthusiasm over his achievements.' In fact he speaks³⁹ more warmly of Conon his arch-enemy. (5) While P in xxi. 11 calls the Paphlagonian king Γυής, the name is given as Θύς in fr. 198 of Theopompus, which appears as Thuys in Nepos (*Dut.* 2), who is here following Theopompus. However, too much weight must not be laid on this discrepancy, because, as Meyer points out, the papyrus is specially weak in the spelling of proper names. (6) Finally,⁴⁰ P's style betrays a complete absence of almost all the characteristics which the descriptions of ancient critics, especially Dionysius of Halicarnassus, would lead us to expect to find in a fragment of Theopompus. In fact the editors are here reduced to postulating—without a particle of positive evidence in their favour—a youthful and bald style totally unlike the rhetorical vehemence by which alone Theopompus was known to the ancients, and in which he certainly wrote as early as 352 B.C., when he was victorious against his old master Isocrates in gaining Artemisia's prize.

But the editors themselves admit the cumulative force of all this negative evidence, and are well aware that most of the positive arguments that they have marshalled together are vulnerable in many points. On

³⁶ Mr. Walker (*Klio*, viii. p. 364) in discussing the relation of (a) Pausanias, Polyænus and Justin, and (b) Nepos and Plutarch to P arrives at the remarkable result that the three former, who exhibit agreement with P, are the writers generally 'supposed to be dependent on Ephorus and independent of Theopompus'; while the two latter, who fail to exhibit a

single point of contact with P, are 'the two writers whose use of Theopompus has been most generally admitted.'

³⁷ *L.c.* 10.

³⁸ Plut. *l.c.* 10.

³⁹ Cf. esp. xviii. 32.

⁴⁰ Cf. p. 137.

what then do they rely for their final ⁴¹ identification of P with Theopompus? On the direct evidence of *Καρπασεύς* and *κατὰρα*. But of these the first, as we have seen, is not above suspicion; for the balance of probability is in favour of Stephanus quoting from the *Philippica* and not the *Hellenica*; and the second coincidence, the editors confess, by itself would not be very remarkable. Even if we add to these the love of digressions and the aristocratical sentiments common to P and Theopompus, the only common characteristics which the critics have not as yet called in question, the case is made but little more plausible. At the bottom of the whole process of argumentation the wish is father to the thought. P is obviously a reliable historian. He wrote his work about the middle of the fourth century B.C. His version of the events of 395 B.C. reappears in Diodorus (fl. 8 B.C.). He was known and read in Egypt in the second century A.D. He must therefore have been a writer known to fame, and the only writer known to us, who at all fulfils these conditions, is Theopompus. All the arguments against his being Theopompus, however strong, must therefore be minimised one by one, and their cumulative force be finally ignored.

But does Cratippus stand the test better? Shadowy personage as he is—there are only four references to him in ancient literature—yet he has, as compared with Theopompus four points in his favour, his date, his dislike of speeches, his Athenian citizenship, and as a consequence of his date, his independence of Xenophon. Mr. E. M. Walker in the current number of *Klio* has dealt with these points so fully and clearly that I need do little more than summarize his arguments. As to his date, he is described by Dionysius of Halicarnassus as *συνακμάσας* with Thucydides, but from Plutarch's list of the subjects of which he treated he must certainly have outlived the battle of Cnidus in 394 B.C., and the usage of the term *συνακμάζειν* is so loose that he may well have survived for several years the changes in the Boeotian Constitution alluded to in P xi. 37—xii. 31, which took place about 387. Such a date for the composition of P—380–370—not only harmonizes very well with his avoidance of hiatus, which the *Panegyricus* of Isocrates proves to have been in fashion as early as 380, but accounts both for his absolute independence of Xenophon's *Hellenica*, which cannot have been published before 360, and for the apparent use of his narrative by Ephorus, who certainly lived to see the accession of Alexander the Great. Cratippus' dislike of speeches follows from the story about him related by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*vit. Thuc.* 16). The absence of speeches in P may of course be a matter of accident, but it is certain that a more rhetorical writer would have put his account ⁴² of the causes of the Corinthian war into the mouth of some Theban orator, just as Xenophon, by no means a rhetorician, has done in the *Hellenica* (iii. 5. 8–15).

That Cratippus was an Athenian may justly be inferred from the passage in Plutarch (*de Glor. Athen.* I. p. 345), where he is ranked—appar-

⁴¹ P. 112.

⁴² Cols. i. 25 ii. 35, xiv. 10 16. Cf. xv. 11 14.

ently in chronological order—between Thucydides and Xenophon as recording the great achievements of Athenian statesmen and generals. So, too, P seems to show a more intimate acquaintance with Athenian than with Boeotian or even Spartan affairs. In cols. i. 1–25, ii. 35–iii. 9 he enters into minute details about the unimportant expedition of Demaenetus; in cols. i. 25–ii. 1 and ii. 10–14 he professes full knowledge of the motives of the Athenian democrats; and in col. xiii. 15–40 he gives curious particulars about the furnishing of Attic houses. Moreover, as already noticed, his account of the exploits of the Athenian Conon seems to be fuller and more enthusiastic than that of the campaigns of the Spartan Agesilaus.

So far then there are certainly fewer difficulties to be overcome in identifying P with Cratippus than with Theopompus. The only real difficulty—besides the absence of positive evidence—is the subject of Cratippus' history. Plutarch (*l.c.*) represents him as dealing with τὰ περὶ Ἑλλησποντον Ἀλκιβιάδου νεανιεύματα καὶ τὰ πρὸς Λέσβον Θρασύλλου καὶ τὴν ὑπὸ Θηραμένους τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας κατάλυσιν καὶ Θρασύβουλον καὶ Ἀρχιππον καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ Φυλῆς ἑβδομήκοντα κατὰ τῆς Σπαρτιατῶν ἡγεμονίας ἀνισταμένους καὶ Κόνωνα πάλιν ἐμβιβάζοντα τὰς Ἀθήνας εἰς τὴν θάλατταν, to which we must add from his *Vit. X. Orat.* ii. 1. p. 834 something about the mutilation of the Hermae, which, as Mr. Walker suggests, may have been related in connexion with Alcibiades' return from exile. Dionysius (*l.c.*) also seems to speak of his having aimed in some sense or other to complete the work of Thucydides—τὰ παραλειθθέντα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ (Thucydides) συναγαγόν. Evidently then his work included as many events before 402 B.C. as after. Now if it be a 'primary condition with regard to the authorship of P's work that the historian whose claims are put forward wrote a continuation of Thucydides,' all this is an additional argument in favour of Cratippus. If on the other hand, as I have argued above,⁴³ the internal evidence is on the whole against P having narrated any events prior to 402, except by way of digression, then Plutarch's account of the contents of Cratippus' work is a strong argument against his being identified with P. As against Theopompus Mr. Walker seems to me to have made out his case in favour of Cratippus. But a dispassionate treatment of the contents of the papyrus apart from any *a priori* considerations seems to me equally decisive against both hypotheses.

Androtion, Ephorus, Theopompus, Cratippus, being excluded there seems to be no historian left whose claims can be advocated for identification with P. So we find ourselves face to face with that unsatisfactory agnosticism which the editors⁴⁴ justly deprecate on the ground that P was obviously 'a historian of much importance who has largely influenced later tradition,' and that 'since his work survived far into the second century [A.D.], his name at any rate must be known.' The statement is exceedingly plausible, but the history of literary survivals is a strange chapter of accidents—almost as capricious as the discovery of papyri. Cratippus

⁴³ P. 283.⁴⁴ P. 139.

himself, as Mr. Walker points out, amounts almost to a negative instance. Though read by Dionysius and by Plutarch (fl. 80 A.D.) and ranked by the latter with Thucydides and Xenophon, not a line of him survives, not even a word of his is quoted by any ancient grammarian. Mr. Walker cites Hieronymus of Cardia as a parallel case, and much the same might be said of Antiochus of Syracuse, of whom only some fifteen fragments are left. To this it may indeed be objected that at least their names are known. This of course is true, but they come perilously near to the vanishing point, and in the case of P there is a fairly good reason why P should have gone beyond it. From the scale of the fragment it seems to be a fair inference that the whole work included the history of a few years only—perhaps only nine—and those not of any very surpassing interest. The style of his treatment, though clear and straight-forward, it must be confessed, is dull and monotonous. Then a few years later Ephorus seems to have skimmed the cream off his work and presented in his universal history a narrative of this period on a scale and in a style more acceptable to the average Greek reader. The fate of P therefore was the same as that of many of the predecessors of Herodotus. Though the basis of many succeeding histories, his own was itself forgotten and neglected, but as the papyrus bears witness, never altogether lost. Who he was we shall never know for certain, till some definite quotation⁴⁵ bearing his name is discovered elsewhere. Till then many of us must, I fear, content ourselves with that agnosticism which the learned editors deprecate as so unsatisfactory; at any rate it is less unsatisfactory than belief without sufficient evidence.

G. E. UNDERHILL.

NOTE.

For many of the arguments in this article I must acknowledge my indebtedness to the following:—

Times. Literary Supplement, Feb. 20, 1908.

Professor Busolt, *Hermes*, xliii. Part 2.

Professor de Sanctis, *L'Attide di Androzione e un Papiro di Oxyrhynchos*.

Mr. E. M. Walker, *Classical Review*, May, 1908, *Klio*, viii. p. 356 *sqq.* Much to my regret my own article was nearly finished before the latter essay appeared.

⁴⁵ Dr. U. Wilcken (*Hermes*, xliii. pp. 477 *sqq.*), following up a suggestion of Dr. Wilamowitz, proposes to fill the lacuna in vi. 45 with δ[ς παρὰ τὴν Μεσσηνίδα] ἔειπεν ἀπὸ Κελαίωνων and regards it as the passage mentioned by Strabo xiii. 629. But the words παρὰ τὴν Μεσσηνίδα contain fifteen letters, where the editors think that there is only room for ten, so

that I cannot consider Dr. Wilcken's suggestion as very plausible, and fully concur with the judgment expressed in the editors' note on the passage. 'We attach little weight to the general resemblance between vi. 44 vii. 4 and Strabo's allusion to Theopompus as an argument for the identification of the latter author with P.'

meaning attached to it by Pindar, *presiding over the sacred arena*, which in most cases is identical with the *ἀγορά* (cf. *Schol.* in *Pind. P.* ii. 10: *ἐναγώνιος δὲ ὁ Ἑρμῆς ὡς τῶν ἀγῶνων προσιτάτης*). Thus *ἀγῶνιος* meant to Aeschylus as to Pindar the same thing as *ἐναγώνιος*, and when Aeschylus apostrophizes Hermes as *ἐναγώνια Μαιῖας καὶ Διὸς Ἑρμῆ* (*Fr. incert.* 387) his meaning is not substantially other than Pindar's when he describes Alcimidas, the Aeginetan boy-wrestler as *παῖς ἐναγῶνιος* (*N.* vi. 13), and the god thus apostrophized is the self same Hermes *ἀγοραῖος* to whom Pindar dedicated a statue at Thebes. How ideally conceived was Aeschylus' Zeus *ἀγοραῖος* may be gathered from *Eum.* 931 ff. where Athena proclaims aloud that the strife as to who shall confer most benefits inaugurated as the consummation of the ages is the triumph of Zeus *ἀγοραῖος*: *ἀλλ' ἐκράτησε Ζεὺς ἀγοραῖος· νικᾷ δ' ἀγαθῶν ἔρις ἡμετέρα διὰ παντός*. That the epithet *ἀγοραῖος* has here the force of *ἐναγῶνιος* and implies a contrast between the fraternal emulation of the arena, and the *ἄπληστος κακῶν στάσις* mentioned in the line next following (*τάνδ' ἄπληστον κακῶν μήπορ' ἐν πόλει στάσις τᾶδ' ἐπέιχομαι βρέμειν*) is self-evident, since the Eumenides give their solemn pledge in response to Athena's proclamation that Zeus *ἀγοραῖος* has prevailed at last. Since the difficulty raised by Dr. Verrall (note on *Agam.* 499 = 518) concerning the *ἀγῶνιοι θεοί* of the Suppliants alone gives plausibility to the contention that the *ἀγῶνιοι θεοί* of *Agam.* 449 are not the gods of the athletic *ἀγών* or arena, the only question remaining is whether Dr. Verrall and Wecklein are right in assuming that *κοινοβωμία* (*Suppl.* 219) of the *Suppliants* is not in an *ἀγορά* [= *ἀγών*], but in a lonely place near the sea. Three facts must be recognised at the outset; (1) Argos lies on rising ground not more than two miles from the sea; (2) at Sparta (*Plut. Lysicurgus* vi.) and various Thessalian towns (*Aristot. Pol.* vii. 11, 2, and *Xen. Cyrop.* I. ii. 3) there were two *ἀγοραί*, one (*ἐλευθέρα ἀγορά*) for meetings of the people, another for more usual trafficking. Now, since a similar arrangement existed at Cyzicus (*C.I.G.* 3657—*ἀνδρεία ἀγορά*, Theophrast. *Char.* 2, and Menander cited by *Pollux.* x. 18—*γυναικεῖα ἀγορά*) which like Argos (*Suppl.* 627) was a *πελαγία πόλις*, it is no violent inference to conclude that Aeschylus knew of two *ἀγοραί* at Argos—one where was the joint altar of Zeus, Poseidon, Apollo, and Hermes, resorted to by Danaus and his suppliant daughters—the *γυναικεῖα ἀγορά*—and the other the *ἐλευθέρα ἀγορά* in which King Pelasgus convened the people and obtained their consent to harbouring the Suppliants; (3) the whole *scenario* of the *Suppliants*, probably the earliest drama extant, is extremely vague and cannot fairly be criticized with any sort of strictness. All this being granted, the fact that the Suppliants are no sooner in a position at the altar than the king of the land appears to question them, certainly favours their being in the *ἀγορά* rather than in a lonely place by the sea. That Danaus sees the ship from a point near the altar offers not the slightest difficulty. Nothing but the *ἀγορά* can be implied by line 339 addressed to the king by the Suppliants: *αἰδῶν σὺ πρίμην πύλεις ὧδ' ἐστεμμένην*. Indeed the absurdity of having the *πρίμνη πύλεις*—whether the reference be to the gods or to their common altar—in a lonely place by the sea is too obvious to require further comment. Here was the place where all strangers in distress placed suppliant boughs (cf. vv. 237 f.). It must have been in the *ἀγορά*. The only ground for doubting is removed when we conceive, on the strength of reasonable evidence, that there was another and a separate *ἀγορά* where the king convened the people. The play as it stands requires this, but it also requires that the altar of the *ἐναγῶνιοι θεοί* should be anywhere rather than in 'a lonely place'—in fact that it should be on the *ἀγορά γυναικεία* in the *πόλις* of Argos. That being firmly established, there is no further call for the wildly improbable suggestion that Pindar meant one thing and Aeschylus quite another by the *ἀγῶνιοι θεοί*. Above all we are rescued from the extremely uncomfortable necessity of spinning out reasons for Aeschylus' chimerical distinction between the Hermes *ἐναγῶνιος* of *Fr.* 387, who must be the god of the arena, and the *ἀγῶνιος* Hermes of *Suppliants* 185 (cf. 216), 238, 327, 350, and of *Agam.* 496 (cf. 501).

(3) Sophocles employs the word *ἀγών* in sixteen places and his extant works yield examples of each of the three senses found in Pindar and in Aeschylus.

I. The Homeric meaning of *arena* or *lists* is perfectly clear in *Electra* 680 ff.:

κάπεμπόμην πρὸς ταῦτα καὶ τὸ πᾶν φράσω.
 κείνος γὰρ ἔλθων ἐς τὸ κλεινὸν Ἑλλάδος
 πρόσχημ' ἀγῶνα, Δελφικῶν ἄθλων χάριν.

Here, at the beginning of the famous description of Orestes' death in a chariot-race at the Pythian games, the son of Agamemnon is described as 'entering the brilliant arena of Hellas for the sake of Delphian contests.' Again in *Trachin.* 503-506, 'ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τάνδ' ἄκουιν || τίνες ἀμφίγυνοι κατέβαν πρὸ γάμων || τίνες πᾶμπληκτα πάγκονιτά τ' ἐξήλθον ἄεθλ' ἀγώνων,' the combination ἄεθλα ἀγώνων makes the meaning of ἀγώνων perfectly unambiguous.

II. The secondary Homeric meaning of *assembly* is found in two Sophoclean fragments: 68 (Athen. 466 b.) and 675 (Stob. 45, 11).

III. The latter-day meaning of *contest* attaches to ἀγών in seven cases: *O.C.* 587, 1080, 1082, and 1148; *Aj.* 936 and 1240; *El.* 699.

IV. Five cases remain parallel to the three last cited in the preceding note on Aeschylus and the eight last cited in the note on ἀγών in Pindar. Here ἀγών means both the contest and its arena, but here as in the Pindaric and Aeschylean cases in point, the most conveniently effective translation is invariably *arena* or *lists*: (a) *Trach.* 20: ὁς (sc. the son of Zeus and Alcmena) εἰς ἀγῶνα τῷδε συμπεσῶν μάχης || ἐκλύεταί με, *delivers me by grappling with this creature in the lists*; (b) *ib.* 159: πολλοὺς ἀγῶνας ἐξίω, *going forth to enter many lists*; (c) *Electra* 1440 f.: λαθραῖον ὡς ὑρούση || πρὸς δίκας ἀγῶνα, *hurling onward to the covert lists of justice*; (d) *Aj.* 1163: ἔσται μεγάλης ἔριδος τις ἀγών, *there will be lists of huge contention*; (e) *Electra* 1492 f.: χωροῖς ἂν εἴσω σὺν τάχει. λόγων γὰρ οὐ || νῦν ἐστὶν ἀγών, || ἀλλὰ σῆς ψυχῆς πέρι, Orestes requires Aegisthus to be in the right place before he slays him, as is shewn by his answer to 1493 f. (τί δ' ἐς δόμους ἄγεις με; etc.) which is (1495 f.):

μὴ τάσσε· χώρει δ' ἔνθαπερ κατέκτανες
 πατέρα τὸν ἀμόν, ὡς ἂν ἐν ταῦτῳ θάνης.

(4) The frequent occurrence of the word ἀγών in the extant plays and fragments of Euripides bears speaking testimony to the frequency with which allusions to the great national games were made in the common speech of the poet's contemporaries, and also to his notorious affectation of the speech of everyday life: hence the great preponderance of passages where ἀγών has completely lost its archaic meaning of *arena* or *lists* and means, as in everyday speech, simply *contest*.

I. But there are six cases where it means *arena* or *lists*, as follows: (a) *Orestes* 1291 f.: σκέψασθέ νῦν ἄμεινον || ἀλλ' αἱ μὲν ἔνθαδ', αἱ δ' ἐκείσ' εἰσσετε. (b) *Ib.* 1342 f.: ἴθ' εἰς ἀγῶνα δεῦρ', ἐγὼ δ' ἠγήσομαι, σωτηρίας γὰρ τέμν' ἔχεις ἡμῖν μόνη. (c) *Phoenissae* 1361 f.: ἔστησαν ἐλθόντ' ἐς μέσον μεταίχμιον || ὡς εἰς ἀγῶνα μονομάχου τ' ἀλκὴν δορός (Athenaeus, p. 154 e, quotes the 'skit' on this passage perpetrated by Aristophanes in his *Phoenissae* as follows:

Ἔς Οἰδίπουν δὲ παῖδε, διπτύχω κόρω,
 Ἄρης κατέσκηψ' ἔς τε μονομάχου πάλης
 ἀγῶνα νῦν ἐστᾶσιν.

Part of the fun here undoubtedly is derived from the archaic meaning of ἀγών (*arena*) which would strike the public as affected in Euripides, although it belonged as a matter of course to Pindar, Aeschylus, and Sophocles); (d) *Alcestis* 1103, φεῦ || εἴθ' ἐξ ἀγῶνος τήνδε μὴ λαβῆς ποτε; (e) *Andromache* 724 f.: εἰ δ' ἀπὴν δορός || τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις δόξα, καὶ μάχης ἀγών; (f) *Electra* 883 f.: ἡκείν γὰρ οἶκ ἀχρεῖον ἐκπλεθρον δραμῶν || ἀγών' ἐς οἴκου ἀλλὰ πολέμιον κτανὼν || Αἰγισθον.

II. Since there is no case where Euripides uses ἀγών in the secondary Homeric sense of *assembly*, it is well to recall Photius s.v. ἀγῶνα: τὴν συναγωγὴν οὕτως Ἀριστοφάνης. This proves that the Homeric secondary meaning was not entirely obsolete in the days of Euripides and Aristophanes. Indeed Aristophanes emulated the everyday diction of Euripides, as he confesses himself (*Fr.* 397 from *Schol.* in Plat. *Apol.* p. 330:

χρῶμαι γὰρ αὐτοῦ (φῆσι) τοῦ στόματος τῷ στρογγύλῳ ἢ τοῖς νοῦς δ' ἀγοραίους ἤττον ἢ κείνος ποιῶ). Thus it appears that Euripides might have used ἀγών=assembly, though no case of it has survived.

III. There are 51 cases where ἀγών means contest, as follows: *Hec.* 229; (2-10) *Orestes* 333, 491, 847, 861, 888, 1124; 1223, 1244, and 1537; (11-16) *Phoen.* 258, 787, 867, 1060, 1340, 1487; (17-19) *Med.* 235, 336, 403; (20-21) *Hippol.* 490, 1016; (22-26) *Alc.* 489, 504, 648, 1026, and 1141; (27-28) *Androm.* 233, 328; (29-35) *Suppl.* 71, 316, 427, 665, 706, 754, and 814; (36-37) *I.A.* 1003, 1254; (38) *Rhesus* 195; (39-41) *Heracl.* 116, 161, 992; (42-43) *Helena* 339, 849; (44-45) *Ion* 857, 939; (46-47) *Herc. Fur.* 789, 1189; (48-49) *Elect.* 695, 751; (50) *Fr. Antiope* 189 (Stob. 82, 2); (51) *Trachides* 363.

IV. Seven cases remain, parallel to the last five enumerated in the preceding note on Sophocles, to the last three cited in the note on Aeschylus, and to the last eight of the note on Pindar's use of ἀγών. These passages are: (a) *Phoen.* 588; (b) *Ib.* 937; (c) *Ib.* 1233; (d) *Herc. Fur.* 811 (cf. Aesch. *Choeph.* 547 f.); (e-f) *Fr.* 68 (Stob. 8, 12).

L. D.

A GRAECO-ROMAN BRONZE LAMP.

[PLATE XXXIII.]

THE beautiful bronze lamp, of which two views are here given, was recently acquired by Mr. T. Whitcombe Greene in Frankfort-on-Main. It is 146 mm. long, 76 mm. high, and is said to have been found in Switzerland.

The lamp is in the form of a boat, the raised bow of which contains the hole for the oil. There are two projecting nozzles on each side of the boat, pierced with holes for the insertion of wicks. Their position suggests that they are intended to represent the rowlocks. A border of small circles with centre-dots is engraved round the top margin of the lamp; five waves are incised on each side of the bow, and another wave at its point. Three pairs of engraved lines run under the boat, one pair along the line of the keel, and one on each side. Within a shallow depression at the stern end of the boat is a nude figure of the infant Heracles in a half-reclining attitude, with his right leg slightly drawn up. He is strangling the two serpents sent, as the story goes, by Hera to attack the new-born infant. He grasps them tightly by the necks, and their bodies pass in a series of sinuous windings in front and behind him respectively. The lamp was clearly a hanging lamp, once suspended by means of chains attached to the end-loops formed by the windings of the serpents. It was originally silver-plated; for considerable traces of the silver can still be observed.

The representation of Heracles strangling the serpents in a boat seems to be a new one. The boat finds no place in the legend, but was probably adopted by the artist because it was a favourite shape with lamp-makers. A terracotta lamp in the British Museum closely resembles the present one in form, though it has three nozzles on each side and a flat bottom to enable it to stand. The Theocritean version of the serpent-strangling described Heracles as sleeping in the shield of Amphitryon, while Pindar does not mention the cradle at all.¹ The position of the figure on the lamp is pretty closely paralleled by several extant statues or statuettes. Among these may be mentioned a bronze group in the British Museum,² which perhaps ornamented the top of a cista; several marble statues;³ and a marble relief from Athens of the Roman period, where Heracles is represented in a posture very similar to that of the figure in the present lamp.⁴

F. H. MARSHALL.

¹ Pindar, *Nem.* i. 50 ff.; Theocr. xxiv.

² *Cat. of Bronzes*, 1243.

³ Clarac, Pl. 301, No. 1953, and Pls. 781, 782.

⁴ *Annali dell' Inst.* 1863, Tav. Q. 2. For the

various ancient monuments representing Heracles strangling the serpents, see *J.H.S.* xvi. (1896), pp. 145 ff.; *Arch. Zeit.* 1868, pp. 33 ff.; *Athh. Mitth.* 1878, p. 267.

But within these rather wide limits there are absolutely no data for determining its *terminus ad quem*. Can the *terminus a quo* be more exactly fixed? On my theory it is fixed already to 402, but the editors, arguing from a reference in ii. 27 to a previous description of an incident of *n.c.* 411, think it probable that P's history 'comprised that portion of the Peloponnesian War which Thucydides did not live to narrate.' In the passage referred to P is recounting three exploits of the Corinthian Timolaus *κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον τὸν Δεκελεικόν*: (1) he sacked certain islands in the Athenian Empire (*c.* 412); (2) he vanquished the Athenian admiral Sicius (*c.* 411); (3) he caused the revolt of Thasos from Athens (*c.* 411 end). Of the second exploit alone P remarks *ὄσπερ εἰρηκά που καὶ πρότερον*. Now whether this little victory over Sicius happened before or after the time when Thucydides' narrative breaks off in the autumn of 411, is pure guess-work. But P makes no such remark about the revolt of Thasos, an event of some importance, about which Thucydides himself in viii. 64 narrates the preliminary stage; so that if P really continued Thucydides' narrative, we should expect to find here a similar reference to his own earlier passage. Furthermore in the three other allusions to the Decelean War xiii. 16, and 30 and xvi. 5 we find no such reference. The passages in xiii. record the long supremacy of the aristocratic party at Thebes and the enrichment of the Thebans through their purchase of the Athenian spoils at Decelea. It is difficult to suppose that if P really continued Thucydides' narrative—fond of digressions as he shows himself to be—he would nowhere have found occasion to deal with these subjects in his story of the last seven years of the war. Still more difficult is it to account for the omission of any reference to his previous work in the last of these passages (xvi. 5) where he illustrates the customary ill-payment of the Persian king's troops by what happened *κατὰ τὸν Δεκελεικὸν πόλεμον*, remarking *πολλάκις ἂν κατελύθησαν αἱ τῶν συμμάχων τριήρεις εἰ μὴ διὰ τὴν Κύρου προθυμίαν*. Surely an author so interested in naval operations as P, if he had really continued the narrative of Thucydides, must already have dealt with the bad payment of the Peloponnesian fleet by the Persian king and his satraps in its proper place, and in the present passage would have inserted a reference to his previous account.

In my opinion therefore the natural inference from this series of passages taken together is that P himself had written no continuous history of the Decelean war from 411 to 404, but had dealt with Timolaus' victory over Sicius in some earlier digression, *e.g.* in the passage referred to in the *προειρημέναι πόλεις* (ii. 4. 32), where he must have mentioned Timolaus in connexion with the Corinthian feeling against Sparta.

If these arguments be accepted we must suppose that P's history began with the year 403 or 402 and went on in annalistic fashion to 394 (*a priori* its most probable *terminus*) or, may be, to 387 or 378 or any date not later than 356. This result has, as we shall see, a distinct bearing on our next question.

III.

Who was P?

For the solution of this problem the editors with some light-heartedness lay down two conditions: 'The primary condition,' they tell us,²⁵ 'which must be satisfied with regard to the authorship of P's work is that the historian whose claims are put forward wrote a continuation of Thucydides on a very elaborate scale.' Their second condition is that he must be one of the known historians of the middle of the fourth century B.C. To 'take refuge in complete agnosticism,' they say,²⁶ 'is most unsatisfactory, for admittedly P was a historian of much importance who has largely influenced later tradition, and since his work survived far into the second century (A.D.) his name at any rate must be known.' Now the known historians living at the time required are Cratippus, Clidemus, Androtion, Ephorus, and Theopompus²⁷—or, to be exhaustive, Anaximenes and perhaps Herodicus must be included. Of these Hērodicus may be at once dismissed. Aristotle (*Rhet.* ii. 23. 29) quotes a pun of his on the name of the sophist Thrasymachus, apparently his contemporary, and a scholion on the passage simply states 'Ἀθηναῖος ἱστορικός τις. Nothing more is known. Clidemus or Clitodemus, the oldest of the Atthidae, judged by his scanty fragments, does not seem to have treated of any events later than the Athenian expedition against Sicily. Ephorus, in whose favour *a priori* one would expect much could be said, seems to be justly ruled out²⁸ by the editors; first, because he wrote a universal history and therefore can hardly have described with very great minuteness the period covered by P; secondly, because P's order of arrangement is chronological, while Ephorus' order was logical; and thirdly, because the characteristics of P differ in almost all respects from the known characteristics of Ephorus. Anaximenes, also a writer of universal history, for this same reason need not detain us.

Of the remaining three the claims of Theopompus are advocated by the editors, supported by Professors von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff and Meyer; of Cratippus by the late Professor Blass, Professor Bury, and Mr. Walker; and of Androtion by Professor de Sanctis.

Of these the positive evidence is rather in favour of Androtion: for we know from fr. 17²⁹ that he dealt with the capture and death of Hagnias, which is recorded by P, col. i. 30; and Pausanias (vi. 7. 6) tells us that he also dealt with the revolt of Rhodes from the Lacedaemonians and the death of Dorieus, the son of Diagoras. P, who in col. xi. relates the assassination of his kinsmen at Rhodes, must certainly have done the same. But on the other side it seems impossible to gainsay the negative arguments based on the scope, the scale, and the date of Androtion, which are stated by Mr. Walker in the May number of the *Classical Review*.

²⁵ P. 127.

²⁶ P. 139.

²⁷ E. M. Walker, *Class. Rev.* xxii. p. 88.

²⁸ Pp. 126, 127.

²⁹ Τοῦτον [i.e. Hagnias] καὶ τοὺς συμπροσβευτὰς αὐτοῦ φησὶν Ἀνδρότιων ἐν πέμπτῃ τῆς Ἀτθίδος καὶ Φιλόχορος, ὡς ἐάλωσάν τε καὶ ἀπέθανον ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων.

We are left then with Theopompus and Cratippus. As to Theopompus, while the positive evidence is but scanty, the negative evidence seems to be overwhelming. Here it will be sufficient to summarize the full and lucid statement³⁰ of the arguments, for and against, of the editors themselves, who after holding the scales with more than judicial impartiality, finally declare in favour of Theopompus. On behalf of his claims their arguments are the following. (1) Theopompus began his *Hellenica* where Thucydides left off, and ended with the battle of Cnidus in 394: P, they think, did the same. (2) The scale and subject matter of the fragments of Theopompus, books X. and XI. (as a matter of fact there are only two extant fragments definitely assigned to these books, one of six lines assigned to the tenth, the other of thirteen lines assigned to the eleventh book), tend to show that all the extant fragments of P, if Theopompus were the author, may very well have been included in Book X. (The next six arguments the editors have adopted from Meyer.) (3) Theopompus' 'combination of aristocratic leanings with a sincere desire for truth' corresponds to the attitude adopted by P, especially in his account of parties at Athens. (4) The extant fragments of the *Hellenica*—at least when they happen to be ordinary narrative and not rhetorical passages—are not dissimilar in style to P. (5) Theopompus, like P, was extremely prone to digressions. (6) The lucidity, careful collection of materials, wide range of subjects, deep insight into causes, and power of psychological analysis attributed by Dionysius of Halicarnassus to Theopompus, are to be found also in P. (7) Theopompus' works were serious histories like that of P, and no mere rhetorical exercises. (8) Polybius' censure on Theopompus' want of knowledge in describing battles accords with the suspiciously conventional character of the accounts of the two ambuscades in P v. 59 and xix. 22. The editors attach weight to the first five of these arguments and also to certain linguistic coincidences between P and the fragments of Theopompus—viz. *τυγχάνειν* with a participle in place of a simple verb, *παροξύνειν*, *χωρίον . . . κατεσκευασμένων καλῶς*, but lay most emphasis on the use of the verb *κατάραι* in the sense of *ἐλθεῖν* (P xviii. 39, Theop. fr. 327), and *Καρπασεύς*, meaning a man of Carpasus.

In passing we may remark that argument (1) stands or falls with the question of P having continued Thucydides' narrative. If he did not—as I have argued above—then *cadit quaestio*. As to (4), of the nineteen or twenty extant fragments of Theopompus' *Hellenica* only three contain more than three consecutive lines; and of these three one is only five, another is six, and the third is thirteen lines long. The three indeed are all straightforward narrative, but none of them are long enough or characteristic enough to serve as a basis for an argument either one way or the other. The real difficulty is not that these fragments are as unrhretorical³¹ as the narrative of P, but that the ancient critics mark no distinction of style between the *Hellenica* and the undoubtedly rhetorical *Philippica*. This at least is

³⁰ Pp. 127–139.

³¹ Cf. de Sanctis, *l.c.* p. 9.

evidenced by the famous passage of Porphyry³² comparing him and Xenophon, which, long as it is, is worth quoting in full: *καὶ γὰρ, φησὶν ὁ Νικαγόρας, τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς ἐντυγχάνων αὐτοῦ (Theopompus) τε καὶ τοῦ Ξενοφώντος, πολλὰ τοῦ Ξενοφώντος αὐτὸν μετατιθέντα κατέλιθα, καὶ τὸ δεινὸν ὅτι ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον, τὰ γοῦν περὶ τῆς Φαρναβάζου πρὸς Ἀγησίλαου συνόδου δι' Ἀπολλοφάνους τοῦ Κυζικηνοῦ καὶ τὰς ἀμφοῖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐνσπόνδους διαλέξεις ἅς ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ Ξενοφῶν ἀνέγραψε πᾶν χαριέντως καὶ πρεπόντως ἀμφοῖν εἰς τὴν ἐνδεκάτην τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν μεταθεῖς ὁ Θεόπομπος ἀργὰ τε καὶ ἀκίνητα πεποιήκε καὶ ἄπρακτα λόγου γὰρ δύναμιν καὶ διὰ τὴν κλοπὴν ἐξεργασίαν ἐμβάλλειν καὶ ἐπιδείκνυσθαι σπουδάζων βραδύς καὶ μέλλων καὶ ἀναβαλλομένῳ εἰκότως φαίνεται καὶ τὸ ἔμφυχον καὶ ἐνεργὸν τὸ Ξενοφώντος διαφθείρων.* From this passage it seems to follow that Theopompus at any rate inserted speeches in his *Hellenica* whether rhetorical or not—whereas perhaps the most marked feature of P's style is the absence of speeches in passages where they might well be expected, e.g. i. 14, ii. 1–35, xv. 7 (cf. Xen. *Hell.* iii. 5. 7–16, where the causes of the alliance between Athens and the Boeotians in 395 are put into the mouth of the Theban orator). Moreover Theopompus, as a young man, gained the prize offered by Queen Artemisia for a funeral oration in honour of her husband Mausolus (c. 352 B.C.), a fact which shows—if the date of his birth be rightly placed about 376—that he developed his rhetorical powers at an early age. The linguistic coincidences again are not so very remarkable: even the rare use of *κατὰραι* can be paralleled from elsewhere, and Stephanus of Byzantium quotes *Καρπασεῖς* and not *Καρπασεά* (xvi. 37) as used by Theopompus in his tenth³³ book (alluding probably to the tenth book of the *Philippica*). The other arguments do not seem to call for comment here, they are so fully dealt with by the editors themselves.

Now, however, let us summarize on the other side the negative evidence collected³⁴ by the editors, which, they admit, shows 'the existence of a number of weighty objections to the identification of P with Theopompus.'

(1) The most important and the most insuperable is the chronological difficulty. xiv. 25–37 proves that P wrote his history before the end of the Sacred War in 346, which resulted in the destruction of the Phocians. Indeed Mr. Walker's inference is almost irresistible that P must have written before the beginning of the war in 356, arguing that a reference to the Sacred War would be expected in this passage if it had actually begun. Now if any reliance can be placed on the accepted chronology of Theopompus' life, his authorship of our fragment is, with the earlier date, out of the question, and with the later date very improbable. For 376³⁵ is accepted as the date of his birth, and we know that he lived in Egypt under Ptolemy Soter (323–285 B.C.) and may even have survived the year 300. But even

³² *ap.* Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* x. 3, p. 465.

³³ It is perhaps noticeable that Stephanus in his nine other citations from definite books of the *Hellenica* adds the word *Ἑλληνικῶν*, but in quoting from the *Philippica* seems frequently

to omit *Φιλιππικῶν* after the number of the book.

³⁴ Pp. 131 *sqq.*

³⁵ Photius, *Cod.* 176.

If we restore the weights from this inscription as I have done above, it will be seen that they exactly fill a line of 46 letters. The words before *πρώτης ὑδρ[ίας]* may be safely restored *ὑδρίαὶ ἀργυραῖ*: this gives us exactly 25 letters to the right of the letter Δ, which is exactly underneath the ξ in οἷς in l. 5, and 15 letters missing from the left of our fragment. Comparison with the other inscriptions in this series shows that whereas in the catalogue proper the lines are almost always of equal length, in the preamble this is not the case: thus the restoration of l. 2, which is considerably shorter than ll. 6-9, may very well be correct.

We may, now that we have settled the date of Cleisophus and of the list of treasurers, proceed to restore the preamble more fully thus, taking the names of the treasurers of the year 402/1 from *I.G.* ii. 2. 642 and ii. 5. 642 *b*, and restoring the archons' names for the two years in question.

[Τάδε οἱ ταμίαι τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων τῆς Ἀθηναίας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν οἱ ἐπὶ Μίκωνος ἄρχοντος -- Τειθράσιος, -- κλῆς Λίξωνεύς, Ῥίνων | Παιανεύς, οἷς Κ]λέσοφ[ος] Εὐωνυμεὺς ἐγραμμάτευσ, | παρέδοσαν τ]αμίαις τοῖ[ς] ἐπὶ Ξεναϊνέτου ἄρχοντος - - - -, Πολυεύκτωι [- -, - - - -, - - - -, - - - -] Ὀῆθεν, Διοδό[ττωι] - -, - - - -, - - - -, -- Λί]γγιλιεῖ, οἷς [- - - - ἐγραμμάτευσ.]

The exact division into lines is impossible, but there can be little or no doubt that the sense was as indicated above.

It will be convenient to sum up briefly the information given us by this inscription. It belongs to the end of the year Ol. 94. 3 (402/1), and is the record of the handing over by the treasurers of the sacred objects in the Hecatompedon to the incoming treasurers for 401/0. It also definitely settles the vexed question as to the date of Cleisophus' secretaryship, and tells us without any possibility of doubt that his year was the last of the old *régime* under which there were only three treasurers; and that the year 401/0 was the first year in which their number was increased to ten.

3. White marble, complete for a few cm. on right. Height .265; breadth, average .29, originally about .50; thickness .115. Letters, in l. 1, .006; in ll. 2 and 3, .011-.012; in ll. 4-9, .01. Now in Epigraphical Museum (No. 78 of unpublished fragments).

.. 10

Ο Σ Μ Ε Ν Ε Τ Ε Λ Ο Σ Φ Ρ Ε Α Ι
Α Τ Ε Υ Ε Ν

Ο Σ Τ Α Μ Ι Α Ι Τ Λ Ν Τ Η Σ Ο Ε Ο
Π Ρ Λ Τ Ο Κ Λ Ε Η Ξ Ι Κ Α Ρ Ι Ε Υ Σ
Κ Α Ρ Ι Α Σ Π Η Λ Η Ξ Δ Η Μ Ο Κ Λ Η Σ
Α Ρ Ν Ε Υ Σ Δ Ι Ο Μ Η Δ Η Σ Φ Λ Υ Ε Υ Σ
Σ Φ Ι Λ Ο Κ Ρ Α Τ Η Σ Α Φ Ι Δ Α
Ι Ν Η Ξ Ι Ε Ρ Γ Ο

- - ιο - -

- - ος Μενετέλος Φ(ρ)εά(ρ)[ριος
 ἔγραμμ]άτενευ.

[Ἐπὶ Εὐθυκλέος ἄρχοντ]ος ταμίαι τῶν τῆς θεῶ

- 5 [Ἐπιχάρης Εὐωνυμεύς], Πρωτοκλέης Ἰκαριεύς,
 [Κηφισοφῶν Παιανιεύς], (Χ)αρίας Πήληξ, Δημοκλῆς
 [Κεφαλῆθεν, Διογεΐτων Ἄχ]αρνεύς, Διομήδης Φλυεύ(ς),
 [Ἀριστοκλῆς Ἀμαξαντείου](ς), Φιλοκράτης Ἀφιδναῖ[ος],
 [Ἀνθεμίων Ἀναφλύστιος, οἶς] (Μυ)ησιέρ(γος) [Ἀθμονεύς]
 10 [ἔγραμμάτενε, παρέδοσαν - - κ.τ.λ.]

This fragment, of another inscription belonging to the same series as No. 2, has also some features of interest. In the first place it is the only inscription in this class which is headed by the name of the *γραμματεὺς βουλῆς*⁶ of the year: there can be little doubt that *Μενετέλος*⁷ is a genitive and that the name of his son, ending in *-ος*, is to be restored before it: there was just room on the stone for *Φρεάρ[ριος]*, as we may see from the length of l. 7, opposite which we have the right hand edge of the stone preserved for a few centimetres. Restoration of the names of the *ταμίαι*, who occur also in *I.G.* ii. 2. 652, 653, gives us a line of about forty letters: the central vertical line of the stone would thus run almost exactly through the *τ* in *Μενετέλος*, which would leave us with the conclusion that there were as many letters before it as after it, namely thirteen: we may conclude then that the name of the *γραμματεὺς βουλῆς* for this year consisted of about nine or ten letters, ending in *-ος*. It is true that in the word *ἔγραμμάτενευ* in l. 3 there are eleven letters to the right of this line, but as the arrangement is not *στοιχηδόν* we need not assume that there are so many in l. 2. The name of this *γραμματεὺς* unfortunately cannot be restored, but we know to which year he belonged, for in the second of the inscriptions alluded to above, which give us the names of these *ταμίαι* (*I.G.* ii. 2. 653), we have preserved the words *ἐπὶ Εὐθυκλέος ἄρχοντος*, and so I have restored them here. Before proceeding to enquire which of the three *traditiones* is recorded here, it must be confessed that I have no explanation to give of the letters - - ιο in l. 1: the surface of the stone is damaged, and there may have been another letter after the *ο*; and before the *ι* and separated from it by a letter entirely vanished I seem to see traces of *Λ* or *Α*. The usual heading of these records is *ΘΕΟΙ*, but that word certainly did not stand here, and it would have been in larger, or at least not in smaller, letters than the second and third lines.

To proceed to the question as to which of the three *traditiones* is

⁶ He cannot be *γραμματεὺς* to the *ταμίαι* either of this year or of the years immediately before or after, as their names are known to be different.

⁷ For the name cf. Kirchner, *Prosopographia*

Attica, s.v. For *ος* = *ους* in such genitives cf. Meisterhaus, *Grammatik der Attischen Inschriften*,³ p. 6, note 22, where it is pointed out that it survives as the normal usage as late as 360.

Anything like a complete restoration of this fragment is impossible: we may conclude, however, from the style of the writing that it belongs to a date early in the fourth century, and that it contains parts of a catalogue of the 'treasures of Athena and the other deities.' The letters 'Αρ(τ)- at the end of l. 6 can hardly be the remains of any word but 'Αρτέμιδος, and objects dedicated to Artemis Brauronia occur frequently in these lists. This fragment has no exact parallel in any of the existing inscriptions of the series, but from the class of objects it refers to we can see beyond doubt that it contains a list of the treasure in the Hecatompedon. From Lehner's analysis of the inscriptions relating to the objects preserved in the Parthenon (*op. cit.* pp. 26-28) we see that crowns occur very rarely there, whereas in this small fragment alone we have mention of two, and indications of a third, for the word ἀριστεῖον, which may be restored without difficulty in l. 1, is always applied to a crown in these inscriptions. And further the treasures in the Parthenon are all sacred to Athena Polias, with the exception of a single δακτύλιος χρυσοῦς στρεπτός Ἀρτέμιδος Βραυρωνίας, which is mentioned in *I.G.* ii. 2. 646: the mention of the στέφανοι in ll. 2 and 3 makes it extremely improbable that the allusion to Artemis Brauronia in l. 6 should refer to this particular ring. It seems consequently to be a list of the treasures in either Hecatompedon or Opisthodomos.

With regard to the Opisthodomos-treasures we are unfortunately very ignorant, as inscriptions relating to them are rare and, when they do occur, very fragmentary. It is only after 385/4, the date, as Köhler⁹ shows with all probability, of the change in the constitution of the college of ταμίαι, that we get a list of the objects preserved in the Opisthodomos which can be called at all complete. The list compiled by Lehner (*op. cit.* pp. 75-77), many items in which he identifies with those in lists under the old régime, does not, however, contain any dedications of crowns whatsoever. There can, then, be no alternative to the supposition that our fragment is part of a catalogue of the objects in the Hecatompedon. Unfortunately no single item here can be identified with any item in any other Hecatompedon record, particularly as the damaged surface of the stone leaves the readings of the weights in ll. 3 and 5 uncertain: consequently we cannot restore the original length of any line. The stone is complete on the right, so that we have room for the ξ of στέφαν(ο)[ς] in l. 3.

In l. 1 we may safely restore [- στέφανος χρυσοῦ](ς ἀ)[ρ]ιστεῖον τῆς | θεοῦ. This may be that described in *I.G.* ii. 2. 652 as στέφανος χρυσοῦς ἀριστεία τῆς θεοῦ, or another *ibid.* 667, l. 28, described as ἀριστεία τῆ θεῶ, but it may easily refer to a different one altogether.

L. 3. We may note τούτο for τούτου, as also ἔ[χ](ο)σα for ἔχουσα in l. 6 and the third declension genitive in -έος instead of -έους in l. 7: the latter possibly occurs at the beginning of l. 4, though we cannot be certain. The general use of ο for ου shows that this inscription must be dated quite early in the fourth century (see note 7 above). The reading of the

⁹ In a note on *I.G.* ii. 2. 667. See also Lehner, *op. cit.* p. 17.

numeral is not certain; the fourth figure is apparently Δ, and possibly the next two were both Ϟ, in which case the total will be 82 dr. 2 obols; the seventh and eighth are certainly ΙΙ, so we are left either with 80 dr. 4 obols, or 82 dr. 2 obols, but as I cannot find either of these sums attached to objects in the Hecatompedon lists, we cannot restore what the object was, though such a weight is a possible one for a crown: it may refer to the crown mentioned in l. 2, and if this is so the name of the dedicator followed (as evidently the lines in the list were fairly long, not less, *e.g.* than 40 letters), or again it may be the weight of some other crown.

Ll. 3, 4, 5. We may restore $\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\phi\{\alpha\nu\sigma\}[\varsigma \mid \chi\rho\upsilon\sigma\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \delta\eta\nu \acute{o} \acute{\alpha}\epsilon\iota\nu\alpha - -]\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\varsigma$ 'Οἷθεν ἀν(έθ)ηκ(ε), $\sigma(\tau)[\alpha\theta\mu]\delta\eta\nu \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron - -$. What objects $\tau\iota\omicron\acute{\omicron}\tau\omicron\nu$ in l. 5 refers to is quite unknown; beyond the fact that their weight was over 470 dr. we can tell nothing for certain.

L. 6. The restoration $[\chi](\rho)\upsilon\sigma\eta\nu \acute{\alpha}\lambda\nu(\sigma)\iota\nu \acute{\epsilon}[\chi]\omicron\sigma\alpha \text{'}\Lambda\rho(\tau)[\acute{\epsilon}\mu\iota\delta\omicron\varsigma \text{Βραυ-}\rho\omega\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma]$ may be regarded as certain: it seems to be the case here that the possessive genitive of the goddess' name is put after, instead of, as is usual, before the name of the object. Otherwise, if we supposed the word $\acute{\epsilon}[\chi]\omicron\sigma\alpha$ to be the end of the description of the item, we should be surprised at the absence of any record of weight. What the object which had a golden chain was is quite uncertain, though there is a possibility that it may be identifiable with an object mentioned in *I.G.* ii. 2. 660, l. 42, $[\chi\rho\upsilon\sigma\eta \theta]\rho\iota\pi\eta\delta\epsilon\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\lambda\nu\sigma\iota\nu \acute{\epsilon}\chi\omicron\sigma\alpha \chi\rho\upsilon\sigma\eta\nu, \eta\nu \acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\epsilon}\theta\eta\kappa\epsilon\nu \text{Κάλλιον} - - -$: this same object occurs in ll. 10–12 of *ibid.* 661 *d*, where it is described as belonging to Artemis Brauronia. This latter piece of evidence strengthens the possibility that it is the same object which we have to deal with in the present fragment, in which case *Κάλλιον* would be the name of the wife of - - *οκλής* in l. 7. If we accepted the identity of the object in this inscription with the 'golden seal made to imitate worm-eaten wood,' which is the meaning of *θριπήδεστος* (see L. and S. *s.v.*), we should restore as follows: $\chi\rho\upsilon\sigma\eta \theta\rho\iota\pi\eta\delta\epsilon\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma \chi](\rho)\upsilon\sigma\eta\nu \acute{\alpha}\lambda\nu(\sigma)\iota\nu \acute{\epsilon}[\chi]\omicron\sigma\alpha \text{'}\Lambda\rho(\tau)[\acute{\epsilon}\mu\iota\delta\omicron\varsigma \text{Βραυρωνίας} \eta\nu \acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\epsilon}\theta\eta\kappa\epsilon \text{Κάλλιον} - - -](\omicron)\kappa\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\varsigma \gamma(\nu\nu)[\eta], \sigma(\tau\alpha\theta\mu)\delta\eta\nu (\tau)\alpha[\acute{\upsilon}\tau\eta\varsigma \text{ϞϞ}].$ But it does not claim to be at all a certain restoration, and least of all should it be used as definite evidence for restoring the length of the lines in this inscription.

5. Slab of Pentelic marble, complete on right and below: a cutting about .012 wide runs across the stone near the top and has destroyed some of the letters in ll. 3 and 4. Height .325; breadth .275; thickness .095. Letters .005 high. In magazine of Acropolis Museum.

IG. ii. 1. 89.

. 4 0 .

Ι Ο Υ Ξ Α Δ Ι Κ Ο Υ Ι
 Υ Λ Φ Ξ Α Σ Ω Λ Ι Ρ Ο Ι
 Ζ Ο Υ Λ Λ Η Δ Ε Ι Ζ Α Δ Ι Ν Η Ι Α Ι
 5 Ι Α Κ Α Ι Η Σ Υ Ν Μ Α Χ Ι Α Τ Ω Ι Δ Η Μ Ω
 Ο Ι Σ Ε Υ Β Ο Ι Ε Υ Ξ Ι Ν Ε Π Α Ι Ν Ε Σ Α
 Η Ρ Ι Τ Ο Ν Κ Α Ι Η Ρ Α Κ Κ Λ Ε Ι Ο Δ Ω Ρ Ο Ν
 Π Ρ Ο Θ Υ Μ Ο Ι Η Σ Α Ν Π Ε Ρ Ι Τ Ο Ν Δ Η Μ
 Ι Ε Ρ Ο Ι Ο Υ Ν Ο Τ Ι Ε Δ Υ Ν Α Ν Τ Θ Α Γ Α
 10 Υ Ξ Κ Α Ι Ε Γ Γ Ο Ν Ο Υ Ξ Π Ρ Ο Ξ Ε Ν Ο Υ Ξ
 Δ Η Μ Ο Τ Ο Α Θ Η Ν Α Ι Ω Ν Ε Π Α Ι Ν Ε Σ Α Ι
 Ω Ν Α Θ Η Ν Α Ι Ω Ν Τ Ο Σ Π Ε Μ Φ Θ Ε Ν Τ Α Σ
 Γ Σ Ε Κ Τ Ω Ν Σ Υ Ν Μ Α Χ Ω Ν Κ Α Ι Κ Α Λ Ε
 Λ Π Ρ Ε Υ Τ Α Ν Ε Ι Ο Ν Ε Ι Ξ Α Υ Ρ Ι Ο Ν Α
 15 Δ Ι Α Τ Ω Ι Σ Π Ρ Ε Ξ Β Ε Σ Ι Τ Ο Ν Τ Α Μ
 Ν Κ Α Τ Α Ψ Η Φ Ι Σ Μ Α Τ Α Α Ν Α Λ Ι Ξ Κ Ο
 Ι Α Κ Ο Ν Τ Α Δ Ρ Α Χ Μ Α Σ Ε Κ Α Σ Τ Ω Ι Δ
 Ν Π Ρ Ο Ξ Ε Ν Ι Α Ν Ε Α Η Κ Α Ι Τ Ω Ι Δ Η Μ
 Α Τ Ε Α Τ Η Σ Β Ο Υ Λ Η Σ Ε Ν Ξ Τ Η Λ Η Ι Λ
 20 Ε Ν Α Κ Ρ Ο Ρ Ο Λ Ε Ι Δ Ε Κ Α Η Μ Ε Ρ Ω Ν Ε Ι
 Η Σ Ξ Τ Η Λ Η Σ Δ Ο Υ Ν Α Ι Τ Ο Ν Τ Α Μ Ι
 Ι Δ Ρ Α Χ Μ Α Σ Ε Κ Τ Ω Ν Κ Α Τ Α Ψ Η Φ Ι Ξ
 Ν Ω Ν Τ Ω Ι Δ Η Μ Ω Ι Ε Ι Ν Α Ι Δ Ε Τ Ο Ι Σ
 Η Ν Τ Ω Ν Α Κ Ι Δ Ω Ν Κ Α Ο Α Ε Π Α Γ Γ Ε Λ

-- ιο(ι) --- | (τ)οὺς ἀδικου(μ) [ένους] --- βο]υλεύ(σ)α(σθ)αι
 5 (κ) . . . ρ. οι | --- (σ) | ι | ὅπως μηδεὶς ἀδικῆται . . | --- ια καὶ ἡ
 συμμαχία τῶι δήμωι | [τῶι Ἀθηναίων καὶ τ]οῖς Εὐβοιεύσιν ἐπαινέσα[ι] |
 | ἔδοξε τῶι δήμωι! . . | ἦριτον καὶ Ἡρακλειόδωρον | [τοὺς πρέσβεις! ὅτι]
 10 πρόθυμοι ἦσαν περὶ τὸν δήμ|ον τὸν Ἀθηναίων κα]ὶ ἐποιοῦν ὅτι ἐδύναντο
 δῆμο τῶ Ἀθηναίων, ἐπαινέσαι [δὲ τοὺς πρέσβεις τ]ῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸς
 πεμφθέντας | [καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις το]ῦ)ς ἐκ τῶν συμμαχων, καὶ καλέ[σαι
 15 ἐπὶ δεῖπνον εἰς τ]ῶ πενταεῖον εἰς αὐριον ἀ [ποδοῦναι δὲ καὶ ἐφό]δια τοῖς
 πρέσβεσι τὸν ταμ[ίαν τοῦ δήμου ἐκ τῶ]ν κατὰ ψηφίσματα ἀναλίσκο-
 | μένων τῶι δήμωι τρ]ιάκοντα δραχμὰς ἐκάστωι ἀ[ναγραφῆσαι δὲ καὶ τῆ]ν
 προξενίαν, ἐὰν καὶ τῶι δήμ[ωι δοκῆι, τὸν γραμμ]ατέα τῆς βουλῆς ἐν
 20 στήλῃ λ [ιθίῃ καὶ στήσαι] ἐν ἀκροπόλει δέκα ἡμερῶν εἰ[ς δὲ τὴν
 ἀναγραφὴν τ]ῆς στήλης δοῦναι τὸν ταμί[αν τοῦ δήμου εἴκοσ]ι δραχμὰς
 ἐκ τῶν κατὰ ψηφίσ[ματα ἀναλίσκομέ]νων τῶι δήμωι εἶναι δὲ τοῖς |
 25 [Ἀθηναίοις?]ην τῶν ἀκίδων κα(θ)ὰ ἐπαγγέλ[λονται!

The copy used by Köhler in the Corpus (*loc. cit.*) was made while the stone was still built into a late wall in the Parthenon, destroyed in 1904; in this position the first four lines were invisible, and the copy only gives Μ . . . ΑΤΩ in l. 5, and ΕΥΞΙ . ΕΠΑ in l. 6, and omits the first five letters in l. 7. The following differences of reading should also be noted: L. 8: ΕΡ ΤΟΝΔΗΜ, Κ.: ΠΕΡΙΤΟΝΔΗΜ, Α. Μ. W. L. 9: ΚΕΡΟΙΟΥΝΟ . ΕΔΥΝΑΝΙΟΑ΄Α, Κ.: the first letter is clearly Ι and the others are all perfect. L. 10: the Π in *προξένους* is quite plain, though Köhler prints it as invisible. In l. 13 I see traces of the Υ before the Ξ at the beginning: Κ. reads ΞΥΜΜΑΧΩΝ, but the stone clearly has ΞΥΝΜΑΧΩΝ. L. 14: ΟΠΡΥΤΑΝΕΙΟΝ, Κ.: ΩΠΡΕΥΤΑΝΕΙΟΝ, Α. Μ. W. (clearly both are mistakes of the lapidary). L. 16: the Ν before *κατά* is clearly visible, as also are the Ι at the beginning of l. 17, and the Ν before *προξενίαν* in l. 18, all omitted by Köhler. L. 20: the top stroke of the Ε is visible before Ν at the beginning, and the line ends with ΕΙ not Ε. L. 21, the Ι of *ταμίαν* is quite clear. L. 22: there are traces of a letter which seems to be Ι before the word *δραχμῆς*, but Κ. leaves a space; Κ.ΤΑΨΗΦΙ, Κ.: ΚΑΤΑΨΗΦΙΞ, Α. Μ. W. L. 23: I see traces of the Ν before the Ω at the beginning. L. 24: ΨΗΝΤΩΝΑΚΗΔΩΝ, Κ. † ΗΝΤΩΝΑΚΙΔΩΝ, Α. Μ. W.: Köhler also omits Α at the end of the line, but it is quite plain on the stone.

These differences in the text are all unimportant, and many of the letters now visible at the edges of the stone were no doubt obscured by mortar. But by the uncovering of the first five lines the importance of the inscription is greatly enhanced, for we see that it records a treaty between Athens and Euboea. In the restoration of ll. 6-24 I follow Köhler's text, which presents no difficulties: though the reading in the last line will call for a word or two of explanation.

In ll. 1-3, it is impossible to restore the sense in full: we may, however, recognize in l. 2 - - τ]οὺς ἀδικου(μ)[ένους . . .], in l. 3, - βο]υλεύσασθαι: the rest of the line is quite uncertain owing to the damage of the stone, and my squeeze showed nothing.

L. 4. (< . ὅπως μηδεὶς ἀδικῆται . . is plain: we may have the ending of some conjunctive such as [ἐπιμεληθῶ](σ)ι, but I have not ventured to restore it. It is surprising to have ὅπως and not ὅπως ἔν, but this usage is found occasionally in fourth century inscriptions¹⁰ (*I.G.* ii. 1. 115, ii. 5. 574, *b* and *c*).

The gap between ἀδικῆται and -ια καὶ ἡ συμμαχία we might fill thus [κατὰ ταῦτ' ἔσται ἡ φιλ]ία κ.τ.λ. which gives us the requisite number of letters in the line, namely 37; that this number is correct can be seen from the exactness with which the restoration of the subsequent lines fits our requirements. The inscription is strictly *στοιχηδόν*, except for an occasional letter added at the end of the line, as in ll. 11, 12, 20, and 24.

¹⁰ Meisterhans, *op. cit.* p. 254, gives statistics of the relative frequency of the two uses, which show that ὅπως is found oftener than ὅπως ἔν in

Attic inscriptions in the first century B.C., after becoming increasingly common in the intervening centuries.

L. 7. It is hard to see what the first name is: *Ἡριτος* is not a name that occurs elsewhere, nor does it seem to be the termination of any known name: it is possible that the lapidary has written Η for Κ, and that we have the ending of some such name as *Τιμό](κ)ριτος*. But in any case we cannot restore with safety. *Ἡρακλειόδωρος* is not found elsewhere in Attic inscriptions, but three persons of the name *Ἡρακλειόδωρος* are known (Kirchner, *Prosop. Att.*, 6506-8), none of whom, however, is earlier than the second century B.C. But in ancient authors the latter name occurs more than once:¹¹ Aristotle (*Pol.* vii. 3, § 1303 a, l. 18 alludes to *Ἡρακλειόδωρος* of Oreus of Euboea, who revolted against the local oligarchy which favoured Sparta and set up a pro-Athenian democracy: this event took place in 377,¹² and one is tempted to wonder whether this is the actual occasion of the alliance recorded in our inscription. Heracleodorus may quite well be spelt with or without an iota,¹³ and there are not likely to have been two prominent Euboeans of the same name living about the same time. But the date of our inscription is against the identification of these historical circumstances. Köhler on the evidence of the style of writing dates it to the 106th Olympiad (356-352), and this fact, coupled with the fact that the alliance recorded here is with the Euboeans in general and not with Oreus alone, makes the identification extremely improbable. But there is no valid reason why the same man should not appear some twenty years later, if we can find an occasion for the appearance of an Euboean embassy at Athens treating for an alliance. The occasion is easily found: it is the settlement of the Euboean cities after the successful Athenian expedition of 358/7 B.C. There is no need to cite here all the authorities, of whom Diodorus is the most detailed, as they are collected by Grote (ch. 86): 'Athens,' he says, 'fully accomplished her object, rescued the Euboeans from Thebes . . . : the Euboean cities, while acknowledged as autonomous, continued at the same time to be enrolled as members of the Athenian confederacy' But since Grote's day we have acquired another piece of evidence bearing on these events, namely the inscription¹⁴ recording the honours voted to the Athenian envoys who went to Euboea to convey the terms on which the cities of Carystus, Chalcis, Eretria, and Histiaea were to re-enter the Athenian league. This inscription is dated by the mention of Agathocles' Archonship, which fell in the year 357/6. It would only be natural for a return embassy to be sent to Athens from Euboea to say, as we know from history already, that they accepted the terms: it would be equally natural for one of the deputies to be that same Heracleodorus of Oreus (Histiaea)—if he were still alive—who had shown his loyalist tendencies to Athens twenty years before and for these deputies to be fêted in the usual way with a banquet at the *πρυτανεῖον*, and to be made *πρόξενοι*, and for a stele to be set up on the

¹¹ Pape-Benseler, *Wörterbuch der Griechischen Eigennamen*, s.v.

¹² Newman, *Politics of Aristotle*, vol. iv., pp. 307, 8; *vide* references *ibid.*

See Meisterhans, *op. cit.* pp. 45, 46, for

instances of the promiscuous use of *ει* for *ε*, and *vice versa*, in fourth century inscriptions.

¹⁴ *I.G.* ii. 1. 64, republished in *Ath. Mith.* 1877, pp. 209 foll., and Hicks², 128.

Acropolis to record these events. Such a stele would mention the alliance between Athens and Euboea, without necessarily specifying the names of the separate cities, and would have been erected early in the 106th Olympiad. There can now be little doubt that it is this stele, but unfortunately only a part of it, that we are discussing here. A further argument, if any were needed, to support this attribution is the consideration that there was no other occasion within many years of this date to which the inscription could possibly allude. We can only regret that its upper part which contained the terms of the alliance is not preserved.

Finally we may note in l. 22 that $\epsilon\lambda\kappa\omicron\sigma\mu$ just fills the required space before $\delta\rho\alpha\chi\mu\acute{\alpha}\iota\varsigma$, and in l. 24 that we have some unusual formula to deal with. There is no doubt about the reading of the word $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\nu$, but what it refers to is an insoluble puzzle: it is apparently the genitive plural of $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\acute{\iota}\varsigma$, meaning a spike or the beak of a ship, and what connexion this has with the terms of an alliance is hard to see: $\kappa\alpha\theta\grave{\alpha}\epsilon\pi\alpha\gamma\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\lambda[\lambda\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\iota]$, if this restoration is correct, means that some arrangement has been undertaken with regard to the matter, possibly mentioned on the missing part of the stone. It is more than likely, however, that it is an error of the lapidary: if we find such an error as $\tau\acute{\omega}\pi\epsilon\nu\tau\alpha\nu\acute{\epsilon}\iota\omicron\nu$ in l. 19, we may well suspect the strange word $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\nu$ to be a mistake: if it is a mistake, it is probably the word $\acute{\alpha}\delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\omicron\nu$ spelt with δ and κ transposed: above, in ll. 2 and 4, we have allusions to $\acute{\alpha}\delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\acute{\iota}\alpha$, and they no doubt contained provisions against mutual injury. If this suggestion is right, the final term of the treaty may well allude to jurisdiction over offenders whether in Euboea or Athens: which probably the more powerful of the two parties in the alliance would claim. It might then be possible to restore [$\Lambda\theta\eta\nu\alpha\acute{\iota}\omicron\iota\varsigma$ $\xi\eta\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$ $\tau\acute{\eta}\nu$ $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$ $\acute{\alpha}\delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\omicron\nu$], but, though this exactly fills the gap, I hesitate to restore it definitely, as it has no parallel.

6. Grey marble, complete from l. 8-l. 11 on left: broken on all other sides. Height .175: breadth .17: thickness .06. Letters .05 high, $\sigma\tau\omicron\iota\chi\eta\delta\acute{\omicron}\nu$. In magazine of Acropolis Museum.

. Ι Η Ι
 Α Λ Ο Γ
 Ε Ι Α Ν Ο Ι Ρ Ρ Α
 Α Ν Δ Σ Ε Ν Θ Η Ν Ε Ρ
 Δ Ι Α Τ Α Υ Τ Α Υ Τ Ο Ι Ι 5
 Α Ν Τ Ε Κ Α Ι Ε Σ Τ Ε Φ Α Ν Σ
 Υ Α Ν Δ Ι Ε Ρ Ε Ι Ν Ε Σ Α Ν Δ Α
 Ρ Ε Ι Σ Κ Α Ι Ε Σ Τ Ε Φ Α Ν Δ Σ
 Ν Λ Ι Κ Α Ι Ε Ι Κ Ο Ν Ι Χ Α Λ Κ 10
 Κ Α Ι Φ Ι Λ Ο Τ Ι Μ Ι Α Σ Τ Η Σ
 Ρ Α Λ Ι Ν Χ Ε Ι Ρ Ο Τ Ο Ν Η Θ Ε
 Υ Ξ Ξ Ε Ν Ο Υ Ξ Ε Ρ Ι Α Ρ ,
 Τ Ε Ξ Ε Ν Ι Κ Ο Υ Ε Ρ Ε Ι
 Ξ Υ Ν Τ Ρ Τ Α Γ Μ

--- (τ)η(ν) !
 κ]α(ι φ)ιλο(τ)[ίμως ! ἐν τῶι
 αὐτῶι ἔ](τε)ι ἀνθιππ(α)[σίαι νικῆσας ? ἐ-
 στεφ[(ἀ)νωσεν τὴν ἐρ
 5 . . .] διὰ ταῦτ' αὐτὸ(ν) [οἱ ἰππεῖς ἐπέινε-
 σ](ἀ)ν τε καὶ ἐστεφάν(ω)[σαν χρυσῶι στε]-
 (φ)άνωι ἐπέινεσ(α)ν Δ(α)[. οἱ ἰπ]-
 πεῖς καὶ ἐστεφάνωσ[αν χρυσῶι στεφά]-
 νωι καὶ εἰκόνι χαλκ[ῆι ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα]
 10 καὶ φιλοτιμίας τῆς [πρὸς αὐτούς· καὶ]
 πάλιν χειροτονηθε[ῖς στρατηγὸς ! ἐπὶ
 τοῦ]ς ξένους ἐπὶ Ἄρ(χ)[ίππου ἄρχοντος
 τοῦ] (τ)ε ξενικοῦ ἐπε(μ)[ελήθη ἀργυρίου !
 κατὰ] (τ)[ἀ] συντ(ε)ταγμ[εῖα τῶι νόμωι καὶ

The restoration of ll. 8 and 10 which is tolerably certain shows that the lines consisted of 29 letters. But this does not enable us to restore the whole text, nor indeed to see exactly what was the construction, which, particularly in ll. 5-8, is very confused. We can at any rate conclude that it is part of an honorary decree, in favour of someone unknown whose name begins with Δα-, and also that it is part of the preamble of the decree consisting of the speech of its mover: for the string of aorist indicatives can only have been introduced by ἐπέι, and the actual resolution was no doubt contained in the portion missing from below. Further we see from the beginning of l. 8, which may be safely restored as [οἱ ἰπ]πέεις that one of the previous honours conferred on the recipient of the present decree came from the ἰππεῖς, and from l. 11 that he was more than once elected to posts of importance.

L. 1. Restoration is hopeless.

L. 2. We seem to have here some form of the words φιλότιμος, φιλοτιμία, or φιλοτιμεῖν: I have tentatively restored (φ)ιλο(τ)[ίμως], which may well allude to [ἐστεφ] ἀνωσεν in l. 4.

L. 3. We have no doubt to deal with some reference to the ἀνθιππασία, an equestrian event of some sort which figured in the programme of the Olympic and Panathenaic games. We have other epigraphical evidence for it in Dittenberger, *Syll.*² 200 and 687. Its precise nature is unknown, but Dittenberger (note on 687) points out that it was in existence at least before the end of the first quarter of the fourth century, and perhaps considerably earlier. The word before it I would restore as [ἔ](τε)ι, perhaps [ἐν τῶι αὐτῶι ἔ] (τε)ι: we may at any rate expect some allusion to the date of the victory in the ἀνθιππασία in this line or the preceding. The suggested restoration ἀνθιππ(α)[σίαι νικῆσας ἐστεφ](ἀ)νωσεν is not entirely satisfactory, as it gives us one letter too few, but it is hard to see what else the sense can have

been. The completion of l. 4 is another problem: the letter after ρ at the end of the line is entirely defaced and we have nothing to help us to a restoration except the knowledge that this word contains the object of the verb [ἐστεφ] (ἀ)νώσειν: unfortunately our information as to the procedure on such occasions is very limited, but a possible restoration would be τῆν Ἐρ[εχθηίδα φυλήν], meaning that the victor rewarded the tribe with a crown. This, however, is far from convincing and leaves us with a gap of five letters before διὰ ταῦτ[α] in l. 5.

ll. 5, 6. Further difficulties appear here, for we have apparently the formula ἐπήνεσ]άν τε καὶ ἐστεφάν(ω)[σαν repeated again in ll. 7 and 8. There can be no doubt either that αὐτό(ν),—the ν is practically certain,—is the object of the aorist third person plural, of which we have the last two letters at the beginning of l. 6, or that the formula ἐστεφάν(ω)[σαν χρυσῶ στε](φ)άνω is contained in the missing space between ll. 6 and 7. If, as I have done, we restore οἱ ἰππεῖς after αὐτόν, we exactly fill the space: but there seems no explanation, except complete mental confusion on the part of the engraver, for the repetition ἐπένεσαν Δα[- οἱ ἰπ]πεῖς, κ.τ.λ.: -πεις can hardly conceivably be any word but ἰπ]πεῖς in this context, and we know from *I.G.* ii. 612 that the ἰππεῖς occasionally passed decrees honouring their benefactors. If we omitted the words αὐτόν—στεφάνω (in l. 7) inclusive, the inscription would be simple and intelligible, or again, if we omitted the words ἐπένεσαν—στεφάνω (in l. 9); but as it stands, with the adoption of the restorations suggested here, it cannot claim to be one or the other. But even if these restorations are wrong, I venture to say that no alternative restoration will produce order out of this chaos. The restoration of ll. 9 and 10 hardly calls for comment. But in l. 11 restoration is not so easy: we evidently have an allusion to some other office held (a second time?) by the recipient of the decree, and clearly connected with foreigners. The phrase we should expect would be στρατηγός ἐπὶ τοὺς ξένους, but this involves a line of thirty letters. In *I.G.* ii. 331¹⁵ we have the same phrase, though there στρατηγός is understood from στρατηγός χειροτονηθεῖς—ἐπὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν just before: we may here have to supply some other word, of only eight letters,—for the rest of the line seems unassailable,—such as πρόξενος, though the phrase πρόξενος ἐπὶ τοὺς ξένους is quite unknown, or we may suppose that an extra letter (iota) was added at the end of the line. We saw in the previous inscription (above, ll. 11 and 20) that such a usage is not unknown in στοιχιδόν inscriptions of the fourth century (it is in fact quite common), and if this is granted, στρατηγός would be highly probable. The precise duties attaching to this post are unknown, but it seems to be connected with the administration of ξενικὸν ἀργύριον, as we see from the next line but one.

¹⁵ The whole inscription may be compared with the present fragment with advantage: it likewise contains a long preamble to an honorary decree, consisting of a recital in sixty-six lines

(of which the beginning is missing) of the honourable career of the recipient, before the mover arrives at the actual motion containing the vote of the crown.

L. 12 no doubt gives us the date of his tenure of this office, and AP/ contains the key to it. It is not the beginning of the word ἄρχ[ι]οντος, but of the Archon's name, for there is apparently no case, prior to the Augustan age, of the word ἄρχοντος preceding the proper name in this formula. We may conclude then that the Archon in question here had a name whose genitive case singular had eight letters: the phrase in question exactly filled this line, for the beginning of the next line cannot be restored as anything else but [του] (τ)ε ξενικοῦ: our requirements are exactly suited by the word Ἀρχίππου, which I have restored above. There were two men of this name, but by a coincidence they held office within a very few years of each other, in 321/0 and 318/7 respectively. To settle which of them is the man in question is of course impossible; but we may date our present decree not before 320, and at the latest before 300. This date is roughly what one would expect from the character of the lettering.

The word after ξενικοῦ in l. 13 begins ἐπε(μ): the fourth letter is indubitable, and a very natural restoration is ἐπε(μ)[ελήθη]; ἀργυρίου exactly fills the space before the end of the line, and [κατὰ] (τ)[ᾶ] the space before συντεταγμ[ένα in the next line. The word ξενικόν is puzzling: τὸ ξενικόν is found more than once in ancient authors¹⁶ as meaning the mercenary forces, and also, only in Aristotle's *Politics*, both the foreign population of Athens in general¹⁷ and as equivalent to τὸ ξενικὸν δικαστήριον¹⁸; of these three usages, certainly the first is the most likely, particularly if we accept the conjecture στρατηγός above, which would naturally mean commander of the mercenaries. But if this is the right sense we must make it an adjective agreeing with ἀργυρίου, and translate 'funds for paying the mercenaries': ξενικὸν ἀργύριον might, however, mean 'imported coin,' as we find it in *I.G.* ii. 5. 834, b, l. 89,¹⁹ and the ἐπιμέλεια of imported coin is a quite conceivable post, though we have no other knowledge of its existence. However, the whole passage is still doubtful except for the general sense, and it would be rash to claim certainty for a restoration of either l. 11 or l. 13. In l. 14 τῷ νόμῳ is not improbable.

The question, who passed the decree in favour of Δα - - of which we have the introduction here is not solvable on the present evidence; it is just possible that, like the previous honorary decree he had received, which is recorded in ll. 7-10, it also was passed by the ἵππεις. But it is just as likely to have been passed by the ἐκκλησία or any other of the bodies capable of passing such decrees: indeed, judging by the fact that we have only one decree of the ἵππεις as against the vast number of those of the ἐκκλησία and other bodies, the chance in favour of its being of the former class is practically infinitesimal. This question, like unfortunately so many others in connexion with this inscription, must remain open from lack of evidence.

¹⁶ Thuc. viii. 25; Dem. 46, l. 20, etc.

¹⁷ iii. 5. 3.

¹⁸ iv. 16, 4.

¹⁹ Ditt.² 587, l. 301, and note *ad loc.*

7. Grey marble, complete only below. Front surface measures: height .28; breadth .21; thickness .09. Letters .005 high. Surface much worn and damaged. In magazine of Acropolis Museum.

\ /
 C
 Δ Ο Υ Υ Γ Γ Ι Τ Ο Ρ Ι Τ Α
 Γ Ο Ν Κ Α Τ Α Υ Η Φ ; Ξ Ι
 \ Λ Ι Τ Α Δ Ε Π Α Ν Ο Ρ Ο Ο Υ
 Δ Ε Τ Η Ν Ψ Η Φ Ο Ι Ι Τ Ω Ι Δ Η Γ
 Τ Ο Υ Ξ Γ , Υ Τ Λ Ν Ε Ι Ξ Τ , Γ Α
 Γ Γ Ι \ Ε Κ Κ Λ Η Ξ , Ε Ι Ι Ι : Λ Τ Α

--- (ου) ---

--- (ο) ---

-- (δο)ϑ̄(ν)[α]ι τὸ(ν) τα[μίαν εἴκοσι? δραχ-
 μὰς ἐκ] (τῶ)ν κατὰ ψηφ[ί](σμ)[ατα ἀναλισκομένων

- 5 τῶι δῆ[ι](μ)ωι τὰδ' ἐπανο(ρ)θοῦ[ν]!
 δοῦναι] δὲ τὴν ψῆφο(ν) τῶι δῆ[ι](μ)ωι περὶ
] τοὺς (πρ)υτ(άν)εις τ(ῆ)[ς] Πα[νδιονίδος εἰς
 τὴν πρ[ώτην] ἐκ(κ)λησ(ίαν) κ(α)τὰ [τὸν νόμον].

From the style of the writing this inscription would seem to date from some period not much before the middle of the fourth century and not much later than the beginning of the third. There is nothing to help us to a closer dating, and indeed there is nothing striking about it at all except the formula in l. 5.

Ll. 1 and 2 are beyond hope of restoration: in ll. 3-4 it is easy to restore *δοῦναι τὸν ταμίαν κ.τ.λ.*, the usual phrase in Attic decrees for expressing the provision of a sum of money for defraying the cost of erecting the stele to record the decree.

L. 4 may thus be regarded as sufficiently certain to enable us to restore the number of letters in each line, namely 33: in l. 7 the *στοιχηδόν* arrangement is broken by *ΕΙ* taking the place of a single letter, and the last line, according to my restoration, contains only 30 letters, but this is, needless to say, unimportant. There is, however, nothing to guide us as to what exact position above that about five letters are missing on the left and twelve on the right: this has at any rate the advantage of not dividing up the shorter words such as *εἰς*, *τῆν*, *κ.τ.λ.*, which the stone cutter would seem generally to try to avoid, and it may very well be the correct division.

In l. 3, assuming that the formula is restored correctly in detail, *εἴκοσι* is the most natural sum to fill the space, and thus I restore it.

L. 5, *ἐπανο(ρ)θοῦ[ν]*: the actual part of the verb represented here is doubtful, but I incline to the view that it was an infinitive, expressing the purpose for which the *ταμίης* was to pay the 20 (?) drachmae, and that the rest of the line explains what he had to do precisely. The use of the

infinitive in a final clause need not surprise one in an inscription: Meisterhans²⁰ collects several instances of its use from inscriptions of the last thirty years of the fourth century. About its meaning there can be little doubt: it is used technically of making a correction in an inscription, and this exactly suits the context here. In Attic decrees a very common formula is that in which the *ταμίας* is ordered to pay a sum for the erection of a stele to record a decree, and no doubt it was equally his duty to provide the money *ἐκ τῶν κατὰ ψηφίσματα ἀναλισκομένων τῶ δήμῳ*, if any correction was ordered in an existing inscription. What was the correction ordered in this case it is impossible to say, but the letters missing after *ἐπανορθοῦ[ν]* contained the key to the puzzle. In the other instances of the use of this formula we²¹ have nothing to guide us here: possibly some such expression as *περὶ τῆς στήλης*, which contains the required number of letters, was what the stone cutter wrote, or it might have quoted the actual letters that stood in need of correction.

Ll. 6-9 contain the usual formula about putting the question to the vote in the *ἐκκλησία*: the space of sixteen letters between *δή(μ)[φ]* and *τούς* contained no doubt the subject of the vote, in fact of the decree. We may be fairly sure that it began with *περὶ*, but beyond that we are quite in the dark. It is far from improbable that the rest of the phrase was *τῆς προξενίας*, but *τῆς ἀναγραφῆς*, referring to the stele, is just as likely, nor do these exhaust the list of possible alternatives, but the question is not of the first importance. At the end of the line *Πα* is clear on the stone, and in this place we should expect the name of a tribe, so the restoration *Πα[νδιονίδος εἰς | τὴν πρ](ώτην) ἐκ(κ)λησ(ίαν)* calls for no apology.

ARTHUR M. WOODWARD.

²⁰ *Op. cit.* p. 249, note 1942.

²¹ Dittenb. *Syll.*² 49, l. 49; 615, l. 4; 789, l. 84: *μεταγράψαι* is used in the same sense, *ibid.*

54, l. 26. *ἐπανορθοῦν* has other meanings as well in Attic inscriptions, but this particular use is not apparently found elsewhere.

THREE NEW VASES IN THE ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM.

[PLATES XXX. XXXII.]

THE Ashmolean Museum has recently acquired three Attic vases with subjects of uncommon interest. The first (Pl. XXX.) is a b.-f. pelike with framed pictures. Each picture is bounded by a band of ordinary lotus-bud-pattern above, at the sides by net-pattern, and below by a clay line. A red band runs right round the vase immediately below the pictures, and a thinner red line, as is usual in panel-amphorae, surrounds the neck at the level of the handles. Red is also used for the beards and wreaths on side *A*, and on *B* for the beards, the front hair of 1 and 2, and patch on the goat's neck, the brim of 3's hat and the curved parts of his boots: white for the block and the joints of the folding-stool on *A*, and on *B* for the lines on the rock (which has also incised markings), and the chiton of 3 and the crown of his hat. The height of the vase is 40.6 cm., the width at the widest part 29.4 cm. and at the rim 18.4 cm.

The scene on side *A* is laid in a shoemaker's shop, and the representation has a parallel on the well-known amphora published in *Mon. dell' Inst.* xi. 29, and now in Boston.¹ A third shoemaker-vase is the small r.-f. cup in the British Museum (E. 86).² The Oxford vase shows a small nude figure dressed in a himation standing on a table, one foot on the table itself, the other raised and placed on a piece of leather which is separated from the table by a thin white block, no doubt a piece of hard wood. He seems to steady himself by putting his hand on the head of the workman, a bearded man, who sits on a stool at the table, holding the leather with his left hand and cutting it round the foot with a knife. His himation is rolled round his waist and legs. Beside the table is a shallow vessel to catch the leather shavings; a similar vessel appears on both the other shoemaker-vases. To the right of the table a bearded man leans on the stick, his back turned, and looks on at the work; that he is the master of the shop we may gather from the corresponding figure on the Boston vase, whose hand is stretched out as if in command. His himation is worn in the same way as the customer's, and he seems to have boots on. A folding-stool stands

¹ *Boston Report*, 1902.

² Schreiber, *Atlas*, p. 71. An interesting Etruscan terracotta statuette, representing a

shoemaker trying a shoe on a customer, is figured in *Revue de l'École des Hautes Études*, p. 63, No. 19, Pl. VII. No. 2.

between the master and the table. To right and left of him are the meaningless branches which are commonly found on late b.-f. vases. On the wall is a rack holding two awls, a knife and the cutting implement with semi-circular blade (*τομεύς*) which is used by the shoemakers on the Boston and London vases. The large wreaths worn by the shoemakers are frequently given to workmen.³

It will readily be seen by comparing the Oxford and Boston vases that both pictures are derived from a common original. The Boston picture is the better work: the accessories are more numerous and more carefully executed, and the composition is superior. Except the neck, all the objects on the wall are wanting in the Oxford vase, and there is only one workman at the table instead of two. The empty space is supplied by the meaningless floral filling and the second workman's seat, which without the workman has no real justification for being in the picture. Moreover, though in both representations the figure standing on the table, on the principle of isocephaly, is too small for the others, this disparity is less shocking in the Boston vase, where the figure is female, than in the Oxford, where it is male. Indeed, the Oxford painter seems to have realised this fault, for he began to give the customer a beard, but stopped after incising the upper line, so as to allow the figure to look like a boy's. The Boston amphora perhaps reproduces the original composition more closely.

The picture on side *B* is by no means so easy to interpret. The central figure is a Silen sitting on a rock, and supporting on his knee an oblong object apparently furnished with short legs; his left hand is raised with the fingers joined, his mouth open as if speaking; a goat lies half-hidden behind the rock. In front of the Silen is a bearded man leaning on a knotted stick in an attitude which repeats that of the corresponding figure on side *A*, except that the legs are reversed, and looking down towards the Silen's hands; he wears a short white chiton, mantle, petasos, and boots with handles to pull them on by; and his long hair is gathered up behind. His features have nothing satyric; he is a traveller, that is all we can say for the present. Behind the rock is a second Silen, dancing gently with his mouth open, his hands over his breast. What is the meaning of this unique representation?

The object which the Silen holds on his knee is probably an abacus; and the gesture of his right hand closely resembles that of the oil-merchant on another b.-f. pelike (Pernice, *Jahrb.* viii, 1893, p. 180) who sits among his pots bargaining with a customer.⁴ The Silen then is bargaining with the traveller.

Now the traveller is not necessarily Hermes, but he may be Hermes. But he has no kerykeion, and he has not come to deliver a message. This is some personal adventure of the god's. Nor would such unofficial activity be without precedent in Hermes; for as we know he began early by

³ *E.g.* Gerhard, *A. I.* 316, 2 (cooks).

significant of the conclusion of a bargain.

⁴ This gesture is still, among the Neapolitans,

removing Apollo's cattle, and later on in life, to cite a single instance, we find him dressed in a long cloak and leading a dog disguised as a pig, on the well-known r.f. cup in Vienna.⁵ A number of folk-stories must have clustered round the popular figure of the wandering Hermes, and the mysterious Vienna cup shows that some of these stories have left little or no trace in the literary texts. Can we find any hint in the written tradition that will help us to the interpretation of the present scene?

It is possible that such a hint may be found in the Homeric hymn to Pan,⁶ which tells how Pan and the nymphs dance together at evening and sing the story of the birth of the goat-footed god:

ὕμνευσιν δὲ θεοὺς μάκαρας καὶ μακρὸν Ὀλυμπον
 οἶόν θ' Ἑρμείην ἐριούνιον ἔξοχον ἄλλων
 ἔινεποι, ὡς ὄγ' ἅπασι θεοῖς θοὸς ἄγγελός ἐστι,
 καὶ ῥ' ὄτ' ἐς Ἀρκαδίην πολυπίδακα, μητέρα μῆλων,
 ἐξίκετ', ἔνθα τέ οἱ τέμενος Κυλληνίου ἐστίν,
 εἶθ' ὄγε καὶ θεὸς ὦν ψαφαρότριχα μῆλ' ἐνόμειεν,
 ἀνδρὶ πάρα θνητῶν λάθε γὰρ πόθος ὑγρὸς ἐπελθὼν
 σύμφη εὐπλοκάμῳ Δρύοπος φιλότιτι μιγῆναι·
 ἐκ δ' ἐτέλεσσε γάμον θαλερόν, τέκε δ' ἐν μεγάροισιν
 Ἑρμείη φίλον υἱόν, ἄφαρ τερατωπὸν ἰδέσθαι, κ.τ.λ.

Now we know that the worship of Pan only spread beyond Arcadia at the beginning of the fifth century,⁷ and the story of Phaidippides in Herodotus illustrates its introduction into Athens just after Marathon. The new stories he brought with him would be welcomed by the Athenian dramatists, and we may well suppose that a satyric play was written on the Marriage of Hermes, in which the first scene would show that deity bargaining with his future father-in-law about the price he was to receive for his service. Dryops, the dweller in rude Arcadia, might well appear in the form of a Silenos, a form which moreover would be not unsuitable to the grandfather of so wild a creature as Pan, the *τερατωπὸς ἰδέσθαι*, and the favourite of Dionysos (*H. H. Pan*, 46). The interest of the play would centre round the negotiations between the crafty Hermes and the shrewd Silenos-Dryops; the love-interest would be small or wanting and Hermes' bride might never even appear; indeed this Rachel seems to have had little personality, for the Homeric Hymn gives her no name. Here then we have our explanation: the seated figure is Dryops as a Silenos, with a goat beside him to suggest his flocks: the standing Hermes bargaining with him; and the dancer one of the friends of Dryops, of whom the chorus in the play would be composed. The vase-picture would not be a direct transcript from the play, but the play would have much to do with putting the legend into shape and making it fit for artistic presentation.

The date of 490 given us by the story of Phaidippides would not be too

⁵ Masner, Fig. 24: No. 241.

⁶ *H. H. Pan*, 27-36.

⁷ Allen and Sikes, *Homeric Hymns*, Introd. to Hymn to Pan.

late for our pelike. The pelike form belongs essentially to the red-figure period; the not very numerous b.-f. examples⁸ are none of them early, but contemporary with the early r.-f. style. The Homeric hymn is also assigned by authorities to the 5th century.⁹

The second vase (Pl. XXXI) is an early r.-f. krater *a colonnette* with a single unframed figure on each side. The simplicity of the figure-decoration demands that the ornamentation should be simple also, and accordingly the sole ornament is the usual band of b.-f. lotus-bud-pattern on the neck (and that only on side *A*), and the usual rays round the base. The height is 38.7 cm., the width at the rim including the handles 37.4 cm., and the diameter of the body 31.7 cm. There is a reserved space between the rays and the black grooved foot; red is used for the wreaths and the string of the sponge, and thinned glaze-paint for the musculature and the whiskers; the contour of the hair is reserved; there is no relief-line for the contour of the feet; the eye on *A* is closed in front, with the pupil towards the inner edge of the eye, and open at both ends on *B*.

On side *A* a naked youth is preparing to throw the diskos, in a position not unlike the position of the Diskobolos of Naucydes, though a closer parallel is to be found in a figure on the Epictetos-cup in the Berlin Museum.¹⁰ The diskos is held up in the left hand on a level with the neck, the body leans a little backwards and is half-turned towards the left side, the weight being on the left leg, and the right arm is raised with the fingers loose. The athlete is feeling his feet. When he has reached the right position, he will swing round to the left, transferring the diskos to his right hand. On side *B* is another athlete in quick movement to the left, looking back and raising his left hand; we must probably interpret this figure by taking it in connexion with the figure on side *A*: looking round, the athlete sees that his friend is about to throw, and starts out of the path of the diskos with a gesture meaning 'Wait a moment!' In the left hand the athlete holds a long doubled thong; he is a boxer, and it is the himas which he will presently wind round his hand.

The owl which is painted in silhouette on the diskos is one of a number of charges often placed on diskoi in vases. Jüthner (*Antike Turngeräthe*, p. 29) gives a list of these charges with instances. The owl, though not so common as the various forms of cross or svastika, is not infrequent, and to Jüthner's examples we may add: two r.-f. cup fragments in the Louvre; a r.-f. lekythos in the Cabinet des Médailles (487), and another in Bologna; and a Nolan amphora in Brussels (A 271). The charge on the diskos in B.M. E 58 may well be the short-bodied *Athene noctua*. This silhouette owl must be taken to represent not, for obvious reasons, an intaglio, but an incised outline owl on the real diskos, in the same technique, that is, as the majority of the engraved votive diskoi preserved in the museums, of which a list has been given by Mr. E. N. Gardiner,¹¹ and of course as the svastikas

⁸ E.g. B.M. 190-2; Louvre, F 376; Vatican, *Mon.* 2, 446; Vienna, *Laborde*, 2, 30-1; Corneto, *Jahrb.* viii. 1893, p. 180.

⁹ Allen and Sikes, *ibid.*

¹⁰ Gerhard, *A. V.* 272.

¹¹ *J.H.S.* 1907, p. 6.

and other linear ornaments on the representations of diskoi on vases. These incised designs may have served the practical end of making the diskos less slippery to the hand; and the owl would of course be lucky in the city of Athena.

An interesting technical detail is to be observed on side *B*. The dots which bounded the hair at the back of the head were originally placed too low, and had to be painted over; a similar correction occurred in the hydria in the style of Phintias published in Furtwangler-Reichhold, *Gr. V.* Pl. 71, 2.¹¹

The present scheme of decoration—a single unframed figure on each side—is much less common for kraters *a colonnette* than the framed compositions of several figures; another early example is Berlin 4027,¹² and a later (transition to fine style) Vienna 340;¹³ on early r.-f. amphorae it is not infrequent and it became the rule in the so-called amphorae of Nola. It is to the time of these earlier amphorae that our krater belongs, but the style is not individual, and it cannot be assigned to any particular artist. Indeed the krater *a colonnette* does not seem to have attracted the painter, for the representations seldom reach a high level of merit, and the usual ornamentation always remains that which we associate with the b.-f. period. The reason for this neglect is probably to be found in the rivalry of the nobler volute-krater; when an artist wished to put forth his powers on a krater, he naturally turned to the more splendid shape. The output therefore divided itself into two distinct classes, the volute-krater, more expensive and more beautifully decorated, and the ordinary and cheaper article, the krater with columnar handles.

The third vase (Pl. XXXII.), a bell-krater of somewhat late r.-f. style, adds another to the representations we already possess of work in a potter's shop. The ornament consists of a laurel-wreath round the rim; underneath the pictures only, bands of stopped unjoined meander in pairs separated by saltire-cross-squares; and round the bases of the handles egg-pattern. The height is 35.5 cm., and the width at the rim 37.4 cm. The reverse *B* has three careless mantle-figures.

The space on side *A* is divided by a pillar. To the left of the pillar is the painter's room. A young man dressed in an exomis and seated on a stool is painting the background of a large bell-krater of the same shape as our vase. His left arm is inside the krater, the rim resting on his thigh, and he is applying a large brush to the lower part. At his side is a low stand, supporting the skyphos-shaped vase which contains the black paint. In front of the painter a fellow-workman moves to the right carrying a second krater by both handles. He has lifted it from the ground beside the painter and is carrying it out to put it down beside a third krater which stands on the ground at the extreme right of the picture. Presently the batch will go to the furnace. Beyond the pillar is another workman who moves to the

¹¹ It may also be noticed on one of the two unpublished cups in Corneto mentioned by Hartwig, *Meistersch.* p. 318.

¹² *Annali*, 1877, W.

¹³ Masner, Taf. 6.

right in the same attitude as the last. In his raised right hand he holds a skyphos by the foot. Perhaps he is taking it to join a batch of vases of the same shape, but more probably he has been sent by the busy painter to fetch more paint. The skyphos is the usual vessel for holding paint; it appears as a paint pot on the Caputi-hydria (*Ann. d. I.* 1876, D). A pleasant rhythm is thus imparted to the scene; the first figure is occupied with both vase and paint; the second with vase; and the third with paint.

In the field of the picture are a number of objects which must be conceived as hanging round the walls of the factory. They are not show specimens to impress visitors, but utensils employed by the workmen themselves. They are roughly drawn, and the identification is in some cases uncertain. The first object has a less special function than the others; it is probably a kylix for the workmen to drink from when thirsty. The second is a bowl to pound the solid ingredients of the paint in:¹⁴ the next is probably a brush-case:¹⁵ the fourth a dish for holding the colour after the addition of liquid and before it is passed through the strainer—for this is what the last object appears to be—into the skyphos ready for use.

The hasty execution of this vase does not call for much comment; but the picture is not without life, and the painter has contrived to give it an air of animation and business which places vividly before our eyes the conditions of the potter's art in the fifth century B.C.

J. D. BEAZLEY.

POSTSCRIPT.

Of the early r.-f. kraters the following are those which most resemble the Oxford vase in style.

1. Rome, Villa di Papa Giulio 984. A. Nemean lion: B. athletes.
2. *Ibid.* A. athletes: B. komos.
3. Once Catania, coll. Ricupero (Benndorf, *Gr. u. Sic. Vasenb.*, 41. 2. A. symposion: B. athletes (?).
4. Florence 3980. A. athletes: B. Silen.
5. *Ibid.* 3981. A. Heracles with tripod: B. athlete with akontion.
6. Rome, Museo Kircheriano (*Mon. Linc.* 14. p. 299). Small fragment: kottabos.

These kraters all belong to the same period and exhibit the same artistic tendency, a tendency which finds higher expression in the cups and amphorae of the time. The cup with athletes in the Cabinet des Médailles (Hartwig, *Meistersch.* Taf. 16) is closely akin.

¹⁴ Daremberg-Saglio, *s.v.* 'Pictura.'

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

ARCHAEOLOGY IN GREECE (1907-1908).

IF the famous sites on the mainland of Greece have been largely exhausted—and the only great classical cities now being excavated are Sparta and Corinth—the outlying parts of the Greek world continue to yield a harvest of discoveries, increasingly interesting as they are added to a constantly increasing body of archaeological knowledge. Thus Crete, Delos, Rhodes, and the great cities of Asia such as Miletus and Pergamon continue to give up fresh treasures, and the neolithic and bronze age remains of north Greece and the island of Leukas are adding a new chapter to the book of Greek prehistoric archaeology.

The one great mainland site not yet fully excavated is the most interesting of all, but owing to material difficulties Athens for the present reserves her secrets. The excavation of the Agora, the great task before the Greek Archaeological Society, has now indeed been begun by the clearing of an area east of the Theseum, and ancient walls have been found, but they cannot be identified with any known buildings, nor do the inscriptions discovered give any topographical indications. This is, however, only a beginning, and the area ultimately to be excavated is very much larger. It extends on the north to the railway-bridge, on the east at least to the Stoa of the Giants, and on the south to the Areopagus. The land is now all built over, and the expenses of expropriation, as the law now stands, are prohibitive. Some such special decree, as that by which the modern village on the site of Delphi was removed, will be necessary, and when it has been obtained the most important results may be looked for.

Interesting work has been done in piecing together the pre-Persian sculpture in the Acropolis Museum. This has been undertaken by Dr. Schrader and Dr. Heberdey, and their long study of the fragments has led to some very fine reconstructions. Dr. Schrader has worked upon the marbles, with the result that one entirely new *Kore* figure has been put together, and three others much improved by the addition of their feet. Legs have also been fitted to the statues of horses. Dr. Heberdey has devoted himself to the coloured poros sculpture, and has reconstructed with great skill a group of a bull attacked by a lioness.

A terracotta figure has recently been found in a tomb at Zárax near Monemvasia which has directed attention to the problem of the restoration of the missing arms of the Venus of Milo. The terracotta is eighteen inches high, and represents Aphrodite in a similar attitude semi-nude. Her

right hand holds the drapery at her waist, and her left a mirror. Dr. Stais has published the figure, with the conclusion that, though similar in motive, the resemblance is not sufficient to make it a safe guide for a restoration of the statue.¹

The most remarkable discovery of the Greek Archaeological Society in the year 1907 was made on the site of Pagasae by Dr. Arvanitopoulos, Ephor of Antiquities for Thessaly. He excavated a small tower of the fifth century, round which a large tower had been hastily built in the Roman period, in order to add to its strength. The material for packing the foundations of this later work, and for filling the space between it and the older building, was taken from a necropolis, and consisted of hundreds of grave *stelai*. These were decorated not with reliefs but with paintings. Their shape has nothing unusual. They terminate above in a gable, below which are often two rosettes, and below these the inscription, all painted on the flat stone. Below this again is the funereal picture. The subjects are those usual on Greek grave *stelai*, and Dr. Arvanitopoulos considers that many of the motives are derived from the famous works of Greek painters mentioned by Pliny. The *stelai* themselves are plainly the excellent works of quite ordinary craftsmen.

In all 1005 pieces have been found, some thirty *stelai* being complete. On twenty the colours are very well preserved. The outlines of the figures are firmly drawn in black, and a full range of colours is used. The tints are not flat but shaded. From the lettering of the inscriptions they may be dated to the period between the fourth and the second century B.C., and one of them was set up to a soldier killed at the capture of Phthiotic Thebes by Philip V in 217. As specimens of Greek painting their value cannot be overstated, and their study will largely increase our knowledge of its processes, and of the skill of Greek artists in chiaroscuro and perspective. All care has been taken to preserve the paintings, and the seven best were at once copied by M. Gilliéron, and will shortly be published by the Society. The *stelai* themselves remain in the museum at Volo. Adjacent towers are shortly to be excavated, so it is possible that more of these interesting works may soon be brought to light.²

Dr. Stais' discovery of colossal archaic statues at Sunium was noticed in this report a year ago.³ The excavation has now been continued south-east of the temple, and more fragments have been found, including the shins of the Apollo now in the National Museum. Many important pre-Persian votives are also reported, including scarabs and other small objects of Egyptian art. Remains of houses on each side of the road from the harbour to the temple have been uncovered.

The Society has worked also at Tegea, in Arcadia, at Mycenae, where Dr. Tsountas has cleared and strengthened the Tomb of Clytaemnestra, at the Amphiareion at Oropos, continuing the excavation of the buildings that

¹ Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1908, p. 135, Pls. VI., VII.

² Published in Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1908, p. 1, Pls. I.-IV.

³ J.H.S. xxvii. p. 284.

probably were used by the pilgrims to the shrine, and in Euboea, where Mr. Papavasileiou reports a tomb of Mycenaean construction and furniture with cremated remains. He has also continued excavating prehistoric tombs at Chaleis.

As a tribute to the memory of Furtwaengler, whose death in October 1907 broke off the excavation of the site of the Throne of the Amyclaeon Apollo, the Society has paid the expenses of the completion of the work. This has involved the removal of the church of Haghia Kyriaki, which occupied the top of the hillock. The result will appear in a publication in memory of Furtwaengler.

Dr. Kavvadhias has again devoted himself chiefly to Epidauros, where the study of the fragments of the Tholos of Polykleitos has led to important results. I quote Dr. Kavvadhias' words: 'The scientific results of this work are such that we may say without exaggeration, that we now for the first time know this famous building as it really was. The basement, the constituents of the wall and the floor, the base of the Corinthian columns, and the beautiful and richly adorned marble door have now been recovered with certainty.'

In the same careful way the work on the Erechtheion has been continued, and it has been found possible to replace the greater part of the South wall. In these operations the exhaustive study of the Erechtheion, stone by stone, by the American architect Mr. Stevens has been of great service. His drawings are to be published, but this has been delayed by the death of Dr. Heernance the director of the American School, who was to have supplied the text.⁴

The campaign of the British School at Sparta was almost entirely devoted to the excavation of the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, and a fourth season will be needed to finish the site. In 1907 the sixth century temple was cleared, and the arena of the Roman amphitheatre in front of it. In this arena a large altar was found which was covered up when the temple was built, and is probably as old as the ninth century. The task this year was to explore further the deposit of votive offerings that gathered round this old altar, and if possible to find the early temple contemporary with it. This plan made it necessary to remove a good deal of the foundations of the Roman amphitheatre, and as in previous years many inscriptions were found used as building material.

Underneath this Roman masonry to the east of the altar the remains of houses of the fifth and fourth centuries were found. These were outside the limit of the original *temenos*. The removal of the masonry on the other side of the site immediately to the south of the temple was even more profitable. Here we first found a rich deposit of objects dating from immediately after the construction of the temple, and so to the last half of the sixth and first half of the fifth century. They were distinctly later in character than the

⁴ The work of the Greek Society is briefly reported in *Πρακτικά τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιο-*

λογικῆς Ἑταιρείας τοῦ ἔτους 1907, for a proof of which I am indebted to Dr. Kavvadhias.

votives associated with the archaic altar, and the deposit was very rich in the curious terracotta masks, of which a number were found in the first season. These may now be confidently assigned to this period. Earlier than this they are rare. Below this stratum, and underneath the layer of building-chips which marked the period of the construction of the sixth century temple were the remains of a building, which is no doubt the very early temple associated with the archaic altar. Only part of the west and south walls remains, as the rest of it was destroyed by the foundation of the later building. It stands at one edge of a large area roughly paved with cobble-stones, near the opposite edge of which is the altar.

Of the walls of this temple only the foundation course is preserved, consisting of small unworked stones and vertical slabs. The mass of burned earth, which overlay these foundations, shews that the upper part of the wall was made of mud-brick. Down the centre of the temple is a row of flat stones, and these correspond in position with flat stones built into the side and end walls. It seems probable that all these supported baulks of timber, of which those in the wall must have formed a framework, holding the building together, whilst those in the interior were columns supporting the roof, which was most likely a gable. This wood and mud temple must be contemporary with the archaic altar, and with it go back to the eighth or ninth century B.C. It is noticeable that at this early period the altar is on a larger scale than the temple, which only served as a house in which to keep the cult-statue. There are, in fact, traces at the west end of the temple of a small cella for this purpose.

For the history of Greek architecture these remains are of great interest, and to judge from the simplicity of the plan we have here a building even more primitive than the wooden Heraion at Olympia or the old temple at Thermos.⁵ It is noteworthy that Doerpfeld had already deduced that the prototype of the Doric style was a brick and timber building.

The votive offerings found in this archaic stratum were again very numerous and important. The carved ivories in especial are even better than before. Two pieces are in a style not hitherto found of very deep and even undercut relief, recalling the treatment of metopes. Of these one represents a centaur stabbed by a Lapith, and the other Prometheus torn by the eagle. A certain development in style is now traceable, and it seems possible to distinguish between the Ionian style of some of the earlier examples, which points especially to influence from Ephesus, and the native style which grew up at Sparta itself.

The pottery in these deposits ranges from Geometric to fifth and fourth century. It was noticed last year that the Orientalising pottery at Sparta was of a peculiar kind akin to Cyrenaic, and a full series has now been obtained of this fabric. It follows the Geometric, develops through a pre-

⁵ Excavated for the Greek Archaeological Society by Dr. Sotiriadis, and published in the *Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική*.

Cyrenaic phase into true Cyrenaic, and finally ends as a manifest degeneration of the style in the fifth century. One very fine kylix has been recovered practically complete. So little other pottery has been found that this Cyrenaic series is undoubtedly local, and we are led to the important conclusion that the authorities who regarded Cyrenaic ware as Laconian were right, although their view, now so fully supported, has not been generally accepted. Next year it is proposed to remove more of the Roman foundations, and explore thoroughly what remains of the earlier strata. It is possible that the shrine of Eileithyia, which was not far from that of Orthia, may be discovered.⁶

Another British excavation was carried out in September, 1907, and March, 1908, by Professor Burrows and Mr. Ure at Rhitsóna in Boeotia, the probable site of Mycalessos. A row of tombs was dug, mainly of the latter half of the sixth century. There were some very fine individual finds, but the chief interest of the excavation is that it gives some idea of the comparative date of early Boeotian pottery. The cemeteries of Boeotia have yielded enormous quantities of objects, but the excavations have nearly always been illicit. This gives great value to even a small excavation with a proper record of what objects were found together in the same tomb. Professor Burrows has now proved that Boeotian Geometric vases are not confined to the eighth and seventh centuries, but continued in use until the end of the sixth, as nearly every grave with this fabric contained also objects that can scarcely be earlier than 500 B.C.⁷

A row of later tombs parallel to these was opened in March of this year. Outside the tombs, which were built of stone slabs, were masses of black glaze pottery and figurines of the Tanagra style, and inside a few plain vases, a strigil, beads, or a single statuette. These objects resemble those in the National Museum at Athens from the graves of those who fell at Chaeronea.

Mr. Wace and Mr. Droop have again excavated in Thessaly in the name of the British School, with the aid of a grant from the Cambridge University Worts' Fund. The site chosen was Zerólia near Almyró in Phthiotis. All recent topographers have considered this to be the site of Itonos. This has now been proved impossible by the scantiness of the Greek remains, and the fact that none of them are earlier than the latter part of the fourth century. This, however, hardly touched the real interest of the site, for below these remains the excavators found a rich neolithic deposit from six to eight metres thick. This has been explored, and consists of the débris of eight superposed settlements, the strata being clearly marked off by the layers of burnt mud brick of which the huts of the successive villages were built. The pottery is nearly all hand-made. In the earliest settlements it either has a polished red surface or is painted with

⁶ The results of these excavations are published every year in the *Annual of the British School at Athens*.

⁷ These notes are mainly from the report of a paper read by Professor Burrows before the Hellenic Society in November 1907.

decorative patterns in red on a white ground. In the later strata the pottery is either a fine black or a coarse red polished ware. Sunk into the top of the eighth and last neolithic settlement were several cist-graves of the early bronze age. This last village, although neolithic, dates probably from about the twelfth century B.C., as several fragments of late Mycenaean pottery were found amongst its remains. The first settlement therefore must belong to a very remote period, and the excavators, to whom I am indebted for these notes, suggest the first half of the third millennium B.C. The painted ware from the earlier strata closely resembles that found at Chaeronea by Dr. Sotiriadhis. It is also contemporary with the painted pottery found by Professor Tsountas at Sesklo and Dhimini in Thessaly, some fragments of which were found with it, whilst this Zerelia pottery was also found at Sesklo and Dhimini. Mr. Wace and Mr. Droop have also found this red-on-white ware of the Chaeronea-Zerelia type on prehistoric sites near Lamia and Pharsala, so that it seems to have been used over a large area. The evidence of this excavation points to the Bronze Age in northern Greece having begun very much later than in the southern Aegean region.⁸

The excavation at Chaeronea by Dr. Sotiriadhis just mentioned as having yielded red-on-white pottery like that from Zerelia is of great importance in this connexion. The site is a neolithic tumulus near the Chaeronea railway station, and last summer great progress was made in its excavation.⁹ The finest of the pottery is the red-on-white ware mentioned above as having been found at Zerelia. There is also a fabric with dark matt paint resembling Furtwaengler's 'hand-made early Mycenaean' from Aegina, and a black ware with linear ornament in white, in which Dr. Sotiriadhis sees a predecessor of the Cretan Kamares pottery. He also traces a development from the other wares to the Mycenaean, and is led by this to suggest as a date the end of the third millennium B.C.

That there may be some Aegean influence in these fabrics is not unlikely, but the fact that the neolithic age lasted so long in this region (at Zerelia until the late Mycenaean period), seems to me to be strongly against the view that they played any part in the development of Aegean and Mycenaean pottery. Their origin and relations are more likely to be sought for further north in the Balkan Peninsula.

Fresh discoveries continue to be made in Crete. In the earlier years of the work the finds were generally Late or Middle Minoan, and the Early Minoan period, chiefly because it was not well represented at Knosos and Phaistos, remained comparatively obscure. In later years our knowledge of it has been much increased by the Italian and Greek discoveries in the Messarai, and still more by the work of the American excavators in the neighbourhood of Gournia. This year Mr. Seager's work on the island of

⁸ The excavation will be published in the *Annals of the British School at Athens*.

⁹ The excavation has been published in the latest number of the *Εφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική*,

1908, p. 65. See also *Ath. Mitt.* 1905, 1906. For the present information I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. Sotiriadhis.

Moklís has given an entirely new idea of its capabilities, and these discoveries, together with Dr. Xanthoudhidhis' increasing evidence for the thickness of the population at this remote time, are the most important achievements of the year. Beside these, work has been carried on at Knosos, and by the Italian Mission at Phaistos and at the archaic Greek site at Prinná.

The most important part of Dr. Evans' work at Knosos this spring has been the excavation of the building which he has called the Little Palace.¹⁹ This lies west of the Great Palace, with which it is connected by a paved way, 'the oldest road in Europe.' Here had already been found the shrine containing the curious fetishes, natural stones bearing a grotesque resemblance to the human form, belonging to the period of Minoan decadence, and a fine hall, which pointed to a building of importance. This has now been excavated, in spite of considerable difficulties. It is a very large building, with a frontage of more than 114 feet, and an area of over 9400 square feet. The remains of stone staircases prove that it possessed at least two storeys. The date assigned is the close of the Middle or the very beginning of the Late Minoan age, that is about the seventeenth century B.C. It contained a shrine of great interest. This consisted of a chamber with two pillars of the kind now familiar in Cretan sanctuaries. This room seems to have formed a kind of crypt, for the ritual objects found came apparently from a room above. One of these is 'a stepped base of steatite, provided with a socket above—in other words, the typical base for the shaft of one of the sacred double axes of the Cretan sanctuaries.' The other object was a black steatite ritual rhyton of remarkable and unique workmanship. The horns were probably of wood, but the only remains are part of the gold foil with which they were overlaid. The nostrils are inlaid with a kind of shell, and the eyes, one of which is perfectly preserved, were made of rock crystal, the pupil and iris being indicated by means of colours applied to the lower face of the crystal, which has been hollowed out, and has a certain magnifying power.

In the Palace area proper work has been done along the southern front, and many interesting objects found, apparently part of the débris from the destruction of the Palace. Dr. Evans mentions cult objects, vases, stucco painted with designs, 'back-work' on crystal, *tesserae* for mosaic work, and lastly a fragment of a very finely undercut relief in ivory of a griffin seizing a bull.

The south-western quarter of the Palace, reported a year ago, has been explored, and seems chiefly to consist of another large official residence. The excavation of the great rock-cut vault discovered last year has presented great difficulties, and is not yet completed. Its rock floor has, however, been reached at the extraordinary depth of about 52 feet from the original summit of the cupola.

The necessity of preserving the Palace from the ravages of the weather

¹⁹ These notes are from an account published in the *Times* by Dr. Evans.

has always been recognised at Knosos, and this year again much has been done towards the restoration and preservation of the Domestic Quarter.

It is very interesting to note that a house-floor has been found with a rich store of Early Minoan pottery. Up to now this period has been but poorly represented at Knosos; most of the material has come from the Messarâ and the American excavations at Gourniâ and the neighbouring islets. Our ideas of the capacities of this early stage of Cretan culture have been much enlarged this year by Mr. Seager's remarkable excavation at Mokolós, certainly the most important to be recorded from Crete. The gold jewellery especially has been described by Dr. Evans as being 'as beautifully wrought as the best Alexandrian fabrics of the beginning of our era.'

Mokolós is an islet only half a mile long about two hundred yards off the north coast of Crete, near the port of the modern deme of Tourloti. It is not far from Pseira, another island upon which Mr. Seager excavated a Minoan town in 1906 and 1907.¹¹ The sea between Mokolós and the mainland of Crete is so shallow that there may well have been an isthmus at some time. If so, the harbour so formed would have been the best in the neighbourhood.

The settlement has two main periods. The first and most important is the Early Minoan town, which was destroyed at the beginning of the Middle Minoan period. In Middle Minoan times there seems to have been only a poor village on the island, but at the end of this period the town was rebuilt, and lasted until the catastrophe, which destroyed also Gourniâ and Pseira. This destruction took place at a time when Late Minoan II. vases had come into use, though possibly as importations, the local Late Minoan I. style lasting on in these towns right into the Palace period of Knosos, and was thus probably contemporary with the destruction of the Palace of Knosos. This later town shews strong Knosian influence in its architecture. The most important finds were some large bronze basins. The destruction was by fire, and every house shewed signs of a violent conflagration. In many cases human remains were found amongst the masses of charred wood and ashes. The ruins were much disturbed later by the construction of a port for a Graeco-Roman settlement on the coast a little to the east.

The Early Minoan settlement is much more important. The cemetery lies on a steep slope on the south-west face of the island. Twenty-four graves were opened. Eighteen of these were small, about half Early and half Middle Minoan. These yielded about 300 terracotta vases, 130 stone vases, and about 150 gold ornaments. There were also a good many weapons and seals, the earlier of which are of ivory. These ivory seals are a marked feature of the Early Minoan sites in the Messarâ plain.

The six remaining tombs were even more important. They all date from Early Minoan II. and III., and are large chamber-tombs like the contemporary rectangular ossuaries at Palaikastro and the tombs found by Dr. Xanthoudhidhis at Dhrâkonas, which are mentioned below. They are in

¹¹ *J.H.S.* xxvii. p. 291.

two groups of three each, one set facing on a small paved court. The chambers are built of large slabs set on end, with a doorway close by a flat slab of great size. The walls are in places preserved to a height of two metres. The roofs have disappeared. The contents were very rich. There are many stone vases of alabaster, limestone, breccia, many kinds of steatite and occasionally of marble. They are of very fine workmanship, often as thin as a modern teacup, and very much superior to the pottery of the period. Still more remarkable are the numerous gold ornaments, diadems, chains, pendants, hair-pins and strips for sewing to garments. The work is quite as delicate as anything found later. A few of the diadems, which are thin bands one to two inches wide and twelve long, bear geometrical designs of a simple character incised with a blunt tool. The work in general strikingly resembles that of the gold work from the tombs at Mycenae, except that it is far more primitive, and the patterns all of the simplest character. The technique of the artists was far in advance of their knowledge of design. With these ornaments and stone vases were found dagger blades of the short triangular shape characteristic of the Early Minoan period, ivory seals and the usual pottery, the mottled red-and-black ware first found by Mr. Seager at Vasiliki, burnished black bucchero, and the Early Minoan III, light-on-dark style. In the eighteen smaller tombs all the finer things came from the earlier burials, the Middle Minoan tombs being notably poorer than the Early Minoan. The daggers in the later tombs lose the early triangular form, and become decidedly longer, and at last (M. M. III.) acquire a pronounced midrib.

Near the surface over these earlier graves was a series of burials in inverted jars. These belong to Middle Minoan III. and Late Minoan I. and all the bones are those of children. The only other Late Minoan I. burial was again near the surface over an earlier tomb. It yielded several bronze bowls, two seal-stones, and a very fine gold signet ring in perfect preservation. The design on this makes it one of the most interesting things that have been found in Crete. A goddess is represented seated with her sacred tree in a curiously shaped boat with a bow shaped like a horse's head. This boat is moving away from the shore, upon which stands a small shrine. Only the door of this is visible on the extreme right. The goddess is beckoning to a flaming figure-of-eight shield, which seems to be flying towards her from the shrine. Higher up in the field is what may be a double axe, and another as yet unknown object. This ring must rank with the famous rings of Mycenae as a document of first-rate importance for Cretan religion.¹²

Dr. Xanthoudhidhis' excavations in 1907 and the summer of this year illustrate the condition of the Messarai plain in the Early Minoan period. The work, as in previous years, has centred round the settlement at Koumása, in the neighbourhood of which a number of tombs have been opened. Thus *tholos* tombs have been found at Christós, Salámi and

¹² This account of these unpublished excavations I owe to notes very kindly sent me by Mr. Seager.

Kontsokéra, all Early Minoan, but unfortunately almost entirely pillaged. A new settlement and two *tholos* tombs are reported from Dhrákonas. One of the tombs had been much altered and almost entirely emptied in the Mycenaean period, but the other was untouched. It contained many bodies, either lying on the ground, or buried in clay chests (*λάρνakes*) or *pitthoi*, with stone vases and two steatite seals. In connexion with this *tholos* were some small rectangular chambers containing similarly buried bodies and many Middle Minoan I. vases. These square tombs are of the same kind as those from Moklós. Dr. Xanthoudhidhis says nothing of any signs of cremation in these tombs.

On this point the discoveries at Portí throw some light. In 1906 a large *tholos* tomb was found, dating like the rest of the *tholoi* in the Koumása district from the Early Minoan period. The bones in it were burned (*ἕλα κατάμυρα καὶ κεκανμένα*). Now a burial-trench (*τάφρος*) has been found at the same place full of human bones and Middle Minoan objects. In this later burial, however, there are no signs of cremation. The circular ossuaries or *tholoi* at Koumása, in which signs of burning were observed, are at least prevailing Early Minoan, and there is no evidence of any cremation later than this in Minoan Crete. These accumulating signs of an earlier custom of cremation are clearly of great importance.

A Mycenaean settlement was found at Tsingouúnia, and one large house (12 × 14 metres), finely built of gypsum blocks, was excavated.

Dr. Xanthoudhidhis points out that the most important result of the year's work is to shew that the Messará plain was thickly inhabited in the Early Minoan period, no less than seven settlements with their tombs having now been found within a radius of about three miles from Koumása. Their similarity points to the homogeneity of the population, and no doubt many more such sites remain to be discovered. If future work should prove that this early population regularly burned their dead, it will be necessary to look for the reason why in later times the practice was discontinued.

This summer a *tholos* tomb was excavated at a site called Trochálous, near the village of Kalathianá, one hour north-west of Gortyn. It had been pillaged fifty-five years ago by the peasants, and the great store of gold ornaments found melted down to make modern jewellery. In spite of this, a little gold was left, ten ivory seals with geometric designs, five triangular and two elongated bronze daggers. The sherds were Early Minoan II. and III., with one polychrome Kamáres cup. The ivory seals and triangular daggers are characteristically Early Minoan. The elongated daggers are a little later in type, and the much destroyed settlement found close by yielded mainly Middle Minoan I. sherds. The walls of the houses shew the peculiar insets which mark the walls of the palaces of Knosos and Phaistos.¹³

¹³ Dr. Xanthoudhidhis has very kindly sent me notes of these excavations. The only published material is a brief account of the work

of 1907 in the Athenian periodical *Παναθήναια*, Nov. 15, 1907.

Dr. Pernier, of the Italian Archaeological Mission in Crete, has kindly sent me his latest publication, which includes a preliminary account of this season's work.¹⁴ The excavation of the outside walls on the south and south-west sides of the Palace of Phaistos has now been finished. The neolithic deposits below the first Palace have been examined, and remains of a trapezoidal house have been found, exactly like the neolithic house found by the British School at Magasá, near Palaikastro.¹⁵

The most important discovery, and possibly the most important object found this year in Crete came from an excavation on the north-east angle of the Acropolis of Phaistos. There is no information yet as to its period. It is a terracotta disc about 6¼ inches (16 centimetres) in diameter, covered on both sides with characters. These include figures of men, fish, birds, trees, plants, and various implements, all impressed with stamps or types. This amounts to a kind of printing, and is in strong contrast with the Minoan tablets previously known on which the characters are always incised with a stylus. On each face of the disc there are more than 120 characters, arranged in distinct groups. They run between incised lines, forming thus a band disposed in a spiral from the centre to the periphery. Despite its unique character the discoverers consider that the document is of Cretan origin, and that the signs belong to the pictographic script recognised by Dr. Evans on a certain class of engraved seals. The number of signs makes it clear that the text is of some length.

Dr. Pernier has kindly sent me some unpublished notes on his work this year at the archaic Greek site of Patéla by Priniá. Last year's report¹⁶ noticed the archaic sculpture from the temple found here, and this year much progress has been made, especially in examining the towers of the fortress. Some of these are well preserved, and it was a place of much strength. A small funeral *stèle* of the second century B.C. was found, but it is later than the destruction of the fortress. It was set up by Annatos to his son.

The temple, from which the sculpture mentioned last year came, has now been entirely excavated. It consists of a *pronaos* and *cella*, deeper than it is wide. In the middle of the *cella* is a rectangular pit, lined with partly-calcined stones, and containing burnt clay and animals' bones. It would appear that victims were burnt here, and that therefore the *cella* was at least in part open to the sky. Two column-bases *in situ* suggest such columns as have now been found so often in Minoan sanctuaries. Not much was found inside the temple. A few fragments of sculpture in *poros* stone and a number of pieces of archaic Greek *pithoi* with ornamentation in relief are the most interesting objects.

Near this temple (called temple A), a second (temple B) has now been discovered. It resembles temple A, excepting that it has an *opisthodomos*, and only one base in the *cella* instead of two. This, moreover, seems to be

¹⁴ 'L'Antica Creta, Centro di Cultura e di Arte' (*Scavi Italiani a Creta*, 1906-1908), Luigi Pernier. Estratto dal N. 33 del *Giornale Il*

Marocco, Firenze, 1908.

¹⁵ *J.H.S.*, xi, p. 262.

¹⁶ *J.H.S.*, xxvii, p. 290.

rather an altar than the base of a column. Everywhere, but especially in the *opisthodomos*, fragments of archaic *pithoi* with the characteristic relief decoration were found. Below the temples were sherds of the Geometric period. The temples Dr. Pernier regards as the true successors of the Mycenaean *megara*. The position of an archaic tomb below Patela has been discovered, and the excavation is to be continued next year.

The French School continues to concentrate its energies on the great excavation of Delos. Most of the work in 1907 was in the north-west region near the sea, where a very important building was found. A small part of it still remains unexcavated, as it lies underneath the house, in which the expedition lives. Near the surface Byzantine remains were found with Constantinian coins, and below these Graeco-Roman houses, notably a peristyle house with a well-head. Below this was the large building in question, which may be dated from architectural evidence to the second century B.C. It is a great hall 118 by 180 feet (36 by 55 metres), of which one long side is formed by a row of fifteen columns. The interior is divided into six aisles by five rows of nine columns, those along the sides and ends being Doric, and the rest Ionic. The central column is lacking. There is evidence to shew that the outer aisles had lean-to roofs, and were lower than the four in the middle, which ran up into a clerestory. The two central aisles were hypaethral. The building thus occupies architecturally a middle place between the stoa and the basilica, and shews the two not yet clearly differentiated. The type may be an adaptation of the pillared walls of Egypt, and in Greece recalls the Thersileion at Megalopolis and the Telesterion at Eleusis.

The treasuries have now been cleared. The second is the best preserved, and was a building distyle *in antis*. All are believed to be of the same period, and not to be older than the third century. Fragments of Attic red-figured pottery were found underneath the floor of the second.

The two earlier temples by the side of the fourth century temple of Apollo have now been studied. Of the smaller, a building *in antis*, only the foundations remain, built of poros resting on a substructure of granite. It is identified with the *πώρινος οἶκος*, and is no doubt much earlier than the fifth century. The other temple is Doric, hexastyle, amphiprostyle, built of Parian marble. The plan of the interior is peculiar. At the entrance to the pronaos are four unequally spaced rectangular columns, corresponding to four engaged columns in the back wall. The thick wall between the cella and the pronaos probably had corresponding openings. A semi-circular base in the cella probably supported seven statues. The excellence of the work and analogies to the Parthenon and the temple at Bassae lead to the conclusion that it is the *νεὸς ὁ Ἀθηναίων* of the Amphictyonic decrees. The base for seven statues indicates that it is the *νεὸς οὗ τὰ ἑπτὰ* of the inscriptions.¹⁷

Besides the prosecution of the excavation of Corinth, the American School has turned its attention to the Propylaea of the Acropolis. Here

¹⁷ *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. d. inscrip. et belles lettres*, 1907, p. 615; 1908, p. 171.

Mr. Wood, an architect, has at least begun a study that should be as valuable as Mr. Stevens' work on the Erechtheion, and for any replacing of fallen blocks his conclusions will form a safe guide. Like Mr. Stevens', Mr. Wood's method consists of the careful study of every block of the building, *in situ* or fallen, and the results thus obtained have a convincing certainty, which is very far from the conclusions reached by less thorough and more *a priori* methods. Almost all the details of the roofs have been worked out, and Mr. Wood has shewn they were not gables, but hip-roofs. The uncompleted hall by the Pinacotheca is proved to have had eight and not nine columns.

The German Archaeologists have continued the great excavation at Pergamon. The main work of the season has been in the region of the great gymnasium. A temple has been excavated, with a triple statue-base, possibly dedicated to Asklepios, Hermes and Herakles. Some of the inscriptions are of value for the history of the Pergamene royal house, and others give lists of ephebes, natives being distinguished from foreigners by the addition of the name of their tribe. Several fine halls have also been cleared, and in the lower town remains of an amphitheatre, stadion and large bath have been examined.

The great tumulus, suspected of being a royal tomb, has been attacked, but its centre has not yet been reached. A tunnel was begun from the side, but fell in and had to be converted into an open cutting. This is being continued in the direction of the centre of the tumulus by a tunnel supported by stronger baulks of timber. The tumulus (500 metres in circumference) was originally surrounded by a wall, and a flight of steps led up the slope probably to some monument on the top.

The continuation of the German excavations at Olympia has brought fresh evidence as to the age of the Sanctuary. Furtwaengler regarded it as entirely post-Mycenean, saying that none of the bronzes could be dated earlier than the eighth century. This view Doerpfeld does not share, and these latest excavations, he holds, have decided the question definitely against Furtwaengler. Without touching the question of the age of these bronzes, his discovery this year of hitherto unknown independent house-walls below the Pelopion may be said to have proved that the remains of Olympia go back much earlier than has generally been supposed. Doerpfeld's conclusion is: 'Olympia is of the greatest antiquity (*uralt*): in the middle of the Altis, the traditional site of the house of King Oinomaos, there was in fact a prehistoric settlement.'

This year's work consisted of a further exploration of the prehistoric stratum, which the excavations of 1907 had revealed below the Geometric layer between the Heraion and the Pelopion. Prehistoric house-walls were thus found between the Pelopion, the Heraion and the Metroon. Of six buildings four are sufficiently well preserved to give the ground-plan, which is marked by a semicircular apsidal ending. Two more buildings of this stratum were found twenty-five years ago, but their true character was not recognised, and they were regarded as the foundations of altars. The masonry resembles that

of the walls in Leukas and at Kakóvatos (the Homeric Pylos of Doerpfeld),¹⁸ and the objects found are stone implements, obsidian and flint flakes, and hand-made monochrome pottery, sometimes with simple patterns incised or filled with white, resembling that from Leukas and Kakóvatos. No metal was found. The stratification of the three periods of Olympia is particularly plain under the Pelopion, whose north-east corner is directly above the apse of one of these prehistoric houses. Thus on the top is the Classical Greek wall of the Pelopion, below this the Geometric deposit, and below this again these prehistoric remains. Underneath this house there was further a child's grave with prehistoric vases, which shews that this early period lasted a long time. An excavation on the hill of Kronos yielded some prehistoric and many Greek sherds. Prehistoric sherds were found also on the hill to the east of Olympia, and this excavation is to be continued.¹⁹

The excavation of the three Mycenaean beehive-tombs at Kakóvatos near Samikón, the site identified by Doerpfeld with the Homeric Pylos, has been continued. One tomb was dug in 1907, and this spring the two others have been cleared. They had been much destroyed and pillaged, but enough was left to prove them to be, like the first, of the same period as the great beehive-tombs of Mycenae.²⁰

In the same neighbourhood a Doric peripteral temple has been excavated. Two inscriptions prove that it was dedicated to Artemis Limnatis. One is an archaic inscription on a mirror (*ἱερὸν Ἀρτάμιος Λιμνάτιος*), and the other an inscription of the classical period on a bowl reading, *Ἄρτεμι Πολεμαρχίς ἀνέθηκε*.²¹

Dr. Doerpfeld's excavations in Leukas made much progress in the summer of 1907, and the following account is derived from his *Vierter Brief über Leukas-Ithaka*, published early in this year.²² It will be remembered that Doerpfeld identifies the four Homeric islands, Ithaka, Same, Dulichion and Zakynthos, with the four modern islands, Leukas, Ithaka, Kephallenia, and Zakynthos, in this order, thus making the Homeric Ithaka the modern Leukas, and the modern Ithaka the Homeric Same. Acting on this theory he has been excavating for some years on Leukas, with a view to finding the remains of the Homeric town and dwelling of Odysseus, and he is disposed to identify the very ancient remains he has now found with these. The first part of this fourth report gives details of the excavations, and the second deals with recent publications on the Leukas-Ithaka question. Here Doerpfeld gives reasons for holding that Leukas has always been an island, and then criticises Vollgraff's solution of the Ithaka problem.²³ Vollgraff agrees with Doerpfeld in taking the four modern as the same as the four

¹⁸ *J.H.S.* xxvii. p. 296, and below.

¹⁹ See *Ath. Mitth.* xxxiii. p. 185.

²⁰ *Ath. Mitth.* xxxiii. p. 295. This report gives many interesting structural details. For a previous notice see *J.H.S.* xxvii. p. 296.

²¹ A preliminary report is given in *Ath. Mitth.* xxxiii. p. 323.

²² Wilhelm Doerpfeld, *Vierter Brief über Leukas-Ithaka: die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen von 1907*. Athens, 1908. For the notes on the work of 1908 I am indebted to a letter from Dr. Doerpfeld.

²³ W. Vollgraff, 'Dulichion-Leukas,' *Neue Jahrbücher*, 1907, p. 617.

Homeric islands, but leaves Ithaka as Ithaka, and identifies Dulichion with Leukas, and Same with Kephallenia. Against this view Doerpfeld is able to quote several Homeric passages with considerable effect.

The excavations of 1907 were again in the Nidri plain, where previous work had already shewn a large prehistoric settlement in a stratum of *humus* three to six metres below the present surface. This settlement Doerpfeld identified with the Homeric town of Ithaka. In the earth above this stratum remains of Graeco-Roman date were found in several places.

The southern part of the plain has now been carefully explored by a system of trial-pits, and good results obtained in three places.

The first is a point where the water from the hills has apparently always been led into the plain. The remains here Doerpfeld considers to be those of a prehistoric garden.

At a second point a burial-place was found, consisting of eight cist-graves in a rectangular enclosure of slabs, nine by five metres, with a ninth grave added later at one corner. The bodies are contracted. A careful examination is being made of the bones to see if any traces of cremation are to be found; Doerpfeld cannot as yet be positive on this point. The enclosure was originally covered with a mound of earth, and the barrow so formed is identified with the Homeric *τύμβος*, erected over the graves of the Achaeans. For the single graves—cists containing contracted bodies—he finds parallels in those lately discovered at Tiryns between the oldest settlement and the Mycenaean palace, at Orchomenos, and at Zafer Papoura, near Knosos, and traces a resemblance to the shaft-graves at Mycenae. They contained monochrome pottery and a bronze spear-head of peculiar form, which are paralleled from the fourth shaft-grave at Mycenae, and in some bronze-age graves from Sesklo in Thessaly.²⁴ Vases of the same shape have been found by Sotiriadhis in a bronze-age tomb at Drachmáni.²⁵ The discovery of some isolated Mycenaean sherds had already led Doerpfeld to date these remains to the second millennium B.C., a date confirmed by the parallelisms with the fourth shaft-grave. The objects, he holds, belong to the old, native Achaean culture, and the settlement was the Achaean city of Homeric Ithaka, whose inhabitants were afterwards driven out by the Dorians, and founded a new Ithaka, the classical and modern Ithaka, in the neighbouring island to the south, which was called, in Homeric times, Same.

I give these important discoveries as far as I can in Doerpfeld's own words, because of the far-reaching consequence of his view of the Achaeans. Whilst admitting in general his parallelisms, I should hold that the Achaeans do not appear in Greece until much later, and even those archaeologists, who see Achaean remains in the period of the greatness of Mycenae, would, I think, credit them with the Mycenaean objects, regarded by Doerpfeld as Cretan imports, rather than with this Ithakan series.

The third place is near the narrow entrance to the harbour. Here

²⁴ Αἱ Προϊστορικαὶ Ἀκροπόλεις Διμηνίου καὶ Σέσκλου. ὑπὸ Χρήστου Τσοῦντα, Πίν. 4, 10.

²⁵ Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1908, pp. 65 ff. and Fig. 14, p. 90.

prehistoric walls have been found belonging to a building at least thirty metres long, in a style resembling the palace at Old Pylos (Kakónatos), discovered in 1906.²⁶ This building Doerpfeld thinks is not only possibly but probably the actual house of Odysseus. The further work necessary to determine this involved some draining, as trenches at this depth fill with water. The work was continued this year, but in spite of drainage-cuttings and pumps not much could be done, and only the foundations are preserved. Near it, however, five stone grave-circles were found (5 to 9 metres in diameter). In the biggest is a shaft-grave, and smaller graves in the others. One is a *pithos*-grave. The best were pillaged, but one contained three bronze daggers. They present a close parallel to the shaft-graves of Mycenae, which also lay below a round walled *tumbos*. Doerpfeld recognises in these the royal tombs belonging to the palace.

Another grave-enclosure was found, but with a circular wall surrounding the tumulus (τύμβος). The diameter was 12 metres, and it contained some ten burials with contracted bodies. The vases and bronze objects are again like those from the bronze age tombs of Sesklo and Dhimini. Right over these graves, at a higher level, are a good Greek wall and sherds of the classical period.

With these results the excavation is, for the present, to conclude, and the whole to be published.

At Miletus²⁷ Dr. Wiegand has been so fortunate as to discover the oldest parts of the town, dating from the late Mycenaean period down to the Persian invasion.

The oldest settlement was found in the neighbourhood of the temple of Athena, and may be identified with the *πρώτον κτίσμα Κρητικόν* of Ephoros. Here late Mycenaean houses were found, underlying a deposit marked by Geometric pottery, which itself is older than the oldest temple.

Next in date are the remains on the eminence called Kalabaktepe. This is the site of the town destroyed by the Persians in 494 B.C., and not reinhabited. It seems to have been one-third larger than any later town, a fact of great importance for the history of trade and of Greek colonization. It is the place referred to by Ephoros *αριω* *Strabonem* as being *ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάσσης τετειχισμένον*, and called *ἡ πάλαι Μίλητος*.

Both of the plateaux, of which Kalabaktepe consists, were inhabited, but the most substantial remains were on the lower, where the foundations of a temple and its *peribolos* wall have been found. On the south side of the hill is the ancient town wall, of which a piece 250 metres long with a thickness of from three to four metres has been excavated. The plan shews three gates, one of which is protected by towers, a projecting bastion, and steps ascending to the top of the wall. It is judged from these that the wall was not less than about forty feet (twelve metres) high. This town wall is

²⁶ *J.H.S.* xxvii. p. 296.

²⁷ The work at Miletus and Didyma for 1906 and 1907 has now been published as the *Sechster vorläufiger Bericht ueber die von dem Koenig-*

lichen Museum in Milet und Didyma untergenommenen Ausgrabungen, Berlin, 1908, from which these notes are taken.

older than the middle of the seventh century, and dates from the period of late Geometric pottery. Mycenaean pottery was only found very sparingly in this region. The strength of these fortifications accounts for the resistance of the town to Gyges, and for the recognition of its independence by Alyattes and Croesus.

The pottery forms an unbroken series from late Mycenaean (nothing older than the third style of Furtwaengler and Loeschke) to Attic red- and black-figured, corresponding to the period of the life of the town from its foundation to its taking by the Persians. The Mycenaean pottery is followed by Geometric, and later by Orientalising fabrics, Boehlau's Milesian and Samian, the latter being possibly really a later stage of Milesian. Naukratite and Cyrenaic pottery were found in small quantities, but hardly any Corinthian.

Progress has been made also with a group of buildings on the Lion Harbour (The fine Hellenistic building, with propylon, court (20 by 30 metres) and side-halls, which was at first supposed to be the Prytaneion, and was referred to in last year's report under that name,²⁸ has now been shewn to be a gymnasium *γυμνάσιον τῶν ἐλευθέρων παιδῶν*. It was founded in the middle of the second century B.C. by Eudemos the son of Thallion, with a gift of ten talents of silver.

Of the baths of Faustina, the excavation of which was briefly noticed last year, a plan and photographs have now been published, and also inscriptions referring to their construction. Two very interesting inscriptions are published, one giving rules for sacrificing to Dionysos, and the other referring to the worship of the Kabēiri.

A plan is published of the Christian basilica mentioned last year. It was adorned with mosaics, the subjects of which are occasionally symbolical, though the majority are animals and geometric patterns. The course taken by the wall of Justinian proves that this basilica is older than that period, and therefore than Sancta Sophia at Constantinople. The excavator points out that both the architects of Sancta Sophia came from this region.

At Didyma the clearing of the Temple of Apollo and the surrounding ground has revealed a great curved pre-Hellenic wall, which formed the division between two terraces to the east of the temple. Numerous inscriptions have also been found. Work is to be resumed at these excavations in September of the present year.

Dr. Kinch has again kindly given me notes of his work in Rhodes for the Danish Carlsberg Fund. In continuing the exploration of Lindos he has been so fortunate as to find the Mycenaean necropolis. The preparation of the book on the excavations at Lindos itself is now well advanced.

In last year's report Dr. Kinch's discovery of a city and necropolis of the Greek Archaic period at the south end of the island was mentioned. The modern name of the site is Vourliá. He has now dug the tombs and the greater part of the small town. Two sanctuaries have been found, one inside the walls, and one outside near the harbour. The pottery is important.

²⁸ *J.H.S.* xxiii, p. 298.

It dates from about 750 to 500 B.C., and points to close trade-relations with Naukratis. Besides this Naukratite ware, Proto-Corinthian, Corinthian, Rhodian kylikes, so-called '*Vogelschalen*' and Ionian cups have been found, and also many fragments of Cypriote Geometric and 'Acolian' ware. The properly recorded finding of such a variety of fabrics is bound to yield chronological comparisons of great interest.

It remains for me to record my thanks to the numerous archaeologists who have kindly furnished me with notes of their unpublished excavations.

R. M. DAWKINS.

THE TOPOGRAPHY OF PELION AND MAGNESIA.

ADDENDA.

I wish to make the following corrections to my paper on this subject that appeared in *J.H.S.* 1906, pp. 143-168:—

- P. 147. Ale and Aiole. The conjectured existence of these two Magnesian towns is due to my carelessness. 'Αλεός in the inscription referred to (*Ath. Mitth.* 1882, p. 71; Ditt. *Syll.*² 790) means of course a man from Halos in Phthiotis; similarly Αίολεός in the same inscription probably means an inhabitant of the Thessalian Aeolis (c. Pauly-Wissowa, *s.n.*).
- P. 148. The temple site, Theotokou, by Kato Georgi has recently been excavated by the British School in 1907 (c. *B.S.A.* xiii, pp. 309 ff.), but no name has yet been found for it.
- P. 149. Olizon. A similar votive inscription to Heracles from this site has been found by Dr. Arvanitopoulos at Lafko.
- P. 151. Fig. 1. This relief is published by Kern, *Hermes*, 1902, p. 629, fig. 3; he restores the last line as ἀνέθηκε Διί.
- P. 152. Korope. Dr. Arvanitopoulos' successful excavations at Petraloma have found there the ruins of the temple of Apollo Koropaeus. This confirms the view expressed by me (c. *Πρακτικά*, 1906, p. 123).
- P. 154. The views expressed in note 44 as to the site of Ioleus have been adopted by Kouroumiotes (*Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1906, p. 213) and Tsountas (*αἱ Ἀκροπόλεις Διμηνίου καὶ Σέσκλου*, pp. 15, 400).
- P. 155. The inscriptions at Episkope have been read and explained by Giannopoulos, *οἱ δύο Ἀλμυροί*, p. 35.
- P. 157. Orminion. Lolling also (*Ath. Mitth.* 1884, p. 97) placed this site at Dhimini (c. Tsountas, *op. cit.* p. 27). It is still quite uncertain which is the true site of Orminion.
- P. 161. Dr. Arvanitopoulos has excavated (1907) part of the eastern wall of Pagasae. Here built into the foundations of a tower he found the painted grave stelai, which have recently been published in the *Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική* (1908, pp. 1 ff., Plates I.-VI.).
- P. 165. My attribution of these coins to the Magnetes was anticipated by Leake (*Num. Hell.* p. 68), who also found similar coins in Magnesia. I hope to publish further information on this subject later.

ALAN J. B. WACE.

THE ARCHAIC ARTEMISIA.

MAY I be allowed to correct and hereby to do penance for a blunder which defaces three or four passages in the recent British Museum publication on Ephesus? A mental confusion between Lygdamis, the leader of the Cimmerians or Treres, who probably burned one of the earlier Artemisia, and Pythagoras, a pre-Persian tyrant, who is said to have had to build a temple at Ephesus in expiation for desecrating 'the Hieron,' took possession of me during the lapse of a year between writing Chapters I. and XIV., and led me to make the absurd suggestion on p. 245 that Temple B was completed 'perhaps at the cost of Lygdamis by the middle of the seventh century,' and to call the latter a 'tyrant' and a 'traitor.' The last epithet is particularly uncalled for, since the little we know of Lygdamis shows him as a bold tribal leader who died at the head of his horde. If he burned Temple A, neither he nor Pythagoras was the builder of Temple B; and if the latter built any Artemision it can only have been either Temple A (after desecrating a pre-existent *hieron*) or Temple C. But, as I have stated on p. 7, it is so doubtful whether there is any reference to the Artemision at all in the solitary extant passage regarding Pythagoras, that the suggestion of his responsibility for any of the primitive shrines on the site is hardly worth making. This mental confusion passed away from me in Syria while reflecting on the westward expeditions of Assurbanipal, in attacking whose Cilician vassal Lygdamis came by his death; but it was then too late to make amends even in a list of *errata*, as I had left the book passed for press on quitting England.

I should like to add here that, after considering again the arguments of H. Gelzer (*Rhein. Mus.* xxx. pp. 230 ff.), I must date the Cimmerian attack on Ephesus rather later than 660 B.C. If the catastrophe of Gyges did not take place before 652, the latter date is probably the lower limit of Temple A and of all objects belonging to it.

D. G. HOGARTH.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

The Religious Teachers of Greece : being Gifford lectures delivered at Aberdeen by JAMES ADAM, LIC.D. T. & T. Clark, 1908.

The first feeling in the mind of every scholar who opens this book will be regret for the heavy loss sustained by the University of Cambridge and by all Greek students in Dr. Adam's sudden and premature death. And the book gains a special interest as representing his last word on a number of problems which were of vital importance to him. The lectures, as we might expect from so finished a Plato scholar, are permeated with the Platonic point of view. They open with the quarrel between Poetry and Philosophy. Then come two lectures on Homer. Two are also given to Heraclitus, two to Euripides, two to Socrates, and the last five all to Plato. The remaining nine cover the rest of the pre-Platonic writers. It is needless to say that the book is throughout the work of a scholar of the first rank. The chapters on Heraclitus and Plato are perhaps particularly good, and that on Euripides is at any rate broad-minded and sympathetic. On the other hand, some points in method call for criticism. The motto on Dr. Adam's title page is

οὔτοι ἀπ' ἀρχῆς πάντα θεοὶ θνητοῖσ' ἐπέδειξαν,
ἀλλὰ χρόνῳ ζητούντες ἐφευρίσκουσιν ἄμεινον.

Now if the phenomena of progress were to form the special subject of the book, it is surely a grave error to begin with the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. As far as religion is concerned, those poems cannot be regarded as primitive. They are much less primitive than most of the Hesiodic tradition, and even than a great deal of the tragic. And this fault is heightened by the writer's habit of treating 'Homer' as one man or at least one book and not distinguishing between the different strata of superstition and reflection which the poems contain. True, Dr. Adam anticipates the first of these objections on p. 21, and sometimes speaks of 'the authors' of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* (p. 54). But the general indictment is, we fear, still true. It is perhaps a part of the same error to treat Homer so emphatically as a creative religious teacher. There is indeed a characteristic religion, or mass of religious theory to be got out of the *Iliad*; but it is not the religion of the traditional myths which are there used as poetical material, it is a criticism rejection and expurgation of those myths. Of course a defender of Dr. Adam's might answer with perfect justice that he has a right to treat the part of his subject that interests him: that he is not interested in the primitive and anthropological background; and prefers to take the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* not in reference to what they grew from, but as a fixed datum for Heraclitus and Plato to react against. He might make a similar answer to another criticism which will perhaps occur to many readers; viz. that as this survey of Greek religion is somewhat narrowly limited at the beginning, so it is also at the end. For instance, the repeated parallels drawn between Plato and St. Paul are open possibly to two criticisms. First, one has at times a slight suspicion that Plato is being deliberately drawn—by a most loving hand, it is true—as near as possible to the goal of some Christian orthodoxy. Secondly, a number of doctrines which occur in both St. Paul and Plato are taken as evidence of some special connexion or similarity between those two

great minds, whereas in truth they are exceedingly old doctrines of Orphics and other schools, which were taught to Plato by tradition as they were to St. Paul. For instance the *σῶμα σῆμα* doctrine and that of the creative *Λόγος*. The latter, we now know, was already traditional in the *Koré Kosmou*, a Hermetic document probably belonging to the year 510 B.C. and in any case pre-Platonic.

Homérica : Emendations and Elucidations of the Odyssey. By T. L. AGAR.
Pp. xii + 439. 8vo. Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1908.

Mr. Agar's book is, in the main, an attempt to detect and emend the textual errors which have made their way into the Odyssey in the course of its pre-historic tradition. 'The language of the Homeric poems,' he says in his preface, 'is Achæan, and fairly represents the speech of the Achæan people ;' and 'in the main it may be taken as certain that the forms of words in the traditional text are substantially identical with those used by the poet.' Nevertheless it is clear, and is generally admitted, that 'our text has undergone much minor modification of its original form.' The detection and rectification of such modifications is essentially a conservative process, as tending to remove stumbling-blocks which have caused less temperate critics to obelize whole passages ; and Mr. Agar's criticism is temperate and reasonable. It rests necessarily, not on manuscripts, but on considerations of Homeric language and usage, and it is always instructive on these points, even where his conclusions are most questionable. A book like this, consisting of detailed examinations of hundreds of detached passages, obviously does not admit of criticism in a short review ; but it may be cordially recommended to the attention of Homeric scholars.

Herodotus. The Seventh, Eighth, and Ninth Books. With Introduction, Text, Apparatus, Commentary, Appendices, Indices, Maps. By REGINALD WALTER MACAN. 2 vols. Pp. xcvi + 831 and x + 462. London : Macmillan & Co., 1908.

These volumes are the completion of a task undertaken by Dr. Macan some twenty years ago. They contain one feature which distinguishes them from the previous volumes on Books IV.-VI., viz. the addition of an *Apparatus Criticus*. This does not, however, claim to be based on any independent collation of the MSS. The thorough and painstaking character of the work is beyond all doubt. The notes to the text are preceded by an introduction, which is mainly concerned to show that these last three books were really composed first, since Herodotus intended to make the Persian war the original theme of his work. An estimate of the merits and defects of Herodotus as an historian is also formed from an analysis of this portion of the history. Dr. Macan may be said to steer a middle course between those who would condemn Herodotus as utterly untrustworthy and those who are prepared to accept most of his statements with implicit confidence. The notes to the text are very thorough on the historical and topographical side, though here, as elsewhere, the author is better at throwing out suggestions in the form of numerous queries than at actually reaching a plausible solution of problems. The notes are supplemented by a volume of elaborate appendices. The first deals with the value of authorities other than Herodotus for the Persian war. The succeeding essays discuss the preparations for the struggle on the Persian and Greek sides, and the various strategic aspects of the contests at Artemisium, Thermopylae, Salamis, Plataea, and Mykale. Finally a reconstruction of the order of events in the first two years of the war is attempted. There is much that is new in the way of suggestion, such as the view of the successive positions occupied by the Greek army at Plataea, and the reconstruction of the movements of the rival fleets immediately before the battle of Salamis. The Athenians are held responsible

for the failure of the original plan of campaign at Plataea, a fact which is obscured in the pages of Herodotus, who follows a biased Athenian account of the battle. The work is completed by six full indices of readings, words, names, subjects, and authors. The book is one which will be eminently useful to the student. It is perhaps hardly calculated to arouse the enthusiasm of the reader, the style being somewhat marred by the frequent introduction of needlessly recondite words varied by expressions which border on slang. Archaeological knowledge would have been of assistance in elucidating some passages: take, for example, the question as to the form of the *machaira* in vii. 225. This can scarcely be other than the short curved cutting sword frequently represented on Greek vases of the fifth century B.C., a weapon recommended by Xenophon (*de re eq.* xii. 11) for the use of cavalrymen.

Excavations at Ephesus: the Archaic Artemisia. By DAVID G. HOGARTH. Two vols. Pp. xiv + 344. 101 Figures in Text and 52 Plates. Atlas of 18 Plates. British Museum.

Members of the Hellenic Society will welcome this publication, both for its own sake and as a record that England has at last done her duty by the great Ephesian temple. To Mr. Wood belongs the credit not only of discovering the site, but also of bringing to the British Museum the sculptures of the fourth century temple as well as of that contemporary with Croesus. But he never regarded his work as complete; and though neither he nor Mr. A. S. Murray, who initiated the recent excavations, lived to see the earlier strata thoroughly excavated, Mr. Hogarth has now amply made up the deficiency, and has brought to light the remains of no less than three successive temples earlier than the time of Croesus. Among the foundations of these earlier buildings he has also found a great number of small votive offerings in gold, ivory, and other materials, which throw considerable light on early Ionic art. The excavations were carried out in the season 1904-5, and the present publication, with its excellent plates, brings their results clearly before the public. The site has had to be filled in again, but Mr. Henderson's plans are so full and accurate as to present a complete record of the earlier buildings. Special classes of antiquities are dealt with by various experts in the Museum—the pottery and the ivory statuettes by Mr. Cecil Smith, the coins by Mr. B. V. Head, and the sculpture of the Croesus temple by Mr. A. H. Smith; the rest being described by Mr. Hogarth himself. His object is evidently to place on record all the facts rather than to discuss remoter inferences; we shall doubtless hear more on these matters both from Mr. Hogarth and from others. He has also added a chapter on the Goddess, in which he shows the well-known many-breasted image to be of comparatively late date. The only inscription published is a very interesting one on a silver plate, probably containing accounts for the building of the temple. It will also interest readers of the *Journal* as containing the earliest example of the symbol T.

Greek Buildings represented by Fragments in the British Museum.
 II. **The Tomb of Mausolus.** Pp. 34. III. **The Parthenon and its Sculptures.** Pp. 76. By W. R. LETHABY. London: Batsford, 1908. 2s. each.

Mr. Lethaby issues two further parts (see *ante* p. 163) of his notes on the remains of historic Greek buildings in the British Museum. In *The Tomb of Mausolus*, the problem of the restoration is discussed from various points of view. No complete restoration is attempted, but the author is of opinion that the intercolumniation was 9 ft. 9 in. from centre to centre; that the base of the pyramid was rectangular in the proportion of 34 to 43; that the plan showed a single row of columns, nine on the ends and eleven on the sides (an arrangement which gives a central column on each face); and that the

sculptured frieze was not a part of the order, and probably surrounded the basement at no great height, like that of the Nereid monument.

In *The Parthenon* Mr. Lethaby discusses points of detail in the architectural remains, and the sculptures, both sections being illustrated by numerous sketches by the author, as well as by illustrations from well-known sources. His discussion of the sculptures from an artist's standpoint is interesting. Few readers, however, will accept his view that the snake associated with the Cecrops of the West pediment is in fact a prolongation of the spine of Cecrops himself, who is thus given a wholly anomalous saurian form with tail and legs, both being present together.

The Loeb Collection of Arretine Pottery. Catalogue with Introduction and Descriptive Notes by GEORGE H. CHASE. Pp. 167. 23 Plates. New York, 1908.

In view of the scarcity of literature relating to this interesting class of Roman pottery, we welcome Mr. Chase's work as a most useful contribution. This collection comprises nearly 600 items, both moulds and pieces of Arretine ware, though mostly of a fragmentary nature. Some of the pieces, in particular the complete mould No. 1, are of considerable merit. The illustrations are plentiful though somewhat unequal, and the Introduction, while largely based on Dragendorff's treatise, should be useful to English readers. Some of the types described are interesting as reminiscences of Hellenistic and 'new Attic' art.

Catalogue of the Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum. By WARWICK WROTH. One vol. bound as two. Pp. cxii+688. With 79 Plates. London: Printed by order of the Trustees. 1908. £2 15s.

A scientific treatise on the money of the Byzantine Empire has long been a *desideratum*. The books of De Sauley and Sabatier have been out of date for almost a generation; and in the interval the series has attracted much less attention from numismatists than it deserves. Mr. Wroth's task was thus one of no ordinary difficulty; he had not merely to classify, but to devise new principles of classification. Fortunately he has been able to avail himself of the pioneer work done in the British Museum by that remarkable numismatist, the late Count de Salis. The result is a sound and scholarly contribution to our knowledge of the Byzantine period. It may now fairly be said that the numismatic evidence is marshalled in a form that will enable historians to draw upon it with confidence. And that is a very substantial advance. The arrangement is, of course, by Emperors, beginning with Anastasius I. (491 A.D.) and stretching over nearly a thousand years to John VIII. Palaeologus. But much care has also been devoted to the identification of mints, and the facts so brought out are often very interesting. The summary table on page civ, for instance, gives a striking bird's-eye view of the expansion, the vicissitudes, and the final decline of the Byzantine Empire. The introduction is a useful piece of work, containing as it does a sketch of the long period covered by the coins described, a careful discussion of the denominations and weights of all three metals, and a suggestive section on types, art, and portraiture. In the body of the book the descriptions of the individual specimens are clear and accurate, an indication of provenance being added wherever possible. The abundance of footnotes is a welcome feature, albeit they tend to overcrowd the page a little; and the indexes are, as usual, full and informing. There is a liberal supply of well-executed plates, among which the two that will most please the general student are the frontispieces—the bust of Justinian from the splendid gold medallion once in Paris but now irretrievably lost, and Pisanello's fine medal of John VIII. Palaeologus. As befits the opening numbers of a new series, the volumes differ somewhat in appearance from the familiar Catalogues of Greek Coins; the *format* is slightly larger, and they are bound in a warm, comfortable red.

The Reign and Coinage of Carausius. By PERCY H. WEBB. Pp. viii + 260. With five colotype plates. London: Spink & Son, 1905. 8s.

This is a useful piece of numismatic 'spade-work,' particularly interesting to students of the Roman period in Britain. A very readable introduction brings together the main known facts regarding the rise and fall of the 'usurper,' as presented to us in the pages of historians and chroniclers. Then follows a general account of the nature of the numismatic evidence, with discussions upon mints and mint-marks, legends and types. Lastly, and chiefly, we get a carefully compiled and classified catalogue of all coins bearing the image and superscription of Carausius, so far as these have been recorded by other writers or exist in accessible public and private collections. More than 1200 varieties are here described. The task of identification must often have been difficult, for the execution is apt to be barbarous and the lettering is not seldom blundered; but Mr. Webb is a genuine enthusiast, and has taken endless trouble to be accurate. He has his reward. Fresh discoveries will doubtless necessitate a supplement by and by, but the book as it stands is of permanent value.

La Manomissione e la Condizione dei Liberti in Grecia. By A. CALDERINI. Pp. xx + 464. Milan: U. Hoepli, 1908. 12 lire.

The aim of the present work is, in the author's own words, 'to present within the compass of a single treatise, which shall be, so far as possible, exhaustive, all that can be gathered, known and inferred about manumission and the condition of freedmen in Greece.' On a subject of such interest and importance a comprehensive work was needed, especially as previous writers, as Drachmann, P. Foucart, and G. Foucart, have dealt only with some one Greek state or special group of documents or mode of manumission. Nor is it this greater width alone that gives its value to Signor Calderini's work as compared with its predecessors. Recent years have largely increased the epigraphical evidence on this subject, and it is upon inscriptions and papyri that our knowledge of its processes and conditions almost entirely rests. The author has brought to his task an admirable command of his material, epigraphical and literary, a sound judgment, a clear arrangement and a simple and pleasing style, and his treatise will remain for a long time to come the standard work on its subject.

In a series of brief chapters the author discusses the Greek practice and thought regarding manumission from the Homeric Age down to the early centuries of the Christian Era, tracing the influence of the factors which determined its frequency and the position of freedmen. After this 'historical introduction' he deals with the process of Greek manumission, discussing the sources of our knowledge, the methods in vogue, those who took part in the ceremony and the conditions attaching to it. The second main section is devoted to the position of freedmen, legal and social, setting forth, so far as our evidence allows, the position of this class in the financial, judicial, military and religious spheres. The book ends with a series of appendices on certain documents or groups of documents: of these the most important are the discussions of the Attic *catalogi patrum argentearum* and of the Delphic manumission records.

It is inevitable that some errors should creep into a work of this kind, full of detail and of references to ancient and modern sources. But these are for the most part mere misprints, which will cause the reader no difficulty, as e.g. the attribution of Sulla's victory at Chacrona to the year 186 B.C. Punctuation, accentuation and the spelling of foreign words, however, deserve more attention than they have received in these pages. In the chapter on the professions of freedmen, several mistakes have been made: e.g. the author has not noticed that the *νευρορίφος* of *I.G.* ii. 772*b* is a woman, *ζευγοφόρος* and *σκιπιδεψος* should be *ζευγοτρόφος* and *σκιπιδεψος* respectively, and the occupations of barber (*B.S.A.* viii, p. 221, l. 3), secretary and under-secretary (*ibid.* p. 210) are omitted. One more criticism may be added. If the author does not adopt the official rendering of

the *Inscriptiones Graecae* introduced some years ago, he should at least use the abbreviations which were previously in vogue : there may be something to be said for retaining the initials *C.I.A.* for the corpus of Attic inscriptions, but surely it is only confusing to replace it by *In. Att.* Nor should the time-honoured initials *C.I.G.* be discarded for *B.* in honour of Boeckh. These, however, are but small blemishes, which do not seriously impair the value of a book which may be welcomed without hesitation as a valuable contribution to our knowledge of one of the most interesting points in the social life of ancient Greece.

Civil War and Rebellion in the Roman Empire, A.D. 69-70. By BERNARD W. HENDERSON. Pp. xv+350. Macmillan and Co., 1908. 8s. 6d. net.

Many in recent times have subjected Tacitus to vigorous criticism and Mr. Henderson is of their number ; in this book his attack is levelled against the 'most unmilitary of historians.' But Mr. Henderson is not a mere critic ; he attempts the more difficult task of reconstruction, and in doing so has written a book of great interest and value. His object is to write the history of the famous campaigns of 69-70 A.D. 'by the aid of, and as illustrative of, modern strategical principles.' Described as a Companion to the Histories of Tacitus, the book is as unlike Tacitus as any book could be. The brilliant and vivid literary power of the great Roman is but seldom reflected, by translation or paraphrase, in Mr. Henderson's pages ; in its place there is given a critical account of strategy and tactics which, coming from the pen of a man versed in the theory of generalship and well-acquainted with the scene of the campaigns, presents an admirably clear description of the motives of the generals, the importance of the engagements, the causes of success and failure, which the most exact study of Tacitus' tangled narrative would never of itself unfold. From time to time Dr. Henderson irritates by contemptuous and not altogether just allusions to the capacities of the Roman historian, but his book is certainly an important aid to an intelligent conception of the years of which he writes.

The Roman Empire, B.C. 29 A.D. 476. By H. STUART JONES. Pp. xxiii+476. 53 Illustrations and Map. T. Fisher Unwin, 1908. 5s.

This book constitutes the sixty-fifth volume of the *Story of the Nations* series. Covering over five hundred years in less than five hundred pages, the book has a compass which leaves little room for detailed history. It contains pleasantly written studies of the earlier Emperors, an interesting and learned account of the obscure and ill-recorded epoch which set in with the Antonines, and a clear, incisive description of the settlement of Diocletian and Constantine. The narrative skilfully unfolds the development of the tragedy of the Caesars and the passage from the Dyarchy through anarchy to despotism ; but the social conditions of the vast territories over which the Emperors actually or nominally ruled are not so fully discussed. Difficult and obscure as the history of the subject peoples remains, one would willingly spare some parts of the printed narrative for a fuller consideration of them. None the less the book gives a very readable account of a period which is little known and its interest for the general reader will be enhanced by a number of well-chosen illustrations. The value of the work for the student is a good deal discounted by the absence of references to authority either ancient or modern, but references of this nature were no doubt precluded by the object and purpose of the series to which the book belongs.

General History of Western Nations. Vols. I and II. Antiquity. By EMIL REICH. Pp. xxvi+485 and x+479. London: Macmillan & Co., 1908.

In an elaborate Introduction the author explains the method of his history, the object of which is, he says, 'to do for history what Bichat did for Anatomy, Bopp and Pott for Linguistics, or Savigny for Roman Law.' In other words his aim is to explain broad historical facts as the result of certain general laws. One of the most potent of these laws he terms 'geo-political,' a force resulting from the geographical situation of the country itself and the influences exercised upon it by surrounding peoples. Few will doubt the value of such an attempt to evolve general historic laws, though many may consider the author over-hasty in drawing his conclusions. Of the part of the work dealing with Greek history, the most satisfactory is that which discusses the Spartan state. The author's championship of the historicity of Lycurgus against modern destructive criticism is whole-hearted and successful. His main argument is that so stringent a rule of life as the Spartan *ἀγωγή* could only have been enforced, like the discipline of the Orders of the Catholic Church, by a single dominating personality, be his name Lycurgus or some other. The attempt to account for the extraordinary outburst of genius at Athens in the period between the Persian and Peloponnesian wars cannot be regarded as equally successful. It is not enough to say (as is usually said) that it is accounted for by the splendid victories over Persia, and that the shortness of the golden age is explained by the fact that the life-and-death struggle of Athens with Persia lasted but a short time. Does this explain the unique glory of the city? Why should not Syracuse have sprung into equal glory after the victory at Himera? Dr. Reich finds the answer in the fact that 'Carthage was not sensibly stronger than Syracuse.' Hardly an adequate answer. It might be suggested that a victory won by the citizens of a free state is far more inspiring than a victory won under a tyrant. But there are many historical facts which defy adequate explanation, and the glory of Periclean Athens is one of them. It may be remarked incidentally that Syracuse probably exercised a greater influence in shaping the institutions of Rome than is commonly supposed.

The second volume of the work, which deals with Rome, need not here be discussed. The book as a whole is full of suggestive passages and displays wide reading. The illustrations from mediæval and modern history will be welcomed by many. The chief fault of the work would seem to lie in the excessive dogmatism with which very doubtful general 'laws' are often enunciated, and in a rather ungenerous depreciation of the German historical school. Without the laborious researches of generations of 'philological' historians no 'General History' would be possible.

Atlas Antiquus. By EMIL REICH. Macmillan & Co., 1908.

This Atlas consists of forty-eight maps, designed to present in graphic fashion the great military movements of classical antiquity. The campaigns depicted range from the first Persian War to the Civil Wars of the time of Caesar. There are also maps of Athens, Rome, and the Roman Empire at the time of its greatest extent. The progress of armies is indicated by lines in different colours, and their direction by arrow-heads, while the names of generals, dates, and the results of battles are shown by abbreviations or signs. The maps are supplemented by a text, which gives the leading events of the different campaigns, without, however, any reference to authorities. Many of the maps present a rather crowded and confused appearance, but the atlas as a whole should prove of undoubted assistance to the student. The danger is that he may try to use it as a short cut to knowledge, and neglect the indispensable study of his authorities.

Griechenland, Handbuch für Reisende. Von KARL BAEDEKER. Mit einem Panorama von Athen, 15 Karten, 25 Plänen, 5 Grundrissen, und 2 Tafeln. Pp. cxxviii + 442. Fünfte Auflage. Leipzig, 1908. 8 m.

A new edition of Baedeker's *Griechenland* calls rather for announcement than discussion. The improvements and additions since its last appearance (*Greece*, 3rd edn., 1905) are considerable. The hotel-lists and travelling information are brought up-to-date, accounts of ancient sites revised—that of Sparta entirely re-written in view of the British excavations—while the maps and plans of Laurium district, Aegina, Thera, Leukas, Eneacranus region, Delos, and Corinth are for the most part new, in a few cases improved out of recognition. We are surprised, however, to find no mention of the recent Mycenaean *trouaille* at Thebes, and the section on Chalcis strikes us as standing in need of further revision: on the one hand the beautiful walls are now almost non-existent, on the other the archaic Amazon-group calls for mention even in the shortest description of the Museum. Precision in detail, as the editor reminds his readers, depends ultimately on their own co-operation: we hope the hint will not be disregarded.

Die Makedonen, ihre Sprache und ihr Volkstum. By OTTO HOFFMANN. Pp. 284. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1906. 8 m. paper, 9 m. cloth.

This is a well arranged book, very thorough and searching in its methods; if the result is largely negative, that is due to the airy irresponsibility of some earlier scholars. The first part, for example, which deals with the ancient authorities, is mostly destructive criticism. Because Amerias of Macedon was a Macedonian, it does not follow that he wrote only on the Macedonian dialect; and Hoffmann's examination discloses the fact that only two of his glosses, *στανάδαι* and *στανροπία*, can be safely regarded as Macedonian. In the Letters of Alexander there is no trace of local dialect; but there are Macedonian traces in the *κοινή*, and a few modern words seem to be survivals of the old dialect. The second section is a subject-index, under which are classified the words that are known. One or two additions or conjectures are worth noting. Hesychius's *νίβα· χιόνα καὶ κρήνη* combines two words, one of which, *νίβᾶ*, was Macedonian for *κρήνη*; his gloss *κυνοῦπες· ἄρκτος*, is emended to *κυνουπέες* and connected with **κνώψ*. Less plausible is the identification of *ἄβαρκνα· κόμα*, as a verb *ἄβαρκνᾶ* with the adj. *ἄβροκόμας*. *κοῖος* = *ἀριθμός* is compared with Slav. (O. Bulg.) *čīsto*. There is a discussion of divine names and festivals which contains important matter. It is impossible to discuss this section in detail: but it may be added that of thirty-nine glosses regarded by G. Meyer as foreign, ten are vindicated for Greek with more or less probability. The third section is on personal names, and contains a great deal of incidental discussion that has a bearing on history and social conditions. The fourth section deals with the dialect, sounds, and accent: a meagre record, true, but that is not Hoffmann's fault. Lastly come a few pages on the political question, and excursus. There is an index of fourteen pages.

Dictionnaire Étymologique du Latin et du Grec dans ses Rapports avec le Latin. Par PAUL REGNAUD. [Annales de l'Université de Lyon: Nouvelle Série.] Pp. iii + 402. Lyon: A. Rey; Paris: E. Leroux, 1908.

The principle underlying this dictionary is the 'evolutionist' or 'historical' theory of language which the author has developed in various works, but which cannot be said to have met with a very favourable reception from philologists in general. It consists in a denial of fixed phonetic laws, Prof. Regnaud admitting only one general law, which, as he has stated in his *Éléments de Grammaire Comparée du Grec et du Latin* (Paris, A. Colin, 1895), p. 2, 'consiste dans le passage d'un son plus fort à un son plus faible ou

d'un son plus ample à un son plus bref.' The author's method being so much a matter of dispute, it is obvious that many of his etymologies must be regarded as precarious. After each article he gives a reference to the *Dictionnaire Étymologique Latin* of MM. Bréd and Bailly (2nd ed. Paris, Hachette, 1886), stating briefly the etymology suggested by those scholars; and at the end is a summary statement, substantially repeated from the *Éléments de Grammaire Comparée du Grec et du Latin*, of the author's theories as to the phonetic laws of Greek and Latin. The volume concludes with full indices of the words in other languages than Latin which are dealt with in the dictionary; an index of roots in addition would have been useful, but is not given. It is worthy of notice that the Celtic languages, so useful to the Latin etymologist from their close relation to Latin, are represented by only five words, one of which (Welsh *gwern*, which on p. 9, art. *alates*, appears, presumably by a misprint, as 'qweru') is omitted from the index. In the index of modern English words the Anglo-Saxon *wea* is accidentally included.

* * * For other books received see *List of Accessions to the Library*.

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RULES

OF THE

Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies.

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

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

II. To collect drawings, facsimiles, transcripts, plans, and photographs of Greek inscriptions, MSS., works of art, ancient sites and remains, and with this view to invite travellers to communicate to the Society notes or sketches of 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. All cheques shall be signed by the Treasurer and countersigned by the Secretary.

6. In the absence of the Treasurer the Council may direct that cheques may be signed by two members of Council and countersigned by the Secretary.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

16. The President shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting for a period of five years, and shall not be immediately eligible for re-election.

17. The Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting for a period of one year, after which they shall be eligible for re-election.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

26. The Annual Subscription of Members shall be one guinea, payable and due on the 1st of January each year; this annual subscription may be compounded for by a single payment of £15 15s., entitling compounders to be Members of the Society for life, without further payment. All Members elected on or after January 1, 1905, shall pay on election an entrance fee of two guineas.

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

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

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

30. If at any time there may appear cause for the expulsion of a Member of the Society, a Special Meeting of the Council shall be held to consider the case, and if at such Meeting at least two-thirds of the Members present shall concur in a resolution for the expulsion of such Member of the Society, the President shall submit the same for confirmation at a General Meeting of the Society specially summoned for this purpose, and if the decision of the Council be confirmed by a majority at the General Meeting, notice shall be given to that effect to the Member in question, who shall thereupon cease to be a Member of the Society.

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

32. The Council may, at their discretion, elect for a period not exceeding five years Student-Associates, who shall be admitted to certain privileges of the Society.

33. The names of Candidates wishing to become Student-Associates shall be submitted to the Council in the manner prescribed for the Election of Members. Every Candidate shall also satisfy the Council by means of a certificate from his teacher, who must be a person occupying a recognised position in an educational body and be a Member of the Society, that he is a *bonâ fide* Student in subjects germane to the purposes of the Society.

34. The Annual Subscription of a Student-Associate shall be one guinea, payable and due on the 1st of January in each year. In case of non-payment the procedure prescribed for the case of a defaulting Ordinary Member shall be followed.

35. Student-Associates shall receive the Society's ordinary publications, and shall be entitled to attend the General and Ordinary Meetings, and to read in the Library. They shall not be entitled to borrow books from the Library, or to make use of the Loan Collection of Lantern Slides, or to vote at the Society's Meetings.

36. A Student-Associate may at any time pay the Member's entrance fee of two guineas, and shall forthwith become an Ordinary Member.

37. Ladies shall be eligible as Ordinary Members or Student-Associates of the Society, and when elected shall be entitled to the same privileges as other Ordinary Members or Student-Associates.

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

RULES FOR THE USE OF THE LIBRARY

AT 22, ALBEMARLE STREET.

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 Hon. Librarian and 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 Hon. Librarian, 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, except on Christmas Day, Good Friday, and on Bank Holidays, the Library be accessible to Members on all week days from eleven A.M. to six P.M. (Saturdays, 11 A.M. to 2 P.M.), when either the Librarian, or in his absence some responsible person, shall be in attendance. Until further notice, however, the Library shall be closed for the vacation from July 20 to August 31 (inclusive).

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 may reclaim it.

- (5) All expenses of carriage to and fro shall be borne by the borrower.
- (6) All books are due for return to the Library before the summer vacation.

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.
- (4) New books within one month of their coming into the Library.

X. That new books may be borrowed for one week only, if they have been more than one month and less than three months in the Library.

XI. 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 week after application has been made by the Librarian for its return, and if a book is lost the borrower be bound to replace it.

XII. That the following be the Rules defining the position and privileges of Subscribing Libraries :—

- a. Subscribing Libraries are entitled to receive the publications of the Society on the same conditions as Members.
- b. Subscribing Libraries, or the Librarians, are permitted to *purchase* photographs, lantern slides, etc., on the same conditions as Members.
- c. Subscribing Libraries and the Librarians are not permitted to *hire* lantern slides.
- d. A Librarian, if he so desires, may receive notices of meetings and may attend meetings, but is not entitled to vote on questions of private business.
- e. A Librarian is permitted to read in the Society's Library.
- f. A Librarian is not permitted to borrow books, either for his own use, or for the use of a reader in the Library to which he is attached.

The Library Committee.

MR. F. H. MARSHALL (*Hon. Librarian*).

MR. J. G. C. ANDERSON.

PROF. W. C. F. ANDERSON.

MR. TALFOURD ELY, D.Lit.

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MR. GEORGE MACMILLAN, D.Litt.

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MRS. S. ARTHUR STRONG, LL.D., Litt.D.

Applications for books and letters relating to the Photographic Collections, and Lantern Slides, should be addressed to the *Librarian* (Mr. J. ff. Baker-Penoyre), at 22, Albemarle Street, W.

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- Analecta Bollandiana, Société des Bollandistes, 775, *Boulevard Militaire, Bruxelles.*
- Annales de la Faculté des Lettres de Bordeaux (Revue des Études Anciennes—Bulletin Hispanique Bulletin Italien). Redaction des Annales de la Faculté des Lettres, *L'Université, Bordeaux, France.*
- Annual of the British School at *Athens.*
- Archiv für Religionswissenschaft (B. G. Teubner, *Leipzig.*).
- Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift (O. R. Reisland, *Carlsstrasse 20, Leipzig, Germany.*).
- Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique (published by the French School at *Athens.*).
- Bulletin de l'Institut Archéol. Russe, à Constantinople (M. le Secrétaire, *L'Institut Archéol. Russe, Constantinople.*).
- Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma (Prof. Gatti, Museo Capitolino, *Rome.*).
- Byzantinische Zeitschrift (Prof. Dr. K. Krumbacher, *Amalienstrasse 77, München, Germany.*).
- Catalogue général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, with the Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, *Cairo.*
- Classical Philology (Editors of Classical Philology, *University of Chicago, U.S.A.*).
- Ephemeris Archaeologica, *Athens.*
- Glotta (Prof. Dr. Kretschmer, *Florianigasse, 23, Vienna.*).
- Hermes (Herr Professor Friedrich Leo, *Friedlaender Weg, Göttingen, Germany.*).
- Jahrbuch des kais. deutsch. Archäol. Instituts, Corneliusstrasse No. 2, II., *Berlin.*
- Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes, Türkenstrasse 4, *Vienna.*
- Journal of the Anthropological Institute, *Hanover Square.*
- Journal of Philology and Transactions of the Cambridge Philological Society.
- Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects, 9, *Conduit Street, W.*
- Journal International d'Archéologie Numismatique (M. J. N. Svoronos, Musée National, *Athens.*).
- Klio (Beiträge zur alten Geschichte), (Prof. C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Berlin, W. 50 Marburger Strasse 6, Germany.*).
- Mélanges d'Histoire et d'Archéologie, *École française, Palazzo Farnese, Rome.*
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- Memorie dell' Instituto di Bologna, Sezione di Scienze Storico-Filologiche (R. Accademia di Bologna, *Italy.*).
- Mittheilungen des kais. deutsch. Archäol. Instituts, *Athens.*
- Mittheilungen des kais. deutsch. Archäol. Instituts, *Rome.*
- Mnemosyne (c/o Mr. E. J. Brill), *Leiden, Holland.*
- Neue Jahrbücher (c/o Dr. J. Ilberg), *Waldstrasse 56, Leipzig.*
- Notizie degli Scavi, R. Accademia dei Lincei, *Rome.*
- Numismatic Chronicle, 22, *Albemarle Street.*

- Philologus. Zeitschrift für das klassische Altertum (c/o Dietrich'sche Verlags
Buchhandlung, *Göttingen*).
- Praktika of the Athenian Archaeological Society, *Athens*.
- Proceedings of the Hellenic Philological Syllagos, *Constantinople*.
- Publications of the Imperial Archaeological Commission, *St. Petersburg*.
- Revue Archéologique, 1, *Rue Cassini, 14^{ème}, Paris*.
- Revue des Études Grecques, Publication Trimestrielle de l'Association pour l'En-
couragement des Études Grecques en France, *Paris*.
- Rheinisches Museum für Philologie (Prof. Dr. A. Brinkmann, *Schumannstrasse 58*
Bonn-am-Rhein, Germany).
- Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie (Berlin).

PROCEEDINGS.

SESSION 1907-8.

GENERAL MEETINGS of the Society were held on November 12th, February 18th, March 11th, and May 5th. Of these a full account appears in the Report submitted at the Annual Meeting.

The Annual Meeting was held on June 23rd, the President (Professor Percy Gardner) taking the chair. The Hon. Secretary (Mr. George A. Macmillan) presented the following

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

Changes in the Officers and Council of the Society.—The Council has recently nominated two of its members for addition to the list of its Vice-Presidents, Prof. W. Ridgeway and Mr. D. G. Hogarth. Prof. Ridgeway's name has long been honoured in the sphere of prehistoric archaeology, and to his inspiration many students of archaeology and especially many members of our archaeological schools are much indebted. Mr. Hogarth has recently brought to a close, for a time, his important excavations on behalf of the British Museum on the site of ancient Ephesus, and he and the Trustees are to be congratulated on the speedy production of the fine volumes embodying his results. The too frequent delay in the production of important matter of this kind is perhaps one of the most serious drawbacks to archaeological study.

A vacant place in the list of the Society's honorary members has been offered to M. Salomon Reinach. Apart from M. Reinach's gifts of criticism and exposition it is probably not too much to say that there is no living writer on archaeology who has not benefited by his encyclopaedic knowledge and the use he has made of it in the compilation of his *Répertoires*, and the Society at large will feel that the name of its new honorary member adds lustre to its roll.

The Council have recently accepted the resignation of Mr. Arthur Hamilton Smith as Hon. Librarian of the Society. The Library has had the benefit of his skilled care and foresight for more than twelve years. The general plan and arrangement of the Library, the catalogue, the collection of forty volumes of pamphlets formerly belonging to the late Johann Overbeck, and now incorporated in the Society's Library, are some of many instances of Mr. Arthur Smith's successful labours to

enhance its value. The Council have the gratification to announce that a member of their body, Mr. F. H. Marshall, of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum, has accepted the office vacated by Mr. Smith.

For the year 1907 the Council granted the Secretary and Librarian (Mr. Penoyre) leave of absence, during which time his duties were performed by Miss K. Raleigh, a member of the Society, to whose zeal and care the Council have recently expressed their indebtedness. Mr. Penoyre's leave was occupied in getting a closer acquaintance with the work of the British Schools in Athens and Rome, of which he is also Secretary, and in a prolonged stay in the Island of Thasos. For his investigations there the Council made a special grant and his results will appear in a subsequent number of the *Journal*. Incidentally the Society's collection of negatives and photographs has received considerable additions as part of the result of his sojourn in Greek lands.

Work of other Bodies.—Attention is drawn in the closing paragraph of this Report to the grants made by the Society to the Cretan Exploration Fund and the British Schools at Athens and Rome. Members of the Society will be glad to have news of the progress of the work of these bodies.

Dr. Evans' labours at Cnossus have again borne the fruit we are beginning to expect as a right from that marvellous site in his skilled hands. The following finds are reported, some of the results of a season's work in the vicinity of the Palace. In the large house to the west, now explored to its further limit, a magnificent steatite vase, shaped like a bull's head, with cut shell inlay about the nostrils, and eyeballs of painted crystal. To the north a hoard of bronze implements and utensils, interspersed with early vases which will serve to date the bronzes, and including a large and perfect tripod cauldron. To the south, under the Palace *débris*, a lower range of buildings, and below a staircase some silver bowls and a jug; also fine vases, one with papyrus ornament in relief. Work is also proceeding in the royal apartments east of the Palace.

The Council desire to congratulate the Director of the British School at Athens and his colleagues on the success which has marked the conduct of the difficult and important excavations at Sparta. News of the discovery at the Artemision of a temple dating back to the eighth century has recently come to hand. 'This early shrine,' writes the correspondent of the *Times*, 'which was constructed to contain a primitive wooden image of the goddess, was roofed with painted tiles and built with unbaked bricks set in a framework of wooden beams, all resting on a foundation of undressed stones and slabs. The stonework of the foundation is alone preserved, but it was found covered with *débris* and bricks. In a side wall are sockets at regular intervals for the beams of the framework, and corresponding to them, in lines across the floor, are stone supports or bases for wooden pillars supporting the roof. The structure being partially concealed by the adja-

cent temple, its exact dimensions cannot be ascertained. It was divided lengthwise by a row or rows of wooden columns. It is symmetrically placed with the great eighth century altar discovered last year, from which it is separated by a paved area of cobblestones, apparently co-extensive with the earliest *temenos*, or sacred enclosure. Here an enormous number of votive offerings have been found.' It is to be noted that the rich series of votive offerings, especially of ivories, which have been a special feature of the excavations on this site, go back to the same early period. The addition made by these finds to our knowledge of the so-called dark ages of early Greece is very considerable.

The British School at Rome is to be congratulated on the progress made in its *magnum opus*, the Catalogue of the Capitoline Museum. No more important work for the history of classical art could have been undertaken than the making of a definitive record of the items in Roman museums. From the very opulence of her artistic treasures, and the immense claims of the interest of the Middle Ages and of the Renaissance, Rome, the very core of the later classical world, has in some measure lacked the care in the enumeration of works of classical art which has been long enjoyed by less world-famous cities and museums. Dr. Amelung's volumes on the Vatican sculptures have made a beginning of the highest standard. The Roman School volume of the Capitoline Museum is within measurable distance of publication, and a strong hope is entertained that this will be followed in due course by similar volumes dealing with the other Municipal Museums in Rome. Apart from the catalogue, which is under the general editorship of Mr. H. Stuart Jones, the Director is forming plans for systematised research in the Western Aegean area, and important developments in the sphere of purely historical research in Italy are in contemplation.

The Council further desire to draw the attention of all members of the Society to the work about to be undertaken by a newly-formed body, the *Byzantine Research and Publication Fund*, working in association with the Committee of the British School at Athens. The following extract from their recently issued notice sets forth the end in view. "In the hope of increasing interest in this country, various well-wishers to Byzantine Archæology have been approached with a view to the foundation of a Byzantine Research Fund. This Fund will be administered by an Executive Committee, which will include representatives of the British School at Athens and of the Hellenic Society. Its objects will be to survey Churches and other buildings and to produce drawings, plans and photographs of these buildings and of the mosaics, frescoes or sculptures which they contain; also to carry out excavations to determine the ground plans and other features of ruined buildings. The Committee will thus primarily endeavour to secure fresh records of Byzantine remains. It will, however, also devote a portion of the Fund to the publication of materials already collected and prepared." Since it is stated in the first rule of the Hellenic Society that the advancement of the study of the Byzantine

period is one of its objects, the Council have no hesitation in recommending the work of the newly-formed body unreservedly to all members. The address of the Fund, to which communications should be sent, is c/o R. Weir Schultz, Esq., 14, Gray's Inn Square, W.C.

General Meetings.—On November 12th, Prof. Ronald M. Burrows gave an account of his excavations at Mycalessus in Boeotia. Mr. Burrows shewed extremely interesting illustrations of vases and other remains found in tombs, many of them of remarkable colouring. None were of later date than the Sixth Century B.C., and they harmonised exactly with the topographical data which fixed the site as the ancient Mycalessus.

At the same meeting Dr. B. P. Grenfell read a brief account of some Greek papyri found in Egypt. These included some of the writings of a historian whom Dr. Grenfell identified with the historian Theopompus of the Fourth Century B.C. The work gave an account of the constitution of Boeotia and of that portion of the Peloponnesian war which Thucydides did not live to narrate. The wealth of information, the impartiality, the historical insight of the writer entitled him to a very high place among Greek historians, not so high perhaps as Thucydides, but higher than Xenophon. It was impossible, however, to give much praise to his style, which is colourless and verbose, rather like that of Polybius. Another important discovery was a fragment of the lost *Hypsipyle* of Euripides. There were also discovered portions of the Greek original of the Acts of Peter and of an unknown portion of the Acts of John.

At the Second General Meeting held on February 18th Mr. Cecil Smith shewed illustrations of two newly identified fragments of the Parthenon sculptures, one the back of the head of the Athena of the W. pediment, the other the head of a Lapith from one of the finest of the Metopes. It has long been the ambition of those in authority at the British Museum to make that institution's sculptures, or copies of sculptures, from the Parthenon as complete as possible, for the benefit particularly of students. By the courtesy of the Greek Government that desire has now been all but satisfied, the Hellenic authorities having caused casts to be made of what the Museum needs. Some have still to be received, and when they arrive the institution will, for the first time, possess a collection which should satisfy any student, however exacting. [See pp. 46-48 of this volume.]

At the same meeting Mr. Louis Dyer read a paper on the stadium at Olympia in which he maintained that at Olympia there was no stadium in the final and complete shape worthy of the name till Macedonian times. When Xenophon in 364 B.C. spoke of the *theatron* there he was not using the word in the current sense of theatre, for at no time did there exist at Olympia a stone structure with semi-circular tiers of seats. Previous to 450 B.C. Olympian athletic contests, processions and sacrifices were viewed from a long terrace, and in that year a quadrilateral *dromos*, or running field, was added, with adjacent fields for spectators. The word *theatron*

was applied to these things in the vaguer and possibly local sense of a 'spectatorium.' When Prof. Frazer maintained that there was a theatre or stadium at Olympia he took no account of Xenophon's account of the battle there in 364 B.C. while Dr. Dörpfeld, who took a similar view of the word *theatron* in Xenophon's text, practically suggested that the writer was momentarily bereft of commonsense and his accustomed gift of the consistent and straightforward use of language. [See pp. 250-273 of this volume.]

Mr. Norman Gardiner next read a short paper in which he pointed out that the early connexion of the games with the altar was confirmed by various traditions. The concentration of all the interest, athletic and religious, round the altar before 450 B.C. explained (1) the crowding together of the treasuries on the terrace overlooking the altar; (2) the building of the tiers of steps below the treasuries, partly as a retaining wall, partly as a stand for spectators; (3) the extension of this stand by the building of the colonnade at right angles to it. The designation of these arrangements as a "theatron" was justified by the close connexion of games and ceremonies with the altar. Similar provision for the spectators of religious rites was found at Eleusis, Oropus, and Sparta. Finally, the boundary wall of the altar offered no objection to this view. This wall was an arbitrary boundary which did not correspond either with the ancient boundary of the sacred grove, or with the natural boundaries of the sacred *temenos*. The earliest portion of it was the eastern wall, which could not be earlier than the colonnade.

On March 11th, at the Third General Meeting, Miss Gertrude Lowthian Bell read an illustrated paper on 'The Early Christian Architecture of the Karadagh.' In pursuance of the idea that we should seek in Anatolia not the story of the conquest of barbarism by Hellas, but the interpenetration of Hellenic and Oriental civilizations in which the East proved the more abiding factor, Miss Bell sketched what she termed the indigenous Christian architecture of the Karadagh mountains. The remains, hitherto unknown, are enhanced by their good preservation and magnificent, if sombre, natural surroundings. Differences of constructional method and of type appear in regions close together. Such differences, as Mr. Phéné Spiers pointed out in the subsequent discussion, arise more naturally where the builder is left to find his own way to overcome difficulties on the spot, than when, as now, before the first sod is cut, the whole building is elaborately set out on paper by the architect. The main types of the Karadagh, as illustrated from Binbirkilisse, Sarigül, Hayyat Kilisra, and Sivri Hissar (the last-named church is in good preservation), were the basilica, the 'barn church,' and the cruciform in its various developments. The T-shaped cruciform church was in all probability a survival in plan of such Eastern rock-tombs as that at Palmyra, an exhaustive account of which forms the first section of Dr. Strzygowski's *Orient oder Rom*. The use of

burnt as opposed to adobe brick, the peculiar thickness of the mortar, and certain peculiarities in the treatment of the niche were probably Asian characteristics. In the discussion which followed, Mr. G. F. Hill, in expressing regret on the part of Sir William Ramsay at his inability to be present, read a letter from him emphasizing the exclusively ecclesiastical character of the remains in the Karadagh. 'I could only,' he wrote, 'from my point of view as historian, urge that the Byzantine Church was the Soul of the Byzantine Empire, and the bond that held the Empire together. . . . I have often emphasized this in regard to modern facts, but I never fully realized its overpowering significance in Byzantine history till I saw it expressed in stone in the Thousand and One Churches. The only Byzantine art is the art of the churches in which this unity was built up in walls, and emblazoned in painted plaster and in mosaic. But how dignified and how eternal in their aspect are those churches, the creation of one remote fifth-rate country town!' Messrs. Phéné Spiers, O. M. Dalton, G. Lethaby, H. Stannus, and Mrs. Cozens-Hardy also took part in the discussion.

On May 5th the last General Meeting of the Session was held, when Prof. Ernest Gardner read an illustrated paper on the 'Trentham Statue' the life-sized figure of a Greek lady recently acquired by the British Museum from the Duke of Sutherland's collection. Professor Gardner's article will be found in the current volume of the *Journal* (pp. 138-147).

At the meeting Mr. Cecil Smith, who was in the chair, after emphasizing the debt the Museum and the country owed the Duke of Sutherland and Prof. Gardner for the help they had given towards the acquisition of the statue, argued for a later date of the statue than that just suggested. He thought it should be attributed to the close rather than the opening years of the fourth century, and that it came midway between the school which considered form at the expense of drapery, and that which spent its energies on drapery at the expense of form. He suggested that some at least of the qualities of simplicity of design and execution noticed in the head by Prof. Gardner might have been the work of the copyist, if, as he was inclined to think, the head was a copy dating perhaps from the Roman age. He saw no reason why, with a good, if partially ruined model to work from, a Roman copyist might not have achieved this admirable piece of work. The Anticythera statues were proof of the excellence to which Græco-Roman copyists attained.

At the same meeting Mr. J. ff. Baker-Penoyre showed slides of a relief of the fifth century B.C. which had recently been discovered in Thasos, and would, he hoped, be added in the near future to the Imperial Museum in Constantinople. The subject depicted was the often-repeated heroic banquet scene; but the period at which it was executed, the grace of the composition, and the excellence of its preservation made the relief one of the most attractive of its class yet discovered.

The Library.—So long ago as 1904 the Council, in presenting their Annual Report, emphasized the difficulty of maintaining the Society's library in an effective and easily accessible condition on account of the smallness of the premises. The acquisition of a smaller room as an office and packing room has made a sensible difference in the comfort of readers during the intervening years, but the Librarian now reports that it has been necessary to let the Library proper overflow into the annexe, and that the time is not far distant when that too will be completely filled. So long as a reasonable amount of ordered arrangement can be maintained, it is felt that the Society would be well advised to retain its present premises, which have certain advantages of position and have been its headquarters for 27 years; but the Council feel compelled to recognize that there is a limit when practical efficiency would be impaired by further overcrowding, and to bring to the notice of the Society at large that a change of quarters, involving the expense of moving and possibly of a higher annual rent, cannot now be long delayed.

The Council acknowledge with thanks gifts of books from the following bodies:—The Trustees of the British Museum; the University Press of the following Universities: California, Cambridge, Lille, Manchester, and Oxford; the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek of Copenhagen; and the Imprimerie Nationale de Paris.

The following publishers have presented copies of recently published works:—Messrs. Baedeker, Batsford, Clark, Constable, Duckworth, Frowde, Gabalda, Leroux, Macmillan, Murray, Picard, Teubner, Unwin, Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht.

The following authors have presented copies of their works:—Messrs. E. Cary, G. H. Chase, A. E. Dobbs, G. K. Gardikas, Prof. E. A. Gardner, Messrs. G. F. Hewitt, G. F. Hill, P. Jacobsthal, Dr. A. Kannengiesser, Messrs. E. Krause, R. W. Macan, Sig. P. Orsi, M. N. Paulatos, Prof. E. Petersen, Messrs. E. M. Rankin, E. Robinson, R. de Rustaffjael, H. Sandars, Prof. T. D. Seymour, Mr. Cecil Smith, Prof. R. P. Spiers, Mrs. S. Arthur Strong, Mr. F. E. Thompson, and Prof. J. W. White.

Miscellaneous donations of books have also been received from Prof. W. C. F. Anderson, Rev. H. Browne, Mr. T. Ely, Mr. F. W. Hasluck, Miss C. A. Hutton, Prof. R. Phéné Spiers, and the Librarian.

Among the more important accessions are the following:—Bernoulli (J. J.), *Griechische Ikonographie*, 2 vols.; Boeckh (A.), *Die Staatshaltung der Athener*, 3rd Edition, edited by M. Fraenkel, 2 vols.; British Museum, Department of Coins and Medals, *Catalogue of the Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum*, by W. Wroth, 2 vols.; Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, *Excavations at Ephesus*, by D. G. Hogarth and others, Text and Atlas; Cumont (F.), *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*, 2 vols.; Holm (A.), *Geschichte Siciliens in Alterthum*, 3 vols.; Lermann (A.), *Altgriechische Plastik*; Meyer (E.), *Geschichte des Alterthums*; Winter (F.), *Die Typen der figürlichen Terrakotten*, 2 vols.

During the past year 300 visits have been paid by members to the Library as against 372 for 1905-6 and 277 for 1906-7. Besides those volumes consulted in the Library, 760 books have been borrowed, the figures for the preceding years being 396 (1906-7) and 415 (1905-6). 107 books (139 vols.) and 41 pamphlets have been added to the Library exclusive of the large number of periodicals obtained by purchase or exchange. The exchange list now reaches the large figure of 43, as against 38 in 1906-7. The additions comprise the following:—*Bulletin de l'Institut archéologique Russe de Constantinople*, *Classical Philology*, *Glotta*, *Memnon*, and the *Memorie dell' Istituto di Bologna*. The magnificent *Catalogue général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*, which has for long been one of the most generous exchanges accorded the Society, has now been bound in separate parts, each containing one class of antiquities, and is kept in alphabetical order on this principle.

Photographic Department.—The following table shows the work done in some branches of this important department of the Society's work.

	Slides added to Collection.	Slides hired.	Slides sold to Members.	Photos sold to Members.	Profit available for extension.
Session 1903-4	(Original Catalogue of 1,500 slides published.)	1,224	512	465	£1 11 2
1904-5	154	3,053	787	366	5 0 8½
1905-6	187	2,941	1,247	670	15 7 9½
1906-7	148	1,357	871	294	3 1 1½
1907-8	125	1,442	548	129	5 0 0

The above figures show the use that has been made of the collection of negatives stored at the Society's photographers, with a corresponding set of reference photographs, similarly numbered, kept in subject order in an easily accessible form in the Library. The arrangement of this collection has been developed on the lines laid down by Prof. John Linton Myres so long ago as 1903, when he was honorary keeper of the photographic collections, and its successful working owes much to his skilled initiative. It is also

apparent that the Collection has paid for its upkeep and extension, and made an average annual profit of about £6 for the last five years.

In accordance with the policy of adding to the advantages of membership rather than of making a financial profit from the working of this department, it has been determined to add to the collections a section (also contemplated by Prof. Myres in his original scheme) of larger reference photographs of which the Society possesses no negatives. The chief difficulties of forming this section have been the initial cost and the difficulty of storage in limited premises in a really accessible manner. Both these difficulties have now been overcome, the former by the profits that have accrued during the past five years, the latter by a new system of mounting and storing. Two sections on Pompeian wall paintings and mosaics are already in working order, and others are rapidly being formed. The end in view is a complete series of good photographs of an adequate size for purposes of reference and study in an easily accessible form.

Up till this time the Librarian has been obliged to ask for negatives rather than for photographs with a view to building up the collection of negatives and lantern-slides. With the formation of the new collection of larger reference photographs, many donations that have not yet had the attention they deserve will be on view, and the opportunity arises of asking the generous support of members interested in this department of the Society's work for donations of miscellaneous photographs, preferably about 10 by 8 inches in size, which they may have accumulated in books or other form on their travels, and may be disposed to place at the disposal of other members for reference. Under special circumstances the Society may be willing to purchase batches of photographs if our learned travellers will kindly bear the objects of this new collection in mind.

Much valued help has already been received from Mr. F. W. Hasluck and others in this way.

For gifts of negatives and other help kindly given to the photographic department during the past year, the Council desires to tender thanks to Miss Abrahams, Mr. H. Awdry, Mr. J. Baker-Penoyre, the Committee of the British School at Athens, Prof. R. C. Bosanquet, Mr. A. Brown, Rev. H. Browne, Prof. R. Burrows, Rev. W. Compton, Mr. R. O. de Gex, Mr. Norman Gardiner, Prof. Ernest Gardner, Sir William Geary, Mr. F. W. Hasluck, Mr. R. P. Jones, Dr. Keser, Miss D. Lowe, Mr. R. F. Martin, Miss K. Raleigh, Mr. H. Raven, Miss M. L. S. Smith, and Mr. J. Youall.

Finance.—An examination of the Financial Statement shows that the income for the year has exceeded that of last year by £36. The increase, it is noted, occurs mainly from the receipts for Entrance Fees and the Subscriptions from Libraries, the receipts from members' subscriptions being about the same as for last year. The demands, however, on the Treasurer have been considerably greater than last year, and the outlay during the past session exceeded that of last year by nearly £180, with the result that the year's expenditure proved to be more than the income by £32. Thus,

instead of an additional surplus balance being shown in the Balance Sheet, the amount now stands at £251 as against £283 at the corresponding period of last year.

Apart from some increase under the headings of Sundry Printing and Postage the difference has been in the Grants and in the amount spent on the Journal. A second Grant of £100 has been made to the British School at Athens towards the excavations in Laconia, while the reopening of the work in Crete by Dr. Arthur Evans has been recognised by a Grant of a similar amount. With regard to the increased outlay on the Journal the Council have felt that it is of the greatest importance that this branch of its work should be maintained on the level of the highest standard, and to secure this additional expenditure was unavoidable. The account shows that during the year £90 more has been spent on the production of the Journal, but against this has to be set the generous donation of £30 by Sir Frederick Cook towards the cost of the illustrations to the article recently issued on the collection at Doughty House, Richmond. It is satisfactory to note that the receipts for sales have been well maintained, the amount being £10 in excess of last year.

With regard to the other publications of the Society it will be seen that one copy of the Facsimile of the Codex Venetus of Aristophanes and eighteen copies of the volume on the Excavations at Phylakopi have been sold.

The Balance Sheet shows the Debts Payable by the Society on May 31 to be £437 as against £293 last year, an increase of £144, which is, however, set off on the other side by an available cash balance of £759, which is £146 more than at the same period of last year. Further donations to the Endowment Fund received during the year amount to £23. The amount outstanding for arrears of subscriptions due to the Society on May 31 is £140.

The total number of members on the roll is 939, exclusive of 37 honorary members, 10 student associates, and 182 subscribing libraries. On the same date last year the numbers were 918 ordinary members, 38 honorary members, 3 student associates, and 184 libraries. The Council report with satisfaction this sensible increase in the number of ordinary members and student associates during a year when losses by death and other causes have been exceptionally heavy.

The Council feel that on the whole the financial position of the Society may be regarded as satisfactory. During the year the special attention of members has been directed to the valuable help they may render by securing new members for the Society. The revenues at the disposal of the Council are very largely dependent on members' subscriptions, and as it is inevitable that from time to time the roll of members must suffer heavily by reason of deaths and other causes, the Council feel the great value of the support which every member may give by introducing others to the Society. The past year has been a notably heavy one in the losses the list of members has sustained, but in spite of this the Council are

able to report an increase in numbers. With the prospect of increasing claims on the funds for the effective prosecution of the work of the Society the Council confidently rely on the active support of every member in this direction.

The Chairman then delivered his Annual Address. After detailing the internal progress of the Society, Professor Gardner drew attention to the formation in the last months of a Byzantine Research and Publication Fund, closely connected with the British School of Athens. From the first the Hellenic Society had insisted on the importance of the mediaeval history and monuments of Greece; and many articles in regard to them had appeared in the Society's *Journal*. That a fresh committee, including many members of the Society, had undertaken specially to organize work in this part of the field was a matter for nothing but satisfaction. Every year the Universities of Europe were paying more attention to the period of history which hitherto even the Greeks had neglected; and in which till recently the monumental work of Gibbon stood almost like an aqueduct in the Roman Campagna. An organization to carry further such work as that of Messrs. Schultz and Barnsley on the mediaeval churches of the East appeared at the right moment, while the recent publication of a great work on Byzantine coins by Mr. Wroth, of the British Museum, had brought method and order into another important branch of Byzantine remains.

Another direction in which more than one member of the Society had been working with success was the fuller cataloguing of the works of ancient art in private possession in England. The basis has been laid in Professor Michaelis's great catalogue: lately the collections at Woburn Abbey and Lansdowne House had been catalogued by Mr. Arthur Smith; Professor Furtwängler had called attention to the treasures of Chatsworth, and in the new volume of the *Journal* Mrs. Strong had catalogued the collection of Sir Frederick Cook. As the sources of supply of such monuments in the East began to wane, those already in the country increased in importance. They were becoming, although private property, a valuable possession of the nation. Since the exhibition at the Burlington Fine Arts Club, many of them were well known to students; but any means of still further utilizing their value for the good of lovers of art should be earnestly sought out.

Professor Gardner then enumerated the loss the Society and the learned world at large had sustained by the death of the following: Sir John Evans, Dr. James Adam, Dr. W. G. Rutherford, Professor Furtwängler, Dr. Walter Headlam, and Professor A. Kirchheff. Among the excavations in progress the English excavations at Cnossus and at Sparta were perhaps the most interesting. The French School had been at work at Delos, the Germans at Leucas, Pergamon, and Miletus, the Austrians at Ephesus. Illustrations were then shown of a few works of sculpture, which have either been recently found or more openly exhibited and more fully discussed. The series of early male figures, formerly called Apollos, and certainly in some cases representing Apollo

had multiplied in late years into large groups, almost into regiments. Additions had been made to it in quite recent times by the discovery, at Sunium, of two colossal nude male figures of archaic type fairly complete. The better preserved of the two had now taken its place in the museum at Athens, and as it is eleven feet high, it overpeers all its rivals.

Further examination of the wall of Themistocles at Athens had had interesting results. Thucydides, as was well known, said that when that wall was built in haste, just after the retreat of Xerxes, the people worked in a body and built into it any material that came to hand, not even sparing buildings, public and private. The well-known fragment of an archaic tombstone, bearing the head of a discobolus, has been supposed to come out of this wall. The more recent and careful investigations of Dr. Noack had brought to light in the foundations several archaic monuments of the same age as the discobolus, monuments no doubt broken down by the Persian soldiers, and lying in ruins near the course of the wall. Among these was a tombstone, on which stood in relief the figure of a warrior holding a spear. Though the surface had suffered much injury, the profile was clearly to be traced; and in the case of one leg and the hand which held the spear, one could see all the delicacy of the careful conscientious sculptor which gave the promise fulfilled in later Athenian art. The winged figure underneath the deceased hero was like the Gorgons of early vases: traces of the pattern of the chiton which she wore might still be seen. To give her a name was not easy; but it would be safe to attribute to the figure some power of averting the evil eye, and protecting the tomb, though against the barbarian soldiery the protection was unavailing. The profile of the hero was closely like that of the discobolus already mentioned, only that the nose was less remarkable and characteristic.

Another figure from the same place was that of a sphinx, with long formal curls and large flat eyes. The remains of painting could be clearly traced on its body. This figure also doubtless decorated a tomb.

A few works from the Terme Museum, which have attracted much attention in the course of the year, were next considered. Among these was a new example of the Discobolus of Myron, or at least a large fragment of one, which added somewhat to our knowledge. Its shattered state might at first repel us; but every student of ancient art had to learn to look not at what was missing in a torso, but at what was supplied. In this case the position of the left arm was for the first time shewn; and it would be seen that it differed from the ordinary restoration. Also the muscles of the chest were well preserved. It was not really Myronic, but like the anatomy of the example in the British Museum, considerably softened and refined, and the transition from one plane to another, which in the Vatican and Lancelotti copies is harsh, was here more skilfully managed.

A figure of one of the daughters of Niobe had been found on the same site at Rome, which had already produced two very interesting statues of the same marble and the same style which adorn the Ny Carlsberg gallery, and which several years ago were identified by Professor Furtwängler as belong-

ing to a group, probably a pedimental group, which represented the destruction of Niobe and her children by Apollo and Artemis. The great group at Florence representing the slaying of the Niobidae had long been, so to speak, one of the wonders of the world. The newly acquired statues shew that the same theme had been treated by earlier sculptors, probably of the middle of the fifth century B.C. One of them represents a son, lying prone and rigid, perhaps in the corner of the pediment. A second was regarded by Furtwangler as Niobe herself, in flight, holding her garment in both hands; but the figure was scarcely that of a matron, and more probably represented one of the daughters. The new addition to the group consists of a daughter fallen on her knee, wounded in the back by an arrow. It was not only the subject which aroused interest: the statues were from the point of view of art fascinating, combining delicacy in detail with something of the freshness of early art. If they were contemporary with the pediments of the Parthenon they showed how wide differences in that great age separated one Greek school from another, and raised the question whether there were not at the time in Greece other schools than those of Athens and Argos, almost as remarkable as they.

Few statues which have survived from antiquity have captivated the fancy of the lovers of ancient art so much as the girl from Antium, found a few years ago on the shore of the sea, acquired by Prince Chigi, and now purchased at a great price for the Terme Museum. It is a work of the early Hellenistic age: a girl, her hair tied in a knot above her forehead, and her chiton slipping from her beautiful shoulder, concentrates all her thought and attention upon a tray which she bears in her hands. This tray bears a curious burden, a scroll of manuscript, a wreath, and what seems to be the remains of a lion's foot. Dr. Altinan had maintained that she was a priestess of Apollo, perhaps of the Apollo worshipped at Patara in Lycia. Herodotus tells us that in that city the temple of Apollo occasionally but not regularly gave oracles, and that when it did so, the priestess passed the night before her utterance alone in the temple. If this identification were correct, the scroll and the wreath would belong to this sacred function. The portraiture of the Hellenistic age, hitherto far too much neglected, was in many ways almost the finest art the world has seen. This statue, with its delicacy of treatment and the grace of its drapery, was a worthy addition to it.

Another graceful work of the same age, recently found at Rome, represented a subject already familiar to us in terracotta, but new in sculpture. A girl, as a penalty in a game of forfeits, had to bear on her back a successful competitor. Both the girls are unfortunately headless, but otherwise the group is fairly complete, though put together out of numberless fragments. It was found in the Piazza Dante, the site of the Horti Lamiani. It was of Greek marble, two-thirds of the size of life. While not a work of the highest art, it is remarkably fresh and pleasing, the vigour of the nude shoulders and arms contrasting with the pleasing softness of the drapery.

The most interesting of the sculptural discoveries of the year was the restoration by Mr. Guy Dickins of the great group by the sculptor

Damophon of Messene. In last year's *Annual of the School of Athens* Mr. Dickins proved most methodically that Damophon was a sculptor of the second century B.C., and that his works belonged to the brief St. Martin's Summer of Greek art which occupied the time between the victories of Flamininus and the disastrous ravages of Mummius. Proceeding with his investigation, Mr. Dickins set to work on the fragments of Damophon's group, some of them at Athens, and some still at Lycosura. It is in many ways a surprise to us, a group with obvious faults, yet retaining something of the Phidian age, especially in the case of the seated Mother and Daughter, who remind us of the Demeter and Persephone of the East Pediment of the Parthenon. Mr. Dickins's reconstruction had brought a great advance in the knowledge of the art of later Greece which it causes. We had now a fixed point of the greatest importance, marking the end of the artistic history of Greece Proper. After this sculpture remained active in Asia and at Rome, but in Greece it ceased, save for a little outburst in the age of Hadrian.

Professor Gardner concluded by moving the adoption of the Report, which was seconded by Professor T. G. Tucker, of Melbourne University (a recently elected member of the Society) and carried unanimously.

Mr. D. G. Hogarth then made an illustrated communication in which he discussed the bearing of his remarkable find of early Ionian antiquities, which he attributed mostly to the eighth century, on the site of the Artemisium at Ephesus, on the difficult problem of the origin of Ionian civilization. At Miletus, in Cyprus, in Attica, in the Troad, and now at Ephesus had been found objects closely analogous and representing the end of the Aegean period, and to the Aegean civilization must be assigned a dominant share in the making of the art of Ionia. This element had, apparently, entered Asia Minor in company with an influence from the centre of Europe. Before this movement from the West to the East, Ionia had been dominated by the successive empires of Cappadocia, Lydia, and Phrygia; but during the later centuries of this eastern domination the influence from the Aegean was strong upon the seaboard. The influence of Mesopotamia was also distinctly to be traced in the Ephesian finds, which seemed to have little in common with the art of Egypt or Phoenicia.

The following motion was then submitted to the meeting and carried unanimously:—

That Mr. D. G. Hogarth and Prof. W. Ridgeway be elected Vice-Presidents of the Society;

That Mr. Talfourd Ely, Lady Evans, Mr. Ernest Myers, Rev. G. C. Richards, Mr. E. E. Sykes, Mr. M. N. Tod and Mr. H. B. Walters, retiring and being eligible for re-election, be re-elected on the Council;

That Mr. A. B. Cook, Mr. A. M. Daniel, Miss C. A. Hutton and Mr. E. D. A. Morshead be elected on the Council.

The proceedings terminated with a vote of thanks moved by Mr. Macmillan and seconded by Mr. A. H. Smith to the Society's auditors, Mr. A. J. Butler and Sir Frederick Pollock.

A comparison with the receipts and expenditure of the last ten years is furnished by the following tables:—

ANALYSIS OF RECEIPTS FOR THE YEARS ENDING:—

	31 May, 1899.	31 May, 1900.	31 May, 1901.	31 May, 1902.	31 May, 1903.	31 May, 1904.	31 May, 1905.	31 May, 1906.	31 May, 1907.	31 May, 1908.
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
Subscriptions. Current	598	634	630	628	640	672	709	780	753	759
Arrears	18	9	10	13	13	205	76	90	72	70
Life Compositions	32	63	78	78	94	126	94	94	47	47
Libraries	12	163	179	185	202	147	154	168	173	188
Entrance Fees .....	...	33	45	52	50	100	133	103	65	78
Dividends	43	43	42	42	42	42	49	44	61	62
Rent .....	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	10
Endowment Fund .....	...	...	...	...	...	...	30	475	17	23
"Excavations at Phylakopi," sales .....	...	...	...	...	...	...	52*	28*	21*	18*
"Facsimile Codex Venetus," sales .....	...	...	...	...	...	...	93*	8*	17*	3*
Lantern Slides Account .....	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	15*	3*	5*
	813	945	990	998	1,047	1,292	1,390	1,814	1,239	1,263

* Receipts less expenses.

ANALYSIS OF EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEARS ENDING:—

	31 May, 1899.	31 May, 1900.	31 May, 1901.	31 May, 1902.	31 May, 1903.	31 May, 1904.	31 May, 1905.	31 May, 1906.	31 May, 1907.	31 May, 1908.
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
Rent	80	80	80	80	80	80	88	98	100	100
Insurance	15	15	15	15	15	16	18	13	14	15
Salaries	60	60	60	60	69	89	165	176	178	178
Library	61	73	74	82	89	50	100	65	85	85
Cost of Catalogue .....	...	...	...	...	...	55	...	...	...	...
Sundry Printing, Postage, Stationery, etc.	32	58	61	41	72	137	147	158	101	119
Printing and Postage, History of Society .....	...	...	...	...	...	...	24	...	...	...
Printing and Postage, Pro- ceedings at Anniversary .....	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	...	...	...
Lantern Slides Account .....	...	13	29	17	35	...	...	...	...	...
Photographs Account	26	1	15	...	...	2	5*	...	...	...
Cost of Journal (less sales)	536	390	382	367	454	511	511	356	356	406
Cost of Journal, Reprint of Vol. XXIII. ....	...	...	...	...	...	...	122	...	...	...
Grants	150	200	200	200	250	225	260	125	225	340
"Facsimile of the Codex Venetus of Aristophanes" .....	...	...	...	...	210	30	...	...	...	...
"Excavations at Phylakopi" .....	...	...	...	...	156	140	...	...	...	...
Commission and Postage per Bank .....	...	...	...	3	2	...	...	...	...	...
Depreciation of Stocks of Publications .....	...	...	...	...	...	...	123	104	10	6
	960	890	916	865	1,432	1,335	1,573	1,095	1,069	1,249

* Expenses less sales.

DR. "JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES" ACCOUNT. FROM JUNE 1, 1907, TO MAY 31, 1908. CR.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Printing and Paper. Vol. XXVII., Part II., and XXVIII., Part I.	306	6	8			
Plates	56	12	0		117	12
" Drawing and Engraving	104	7	4		20	3
" Editing and Sundry Contributors	68	11	0			
" Packing, Addressing, and Carriage to Members ...	54	9	0			
" Sundries	3	8	0		137	16
				593	14	0
				£593	14	0
By Sales, including back Vols., from June 1, 1907, to May 31, 1908.						
Per Macmillan & Co., Ltd.				117	12	11
" Hellenic Society				20	3	6
" Donation by Sir Frederick Cook towards cost of illustrations						137
" Receipts for Advertisements						30
Balance to Income and Expenditure Account						19
						17
						10
						405
						19
						9
						£593
						14
						0

"EXCAVATIONS AT PHYLAKOPI" ACCOUNT. FROM JUNE 1, 1907, TO MAY 31, 1908.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Deficit Balance brought forward (excluding value of Stock)	195	4	1			
Balance on Current Year to Income and Expenditure Account					17	17
						8
	£195	4	1		£17	17
						8

	£	s.	d.	Column showing Financial Result from Date of Publication to May 31, 1908.	Account for Current Year.
By Sale of 18 Copies during year				17	17
Deficit Balance from Publication at May 31, 1908 (excluding value of Stock)					
				177	6
				£195	4
					17
					17
					8

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT. From June 1, 1907, to May 31, 1908.

<i>Expenditure.</i>	£	s.	d.	<i>Income.</i>	£	s.	d.
To Rent				By Members' Subscriptions—			
„ Salaries—			100 5 0	Proportion brought forward from last year..	432	8	11
Librarian and Secretary	140	0	0	Received during current year—Arrears.....	59	18	0
Assistant Treasurer	25	0	0	„ „ „ 1907	10	10	0
Office Boy	12	12	4	„ „ „ 1908	749	15	10½
„ Insurance.....			177 12 4	Less ½ of 1908 subscriptions forward to	1252	12	9½
„ Miscellaneous Expenses			15 3 1	next year	437	7	6
„ Stationery			12 17 0	Members' Entrance Fees	815	5	3½
„ Postage.....			18 2 6½	„ Student Associates' Subscriptions	77	14	0
„ Sundry Printing, Rules, List of Members, Notices, &c.			57 7 9½	„ Libraries Subscriptions—	9	9	0
„ Grants—			30 8 11	Proportion brought forward from last year..	96	15	7
British School at Athens.....	100	0	0	Received during current year—1907	24	3	0
„ „ for Laconia.....	100	0	0	„ „ „ 1908	161	10	11
„ „ Rome	25	0	0	Less ½ of 1908 subscriptions forward to	282	9	6
Cretan Exploration Fund	100	0	0	next year	94	4	6
J. Penoyre (Thasos Exploration)	15	0	0	Life Compositions brought into Revenue Account	188	5	0
„ Balance from Library Account			340 0 0	„ Interest on Deposit Account.....	15	15	0
„ Balance from "Journal of Hellenic Studies" Account.....			84 14 0	„ Dividends on Investments	10	5	5
„ Depreciation of Stocks			405 19 9	„ Contributed towards Rent by British School at Athens and British School at Rome for use of Society's room	62	8	8
			5 18 0	„ Balance from "Excavations at Phylakopi" Account	10	0	0
				„ „ "Facsimile Codex Venetus" Account	17	17	8
				„ „ „ Lantern Slides and Photographs Ac.	3	13	6
				Balance	5	2	10½
					32	12	0
					<u>£1248</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>5</u>

BALANCE SHEET. MAY 31, 1908.

<i>Liabilities.</i>		<i>Assets.</i>	
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
To Debts Payable.....	437 16 7	By Cash in Hand—Bank ..	137 7 5
„ Subscriptions carried forward	531 12 0	„ on Deposit.....	600 0 0
„ Endowment Fund	545 9 0	Assistant Treasurer	18 7 10
(includes legacy of £200 from the late Canon Adam Farrar)		Petty Cash	3 16 7½
„ Life Compositions and Donations—			759 11 10½
Total at June 1, 1907	£1820 14 0	„ Debts Receivable	149 9 3½
Received during year, 3 at		„ Investments (Life Compositions)	1263 3 11
£15 15s.	47 5 0	„ „ (Endowment Fund)	500 0 0
Less 1 Life Member deceased	1867 19 0		1763 3 11
Excess of Assets over Liabilities at June 1, 1907.....	283 17 6	„ Valuations of Stocks of Publications	596 2 0
Less Deficit Balance from Income and Expenditure Ac.	32 12 0	„ „ Library	350 0 0
	251 5 6		
	<u>£3618 7 1</u>		<u>£3618 7 1</u>

Examined and found correct.* Signed) FREDERICK POLLOCK, Auditor.

* In the absence of Mr. A. J. Butler, who is abroad, the accounts have been audited by Sir Frederick Pollock above.

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 BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS
 ADDED TO THE
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 SINCE THE PUBLICATION OF THE CATALOGUE.

1907—1908.

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 Fol. 1819.
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- Amelung (W.)** Die Sculpturen des Vatikanischen Museums. Band
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 6870 Terracotta figurines,* miscellaneous.
 6871 " " * mostly portions of female figures.
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 6861 " " *
 6862 " " *
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 6864 " " " *
 6813 Pithos * found near Artemesium containing early interment.
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 6898 Interior of a Cyrenaic kylix,* Boreades and monkey.
 6900 Exterior of the same kylix * (slide No. 6898).
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 7962 " " ¶ portions of a.
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 6874 Vase fragments.† mostly Cyrenaic.
 6873 " " * " post-Cyrenaic.
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 7125 Panathenaic amphora ¶, from the Chalkioikos. (B.S.A. xiii, pl. 5.)
 6825 Ivory tablet,¶ hero between two monsters. (B.S.A. xii, p. 328.)
 7424 " relief *¶ of a warship. (B.S.A. xiii, pl. 4.)
 7428 " tablet,¶ bier and mourners. (Cf. *Burlington Magazine*, Oct. 1908, p. 68, fig. 8.)
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 2334 " Authentiko monastery, exterior.
 2336 " Evangelistria monastery, exterior.
 2338 " Peribleptos monastery, detail of eikonostasis.
 2340 " view from the Castello southwards over Eurotas valley.
 2341 " bridge over the stream at.
 6239 Modon (Methone), view of the walls on the sea-shore.
 6240 " " " " shewing the standing column.
 6242 Monemvasia, the rock from the sea.
 6241 " the lower town.
 6245 " the town gate.

ITALY.

- 6263 Ancona, the harbour with arch of Hadrian.

SICILY

- 7945 Agrigentum, temple of Juno, distant view.
 7944 " " " " W. end.
 7943 " " " " E. end.
 7946 " temple of Heracles.
 2345 Segesta, the theatre, the auditorium.
 2346 " " the diazoma.
 2348 Selinus, Temple A, capital in centre of ruins.
 2349 " " B, S. W. angle.
 2350 " " C, capital in centre of ruins.
 2351 " " " part of entablature as recomposed on the N. side.
 2352 " " D, capital at N. W. angle.
 2353 " " " drum at E. end, shewing plaster.
 2354 " " E, capital at W. end.
 2355 " " F, capital at W. end.
 2356 " " G, capital at E. end.
 2357 " " " capital in centre of ruins.
 2358 " " " unfluted drums on N. side.

2359	Selinus, Temple G, drums on which the fluting has been begun.
2360	„ „ „ blocks cut away to lighten structure.
2361	„ „ „ arches in trench N. of Acropolis.
1870	Syracuse, quarries or Latomie.
2363	Taormina, theatre, inner and outer diazomata from S.
2364	„ „ outer diazoma cut through, shewing earlier foundations.
2362	„ „ piers of outer wall of outer diazoma.
2365	„ „ inner side of inner diazoma.
2366	„ „ auditorium, rock-cut seats.
2367	„ „ „ lower edge.
2372	„ „ stage-buildings, the various levels from S. W.
2373	„ „ „ N. W. angle on lowest level.
2374	„ „ „ passage at right angles to main axis.
3375	„ „ „ inner and outer scenae.

PREHELLENIC ANTIQUITIES.

7913	Cnossos, Kamaris vases. † (<i>J.H.S.</i> xxiii, pl. 5.)
7305	Palaikastro pottery, a selection from slides 1462-7. (Cf. <i>J.H.S.</i> xxiv, p. civ.)
7290	„ large jar with palmette decorations.*
5685	Camirus statuette.* B.M. (profile view).

SCULPTURE.

* = from original or from photographic reproduction of original.

† = from cast.

‡ = from drawing.

EARLY RELIEFS.

6236	Brusa, relief a charioteer.* (Cf. <i>Arch. Anz.</i> 1905, p. 55.)
6350	Delphi, Cnidian treasury, Kybele slab.* (<i>Delphes</i> , iv, pl. 13, 14.)
6351	„ „ Apollo and Artemis slab.* „
6352	„ „ Hera and Athena slab.* „
6353	„ „ Hephaistos and Ares slab.* „
3790	Rome, Birth of Aphrodite.* Mus. Terme.

6348 Sphinx * dedicated by the Naxians at Delphi. (*Delphes*, iv, pl. 6.)

AEGINETAN SCULPTURES.

6678	The pediments restored. (Furtw. <i>Aegina</i> , pl. 104, 5.)
6664	„ „ from a model taken from below. (<i>id.</i> , pl. 106.)
6662	The W. pediment, the figures <i>seriatim</i> .* (<i>id.</i> , pl. 96.)
6661	The E. pediment, the figures <i>seriatim</i> .* (<i>id.</i> , pl. 95.)
6663	„ three heads, profile and full face.* (<i>id.</i> , pl. 97.)
6665	„ the acroterion restored.* (<i>id.</i> , pl. 107.)

MISCELLANEOUS FIFTH AND FOURTH CENTURY SCULPTURES.

7667	Parthenon, W. pediment. Torso of Athena * with portion of head added.
7668	„ Metope, Centaur and Lapith * † (Mich. iii, 27), with cast of Lapith's head.
3195	Themis' head.* Ath. Nat. Mus. with Berlin replica * for comparison.
7919	Meleager.* The statue in the Medici Villa. (Cf. Trigg. <i>Garden design in Italy</i> , pl. 93.)

- 183 Head of mourning lady * from Tientham. B. M.
 7941 'Matron of Herculaneum.' * Dresden.
 5982 Grave Relief * of Xanthippos. B. M.
 1111 ,, * of Aristomache. Winton Castle. (*J.H.S.* vi pl. B)
 2446 Relief of Zeus and Nike. * Thasos.
 2464 Funerary relief, banquet scene. * Thasos,
 2466 ,, ,, ,, ,, * right hand portion on larger scale.
 2577 ,, ,, ,, ,, detail, seated lady.¹
 2576 Relief of Pan † from shrine of Pan. Thasos.

LATER SCULPTURE

- 7426 Group by Damophon restored.* (*B.S.A.*, xiii, pl. 12.)
 7427 ,, ,, existing fragments as restored.* (*B.S.A.*, xiii, pl. 13.)
 7428 ,, ,, drawing of the drapery, expanded.* (*B.S.A.*, xiii, pl. 14.)
 3791 Apollo.* Rome. Mus. Terme.
 3793 Ceres.* Rome. Mus. Vat.
 6675 Amucreon.* Copenhagen. Formerly in Borghese collection.

BYZANTINE SARCOPHAGI

(with analogous works.)

- 7928 Berlin fragment. Christ and saints.* (*Strzygowski, Orient oder Rom.*, pl. 2.)
 7929 British Museum fragment. Seated poet and muse.* (*J.H.S.*, xxvii, p. 110, fig. 8.)
 7926 Brussa sarcophagus. Female figure. (*Nuovo Bull. de Arch. Crist.*, 1905, p. 76.)
 7921 Cook sarcophagus. Fragment A.* (*J.H.S.*, xxvii, p. 100, fig.
 7936 ,, Figure B.* (*id.*, pl. 5.)
 7937 ,, Figures C, D.* (*id.*, pl. 6, 7.)
 7939 ,, Figures E, F.* (*id.*, pl. 8, 9.)
 7938 ,, Figure G.* (*id.*, pl. 10.)
 7940 ,, Figures H, J.* (*id.*, pl. 11, 12.)
 7925 Selekkeh sarcophagus.* Constantinople.
 7922 Sidamara sarcophagus, end view.* (*Mon. et Mem.*, ix, pl. 19.)
 7924 ,, ,, side view.* (*id.*, pl. 17.)
 7923 Smyrna fragment. Torso of a youth.* (*J.H.S.*, xxvii, p. 103, fig. 3.)
 7927 Five capitals from Byzantine sarcophagi illustrating development. (*id.*, p. 108, fig. 6.)
 7930 Niche, of the 'shell-niche' type.* Cairo. (*id.*, p. 114, fig. 11.)
 7931 Ivory throne of Maximian.* Ravenna. (Cf. *id.*, p. 116, fig. 12.)
 7932 ,, diptych, St. Michael.* B. M. (*id.*, p. 117, fig. 13.)
 7933 Pompeian wall painting. Façade with three doors. (Cf. *id.*, p. 119, fig. 14.)
 7934 Reconstruction of Pompeian stage façade. (*id.*, p. 120, fig. 15.)
 7935 Reconstruction of Pompeian wall painting. (*id.*, p. 121, fig. 16.)

BRONZES.

- 97 Mirror handle. Aphrodite.* B. M. (Cf. *B.C.H.*, 1898, pl. 1.)
 6668 Statue of an athlete, * profile view. (Beunborf. *Forschungen in Ephesos*, pl. 7.)
 6669 ,, ,, * back view ,, ,, ,, 8.)
 3279 Dionysus, head of * (= the so-called Plato. Naples Museum.

TERRACOTTAS.

- 6803 Fragment of pithos. Combat scenes in relief. Sparta. (*B.S.A.*, xii, pl. 9.)
 7295 Heroic head, * three-quarter face, from Praesos. (Cf. *B.S.A.*, viii, pl. 13.)
 7273 ,, * back view, from Praesos. ,,
 7204 Head of a lion, * from Praesos. ,,
 5660 Replica of the diadumenos of Polykleitos.* Profile view.

VASES.

* = photograph from original.

‡ = reproduction of the picture subject only from an adequate illustration.

BLACK-FIGURED.

- 4201 Dionysus in ship; scenes of combat.‡ Kylix by Exekias. (Furtwängler und Reichhold, *Griechische Vasen Malerei*, pl. 42.)
 4206 Phineus, Boreads and Harpies.‡ Kylix. Würzburg. (*Furtw. u. Reich.*, pl. 41.)
 354 Maidens at the fountain of Callirrhoe.‡
 6376 Victorious horseman.‡ (Gerh., *A. V.*, iv, 247.)

RED-FIGURED.

- 4217 Contest of Apollo and Heracles; Dionysus and thiasos.‡ Amphora by Phintias. Corneto (*Furtw. u. Reich.*, pl. 91.)
 4207 Bacchic thiasos.‡ Kylix. Munich. (*Furtw. u. Reich.*, pl. 49.)
 4210 Hera; Mission of Triptolemus.‡ Kylix. Munich. (*Furtw. u. Reich.*, pl. 65.)
 6381 Zeus and Hera, nuptials of.‡ (B.M. *Cat. of Vases*, ii, pl. 5.)
 4214 Andromeda.‡ Hydria B.M. (*Furtw. u. Reich.*, pl. 77.)
 4220 Boreas and Oreithya.‡ Amphora. Munich. (*Furtw. u. Reich.*, pl. 94.)
 4221 Cecrops and Erechtheus.‡ Amphora. Munich. Reverse of slide No. 4220. (*Furtw. u. Reich.*, pl. 95.)
 4216 Lapiths and Centaurs.‡ Kylix. Munich. (*Furtw. u. Reich.*, pl. 86.)
 4205 Medea and Talus.‡ Crater. Ruvo. (*Furtw. u. Reich.*, pl. 38, 39.)
 4212 Pelops and Hippodamia.‡ Amphora. Arezzo. (*Furtw. u. Reich.*, pl. 67.)
 6374 Oedipus and Sphinx.‡ Kylix. Mus. Vat. (Rayet and Collignon, fig. 73.)
 4202 Heracles feasting and Athena.‡ Combination of B.-F. and R.-F. panels in the manner of Andocides. (*Furtw. u. Reich.* pl. 4.)
 4204 Heracles and Alcyoneus‡; contest of Apollo and Heracles.‡ Kylix by Phintias. (*Furtw. u. Reich.*, pl. 32.)
 4218 Heracles and Antaeus.‡ Krater by Euphronius. Louvre. (*Furtw. u. Reich.*, pl. 92.)
 4223 „ „ Amazons.‡ Krater. Arezzo. (*Furtw. u. Reich.*, pl. 61.)
 973 „ „ Eurystheus.‡ Kylix by Euphronius. (*Furtw. u. Reich.*, pl. 23.)
 135 „ „ Geryon.‡ By Euphronius. (*Furtw. u. Reich.*, pl. 22.)
 784 Theseus and Amphitrite.‡ Kylix by Euphronius. (*Furtw. u. Reich.*, pl. 5.)
 6036 Theseus, labours of,* Kylix by Douris. B.M. Interior. Theseus and Minotaur.
 6035 „ „ * „ „ Exterior. Crommyon and Sinis.
 6034 „ „ * „ „ „ Skiron and Kerkyon.
 6375 Judgement of Paris.‡ Kylix by Hieron. Berl. Mus. (Rayet and Collignon, fig. 81.)
 4203 Judgement of Paris; Bacchic thiasos.‡ Hydria in style of Meidias. (*Furtw. u. Reich.*, pl. 30.)
 4215 Rape of Helen; Helen regained.‡ Kylix. Hieron and Maeron. Spinelli Coll. (*Furtw. u. Reich.*, pl. 85.)
 4222 Achilles and Penthesilea.‡ Kylix. Munich. (*Furtw. u. Reich.*, pl. 6.)
 36 Redemption of Hector.‡ Cup. Vienna. (*Furtw. u. Reich.*, pl. 84.)
 41 Iliupersis.‡ By Brygos. (*Furtw. u. Reich.*, pl. 25.)
 4209 Odysseus in lower world.‡ Krater. Paris. (*Furtw. u. Reich.*, pl. 60.)
 503 Death of Aigisthos.‡ Certosa.
 4211 Youth arming.‡ Lekythos. Palermo. Polynices and Eriphyle.‡ Pelike. Lecce. (*Furtw. u. Reich.*, pl. 66.)
 4224 Alcaeus and Sappho.‡ Munich. (*Furtw. u. Reich.*, pl. 64.)
 4219 Flute played.‡ Krater. Louvre. Reverse of Slide No. 4218. (*Furtw. u. Reich.*, pl. 93.)
 4213 Toilet scenes.‡ Cup with cover. St. Petersburg. (*Furtw. u. Reich.*, pl. 68.)
 4208 Scenes of women's life.‡ Three pyxides. B.M. Nos. E 773, 772, 774. (*Furtw. u. Reich.*, pl. 57.)
 6379 Girls at play.‡ Aryballos.

MISCELLANEA.

- 7918 The Trojan horse. Gem, from an enlarged drawing. (Winckelmann, *Monumenti*, No. 140.)
 6687 The Raft of Odysseus. Original drawing. (*J.H.S.*, v, p. 212.)

- 6361 Arch of Constantine, reliefs. Aurelius in battle (*id.*, III, pl. xxiii, 1) in triumph (*id.*, III, pl. xxvi, 6) at a sacrifice (*id.*, III, pl. xxvi, 7). (In these three reliefs the head of Aurelius has been preserved.)
 9031 Arch of Constantine, frieze. Constantine besieging Susa (Verona?). (*id.*, IV, pl. xxxv, 2.)
 9032 " " " Constantine victorious at the Pons Milvius. (*id.*, IV, pl. xxxv, 1.)
 9033 " " " Constantine (or Diocletian) distributing Congiarium. (*id.*, IV., pl. xxxvi, 1.)
 9032 (a) " " " Constantine (or Diocletian) on *rostra*. (*id.*, IV., pl. xxxvi, 2.)
 7401 " " " " " " " " " " " "

- 9035 Arch of Dolabella.
 9036 " Drusus.
 9037 " Gallienus.
 9038 " the Argentarii.
 9039 " Septimius Severus, from the forum.
 9040 " " " from the Capitol.
 9041 " Titus, general view shewing candelabra slab.
 6365 " " candelabra slab.
 9042 " " candelabra slab.
 9043 " " biga slab.
 6364 " " biga slab.
 9044 Column of Marcus Aurelius.
 6044 " " "
 9045 " Trajan, general view.
 6042 " " "
 9046 Colosseum seen through arch of Titus.
 9047 " from S. Francesco Romana.

The Palatine.

- 9048 Palatine, house of Domitian.
 9012 " " "
 9049 " " " Basilica.
 9050 " " " smaller hall.
 9051 " " " peristyle.
 9052 " stadium.
 2376 " Paedagogium, stea seen through main gateway.
 2377 " " " view inside.
 2378 " " " architrave of.
 2379 " " " entrance to one of the chambers.
 2380 " " " interior of chamber with names of pupils scrawled on plaster.
 2381 " " " mural decoration of one of the chambers.

The Walls.

- 9053 Wall near Porta San Paolo.
 9054 Porta Maggiore.
 2382 Porta di Ottavia.
 9055 Mausoleum of Augustus exterior.
 9056 Tomb of Cecilia Metella.
 9057 Pyramid of C. Cestius and gate of San Paolo.

Miscellaneous Topographica.

- 9058 Janus Quadrifons.
 9006 Temple of Vesta and Fortuna Virilis.

- 9059 The Pantheon.
 7666 ,, Church of SS. Apostoli, exterior.
 7665 ,, Palazzo Odesealchi, exterior.
 7670 ,, British School Library.
 7672 ,, British School Library.

The Ara Pacis.

- 7345 Ara Pacis, decorative slab. Uffizi. (Petersen, *Ara Pacis*, pl. 1.)
 7338 ,, ,, Inner frieze, wreaths and pilasters. Villa Medici (*id.*, pl. 2.)
 7342 ,, ,, Temple of Mars Ultor. Villa Medici. (*id.*, pl. 3, slab, vii.)
 6263 ,, ,, Tellus slab. Uffizi. (*id.*, pl. 3, xi.)
 7337 ,, ,, Temple of Mater Magna. Villa Medici. (*id.*, pl. 3, xiii.)
 7346 ,, ,, Processional slab. Louvre. (*id.*, pl. 5, vi.)
 6342 ,, ,, ,, ,, Uffizi. (*id.*, pl. 6, xiv.)
 6362 ,, ,, ,, ,, Uffizi. (*id.*, pl. 6, xvi, xv.)
 7339 ,, ,, ,, ,, Villa Medici. (*id.*, pl. 6 [xviii], xvii.)
 7340 ,, ,, Sacrificial scene, Villa Medici. Bonus Eventus heel, Mus. Term. (*id.*, pl. 7, i, ii.)
 7336 ,, ,, Head of Mars. Vienna. Sacrificial scene, Villa Medici. (*id.*, pl. 7, xix.)
 7335 ,, ,, Head of Mars. Vienna. (*id.*, pl. 8, xix.)
 7344 ,, ,, Processional slab* and inferior decoration restored. (*id.*, p. 23, fig. 13.)
 3794 ,, ,, Wreath of fruit and flowers. (cf. *id.*, p. 43, fig. 25.)
 7341 ,, ,, Sacrificial scene. Uffizi. (*Papers of B. S. R.*, iii, p. 241.)

Roman Portraits.

- 7403 Augustus. Detail of statue. Mus. Vat.
 7414 Claudis. Mus. Vat.
 7419 Commodus. Mus. Cap.
 7410 Constantine the Great. Gall. Uffizi.
 7407 Didius Julianus. Gall. Uffizi.
 7408 ,, ,, ,,
 7417 Gallienus. Mus. Term.
 7413 Germanicus. Mus. Prof. Lateran.
 7404 Geta. Mus. Cap.
 7423 Hadrian.
 7412 Julia, daughter of Augustus. Gall. Uffizi.
 7418 Julia Severa. Gall. Uffizi.
 7409 Maximus. Gall. Uffizi.
 7416 M. Brutus. Mus. Cap.
 7415 Nero. Mus. Term.
 7405 Sabina. Gall. Uffizi.
 7406 Scipio. Gall. Uffizi.
 7420 Sulla. Mus. Vat.
 7421 Vespasian. Mus. Term.
 7422 ,, ,, ,,
 7402 Funerary portrait of a lady. Mus. Lat.
 7411 Head of girl from tomb of Sulpicius Platorinus. Mus. Term.

* = from a drawing.

NOTICE TO CONTRIBUTORS.

THE Council of the Hellenic Society having decided that it is desirable for a common system of transliteration of Greek words to be adopted in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, the following scheme has been drawn up by the Acting Editorial Committee in conjunction with the Consultative Editorial Committee, and has received the approval of the Council.

In consideration of the literary traditions of English scholarship, the scheme is of the nature of a compromise, and in most cases considerable latitude of usage is to be allowed.

(1) All Greek proper names should be transliterated into the Latin alphabet according to the practice of educated Romans of the Augustan age. Thus κ should be represented by *c*, the vowels and diphthongs *v*, *ai*, *oi*, *ov* by *y*, *ae*, *oe*, and *u* respectively, final *-os* and *-ov* by *-us* and *-um*, and *-pos* by *-er*.

But in the case of the diphthong *ei*, it is felt that *ei* is more suitable than *e* or *i*, although in names like *Laodicea*, *Alexandria*, where they are consecrated by usage, *e* or *i* should be preserved, also words ending in *-ειον* must be represented by *-eum*.

A certain amount of discretion must be allowed in using the *o* terminations, especially where the Latin usage itself varies or prefers the *o* form, as *Delos*. Similarly Latin usage should be followed as far as possible in *-e* and *-a* terminations, e.g., *Priene*, *Smyrna*. In some of the more obscure names ending in *-pos*, as *Λέαρρος*, *-er* should be avoided, as likely to lead to confusion. The Greek form *-ον* is to be preferred to *-o* for names like *Dion*, *Hieron*, except in a name so common as *Apollo*, where it would be pedantic.

Names which have acquired a definite English form, such as *Corinth*, *Athens*, should of course not be otherwise represented. It is hardly necessary to point out that forms like *Hercules*, *Mercury*, *Minerva*, should not be used for *Heracles*, *Hermes*, and *Athena*.

(2) Although names of the gods should be transliterated in the same way as other proper names, names of personifications and epithets such as *Nike*, *Homonoia*, *Hyakinthios*, should fall under § 4.

(3) In no case should accents, especially the circumflex, be written over vowels to show quantity.

(4) In the case of Greek words other than proper names, used as names of personifications or technical terms, the Greek form should be transliterated letter for letter, *k* being used for *κ*, *ch* for *χ*, but *y* and *u* being substituted for *υ* and *ου*, which are misleading in English, e.g., *Nike*, *aporyomenos*, *diadumenos*, *rhyton*.

This rule should not be rigidly enforced in the case of Greek words in common English use, such as *acgis*, *symposium*. It is also necessary to preserve the use of *ou* for *ου* in a certain number of words in which it has become almost universal, such as *boule*, *grousia*.

(5) The Acting Editorial Committee are authorised to correct all MSS. and proofs in accordance with this scheme, except in the case of a special protest from a contributor. All contributors, therefore, who object on principle to the system approved by the Council, are requested to inform the Editors of the fact when forwarding contributions to the Journal.

In addition to the above system of transliteration, contributors to the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* are requested, so far as possible, to adhere to the following conventions:—

Quotations from Ancient and Modern Authorities.

Names of authors should not be underlined; titles of books, articles, periodicals, or other collective publications should be underlined (for italics). If the title of an article is quoted as well as the publication in which it is contained, the latter should be bracketed. Thus:

Six, *Jahrb.* xviii. 1903, p. 34,

or—

Six, *Protogenes* (*Jahrb.* xviii. 1903), p. 34.

But as a rule the shorter form of citation is to be preferred.

The number of the edition, when necessary, should be indicated by a small figure above the line: e.g. Dittenb. *Syll.*² 123.

Titles of Periodical and Collective Publications.

The following abbreviations are suggested, as already in more or less general use. In other cases, no abbreviation which is not readily identified should be employed.

- A.-E.M.* = Archäologisch-epigraphische Mittheilungen.
Ann. d. I. = Annali dell' Istituto.
Arch. Anz. = Archäologischer Anzeiger (Beiblatt zum Jahrbuch).
Arch. Zeit. = Archäologische Zeitung.
Ath. Mitth. = Mittheilungen des Deutschen Arch. Inst., Athenische Abtheilung.
 Baumeister = Baumeister, Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums.
B.C.H. = Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.
Berl. Vas. = Furtwängler, Beschreibung der Vasensammlung zu Berlin.
B.M. Bronzes = British Museum Catalogue of Bronzes.
B.M.C. = British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins.
B.M. Inscr. = Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum.
B. M. Vases = British Museum Catalogue of Vases, 1893, etc.
B.S.A. = Annual of the British School at Athens.
Bull. d. I. = Bullettino dell' Istituto.
 Busolt = Busolt, Griechische Geschichte.
C.I.G. = Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum.
C.I.L. = Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.
Cl. Rev. = Classical Review.
C.R. Acad. Inscr. = Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions.
 Dar.-Sagl. = Daremberg-Saglio, Dictionnaire des Antiquités.
 Dittenb. *O.G.I.* = Dittenberger, Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae.
 Dittenb. *Syll.* = Dittenberger, Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum.
 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. = 'Εφημερίς 'Αρχαιολογική.
G.D.I. = Collitz, Sammlung der Griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften.
 Gerh. *A.V.* = Gerhard, Anserlesene Vasenbilder.
G.G.A. = Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen.
 Head, *H.N.* = Head, Historia Numorum.
I.G. = Inscriptiones Graecae.¹
I.G.A. = Röhl, Inscriptiones Graecae antiquissimae.
Jahrb. = Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts.
Jahresh. = Jahreshefte des Oesterreichischen Archäologischen Institutes.
J.H.S. = Journal of Hellenic Studies.
 Le Bas-Wadd. = Le Bas-Waddington, Voyage Archéologique.
 Michel = Michel, Recueil d'Inscriptions grecques.
Mon. d. I. = Monumenti dell' Istituto.
 Müller-Wies. = Müller-Wieseler, Denkmäler der alten Kunst.
Mus. Marbles = Collection of Ancient Marbles in the British Museum.
Neue Jahrb. kl. Alt. = Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum.
Neue Jahrb. Phil. = Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie.

¹ The attention of contributors is called to the fact that the titles of the volumes of the second issue of the Corpus of Greek Inscriptions, published by the Prussian Academy, have now been changed, as follows:—

<i>I.G.</i>	I. = Inscr. Atticae anno Euclidis vetustiores.
„	II. = „ „ aetatis quae est inter Eucl. ann. et Augusti tempora.
„	III. = „ „ aetatis Romanae.
„	IV. = „ Argolidis.
„	VII. = „ Megaridis et Boeotiae.
„	IX. = „ Graeciae Septentrionalis.
„	XI. = „ insul. Maris Aegaei praeter Delum.
„	XIV. = „ Italiae et Siciliae.

Niese = Niese, Geschichte der griechischen u. makedonischen Staaten.

Num. Chr. = Numismatic Chronicle.

Num. Zeit. = Numismatische Zeitschrift.

Pauly-Wissowa = Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumwissenschaft.

Philol. = Philologus.

Ramsay, *C. B.* = Ramsay, Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia.

Rev. Arch. = Revue Archéologique.

Rev. Ét. Gr. = Revue des Études Grecques.

Rev. Num. = Revue Numismatique.

Rev. Philol. = Revue de Philologie.

Rh. Mus. = Rheinisches Museum.

Rom. Mitt. = Mittheilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung.

Roscher = Roscher, Lexicon der Mythologie.

T. A. M. = Tituli Asiae Minoris.

Z. f. N. = Zeitschrift für Numismatik.

Transliteration of Inscriptions.

[] Square brackets to indicate additions, *i.e.* a lacuna filled by conjecture.

() Curved brackets to indicate alterations, *i.e.* (1) the resolution of an abbreviation or symbol; (2) letters misrepresented by the engraver; (3) letters wrongly omitted by the engraver; (4) mistakes of the copyist.

< > Angular brackets to indicate omissions, *i.e.* to enclose superfluous letters appearing on the original.

. . . Dots to represent an unfilled lacuna when the exact number of missing letters is known.

- - - Dashes for the same purpose, when the number of missing letters is not known.

Uncertain letters should have dots under them.

Where the original has iota adscript, it should be reproduced in that form, otherwise it should be supplied as subscript.

The aspirate, if it appears in the original, should be represented by a special sign, †.

Quotations from MSS. and Literary Texts.

The same conventions should be employed for this purpose as for inscriptions, with the following *important exceptions*:—

() Curved brackets to indicate only the resolution of an abbreviation or symbol.

[[]] Double square brackets to enclose superfluous letters appearing on the original.

< > Angular brackets to enclose letters supplying an omission in the original.

The Editors desire to impress upon contributors the necessity of clearly and accurately indicating accents and breathings, as the neglect of this precaution adds very considerably to the cost of production of the *Journal*

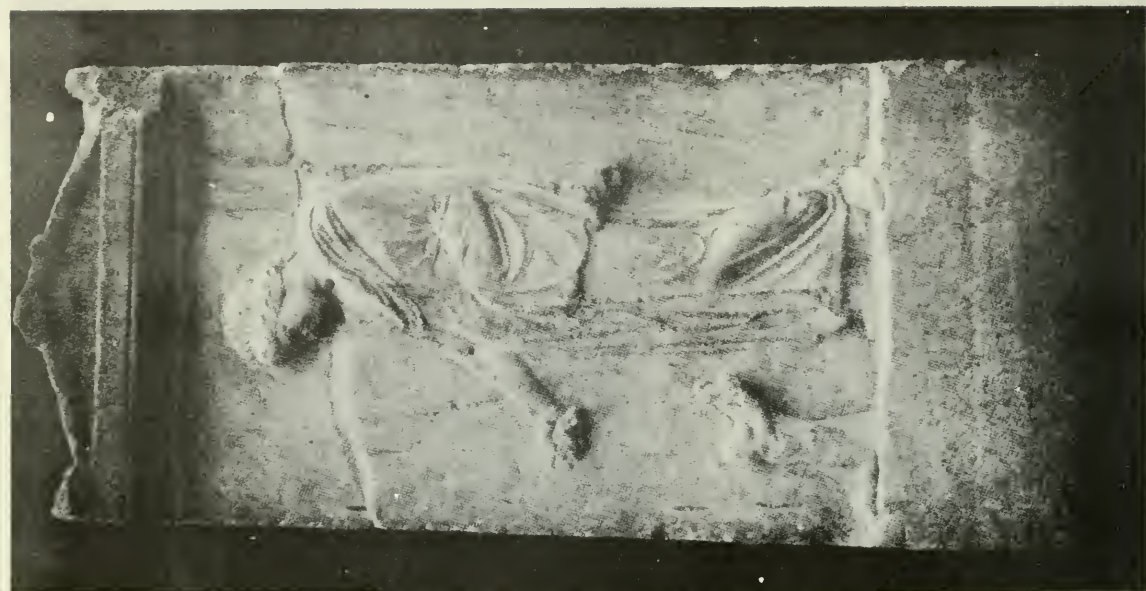


(1) ARCHAIC HEAD (ABOUT 460 B.C.)



(2) PHEIDIAN ATHENA.

COOK COLLECTION, RICHMOND.



(3) Stele of Timarete.

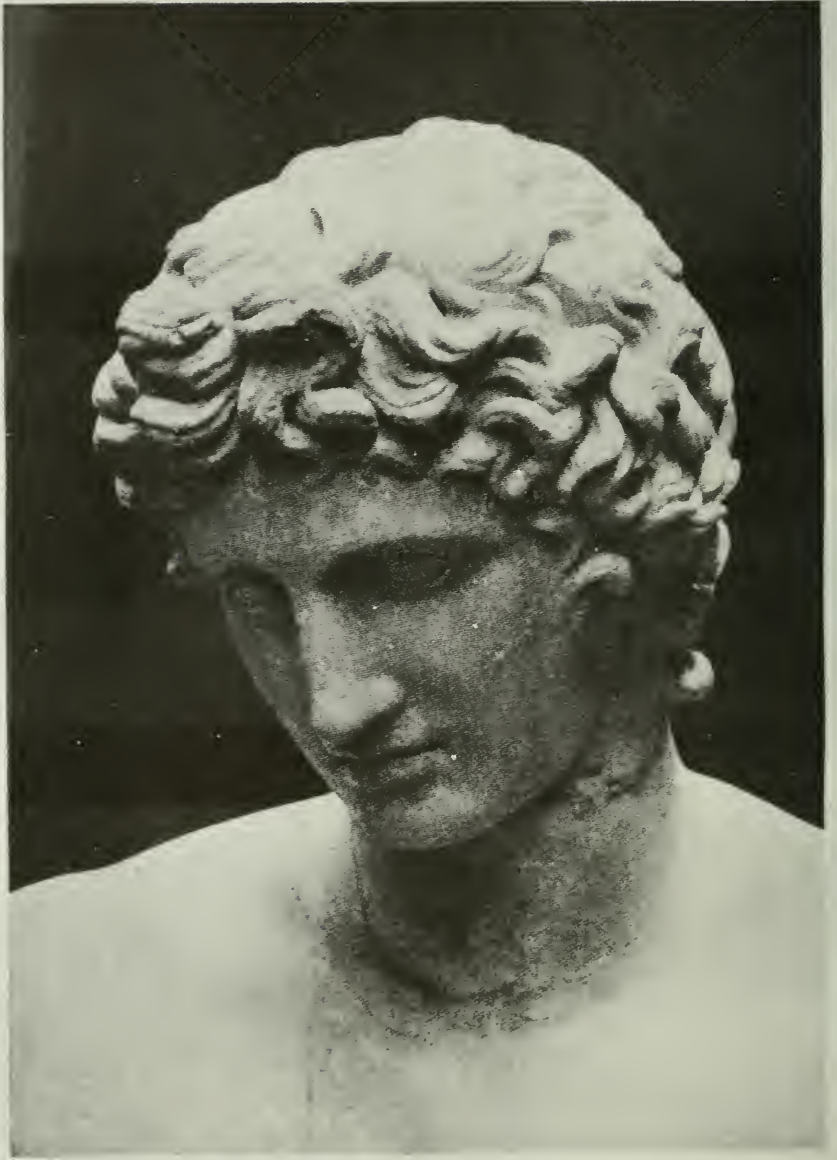


(4) Mainad; Fragment of Relief.

COOK COLLECTION, RICHMOND.



(5) STATUE OF APOLLO
COOK COLLECTION, RICHMOND



(5) STATUE OF APOLLO. DETAIL.



6) STATUE OF HERAKLES.



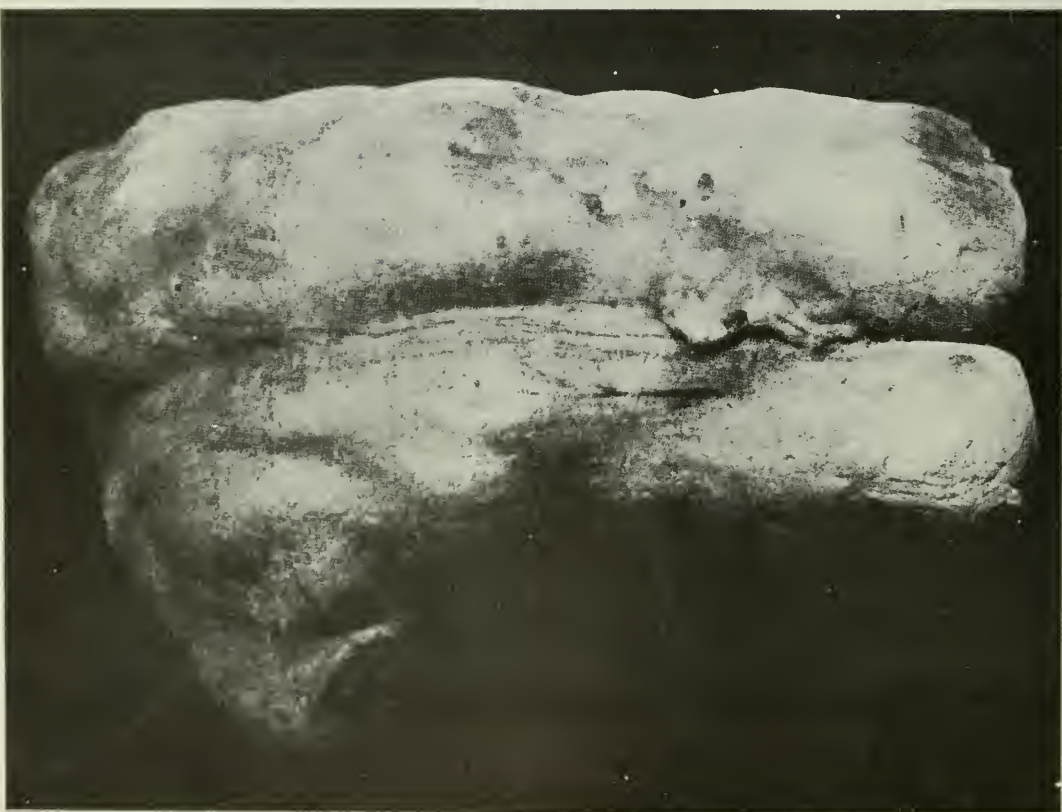
COOK COLLECTION, RICHMOND.



7) STATUETTE OF ZEUS.



(10) Male Torso.



(9) Torso of Satyr.

COOK COLLECTION, RICHMOND.



III) STATUE OF APHRODITE 'VENUS MAZARIN'.

COOK COLLECTION, RICHMOND



(11) STATUE OF APHRODITE ('VENUS MAZARIN').

COOK COLLECTION, RICHMOND



12) Dionysos and Sellenos.



13) Torso of Aphrodite.



14) Aphrodite and Dolphin.

COOK COLLECTION, RICHMOND



(18) Aphrodite Tying her Sandal.



(16) Crouching Aphrodite.



(17) Aphrodite Washing her Foot.



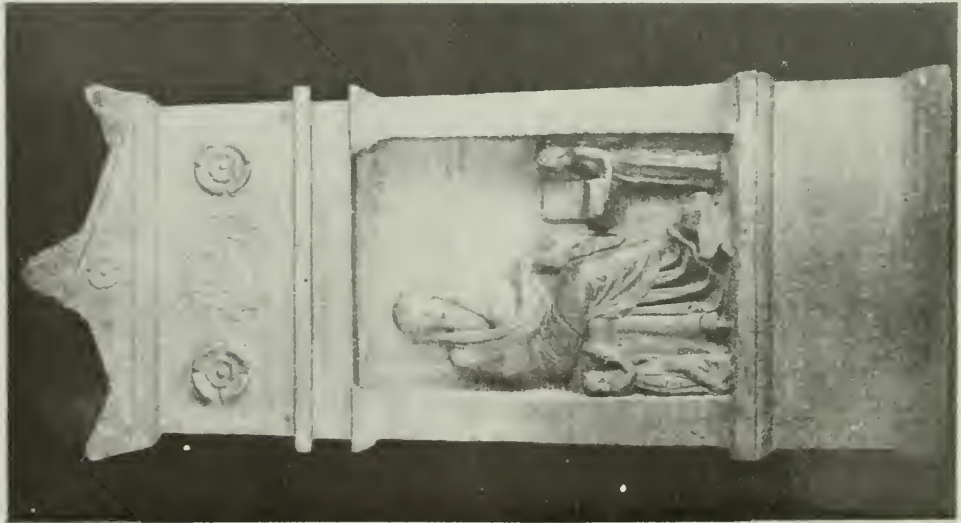
(20) Roman Lady as Hygieia



(18) Draped Female Torso.



(20) Roman Lady as Hygieia



(22)



(23)



(21)

STELAE OF PHILA, OF EPIKESTIS, AND OF ARCHIPPOS.

COOK'S COLLECTION, RICHMOND.

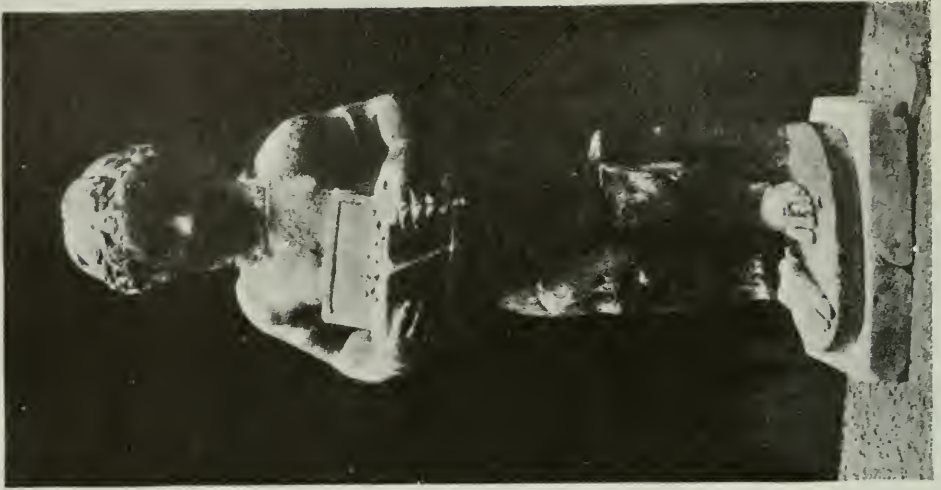


26 | Nymph holding Shell. Fragment

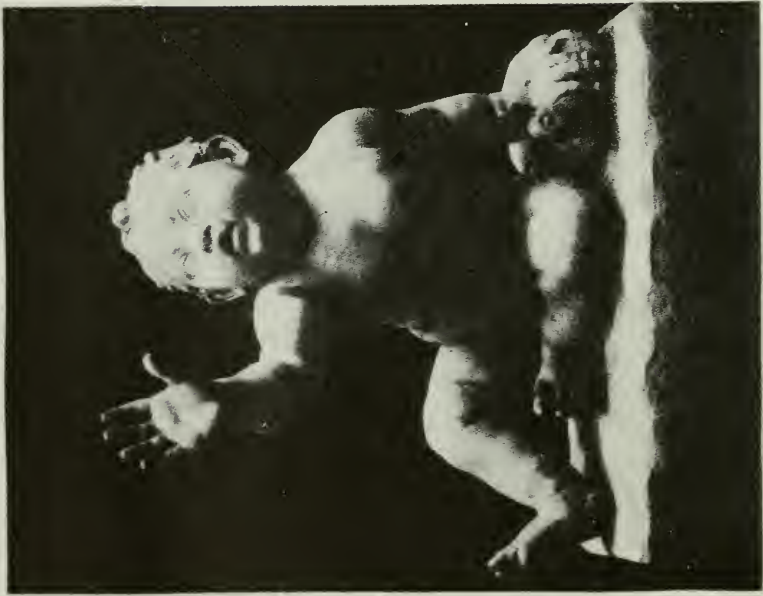


(25) Stele from Sicily. Fragment.

COOK COLLECTION, RICHMOND



(29) Boy with Box.



(27) Boy with Goose.



(28) Statuette of Senecio.



(4) EROTES AT PLAY. FRAGMENT.



(3) SEILENOS SUPPORTED BY A SATYR. FRAGMENT OF HELLENISTIC RELIEF.

COOK COLLECTION, RICHMOND.



(32) DIONYSIAC RELIEF. OBVERSE AND REVERSE.

COOK COLLECTION, RICHMOND.



33 | MARBLE VASE WITH FRIEZE IN THE 'NEW-ATTIC' STYLE

COOK COLLECTION, RICHMOND



(34) Young Augustus.



(35) Lady of the Julio-Claudian House.



(36) Roman Priestess. 2nd Century A.D.



(37) Lucius Verus.



SARCOPHAGUS IN ATHENS (Nat. Mus.)



(40) FRAGMENT OF SARCOPHAGUS.

COOK COLLECTION, RICHMOND.



(43) SARCOPHAGUS WITH HUNT OF CALYDONIAN BOAR. 2nd CENTURY A.D.



(44) SARCOPHAGUS WITH BATTLES OF GREEKS AND AMAZONS. 2nd CENTURY A.D.

COOK COLLECTION, RICHMOND.



(47) DIONYSOS AND MAINADS. FRAGMENT OF LATE (3rd CENTURY) SARCOPHAGUS



(46)



(45)

TWO ROMAN SARCOPHAGI.

COOK COLLECTION, RICHMOND.



(50) 'EROS' AND PAN VINTAGING.



(66, 67) TWO INSCRIBED STELAI.

COOK COLLECTION, RICHMOND.



HEAD OF A GIRL.

COLLECTION OF MR. CHARLES NEWTON-ROBINSON.



RECENT ADDITIONS TO THE PARTHENON SCULPTURES

11

1



COINS OF RHEGIUM AND ZANCLE-MESSANA.



FIGURE OF A MOURNING WOMAN



FIGURE OF A MOURNING WOMAN FROM TRENTHAM.



HEAD OF MOURNING WOMAN FROM TRENTHAM.



A



B

B.-F. PELIKE IN THE ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM.



B



R.-F. KRATER IN THE ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM



A



B



A

R.-F. BELL-KRATER IN THE ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM.



GRAECO-ROMAN LAMP IN THE COLLECTION OF
MR. T. WHITCOMBE GREENE.

