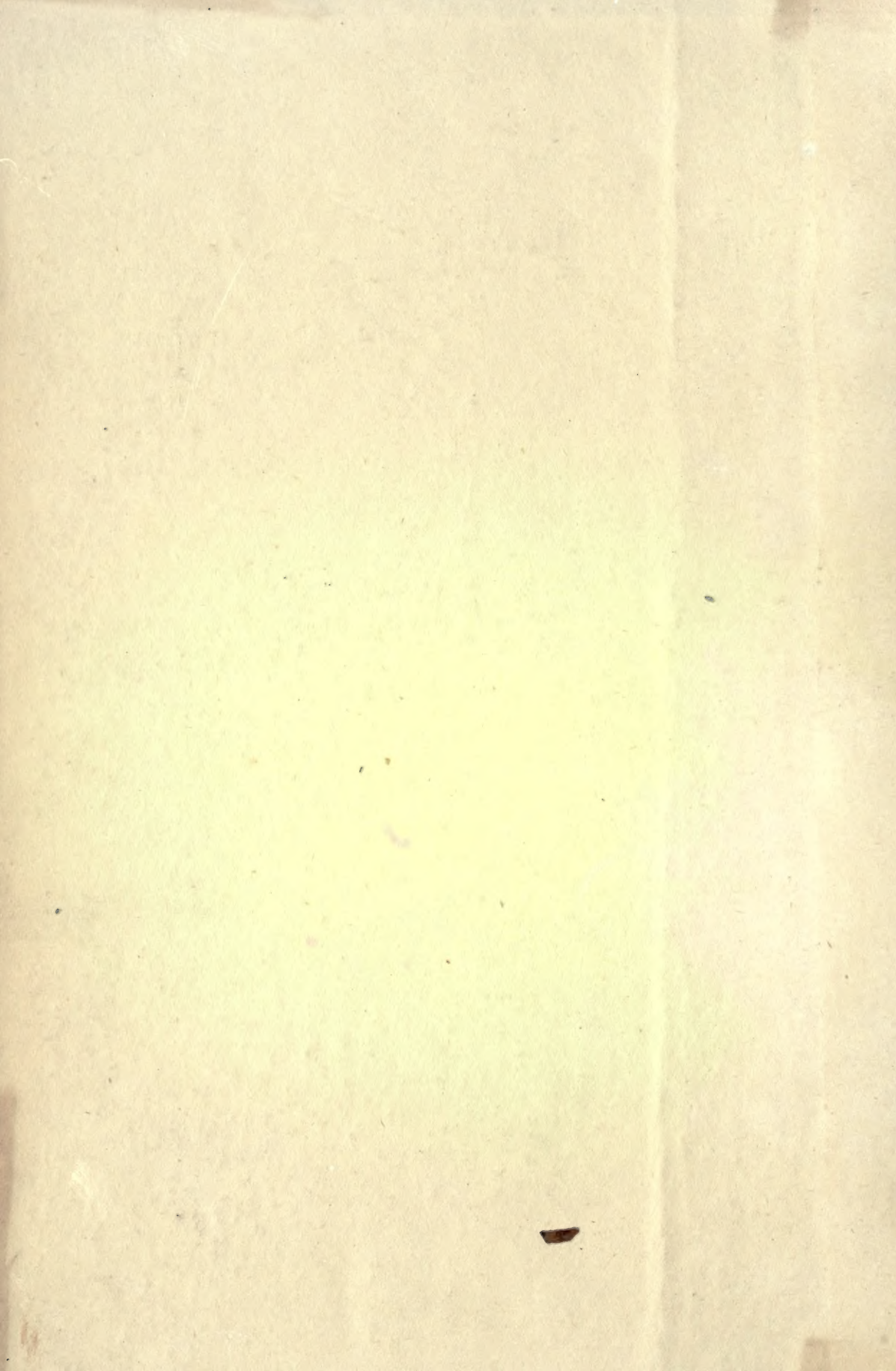


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THE JOURNAL
OF
HELLENIC STUDIES

THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES

51

THE JOURNAL
OF
HELLENIC STUDIES

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RULES

OF THE

Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies.

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

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

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

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

2. The Society shall consist of a President, Vice-Presidents, a Council, a Treasurer, one or more Secretaries, 40 Hon. Members, and Ordinary Members. All officers of the Society shall be chosen from among its Members, and shall be *ex officio* members of the Council.

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

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

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

6. In the absence of the Treasurer the Council may direct that cheques may be signed by two members of Council and countersigned by the Secretary.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

16. The President shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting for a period of five years, and shall not be immediately eligible for re-election.

17. The Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting for a period of one year, after which they shall be eligible for re-election.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

26. The Annual Subscription of Members shall be one guinea, payable and due on the 1st of January each year; this annual subscription may be compounded for by a single payment of £15 15s., entitling compounders to be Members of the Society for life, without further payment. All Members elected on or after January 1, 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 40 British or Foreign Honorary Members. The number of British Honorary Members shall not exceed ten.

32. The Council may, at their discretion, elect for a period not exceeding five years Student-Associates, who shall be admitted to certain privileges of the Society.

33. The names of Candidates wishing to become Student-Associates shall be submitted to the Council in the manner prescribed for the Election of Members. Every Candidate shall also satisfy the Council by means of a certificate from his teacher, who must be a person occupying a recognised position in an educational body and be a Member of the Society, that he is a *bonâ fide* Student in subjects germane to the purposes of the Society.

34. The Annual Subscription of a Student-Associate shall be one guinea, payable and due on the 1st of January in each year. In case of non-payment the procedure prescribed for the case of a defaulting Ordinary Member shall be followed.

35. Student-Associates shall receive the Society's ordinary publications, and shall be entitled to attend the General and Ordinary Meetings, and to read in the Library. They shall not be entitled to borrow books from the Library, or to make use of the Loan Collection of Lantern Slides, or to vote at the Society's Meetings.

36. A Student-Associate may at any time pay the Member's entrance fee of 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.

REGULATIONS FOR THE USE OF THE LIBRARY

AT 19 BLOOMSBURY SQUARE, W.C.

I. THAT the Hellenic 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 10.30 A.M. to 5.30 P.M. (Saturdays, 10 A.M. to 1 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 for August and the first week of September.

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; but Members belonging both to this Society and to the Roman Society may borrow *six* volumes at one time.
- (2) That the time during which such book or books may be kept shall not exceed one month.
- (3) That no books, except under special circumstances, 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. Libraries of Public and Educational Institutions desiring to subscribe to the *Journal* are entitled to receive the *Journal* for an annual subscription of One Guinea, without Entrance Fee, payable in January of each year, provided that official application for the privilege is made by the Librarian to the Secretary of the Society.
- 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.

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Applications for books and letters relating to the Photographic Collections, and Lantern Slides, should be addressed to the Librarian, at 19 Bloomsbury Square, W.C. 1.

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- American Journal of Philology (Library of the Johns Hopkins University, *Baltimore, Maryland, U.S.A.*).
- Analecta Bollandiana, Société des Bollandistes, 22, *Boulevard Saint-Michel, Bruxelles*.
- Annales de la Faculté des Lettres de Bordeaux (Revue des Études Anciennes—Bulletin Hispanique—Bulletin Italien). Rédaction des Annales de la Faculté des Lettres, *L'Université, Bordeaux, France*.
- Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology (The Institute of Archaeology, 40, *Bedford Street, Liverpool*).
- Annual of the British School at *Athens*.
- Annuario della Regia Scuola di Atene, *Athens, Greece*.
- Archaiologike Ephemeris, *Athens*.
- Archaiologikon Deltion, *Athens*.
- Archiv für Religionswissenschaft (B. G. Teubner, *Leipzig*).
- Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift (O. R. Reiland, *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*).
- Bulletin de la Société Archéologique d'Alexandrie, *Alexandria*.
- Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma (Prof. Gatti, Museo Capitolino, *Rome*).
- Byzantinische Zeitschrift.
- Catalogue général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, with the Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, *Cairo*.
- Classical Philology, *University of Chicago, U.S.A.*
- Gazette des Beaux-Arts (The Secretary, 106, *Boulevard St. Germain, Paris, VI^e*).
- Glotta (Prof. Dr. Kretschmer, *Florianigasse, 23, Vienna*).
- Hermes (Herr Professor Friedrich Leo, *Friedlaender Weg, Göttingen, Germany*).
- Jahrbuch des kais. deutsch. archäol. Instituts, *Corneliusstrasse No. 2ⁱⁱ, Berlin*.
- Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes, *Türkenstrasse 4, Vienna*.
- Journal of the Anthropological Institute, and *Man*, 50, *Great Russell Street, W.C. 1*.
- Journal of Egyptian Archaeology (*Hon. Editor*, Dr. A. H. Gardiner, 9, *Lansdowne Road, Holland Park, W. 11*).
- 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. E. Kornemann, *Neckarhalde 55, Tübingen*).
- Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale d'Université S. Joseph, *Beyrouth, Syria*.
- Mélanges d'Histoire et d'Archéologie, *École française, Palazzo Farnese, Rome*.
- Mennon (Prof. Dr. R. Freiherr von Lichtenberg, *Lindenstrasse 5, Berlin Südende, Germany*).
- Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome (The Librarian, *American Academy, Porta San Pancrazio, Rome*).
- Memorie dell' Instituto di Bologna, Sezione di Scienze Storico-Filologiche (*R. Accademia di Bologna, Italy*).
- Mitteilungen des kais. deutsch. Archäol. Instituts, *Athens*.
- Mitteilungen des kais. deutsch. Archäol. Instituts, *Rome*.

- Mnemosyne (c/o Mr. E. J. Brill), *Leiden, Holland*.
- Neapolis, Signor Prof. V. Macchioro, *Via Civile 8, Naples*.
- Neue Jahrbücher, Herr Dr. Rektor Ilberg, Kgl. Gymnasium, *Wurzen, Saxony*.
- 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 Sylogos, *Constantinople*.
- Publications of the Imperial Archaeological Commission, *St. Petersburg*.
- Revue Archéologique, c/o M. E. Leroux (Editeur), 28, *Rue Bonaparte, Paris*.
- Revue des Études Grecques, 44, *Rue de Lille, Paris*.
- Revue Épigraphique.
- Rheinisches Museum für Philologie (Prof. Dr. A. Brinkmann, *Schumannstrasse 58,
Bonn-am-Rhein, Germany*).
- Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums (Prof. Dr. E. Drerup, *Kaiser-Strasse
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- University of California Publications in Classical Philology and in American
Archaeology (Exchange Department, *University of California; Berkeley, Ca., U.S.A.*).
- Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie, *Berlin*.

PROCEEDINGS

SESSION 1916-17

During the past Session the following Papers were read at General Meetings of the Society:—

November 14th, 1916. Discussion on *The Future of Hellenic Studies* (see *J.H.S.* xxxvi. pp. lviii *sqq.*).

February 13th, 1917. Mr. A. B. Cook: *The Eastern Pediment of the Parthenon, its restoration and significance* (see below, pp. xlv. *sqq.*).

May 8th, 1917. Mr. Arthur H. Smith: *A Graeco-Roman bronze statuette* (*J.H.S.* xxxvii. pp. 135 *sqq.*).

Professor W. R. Lethaby: *Greek Art and Modern Art* (see below, pp. xlvii. *sqq.*).

June 26th, 1917. Dr. Walter Leaf: *From Troas to Assos with St. Paul.*

THE ANNUAL MEETING was held at Burlington House on June 26th, 1917. Dr. Walter Leaf, President of the Society, in the Chair.

Mr. George A. Macmillan, Hon. Secretary, presented the following Annual Report of the Council:—

The Council beg leave to submit the following Report for the Session 1916-1917.

The war has now lasted nearly three years and the end is not yet in sight. All the younger generation of scholars, both men and women, are either fighting for their country or serving it in capacities which take them away from their usual pursuits. The older generation, too, are many of them occupied with work arising directly or indirectly out of the changed conditions produced by the war, and it is of paramount importance that nothing should be done to waste energy which might be used in national service. The Council, therefore, have felt it their duty not to initiate any fresh development of the Society's work during the past twelve months, but merely to keep its machinery in good working order so that when the proper moment comes, no time may be lost in making a fresh start. Three General Meetings have been held, the *Journal* has been

published and the Library has been open daily for the use of members, who have enjoyed the usual facilities for borrowing books and slides.

During the absence, on active service, of Captain E. J. Forsdyke, Mr. G. F. Hill has kindly resumed the task of editing the *Journal*. The volume issued during the past year contains Mr. A. H. Smith's important history of the Elgin Collection, commemorating the centenary of the purchase of the Elgin marbles.

It will be remembered that more than two years ago the Council agreed to place the services of the Society's Secretary, Mr. John Penoyre, at the disposal of the National Service League, to act as Manager of Lord Roberts' Field-glass Fund. At that time it was not anticipated that there could be any very substantial addition to the number of instruments contributed by the public for the use of the Army during Lord Roberts' lifetime, but the Council were recently informed by the President of the League, Lord Milner, that owing to Mr. Penoyre's energy and resource a further 12,000 field-glasses had been collected. For a long period Mr. Penoyre had the co-operation of another member of the Council, Mr. J. P. Droop, now working at the Admiralty. The national and military importance of this organisation devised by Lord Roberts cannot be overestimated and the Council feel sure that the members of the Society will share their satisfaction that their Secretary's power of organisation is being used to such national advantage. They are aware also that in consequence of the dispensation given him, Mr. Penoyre has been able to pursue other activities for the benefit of H.M. forces in the field.

The Council have once more and, if possible, in fuller measure to record the Society's gratitude to Miss C. A. Hutton, a member of their body, who has voluntarily undertaken the management of the Library and the Secretarial work of the Society during Mr. Penoyre's absence. They feel that without this help the Library must have been closed and are of opinion that since the beginning of the war no more signal service has been rendered to the Society than Miss Hutton's skilled and self-denying work. The fact that the Assistant Librarian, Mr. F. Wise, enlisted early in the war has greatly added to the detailed work Miss Hutton has coped with so successfully. Members who were in the habit of borrowing books and slides will be interested to learn that Gunner Wise is serving with his Battery in the R.G.A. on the Italian Front.

Changes on the Council, etc.—The Council regret to record the deaths during the past year of two distinguished members of the Society, who, though not original members, were elected during the first year of its existence, *viz.*, Sir E. B. Tylor, D.C.L., F.R.S., and the Rev. Prebendary Moss, sometime Head master of Shrewsbury School. Sir E. B. Tylor served on the Council from 1882 to 1888. Another early member of the Society, the Rev. Professor Robertson McEwen, elected in 1885, passed away in 1916, and among other members whom the Society has

lost by death, are the Rev. Professor J. B. Mayor, who served on the Council from 1895 to 1898, Sir Edwin Egerton, G.C.B., and the Earl of Cromer. During the years following his retirement from the Diplomatic Service, Lord Cromer was a constant attendant at the Meetings of the Society; he was keenly interested in the literary side of Hellenic Studies and, realising their educational value, was anxious that Greek should not be driven out of the curriculum of Secondary Schools. With the view of encouraging and maintaining the study of Greek, particularly among the young, in the national interest, he founded last year an Annual Prize, to be administered by the British Academy, for the best Essay on any subject connected with the language, history, art, literature or philosophy of Ancient Greece, preference being given to those subjects which deal with aspects of the Greek genius and civilisation of a large and permanent significance.

The Society has lost another old member by the death of Mr. R. Phené Spiers, the distinguished architect, draughtsman and critic. To the end of his long life Mr. Spiers retained his enthusiasm for the beauty and interest of ancient life. In recent years he was a frequent reader in the Society's Library.

In Professor Levi H. Elwell, of Amherst College, Mass., the Society has lost an American sympathiser of thirty years' standing.

The war continues to take its toll of the younger members, seven more of whom have fallen this year in the service of their country: Raymond Asquith, Leonard Butler, Guy Dickins, C. D. Fisher, Roger M. Heath, John B. Partington, and T. I. W. Wilson. The death of Guy Dickins, who had been a member of the Council since 1911, is felt as a personal loss by his colleagues, and the loss to archaeological study is exceptionally great. He had made a special study of Greek, and in particular, of Hellenistic, sculpture, and it was to him that archaeologists looked for that scientific treatise on Hellenistic Art, which is so much needed and has yet to be written. He was not a prolific writer; besides the brilliant series of articles on Damophon of Messene, in the *Annual* of the School at Athens, his published work consists of Vol. I. of the *Catalogue* of the Acropolis Museum and of articles in the *Journal* and other archaeological periodicals, but he had completed his allotted share of the publication recording the excavations at Sparta and has left the completed MS. of a *Short History of Greek Sculpture*, which will be published later.

The Council have pleasure in announcing that Viscount Bryce has accepted nomination as a Vice-President. The death of Captain Dickins left a vacancy on the Council which was not filled up during the year. Professor W. R. Lethaby is nominated to fill it. The following members retire by rotation, and, being eligible, are nominated for re-election: Professor W. C. F. Anderson, Mr. H. I. Bell, Lady Evans, Miss C. A. Hutton, Mr. H. E. Minns, Mr. Ernest Myers, Mr. A. J. B. Wace, Mr. H. B. Walters, and Mr. A. E. Zimmern.

The Future of Hellenic Studies.—Following on the discussion on this subject held on November 14th, 1916, at the First General Meeting of the Session (*see below*, and *J.H.S.* Vol. XXXVI., p. lviii) the Council were invited to send a representative to a conference between the representatives and delegates of societies interested in 'Humanistic' and 'Scientific' studies. In the unavoidable absence of the President, Dr. Leaf, the Honorary Secretary, Mr. George Macmillan attended. The proceedings were adjourned after a long discussion, and the President has undertaken, whenever possible, to attend any future meetings as the Society's representative. The Council feel that, though the matters before the Conference were primarily questions of school curricula, which hardly come within the Society's province, it is desirable to keep in direct touch with the movement, and, wherever possible, to emphasise the importance of giving the opportunity of learning 'Greek, while young, to every one who wishes to do so. In this connexion the Council decided to reprint last year, in *J.H.S.* XXXVI. 2, their original 'Memorandum on the Place of Greek in Education' issued in January, 1912.

General Meetings.—As stated above, the First General Meeting on Nov. 14th, 1916, was devoted to a discussion on 'the Future of Hellenic Studies.' As the matter was, at that time, attracting a great deal of attention, it seemed better to publish the speeches in *J.H.S.* XXXVI. 2, instead of including them, as customary, in the Annual Report for 1916-1917. They will be found on pages lviii. *sqq.*

At the Second Meeting on Feb. 13th, 1917, Mr. A. B. Cook read a paper, illustrated by lantern slides, on 'The Eastern Pediment of the Parthenon, its restoration and significance.' Printed copies of the restoration advocated were distributed at the Meeting. An illustration on a larger scale has been prepared and will be issued as one of the Plates in *Zeus*, Volume II., together with a detailed discussion of the views here summarised. Mr. Cook said:—

Vases representing the birth of Athena fall into five groups, according as they depicted: (1) Zeus in labour helped by the Eileithyiai; (2) Athena emerging from the head of Zeus, which had been cleft by Hephaistos; (3) Zeus attended both by the Eileithyiai and by Hephaistos; (4) Athena, armed but not yet fully grown, standing on the knees of Zeus; (5) Athena, armed and fully grown, standing before Zeus. It seemed probable that type (1) presupposed the cult of the Eileithyiai at Megara (so S. Reinach) and type (2) the cult of Zeus *Polieüs* at Athens. Type (3) was a fusion of types (1) and (2), due to Megarian potters resident in Athens. Types (4) and (5) were developments of the theme by Athenian potters. Pheidias' design for the eastern pediment of the Parthenon formed the climax of the pre-existing ceramic types.

Attempts to restore the missing sculptures had been facilitated by two main facts. On the one hand, R. Schneider in 1880 justly emphasised the importance of the Madrid *puteal* and inferred from it that Pheidias'

Zeus was seated in profile to the right with the axe-bearer behind him and Athena before. On the other hand, B. Sauer in 1890-1891 published and discussed the first minutely accurate chart of the traces left on the gable-floor. His investigation corrected Schneider's idea that Zeus occupied the middle of the pediment by showing that the central marks required two large-sized figures of about equal weight. This discovery, however, was by no means fatal to the relevancy of the Madrid *puteal* (cp. K. Schwerzek's reconstruction in 1904). Indeed, it enabled A. Prandtl in 1908 to produce the first really satisfactory filling of the central space. Prandtl, taking his figures wholly from the *puteal*, plotted in Zeus enthroned facing right, Athena moving away from him but facing left, Nike hovering between them wreath in hand, and the axe-bearing god behind the throne of Zeus. Further, following Sauer, he put in next to Athena the extant torso (H) of a god starting back in surprise or alarm. Approaching the matter by a different route Sir Cecil Smith had in 1907 arrived at substantially similar results, so far as the three central figures were concerned. He cited the fine *kratér* of the Villa Papa Giulio as evidence that Pheidias filled the central space by Zeus seated towards the right, Athena standing before him, and Nike with a wreath hovering between them in the apex.

Before trying to extend the middle group to right and left, we must rectify one or two details. Another *puteal* (*Mon. ed Ann. d. Inst.*, 1856, pl. 5) shows an eagle beneath the throne of Zeus. Copper coins of Athena (Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner, *Num. Comm. Paus.*, pl. Z, 8-10) represented an Athena identical with the goddess of the Madrid *puteal*: she carried her shield and commonly her spear too, in the left hand.

Torso H on the right, balancing Hephaistos on the left, was correctly identified by A. Furtwängler in 1896 with Poseidon. He should be restored in an attitude somewhat resembling that of Myron's Marsyas—witness the Finlay relief, which combined a similar Athena with Marsyas himself; the western pediment, which also places a Marsyas-like Poseidon next to an impetuously moving Athena; and two extant fragments referable to the Poseidon, *viz.*, part of a colossal right hand, held up, thrown back, and spread open, and part of a colossal right foot, the heel raised from the ground. A. H. Smith's view that the torso was that of Hephaistos holding an axe above his head would hardly do; for not one of our vase-types showed Hephaistos in act to strike.

Beyond Hephaistos on the left and Poseidon on the right, broad iron bars, set askew in the floor, supported two heavy seated figures facing towards the centre in three-quarter position. These figures probably sat on rocks, not thrones. In 1901 Sir Charles Waldstein acutely recognised a marble statuette in the Dresden Albertinum as being a reduced copy of a half-draped Aphrodite from the eastern pediment of the Parthenon. She should be restored, with an Eros standing at her knee, on the block adjacent to Poseidon. And the counterpoise to her was probably a Hera seated on a rock to the left of Hephaistos. It might fairly be surmised that this figure was copied for the Hera of the

'Theseion' frieze (B. Sauer, *Das sogenannte Theseion*, pl. 3, 7). The remaining gap on the south required two standing persons, and might be filled by Hebe and Herakles, as depicted on the *kratér* of the Villa Papa Giulio. We should thus obtain a Pheidias prototype of the Lansdowne Herakles, which appeared to be a fourth-century modification (with reversed sides) of an original to be sought among the missing figures of the eastern pediment. As to the gap on the north, floor-marks showed that the two blocks behind Aphrodite were occupied by one figure standing and another advancing from right to left. The remaining block was covered by a rock supporting a third figure, which probably faced right. Since the vases regularly represented two witnesses of the birth for whom room had not so far been found, *viz.*, Hermes, with his *caduceus* and Apollon playing his *kithára*, we might legitimately instal the Hermes of the Villa Papa Giulio vase next to the extant figures on the north (cp. position assigned to Hermes by A. Furtwängler, E. A. Gardner, K. Schwerzek, J. N. Svoronos). If so, the device of giving wings to Hermes' head must be ascribed to Pheidias; we should further conclude that Pheidias used the *motif* of the supported leg, not only for relief-work, but also for sculpture in the round. Between Aphrodite and Hermes stood Apollon and one other, presumably Artemis (cp. restoration by K. Schwerzek). The type of the former was preserved with slight modifications by the Munich statue of Apollon *Kitharoidós*, that of the latter by the Artemis Colonna at Berlin (cp. the British Museum *pelike*, E 410).

The extant marbles must be named in accordance with the ceramic evidence. 'Iris,' as G. Loeschke pointed out in 1876, was Eileithyia (see A. S. Murray, J. Overbeck, W. R. Lethaby), for vase-paintings of the birth show two, and only two, persons flying from the scene, *viz.*, Hephaistos and Eileithyia. The seated goddesses beyond her were Deméter on the left and Persephone on the right; thanks to G. Dickins' brilliant restoration of Damophon's group at Lykosoura this was practically certain. Deméter was not grasping a torch, but perhaps holding a bunch of corn-ears and poppies; Persephone would have corn-ears and a sceptre. 'Theseus' was in all probability Dionysos (F. G. Welcker, A. Michaelis, E. Petersen, A. H. Smith), whom the vase-painters relegated towards the extreme left. He held a *thyrsos* in his right hand, nothing in his left. In the opposite wing of the gable Pheidias, again taking a hint from ceramic tradition, placed three goddesses in a row to the extreme right. The Madrid *puteal* and the Tegel *replica* went far towards proving that they were the Moirai. Klotho held distaff and spindle, drawing back her right leg to let the spindle twirl. Lachesis was seated with the lots in her hand. Atropos, lying on the knees of Lachesis, was reading the lot that she had just drawn. The whole scene was flanked by Helios and Selene. It should be noted that the rising Sun thus synchronised with the setting Moon and fixed the time as that of a full moon (the *Diipolieia*?). Pheidias had indicated this by making Selene look round towards the new-born goddess and so reveal the full beauty of her face.

The rocky summit was the Akropolis itself: Athena must needs be born in Athens. The local setting was further shown by the *personnel* of the assembled gods. Every figure in the eastern pediment corresponded with an actual cult either on the eastward half of the citadel or at least in some easterly suburb of Athens. Thus the central group recalled Zeus *Polieús* and Athena *Poliás* with her associates in the Erechtheion, *viz.*, Poseidon and Hephaistos. On the south Dionysos sat at ease on his rocky seat, a spectator in his own theatre hollowed out of the hillside below him. On the north the Moirai were seated on rocks fashioned like steps; and rock-cut steps actually led down from the north side of the Akropolis towards the Gardens, where the Moirai were worshipped. Hermes at the head of the steps suggested the oldest Hermes cult of Athens, that of the Erechtheion. Nor would it be difficult to find a similar justification for the remaining figures of the gable. The gods of the town had assembled, as it were, on their local Olympos to witness with joy and wonder the epiphany of the all-conquering goddess.

A discussion followed, in which Sir Charles Waldstein, Mr. G. F. Hill, and Professor W. R. Lethaby took part.

At the Third General Meeting, held on May 8th, 1917, Mr. Arthur H. Smith discussed a Graeco-Roman bronze statuette of new type, in private possession. By the courtesy of the owner, Mr. Smith was able to exhibit the statuette. His paper will be published in Part 2 of Vol. XXXVII. of the *Journal*. At the same meeting Professor W. R. Lethaby read a paper, illustrated by lantern slides, on 'Greek Art and Modern Art,' in which the question was discussed, 'What was Art to the Greek and what is it to us.' The lecturer said that his subject, which was rather vague and general, might at least find its point of departure in a little dry archaeology:—

In the Victoria and Albert Museum there were many drawings of great value as records; among them was a small plan and an elevation of the Temple at Bassae inscribed (in French), 'Plan of the temple of Bassae in Ancient Arcadia, by me discovered in the month of November in the year 1755: J. Bocher.' It was known that the temple had been discovered at this time by Bocher, but here was an original document. Then there were some fine drawings of the temples at Paestum by Reveley, and another set of drawings of the same temples which were remarkably accurate and seemed to have been drawn by an engraver. One of two names, written at the back of one of these drawings, was 'W. Cowen, 1820,' and as Cowen was a painter and etcher who worked much in Italy there was little doubt that these valuable drawings might be attributed to him. The drawings in a fourth set concerned them more: they were ten minutely accurate views of Athens made just a century ago. These drawings had been attributed to Inwood, but there were two better claimants in G. L. Taylor, an architect, and R. Purser, a water-colour painter, who travelled together in Greece in 1818. It happened that in the circulation department of the same

Museum, there were four other views of the Acropolis and the Parthenon which were left to it by Taylor when he died. These bore such a close resemblance to the other set that there could not be a doubt of their connexion, but the general topographical views of the first-mentioned drawings were so accomplished that the lecturer was inclined to think they might be by Purser rather than by Taylor. There was a drawing by Purser in the British Museum, and inspection of this might settle the point. These delicate drawings, showing the Acropolis crisp and clear in full light, were a precious record of Athens before it was touched by innovation, and when, as was said, the ruins were the least ruinous buildings in the decayed little city. The buildings erected by Pheidias to crown the Acropolis, lifted up, and dazzlingly brilliant, must have looked like heaven made visible. The enchanting fairness and gaiety of it all could not be imagined without putting together the hints derived from many sources. It was certain that the pedimental sculptures of the Parthenon were painted; the iris of the eye of Selene's horse could still be traced, and in many parts the draperies of the figures followed the forms so closely that unless they had been coloured it would have been impossible to make out their meaning. This was the case, for instance, with the clinging draperies of the Iris of the west front, the wind-blown vesture of the daughter of Cecrops, and the garment falling from the shoulder of a reclining 'Fate.' Again, many of the pedimental figures had bronze accessories of a kind which must have been gilded. Thus this same reclining 'Fate,' who was, he believed, Aphrodite, had bracelets and a necklace, while Athene of the west gable had earrings, a disc on her aegis and attached curls of hair. Once admitting a brilliant scheme of colouring as proved (and no one now would doubt it) it became probable to the lecturer that the new-born Athene of the eastern front must have resembled the gold and ivory statue of the interior in having gilt helmet, hair and draperies; these would have reflected the first rays of the rising sun and every day Athene must have been the first-born of the dawn. It had been said that the actions of the other figures of this gable showed that they were being wakened from sleep by Athene's cry. The head of the reclining 'Fate,' it might be remarked, was actually resting on the shoulder of the next figure, a point which Mr. Lethaby thought was not brought out in Mr. Cook's admirable restoration. He had himself before ventured to suggest that just as the actions of the figures on the eastern pediment were unified in response to the cry of Athene, so those of the western front showed that a blast of wind rushed through the pediment as Poseidon struck with his trident and produced his token. That this was also at the moment of dawn was shown by the waking action of some of the remoter spectator-figures, *i.e.*, the so-called 'Ilissos' (whom, following Leake, he himself supposed to be one of the Kings of the dynasty of Cecrops and Erechtheus) and the two figures on the right, who, as he had before suggested, were Kephalos and Procris. The lecturer then drew attention

to the high ideals of the Greeks, not only in Architecture and in Sculpture, but in the minor arts, such as their coinage. He pointed out the need for Art in modern cities, not as a luxury, but as an essential mode of civilisation, and a refreshment. Only a national art could be that, and by a national art he meant one based on the national history, inspired by the national ideals, commemorative of national heroes, in fact an art born from the brain and soul of the nation, not made to suit the chance whims and the average opinions of a committee.

Library, Photographic, and Lantern Slide Collections.—The subjoined table shows the number of books added to the Joint Library during the past four years, the number of visitors to it, and of books borrowed; also the number of slides added, of slides borrowed, and of slides and photographs sold each session.

SESSION.	A. LIBRARY.				B. SLIDES AND PHOTOGRAPHS.			
	ACCESSIONS.		Visitors to Library.	Books taken out.	Slides added to Collection.	Slides hired.	Slides Sold to Members	Photos Sold to Members
	Books.	Vols.						
1913-14	442	484	1,072	1,087	Catalogue of 4,509 Slides.	3,746	1,681	439
1914-15	142	174	650	678	473	2,376	2,268	214
1915-16	97	109	960	673	268	1,854	851	327
1916-17	114*	201	908	490	83	1,391	329	6

Members will note that comparatively few books and slides have been added during the past three years. The Council thought it right to suspend the Library grant at the beginning of the war, and most of the additions made since have been gifts, not purchases. The additions do not include the periodicals received in exchange for the *Journal*, which are one of the most important features of the Library. Exchanges have recently been arranged with the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, the *Memoirs of the American Academy of Rome* (a new periodical), and the *Publications in Classical Philology* of the University of California.

* Of these, 10 are the property of the Roman Society.

The Council acknowledge with thanks gifts of books from H.M. Government of India, from the Trustees of the British Museum, from the Egypt Exploration Fund, from the American Society for the Excavation of Sardis, and from the following gentlemen: Monsieur Arbanitopoulos, Mr. C. R. Haines, Mr. G. F. Hill, Mr. A. Kyriakides, Mr. G. H. Milne, Monsieur H. Omont, and Dr. Slater.

In this connexion they also desire to record the special indebtedness of the Library to Mr. W. H. Buckler and Mrs. Guy Dickins. During the past year Mr. Buckler has presented no fewer than 84 volumes, including a collection of Spanish works on archaeology, the published records of the German excavations at Miletus, and the back volumes of the *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* from 1827-1892. Mrs. Dickins has filled some depressing gaps by gifts from her husband's library.

The following publishers have presented copies of recently published works: Messrs. Edward Arnold, Blackwell, Cope and Fenwick, Heine- mann, Longmans, Green & Co., Macmillan & Co., and the University Presses of Oxford and Cambridge, and of California, Columbia, Harvard, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, and Yale.

Less than 100 slides have been added to the collection this year, but every effort has been made to maintain its high standard of quality, and a number of slides which had deteriorated have been replaced. Purchases of slides have been made from America, South Africa, and New Zealand; these are, in all cases, repeat orders and are a satisfactory proof of the quality of the Society's slides.

The Council beg to thank the following donors of slides, negatives, and photographs: The Royal Numismatic Society, the Committee of the British School at Athens, Mrs. Guy Dickins, Mr. C. R. Haines, Mr. G. F. Hill, Miss C. A. Hutton, and Mr. A. H. Smith.

Finance.—Under present conditions it has been a somewhat difficult task to balance income and expenditure, and at the same time to deal worthily with matters falling in the current year's work.

The article on the Elgin Collection added considerably to the cost of the *Journal*, and the promised grant of £25 towards the cost of the Catalogue of Sculptures in the Capitoline Museum fell due and has been paid. With these exceptions expenses have on the whole been kept down, while the annual grant to the British School at Athens has for the period of the war been reduced to £50.

It is to be regretted that in spite of economies our income has been exceeded by about £100. This would have been greater but for a very generous donation of £20 given by Mr. W. H. Buckler to help tide over present difficulties.

There has been a drop in the receipts from subscriptions of about £70, but it is hoped that some part of this amount will still come in.

The Council have to record with gratitude the receipt of a bequest

of £200 under the will of the late Rev. H. F. Tozer. This sum has been placed to the Society's Endowment Fund and invested in Exchequer Bonds. It will be remembered that this Fund was started by Mr. Macmillan some twelve years ago in order to strengthen the Society's reserves and provide a permanent source of income. The total donations to the Fund now amount to £780, and there is no doubt that as time goes on it will prove of valuable assistance to the revenues.

With a number of our members engaged on work of national importance and on active service, with whom it has been impossible to keep in touch, to quote actual figures on the membership roll would be misleading. The losses by death or resignation have been considerable, but it is gratifying to record that a good number of candidates have been elected to membership during the year.

The next year is likely to be even more difficult than the past so far as finances are concerned. The increase in the price of paper and of printing for the *Journal* will be a serious factor, while most probably the receipts from subscriptions will show a further fall. Nevertheless, the experiences of the past have always proved that the active support of members can be relied upon in times of emergency, and the Council feel sure that ways and means will not be wanting for adequately carrying out the objects of the Society, although the work must at present be considerably restricted.

The President announced the re-election of the Officers, retiring Vice-Presidents and Members of Council whose names were enumerated on the printed list previously circulated. He also announced that Viscount Bryce had been elected a Vice-President and Professor W. R. Lethaby a Member of Council.

The President moved the adoption of the Report, which resolution was seconded by Sir Edwin Pears and carried unanimously.

A vote of thanks to the Auditors proposed by Professor W. C. F. Anderson and seconded by Sir Joseph Hutchinson, was carried unanimously.

The President then delivered an address, illustrated by lantern slides, entitled 'From Troas to Assos with St. Paul,' and, after discussion, the proceedings concluded with a vote of thanks moved by Lord Bryce and seconded by Mr. F. W. Percival.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT.

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, 1908.	31 May, 1909.	31 May, 1910.	31 May, 1911.	31 May, 1912.	31 May, 1913.	31 May, 1914.	31 May, 1915.	31 May, 1916.	31 May, 1917.
Subscriptions. Current	£ 759	£ 773	£ 771	£ 766	£ 747	£ 776	£ 765	£ 742	£ 685	£ 636
Arrears	70	82	82	84	78	87	66	61	59	57
Life Compositions	47	15	31	94	15	110	15	26	47	52
Libraries	188	190	197	196	196	201	214	189	192	174
Entrance Fees	78	94	107	65	50	134	54	31	19	21
Dividends	62	62	62	62	62	62	68	68	71	67
Rent: (B.S.A., B.S.R., and Archaeological Institute) ...	10	10	13	22	20	20	20	30	30	30
Endowment Fund	23	2	6	1	1	16	3	1	1	203
Donation .....	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	20
“Excavations at Phylakopi,” sales	18*	12*	7*	10*	4*	4*	5*	4*	1*	3*
“Facsimile Codex Venetus,” sales	3*	...	...	12*	4*	4*	4*	...	...	...
Lantern Slides Account	5*	...	7*	...	12*	3*	...	57*	19*	1*
Emergency Fund (for Library Fittings) .....	...	...	327	67	...	...	...	...	...	...
Rent, Use of Library, &c. (Roman Society)	...	...	...	38	66	55	65	80	80	80
	1,263	1,240	1,610	1,417	1,255	1,472	1,279	1,289	1,204	1,344

* Receipts less expenses.

ANALYSIS OF EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEARS ENDING :—

	31 May, 1908.	31 May, 1909.	31 May, 1910.	31 May, 1911.	31 May, 1912.	31 May, 1913.	31 May, 1914.	31 May, 1915.	31 May, 1916.	31 May, 1917.
Rent	£ 100	£ 100	£ 109	£ 188	£ 205	£ 205	£ 205	£ 205	£ 205	£ 205
Insurance	15	15	13	14	13	10	9	10	10	10
Salaries	178	204	241	271	263	267	279	287	280	244
Library: Purchases & Binding	85	85	58	73	103	86	90	31	12	12
Heating, Lighting, Cleaning, &c. ....	...	...	...	36	51	36	40	40	41	30
Sundry Printing, Postage, Stationery, etc. ....	...	140	126	151	176	193	161	124	81	99
Lantern Slides Account .....	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Photographs Account .....	...	17*	...	16*	...	...	130*	...	...	...
Cost of Journal (less sales)	406	362	532	385	362	403	507	415	315	546
Grants	340	185	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	125
Roman Society, Expenses of formation .....	...	...	51	5	...	...	...	...	...	...
Library Fittings .....	...	...	408	18	...	...	...	...	...	...
Depreciation of Stocks of Publications and Reserved	6	53	52	3	4	2	2	2	101	1
	1,249	1,161	1,740	1,310	1,327	1,352	1,573	1,264	1,195	1,272

* Expenses less sales.

DR. 'JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES' ACCOUNT. FROM JUNE 1, 1916, TO MAY 31, 1917. CR.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Printing and Paper, Vol. XXXVI, Part II., and XXXVII, Part I.....	425	0	0			
Plates	17	0	0			
Drawing and Engraving	45	14	8	50	0	0
Editing and Reviews	64	7	6	3	13	6
Packing, Addressing, and Carriage to Members.....	64	2	8			
				53	13	6
By Sales, including back Vols., from June 1, 1916, to May 31, 1917.....						
Per Macmillan & Co., Ltd.....						
" Hellenic Society						
" Contributed towards cost by Mr. H. G. Evelyn White.....						1 18 9
" Receipts for Advertisements						14 0 0
" Balance to Income and Expenditure Account						546 12 7
	£616	4	10			

NOTE.—Owing to Vol. XXXVII, Part I, not being issued till after the close of the financial year, and actual figures being impossible, approximate figures of the cost, and an estimated amount for the sales of this part have been included above.

LANTERN SLIDES AND PHOTOGRAPHS ACCOUNT. FROM JUNE 1, 1916, TO MAY 31, 1917.

To Slides and Photographs for Sale.....	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Slides for Hire	6	9	1½	7	3	2
Photographs for Reference Collection	2	0	6			
Balance to Income and Expenditure Account	2	17	10	5	8	11
	1	10	10½			
	£12	18	4			
By Receipts from Sales						
" Hire						
" Sale of Catalogues						
				£12	18	4

LIBRARY ACCOUNT. FROM JUNE 1, 1916, TO MAY 31, 1917.

To Purchases	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Binding	9	5	4	1	2	3
	3	15	6			
	£13	0	10			
By Received for Sales of Catalogues, Duplicates, &c.						
" Balance to Income and Expenditure Account						
				£13	0	10

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT. From JUNE 1, 1916, to MAY 31, 1917.

<i>Expenditure.</i>		<i>Income.</i>	
	£	s.	d.
To Rent		205	5 0
Salaries—			
Librarian and Secretary	140	0	0
Assistant Treasurer	25	0	0
Librarian	78	17	6
Typist, &c.	243	17	6
Insurance	9	13	9
Miscellaneous Expenses	25	4	8
Stationery	14	14	3
Postage	34	9	5½
Sundry Printing, Rules, List of Members, Notices, &c.	24	4	6
Heating, Lighting, and Cleaning Library Premises	29	15	7
Grants—			
British School at Athens.....	50	0	0
" " Rome	50	0	0
Toward cost of Capitoline Catalogue	25	0	0
Aristophanes Facsimile. Binding	125	0	0
Balance from Library Account	6	8	0
Balance from 'Journal of Hellenic Studies' Account	11	18	7
Depreciation of Stocks of publications	546	12	7
	18	0	0
	1046	6	10
	353	13	5
	692	13	5
	21	0	0
	96	15	6
	14	14	0
	150	3	0
	261	12	6
	87	11	9
	174	0	9
	52	10	0
	20	0	0
	67	6	0
	20	0	0
	10	0	0
	30	0	0
	50	0	0
	80	0	0
	3	0	0
	18	14	0
	1	10	10½
	117	6	10

£1278 1 10½

£1278 1 10½

BALANCE SHEET. MAY 31, 1917.

<i>Liabilities.</i>		<i>Assets.</i>	
£	s. d.	£	s. d.
To Debts Payable	329	19	4
„ Subscriptions carried forward	441	5	2
„ Suspense Account	1	1	0
„ Endowment Fund	780	4	0
(includes legacy of £200 from the late Canon Adam Farrar and £200 from the late Rev. F. H. Tozer)			
„ Emergency Fund (Library Fittings and Furniture)			
Total Received	394	18	6
„ Life Compositions and Donations—			
Total at June 1, 1916	1909	19	0
Received during year	25	15	0
	1935	14	0
<i>Less</i> carried to Income and Expenditure Account—Members deceased	52	10	0
	1883	4	0
	<hr/>		
	£3830	12	0
	<hr/>		
By Cash in Hand—Bank	251	1	8
Assistant Treasurer	53	18	0½
Petty Cash	36	18	8
	<hr/>	341	18 4½
„ Debts Receivable		143	4 1
„ Investments. (Life Compositions)	1384	3	11
„ „ (Endowment Fund)	770	0	0
	<hr/>		
	2154	3	11
<i>Less</i> Reserved against Depreciation.....	100	0	0
	<hr/>	2054	3 11
„ Emergency Fund—Total Expended	426	0	0
„ Valuations of Stocks of Publications	477	6	0
„ „ Library	350	0	0
„ Expenses ‘Strabo’ carried forward	1	1	10
„ Balance from Income and Expenditure Account	117	6	10
<i>Less</i> Excess of Assets at May 31, 1916	80	9	0½
<i>Balance</i> —Deficiency at May 31, 1917.....		36	17 9½
	<hr/>	£3830	12 0
	<hr/>		

Examined and found correct

(Signed) C. F. CLAY.
W. E. F. MACMILLAN.

FIFTEENTH LIST OF
BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

ADDED TO THE

LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY

SINCE THE PUBLICATION OF THE CATALOGUE.

1916—1917.

With this list are incorporated books belonging to the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies. These are distinguished by r.s.

NOTE.—The Original Catalogue published in 1903, with all the supplements appended, can be purchased by members and subscribing libraries at 3/6 (by post 4/-). Applications should be made to the Librarian, 19, Bloomsbury Square, W.C. 1.

-
- r.s. Allen (J. T.) Greek acting in the fifth century. [Univ. of California Publ. in Class. Phil., Vol. II., No. 16.]
8vo. Berkeley, Ca. 1917.
- r.s. Allison (Sir R.) Cicero on old age. Translated into English verse.
8vo. 1917.
- Amaduzzi (G. C.) See Venuti (R.).
- Archaeologia Oxoniensis. Pts. I.—VI.
8vo. Oxford. 1892—1895.
- Aurelius (Marcus) The Communings with himself of. Revised Text and Translation by C. R. Haines. [Loeb Class. Libr.]
8vo. 1916.
- Basu (M. N.) See India. Index to classified catalogue of the library of the Director-General of Archaeology.
- Beauley (H. J.) *Translator.* See Emanuel (M.).
- Becker (G. G.) Augusteum, ou description des monumens antiques qui se trouvent à Dresde. 3 vols. in 1.
Fol. Leipzig. 1804.
- Bedford Marbles. Outline Engravings and Descriptions of the Woburn Abbey Marbles. [Plates after drawings by Corbould.]
Fol. 1822.
- Beger (L.) *Contemplatio gemmarum quarundam dactyliothecae Gorlaei.*
4to. Brandenburg. 1697.
- Bell (H. I.) The Byzantine Servile State in Egypt. [Journal of Egypt. Arch. IV., Pts. II., III.]
4to. 1917.

Bell (H. I.) *Editor*. See British Museum, Greek Papyri, Vol. V.
 B. (H.) [Blundell (Henry)] An Account of the statues, busts, bass-relieves, cinerary urns, and other ancient marbles at Ince.
 4to. Liverpool. 1803.

Boetticher (K.) Der Zophorus am Parthenon.
 8vo. Berlin. 1875.

British Museum.

Department of MSS.

Greek Papyri, Vol. V. Catalogue with texts. Fol. 1917.

Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities.

Report by Mr. Newton of his proceedings at Corfu relative to objects missing from the Woodhouse collection of Antiquities. 8vo. N.D.

Inscriptions :—

A Guide to the select Greek and Latin inscriptions.
 1917.

Brown (J. Coggin) See India. Catalogue of Indian Museum at Calcutta.

Browne (H.) Our Renaissance. Essays on the reform and revival of classical Studies. 8vo. 1917.

Bryant (J.) A dissertation concerning the War of Troy. *2nd edition corrected*. See Troy, Tracts on. 4to. 1799.

Bryant (J.) An expostulation addressed to the British Critic. See Troy, Tracts on. 4to. Eton. 1799.

Bryant (J.) Observations upon a treatise entitled A Description of the Plain of Troy by Monsieur le Chevalier. See Troy, Tracts on. 4to. Eton. 1795.

Brunn (H.) Miscellaneous Essays. 1843–1884.

Burch (V.) See Harris (R).

Burns (C. Delisle) Greek Ideals. A Study of Social Life.
 8vo. 1917.

r.s. Byrne (M. J.) Prolegomena to an edition of the works of Decimus Magnus Ausonius. 8vo. New York. 1916.

Cabrera (A. P.) Arqueología Ebusitana [Reprinted from the *Museum*]. 4to. Barcelona. 1913.

California, University of. Publications in Classical Philology. Vol. I. 1904–1908. Vol. II. 1911–1916.
 8vo. Berkeley, Ca. *In Progress*.

Carpenter (Rhys) The Ethics of Euripides. [Archives of Philosophy, No. 7.] 8vo. New York. 1916.

Chandler (R.) The History of Ilium or Troy: including the adjacent country and the opposite coast of the Chersonesus of Thrace. See Troy, Tracts on. 4to. 1802.

r.s. Chase (G. H.) Catalogue of Arretine Pottery. [Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.] 4to. Boston. 1916.

Chevalier () Description of the Plain of Troy. See Troy, Tracts on. 4to. Edinburgh. 1791.

- Commentationes philologicae in honorem Th. Mommseni.**
4to. Berlin. 1877.
- R.S. **Conrad (C. C.)** On Terence, *Adelphoe*, 511-516. [Univ. of California Publ. in Class. Phil., Vol. II., No. 15.]
8vo. Berkeley, Ca. 1916.
- R.S. **Corbellini (G.)** See **Reina (F.)** and **Ducci (G.)**.
- Coronelli (M.)** *Memorie istorio-grafiche delli Regni della Morea e Negroponte.* Fol. 1686.
- Coronelli (M.)** *Description géographique et historique de la Morée reconquise par les Vénitiens.* 4to. Paris. 1687.
- Cousens (H.)** See *India. The Archaeological Survey of.* XXXVII.
- Cruikshank (A. H.)** *The Future of Greek.* 8vo. 1917.
- R.S. **D'Alton (J. F.)** *Horace and his Age. A study in historical background.* 8vo. 1917.
- Daubeny (Ch.)** *On the Site of the Ancient City of the Aurunci.* 8vo. Oxford. 1846.
- R.S. **De Sanctis (G.)** *L'Età delle Guerre Puniche.* 2 vols. [Vol. III. of *Storia dei Romani.* Nos. 71, 72 of *Bib^{na} di Scienze moderne.*] 8vo. Turin. 1916.
- Dobson (J. F.)** *A Study of the Pervigilium Veneris.* [Occasional Publications of the Classical Association, No. 6.] 8vo. Cambridge. 1916.
- R.S. **Ducci (G.)** See **Reina (F.)** and **Corbellini (G.)**.
- Edwards (J. B.)** *The Demesman in Attic Life.* Wisconsin. 1916.
- Egypt Exploration Fund.**
Graeco-Roman Branch.
- Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Part XII.** 8vo. 1916.
- The Inscriptions of Sinai, Part I. Introduction and Plates.** Gardiner (A. H.) and Peet (T. E.).
Fol. 1917.
- Emanuel (M.)** *The Antique Greek Dance, translated by H. J. Beasley.* 8vo. New York and London. 1916.
- Eitrem (S.)** *Beiträge zur griechischen Religionsgeschichte. II. Kathartisches und rituelles.* 8vo. Kristiania. 1917.
- Euripides.** *The Rhesus.* See also Porter (W. H.).
8vo. Cambridge. 1916.
- Friederichs (K.)** *Die Philostratischen Bilder.*
8vo. Erlangen. 1860.
- Friedlaender (L.)** *Editor.* See *Martialis (M. Valerius).*
- Gardiner (A.H.)** *Editor.* See *Egypt Exploration Fund. The Inscriptions of Sinai.*
- Gaselee (S.)** *The Greek MSS. in the Old Seraglio at Constantinople.* 8vo. Cambridge. 1916.
- Gazette des Beaux-Arts.** 4^{ème} Période, Vol. XIII. *In Progress.*
- Glover (T. R.)** *From Pericles to Philip.* 8vo. 1917.
- Grenfell (B. P.)** *Editor.* See *Egypt Exploration Fund. Graeco-Roman Branch. Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Part XII.*

- Gyllius (P.) *De Topographia Constantinopolios et de illius Antiquitatibus* lib. IV. 12mo. Lugduni Batavorum. 1632.
- Haines (C. R.) *Translator*. See Aurelius (Marcus).
- Hancock (J. L.) *Studies in Stichomythia*. [Univ. of Chicago Publ.]. 8vo. Chicago. 1917.
- Harrer (G. A.) *Studies in the History of the Roman Province of Syria*. 8vo. Princeton, N.J. 1915.
- Harris (R.) *The Ascent of Olympus*. 8vo. 1917.
- Harris (R.) *The Origin of the Prologue to St. John's Gospel*. 8vo. Cambridge. 1917.
- Harris (R.) *Picus who is also Zeus*. 8vo. Cambridge. 1916.
- Harris (R.) *Testimonies, Part I*. See also Burch (V.). 8vo. Cambridge. 1916.
- Haussoullier (B.) *Traité entre Delphes et Pellana*. [Bibliothèque de l'École des hautes Études, No. 222.] 8vo. Paris. 1917.
- R.S. Haverfield (F.) *Modius Claytonensis: the Roman bronze measure from Carvoran*. [*Arch. Ael.* 3rd Ser, Vol. XIII.] 8vo. Newcastle-on-Tyne. 1916.
- R.S. Haverfield (F.) *Some Roman Conceptions of Empire*. [Occasional Publications of the Classical Association, No. 4.] 8vo. Cambridge. N.D.
- Headlam (W. G.) See Sophocles. *The Fragments of*.
- Hope Collection. *Sale Catalogues of the Ancient Greek and Roman Sculpture and Vases, and of the Library from Deepdene, Dorking*. 8vo. 1917.
- Hoppin (J. C.) *Euthymides and his Fellows*. 8vo. Cambridge, Mass. 1917.
- Hort (Sir Arthur) *Translator*. See Theophrastus.
- Hunt (A. S.) *Editor*. See Egypt Exploration Fund. *Graeco-Roman Branch*. *Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Part XII*.
- Hussey (R.) *An Account of the Roman Road from Allchester to Dorchester*. 8vo. Oxford. 1841.
- India. *Classified Catalogue of the Library of the Director-General of Archaeology. Index. Part I.—Authors; Part II.—Subjects*. By M. N. Basu. 8vo. Calcutta. 1917.
- India. *Catalogue Raisonné of the Prehistoric Antiquities in the Indian Museum at Calcutta*. By J. Coggin Brown. 8vo. Simla. 1917.
- India. *The Archaeological Survey of. XXXVII. Bijapur and its architectural remains*. By H. Cousens. 4to. Bombay. 1916.
- India. *The Archaeological Survey of. X. South Indian inscriptions, ii. 5*. By H. K. Sastri. Fol. Madras. 1917.
- Jackson (W. W.) *Ingram Bywater. The Memoir of an Oxford Scholar, 1840–1914*. 8vo. Oxford. 1917.
- Jebb (Sir R. C.) See Sophocles. *The Fragments of*.

- Jevons (F. B.)** *Masks and Acting.* [Occasional Publications of the Classical Association, No. 7.] 8vo. Cambridge. 1916.
- Keller (J. W.)** *Goethe's estimate of the Greek and Latin Writers.* [Bulletin of Univ. of Wisconsin, No. 786.] 8vo. Madison. 1916.
- Kennedy (J.)** *A Description of the Antiquities and Curiosities in Wilton House.* 4to. Salisbury. 1769.
- Kenyon (Sir F. G.)** *Editor.* See Report of the Proceedings of the Council for Humanistic Studies. 1917.
- Keppel (The Hon. G.)** *Personal Narrative of Travels in Babylonia, Assyria, Medja and Scythia.* 2 vols. 8vo. 1827.
- Kroker (E.)** *Gleichnamige Griechische Künstler.* 8vo. Leipzig. 1883.
- R.S. **Lacey (R. H.)** *The Equestrian officials of Trajan and Hadrian: their careers. With some notes on Hadrian's reforms.* 8vo. Princeton. 1917.
- Lenormant (C.)** *Mémoire sur les Peintures que Polygnote avait exécutées dans la Lesché de Delphes.* 4to. Paris. N.D.
- Littmann (E.)** See *Sardis.* Vol. VI. *Lydian Inscriptions, Part I.*
- Livingstone (R. W.)** *A Defence of Classical Education.* 8vo. 1916.
- R.S. **Livy.** Book XXII. See *Peskett (A. G.)* *Editor.* [Pitt Press Series.] 8vo. Cambridge. 1917.
- R.S. **Lucanus (M. Annaeus)** *De bello civili, Lib. VIII.* See *Postgate (J. P.)* *Editor.* [Pitt Press Series.] 8vo. Cambridge. 1917.
- Macdonald (G.)** *The Evolution of Coinage.* [Cambridge Manuals of Science and Literature.] 8vo. Cambridge. 1916.
- Mackail (J. W.)** *Penelope in the Odyssey.* [Occasional Publications of the Classical Association, No. 5.] 8vo. Cambridge. 1916.
- McKenna (S.)** *Translator.* See *Plotinus.*
- Martialis (M. Valerius)** *Epigrammaton Libri.* Edited by L. Friedlaender. 2 vols. 8vo. Leipzig. 1886.
- Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome.** Vol. I. [School of Classical Studies, 1915-1916.] 4to. Bergamo. *In Progress.*
- R.S. **Merrill (W. A.)** *Criticism of the Text of Lucretius. Parts I. and II.* [Univ. of California Publ. in Class. Phil.] 8vo. Berkeley, Ca. 1916.
- Meyer (Paul M.)** *Griechische Texte aus Ägypten.* 4to. Berlin. 1916.
- R.S. **Miller (K.)** *Itineraria Romana. Roemische Reisewege an der Hand der Tabula Peutingeriana dargestellt.* 4to. Stuttgart. 1916.

- Mommsen (Th.)** *Le Droit Public Romain.* 8 vols. [Manuel des Antiquités Romaines.] 8vo. Paris. 1889-1893.
- Moore (C. H.)** *The Religious Thought of the Greeks, from Homer to the Triumph of Christianity.* 8vo. Cambridge, Mass. 1916.
- Morrith (J. B. S.)** *Additional remarks on the topography of Troy, etc.* See *Troy, Tracts on.* 4to. 1800.
- Morrith (J. B. S.)** *A vindication of Homer and of the ancient poets and historians who have recorded the siege and fall of Troy.* See *Troy, Tracts on.* 4to. York. 1798.
- Oehman (H.)** *Portraettet den grekiska plastiken. En konsthistorisk Studie.* 8vo. Helsingfors. 1910.
- Oldfather (W. A.)** *Studies in the history and topography of Locris, I., II.* [Reprinted from *A.J.A.* Second Series, Vol. XX. (1916), Nos. 1, 2.] 1916.
- Omont (H.)** *Minoide Mynas et ses missions en Orient. (1840-1855).* [Mém. de l'Acad. des Inserr. et B.-L. Vol XL.] 4to. Paris. 1916.
- Paspati (A. G.)** *Études sur les Tchinghamians ou Bohémiens de l'Empire Ottoman.* 8vo. Constantinople. 1870.
- Pearson (A. C.)** *Editor.* See *Sophocles. The Fragments of.*
- Peet (T. E.)** *Editor.* See *Egypt Exploration Fund. The Inscriptions of Sinai.*
- Perry (Chas.)** *A View of the Levant: particularly of Constantinople, Syria, Egypt and Greece.* 4to. 1743.
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- Piacenza (F.)** *L'Égeo redivivo, o sia chorographia dell' Arcipelago.* 8vo. Modena. 1688.
- Plotinus.** *The Ethical Treatises, Vol. I.* Translated by Stephen McKenna. [The Library of Philosophical Translations.] 4to. 1917.
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- Porter (W. H.)** *Editor.* See *Euripides, The Rhesus.*
- R.S. **Postgate (J. P.)** *Editor.* See *Lucanus (M. Annaeus).*
- R.S. **Reina (F.)** *Livellazione degli antichi acquedotti Romani.* See also *Corbellini (G.) and Ducci (G.)* 4to. Roma. 1917.
- Rennell (J.)** *A Treatise on the comparative Geography of Western Asia.* 2 vols. 8vo. 1831. [Maps missing.]
- Report of the Proceedings of the Council for Humanistic Studies.** [Education, Scientific and Humane.] See also *Kenyon (Sir F. G.).*
- Rigaud (S. P.)** *On the Arenarius of Archimedes.* 8vo. Oxford. 1837.
- Roberts (W. Rhys)** *Greek Civilisation as a Study for the People.* [Proceedings of the British Academy, Vol. VII.] 8vo. N.D.
- Robinson (C. E.)** *The Days of Alkibiades.* 8vo. 1916.

- Rosenberg (G. A.)** Antiquités en bronze et en fer, leur transformation dans la terre contenant de l'acide carbonique et des chlorures, et leur conservation. 8vo. Copenhague. 1917.
- Roussel (P.)** Les Cultes Égyptiens à Délos. [Annales de l'Est publiées par la Faculté des Lettres de l'Univ. de Nancy.] 8vo. Paris. 1916.
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- Sardis.** Vol. VI. Lydian Inscriptions, Part I., by Littmann (E.) Fol. Leyden. 1916.
- Sastri (H. Krishna)** South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses. 8vo. Madras. 1916.
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- Schütte (G.)** Ptolemy's maps of Northern Europe. A reconstruction of the prototypes. 8vo. Copenhagen. 1917.
- Sinai.** The Inscriptions of, Part I. Introduction and Plates. See Egypt Exploration Fund.
- Sophocles.** The Fragments of. Edited with additional Notes from the Papers of Sir R. C. Jebb and Dr. W. G. Headlam by A. C. Pearson. 3 vols. 8vo. Cambridge. 1917.
- r.s. Stebbing (W.)** Virgil and Lucretius. 8vo. 1917.
- Story-Maskelyne (M. H. N.)** The Marlborough Gems. 8vo. 1870. *Privately printed.*
- Taylor (A. E.)** Plato's Biography of Socrates. [Proceedings of the British Academy, Vol. VIII.] 8vo. 1917.
- Theophrastus.** Enquiry into Plants. Translated by Sir Arthur Hort. [Loeb Class. Libr.] 2 vols. 8vo. 1916.
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- Treu (G.)** Griechische Thongefässe in Statuetten- und Büstenform. [53 Berlin Winkelmanns-prog.] 4to. Berlin. 1875.
- Treuer (A. A.)** A History of Greek Economic Thought. 8vo. Chicago. 1916.
- Troy, Tracts on.** See under Bryant (J), Chandler (R.), Chevalier (), Morritt (J. B. S.) and Wakefield (G). 2 vols. 1791-1799.
- Turner (W.)** Journal of a Tour in the Levant. 3 vols. 8vo. 1820.
- Twiss (T.)** On the Amphitheatre at Pola in Istria. 8vo. Oxford. 1836.
- r.s. Van Buren (A. W.)** A bibliographical guide to Latium and Southern Etruria. 8vo. Rome. 1916.
- Venuti (R.) and Amaduzzi (G. C.)** Monumenta Matthaëiana. 3 vols. Fol. Rome. 1779-76.
- Wakefield (G.)** Letter to Jacob Bryant, Esq., concerning his dissertation on the war of Troy. 4to. 1797.

r.s. **Westaway (K. M.)** The original element in Plautus.

8vo. Cambridge. 1917.

Williams (H. W.) Travels in Italy, Greece and the Ionian Islands.

2 vols.

8vo. Edinburgh. 1820.

Wyndham (The Hon. M.) A Catalogue of the Greek and Roman
Antiquities in the Collection of Lord Leconfield.

4to. 1915. *Privately printed.*

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FOURTH LIST OF

ACCESSIONS TO THE CATALOGUE OF SLIDES
IN THE JOINT COLLECTION OF THE SOCIETIES FOR
THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC AND ROMAN STUDIES

PUBLISHED IN VOL. XXXIII. OF THE *JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES*,
AND ISSUED WITH VOL. IV. OF THE *JOURNAL OF ROMAN STUDIES*.

NOTE.—The Original Catalogue can be purchased by members and subscribing libraries at 2/6 (by post 2/10). All subsequent Accession Lists, which are published annually, can be purchased, price 3d. each. Applications should be made to the Librarian, 19, Bloomsbury Square, W.C. 1.

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- 5169 „ Plan of, in 1795. (Walpole, *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 481.)
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- 8950 „ The Parthenon from the W.
- 8949 „ Nike Apteros Temple from the E.
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- 157 **Rome.** Plan of, 'temporibus liberae reipublicae.' (Kiepert, *Formae Orbis Antiqui*, Pl. XXI.)

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- A46 Archaic female figure. Acrop. Mus. No. 676. Two views (profile and back). (Perrot and Chipiez, viii. Pl. IV.)
- A47 Archaic female figure. Acrop. Mus. No. 675. (Perrot and Chipiez, viii., Pl. V.)
- 1989 Archaic female figure in Attic dress of pre-Persian type. From the Deepdene Collection (*Sale Cat.* No. 233).
- 1990 Archaic female figure in a Doric chiton. From the Deepdene Collection (*Sale Cat.* No. 234).
- 447 The 'Maidens' of Herculaneum. Dresden.
- 457 Aphrodite, 'the Crouching.' Vatican, *Mus. Pio. Clem.*
- 1994 Aphrodite. Statue of Medici type, partially draped. From the Deepdene Collection (*Sale Cat.* No. 255).
- 1995 Apollo and Hyakinthos. Marble group. From the Deepdene Collection (*Sale Cat.* No. 256).

- 1986 Athena, the 'Hope.' From the Deepdene Collection (*Sale Cat. No. 258*).
- 1988 Athena. Colossal head. Ashmolean Museum. From the Deepdene Collection (*Sale Cat. No. 230*).
- 1993 Asklepios. Marble statue. From the Deepdene Collection (*Sale Cat. No. 254*).
- 1996 Dionysos and Idol. Marble group. From the Deepdene Collection (*Sale Cat. No. 257*).
- 1992 Hygieia. Marble statue. From the Deepdene Collection (*Sale Cat. No. 252*).
- 448 Hermaphrodite, sleeping. Terme Mus. (Helbig, *Führer*, 962.)
- 272 Alexander the Great. Statue from Cyrene. (*J.H.S.* xxxvi. p. xlvii.)
- 1991 Antinous. Nude marble figure. From the Deepdene Collection (*Sale Cat. No. 251*).
- 459 Animals. Marble figures. Vatican, *Sala degli animali*.
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RELIEFS.

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- 458 Hellenistic relief. Lioness and cub. (Schreiber, *Hell. Reliefbilder*, Pl. I.)

MISCELLANEOUS ARTS.

- A17 'Kamare's' Vase from the B.S.A. excavation of the Kamare's Cave in 1913. (After a coloured drawing by J. P. Droop.)
- A19 'Kamare's' Vase from the B.S.A. excavation of the Kamare's Cave in 1913. (After a coloured drawing by J. P. Droop.)
- A20 'Kamare's' Vase from the B.S.A. excavation of the Kamare's Cave in 1913. (After a coloured drawing by J. P. Droop.)
- 5294 Architecture, Ionic. Angle column of N. Porch of Erechtheum. Angle capital and cross section of, from temple of Nike Apteros.
- 268 Inscription. Bilingual (Greek and Phoenician) stele of Artemidorus. British Museum. (B.M. *Inscr.* cix; Dodwell, *Tour in Greece*, p. 411.)
- 4288 Bronze statuette of a youth in oriental costume (*J.H.S.* xxxvii. Pl. II.)
- 4289 Terracotta statuette from the Gréau collection, illustrating a detail of costume of 4288.
- 269 Sepulchral stele crowned by a palmette. British Museum, No. 2281.
- 1987 Cinerary Urns. Roman. From the Deepdene Collection (*Sale Cat.* Nos. 193, 194, 195).
- 261 Portrait of Lord Elgin (ca. 1795). By G. P. Harding, after Anton Graff. (*J.H.S.* xxxvi. p. 165. Fig. 1.)
- 262 Portrait of the Comte de Choiseul-Gouffier. By L. L. Boilly. (*J.H.S.* xxxvi. p. 356. Fig. 18.)
- 9543 Passages from *Antig.* 474 f. *Ajax*, 646 f. *Agamemnon*, 616 f. relating to the tempering of bronze and steel.

COINS.

- 9518 **Adramyttium**, Æ. Antinous as Iacchos. B. M. C., Mysia, p. 4, No. 13.
- 9524 **Catana**, Æ. (Benson Sale, No. 209.)
- 9528 ,, Æ. (*N. Chr.* 1916, Pl. VIII. 1.)

- 9539 **Chios**, 473-431 B.C. (*N. Chr.* 1915, Pl. XVIII. 1-9.)
 9540 ,, 431-412 B.C. (*N. Chr.* 1915, Pl. XVIII. 10-16.)
 9541 ,, 431-412 B.C. (*N. Chr.* 1915, Pl. XVIII. 17-XIX. 3.)
 9542 ,, 412-384 B.C. (*N. Chr.* 1915, Pl. XIX. 4-19.)
 9522 **Croton**, \mathcal{A} ; Locri, \mathcal{A} . Head of Zeus. Rev. Eagle in wreath. (*N. Chr.* 1916, pp. 214-217.)
 9527 **Entella**, \mathcal{A} ; Leontini, \mathcal{A} ; Himera, \mathcal{A} ; Morgantina, \mathcal{A} . (*N. Chr.* 1916, Pl. VII. 15, 16; VIII. 3, 4.)
 9519 **Metapontum**, \mathcal{A} . v.-iv. cent. (*N. Chr.* 1916, Pl. VII. 5-8.)
 9520 **Messana**, \mathcal{A} . inser. ΛO . (*N. Chr.* 1916, p. 231.)
 9521 ,, \mathcal{A} . v. cent.; one with ΛO . (*N. Chr.* 1916, pp. 229-231.)
 9523 **Neapolis**, \mathcal{A} ; Terina, \mathcal{A} . (*N. Chr.* 1916, Pl. II. 7, 9, 14.)
 9531 **Persia**, Darics and sigloi. King with spear. Earliest groups.
 9532 ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, Later groups.
 9533 ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, Latest groups.
 9534 ,, ,, ,, King shooting or carrying dagger. Leaden siglos.
 9535 ,, ,, ,, King with dagger, or in half-figure.
 9536 ,, Sigloi from Milne's find. (*N. Chr.* 1916, Pl. I.)
 9537 ,, Daric of Cyrus the Younger. Punch-marked sigloi. (*N. Chr.* 1916, Pl. I. a-g.)
 9538 ,, Sigloi. Punch marks. (*N. Chr.* 1916, p. 5.)
 9529 **Rhegium**, \mathcal{A} . Restruck. (*N. Chr.* 1916, Pl. VII. 11-12.)
 9525 **Syracuse**, \mathcal{A} . 15 litrae (*N. Chr.* 1916, p. 120); and \mathcal{A} . restruck (*Ibid.* 1916, pp. 240 f.).
 9526 ,, \mathcal{A} . 5th century. (*N. Chr.* 1916, Pl. VIII. 5-7.)
 9530 ,, \mathcal{A} . Medallion (Kimon) from broken die; Velia, \mathcal{A} . Kleudoros. (*N. Chr.* 1916, Pl. IV. 11. 1, 2.)
 9544 }
 9545 } **Antiochus VIII.** of Syria. Tetradrachms showing development of portrait.
 9546 }
 B2077 **Augustus**, \mathcal{A} . of C. Plotius Rufus and M. Maccilius Tullus and 'Altar of Lyons.' (*N. Chr.* 1915, Pl. XVI. 2.)
 B2071 **Augustus**. Asses of C. Cassius Celer. (*N. Chr.* 1915, Pl. XVI. 1.)
 B2078 **Galba**, \mathcal{A} . (*N. Chr.* 1915, Pl. XVI. 6) and Otho (Alexandria), \mathcal{A} .
 B2079 **Nero**, \mathcal{A} . (*N. Chr.* 1916, 1, 2.)
 B2072 ,, \mathcal{A} . (,, Pl. II. 4, 5, 8.)
 B2073 ,, \mathcal{A} . (,, ,, 6, 7, 9.)
 B2074 ,, \mathcal{A} . Four obverses. (*N. Chr.* 1916, Pl. II. 10-12, etc.)
 B2075 ,, \mathcal{A} . (*N. Chr.* 1916, Pl. II. 3, etc.)
 B2076 ,, \mathcal{A} . (,, 1915, ,, XVI. 3-5.)
 B2161 **Philip Senior**, Otacilia and Philip Junior. Denarii.
 B2165 **Postumus**. Denarii.
 B2166 ,, Denarii with Labours of Hercules.
 B2164 **Salonina**, Valerian Junior and Postumus. Quinarii.
 B2162 **Trajan Decius**, Treb. Gallus, Valerian, Gallienus. Denarii and quinarii.
 B2163 **Valerian** and Gallienus. Denarii.
 B2080 **Vespasian**, \mathcal{A} . *Aeternitas P.R.* and *Signis receptis*.
 4522 Coins shewing Armenian head-dress. (1) (2) Antony and Cleopatra. (3) Augustus.

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 *υ*, *αι*, *οι*, *ου* by *y*, *ae*, *oe*, and *u* respectively, final *-ος* and *-ου* by *-us* and *-um*, and *-πος* by *-er*.

But in the case of the diphthong *ει*, it is felt that *ei* is more suitable than *e* or *i*, although in names like *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 *-πος*, as *Λέαργος*, *-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*, *apoxyomenos*, *diadumenos*, *rhyton*.

This rule should not be rigidly enforced in the case of Greek words in common English use, such as *aegis*, *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*, *gerousia*.

(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 Mitteilungen.
Ann. d. I. = Annali dell' Istituto.
Arch. Anz. = Archäologischer Anzeiger (Beiblatt zum Jahrbuch).
Arch. Zeit. = Archäologische Zeitung.
Ath. Mitt. = Mitteilungen des Deutschen Arch. Inst., Athenische Abteilung.
 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. Sculpt. = British Museum Catalogue of Sculpture.
B.M. Terracottas = British Museum Catalogue of Terracottas.
B.M. Vases = British Museum Catalogue of Vases, 1893, etc.
B.S.A. = Annual of the British School at Athens.
B.S.R. = Papers of the British School at Rome.
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.
C.R. St. Pét. = Compte rendu de la Commission de St. Pétersbourg.
 Dar.-Sagl. = Daremberg-Saglio, Dictionnaire des Antiquités.
 Dittenb. *O.G.I.* = Dittenberger, Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae.
 Dittenb. *Syll.* = Dittenberger, Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum.
 Εφ. Ἄρχ. = Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική.
G.D.I. = Collitz, Sammlung der Griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften.
 Gerh. *A.V.* = Gerhard, Auserlesene 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.
Klio = Klio (Beiträge zur alten Geschichte).
 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.
	XII.	=	„ 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 Altertumswissenschaft.

Philol. = Philologus.

Ramsay, *C.B.* = Ramsay, Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia.

Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.* = Ramsay, Historical Geography of Asia Minor.

Reinach, *Rép. Sculpt.* = S. Reinach, Répertoire des Sculptures.

Reinach, *Rép. Vases* = S. Reinach, Répertoire des Vases peints.

Rev. Arch. = Revue Archéologique.

Rev. Ét. Gr. = Revue des Études Grecques.

Rev. Num. = Revue Numismatique.

Rev. Philol. = Revue de Philologie.

Rh. Mus. = Rheinisches Museum.

Röm. Mitt. = Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung.

Roscher = Roscher, Lexicon der Mythologie.

S. M. C. = Sparta Museum Catalogue.

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*.

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Lx 7.11

THE EARLIER TEMPLE OF ARTEMIS AT EPHEBUS.

The Sculpture.

THE most remarkable characteristic of the temple built in the sixth century was the figure sculpture which surrounded the lower drums of the columns on one or both of the fronts. This feature was certainly not an architectural freak, and the band of figures must either have been thought of as a sculptured dado or derived from Egyptian prototypes such as the sculptured columns of Medinet Abou. Both antecedents may have influenced the choice, but the former was a sufficient and the more probable source. The sculptured dado was the first form of sculptured 'frieze'; in 'Mycenaean' palaces dados of plain or sculptured slabs faced and protected the lower parts of crude brick walls. The two fragments of slabs with reliefs of oxen from Mycenae in the Elgin collection formed part of such a dado. The great Assyrian and Persian slabs followed the same traditions of structure and decoration, and recent explorations of Hittite sites have shown that the sculptured dado was a fundamental tradition in the arts of Asia Minor. Not only did the sculptured bands of the Nereid Monument, the tomb at Trysa, and the Mausoleum fall in with this rule of the dado, but we find in it the first cause of the sculptured pedestals of the Hellenistic temple at Ephesus and of the podium of the Altar of Pergamon—the king of all dados.

At the Croesus temple at Ephesus the sculptured band appeared on parts of the walls at the antae as well as on the columns. In the basement of the British Museum are some fragments of bulls carved in relief on large walling blocks (*B.M. Excavations at Ephesus*, Pl. L in text vol.). The heads of the beasts projected from a return at right angles to the direction of their bodies, and



FIG. 1.

they must have been a good deal like the Assyrian portal guardians on a smaller scale (Fig. 1). A hoof also shows that it was at an angle;

there are parts of two companion bulls, and this is further proof that they came from the antae. There was a bed joint directly below the hoof which probably rested on a projecting plinth course as did the later pedestal sculptures. The beasts may have been carved on three courses of the walling stones, but without further examination I cannot say so with certainty, and I should say that my sketches are rough approximations. Probably there was a similar beast on each face of the antae, and they would have corresponded with the sculptured drums of the columns.

A fragment (Fig. 2) of a man standing at an angle with a slightly inclined masonry 'face' at his back and a bed joint through his thighs (No. 32) must have belonged to some feature other than the drums but ranging with them. The position of the bed-joint would be suitable for a figure carved on three courses of masonry, so that it seems probable that the figure was on the same level as the oxen. The best hypothesis to explain the 'face' slightly inclined from the upright and the figure at an angle seems to be that it formed the left-hand jamb of the great doorway. The external jambs of the doorway are broken away and, as far as can be judged, the conditions are entirely suitable for what is here suggested. Another fragment (No. 31), a thigh of a figure facing to the right with a bed-joint at the top, seems as if it might be part of a companion figure from the other door-jamb. The plinth of the walls was about 15 inches high, with a projection of nearly 2 inches, and the two lowest courses of walling stones were about 20 inches high. The rest of the courses are shown of similar height, and Wood speaks of having found four in all. Three courses of 20 inches each, above the plinth, appear to suit the evidence given by the fragments of oxen and men.

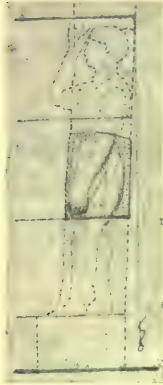


FIG. 2.

The restorations of the sculptured drums offered in the official publication are not happy; their general cylindrical form has been lost and the evidence is against the deep, hollow moulding above the heads of the figures which undermines the background from the general size of the upper part of the column. An examination of the stones at the British Museum shows that the projecting parts of the sculpture conformed closely to a cylindrical mass; the relief was only about 3 inches at the feet and increased to 8 or 9 inches at the heads and shoulders of the figures. The background of these reliefs, therefore, slanted back more quickly than the general diminution of the columns.¹

Some years ago, Mr. Pinker of the Museum was showing me the stones in the Basement, when he saw that two curved fragments fitted together at a fracture, and formed about a third of the diameter at the upper edge of a sculptured drum. This has since been put into the gallery; it has a fillet of about one-eighth of an inch projection. Another fragment from the top

¹ This enlargement of the bottom of the shafts recalls a conical expansion of the columns found at Naucratis.

edge of a drum (*Atlas*, xvii. 47) also shows that there was no deep cavetto above the reliefs. 'On the top bed is a setting line showing that the fragment belonged to one of the sculptured columns;' the sculpture rose to the full height of the stone of this drum. A diagram of the scheme is given in Fig. 3. B is the base, C the column, D the bottom drum with the sculpture S.

The far projecting cavetto, it seems, must only have been imagined in the first place so that pieces of a large band of leaf-moulding might be set above the sculptured drum at the Museum. In the volume of text it is said—'that the [leaf] member crowned the sculptures is an inference from the radius which is exactly appropriate.' Even now, notwithstanding the large increase of the radius given by the fictitious cavetto, the pieces of leaf band are segments of too great a diameter. On the Plate XVI. it may be seen that the curve is in fact too flat for the position given to it. It is suitable for a base, and it has been taken for a base in Mr. Henderson's restorations, although the cavetto around the top of the drum has been retained by him to the undermining of the shaft, as said above. Probably the bottoms of the shafts resting on the drums had an ordinary moulding of one or two beads, much like the other columns. (I do not know any evidence for the cavettos restored above the later drums.)

Most of the figures appear to have been arranged processionally. One (No. 47) was walking to the right, supporting a basket or other offering with a raised right hand. The suggestion that this was a caryatid-like figure facing to the front, and that the hand belonged to another figure, does not seem necessary.

One of the heads of these figures is in a fairly good condition, and could be easily restored on a plaster cast. Another face (*Atlas*, xvi. 6) is nearly perfect. The riches of the British Museum will not be adequately brought out until a History of Greek Sculpture is written, illustrated by our own collections instead of by inaccessible examples.

The entablature had no frieze, but a deep gutter front, which I shall call a parapet, was covered with delicately wrought figure sculpture. This parapet was about 2 feet 10½ inches (or 3 Greek feet) high; and supposing that there were three gutter stones to a columniation—as at the later temple—each of the stones would have been about 5 feet 9 inches long, having a fine lion's head spout in the middle. The profile was not curved, but it was slightly inclined forward. It was a developed copy of tile prototypes, several of which had moulded reliefs on their front surfaces,² and it marks a stage of transition between the all-tile roof and the all-marble roof.

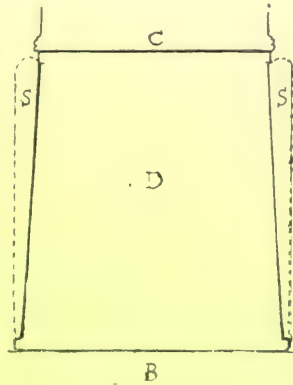


FIG. 3.

² See one from Thasos, *A.J.A.* xix. p. 94: *Mitt. Arch. Inst.* (Rome, 1906), Pl. II. p. 64.

In this case the gutter-front was made especially high to hide the tiled roof as much as possible.

There must of course have been a vertical joint in the middle of each or some of the spaces between the several lions' heads. Many of the existing fragments show the joints, and these, it is evident, in several cases passed through a figure or a group.

By uniting two or three fragments Dr. Murray was able to reconstruct one group, and he set up 'an attempted restoration of a combat between a Lapith and a Centaur.' The general idea of this restoration will hardly be questioned, but the opponent of the Centaur need not have been one of the Lapiths, for they were not usually armed. The most popular of all the Centaur subjects, Baur tells us, was the combat of Herakles and Nessos, at least in the archaic period. A great number of examples are found on black-figured vases. A good example is in the British Museum (Walters B. 537) of which Baur says 'the Centaur is in the usual stumbling attitude and looks back'—words which might equally apply to the Ephesus group. In several of these representations Herakles is clothed³ and fights with a sword; in some he grasps the arm of the Centaur. As Herakles was such an important personage in the later sculptures, it may be accepted that this group represented Herakles and the Centaur. From the greaves worn by Herakles in the Ephesus group we may infer that he was represented as fighting with a sword. A group of Herakles and Nessos by Bathycles of Magnesia appeared on the throne of Apollo at Amyclae with others of the cycle of his adventures.

As no vertical joint passes through the largest fragment from which the British Museum group is restored, I had doubts whether the subject could have been in the centre, between two lions' heads. If it was not, I should shift the Centaur further to the left, leaving room for one figure to the right of the group—this would be Dejanira. Mr. Arthur Smith tells me, however, that there is a watershed at the back; this suggests that the joints were in the alternate spaces.

If one subject from the Herakles stories has been identified it is probable that others were also represented, and this becomes all the more likely when we remember that the adventures of Herakles were also sculptured at the later Temple. Amongst the early fragments are the feet of an ox and the head of a lion, both of which may have belonged to the Herakles subjects.

The larger part of the figures were warriors fighting on foot or from chariots, several were prostrate, and one of these was trodden on by a horse's hoof. They had helmets, greaves, and cuirasses with shoulder straps and pendant flaps; they were armed with spears, swords, and shields. Probably in some cases a group was made up of two warriors fighting over a prostrate body. At the back of the warrior turned towards the left who is mounting

³ See, for example, *J.H.S.* 1912, p. 373. The figure in the pediment at Aegina which was identified as Herakles by Furtwängler wears armour.

a chariot there is a vertical joint; it is evident that there would not have been room between this joint and the lion's head on the left for the completion of the group, and we must suppose that in this case and others the sculpture was carved almost irrespective of the lions' heads as was done in the Lycian monuments in the British Museum (Fig. 4). It is a mistake to think of the composition as entirely broken up into 'metope-like' groups; continuity was aimed at so far as possible. Some of the horses were rearing, and these might more easily have been carried over the lions' heads. Traces of sculpture appear close at the sides of some of the lions' heads.

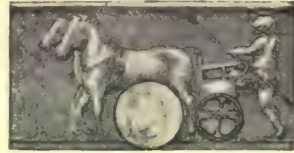


FIG. 4.

I have associated two fragments together in Fig. 5, and thus obtain the key to a restoration of a warrior who fought in one of the typical attitudes which were so frequently repeated, as for instance on the frieze of the 'Treasury of the Cnidians,'⁴ at Delphi and in the pediment at Aegina:

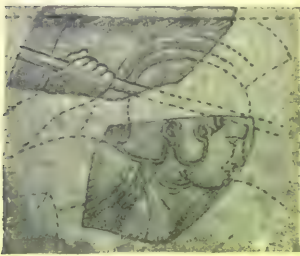


FIG. 5.

compare also the figure on a vase illustrated in *A Companion to Greek Studies*, Fig. 67. The warrior leaned forward with right hand raised, thrusting with a spear; on the lowered and extended left arm would have been the shield. Even the long locks of hair appear again on these examples; at Aegina they were of lead separately attached; the flaps pendant from the cuirass occur again at Aegina. In the basement at the British Museum is the hand of a spearman who faces the other way (Fig. 6).

The date of the Aegina sculptures was about 480, of the painted vase about 500, and of the Delphi frieze about 520. It has been remarked by Mr. Arthur Smith that the Delphi frieze seems earlier than the Ephesus parapet, which it would appear can hardly be earlier than 520 B.C.

There were several chairs or thrones and seated figures, some of whom were females. These enthroned figures suggest an assembly of the gods watching a battle as at Delphi, the Theseum, and the Temple of Nike Apteris. A small fragment which is catalogued as probably a thunderbolt (*Atlas*, xviii. 2) seems rather to be the trident of Poseidon—compare a sixth century silver coin of Poseidonia. In the basement is a delicately sculptured left foot which was probably that of a seated figure, as it seems large in scale compared to the others.

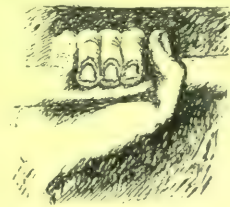


FIG. 6.

Considering the resemblance of these sculptures to those of the frieze at Delphi, it becomes highly probable that the battle subject at Ephesus was the War of Troy in one case as the other. This subject was represented also

⁴ Usually so called. See Mr. Dinsmoor's article in *Bull. Cor. Hellen.* 1912, p. 449.

in the pediment at Aegina, at Trysa in Asia Minor, and probably on the Nereid Monument. Subjects from the *Iliad* were frequently figured on the sixth century painted sarcophagi of Clazomenae.

The horses of the chariot groups were very well done, and the general type could be easily restored (Pl. 21, 24; Pl. XVIII. 55, 67, 71, and compare an early relief at Athens⁵). These chariots with warriors stepping into them again recall the frieze at Delphi (Fig. 5), on which the gods prepare to join the battle. Mr. Arthur Smith has already observed of our sculptured parapet: 'In many respects, as to composition and detail its nearest parallel is the frieze of the Treasury of the Cnidians at Delphi. It has the same kind of subjects and similarities of treatment.' There were several female figures clothed in full soft draperies, some wearing shoes. One interesting fragment (Fig. 7) is of a female head covered by a sort of bonnet through which the hair was brought out to fall like a horse-tail (*Atlas*, xvii. 6). A similar fashion



FIG. 7.

seems to be followed for the head-dress of one of the sphinxes in the tympanum of a Lycian tomb in the British Museum. This is much decayed, but small reliefs of sphinxes found at the Artemision have 'pig-tails,' and similar tails appear on some Minoan works. Hair falling in a tail is found again on a beautiful grave stele from Thasos which can hardly be earlier than the fifth century (Collignon, i. Fig. 136). A pointed bonnet bordered with a similar wreath, but without the hair being brought through the crown, is worn by the Amazon Antiope, in a well-known vase of fine early work, and as the pointed bonnet is such a common characteristic of Amazonian dress the Ephesus head was probably that of an Amazon.

Several fragments are catalogued as parts of Winged figures or Harpies (Nos. 39-44); and others (36-38) which were formerly described with this group, have now been separated as they 'appear to belong to a figure of Athene.' If we compare all these fragments with a sculptured block from the angle of a 'frieze' found at Didyma (Pontremoli and Haussoullier, Pl. XX.) on which is a Gorgon, it becomes evident that the relief figures at Ephesus including the supposed Athene, must have been similar. One of these figures either wore a snake-fringed aegis, or she had a collar and girdle of snakes. The head, hair, and earring of this supposed 'Athene' are exactly like those of the Didyma Gorgon. The fragment of the 'right arm of a figure with a looped and studded sleeve, and the feathers of a large wing spreading from the shoulders' (*Atlas*, Pl. XVII. 11), also closely resembles the corresponding part of the Didyma figure. Both figures, indeed, must have been so much alike as to suggest that they must have been carved by the same hand, and this raises the possibility that the Ephesus parapet was the work of a Milesian sculptor. When a full account of the excavations on the site of the temple at Miletus is published, we may find other parallels;

⁵ Collignon, i. p. 194.

in a short note I find mentioned 'fragments of painted tiles, with reliefs of Gorgons, heads of lions, lotus flowers, voluted acroteria, marble gutters, and much early pottery, filling the interval between Minoan and Archaic Greek Art' (Sixth statement of the excavations).

Another of the British Museum fragments from the supposed Athene is described as 'a hand which seems to be holding up a large fold of the skirt; two snakes are seen and parts of a pendant wing.' Another piece is 'from a figure half kneeling to the left' ('as in the usual early scheme for the Gorgon' was noted in the old catalogue). This was in the gliding attitude of the Didyma figure, and, like that, the Ephesus Gorgons had four wings, as may be seen by the small fragment, Pl. XVIII. 47. The Athene-like figure was turned to the left, while the arm and wing above described belonged to a figure turned to the right. It is clear that there were at least two of these winged creatures, and as the Didyma Gorgon was at an angle, it is probable that in both cases there were four more or less similar creatures guarding every corner of the buildings to which they belonged. Those at Ephesus must have been at the ends of the parapet next the angles. The recently discovered sculptures of the pediment of the archaic temple at Corfu show that a similar guardian Gorgon occupied the centre. Another served as the acroterion of the earlier temple on the Athenian Acropolis, and the Nike of Delos is again very similar. As we go backwards in time, Gorgon, Nike, and Winged Artemis all seem to merge in one, and winged figures of Artemis were used as antefixes on some of the early Etruscan temples.⁶ Eris seems to be another of the same brood (Gerhard, *Atlas*, x. Fig. 5) and Phobos also (see a coin of Cyzicus).

The War of Troy might well have occupied the whole of one side of the parapet, but the adventures of Herakles can hardly have been drawn out to a similar length; possibly they were supplemented by those of Theseus, as was the case at the later Temple, or there may have been a battle of Gods and giants as at the Treasury at Delphi.

The lions' heads of the parapet were very fine; two of the best preserved are brought into the restored length of parapet at the Museum; the rendering of the teeth set into the jaws is most accomplished. Amongst the other smaller fragments are some muzzles, and one of these in the basement is the tongue of a lion gargoyle. A fine lion's head found at Himera (Dury, vol. iii. p. 327) is of much the same type, and a complete restoration of one of the Ephesus heads should be made in plaster



FIG. 8.

(Fig. 8). As has been shown above, fairly accurate drawn restorations of three or four divisions of the parapet could be made; one of Herakles and

⁶ I had written this before I found a similar statement in Radet's *Cybébé*, 1909, where the Asiatic queen of the beasts and her artistic

descendants are fully treated. See also on Gorgons found at Sparta (*B.S.A.* xiii. p. 105).

the Centaur Nessos, another of warriors fighting, a chariot group, gods seated on thrones like those at Delphi, flying Gorgons in the short spaces between the angles and the first of the lions' heads.

The style of the sculpture, as has been said, is in close relation to that of the 'Cnidian' treasury at Delphi. The Gorgons' heads and the scheme of the parapet resemble details of the little temple of Dictæan Zeus in Crete, which was of wood or mud-brick and terracotta casings.⁷ The Gorgons so nearly resemble others at Miletus that they seem as if both sets were by the same artist. Some tiles found at Miletus ornamented with lotus flowers are so similar to the lotus decoration around the necking of the columns at Naucratis that it is clear that the latter had no special character, but was a normal example of early Ionic art. This art was almost wholly oriental in origin, having elements drawn from Crete, Egypt, and Mesopotamia.

The Architecture.

The restoration of the temple by Mr. Henderson in the British Museum publication is too visionary. An adequate record of what was actually found would have been far more valuable if kept apart from mere conjecture. Before all memory of the facts observed on the site is lost it would, moreover, be useful if some parts of the evidence, especially in regard to the Primitive Structures, could be made clearer by diagrams, isolating special points from other intricate details.

Many years since, Fergusson pointed out that the seven widely-spaced columniations of the façade occupied a space equal to eight columniations of normal dimensions, and he suggested that the back of the temple had nine columns. The recent discovery of such an arrangement at the Great Temple of Samos raises this hypothesis to a high degree of probability.⁸

That the interior of the temple was known as the Naos, appears from the name Pronaos, used for the great pillared fore-hall in the inscriptions given by Wood. If, as I have before suggested, the naos of the later temple was not covered by a roof, this would have been the case with the earlier temple also. In the open area the cult statue would have occupied a covered shrine upon the great basis. This was the arrangement at the brother temple of Apollo at Didyma, the naos of which was 'an open court surrounded by pilasters [on the walls]. The statue of the god, the archaic work of Kanachos, was probably placed here in a special shrine; here also had been the olive tree under which Zeus and Leto had sat, and a sacred spring.'

The cult statue at Ephesus remained an archaic work in the latest temple. According to Pliny it was very ancient, and Vitruvius says it was of cedar wood. In the book of 'Acts' it is reported that it was said to have fallen from heaven. An imitation set up by Xenophon in Laconia is said to have been of wood instead of gold, therefore the Ephesian statue was covered with gold plates. It was a tall, rude figure standing between two

⁷ *B.S.A.* xi. pp. 298 ff.

⁸ See *Jour. R.I.B.A.* Feb. 1915.

animals. The story of the fall of the statue from heaven is a point in favour of the temple remaining open to the sky, as we know by analogous cases. If the naos were open there would not have been interior columns, at least not such as are shown on the restored plan. Certain foundations under the pavement of the naos were interpreted as supports to some of these internal columns: 'These foundations we conjecture to have been inserted to carry an inner order surrounding the central basis.' The large number of internal columns which are shown on the restored plan are not merely around the basis, but two long rows are suggested from end to end of the naos. But the foundations in question were considerably less than half the length required, occupying only the middle part of the interior of the Croesus temple, like the foundations of the more primitive structures; further it seems to be admitted that they were in part primitive. In the pronaos and the posticum there were other columns almost in the lines of these supposititious internal colonnades, but they had no such foundation walls. Whatever, then, these foundations were, they cannot be taken as evidence for internal ranks of columns; probably they represent the walls of one of the primitive temples, and possibly portions of them were taken out and rebuilt as part of the pavement platform of the Croesus temple. As will be shown, it is probable that the primitive temples had their great altars close in front of the basis, and such altars must have been in the open air. It is likely that this 'hypæthral' type would be carried forward in the later temples, and as the foundations of the great altar have been carefully but fruitlessly sought for outside their limits it seems just possible that, even in the later temples, the fire altar was in the uncovered internal courts.

The Croesus temple had a large drain which ran westward on the central axis; according to Wood it began at the central basis—'The existence of this large conduit issuing from within the cella of temple D, and perhaps also from within the enclosure of temple C, argues that the spaces which it drained were to some extent open to the sky' (B.M. text, p. 263).

This idea of there being a central opening depends on the imagined inner rows of columns. That the naos was an open court is to my mind proved by the fact that its enclosing wall was exactly alike both inside and outside. The pavement was at the same level in the naos as in the peristyle; in fact it formed a continuous platform on which the walls were erected, and this pavement was throughout of slabs of irregular forms. On it was set a plinth alike on both sides; a deeper course above the plinth had draughted margins and picked surfaces, large rough bosses being left projecting in the middle of the surface of each block. It seems impossible to suppose that such masonry could be used in the interior of a cella; the fact that the great temple of Apollo at Didyma had an open naos is sufficient to make us consider a similar arrangement at the Artemision.⁹ There may have been

⁹ At Delphi there was a separate aedicula against the back wall of the cella (*J.H.S.* xxxiii, 1913). At Bassae a separate small chamber contained the statue. At Olympia

the temple of Zeus seems to have been open till the fifth century, and so, according to Vitruvius, was the temple of Zeus at Athens.

some sacred tree or other mythical objects in the interior, and of course there would have been many statues other than the cultus image. The famous four Amazons which learned Germans have so carefully ascribed to as many authors, seem to me to be variations of one type. Instead of four competing designs by Pheidias, Polycleitos and the others, I would see in them a group of Amazon attendants on Artemis from one workshop. The 'competition' was a myth of explanation by which it was possible to bring in the desirable name of Pheidias.

Wood found about half the pavement of the naos in place; the great doorway was about 14 feet 9 inches wide and the doors opened on quadrants; the pronaos was enclosed in line with the antae by a strong metal screen.

The variety of detail in the order of the peristyle is a remarkable characteristic of the Croesus temple, and in this it agreed with the early temple at Naucratis. Such variety must have been general in early Ionic works; the fragments found at Neandria seem to suggest similar changes of details. One of the strangest forms at Ephesus is the capital which has large rosettes in place of volutes. As restored in the publication these rosettes are given pointed petals, but Dr. Murray's restoration at the Museum with rounded forms is according to the evidence, for pointed leaves, where they occur in other places, all have midribs, which these petals have not.

The leaf moulding of the 'echinus' assigned to this same capital (Pl. VII.) seems doubtful. One of the fragments shows the design Fig. 9.

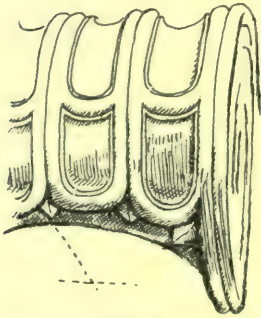


FIG. 9.

What may have been the form of the angle capitals is problematical; certainly they cannot have been as drawn in the publication (Pl. XIV.), for the centre of gravity of the suggested capital is hardly over the supporting shaft, and it may be doubted whether such a capital could have rested in its place before it was weighted by the entablature. A third volute member of the normal size projecting in the diagonal direction is a possibility, or there may have been four volutes forming a cross on plan.

This solution would have been the best balanced construction, and it may be suggested that we can find in such an arrangement a reason for the narrowness and great length of the volute members. The curious capitals at Persepolis (*c.* 485 B.C.) have volutes in the four directions, and the columns to which they belong rest on bases ornamented with leafage, an idea which seems to be borrowed from the Croesus temple.¹⁰

A fragment at the Museum which appears to be part of a capital (Pl. X.) is difficult to explain: Mr. Pinker, the able foreman, told me that he thought it formed part of a capital, like the Egyptian palm capitals, and this is much more probable than the suggestion in the publication that it

¹⁰ Cf. Anderson and Spiers, *Architecture of Greece and Rome*, p. 57.

came from the upper part of a shaft. Another fragment (Fig. 78c in text) seems to be of similar character.

The remnants of the ordinary columns seem to suggest that as the shaft rose from the base it slanted back in a long curve or line almost straight, and thus conformed closely to the line of the background of the reliefs on the sculptured columns (Fig. 3). At the top the shaft was formed into a large circular 'tenon' which filled a socket 3 inches deep in the capital. The capitals of Naucratis were set on the shaft in a similar way which thus may be considered normal for early Ionic columns (Fig. 10). In these 'tenons' I would see one of several facts which suggest that the Ionic column was first developed as a free-standing column—such as the column of the Naxians—before it was adopted for temple architecture; the spreading and piled-up base also seems specially suited for isolated columns. It thus had an origin in common with the stele which tended to the same type. The column of the Naxians resembled some of the columns at Ephesus in having many narrow flutes and in other particulars.

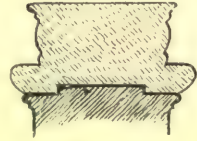


FIG. 10.

It has been shown above that the antae rose above sculptured bulls. In the Basement of the Museum is a fragment of an immense egg-and-tongue member about 16 inches in height (Pl. IX.). On the end return of this piece is a trace of a large volute, the outer curve of which coincided with the profile of the egg-and-tongue. This was an anta capital. The width of the egg-and-tongue units is given as .384 m. Five of these would fill a length of about 1.92 m., and as the width of the wall is figured 1.93 m. there can be no doubt that this was the arrangement (Fig. 11). Several later capitals of this type have been found at Samos,¹¹ Miletus,¹² Priene, and Ephesus itself. Fig. 12 is from a fragment found at Samos.

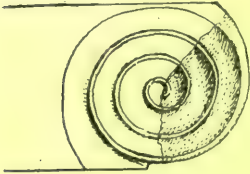


FIG. 11.

The entablature of the Croesus temple certainly had no frieze.¹³ It may be doubted whether the epistyle was not of wood; the old story of the architect's difficulty in fixing the great stone beam seems to refer to this Croesus temple, but it is difficult to suppose that a marble beam nearly 30 feet long was fixed above capitals which were so narrow transversely.¹⁴ In any case the epistyle would not have been of the high section suggested or, at the most, higher than wide. The cornice has been restored as a corona resting on one course of egg-and-tongue moulding. Two varieties of egg-and-tongue moulding were found; one is given with units .308 m. wide, and the other as .324 m., and it is most probable that the cornice was like the

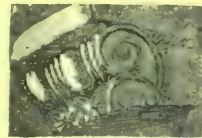


FIG. 12.

¹¹ *Mitth. Arch. Inst.* xxxvii.

¹² Pontremoli, Pl. XVIII.

¹³ As I have before shown of the later temple also.

¹⁴ The architect, we are told, wrote an account of the temple; is this likely of the sixth century?

normal later arrangements in having two egg-and-tongue members separated by a dentil course (compare the Treasury at Delphi, where a sculptured band took the place of the dentils¹⁵). The fact that no dentils have been recorded is of little consequence, for dentils most readily disappear; none are known which belonged to the later temple, or to the Nereid monument in the British Museum, and only slight traces of those of the Mausoleum exist (Fig. 13).

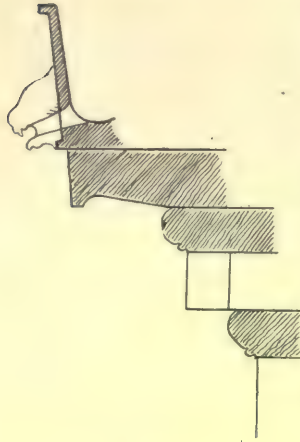


FIG. 13.

The parapet cannot have been applied to the pediment as shown, for a gable-cymatium was above the tile line, not below it. Mr. Henderson has himself modified this point in a drawing published later than the Atlas.

There is no evidence for the slope of the roof; the stone taken for this purpose in the publication belonged to the later temple, as is shown by the claw-tooling. Another stone catalogued as having belonged to a pediment is rather, I think, one of the irregularly shaped stones of the pavement of the Croesus temple. A fragment described as the horn of an altar (Fig. 79c) is more probably part of an acroterion, but even if it is, it hardly proves the existence of a pediment, for such finials might be put at the ends of the ridge of a hipped roof, and such a scheme of roofing at Ephesus would have lightened the work over the immense spans, and moreover the beautifully sculptured parapet would not have been suppressed at the most important front. I cannot suggest this solution as more than a possibility, but it has recently been found that the back of the temple at Thermon had a hipped roof.

Painting.

Both the structural members and the sculpture were fully decorated with colour. An illustration in Wood's volume shows that the leaf-mouldings of the bases had blue grounds and red margins to the leaves, and some of the fragments in the Museum show traces of colour on the capitals and the upper terminations of the flutes of the shafts. 'The colours were of rich cobalt and more frequently a rich red. Several fragments of leaf-mouldings show faded yellow and brown which may be decayed remnants of bright yellow and dark red.' A gilt fillet of lead was inserted in a groove of one of the volutes. The lions' heads of the parapet seem to have been dull red the jaws were vermilion with gleaming white teeth.

The sculptured figures on the drums of the columns had red hair and lips, and their draperies were decorated with fret-patterns and palmettes; doubtless details like the earrings were gilt.

¹⁵ Was this the first frieze proper

The parapet had a bright red lower border and the ground of the reliefs was a fair blue, the figures being coloured like those on the columns. The general effect must have been like that of the better preserved frieze at Delphi. The whole must have been gay and glittering beyond imagination.

Ephesus and Hittite Art.

In the text of the B.M. publication several points of resemblance are noticed between some of the smaller objects found on the site of the temple and examples of Hittite art, and generally it is remarked that 'the art of the primitive treasure came very little under direct Egyptian influence but more under that of Mesopotamia.' As the sculptured dado, which probably suggested the sculptured drums, seems to have been an essential part of Hittite architecture, and the bull-bases of the antae, reconstructed above, so closely resemble another feature in Hittite structures, we are led to the enquiry whether there was not a direct Hittite strain in the art of Ephesus. At the rebuilding of the Temple of Artemis in the sixth century Croesus gave 'golden heifers' as well as many of the great marble pillars, and Herodotus begins his history with an account of the royal donor, King of Lydia and sovereign of the nations on this side the Halys, and adds that Ephesus itself was Lydian. Now two or three centuries before the time of Croesus Lydia had formed part of the great Hittite empire. Ephesus was connected with the capital of Lydia, and the latter with the further East, by the great 'Royal Road' which linked Asia to Europe. Some Hittite monuments still exist on this road near Ephesus, which must have been controlled by the Hittites; indeed they probably held Ephesus too, as it was the chief coast terminus of the road which from the evidence of the rock-sculptures we may suppose they had made.

'It is not extravagant to suppose from the evidence of the excavations made in Asia Minor that the region [of Ephesus] had been in the hands of that great oriental power the Hittites'¹⁶ 'They were the founders of the Heraklid dynasty in Lydia, and Babylonian art was carried by them to the Greek seas. Greek religion and mythology owed much to them; even the Amazons of Greek legend prove to have been the warrior priestesses of the great Hittite goddess.'¹⁷ 'Cities like Ephesus . . . had received and retained the impress of Hittite civilization.'¹⁸

On the site of the 'Croesus Temple' a series of foundations was exposed which showed that earlier temples had existed on the site. At Ephesus there was, Dr. Hogarth writes, 'a primaeval local cult of the Mother-Goddess in which a principal share was borne by *Parthenoi*.' Prof. Garstang speaks of 'the worship of the Mother-Goddess paramount through the Hittite lands, from Carchemish to Ephesus . . . though general throughout western Asia, its introduction into Asia Minor is traceable to the Hittites. . . . It

¹⁶ Sartiaux, *Villes Mortes*, p. 64.

The Land of the Hittites.

¹⁷ Prof. Sayce, pref. to Prof. Garstang's

¹⁸ Prof. Garstang, *The Land of the Hittites.*

became deeply rooted, and in certain localities took special forms like those of Artemis at Ephesus.'

It would seem to follow, if most of this is true, that the earliest sanctuary at Ephesus of the Mother-Goddess, Lady of Wild Things, may have been a Hittite foundation. Or fashions and features may have been borrowed from Sardis, another great centre of a Cybele-Artemis cult; at least it appears how easily some of the strange architectural features in the Croesus temple may have been in a Hittite tradition.

For lions as bases to antae see Prof. Garstang's Plates 78 to 81: in his text he describes one pair of bases as bulls. The beasts in either case were treated exactly as at Ephesus: 'the body of the lion is carved in relief with the head and forepart in the round; upon his back is a squared surface for the reception of the upper stone.' Column bases were also treated as blocks, on each of which a pair of sphinxes were carved with their heads facing to the front. This I would suggest was similar to the antae bases at the Croesus temple.¹⁹ The tradition of guardian bulls further explains those projecting heads which are sculptured over the doorway of the tomb at Trysa in Lycia. To this deep-seated tradition of the door-guardians I would refer also the curious figures at Ephesus which I have suggested were bases to the jambs of the great door.

There is some evidence which suggests that even the Ionic order may have been developed by the Hittites before it was adopted by the Greeks,²⁰ although I think it probable that it was known in the Minoan age. Some sculptured figures at Boghaz-Keui (Garstang, Pls. 68-69) carry little shrines having well-formed 'Ionic' columns (Fig. 14). It is difficult to be sure of the dates assigned to these Hittite monuments, but if this sculpture is earlier than even the sixth century it has some significance in regard to the Ionic order. The turned down leaves of the bases at Ephesus also seem to be oriental in origin.



FIG. 14.

A great erect eagle or hawk found at Yamoola (Garstang, Pl. 49) is curiously like many small offerings discovered at the Artemision which are explained as Hawks of Artemis.²¹ The watching Gorgons of the parapet seem to be of oriental origin, and it is suggested in Daremberg and Saglio's Dictionary that Gorgons are in fact Hittite. The angel-like creatures which became popular in the Hellenistic age—such as those on some square capitals found at Didyma—must be watchers derived from Gorgons.²² That these four winged genii, running sideways in a gliding, half-kneeling attitude, were Mesopotamian in origin may be seen from Perrot's illustration, vol. ii. p. 365.

¹⁹ Maspero says of the Assyrian bulls that they were mystic guardians which warded off the attacks of evil men, spirits and maladies. The lions' heads on Greek gutters must originally have been apotropaic, and the early examples are much like Assyrian lions.

²⁰ See an article in *Klio*, xiii. 1913.

²¹ Similar erect birds have been found in Palestine and curiously at Zimbabwe.

²² The four winged creatures of Ezekiel seem to have been guardians of the four quarters.

The boots with turned-up toes, worn by some of the figures sculptured on the parapet, resemble a most constant Hittite characteristic, and the tall hat through which the hair of a female figure is drawn (Fig. 7) may derive from the 'pig-tails' and conical hats of the Hittite sculptures. The horned helmet of one of the warriors on the parapet also recalls Hittite sculptures.

The Primitive Structures and the Precinct.

Exactly at the middle of the naos of the Croesus temple was a great basis, and beneath it were discovered the foundations of earlier masses of masonry of the same type, the earliest of all being about 14×9 feet. It was better built than the foundation of another mass which stood some ten feet to the west, and the two were connected by narrower foundations (Fig. 15). It cannot be doubted that, as suggested in the B.M. publication, it supported a small covered building or shrine.

If this shrine contained the sacred cultus object, the other mass to the west can hardly have been anything else than the great altar, and the connecting masonry must represent the steps to the altar. The great altar must have been in the open air, and it follows that the shrine before which it stood was also in the open. This

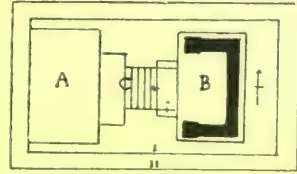


FIG. 15.

reading of the evidence is confirmed by the fact that the next work in order of development was to build a raised platform over the area occupied by both the shrine and the altar. This platform would not have been carried so far to the west if it had not supported the altar. This platform was subsequently enlarged (I. and II. on Fig. 15).

Foundations of walls which surrounded the shrine and the altar were discovered, and it seems that these must have been the walls of structures which had no roofs. The walls which in the publication are taken for the foundation of inner rows of columns in the Croesus temple, occupy much the same relation to the enlarged platform as other walls do to the smaller platform. The temple was surrounded by a large enclosed park forming a sanctuary. Following the analogy of other sanctuary sites, it is probable that there were many minor buildings, porticoes, statues, and memorials.

NOTE.

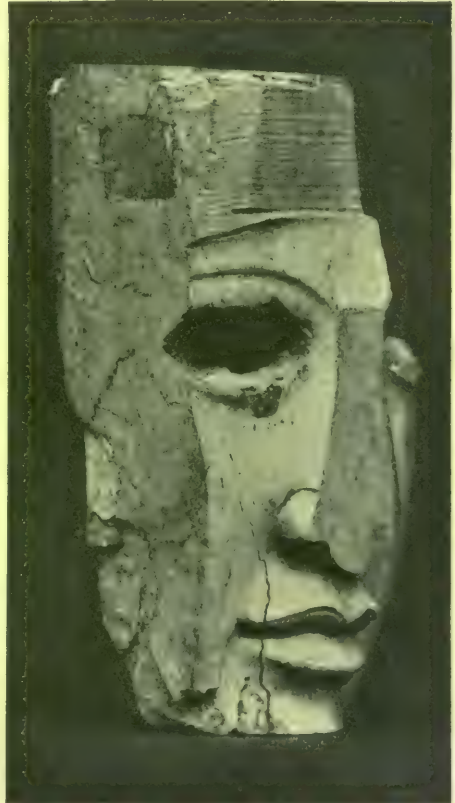
In my former account of the Hellenistic temple it was shown that a series of the subjects sculptured on the columns referred to the birth festival of Artemis. On one pedestal Victories were leading animals to sacrifice, around a column fillets were being hung to festoons, on another was an assemblage of citizens, on another men in Persian dress were advancing in procession as if with gifts. Of the last it was remarked that it might have

been the source in art for the representations of the Magi bringing their gifts. A curious further point arises on this. One of the earliest paintings of the Coming of the Wise Men in the Catacombs (third century) shows two on either hand approaching the Virgin, who is seated with the Infant Christ in the middle (Pératé, *L'Archéol. Chrétienne*, Fig. 77); along the background are festoons with fillets hanging from each loop. This too represented a birthday festival. The centre of interest at Ephesus must in a similar way have been a drum sculptured with Leto nursing Apollo and Artemis, and I would see in the well-known 'Tellus' relief at Rome more or less of a copy of the design. This is building a scheme very much in the air, but the existence of the drum of the Muses at Ephesus, considered in relation with the scheme at the Apollo temple at Delphi where Leto with Apollo and Artemis and attendant Muses were sculptured, gives substantial support to the theory. So does the analogy before pointed out with the Parthenon sculptures where the birth scene was the central idea of the whole. The Artemision at Ephesus was the Nativity Temple of Artemis. (For a possible relief from the great altar and the statues of the Amazons see Noack in *Jahrb. Arch. Inst.* xxx. p. 131.)

W. R. LETHABY.

A FRAGMENT OF AN IVORY STATUE AT THE BRITISH
MUSEUM.

ABOUT three years ago I sent some slight notes on chryselephantine sculpture to the *Journal*, but withdrew them again for expansion. In the main they were intended to bring out the value, as evidence of the methods



used in working ivory for statues, of a small ivory mask in the British Museum. The article by Signor Carlo Albizzati on an ivory mask in the Vatican, published in the last part of the *Journal*, offers a new occasion for

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calling attention to the London fragment. In the 'Guide to the Second Vase Room' by Newton and Murray (Part I. 1878) it was described thus: 'No. 15, Part of a Mask. The forehead, cheeks, chin, and nose cut off with smooth joints; the sockets of the eyes empty: the base of the nose is broad, and the lips full and prominent, as in the Egyptian type; inside the nostrils are the remains of vermilion. The mask has probably been completed with other carvings fitted on at the joints and with eyes in some other material. Height $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Bequeathed by Sir Wm. Temple.' The wording of this suggests that the fragment was supposed to be a part of some ornamental composition, but it will not now be doubted, I believe, that it is a part of a head in the round which was made up of several pieces. Our fragment—the central part of the face—had next to it two side pieces to complete the cheeks and another for the chin.

A few further words of description may be given of points in which it resembled the Vatican work. The forehead was evidently covered by some other material, representing a helmet or hair, which fitted over it; the surface of the flesh was finely polished, the eyes were inlaid in cavities, the lips had 'sharply cut profiles,' the wings of the nose were defined rather harshly on the cheek; the joints were beautifully worked, 'the sawn surfaces have been treated with a file with sharp close teeth leaving visible striations.'

The British Museum fragment is smaller in scale, of poorer material and inferior in style to the Vatican example, but both were to some extent the outcome of the same tradition of production. The statuette to which the British Museum mask belonged was, I suggest, most probably an article of commerce made at Alexandria for the Roman market in an archaistic style. It is however an authentic example of the technique of chryselephantine statues.

W. R. LETHABY.

NOTES ON THE TEXT OF STRABO XIII. I.

THERE is no sort of textual corruption which cannot be abundantly illustrated from the MSS. of Strabo; but they stand almost alone in one characteristic—the multitude of lacunae. It is not a question here of mutilation on a large scale, such as the loss of most of the seventh book, nor of the omission of words or lines through such causes as homoioteleuton; these can be easily proved to exist, and probably there are many cases of them which we cannot now prove. But the peculiar lacunae of Strabo are due to a conscientious scribe, somewhere in the genealogy of the MSS.,¹ who had before him a copy in which from time to time he came across words or letters which for some reason he was unable to decipher; he has therefore left blanks corresponding in length to the missing letters. These lacunae have been recently discussed by Allen in *C.Q.* ix. 88. It is there shewn that they do not arise from any physical mutilation of the MS.; their cause must be left uncertain.

Gaps such as these were evidently likely to be filled up in course of time, as Allen says, 'either by bringing the ends together or by inserting supplements.' And in the case of Strabo such supplements were constantly at hand. That incorporation of marginalia into the text is frequent all critics have seen; many have been recognised and duly relegated to the foot of Meineke's pages. The process can indeed often be traced in progress between the earlier and later MSS. as Kramer has shewn (p. lxxxii.). It did not even end with the MSS. The Aldine text incorporates a passage which can still be seen standing as a marginal adscript in a parent of the extraordinarily corrupt MSS. (Par. grec 1395, Allen's P. 3) which a perverse fate induced Aldus to select for printing (Kramer, p. lxx.).

Adscripts may be a genuine portion of the text; they may consist of omitted words supplied in the margin: in some cases they may even be an addition by the author himself in his original MS. In such cases they betray themselves only when inserted in the wrong place. This is a possibility which has always to be borne in mind. It is an accident to which we are all liable even now. By an odd coincidence I find, while writing this page, an illustration in Allen's own paper (*C.Q.* ix. 93). The words 'P. 9's space . . . Βολω-)' in lines 14-5 have plainly been inserted in his text some

¹ Except the all-important Paris grec 1397, which contains only the first nine books, and so does not come under consideration here.

seven lines below their proper position. Internal evidence shews that they belong to the passage which he numbers (10), not to (13) where they now stand. I conclude that they are an author's adscript misplaced by the printer.

Such cases are of course rare. But Strabo's text shews abundant proof of the interpolation of marginalia of purely extraneous origin. The commonest case is the filling up of a quotation from Homer which Strabo had given only in an abbreviated form. But there are many instances where a reader's note—sometimes foolish, sometimes interesting—has been inserted into the text, and betrays itself by internal evidence. Several undetected cases of such interpolation I hope to make clear in what follows.

I.

I begin with one instance which I choose not because I think it possible to reconstruct the passage, but because it seems to me to illustrate on a fairly large scale the various corruptions of which I have spoken—displacement of the original text, lacunae and incorporation of adscripts.

In § 36 Strabo alleges—avowedly in the footsteps of Demetrios of Skepsis—three arguments tending to shew that the Ilium of his day was not the Troy of Homer. These arguments are:—

(1) The general conditions of the war as described by Homer imply a considerable distance between the city and the camp; whereas the actual distance is very small.

(2) Small though the distance was in Strabo's time, it appears to have been still smaller in Homer's.

(3) Three passages, one in the *Odyssey* and two in the *Iliad*, say, or shew, that the Greek camp was a long way from the wall of Troy.

Argument (1) begins with the section, and continues to the words *διεστῶτα τῆς πόλεως* (Meineke, p. 838, 23). It needs no comment except a note that the distances mentioned can hardly be squared with facts. Our text then continues:—

(A) ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ πεδίου νῦν προστιθείς, διότι τοῦτο πᾶν πρόχωμα τῶν ποταμῶν ἔστι, τὸ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ πεδίου ὥστε εἰ δωδεκαστάδιόν ἔστι νῦν τὸ μεταξύ, τότε καὶ τῶι ἡμίσει ἔλαττον ὑπήρχε.

Immediately on this follows a discussion of two of the passages from Homer; in the first of these (*Od.* xiv. 496) occur the words of Odysseus in ambush in front of the Greek camp, *λίην γὰρ νηῶν ἐκὰς ἤλθομεν*. In the second (*Il.* xviii. 256) Polydamas says of the Trojan army in the plain *ἐκὰς δ' ἀπὸ τείχεός εἰμεν*.

After these last words (Meineke 839, 5) the text goes on as follows:—

(B) παρατίθησι δ' ὁ Δημήτριος καὶ τὴν Ἀλεξανδρίνην Ἐστιαίαν μάρτυρα τὴν συγγράψασαν περὶ τῆς Ὀμήρου Ἰλιάδος, πυνθανομένην εἰ περὶ τὴν νῦν πόλιν ὁ πόλεμος συνέστη καὶ τὸ Τρωικὸν πεδίου δ' μεταξύ τῆς πόλεως καὶ

τῆς θαλάττης ὁ ποιητῆς φράζει· τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρὸ τῆς νῦν πόλεως ὀρώμενον πρόχωμα εἶναι τῶν ποταμῶν ὕστερον γεγονός.

Immediately upon these words (§ 37) follows the third of the Homeric passages proving the distance of the camp from the city—the passage about Polites in *Il.* ii. 791 ff.

Now it is evident at first sight that the two passages *A* and *B* belong closely to one another; both deal with the same subject, the supposed silting up since Homer's day of a bay of the sea which is assumed to have stretched in his time almost or quite up to Troy. It is equally evident that *B* has been wrongly detached from its context and inserted incoherently into the middle of the otherwise quite consistent discussion of the three episodes from Homer. There has therefore certainly been a displacement of the text, and *B* must be moved upwards into connexion with *A*.

But there is an incoherency in *B* itself. There is no construction for the words τὸ Τρωικὸν πεδίων. They cannot be construed with *πυρθανομένην*, and editors have accordingly indicated a lacuna after *καὶ*—rightly, I have no doubt.

Having decided that *B* must be brought into connexion with *A*, we have to consider *A* itself; and here the confusion is even worse. It has long been recognised that the words ἐπὶ θαλάττη πεδίων νῦν προστιθείς have no good sense or connexion with what precedes, and various emendations have been proposed. Groskurd inserted τὸ before πεδίων, as there is otherwise no connexion for ἐπὶ θαλάττη. Kramer proposes to read here τὸ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ θαλάττη πεδίων, 'quae paulo post leguntur satis incommode. Videntur ea, cum in ipsa contextus serie verba τὸ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως omissa essent post πόλεως, primum in margine adiecta, deinde in ordinem male recepta esse. Iam vero τὸ ante νῦν additum optime procedet. Praeterea haec verba carere iusto connexu cum proximis idem Grosk. verissime observavit, minus probabiliter simul suspicans excidisse οὐκ εἰδὼς vel οὐ διανοοῦμενος: lenior certe foret medicina, si οὐκ εἶ adderetur post προστιθείς.' Meineke reads [τὸ] ἐπὶ θαλάττη συμπροστιθείς, which does not seem to me to help matters. The fact is that none of these conjectures touches the root of the matter—the complete want of connexion with the preceding words εἰ δὲ φήσει τις τὸν νῦν λεγόμενον Ἀχαιῶν λιμένα εἶναι τὸ ναύσταθμον, ἐγγυτέρω τινὰ λέξει τόπον, ὅσον δώδεκα σταδίου διεστῶτα τῆς πόλεως. Evidently the argument from silting implies that even from this small distance something is to be taken off, not that anything is to be added. So *προστιθείς*, at least without full explanation, is not a word to be properly used in this connexion at all. The least that is required to make sense, if this sentence is to join what precedes, is 'even if he includes the whole width of the plain as it is to-day.' That can by no means be got out of the words ἐπὶ θαλάττη πεδίων νῦν προστιθείς, nor can we even mend them by such an addition as οὐκ εἶ. Meineke's emendation of νῦν to συμ- abolishes one word which is essential, in order to get in the other essential idea of inclusion.

In order to reduce this complicated tangle of confusion into order, I

suggest that at some point of the genealogy of the MSS., after the lacunas had made their appearance, the text stood as follows (beginning with Meineke's line 23, p. 838).

<p>δώδεκα σταδίου διαστῶτα τῆς πόλεως [lacuna] . . . διότι τοῦτο πᾶν πρόχωμα τῶν ποταμῶν ἐστὶ τὸ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ πεδίον ὥστε εἰ δωδεκαστάδιον ἐστὶ νῦν τὸ μεταξύ, τότε καὶ τῶι ἡμίσει ἔλαττον ὑπήρχε. † παρατίθησι δ' ὁ Δημή- τριος καὶ τὴν Ἀλεξανδρίνην Ἑστιαίαν μάρτυρα, τὴν συγγράψασαν περὶ τῆς Ὀμήρου Ἰλιάδος, πυνθανομένην εἰ περὶ τὴν νῦν πόλιν ὁ πόλεμος συνέστη, καὶ [lacuna] . . . † καὶ ἡ διήγησις δ' ἡ πρὸς τὸν Εὐμαιοῦ κ.τ.λ.</p>	<p>ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ πεδίον νῦν προστίθει. τὸ Τρωϊκὸν πεδίον, ὃ μεταξύ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῆς θαλάττης ὁ ποιητὴς φράζει· τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρὸ τῆς νῦν πόλεως ὄρομενον πεδίον πρόχωμα εἶναι τῶν ποταμῶν ὑστερον γεγονός.</p>
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I assume therefore that, at the side of the two lacunae which editors have already detected, there stood two adscripts ready to be swallowed up. The first of these consists of a lemma, ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ πεδίον, taken from the text, followed by the instruction 'add νῦν,' a word which is in fact important for the sense; the plain spoken of is the plain in its modern extension, not as it was in Homer's days.

The second adscript contains nothing which is not already in the text; it is a mere marginal summary of the argument. This had no doubt struck a reader as a remarkable one, to which he might wish to refer again.

At a later period, after the second lacuna had duly devoured its own offspring, the whole passage from † to † was accidentally omitted by the scribe; but he detected the omission at once, and added it later on, after the words ἐκὰς δ' ἀπὸ τείχεός εἰμεν, which, if we may judge from the usual habits of scribes, probably stood in the last line of a page.

In the first lacuna there stood probably only words to say 'small though these distances are, they must have been yet smaller in Homer's day.' The contents of the second lacuna are irrecoverable; though it is clear that Hestiaia approved, and probably originated, the theory of the advance of the coast line by deposits from the rivers.

All this is of course only conjecture; but at least it accounts for all the trouble, and I am working with demonstrable factors. If another and simpler explanation can be found, so much the better; but I do not think that any critic of the passage has yet been satisfied with any suggestion that has been made.

II.

§ 4. εὐθὺς γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Προποντίδα τόπων ὁ μὲν Ὅμηρος ἀπὸ Αἰσῆπου τὴν ἀρχὴν ποιεῖται τῆς Τρωιάδος, Εὐδοξος δὲ ἀπὸ Πριάπου † καὶ Ἀρτάκης τοῦ ἐν τῇ Κυζικηνῶν νήσῳ χωρίου ἀνταίροντος τῶι Πριαπῶι † συστέλλων ἐπ' ἔλαττον τοὺς ὄρους, Δαμάστης δ' ἔτι μᾶλλον συστέλλει ἀπο Παρίου.

The words between † † seem not to have been suspected; yet it is evident that they are mere nonsense. Eudoxus cannot have fixed the eastern boundary of the Troad simultaneously at two points some 35 miles apart in a straight line, and very much more if we measure by land; nor could he be said to contract the limits of the Troad if in fact he took in Artake, which lies a long way beyond the Aisepos, the extreme eastern boundary from which Strabo starts.

What ground anyone can have had for putting such foolish words into the margin, or why the name of Artake should have been mentioned at all, I confess I do not understand. If the words are cut out, there is no sign of a lacuna—the text runs quite smoothly. The only suggestion I can make is that Strabo may have added after *Πριάπου* some words such as *καὶ τοῦ ὄρου τῶν Κυζικηνῶν*. In his day, as we know, the boundary of the Kyzikene territory included a large portion of the Granikos plain (see § 11). These words might have been glossed, in later days when the territory of Kyzikos was limited to its own island, by some such words as *Ἀρτάκης . . . τῶι Πριάπῳ*, for at that time Artake would be regarded as the nearest Kyzikene town to Priapos; and the gloss might have superseded the text. But on this I lay no stress of any sort.

III.

§ 48. *πολλαχού δ' ἐστὶ τὸ τοῦ Σμινθέως ὄνομα· καὶ γὰρ περὶ αὐτὴν τὴν Ἀμαξιτὸν χωρὶς τοῦ κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν Σμινθίου δύο τόποι καλοῦνται Σμίνθια· καὶ ἄλλοι δ' ἐν τῇ πλησίον Λαρισαίαι· καὶ ἐν τῇ Παριανῇ δ' ἐστὶ χωρίον τὰ Σμίνθια καλούμενον, καὶ ἐν Ῥόδῳ καὶ ἐν Λίνδῳ καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ πολλαχού· †καλοῦσι δὲ νῦν τὸ ἱερὸν Σμίνθιον· χωρὶς γοῦν† καὶ τὸ Ἀλήσιον πεδῖον οὐ μέγα ἐντὸς τοῦ Λεκτοῦ καὶ τὸ Τραγασαῖον ἀλοπήγιον κ.τ.λ.*

The words *καλοῦσι . . . Σμίνθιον* are worse than otiose as referring to the Sminthion which has just been described under that name as a matter of course, and *χωρὶς γοῦν* defies explanation. The use of *γοῦν* is clear enough; it gives an instance or *prima facie* explanation of what precedes. But it is no explanation of the words 'the place is still called Sminthion' to add, 'that is why the Halesian Plain is separate,' whatever 'separate' may mean. *Prima facie* the Sminthion and the Halesian Plain are not separate but closely connected; the Sminthion is close to the edge of the hills where they join the plain, and the two are separate only in the sense that 'temple' and 'plain' are not convertible terms. This difficulty remains even if we follow some editors who boldly read *δέ* for *γοῦν*.

It seems clear that we have another case of a marginal note. The name of the Sminthion lasted for centuries after Strabo's date, as we know from the fact that it is marked as such in the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, none of which seems to be older than the third century A.D. and which may be as late as Justinian. Some Byzantine scholar noted on his Strabo 'The temple is called Sminthion to this day.' There was plainly a lacuna before *καὶ τὸ Ἀλήσιον πεδῖον*. This invited a later-copyist to insert the note which stood

a little higher up. The words *χωρὶς γούν* I take to be a mere misreading of the lemma of the note, viz. *χωρὶς τοῦ*, referring to the phrase a few lines back, *χωρὶς τοῦ κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν Σμινθίου*, to which the note properly belonged.

IV.

§ 61. *ἐνταῦθα γὰρ καὶ ἡ Θήβη καὶ ἡ Λυρνησσός, ἐρυμνὸν χωρίον ἔρημοι δ' ἀμφότεραι· διέχουσι δὲ Ἀδραμυττίου σταδίου ἢ μὲν ἐξήκοντα ἢ δὲ ὀγδοήκοντα †καὶ ἢ ἐπὶ θάτερα.†*

In this case we can trace the process of interpolation; the last meaningless words have crept into our text only at a late date; they are not known to Eustathios, who quotes the passage, nor to the Epitome, our oldest though imperfect authority, and they are omitted, even by several of the late MSS. ('om. *Ἐμοα.* Epit.' Kramer). Tyrwhitt has indeed brought sense into them by reading *ἢ* for *ἢ*, and they accordingly appear in our texts in the form *καὶ ὀκτὼ ἐπὶ θάτερα*. The apparent simplicity of the correction seems to have blinded critics to the fact that it involves a complete departure from Strabo's well-marked practice.

For minute local topography, where accuracy is both possible and necessary, Strabo uses the stade as a unit; but after going through three books, XII.–XIV., in which some 200 distances are recorded—a fair basis for discussion—I find that he never uses it for distances of over thirty-five stades. This number occurs in XIV. ii. 19; twenty-eight occurs in XIII. ii. 4. Nowhere else in these books, with two exceptions, does he use any smaller unit for distances of over twenty stades, than ten stades. In other words, as we should expect, he reckons distances up to two miles, and exceptionally rather less than four, by furlongs; longer distances he reckons by miles. It is therefore wrong to foist upon him, in the face of the best authorities, such a measure as eighty-eight stades; he would certainly have said ninety. He is too good a geographer to make a pretence of minute accuracy where it is obvious that he could not have the materials for it.

The two exceptions mentioned occur in XIV. iii. 8 *ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἱερᾶς ἄκρας ἐπὶ τὴν Ὀλβίαν λείπονται στάδιοι τριακόσιοι ἐξήκοντα ἑπτὰ*, and v. 3 *καὶ φησιν (ὁ Ἀρτεμίδωρος) ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ Πηλουσιακοῦ στόματος εἶναι τρισχιλίους ἐννακοσίους σταδίου εἰς Ὀρθωσίαν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν Ὀρόντην ποταμὸν χίλια ἑκατὸν τριάκοντα, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰς πύλας ἐξῆς πεντακόσια εἰκοσίπεντε κ.τ.λ.* In the latter case the odd 25 suggest a fraction of a still larger unit, 100 stades. In the former I can only say that the odd 7 seem to me extremely suspicious and unlike Strabo.

The words *καὶ ὀκτὼ ἐπὶ θάτερα* in the passage before us must therefore be expelled on every ground. They have caused much needless discussion in the hope of finding a reasonable sense for the words *ἐπὶ θάτερα*. I pointed out in *Troy*, p. 219, that these could not have the obvious meaning 'in the opposite direction': I had not then observed that the words do not belong to the text at all, and must be left wholly out of account in attempting to

locate Strabo's Lyrnessos. One difficulty in the way of my hypothesis that this site lay somewhere in the neighbourhood of Zeitünlü is now therefore removed.

What the words *καὶ ἢ ἐπὶ θάτερα* can stand for, and how they can have got into the text, I must leave to others to say; I have no suggestion to make.

V.

Here is another puzzle where I am again inclined to suspect an adscript:—

§ 67. Ἄταρνεὺς δ' ἐστὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἑρμείου τυραννεῖον, εἶτα Πιτάνη πόλις Αἰολικὴ, δύο ἔχουσα λιμένας, καὶ ὁ παραρρέων αὐτὴν ποταμὸς Εὐήνος, ἐξ οὗ τὸ ὑδραγωγεῖον πεποιήται τοῖς Ἀδραμυττηνοῖς.

This immediately follows the description of Andeira, only sixty stades from Thebe in the plain of that name. It involves a long jump of some thirty miles to Atarneus on the south, and a still greater distance, another ten, to Pitane.

The site of Pitane may be taken as fixed at Sandarli or Chandarli, a little double port about three miles west of the Kaikos mouth. A torrent-bed, the Sari Asmak, runs into the sea near it; if the text is right this must be the Euenos; we know of no ancient name for it, and cannot say that it was not called Euenos. But we can say with the utmost confidence that no aqueduct from it was ever taken to Adramyttion. Its head-waters are at the nearest point over twenty-five miles from Adramyttion; several much larger streams have their basins directly between; an aqueduct would have to be taken across their beds through a tangle of high hills and valleys; and as the whole region is practically waterless in summer, there would be no water to bring. Why should Adramyttion seek its water here? It has at its doors a much more considerable stream, now called the Freneli Chai the chief river of the Plain of Thebe, supplied at least in part from the Ida range with its reservoirs of perennial springs. The Freneli Chai is at its nearest only about three miles from Adramyttion, and an aqueduct can be carried across a level plain. And there is good reason to believe that the Freneli Chai was in fact called the Euenos in antiquity. It is true that we have no better authority than Pliny (*H.N.* v. 122), but in the silence of Strabo, Pliny must count for something. It is therefore in all probability true that the water supply of Adramyttion was derived from the Euenos; but it is hopelessly wrong to say that this Euenos flows past Pitane.

The passage immediately preceding that quoted above gives a description of Andeira; and I have shewn (*B.S.A.* xxi.) that Andeira lay directly over the Freneli Chai, at the point where it issues from the hill-country into the plain. It seems natural to conclude therefore that the words *ὁ παραρρέων αὐτὴν ποταμὸς* are meant to refer to Andeira. If they stood about three lines higher up, there would be no sort of difficulty, except that they do not fit into the text. They seem to bear all the marks of the marginal of a

well-instructed reader who was surprised that Strabo should have omitted all reference to the Euenos; 'also the river which flows past it' and so on. They are not intended to be incorporated in the text, but as a matter of fact have got into it at the wrong point.

One might be inclined to think that they were an addition of Strabo's own not properly incorporated. But I doubt this. Aqueducts in Asia Minor as a rule are post-Strabonian. The far more important city of Alexandria Troas had to wait till the days of Herodes Atticus before it got one. If there was one at Adramyttion in Strabo's day it was probably a rather rudimentary affair; there are no remains of an aqueduct in the plain, so far as is known.

There is another reason why I do not think the note is Strabonian; that is the pronoun *αὐτήν*. It does not agree grammatically with the neuter *Ἀνδείρα* to which I suppose it to refer. The writer may have regarded the name as a feminine—perhaps it may have been so used in his day²—or he may simply have had the word *πόλις* in his mind. That is the sort of slip which is easy for one who is writing a general note without reference to the exact context: but it is not like Strabo.

VI.

§ 20. οὕτω δ' ἀφανῆ τὰ χωρία ταῦτά ἐστιν ὥστε οὐδ' ὁμολογοῦσι περὶ αὐτῶν οἱ ἱστοροῦντες, πλὴν ὅτι περὶ Ἄβυδον καὶ Λάμψακόν ἐστι καὶ Πάριον, καὶ ὅτι † ἡ πάλαι Περκώτη μετωνομάσθη ὁ τόπος. †

The last sentence is clearly imperfect; there are two subjects to only one verb. Something has dropped out; it can I think be supplied with confidence.

τὰ χωρία ταῦτα appears to refer both to Arisbe and Perkote, though Strabo does not say so explicitly. I have dealt with these two sites in *Troy* 188 ff. In spite of Strabo's emphatic denial, he ought to have known a good deal about both of them, and their sites can be closely fixed. With Arisbe we are not here concerned. Perkote lay near the shore at the mouth of the valley of the Praktios. Some distance inland on a hill called the Er-dagh, Judeich discovered the remains of an ancient town—not prehistoric—which will serve very well for the other town of the pair Perkote-Palai-perkote which existed side by side in the fifth century B.C.; both appear as contributors in the Attic tribute lists.

Judeich however was wrong in assuming that the Er-dagh site was the Old Perkote, and that the later town was on the sea; and I was wrong in following him. Old Perkote was of course Homer's Perkote, and this lay on the sea, for here Iphidamas left his ships when he came to Troy (*Il.* xi. 229). The move was made in the opposite direction. Probably the inhabitants were mainly of the old population, Teukroi or Gergithes, and removed to the hills when the Greek immigration took possession of the shores.

² Cf. Steph. B. ἐστι καὶ Ἀνδείρα θηλυκῶς, Φρυγίας.

After the Attic tribute lists we hear no more of Old Perkote; the next mention is in Xenophon, where a place called Perkope appears (see *Troy*, p. 191); it was clearly on the same spot. The inhabitants of Palai-perkote perhaps did not like a name which seemed to stamp them as old-fashioned, and altered one letter so as to distinguish themselves from Perkote on the hills, while keeping up a reminiscence of the name. We may perhaps compare the official distinction between Tonbridge in the plain and Tunbridge Wells, the successful offspring not far off. The name Perkope grew to be so familiar that it occurs continually as a variant in MSS., even in Homer, *Il.* ii. 835, xi. 229, xv. 548, though the adjective *Περκώσιος* shews that the π is inadmissible. It would appear therefore that from the fourth century onwards the two towns were called Perkote (on the Er-dagh) and Perkope (on the coast); Eustathios is quite right when he says (840, 46) ἡ δὲ Περκώπη αὕτη ἑτέρα ἐστὶ παρὰ τὴν διὰ τοῦ τ, ὡς ἀλλαχοῦ κείται, γραφομένην Περκώτην, though he is evidently wrong in thinking that Περκώπη should be read in *Il.* xi. 228. His own copy did in fact here read Περκώπη: for this is in this place the reading of the MS. which I call J, (B.M. Harley 1771) and which I have shewn to be in all peculiar readings a copy of that used by Eustathios (*Journ. Phil.* xx. 243). The variant is not recorded here from any other MS.

We have now sufficient material for completing the mutilated phrase in Strabo. Read ἡ πάλαι Περκώτη <μετωικίσθη καὶ Περκώπη> μετωνομάσθη ὁ τόπος. 'The original Perkote was transplanted, and the name of the site was changed to Perkope.' The omission of the words was evidently bound to come at some point in the course of transcription.

VII.

§ 25. τὸ γὰρ μᾶλλον καὶ ἦττον θαρρεῖν πλησιάζειν τῇ θαλάττῃ πλείους ἂν ὑπογράφοι διαφορὰς πολιτειῶν καὶ ἡθῶν, †καὶ ἄπερ†¹ τῶν †ἀγαθῶν†² τε καὶ τῶν ἀγρίων †ἔτι πῶς†³ ἐπὶ τὸ ἡμερον τῶν δευτέρων ὑποβεβηκότων, ἔστι †δέ†⁴ τις διαφορὰ καὶ παρὰ τούτοις κ.τ.λ.

¹ καθάπερ conj. Xyl., καὶ καθάπερ Cor.

³ αἰτία πῶς, ἐστὶ πῶς MSS. dett. ἤδη πῶς

² ἀπλῶν conj. Groskurd, recep. Kramer, conj. Grosk., 'quod satis aridet' Kramer.

⁴ δέ om. Cor.

The passage comes in the middle of a long disquisition on Plato's theory of the advance of civilisation as set out in the *Laws*, Book III. Plato there tells how, 'after the floods,' civilisation gradually descended from the hill-tops to the slopes, and ultimately, as the waters disappeared, to the sea-shore. Each descent was marked by a rise in the scale of culture, and is illustrated by an example from Homer. The hill-top stage, savage and simple, is that of the *Kyklopes*. The middle stage is that of the old Dardania, founded on the slopes (*μεσώρειαι*) of *Ida*; the last, that of *Ilion* founded 'in the plain,' ἐν πεδίοι πεπόλιστο, πόλις μερόπων ἀνθρώπων.

This was clearly urged as an argument in favour of the claim of *Ilion* to be Homer's *Troy*; *Ilion* was in fact 'in the plain' as near the sea as

circumstances permitted, and Plato rightly gave it as a typical instance of the last stage of his theory.

This claim was however disputed by Demetrios of Skepsis; it is his counter-argument which Strabo here gives us, though in all probability with much condensation and omissions which leave important points to inference. The general drift however is clear.

Demetrios, while not disputing Plato's view in the main, urges that it is not so simple as it looks. The downward tendency of civilisation must have been more gradual than Plato thinks; each stage must have had several sub-stages. The final inference, which Strabo does not explicitly state, is that in the last stage, when civilisation was approaching the sea, we may expect to find more than one town. The town nearest the sea—in this case Ilium—must have been preceded by another a little further off, built before mankind had yet dared actually to settle on the still drying shore; and this penultimate town, Homer's Troy, Demetrios believes himself to have found at the 'Ilians' village' some three miles nearer to the hill-country than Ilium itself.

In the sentence before us Demetrios is tracing the various sub-stages from the first. The first stage is that of the dwellers on the hill-tops, who have the primitive culture, which is 'good and wild'—*ἡθὴ ἀγαθὰ καὶ ἄγρια*. Here Groskurd has conjectured *ἀπλῶν* for *ἀγαθῶν*. The change seems at first sight convincing. Kramer says of *ἀγαθῶν* 'hoc verbum cum plane alienum sit ab hoc loco, Groskurdii coniecturam recipere non dubitavi, mutationis facilitate non minus commendabilem, quam sensus opportunitate,' and Meineke follows suit. And as we have in the statement of Plato's theory a few lines before *πρῶτον μὲν τὸ ἐπὶ τὰς ἀκρωρείας ἀπλοῦν καὶ ἄγριον*, the change does at first sight seem almost self-evident. But neither Groskurd nor Kramer has noticed that *ἀγαθῶν* also has the direct authority of Plato himself, who says that the simple stage was a 'good' stage—*ἀγαθοὶ μὲν διὰ ταῦτά τε ἦσαν καὶ διὰ τὴν λεγομένην εὐήθειαν* (*Laws*, III. p. 579).

In my opinion therefore *ἀγαθῶν* is not only defensible, but necessary. Demetrios wants to indicate that there are two distinct elements in the hill-top stage itself, giving rise to yet further distinctions in subsequent stages. *ἀπλῶν καὶ ἀγρίων* would naturally be taken as a single phrase involving no antithesis; it is a piece of quite adroit dialectic to substitute *ἀγαθῶν* with the authority of Plato, and thus emphasise the polarity between 'good' and 'savage' which is not apparent in 'simple' and 'wild.' He then goes on to say that these two aspects of the first stage result in a still more marked contrast in the second; the 'good' element of the first gives rise to the 'civil' of the second, just as the 'wild' gives rise to the 'rustic.' Demetrios is of course arguing, in true Greek fashion, from the connotations of the Greek words, which are naturally not the same as with us, so that his argument cannot have its full force in English. He has reached so marked a contrast between *πολιτικός* and *ἄγροικος* that he can afford to interpolate a third sub-stage, the *μεσάγροικος*, a word which he has apparently invented for the purpose; it is not found elsewhere.

We can now approach the plainly corrupt *ἔτι πως*—an old corruption, as appears from the various shapes it has taken in late MSS. The right word is, I feel little doubt, *ἐτέρως*. This involves less alteration than any other conjecture known to me, and seems to give exactly the sense required by the passage—the ‘good’ and the ‘wild’ pass, *by one or other road*, i.e. ‘alternatively’ into the ‘civil’ and ‘rustic.’ It may be noticed that this is a Platonic use of the adverb; *τὸ μὲν τι ἀμφοτέρως, τὸ δ’ ἐτέρως*, *Theaet.* 181 e.

We have further to consider the construction of the whole sentence. We can either abolish the *καὶ* of *καὶ ἄπερ* by reading *καθάπερ*, and put a full stop after *ὑποβεβηκότων*, or we can keep a comma here and reject the *δέ* after *ἔστι*. The difference in the sense is slight; in the former case *τῶν ἀγαθῶν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀγρίων* is gen. after the preceding *διαφοράς*, in the latter after the following *διαφορά*. But I prefer the second construction, and translate accordingly:—‘Different degrees of boldness in settling near the sea will suggest several different forms of civilisation and manners; just as in the case of the ‘good’ and ‘wild’ manners, which passed over in alternative forms to the mildness of the second stage, so in the second stage itself we find a corresponding difference between the ‘rustic,’ the ‘semi-rustic’ and the ‘civil.’

The only objection to *καὶ ἄπερ* is, I think, that *ἄπερ* is a word used only by the poets and Xenophon. On this ground we should perhaps accept the conj. *καὶ καθάπερ*, though I am not sure that *καὶ ὡσπερ* is not palaeographically as easy an alteration.

VIII.

§ 27. *ἔπειτα ὅτι Ἰούλιος ἀπὸ Ἰούλου τινος τῶν προγόνων· ἐκεῖνος δ’ ἀπὸ †Ἰούλου† τὴν προσωνομίαν ἔσχε ταύτην, τῶν ἀπογόνων εἰς ὧν τῶν ἀπὸ Αἰνείου.*

It appears then that Julius Caesar took special interest in Ilium because the name of Julius came from Iulos, and the name of Iulos came from Iulos. The patent absurdity of this is in no way diminished by saying that one Iulos was an ancestor of Julius, and a descendant of the family of Aineias, while the other was—Iulos! If two of the same name are to be distinguished, it must be by more characteristic marks than this. Nor can it be said that the solution of the problem is advanced by such a naive device as that of Groskurd, who translates ‘weil er Julius hiess, von Julus, einem seiner Altvordern; dieser aber, welcher einer der Nachkommen des Aineias war, hatte diesen Namen von Iulos.’ Strabo apparently foresaw that somewhere in the course of the seventeenth century A.D. printers would distinguish between I and J, and that later on, though some transliterated the Greek termination *-os* by *-us*, others would prefer *-os*. Till that time, according to Groskurd, Strabo’s meaning could not be understood.

It seems to me perfectly obvious that the second name should be not *Ἰούλου* but *Ἰλου*. This I conjectured with complete confidence at a first

reading of the passage in Meineke, before I had ascertained from Kramer that Ἴλου is in fact given by two (inferior) MSS. and was adopted by Corais. Since then I have puzzled my brains in vain to discover how anyone could fail to adopt so certain a correction when it had once been pointed out. Yet Ἰούλου stands in every text known to me.

The name of Ilus is of course the essential link in the derivation of the Julian family from Aeneas. It was easy enough to invent an eponymous Iulus; this meant nothing without the further assertion that the name Iulus was identical with Ilos. When that step had been taken, the thing was done; Ilos was the eponymos of Ilion, and his name was traditional in the family of Aeneas. When Strabo says that Iulus was called from Ilus, he has given us a famous name, which needs no further explanation.

We have, of course, an explicit and semi-official statement of the derivation of Iulus from Ilus in Virgil, *Aen.* i. 267:

puer Ascanius, cui nunc cognomen Iulo
additur—Ilus erat, dum res stetit Ilia regno.

Why anyone should have doubted the genuineness of these lines, the very kernel of the Julian genealogy, is another of those critical puzzles which I am wholly unable to solve. So far as the Julian gens was concerned, Virgil might almost as well have never written the *Aeneid* as omit these vital words. They constitute the one piece of evidence—such as it is, of course—for the connexion of the Julii with Troy and the goddess Venus.

It may be noted that Strabo never mentions Virgil and wholly ignores the *Aeneid*, though it was published some thirty years before the *Geography*. Indeed he hardly conceals his contempt for the Roman Aeneas legend, which naturally little suited his archaeological conscience, though it could not be too openly flouted under Augustus. Probably the triple identification Ascanius-Iulus-Ilus, was a contribution of Virgil's own; the ordinary story merely said what Strabo says, that the name Julius was derived through the imaginary Iulus from the Trojan Ilos.

WALTER LEAF.

STUDIES IN THE TEXT OF THE *NICOMACHEAN ETHICS*.

II.

IT is generally admitted that Bekker's K^b—Laur. 81, 11—is the best, as it is the oldest, authority for the text both of the *Nicomachean Ethics* and of the *Great Morals*. It is desirable therefore that the testimony of that manuscript should be presented to the learned public as accurately as possible. So far as concerns the *Nicomachean Ethics*, the reports of that testimony which are now available are chiefly the following: (a) Bekker's, as given in his academical edition of 1831, (b) Schöll's, as given first in Rassow's *Forschungen über die Nikomachische Ethik*, Weimar, 1874, at p. 10, *sqq.*, and subsequently in Susemihl's editions, of which the third and last was edited by Otto Apelt and published in the Teubner series in 1912, and (c) Bywater's, as given in his Oxford text. Bywater's *apparatus criticus* is unfortunately what is called a select *apparatus criticus*. 'In adferendo codicum testimonio,' he says in his preface, 'praescriptam legem hujus editionis sic observavi ut potissima tantum scripturae varietas in adnotatione commemoraretur, omissis scilicet eis quae temere et casu seriores librarii intulerunt. Itaque ne ipsius quidem K^b integram varietatem adposui.' So far as regards the *Great Morals*, there are for K^b the collations of Bekker, as given in the edition of 1831, and of Schöll, as given in Rassow, *op. cit.*, and in Susemihl's edition of 1883. I have made a new collation of K^b using for the *Ethics* Susemihl's third edition revised by Apelt, and for the *Great Morals* Susemihl's edition of 1883, and I here give the principal results of that collation, so far as they differ from the results of those two editions. As a rule I only refer to those places where the testimony of Susemihl-Apelt or of Susemihl, as the case may be, is either inadequate or erroneous. Both Susemihl and Apelt had the advantage of Schöll's collation and they have thereby been enabled to correct Bekker's testimony in a good many places. Unfortunately any collation in passing from one *apparatus criticus* to another is apt to go wrong. A note that refers to one line or to one manuscript gets attributed to another line and another manuscript. Moreover Susemihl grouped together the readings of several manuscripts under one letter, while Apelt judiciously resolved the signs which expressed groups

into their constituent elements. In this performance again mistakes inevitably crept in. It will be found that in at least three-fourths of the cases where I have corrected either the text or the *apparatus criticus* of the editions which I have mentioned, I have reverted to Bekker's testimony. His collation of K^b is indeed remarkably correct.

Two preliminary points require clearing up: first, as to the extent to which I note other hands than that of the original scribe; secondly, as to the extent to which I note the *minutiae* of accentuation, breathings, wrong division of words, misspellings, etc. The number and date of the various hands in K^b have been the subject of some difference of opinion. Susemihl in his first edition of the *Nicomachean Ethics* (1882) and in his edition of the *Great Morals* classifies the hands as follows:—

- corr.¹ K^b = correctiones ipsius librari.
 corr.^{2 3} K^b = duo ejusdem saeculi correctores.
 rc. K^b = corrector tertius.'

Apelt, in Susemihl's third edition, gives a different account of the hands. He writes as follows:—

'pr. K^b significat primam manum, corr.¹ correctiones prima manu (*i.e.* ab ipso librario) confectas.

rc. K^b significat recentiorum correctorum manus. Inveniuntur enim praeter ipsius librarii correctiones tria genera correctionum profectarum a tribus correctoribus, qui sunt cuncti, ut videtur, saeculi decimi tertii (falsa de hac re rettulit Susemihl). Schoellius ipse diversas manus sic distinguit:

- m. 1 librarius.
- m. 2 corrector prior (saec. xiii. ut vid.).
- m. 3 eadem videtur esse atque rubricatoris, et ipsa, nisi fallor, saec. xiii. et fort. manu 2 anterior.
- m. altera = corrector secundus (saec. xiii.-xiv., similis atramenti atque m. 1).
- m. rec. nigriore atramento usa tamen nescio an eadem sit atque m. altera quam dico.'

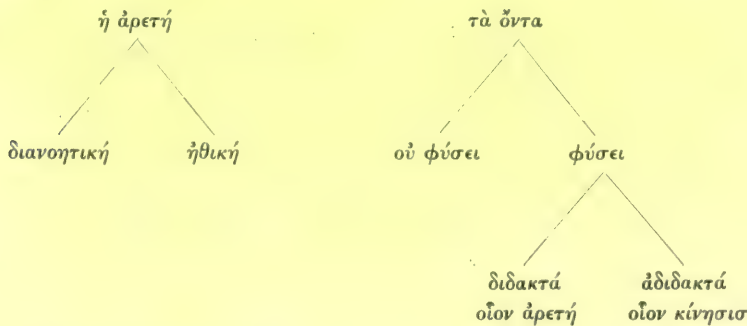
I regret that I cannot agree altogether with either of these learned men. First, very few corrections can be assigned with certainty to the original scribe. As a rule, he does not seem to have looked back on what he had written. The utmost he ever did was to correct slips which struck his attention the moment after he had made them. He is guilty of many omissions of words and phrases, but he never supplies them. There are a few minor corrections which, from the similarity in the letters and the identity in the colour of the ink, one may be justified in ascribing to him, although it must be admitted that a later hand, as Schöll notices, uses an ink which has turned to the same colour as that of the original scribe. Here however are some corrections which probably belong to the original scribe. 1110b 12 οἱ δὲ] δὲ is over the line but by the scribe. 1111a 2 He originally wrote ἀκουσιω

but has put a small σ over ω . 1122a 29 He wrote $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\theta\epsilon\rho\sigma$ but erased the accent, put another over the third ϵ and inserted a small ι between ρ and σ . 1122b 23 He wrote $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\nu$ but changed it to $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota\ \acute{\alpha}\nu$. 1129b 3 'â om. pr. K^b' says Susemihl. â is in the line but in a smaller hand. It was no doubt added afterwards, but probably by the scribe. 1153a 30 $\alpha\acute{\iota}$ is over the line but by the scribe. 1163a 3 He wrote $\delta\iota\alpha\mu\alpha\rho\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha$ —i.e. he was going to write $\delta\iota\alpha\mu\alpha\rho\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\nu\tau\alpha$ —and then corrected $\acute{\alpha}$ into $\acute{\omicron}$. 1165b 33 He wrote $\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\omicron\sigma$ —his eye being attracted by $\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\omicron\sigma$ a few words before—and then inserted a small ι between \omicron and σ . 1172a 8 He wrote $\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\omega\nu$ and changed it to $\phi\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\lambda\omega\nu$.

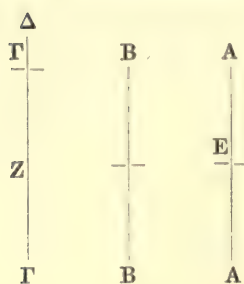
There are also a few cases where a word, or part of a word, is written in a wrong place, and is then dotted over by the scribe. 1161a 28 He wrote $\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\iota$. He then got rid of $\lambda\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}$ by putting dots over it, and added λ before $\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\iota$ which comes in the next line. At the same time he put an accent over $\omicron\nu$. 1181b 3 He wrote $\sigma\upsilon\gamma\gamma\rho\alpha\mu\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\nu\ \phi\acute{\alpha}\iota\nu\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota\ \gamma\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$. It is obvious that $\phi\acute{\alpha}\iota\nu\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ comes from $\phi\acute{\alpha}\iota\nu\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\iota$ which occurs a few words before. The scribe apparently became aware of this, for he dotted over $\phi\acute{\alpha}\iota\nu\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$. 1183a 21 He wrote $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\mu\eta\sigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\iota\pi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$ and then, seeing that $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota\nu$ had occurred a few words before, covered it with dots.

It is hard to be sure about dots, but these are probably by the scribe. There are two systems of dotting. One is where the word which it is desired to erase is dotted over above the line, the other is where it is surrounded by dots. The former system seems to have been that of the original scribe.

Of marginalia there is one important class which appear to be by the original scribe—I refer to the drawings or diagrams in illustration of the text which are to be found in several places. It would be impossible to do justice to these diagrams except by photographs, but the following observations may serve to give an idea of them. On f. 15a (the beginning of Book II.) there are four figures in the margin, and on f. 15b is another. They merely serve to classify the matter contained in the text. Two may be given as a specimen:—

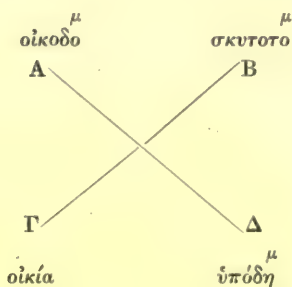


On f. 57b (1132b 2-27) three lines are drawn on the outer top margin thus:—



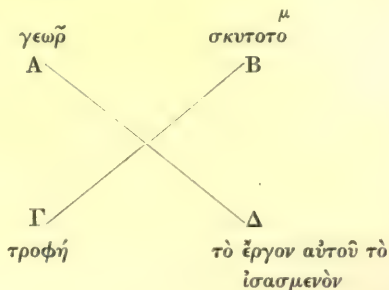
In some of the old editions these lines—only placed horizontally—are given as part of the text after *1132b* 9.

On f. 58*a* (*1132b* 27–*1133a* 16) there is the following drawing on the lower margin:—



This corresponds, though not precisely, with the drawing in the Paraphrase of Heliodorus, p. 96, Heylbut. It corresponds more nearly with those in the translation by Feliciano of the Commentary of Michael Ephesius, p. 229, 230, ed. Ven. 1541. The same is reproduced in some of the old commentaries, *e.g.* that of Victorius, p. 281, ed. Flor. 1584.

On f. 58*b* (*1133a* 16–*b* 6) there is the following drawing in the bottom margin:—



This again corresponds closely with the drawing in Heliodorus, p. 97, which again agrees with that in the translation of Feliciano, p. 232, and that in the Commentary of Victorius, p. 284.

On f. 59a (1133b 6–31) the following drawing is at the side:—

$\frac{\text{οἰκία}}{\hat{\text{A}}}$	$\frac{\text{αι' } \mu}{\text{μν ἰ νομισ'}}$	$\frac{\text{κλίη}}{\Gamma}$
---------------------------------------	--	------------------------------

This corresponds with the drawings in Heliodorus, p. 98, and Feliciano, p. 234.

It may be questioned whether these drawings, or some of them, do not belong to the original edition of the *Nicomachean Ethics*. They seem to me due to the original scribe.

When we pass from him to later correctors, it is to be noticed that no one has gone over the manuscript regularly, from start to finish, with the idea of a systematic correction. There are many pages—more in the *Nicomachean Ethics* than in the *Great Morals*—which are absolutely free from corrections or marginalia of any sort. Such correction as there is is desultory and haphazard. Although the original scribe makes many omissions, it is only a small proportion of these which are supplied.

The most active of all the annotators or correctors is the one who is described by Schöll as the Rubricator, and whom he assigns to the thirteenth century. The Rubricator adds from time to time headings in the margin. He also adds hands pointing to something in the text, expressions of admiration, such as *καλῶς, ὠραῖον*. One of his longest notes is at f. 167b: *ἐνθεν εἰδέναι ἐστὶ πῶς νοεῖται ἐν τοῖς νικομαχίοις διὸ καλῶς ἀπεφήναντο τὰ γαθὸν οὐ πάντα ἐφίεται. πάντα γὰρ τὰ ζῶα νοητέον*. The Rubricator supplies some of the omissions of the original scribe, e.g. 1098a 13 *καὶ . . . 16 ἐνέργεια*; 1099a 10 *τὸν . . . 11 φιλοδικαίῳ*. He also makes some emendations. 1104a 32 The scribe wrote *ἄ*. The Rubricator notes: *γρ' ἄν*. 1109a 13 The scribe wrote *ἔχομεν πῶς*. The Rubricator draws attention to this by three dots over *ἔχομεν* and writes in the margin: *πεφύκαμέν πῶς*.

The Rubricator writes at f. 180a: *σημείωσαι περὶ φίλον* Amicus alter ego. Now, if there could be any doubt about the epoch of his Greek hand, there can be none about that of his Roman, which is palpably fifteenth century. Nor is this all. The Rubricator is clearly identical with an annotator of Laur. 81, 20, as to whom see my last Study, at page 48, and he therefore must have been living in the middle of the fifteenth century. I hoped that he was Philelphus, but the hand does not resemble that of the Greek-Latin dictionary which is said to be written by Philelphus and which is in the Laurentian library, Conv. Sopp. 181.

By fixing the date of the Rubricator, we are enabled to fix approximately the date of two other correctors. At 1111b 18 *τὰ διὰ θυμὸν*, Susemihl³ notes: '*διὰ* corr. 1 K^b; *κατὰ* pr. K^b.' Now the Rubricator has in the margin *τὰ κατὰ θυμὸν*, and he therefore must have written before the correction, which Susemihl so wantonly ascribes to the first corrector. On the other hand, he is later than another corrector. In 1115b 13 the original reading was *τοῦτο γὰρ τέλος ταῖς ἀρεταῖς*, the last two words of which were

corrected in the text into *τῆσ ἀρετῆσ*. The Rubricator has in the margin: *τὸ καλὸν τέλος τῆσ ἀρετῆσ*. This correction at least must date before A.D. 1450.

Where a correction consists merely in erasing or dotting or altering breathings or accents, its date cannot be readily ascertained. Some one has displayed considerable diligence in getting rid of *ν ἐφελκυστικὸν* wherever it occurs before a consonant. In the earlier part of the book this is generally effected by erasure, but after 1165a 13, instead of *ν ἐφελκυστικὸν* being erased, it is generally either dotted around or blotted over. This corrector sometimes blunders and strikes out a *ν* which is not *ἐφελκυστικόν*. Thus, in 1097a 24, the scribe wrote *ταντὸν*, but *ν* has been erased. In 1148b 2 the corrector has erased the final *ν* in *μωραίνειν*. Another or the same corrector has dealt with the accents and breathings, changing *ὄτ' ἄν* of the original scribe into *ὄταν*. So far as I can see, there are some corrections of an earlier date than the Rubricator and there was another hand of the fifteenth century contemporary with or later than him. It is obvious however that the date of a correction can seldom be certain where there are only a few letters to go by.

Most of the corrections are made within the text itself. That is to say, the word which it is desired to correct is altered into the word required with the least possible expenditure, as by the alteration of one letter into another, by the insertion of a letter or letters in the line, or by the addition of a letter or letters in small characters above the line. A few examples will make this method clearer. 1094a 4 The scribe wrote *παρ' αὐτὰσ*. A corrector has put a small *à* over *ρ*, inserted a long thin *τ* between *ρ* and *α* and struck out the sign of elision and the breathing over *α*. 1094a 11 The scribe wrote *χαλινοποικῆ*. A corrector put a small *η* over the second *ι* and inserted a long thin *τ* between it and the third *ι*, thus producing *χαλινοποιητικῆ*. 1095a 13 The scribe wrote *προοιμιάσθω*. A corrector put a tiny *ε* over *π*, turned *ρ* into *φ* and the first *ο* into *ρ*. Thus you get *πεφροιμιάσθω*. In 1095b 22 the scribe's *ὀμοπαθεῖν* was changed into *ὀμοιοπαθεῖν* by the insertion of a small *ιο*. In 1137b 5 the scribe wrote *σπουδαία ἐστιν. ταντὸν* was got in with great dexterity between these two words. One thing is certain, namely, that none of these alterations belongs to the original scribe.

Of the additions there is no doubt that some are antecedent to the Rubricator, and belong to the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century. To this class belong: 1123a 3 *καὶ ἀντιδωρέασ* (which is omitted by O^b); 1124b 7 *οὐδὲ φιλοκίνδυνος*; 1132a 21 *ιέναι . . . εἶναι*; 1160a 8 *καὶ ἐπ' ἴσον διήκοντα*; 1162a 30 *οὐδὲν . . . 32 φίλον* (*καὶ* is added in the margin after *φίλον* although it is in the text); 1163a 2 *καὶ ἐκόντι*. Other additions, though they seem to be of the fifteenth century, are in a different hand from that of the Rubricator; e.g. 1103b 14 *συναλλάγμασι τοῖσ*; 1110a 25 *μὴ δεῖ ἂ καὶ* (*καὶ* does not appear to be in the other manuscripts); 1129b 10 *καὶ παράνομος*; 1139a 4 *αλογον· νυν δε περι του λογον εχοντος* (no accents nor breathings). Bekker was wise in paying, on the whole, very little attention to any hands of K^b except the first. It has been corrected in an irregular

way from later manuscripts, but no corrections are earlier than the thirteenth century, and most are of the fifteenth. The only difficulty with K^b, which is a clearly written manuscript, is in ascertaining what corrections (if any) belong to the original scribe.

As regards the second preliminary point to which I referred, I have not taken account, as a general rule, in my collation, of differences of accents, breathing, wrong division of words, or punctuation. The reader is not to assume therefore that, where the printed text gives *αὐτοῖς* or *ταῦτα* K^b may not have *αὐτοῖς* or *ταῦτα*. These and similar variants cannot be of any material importance either towards the settlement of the text or towards the determination of the manuscript genealogy. Even here however it is necessary to make exceptions. 1101b 28 ἀριστείων pr.¹; 1114b 7 κρίνει; 1116a 35 ου οι αρκειον εσσειται. The accents and breathings are in a later hand; 1119b 33 οὐ] οὐ pr.; 1129b 21 The manuscript agrees with the printed text in giving *ρίπτειν*. Bywater accents *ρίπτειν*; 1137b 22 ὁ κὰν ὁ νομοθέτης] ὁ κανονομοθέτης pr.; 1139a 36 ἦ] ἦ; 1139b 1 γὰρ του] γὰρ τοῦ pr.; 1148a 30 ἦ] ἦ but the accent and breathing are over an erasure; 1152a 31 εὐνῶς. In the margin a later hand has written *εὐνοσ*; 1183b 37 γυμνασία. Here are some cases where the words have been wrongly divided. 1124b 24 ἀλλ'ἦ] ἀλλή pr.; 1134b 20 οὐ τῶ] οὐτῶ; 1141a 10 ἀποδιδόμεν οἶον] ἀποδιδόμενοι ὄν pr.; 1143a 15 ἄλλου] ἀλλ' οὐ pr.; 1148a 27 οὐ τῶ] οὐτῶ; 1152a 9 οὐ τῶ] οὐτῶ; 1164a 26 ὄσου] ὄσ οὐ; 1172a 14 ἄπ' ἐσθλά] ἀπεσθλά.

Although errors of punctuation are not in themselves material, and therefore, as a general rule, I have not noticed them, yet they are often the cause of serious errors which only become fully intelligible when their origin is seen. A few examples may be usefully given. 1095b 4 διὸ δεῖ τοῖς ἔθουσιν ἦχθαι καλῶς τὸν περὶ καλῶν καὶ δικαίων καὶ ὄλων τῶν πολιτικῶν ἀκουσόμενον ἰκανῶς (ἀρχὴ γὰρ τὸ ὅτι κ. τ. λ.). Susemihl rightly notes that the scribe of K^b wrote *γὰρ ἀρχὴ* for *ἀρχὴ γὰρ* and that mg³ wrote *ἀρκεῖ* for *ἀρχὴ*. What happened was this. The original scribe put a stop after *ἀκουσόμενον* and continued *ἰκανῶς γὰρ ἀρχὴ τὸ ὅτι*. The stop after *ἀκουσόμενον* and *γὰρ* were subsequently erased and a small *γὰρ* written over the line after *ἀρχὴ*. This may be due to a thirteenth century corrector. The *ἀρκεῖ* which is written in the margin with a reference across to *ἀρχὴ* is by the fifteenth century Rubricator. 1112a 5 λαβεῖν δὲ ἢ φυγεῖν οὐ πάνυ δοξάζομεν] Susemihl³ fails to notice that K^b adds *δὲ* after *δοξάζομεν*. The reason why the scribe adds *δὲ* is because he puts a stop after *πάνυ*. 1118b 31 μᾶλλον ἢ δεῖ, ὅτι] K^b punctuates and writes: *μᾶλλον. ἢ δι' ὅτι*. 1126b 36 οὐκ ἀποδέξεται ἀλλὰ δυσχερανεῖ. διαφερόντως δὲ ὀμιλήσει.] Susemihl³ does not notice—what Bywater does—that K^b has *διαφερόντως* *διαφόρως*. The

¹ When I say 'pr.' I mean, as Susemihl means when he says 'pr. K^b,' that the reading which precedes it was the original reading of the manuscript, but that it was subsequently corrected into the reading which

stands in the printed text with which my collation has been made. Susemihl occasionally adds K^b without more, though the reading has been corrected.

reason is that the scribe took *διαφερόντως* to belong to the previous sentence. There is no stop after *δυσχερανεῖ* but the scribe goes on thus: *διαφερόντως· διαφόρως δὲ*. 1147b 29 τὰ δ' ἀναγκαῖα μὲν οὐχί, αἰρετὰ δὲ καθ' αὐτὰ (λέγω δὲ οἶον νίκην κ. τ. λ.) Susemihl³ rightly notes 'δὲ ante λέγω pr. K^b.' The reason for this blunder is that the scribe put a stop after *αἰρετὰ δὲ* thus: *αἰρετὰ δὲ· καθ' αὐτὰ δὲ λέγω οἶον νίκην κ. τ. λ.* Then a corrector—probably the thirteenth century corrector—altered the accent on the first δὲ, struck out the second, and inserted δὲ after λέγω. 1148b 18 τὰ δὲ διὰ μοχθηρὰς φύσεις, ἔστιν καὶ περὶ τούτων ἕκαστα παραπλησίας ἰδεῖν ἔξεις] Susemihl³ does not observe that the manuscript has clearly *παραπλησίως*. (This is the reading of M^b, according to Bekker.) The explanation of the reading is no doubt this. The scribe has no stop after *φύσεις* but puts one after the next word, *ἔστιν*. He thus begins a new sentence with *καὶ περὶ τούτων ἕκαστα*. He can only have construed this sentence by taking *ἔξεις* to mean 'you will have' and he then naturally corrected *παραπλησίως*—an adjective *in vacuo*—into *παραπλησίως*. 1165b 14 γένηται δὲ μοχθηρὸς καὶ δοκῆ, ἄρ' ἔτι φιλητέον;] The scribe has γ. δ. μ. καὶ δοκεῖ ἀρετῆ; φιλητέον.

Subject to the exceptions mentioned above, I give all the variants of K^b from the printed text, save in so far as these variants have found a place in the *apparatus criticus* of the editions which I have used. It must always be remembered that my statements are supplementary to these editions—just as Rassow's statements in his *Forschungen* about Schöll's collation are supplementary to Bekker's academical edition. The minor variants may be grouped under the following heads:—

In the following cases the manuscript reads *ἀν* where the printed text has *ἐὰν*: 1133b 11, 1135a 22, 1158b 33; and in the following cases it reads *ἐὰν* where the printed text has *ἀν*: 1136a 1, 1144a 27, 1158a 34.

Here it reads *πᾶς*, etc., for *ἅπασ* of the printed text: 1138a 33 *πᾶν*, 1155a 22 *πᾶς*, 1160b 35 *πάντων*, 1171b 27 *πᾶσιν*.

In two cases it reads *γίγνηται* for the printed *γίνηται*: 1131b 29, 1165a 7.

Here it has *οὕτως* where the printed text gives *οὕτω*: 1097b 27, 1102b 31, 1131b 8, 1164b 2, 1197a 39, 1201b 39, 1202b 20; and here it has *οὕτω* where the printed text gives *οὕτως*: 1194a 35.

Here it gives *ἐνεκα* where the printed text gives *ἐνεκεν*: 1122a 8, 1140b 18; and here it gives *ἐνεκεν* where the printed text gives *ἐνεκα*: 1190a 22.

Here it gives *οὐδεῖς* etc. for *οὐθεῖς* etc. of the printed text: 1115a 25 *οὐδεῖς*; 1116b 35, 1126b 13, 1165b 31, 1201b 6 *οὐδέν*.

Here it gives δ' for θ': 1125a 7 *οὐδ'*; here θ' for τ': 1162b 24 *μάλισθ' ὅταν*; 1179a 30 *μάλισθ' ὑπάρχει*; here ξ for σ: 1143a 9 *ξύνεσις*; 1143a 10 *ξύνεσις* and *εὐξυνεσία*; 1143a 13 *ξυνιέναι*; 1143a 21 *ξυγγνωμονικόν*; 1172b 6 *ξυνιέντασ*; here σσ for ττ: 1101a 26 *ἡσσον*; 1110b 26 *πράσσειν*; 1176a 10 *διαλλάσσουνσι*; here μμ for μ: 1152a 32 *ἔμμεναι*; and here ρ for ρρ: 1179b 16 *μεταρρυθμίσαι*.

Here the manuscript reads *αὐτός, αὐτός* etc. where the printed text reads *ἐαυτός* etc.: 1124a 27 *αὐτοῦς*; 1125a 28 *αὐτοῦς*; 1132b 13 *αὐτοῦ*; 1138a 22 *αὐτὸν*; 1138a 26 *αὐτοῦ . . . αὐτὸν*; 1160b 2 *αὐτῶι*; 1166a 2, 31, b 26, *αὐτὸν*; 1168a 33 *αὐτοῦ*. In 1171a 3 the manuscript reads *ἐαυτὸν* where the printed text has *αὐτὸν*.

In the following cases there is no elision in the manuscript although there is in the printed text. (a) *a* is not elided: 1103b 28 *ἵνα ἀγαθοὶ*; 1105b 28 *τὰ ἄλλα*; 1112b 4 *κατὰ ἰατρικὴν*; 1114b 9 *παρὰ ἑτέρου*; 1129b 16 *κατὰ ἄλλον*; 1146a 28 *μετὰ ἀκρασίας*; 1155a 7 *μάλιστα εἶναι*; 1168a 29, 1172a 6 *μάλιστα ἀγαπῶσιν*; 1184b 35 *ἄρα ἂν*; 1189b 16 *ὅποια ἂν*; 1207a 5 *ἐνταῦθα ἐλάχιστος*; 1209b 30 *διὰ ἡδονήν*. (b) *ai* is not elided: 1162b 28 *καὶ οὐκ*; 1169a 19 *καὶ ἔαν*. (c) *e* is not elided: 1103b 2 *τὰ δὲ ἀνδρεία*; 1105a 21 *οὐδὲ ἐπὶ*; 1107b 24 *δὲ ἐλέγομεν*; 1113b 14 *οὐδὲ ἄκων*; 1117a 3 *δὲ ἔοικεν*; 1118b 10 *δὲ ἀμφοῖν*; 1118b 24 *δὲ οἱ*; 1121b 26 *πότε ἀναγκασθῶσιν* 1124b 14 *δὲ ὑπερέχειν*; 1125b 12 *δὲ ἀφιλότιμον*; 1129b 25 *δὲ ὁ*; 1131b 2 *ὥστε ἔαν*; 18 *δὲ ἔλαττον*; 1132b 5 *δὲ ὑπερ-*; 1132b 16 *μήτε ἔλαττον*; 1134a 26 *δὲ ἐπὶ*; 1136b 6 *οὐδὲ εἶς*; 1142b 8 *δὲ εὖ*; 1152b 30 *δὲ οὐδὲ*; 1153b 7 *τε οὐδὲν*; 1160a 33 *δὲ ἀπὸ*; 1169a 17 *δὲ ἐπιεικῆς*; 1174a 16 *δὲ ἔοικεν*; 1179b 21 *δὲ ἔθει*; 1186b 13 *δὲ ἐνδείας*; 1212b 28 *δὲ ὁ*; 1213b 4 *οὔτε ὀλίγους*. (d) *i* is not elided: 1180b 8 *ἐπὶ ἰατρικῆς*. (e) *o* is not elided: 1104a 12 *ὑπὸ ἐνδείας*; 1105a 5 *τοῦτο οὖν*.

In the following cases there is elision or crasis in the manuscript although there is none in the printed text: 1107a 32 *δ' ἐπὶ*; 1114a 30 *κάπλι*; 1136a 2 *τάδικήματα*; 1138a 22 *τὰ αὐτὰ] ταῦτα*; 1141a 30 *τὰ αὐτοῖς] ταυτοῖς* pr.; 1209b 35 *δ' οὐδὲ*.

In the following cases the manuscript retains *ν ἐφέλκυστικόν*: 1101b 1 *ἔοικεν* pr.; 1110a 21 *ὑπομένωσιν*; 1113b 9, 1118b 17, 1170b 15, 1173b 9, 1183b 12, 1185a 24, 1186a 36, 1196b 38, 1199a 7, 1202b 30, 1203a 30, 1204b 38 (2nd), 1205b 6, 1207b 34 (2nd), 1208a 39, 1209b 21, 25, 1210a 2, 1211b 30, 1212b 15, 1213a 13, 1213b 24 (both) *ἐστίν*; 1113b 21 *ἔοικεν*; 1116b 24 *δοκοῦσιν*; 1121b 7 *πορίζουσιν*; 22, *ἐλλείπουσιν*; 1132b 11 *ἐλήλυθεν*; 1134a 22 *ἐμοίχευσεν*; 1144a 23, 1186b 16 *καλοῦσιν*; 1145b 31 *συγχωροῦσιν*; 1165b 7 *ᾧσιν*; 1166b 16 *ἐλπίζουσιν*; 1178a 2 *δόξειεν*; 12 *πράξειεν*; 20 *πάθειεν*; 1185b 28 *φθείρουσιν*; 1194a 7 *φησιν*; 39 *ἦρξεν*; b 37 *μεταπίπτουσιν*; 1202a 19 *εἰσὶν*; 1207b 26 *φασιν*; 1212a 39 *ποιήσουσιν*. In the following cases the manuscript omits *ν ἐφέλκυστικόν*: 1145b 34 *ὀλιγοῦσι*; 1160b 19, 1200a 2, 1204a 26, 1208a 32 *ἐστί*; 1205a 24 *διατιθέασι*.

As regards the vowels, the manuscript gives *a* for *o*: 1136b 14 *προειλάμεθα*; *a* for *ai*: 1208b 10 *αἰεὶ] αἰεῖ*; *ai* for *e*: 1164b 13 *αἰνιαχον*; *ai* for *ei*: 1111a 15 *πατάξαιεν*; *ai* for *ω*: 1106a 25 *θεωρήσαιμεν*; *e* for *η*: 1167a 32 *ἔθειλεν*; *e* for *i*: 1114b 26 *ἡμῖν] ἡ μὲν*.

It gives *ei* for *e*: 1104a 3 *ἀπαιτητέοι* pr.; 1137b 16, 1138a 29, 1163b 1 *πλείον*; 1155b 4 *ἐς] εἰς*; *ei* for *η*: 1107b 12, 13 *λήψει] λείψει* pr.; 1138b 23 *ἀνίεισιν*; 1143a 9 *ἢ μὴ] εἰ μὴ*; *ei* for *ηι*: 1112a 1 *δόξη] δόξει*; 1117b 10, 1120b 2 *ἔχει*; 1154b 23 *πράττει* pr.; 1158b 21 *ἀπονέμει* pr.; 1164a 7 *φιλεῖ*; 1165b 14 *δοκεῖ*; 1167a 7 *ἐπιθυμεῖ* pr.; 1174b 29 *ἐνεργεῖ*; 1198a 30 *προσ-*

τάττει pr.; 1200a 7 ἄγει; 1210a 27 ποιεῖ . . . ἔλλείπει; εἰ for ι: 1095b 11 πείθηται; 1096a 17 εἰδέασ pr.; 1099b 4 εἰδέαν pr.; 1103b 20 and 21 οὕτωσεῖ; 1108a 24 εὐτραπέλεια; 1118a 13 εἶδοι pr.; b 14 ἡδέιω; 1127b 34 παιδείας; 1129a 29 εἰδέαν pr.; 1132b 14, 18 ζημειούσθαι pr.; 1138a 6 ἀποκτεινύναι pr.; 13 ζημεῖοι pr.; 1141a 14 μαργείτη; 1149a 7 δεδεῖναι pr.; 8 ἐδεδείη; 1150a 31 μαλακείας pr.; 1154a 6 ἡδέων pr.; 1160a 33 ἀριστοκρατεία pr.; 1167a 5 εἰδέαι pr.; 1171b 23 ἡδέιον; 1175b 8 ἡδέϊων; 1176a 7 ἡδέϊον pr.; 1181b 21 συνείδοιμεν pr.; 1182b 10 (both times) 12, 13; 1183a 28, 30, 32, 37; b 7 εἰδέα or εἰδέαν or εἰδέασ pr.; 1184a 29, 1188a 4 οὕτωσεῖ pr.; 1185a 9 εἶδοι pr.; 1193a 11, 19 εὐτραπέλεια pr.; 1201b 28 οὕτωσεῖ pr.; 1205a 7 συνείδοι; εἰ for οἰ: 1100b 4 συνακολουθείημεν.

The manuscript gives η for ε: 1107a 25 ἀμαρτάνηται; 1126a 13 γίνηται; 1148a 25 διειλόμεν; η for εἰ: 1122b 28 δαπανήση pr.: 1141a 11 πολύκλητον; 1149a 8 ἐδεδείη; 1169b 13 πησομένων; 1190a 17 δεῖ] δῆ; 1193a 28 ἥρωεῖας; 1203b 5 πῆσεται pr.; 1212b 3 πῆσεται; η for ι: 1170a 12 θεόγνησ; 1179b 6 θεόγνην; η for εἰ: 1115b 20 πάσχη καὶ πράττη; 1116a 23 ἀναθήση; 1120b 29 δαπανήση; 1128b 29 πράξι pr.; 1133a 1 ἀντιποίηση pr.; 1165a 10 ἔχη; η for οἰ: 1164b 8 συμβαίηνη.

The manuscript gives ι for αἰ: 1146a 1 ἡρεμία pr.; ι for εἰ: 1096b 5, 1106b 30, 1132b 22 πυθαγόριοι; 1097a 3 ἰδῶμεν; 1122a 2 ἀισχροκέρδια pr.; 1141b 20 ὀρνίθια; 1145b 6 καταλίπηται; 1185b 6 εὐμάθια pr.; 1202b 17 γραφίον; 1206b 16 ἐκλιπόντος; ι for η: 1099a 6 ἐπίβολοι; 1101a 13 ἐπίβολος pr.; 1102b 9 πλιν pr.; 1177b 19 θεωριτικῆ.

The manuscript gives ο for οἰ: 1112a 29 πολιτεύοντο; ο for ω: 1096b 5 πιθανότερον; 1120a 24 δόσει pr.; 1138b 16, 1139b 36 διορίσθω; 1152b 11 τοῦτον; 1158a 21 ἀγοραῖον pr.; 1165b 7 οἴονται; 1168a 34 βέλτιον; 1169b 10 ἀγαθόν; 1172b 24 τῶ] τὸ pr.; οἰ for εἰ: 1138b 31, 1148b 32, εἴποιεν; ου for ω: 1161a 6 διαφέρουσιν pr.; ω for ο: 1100b 13 βεβαιωτήσ pr.; 1152a 28 εὐιατωτέρα; 1155a 7 ὄφελος pr.; 1159b 15 ἄλλω perhaps corrected from ἄλλο; 1174a 24 κίωσος pr.; 1177a 34 βελτιων pr.; 1180a 10 ἐξωρίζειν pr.; ω for οἰ: 1164b 27 ἄμφων; ω for ου: 1120b 19 ἐπιμελώμενον.

I have been the more particular in detailing these minutiae, as Susemihl takes credit to himself for the exactness with which he reproduces K^b. 'In hiatibus aut plene scribendis aut elisione vel crasi tollendis, in οὕτως et ν ἐφελευστικῶ ante consonantes ponendo, in οὐθείς vel οὐδέίς, γίνεσθαι vel γίγνεσθαι, γινώσκειν vel γινώσκειν scribendo ubique secutus sum K^b codicem praestantissimum et antiquissimum.'²

I gladly turn to variants of more importance.

1094a 5 ὦν δ' εἰσὶ] δ' εἰ are over an erasure. b 21 τοιουτων] The second ο and ω are over an erasure.

1095a 13 Susemihl reads τσαῦτα in his text and notes 'τοσαῦτα etiam K^b.' This is wrong; K^b has ταῦτα as Bekker and Bywater rightly state. 26 παρὰ τὰ πολλὰ] τὰ is above the line and in a later hand.

² Quoted by Apelt at p. xi of his Praefatio to the *Ethica Nicomachea*. Susemihl says

much the same in his preface to the *Great Morals*, p. xvii.

b 6 Both Susemihl and Bywater read *εἰ τοῦτο φαίνοιτο* in their texts and note: 'εἰ τοῦτο] ἐν τούτοις pr. K^b.' Bekker reads the same and notes: 'φαίνοιτο] ἐν τούτοις K^b, τοῦτο margo K^b.' What K^b has in the text is *εἰ ἐν τούτοις φαίνοιτο*: *εἰ* is original. The Rubricator put *τοῦτο* in the margin with a reference across to *ἐν τούτοις*. I do not see what is wrong with K^b's reading, *ἐν τούτοις* meaning *ἐν τοῖς καλοῖς καὶ δικαιοῖς καὶ ὄλως τοῖς πολιτικοῖς*. 11 δ' αὖ] αὖ is in a later hand over an erasure. It is not clear what there was originally. 27 πιστεύσωσιν] K^b seems to have had originally *πιστεύσασιν*. The correction is perhaps by the scribe. 31 φαίνεται δέ] According to the authorities, pr. K^b has γὰρ instead of δέ. This is right. K^b has now φαίνεται δέ (new line) γὰρ. δέ, which is in a later hand, seems to be over an erasure. γὰρ is surrounded by dots.

1097a 14 εἰρήσθω] ω is over an erasure. 24 ταῦτον] It was originally *ταντὸν* but ν has been erased.

1098a 22 δόξειε] Now δόξει but εἰ are written over letters which have faded. b 29 ἐν γέ τι ἢ καὶ τὰ] Susemihl notes: 'ἐν γε τὴν τὰ pr. K^b ἐν γε τί τὰ corr².' What K^b has now is ἐν γε τί . . . τὰ. There is an erasure of perhaps two letters. Bekker, like myself, could not make out what had been erased.

1099a 7 ἔστιν] ἔτι is in the margin with a reference across. b 2 τητῶμενοι] Susemihl notes: 'τητῶμενοι pr. K^b.' It is now ἠτῶμενοι but a letter has been erased before ἦ. 5 ἢ φίλοι ἢ ἀγαθοὶ] ἢ before φίλοι is in K^b, as Susemihl rightly says, but there is no ἢ after φίλοι, as Bywater rightly says. The confusion seems to have arisen from the lines in Susemihl³ being different from Bekker's. In Bekker's academical edition line 5 ends ἢ φίλοι ἢ and he says in reference to the second ἢ 'ἢ add. L^b M^b O^b.' If Susemihl's observation 'ἢ etiam in K^b nisi falsus est Schoell' refers to the second ἢ, it is wrong.

1100a 6 εὐθηνούντα] Susemihl notes 'εὐσθενούντα K^b.' It is now as Susemihl says, but σθ are written in blacker ink over letters that have faded.

1101a 22 ἀπάντων] K^b had originally ἀπόντων. The ο was corrected by a later hand into α but the smooth breathing was left. b 21 τοιούτων] τοιού (new line) ούτων.

1102b 9 δικνούνται] καὶ δικνούνται.

1103b 8 τέχνη] The scribe first wrote τύχη and then corrected his mistake.

1104a 10 τοῦ παρόντος] παρόντος. b 32 τῶν ἐναντίων] τῶν (new line) τῶν ἐναντίων.

1106a 20 ἐνεγκεῖν] After this word two or three letters have been erased. 34 τε] om. b 21 οὐ ἔνεκα] οὐνεκα pr.

1107a 14 περι] περι. b 8 ἔστωσαν δέ] Susemihl rightly gives ἔστω δέ as the original reading, but he does not point out that ω δ are over an erasure. Was it ἔσται δ'?

1108a 8 ἀόρηγτός] ἀνόρηγιστός. ἀορηγσία] ἀνορηγσία. 30 ἐν πᾶσιν ἀηδῆς] This is the present reading but σιν is over an erasure and ἀ was

added later. It was originally: ἐν πᾶ . . . ἠδησ. 32 καὶ αἰδήμων] καὶ ὁ αἰδήμων.

1109a 17 μᾶλλον] 'μᾶλλον om. K^b M^b' says Susemihl. This is wrong as far as K^b is concerned. 25 τὸ μέσον] Originally τὰ μέσα, corrected probably by the scribe.

1110a 6, 7 πράξαντος] In both cases a later hand has corrected the word by writing ε over ο. 25 μὴ δεῖ ἂ] This is omitted by the scribe as Susemihl rightly says. A later hand has added: μὴ δεῖ ἂ καὶ. ὑπερτείνει] τείνει is over an erasure. b 12 οἱ δὲ] δὲ is in a small hand above οἱ but probably by the original scribe. 19 ἐπίλυπον] υ is over an erasure. The letters underneath may have been οἱ, as Schöll reports.

1111a 2 ἀκουσίως] The final σ is above the line but probably by the original scribe. 12 ἐσφαιρῶσθαι] First αἰ is in a later hand over an erasure. 13 κίσσηριν] κίσριν. As L^b, according to Bekker, has κίσσηριν, the form with one σ is here the better authenticated. 25 πρῶτον] is followed by an erasure of three to four letters. b 13 ἀκρατής] One letter has been erased after ρ. No doubt the scribe wrote ἀκροατής, see 1136b 6. 18 θυμὸς] over an erasure.

1112a 7 μάλιστα ἴσμεν] μάλιστα μὲν ἴσμεν. Bekker rightly notes ἴσμεν] μὲν ἴσμεν, his reference being to the first ἴσμεν in line 8. Both Susemihl³ and Bywater have gone wrong, Susemihl is saying that K^b has ἴσμεν μὲν ἴσμεν and Bywater in saying that it has πάνυ μὲν ἴσμεν. 18 πότερα] πότερον. 21 περὶ δὲ τῶν] περὶ τῶν δὲ. b 25 ἀφίστανται] ἀφιστάναι.

1113a 15 τὰγαθοῦ] Susemihl³, with whom Bywater agrees, notes 'τὰγαθοῦ Γ Asp.; ἀγαθοῦ codd.' K^b has clearly τ' ἀγαθοῦ. b 5 ἂν εἶεν] εἶεν ἂν. 9 αἰσχρὸν . . . 11 ἡμῖν (1st)] om. K^b. According to Susemihl³ '10 αἰσχρὸν . . . 11 ἡμῖν om. K^b', but the omission really begins at αἰσχρὸν in line 9. Susemihl's error is due to the fact that his division of lines does not correspond exactly with Bekker's. In Bekker's text both αἰσχρὸν are in line 10, and his note in regard to the omission is correct. 14 μάκαρ] μακάριος.

1114b 9 οἶόν τε] οἶονται.

1116b 1 παρατάττοντες] The third α is over an erasure.

1117a 31 περὶ] om. b 8 ἄκοντι] After ἀκοντ there is a hole in the parchment and τὶ is written above it in a smaller hand.

1118a 17 κατὰ συμβεβηκός] κατὰ τὸ συμβεβηκός. 32 The ρ inserted between ε and υ in ἐρύξιοσ is not by m. 1 as Susemihl³ says, but probably by the Rubricator. b 6 γινόμενοι of Susemihl³ is a printer's error.

1119b 19 ταῦτ' . . . 22 ἐλευθερίοτης] These words are at the end of Γ. Δ begins (f. 39a) after the title with λέγωμεν δὲ καὶ ἐξῆς περὶ ἐλευθερίοτης i.e. this phrase is repeated.

1120a 6 τοῦτο] According to Susemihl³ K^b M^b have ἕκαστον. This is wrong as regards K^b. 11 ὄθεν] ὄθεν ὄθεν. The first ὄθεν is surrounded by dots. 18 ἐλευθέριοι] ἐλεύθεροι pr. 32 ἦ] corrected by the scribe from ο. b 20 Susemihl³'s note 'οὐθ' K^b' is correct as referring to the second οὐδ'.

1121a 6, 7 ἀνάλωσεν] ἠνάλωσεν. 18 τοὺς ἰδιώτας διδόντας] τοὺς διδόντας ἰδιώτας. 26 τὸ ὑπερβάλλειν] τὸ μὴ ὑπερβάλλειν pr. b 22 γλίσχροι] γλί is in a later hand over an erasure. According to Schöll, as reported by Rassow, the word was originally αἰσχροί. 33 ἀνελευθέρους] ἀνελευθερίους pr. 34 κατὰ μικρὸν] Susemihl³ notes (in agreement with Bekker) 'καὶ τὰ μικρὸν καὶ pr. K^b.' I think Bywater is right in saying that the original reading was not καὶ τὰ but κατὰ. The manuscript now has καὶ τὰ μικρὰ . . . ἐπὶ πολλῶι. The *ι* of καὶ is later; the *α* of μικρὰ is over an erasure under which was perhaps ὄν; καὶ has been erased thereafter. The original was probably κατὰ μικρὸν καὶ.

1122a 1 λαμβάνουσιν καὶ] Susemihl³ says that K^b has λαμβάνουσίν τε καὶ. This is wrong. It had originally λαμβάνουσιν καὶ, but the final *ν* of λαμβάνουσιν has been erased, as is regularly done with *ν* ἐφέλεκ. before a consonant. 15 ἡ κατὰ] ἡ οἱ κατὰ pr. 18 δόξειε] δόξαι. 21 χρήμασι] σ is in a later hand over an erasure. According to Schöll (in Rassow) the original reading was χρήματι. 29 ἐλευθέριος] ἐλεύθερος pr. b 13 ταῦτα] According to Susemihl³ this is the reading of rc. K^b as against ταυτὰ of the manuscript tradition. Bekker reads the same and notes: 'ταυτὰ H^a; ceteri ταῦτα.' Bywater reads ταῦτα and notes 'ταῦτα H^a.' K^b now has ταυτὰ but an accent has been erased over the first *α*, and the accent over the second is later. It may have had originally ταῦτα, but, as I have said before, I do not see that anything is gained by recording the manuscript testimony in a case of this sort. 15 κτήμα μὲν γὰρ] Susemihl³ notes that a later hand has changed this into κτήματοσ μὲν γὰρ ἀρετῇ, but he fails to note that the same late hand has added καὶ before τιμιώτατον in line 16 and altered ἔργον into ἔργου. 22 οἴονται δεῖν] Susemihl³ rightly says that K^b originally had οἴοντε. The later hand has not altered this, but has added δεῖν above the line. 23 ἐστιᾶν] The original reading is ἐστὶν ἄν. It looks as if the scribe had taken the beginning of the word for the third person singular present indicative of εἶναι and naturally added *ν* ἐφέλεκ.

1123a 24 Μεγαρεῖς] Susemihl³ has no note here. Bekker notes 'μέγαροι K^b.' Bywater reads Μεγαροῖ and notes 'μεγαροῖ pr. K^b.' It is now μεγαροῖ but was originally accented μέγαροι, as Bekker says. I would read μεγαρικοῖ and supply κωμφοδοῖ from the line above. b 1 τὸν κατὰ τὴν ἔξιν] It was originally τὸν but has been corrected into τὰ. 17 δ' ἀξία] The first *α* is over an erasure. Schöll (in Rassow) says that the original reading was δεξία. 25 πρὸς ἑαυτὸν μὲν] μὲν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν. 33 γελοῖος] This is the present reading, but the σ is over an *ν* and the circumflex is later. I think that it was originally γελοίου, not γελοῖον, as Bekker says. The correction may be due to the scribe.

1124a 9 γε] Originally τε, but τ has been changed into γ by a later hand. 20 διὸ ὑπερόπται] Now διὸ καὶ ὑπερόπται but καὶ is later. b 26 φανερόμισον] ον is in a later hand over an erasure. Schöll (in Rassow) says that the original reading was φανερομίση. b 29, 30 As the readings of K^b are not very clearly stated, I give them here. (I preserve the lines of the manuscript.) It had originally in the text:—

φανερῶς καταφρονητικοῦ γάρ παρρησιαστοῦ
 . . . γὰρ παρρησιαστικὸς δὲ διὰ τὸ καταφρονητι
 κὸς εἶναι καὶ ἀληθευτικὸς πλὴν ὅσα μὴ δι' εἰρωνεί

Perhaps διὸ was in the space which I have marked with dots. It now has in the text:—

φανερῶς καταφρονητικοῦ γάρ παρρησιαστῆς
 . . . καὶ παρρησιαστικὸς δὲ διὸ . . . καταφρονητι
 κὸς . . . καὶ ἀληθευτικὸς, πλὴν ὅσα μὴ δι' εἰρωνεί

καταφρονητικοῦ γάρ are surrounded with dots. In the margin opposite these three lines are in a later hand:—

γάρ. διὰ τὸ καταφρονη
 τικὸς εἶναι. κατα
 φρονητικὸς δὲ
 διὸ παρρησιαστικος.

1126a 3 ἀοργησία] ἀνοργησία. See 1108a 8. 16 τοῦτο] τοιοῦτο.
 b 19 δυσχερανεῖ] δυσχεραίνει.

1127b 6 ἠυλαβεῖτο] The original reading, as Susemihl³ rightly says, was εὐλαβεῖτο. It is now εὐλαβεῖται. 15 τῶ] τὸ. 19 ὦν ἐνδεῖα καὶ ἀπό-
 λανσις] The original reading, as Susemihl³ rightly says, was ὦν ἠδει ἀπόλανσις. The manuscript has now ἦδει but the accent and breathing are late. I would suggest ὦν ὠνητῆ ἢ ἀπόλανσις κ.τ.λ. 'Those who play the boaster for the sake of gain make pretence of those things which their neighbours have to pay for to enjoy.' The language of Aspasius rather confirms this: p. 124, 5 (Heylbut) τὰ τοιαῦτα προσποιούνται ὦν ἀπολαύειν ἔστι τοῖς πέλας καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἔτοιμοί εἰσι προσέσθαι ἀργύριον τοῖς δυναμένοις αὐτὸ (read, αὐτὰ) παρέχειν.

1128a 20 ἐλευθερίου] ἐλευθέρου. 28 ἀκούσεται] ἀκούεται. b 13 ἐρυ-
 θραίνονται] ἐρυθθαίνονται. 24 οὐδὲν] οὐδὲν οὐδὲν. 32 τὸ] 'τὸν τὰ' K^b. This note of Susemihl³ refers to the second τὸ.

1129b 3 ἀ] Susemihl³ notes 'ἀ om. pr. K^b.' ἀ is in the line but smaller. I think it was added by the original scribe. 24 ὀρθῶς] This was the original reading of K^b, but it has been corrected into ὀρθός—which is the reading of M^b. 25 αὐτῇ] ταύτῃ, not ταύτην, as Susemihl³ asserts.

1131a 7 δουλαπατία] δολοπατία. 25 διανομαῖς] νομαῖς, in spite of Susemihl³. b 16 τοῦτο] Schöll (in Rassow) says 'τούτω m. pr., corr. m. alt.' but I think that he is wrong and that τοῦτο was the original, τούτω the corrected reading. 17 τὸ μὲν πλεον τὸ] τῶ^b μὲν πλεον τῶ^b

1132a 4 πρὸς] πρὸ. μόνον βλέπει] βλέπει (erasure of one letter) μόνον. 11 εἴη] Susemihl³ notes 'ἦ pr. K^b.' It was, and is, ἦ. 31 ὥσπερ ἂν εἶ] ὥσπερ ἂν. b 2 τε] om. 6 αα ββ γγ] ΑΑ ΒΒ ΓΓ and so forth. So 1133a 7, b 4, 23. 7 προσκείσθω] πρόσκειται.

1133a 3 ἱερὸν] ἰ is over an erasure. 10 τὸ αὐτοῦ] τοῦ αὐτοῦ. 15 ἂν] om. Bekker notes 'ἂν om. O^b,' but K^b also omits it. 21 μετρέϊ ὥστε]

μετρίως τε pr. b 26 ὅτι πεντε] Susemihl rightly says that pr. K^b omits this. What is supplied above the line by the later hand is ὅτι δέκα.

1135a 25 φ] It is now ὡς but σ is over an erasure. It was probably originally ωι. οὔ] It is now ὄν, as Susemihl³ rightly says, but ο is over an erasure. It may have been ὦν. b 32 The note of Susemihl³ 'περὶ δὲ τοῦ pr. K^b' refers to περὶ τοῦ where it occurs for the second time.

1136a 12 ἀτόπως] τοπωσ pr. Originally there was no accent. 13 βραχὺς] A letter has been erased before β. b 3 ὀρθός] ὀρθῶσ pr. The correction is probably by the scribe. 5 οὐν τις] οὔτις. 6 ἀκρατής] ἀκροατήσ. 15 ποτ' ἀδικεῖ] It is now πότ' ἀδικεῖ, but ἀ and the first ι are over erasures. Susemihl may be right in saying that the original reading was πότε δοκεῖ. 22 καὶ κατὰ] Susemihl³ notes: 'καὶ non deest in K^b.' It is wanting.

1137a 15 ἐλλέβορον] ἐλέβορον. This, according to Bekker, is also the reading of L^b M^b. In 1199a 32 the scribe wrote ἐλλέβοροσ, which has been corrected by a later hand into ἐλλέβοροσ. 18 Susemihl³'s note 'οὐχ ἦττον K^b' refers to the second οὐδὲν ἦττον. 23 ὠδὶ] ὠδε, but in 25 ὠδί. b 2 ὅτε] οὔτε. 10 σπουδαίον ὄντων] σπουδαίων ὄντων. This is perhaps right. In 1173a 10 K^b has ἀμφοῖν γὰρ ὄντων κακῶν, where L^b M^b read ὄντων κακοῖν. 13 νομίμου δικαίου] δικαίου νομίμου. 15 οἶόν τε] I agree with Schöll (in Rassow) that this was originally οἶονται. 23 ἦδει] ἦδη. 35 ὁ γὰρ] ὅσ γὰρ.

1138a 18 τῷ αὐτῷ ἂν] ἂν τῶι αὐτῶι. b 2 μέλει] A later hand has made this into μέλλει.

1139a 3 ἐλέχθη] ἐ is over an erasure. 4 τό τε] The second τ is wanting. Schöll (in Rassow) says 'med. litt. erasa.' I think that the defect is merely due to a bit of the parchment having rubbed off. 4 ἔχον . . . 5 λόγον] It should be noticed that the hand which added these words in the margin omitted καὶ τὸ. b 3 Susemihl³ notes: 'τὸ] om. K^b.' This refers to the second τὸ. 11 ἀγένητα] ἀγέννητα.

1140b 15 δυσὶν ὀρθαῖς] Susemihl³ rightly notes: 'δύο ὀρθὰσ pr. K^b.' The later hand, while correcting ὀρθὰσ into ὀρθαῖσ has left δύο unchanged. 17 ἡ λύπη] ἡ λύπη pr. The correction may be by the scribe.

1141a 28 τὸν αὐτῶν] τὸ is over an erasure and so is the rough breathing. b 34 αὐτῷ] Susemihl³ notes: 'αὐτοῦ ut videtur pr. K^b, sed m. 1 corr. αὐτῶι, m. 2 corr. αὐτὸν.' It is now αὐτὸν, and was, I think, originally αὐτῶι.

1142a 5 ἴσον] Susemihl³ notes: 'ἴσω re. K^b.' This is wrong. It was originally ἴσον and corrected, perhaps by the scribe, into ἴσων. b 28 οὐ δεῖ καὶ ὡς] οὐ δικαίως pr. 33 οὐ ἦ] Originally, as Susemihl³ rightly says, ἦ οὐ; now ἦ οὐ.

1143b 19 ἔσται] over an erasure. 25 εὐεκτικά] εὐκτικὰ.

1144a 3 Susemihl³'s note 'ποιουσῶν K^b' refers to the second ποιούσι. 14 οἶον] Susemihl³ notes: 'οἶ pr. K^b.' Schöll (in Rassow) notes: 'ἦ m. alt. in rasura, οἶ m. pr.' It is now ἦ over an erasure. b 22 προστιθέασι] ἐ is above the line in a smaller hand, but probably by the scribe.

1145a 3 πρακτικὴ ἦν] πρακτικὴν. 9 ἐκείνης . . . ἐκείνη] In both places ἐκείνη. b 10 ὁ αὐτὸς] αὐτὸσ.

1146a 14 μῆ] is surrounded with dots by a later hand. 15 οὐδ' εἶ] changed by a later hand to εἶ δέ. b 22 ὥδι] ὥδε.

1147a 2 μέντοι] τοι is dotted round by a later hand, and μέν altered to μὲν. 4 τὸ . . . τὸ] Originally τὰ in both cases. 6 After ἄνθρωπος a later hand has added ἔστιν above the line. 9 εἰδέναι] changed by a later hand into εἶναι—which is the reading of L^b O^b. 21 καὶ οἶ] changed by a later hand into καίτοι. 34 οὖν] is dotted round by a later hand. b 9 ἐπεὶ δ' ἦ] ἐπειδὴ pr. The correction is perhaps by the scribe. 11 τὸ] A small ω has been added over ο. 22 εἶσιν] ἔστιν pr. 32 τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς] Originally τὸ μὲν αὐτοῖς, then corrected to τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς.

1148b 2 μωραίνειν] The final ν of μωραίνειν has been erased, and a word erased after it—perhaps, as Schöll (in Rassow) says, μοχθηρία. It is the last word on the page, f. 80b beginning with μοχθηρία. Repetitions of a word by the scribe are not uncommon. 19 θηριώδεις] εἶ is over an erasure. Susemihl³ notes: 'θηριώδους pr. K^b ut videtur.' 32 οὐκ ὅπ. ἀλλὰ ὅπ.] οὐχ ὀπίουσιν ἀλλὰ ὀπνούνται. If Bekker is right, M^b N^b adhere to the same spelling. In Plat. *Crat.* 402 c—a quotation from Orpheus—where Schanz reads ὀπνιεν, he notes that the Clarkianus reads ὤπνεν.

1149b 17 φρονέοντος] φρονέοντες pr.

1150a 4 γὰρ ἦ] γὰρ ἦ (new line) ἦ. The first ἦ was afterwards corrected into ἦ. b 2 ἀντιτείνουσι] ντιτεῖ are over an erasure. 4 πονήσῃ] π is over an erasure. 11 ἐκκαγχάζουσιν] ἐκκαχ (erasure of two letters) ζουσιν pr. It was no doubt originally, as Bekker says, ἐκκαχλάζουσιν, which is the more authentic form. 32 ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἀνίατος] is added above the line in a small hand.

1151a 6 οὐκ] is added above the line. 7 παρὰ] παρὰ. b 21 οὐτ'] over an erasure. 23 ἦττον] Perhaps originally ἦτταν.

1152a 4 Susemihl³'s note 'καὶ K^b' refers to the second καὶ ὁ. b 31 αἱρεταί] αἱρεῖται pr.

1153a 30 αἶ] above the line but probably by the scribe. b 3 ἦ] Schöll (in Rassow) says 'ἦ m. pr. ἦ m. alt.' It is now ἦ.

1154a 4 οὔτε κακὸν γὰρ οὔτ' ἀγαθὸν] οὔτ' ἀγαθὸν γὰρ οὔτε κακὸν. 11 μοχθηραί] μοχθηρίαί. 18 ἐναντίως] ἐναντίοις. 29 σφοδραί] σφοδρὰ. b 9 ὁμοίως δὲ ἐν μὲν] ὁμοῦ δὲ ἐν. 10 οἱ οἰνωμένοι] οἰνωμένοι. 11 ἀεὶ δέονται] δέονται ἀεὶ. 12 ἰατρείας] σ is over an erasure. διὰ] om.

1155a 31 οἶονται] οἶοντε. b 3 μὲν ὄμβρου] ὄμβρου μὲν. 10 τὰ ἦθη] τ' ἀληθῆ. 27 ἀψύχων] ἀ (new line) ἀψύχων.

1156a 18 ὅσπερ] ὅπερ. 24 δοκεῖ] A word has been erased after this—probably δοκεῖ. b 4 συνημερεύειν] συνημερεύειν. 33 λοιπὰ] λόγια.

1157a 17 φίλους εἶναι ἀλλήλοις] φίλους ἀλλήλοισ εἶναι. 24 ἑτέραις] Not ἑτεράιαις, as Susemihl³ says, but ἑταιρείααις, as Bekker says.

1158a 12 τοιοῦτον] τοιοῦτο pr. 21 ἀγοραίων] ἀγοραῖον pr. The correction is perhaps by the scribe.

1159a 16 τὸ δὲ φιλεῖσθαι] om. ἔγγυς] ἦ ἔγγυς. 20 ἄν του] ἀνθ' οὔ. 29 διδόασιν] δοκοῦσιν. 33 ἀγνοίαν] ἀνοίαν. b 19 ἐφίεται] ἐφίενται. 30 τὸ δίκαιον] τὸ is above the line in a later hand.

1160a 19 θιασωτῶν] Now θιασωτων, but the first ω is over an erasure. 22 τοῦ παρόντος συμφέροντος] ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος. Bekker's only note is 'τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος O^b.' Bywater notes that K^b inserts ἐπὶ, but neither observes that συμφέροντος is omitted. 29 ἀκολουθήσουσι] ἀκολουθησοῦσι. b 15 πλείστου] πλείστον pr. 23 ἄν] om.

1161a 1 οὐχ ἢ ἀμείνων] οὐχὶ ἀμείνω. 28 βούλονται] βούλεύ (next line) λονται. λεύ has been dotted over and the accent added over the first υ probably by the scribe. Schöll (in Rassow) says (not quite accurately) 'en expunxit ipsa m. pr.' b 5 δούλος, οὐκ ἔστιν φιλία] The scribe wrote δούλος. δούλοισ μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν φιλία. A later hand put dots above δούλοισ μὲν and drew a line around it, and wrote over the line in a small hand οὐκ ἔστιν φι. 18 τι] τέ pr. 25 γενόμενα] has been corrected by a later hand into γεννώμενα which, according to Bekker, is the reading of M^b. 27 μᾶλλον αἰ μητέρες] αἰ μητέρες μᾶλλον.

1162a 26 εἶ] om. pr. 30 οὐδὲν . . . 32 φίλον καὶ] According to both Schöll (in Rassow) and Susemihl, the scribe omits the passage. He omits it all except the last word. The omitted part is added in the margin in a thirteenth century hand, and after φίλον the marginal annotator adds καὶ, although it is in the text. b 10 ἐὰν ἦ] ἂν εἴη. 31 φίλῳ δωρεῖται] φιλοδωρεῖται pr. 32 ἴσον] After ἴσον—so accentuated in K^b—a word of about four letters has been erased.

1163a 2 καὶ ἐκόντι] added in the margin in a later hand. 3 διαμαρτόντα] διαμαρτάντα pr., corrected by the scribe. 6 ὁμολογήσαι] ὁμολογήσαι pr., corrected to ὁμολογήση. 9 ὑπομένη] pr., corr. to ὑπομείνη. 10 πότερα δεῖ] ποτέραι δὴ. 30 οἴονται] οἴοντε pr. b 12 οὕτω] τούτωι pr. 28 περὶ . . . εἰρήσθω] treated as part of Θ.

1164a 16 ἄσειεν] εἶεν. 23 προλαβόντος] προσλαβόντος. b 20 τοσούτου . . . ὅσου] τοσοῦτον . . . ὅσον. 32 δάνειον] δ' ἄμεινον.

1165a 11 οἴονται] οἴοντε. b 14 ἄρ' ἔτι] ἀρετη. 33 φίλοις] φίλος pr., corrected by the scribe.

1166a 7 ἦ] om. 20 οὐδεὶς αἰρεῖται] αἰοεῖται οὐδεὶς.

1167b 13 ἐξετάζει] ἐξετάξει.

1169a 6-7 τοὺς . . . σπουδάζοντας] K^b has τὸν . . . σπουδάζοντα, which is the preferable reading. Bekker only notices this with reference to M^b and Susemihl³ only notices it with reference to σπουδάζοντα. 31 ἐπαινετόν] ἐπαι ἐπαινετόν. b 17 τὸν μ.] τὸν τὸν μ. 30 ὥσπερ] ὥσπερ ὥσπερ.

1170a 17 ἀνθρώποις] ἀνθρώπων.

1171a 3 πολλοῖς] πολλάκις.

1172a 8 φαύλων] φίλων pr., corrected by the scribe. 15 περὶ . . . 16 ἡδονῆς] treated as part of I. 23 διατείνει] διατειν over an erasure. b 3 οὐκ ἔστι] οὐ (new line) οὐκ ἔστι.

1173b 1 πρὸς ἕτερον] πρότερον. 10 τοῦτ' ἂν] τοῦτο. 14 λυπῶν καὶ ἡδονῶν] λύπην καὶ ἡδονήν. 16 ἄλυποι] λυποὶ pr. ἄ is added in a later hand.

1174a 10 εἶδει ἢ ἀφ' ὧν] K^b has now ι . . . δεῖ ἀφ' . . . ὧν. There was originally a rough breathing over the first ι and a circumflex over εἶ, both erased. One letter has been erased after the first ι and three after φ. Bekker thinks that the original reading was ἡ δεῖ ἀφ' αὐτῶν. 33 ταύτων] τὸ αὐτὸ. b 5 δ' ἐν] δέ. 7 δόξειε] δόξει. 31 ποιήσοντος] ποιήσαντος pr. πεισομένου] πι . . . σομένου pr. One letter is erased after ι. Bekker notes 'πησομένου K^b' which is probable.

1175b 13 ἐπει δ'] ἐπειδὴ pr.

1176a 11 τέρπει . . . 1177a 30 ἰκανῶς] Susemihl³ says 'om. pr. K^b'. This is wrong. Susemihl in his first edition rightly says 'om. K^b'. μὲν (1176a 11) is the first word on f. 121^b and the next is κεχορηγημένων (1177a 30). When Susemihl³ refers to readings of K^b during the interval, he is drawing false inferences from the apparatus of Susemihl¹.

1177b 12 φόνου] φόνος. 17 ἄσχολοι καὶ] ἄσכולικαί.

1178a 3 ἄμεινον] ἄμεινον μένον. b 11 ἦ] om. 13 ὑπομένοντας] ὑπομένοντες.

1179a 11 κεχορηγημένους] κεχορηγημένοισι. 18 τὰ] added above the line by a later hand. 25 ἀνθρωπίνων] ανθρώπων. b 24 ἰσχύει] ἐνισχύει. All the editors seem to be wrong here about K^b.

1180a 4 καὶ ὅλως δὴ] δὴ καὶ ὅλως. 29 ἀλόχου] ἀλόγου pr. The scribe was no doubt led astray by the identity of meaning. b 4 νόμιμα] μόνιμα pr.

1181a 4 After ἴσως three letters have been erased. 8 προέλουτ'] προέλουτ' pr. 10 διὰ τῆς π. σ. π.] So pr. A later hand has dotted over πολιτικῆς and written μάλλον above the line before πολιτικοί, thus making the reading conform to that of L^b O^b. 22 εἰ εὖ ἦ] Susemihl³ notes 'ἦ εὖ ἦ' K^b. It is ἦ εὖ ἦε. b 3 γίνεσθαι] φαίνεσθαι γίνεσθαι. φαίνεσθαι is dotted over probably by the original scribe.

1182a 24 Title. Ἀριστοτέλους ἠθικῶν μεγάλων Α. 26 οὖν om. b 7 τοῦ] τὸ pr.

1183a 21 εἰπεῖν] ἐστὶν εἰπεῖν. ἐστὶν is dotted over probably by the original scribe. b 11 ὅτι] om. 14 καὶ τῶν] καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν. 29 χρῆσασθαι] χρῆσθαι.

1184a 14 καὶ τέλος τῶν ἀγαθῶν] καὶ τὸ τέλος ἀγαθόν. 17 ἐπειδὴ] After ἐπειδὴ two letters have been erased. b 9 τὸ (1st)] τῶι. 13 ἔχειν] εἰ is over an erasure. 29 εὖ (1st)] om. 34 ἀρετῶν] αἰρετῶν.

1185a 11 λέγειν] λέγειν τὸν τοιοῦτον. γὰρ] δὴ. 30 κἂν] καὶ pr. The correction is perhaps by the scribe. 39 σαφέστερον] σφέτερον pr. b 9 τὰς τοῦ τὸν] τὰσοῦτον pr. ἔχοντος] There is an erasure after the second ο. In Laur. 81, 13, as to which see hereafter, ἔχοντος is corrected from ἔχοντας. 12 ἦ] Sic K^b. Susemihl is wrong in saying that the ι adscript is wanting. 13 ἡ ἠθικῆ] ἠθικῆ. 14 ἡ ὑπερβολῆ] Susemihl is wrong in saying that ἡ is omitted by K^b. Probably his note refers to the line above.

1186a 10 τῆ] om. 11 ὅτι τούτων] τούτων ὅτι pr. A later hand has put α over ὅτι and β over τούτων. 18 ὀργιζόμεθα] Erasure after second ο. b 8 μεσότητι οὔση] om. 20 ἐστι . . . 21 γὰρ] εἶναι τοῦ μέσου ἐγγύτερον

οἶον. 31 ὑπερβολῇ] ἡ is added above the line before ὑπερβολῇ in a later hand.

1187a 8 ὄντιναοῦν] ὄντινοῦν. 17 μῆ] μῆδὲ. 28 οὖν ἐν τῷ] δὲ καὶ τὸ pr. τὸ is original, but it has afterwards been surrounded by dots. 35 ἐναργεστερον] ἐνεργέστερον. Yet in line 30 it is spelt as printed. b 7 ἀψύχων] pr., corrected later into ἄψυχον. 19 ὅτι] ὅτι καὶ. 30 βελτίων] ν is added above the line in a later hand.

1188a 38 πρότερον] πότερον pr. Cp. 1190a 34. b 8 βιαζομένοις] βιαζομένουσ. 19 δς ἂν] It is now δσ (erasure of two letters) ἐὰν.

1189a 2 ἄλλοις] Above ἄλλοις is written in a small hand ἀλόγοις. 4 ἐν] om. 5 γε] τε pr. 23 τῇ] om. 25 ἡ] om. b 22 γὰρ] om. 24, 25 ἀόριστον] In both cases the first ο is above the line in a small hand. Schöll (in Rassow) thinks that the correction is by m. alt. but it may be by the original scribe.

1190a 4 κατὰ] πρὸς. 14 ἡ οἰκοδόμος] οἰκοδόμος pr., corrected into ἡ ὀ οἰκοδόμος. 34 πρότερον] πότερον pr. b 2 ἄνθρωποι] om. 32 αὐτοῦς] om. 37 αὐτῶν] pr. ἀπ' is added above the line by a later hand.

1191a 13 οὐκέτι ἔσται ἀνδρείος] om. 15 εἶναι] om. 17 K^b has not ὀποιοῦν but ὀποῖον οὖν. 21 παρῆ] om. b 8 οὔτος ἀκόλαστος] οὔτος ὀ ἀκόλαστος. 14 πάντα τᾶλλα] παντ' ἄλλα pr. 26 μεστότητες] μεσότης pr.

1192a 8 καὶ ὅτε δεῖ] om. 11 τὸ μὲν] τό τε μὲν. 17 τὸ ὄπλα] pr., now τὰ ὄπλα. b 13 ἐν οἷς] According to Susemihl, K^b originally read ἐνίοισ. It originally read ἐν οἷσ. The first ι of ἐνίοισ is inserted by a later hand. 14 μεγαλοπρέπειαι] μεγαλοπρέπεια pr. 20 ἐπαινετός] ἔπαινος pr. 37 πρὸς πάντας] πάντας pr.

1193a 9 εὐλαβηθήσεται] εὐλαβήσεται. 21 πράξεις] πράξιν. b 12 οὐδὲ] ἡ οὐδὲ. 26 τῷ] τὸ pr., now τῶ. 37 τὸ δίκαιον ἴσον] δίκαιον τὸ ἴσον.

1194a 6 τοῦ δικαίου] τὸ δίκαιον pr. 18 τῷ ἀνάλογον] τῶι ἀναλόγωι. 23 νόμισμα] νομίσματι. 39 ἀκολουθήσαντα] ἀκολουθήσοντα.

1195a 5 καὶ] om. pr. 9 οὐκ ἔστι δέ] om. 38 ἡ φυσικῇ] φυσικῆ. b 12 ἔλαττον] ἔλαττω. 23 ἀδικοῖντο οὕτως] ἀδικοῖντο οἱ οὕτως.

1196a 2 εἰ] One corrector put three dots over this word, and another erased them. b 2 ἀληθεία] ἀλθείαι pr. η was added above the line between λ and θ probably by the scribe. 3 τὸ αὐτῶι] 'ταυτῶ K^b' notes Susemihl. It is ταυτῶι. 16 μόριον] μόριον λόγον. 36 δ' ἐπιστήμη] δ' ἡ ἐπιστήμη.

1197b 1 ἐκείνως δὲ οὐ συμφέρει] om. 3 τοῦτο] τούτων. 7 γὰρ (2nd)] om. 10 δῆλον] is followed by an erasure of four or five letters. 11 ἡ περὶ τί] According to Schöll (in Rassow) it was originally ἡ περιττή. It was certainly ἡι and ἰ τί are over an erasure.

1198b 9 τῇ] om. 24 Title. Ἀριστοτέλουσ ἠθικῶν μεγάλων B̄.

1199a 3 κρίσιν τοῦ] κρίσιν τῶν τοῦ. b 33 γὰρ ὁ φαῦλος] ὁ φαῦλος γὰρ pr. 37 πότερ'] πότε'.

1200a 19 τῆς] om. 31 αἰ] om. 35 μὲν μέχρι] μὲν οὖν μέχρι. 36 ποιησαμένοις] ποιησαμένουσ. b 5 τῇ] om. 16 τῇ (2nd)] om. 39 εἶη] om.

1201a 1 πράττει μῆ] πράττειν pr. 3 φαῦλα (2nd)] Two letters are

erased before this word. According to Susemihl the word erased was *οὐ* but this is not certain. 8 ἐποιοῦν] om. It is not omitted in line 9. 19 δοκείτω] δοκεῖ τῷ pr. 24 τῷ λογισμῷ] τῶν λογισμῶν. 33 ἤγαγεν] ἤγεν. b 6 τῷ] τὸ pr. τῷ m. alt. 8 δόξαν ὑπὲρ] δόξαν ὧν τὸ μὲν ἐστὶν τὴν ἐπιστήμην ἔχειν ἐπίστασθαι ὑπὲρ. The words between δόξαν and ὑπὲρ are dotted over, but whether by the scribe or by a later hand, as Schöll (in Rassow) thinks, is uncertain. 11 τὸ ἐπίστασθαι] ἐπίστασθαι.

1202a 5 πάλιν] 'om. K^b' says Susemihl wrongly. Πάλιν is both here and in the line below. 9 ἐσομένου] ἐπομένου. 18 οὐδὲ] οὔτε δὲ. 35 ἀκρασία] ἀκράτεια. b 3 ὁ ἀπλῶς] πωσ ὁ. 6 ἀρχή] Schöll (in Rassow) notes 'ὄργη m. pr., corr. m. alt.' χ is over an erasure and α looks as if it had been altered from ο. It may have been ὄργη. 9 ἄν is a printer's error in Susemihl. It should be ὧν. 38 αἶ] οὖν.

1203a 1 ἡ οὐ;] που. 10 ὅμως] ὁμοίως. 28 ἀρχή] There is a mark of reference after ἀρχή and a later hand has inserted in the margin: ἐν δὲ τῷ ἀκρατεῖ ἢ ἀρχῇ. b 16 ἐγγίνονται] ἐγγένοιτο pr. 21 μὲν γὰρ σῶφρων ὁ] is inserted at the end of one line and beginning of another in a smaller and later hand. 29 οἶος ὁ ἀκόλαστος] οἶος ἀκόλαστος.

1204a 1 οἶος ὁ φαῦλος] οἶος φαῦλος. 8 ἀπορήσειε γὰρ ἄν] ἀπορήσει γὰρ. 10 ὁ ὀρθὸς] ὀρθός. b 22 εἰς γένεσις] ἐστὶν γένεσις pr. 25 γένεσις] γένεσις.

1205a 3 καὶ πρὸ λύπης] om. 6 ἦ] om. 19 ἡστινοσούν] τινὸς οὖν pr. 20 διακείσεται] δῖακείται. 22 διάφοροι] In the margin: μὴ ποτέ μᾶλλον ἀδιάφοροι γραπτέον. γραμματικά, ἦ] Between these words there is an erasure of three or four letters. ἐν Α. καὶ ἐν Ι.] ἐν λαμπρῶι καὶ ἐνίλει (sic). b 15 τοῦτον] τοῦτο. 19 μὴ] om.

1206a 27 δειπνοποιοῖ] δεινοποιοῖ pr.

1207a 12 ἄν τις τάξειεν] Susemihl notes: 'ἀντιστάξειεν pr. K^b.' There was originally no accent on the first α. 15 εὔνοια παρὰ] εὔνοια ἢ παρὰ. 18 ἦ (2nd)] om. 22 ἡμῖν γὰρ] ἡμῖν μὲν γὰρ. b 20 καθόλου] καὶ καθ' ὅλου. 25 κάγαθόν] καὶ ἀγαθόν in both places. 26 φασί] φησιν pr.

1208a 11 γὰρ] om. 13 ἔνεκεν ἐστίν] ἔχομεν ἔνεκεν. 27 φησί] φήσει. 32 ταῦτα] ταύτας. 39 παραδιδόναι] παραδοῦναι. b 6 συμπαραληπτέα] συμπαραληπτέον pr. 13 κεραμίδι] κεραμίδι, according to Susemihl, but there is no accent. 17 τῷ ἐναντίῳ] τὸ ἐναντίον pr. 18 οὐδὲ] οὐδέν. 29 πρὸς θεὸν] πρὸς τὸν θεόν.

1209a 12 ἦ] 'εἶ K^b' says Susemihl. It is εἶ. 28 αἶ] om. b 23 ἀπολείπει] The last two letters are over an erasure. Schöll (in Rassow) has 'ἀπολείπημι m. pr.; corr. m. alt.' φιλία] There follows an erasure of about two letters. 32 ἀρετή] ἦ is over an erasure.

1210a 12 ἔσσεσθαι] οἴεσθαι pr., corrected by the scribe. 27 τοιούτων] A letter erased after this. 32 ἦ Susemihl by a printer's error for ἦ] om. pr. 34 After μὴ an erasure of two or three letters. b 1 αἶ] om.

1211a 38 τῷ] τὸ pr. b 13 δοίη] η is over an erasure. 30 οἰκοδομικῇ] οἰ (next line) οἰκοδομικῇ.

1212a 7 φιλίας ἢ εὔνοια] ἢ εὔνοια φιλίας. 11 ἦ] om. 20 ἦ] εἶ. τῷ

ταὐτὸν] τῶι τὸ ταυτὸν. b 4 τούτου] τοῦτο. 17 αὐτῷ . . . ὄντα] om.
30 φίλου] φίλων.

1213a 21 εἶδομεν] ἴδομεν—not ἴδωμεν as Susemihl says. 23 ὡς φαρμέν]
ὡς ἂν φαρμέν.

Before I pass from the unattractive subject of the *Great Morals* I wish to call the reader's attention to two manuscripts of this treatise at Florence which, so far as I know, have not hitherto been made use of.

Bekker based his academical edition on two manuscripts—K^b and M^b (Marc. 213)—but he occasionally referred, e.g. pp. 1189, 1204, 1205, 1207, to some of the Paris manuscripts, of which there is an unexplored quantity, and to two manuscripts at Oxford—Z, which is Corpus Christi 112, and Baroccianus 70. Susemihl made considerable additions to the testimony. I hope that his references to the other manuscripts are more accurate than they are to K^b, where, as the patient reader has seen, he has neglected many important variants which were noticed by Bekker. Susemihl accepted in substance the division into two families which Bekker had indicated. To the first family, of which K^b is the most important representative, he assigned the Corpus Christi manuscript, the old translation, the translation of George Valla, and the first Aldine edition. To the second family he assigned P^b (Vaticanus 1342) and C^c—the Cambridge manuscript which is so closely connected with P^b. An intermediate position (so he says) is occupied by P² (Coislin 161) although on the whole it agrees rather with the first family.

Without disputing Susemihl's classification, I must point out that in the *Great Morals*, as in some others of the writings attributed to Aristotle, the manuscript evidence has not as yet been sifted and exhausted. For example, it is probable that a future editor of the *Great Morals* will be able to dispense with the Latin translation of George Valla. For there exists in the R. Biblioteca Estense at Modena a manuscript of the *Great Morals* in Greek (No. 88) written by George Valla himself, as appears from the subscription (see Allen's *Notes on Greek Manuscripts in Italian Libraries*, p. 11, and Puntoni's *Indice dei codici greci della biblioteca Estense di Modena in Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica*, vol. iv. p. 444). It seems probable that George Valla made his translation either from this copy or from its archetype.

The two manuscripts to which I wish to call attention are Laur. 81, 12 and Laur. 81, 13. Laur. 81, 13 was written at Milan in 1444 by Demetrius Sgouropoulos for Philelphus. The close agreement between it, the Corpus Christi manuscript, the Aldine edition, and the old translation may be shown by many examples. In 1182a 3, 7, 9 (*bis*) K^b has rightly ἔσται. In all these four places Laur. 81, 13 has ἄν. In three of them [3, 9 (*bis*)] according to Susemihl, Γ (the old translation), Z (the Corpus Christi manuscript) and Ald. have ἄν. In one place (7) he does not note any variant. This may be mere carelessness, as the old translation read ἄν also here. Here are the words of Bartholomew of Messina (I take them from Laur. 27, dext. 9): 'Nullum enim fortassis proficuum scire quidem virtutem, quomodo autem

utique et ex quibus non adire. Non enim solum quomodo sciamus quid est scrutari oportet sed ex quibus est perspicere. Simul enim scire volumus et nos ipsi esse tales; hoc autem non poterimus nisi sciverimus et ex quibus et quomodo *utique*. Necessarium quidem ergo est—it is to be observed that Bartholomew read *οὐν*, which is omitted by K^b but retained by Laur. 81, 13—‘scire quid est virtus. Non enim facile scire ex quibus *utique* et quomodo *utique*, nescientem quid est.’ Any one who wishes to understand how the mistake arose has only to examine the forms of *ἔσται* which are given in Allen (Plate 5) and Zeriteli (Plate 8).³

A few more examples may be given in which Laur. 81, 13 agrees with Z and Ald., or with one of them, against the rest of the testimony, so far as one may judge from the editions of Bekker and Susemihl: 1182a 14 *ἐποίησατο* Z Ald. Laur. 81, 13 *ἐποιεῖτο* cett.; 21 *ἀνάλογον* Z Ald. Laur. 81, 13 *ἄλογον* cett.; 31 *ἤψαντο* Z Ald. Laur. 81, 13 *ἐφήψαντο* cett.; 1183a 5 *τοῦτο* Z Ald. Laur. 81, 13 *τούτω* cett.; 30 *δεῖν* (prius) om. Z Laur. 81, 13; 34 *οὐ γὰρ* Z Ald. Laur. 81, 13 *οὐχ* cett.; b 19 *ἐπειδὴ* Ald. Laur. 81, 13 *ἐπεὶ δ'* cett.; 1192a 24 *δεῖ ἢ* Ald. Laur. 81, 13; *δὴ* or *δεῖ* or *δὴ ὀρθῶς* cett.; 1194a 23 *καὶ πρὸς τὴν* Ald. Laur. 81, 13 *καὶ τὴν* cett.; 1196b 6 *τὸν βέλτιστον* Z Ald. Laur. 81, 13 *τὸ βέλτιστον* cett.; b 19 *χρῶμά τε* Z Ald. *χρῶμα τέ* Laur. 81, 13 *χρώματα* cett.; 1197a 6 *οἰκίας ποιητικῆς* Z Ald. Laur. 81, 13 *ποιητικῆς οἰκίας* cett.; b 14 *μικρὸν* Z Ald. Laur. 81, 13 *μικρῶν* cett.; b 34 *ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων* Z Ald. Laur. 81, 13 (also P² Laur. 81, 12) *περὶ ἀπάντων* cett.: 1198a 29 *ἡ* Z Ald. Laur. 81, 13 *εἶ* cett.

It is impossible to trace with precision the relations between Laur. 81, 13 and the other members of the group to which it certainly belongs. Susemihl's record of their readings is not exhaustive. Moreover, most of the later manuscripts are still unexamined. It is however possible to make some definite statements as to the relationship of Laur. 81, 13 to K^b, and these statements will probably hold good in substance with regard to the other authorities of the same family. Laur. 81, 13 is closely related to K^b, but it is not a copy of K^b. It agrees with K^b in many omissions and many palpable errors. On the other hand—to say nothing of its variants from K^b—it contains a considerable number of words and passages which are omitted in K^b. For instance, 1186a 6 K^b omits a passage which is thus given in Bekker and Susemihl: *ἂν τις οὐν ἄνω ρίπτῃ πολλάκις καὶ ἐθίξῃ ἄνω φέρεσθαι*. (It is supplied in the margin by a fifteenth century hand, who however omits *οὐν*, as Susemihl rightly says.) Laur. 81, 13 gives the passage, omitting however *οὐν ἄνω*, in which it is followed by Aldus.

In 1186b 8 K^b omits *μεσότητι οὔση*. Laur. 81, 13 omits *οὔση* but has *μεσότητι*. In 1190b 2 Laur. 81, 13 has *ἄνθρωποι*—in the form *ἄνοι*—which K^b omits; in 1190b 7 it has *ἐπεὶ δὲ*, which K^b pr. omits; in 1191a 21 it has *παρῆ*, which K^b omits; in 1194a 24 it has *καὶ τούτωι*, which K^b pr. omits; in 1197b 1 it has *ἐκέινωσ* (in the form *ἐκέινωσ*) *δὲ οὐ συμφέρει*, which

³ In 1212a 29 where K^b has *ἔσται* and Susemihl does not notice any variant, Laur. 81, 13 has *ἄν*.

K^b omits; in 1203a 7 it has οὕτω μὲν οὖν οὐ δόξειεν ἂν ὁ ἀκρατής, which K^b omits; in 1203b 21 it has μὲν γὰρ σωφρων ὁ, which K^b pr. omits.

As the independence of Laur. 81, 13 has thus been ascertained, we are justified in using its readings to a certain extent to test the originality of the corrections in K^b. If the reading of Laur. 81, 13 agrees with the original reading of K^b, we are justified in thinking that the corrected reading of K^b is not the reading of its archetype. On the other hand, if the reading of Laur. 81, 13 agrees with a correction in K^b, we are equally justified in thinking that that correction, if the other marks of antiquity coincide, was due to the original scribe. A few examples will make this clear. In 1185a 39 the scribe of K^b wrote σφέτερον, but this has been corrected in a small hand into σαφέστερον. Laur. 81, 13 has σαφέστερον. In 1191b 26 the scribe wrote μεσότης which was corrected into μεσότητες, and this is the reading of Laur. 81, 13. We may infer that in both these cases, the correction of K^b was due to the original scribe.

On the other hand, in 1183b 28 δυνάμει, which is the original reading of K^b, is confirmed by Laur. 81, 13, and we may therefore infer that the σ which was added in K^b is not by the scribe, although the ink is of the same colour. In 1185b 9 K^b has ἔχοντος, but there is an erasure over the second ο. Laur. 81, 13 has also ἔχοντος, but the second ο is corrected from α. We are therefore justified in inferring that their archetype had ἔχοντας, the more so as M^b, Coisl. 161 and Laur. 81, 12 have ἔχουσας. Evidently ἔχοντας was the original reading, which has been corrected in different ways. In 1200b 3 οὐκ ἐναντιοῦται, the original reading of K^b, is confirmed both by Laur. 81, 13 and Aldus; in 1203b 26 οὐ λόγος, the original reading of K^b, is confirmed by the same authorities. In 1203b 35 K^b originally read ὁ λόγος σπουδαῖος and Laur. 81, 13 originally read ὁ λόγος ὁ σπουδαῖος. In K^b and in Laur. 81, 13 οὐ is added above the line. In 1207a 30, K^b pr., Aldus and Laur. 81, 13 have κερδάνοντα. It was a later hand in K^b that changed σ into α.

Laur. 81, 12, the manuscript of John Rhosus of Crete, on which I have dilated in my former Study, represents a different tradition. It agrees very closely with Coislin 161, as far as one can judge from Susemihl's references to that manuscript. Coislin 161 and Laur. 81, 12 represent a tradition which is entirely independent of K^b—more independent perhaps than M^b, which seems to me to belong to the K^b class but to have been afflicted with many conjectures. I add a few passages from which the characteristics of these new manuscripts may be estimated.

1182b 5 Bekker read ὑπὲρ τοῦ πολιτικοῦ ἄρα ἀγαθοῦ ἡμῖν λεκτέον. Susemihl puts ἀγαθοῦ after λεκτέον. Now K^b reads ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἄρα ἀγαθοῦ ἡμῖν λεκτέον, in which Z and Laur. 81, 13 agree. And Coislin 161 reads ὑπὲρ πολιτικοῦ ἄρα ἡμῖν λεκτέον ἀγαθοῦ, in which Laur. 81, 12 agrees. For the other authorities, see Susemihl. The passage should be cut out. It has got in the text by being repeated from the passage a few lines above: 1182b 2 ὑπὲρ ἀγαθοῦ ἄρα ὡς ἔοικεν ἡμῖν λεκτέον. 30 τέλος, which Susemihl receives, is a conjecture of Bonitz. K^b, Laur. 81, 13 and (according to the editors) all

the other authorities read τέλους. Laur. 81, 12 reads τέλοσ, corrected into τέλους.

1183a 39 ἐρεῖ Bekker, Susemihl] K^b has ἐν ᾧ. Laur. 81, 12 and 13 with most manuscripts, ἐρῶ.

1183b 7 Here Laur. 81, 12 supports another conjecture of Bonitz: διὰ τὸ οὐκ οἰκείαν.

1186b 7 Bekker and Susemihl read οὐχ ἢ θρασύτης ὑπερβολὴ οὔσα but all their manuscripts read οὐχ ἢ ὑπερβολὴ θρασύτης οὔσα, Laur. 81, 12 reads the same except that it leaves out the article. Laur. 81, 13 reads οὐχί, θρασύτης ὑπερβολὴ οὔσα. 17 μαινομένους] ἐξεστηκότας Laur. 81, 12. 33 ἐπέσκειπται] Laur. 81, 12 has ἐπέσκειπταί τε, in which it agrees with P² and Laur. 81, 13 ἐπισκειπτόεν, agreeing with Aldus.

1190a 32 Both Bekker and Susemihl read θῆ. K^b has φῆσ; M^bP² and Laur. 81, 12 have φῆ; Laur. 81, 13 has θεῖσ, agreeing with Aldus.

1191a 2 τοὺς σὺς] τοὺς ὕσ Laur. 81, 12. 33 οἱ κίνδυνοι πλησίον εἰσίν] πλησίον is a conjecture of Bekker. K^b has πλείον and so, according to the editors, has M^b. Laur. 81, 13 and Aldus have πλείστοι. P² has πλησίον and Laur. 81, 12 anticipates Bekker's conjecture by reading πλησίον. b 26 εἴποι] ἴδοι Laur. 81, 12.

1194a 22 ἐστίν, ἀργύριον] ἐστι καὶ τινεσ ἀργύριον Laur. 81, 12.

1195a 21 πολέμιον] εχθρόν Laur. 81, 12.

1197a 34 ὄντα] ἔχοντα Laur. 81, 12. b 27 εἶναι ὁ δεινὸς] δεινὸσ εἶναι ὁ δεινὸσ Laur. 81, 12. 35 τοὺς λόγους] τὰσ σκέψεισ Laur. 81, 12.

1198a 10 τὴν ἀρετὴν λόγον M^b, Bekker, Susemihl] τὴν ἀρετὴν λόγουσ K^b Laur. 81, 13 τὰσ ἀρετὰσ λόγουσ Laur. 81, 12. b 28 λέγει] λέγεται Laur. 81, 12. 33 ἀπέλιπεν] παρέλιπεν Laur. 81, 12.

1199b 33 τὸ σῶμα is adopted by Bekker and Susemihl from Aldus. It is also the reading of Laur. 81, 13. K^b has τὰ σώματα. M^bP² and Laur. 81, 12 have τῶ σώματι.

1200a 20 μεγάλη γινομένη] μεγαλυνομένη Laur. 81, 12. b 20 ἂν δέοι Bekker, Susemihl] δέοι cett. δεῖ Laur. 81, 12.

1202b 13 προθύμως] ἐτοίμως Laur. 81, 12.

1203a 13 ὅσῳ γε ὃ τιμώτερον K^b, Laur. 81, 13. Bekker, Susemihl.] Laur. 81, 12 reads ὅσῳ γε τιμώτατον, which rather supports Spengel's conjecture ᾧ τὸ τιμώτατον b 9 Both Bekker and Susemihl read οὐκ ἂν ἰάσαιτο, which is a conjecture of Casaubon. K^b has οὐκ ἀνείσαιτο, and Laur. 81, 13 οὐκ ἂν εἶσαι τὸ. Laur. 81, 12 has οὐκ ἂν ἐάσαιτο.

1205a 14 ἡδονῆ], ἡδέα Laur. 81, 12. 15 ἡδονῆ (2nd)] ἀγαθόν Laur. 81, 12. 22 καὶ ἐν Ἰλιεῖ] καὶ ἢ ἐν Ἰλιεῖ Laur. 81, 12.

1206b 5 Susemihl accepts a conjecture of Spengel and reads ὁ γὰρ λόγουσ φαύλωσ διακειμένωσ. The authorities (including Laur. 81, 13) have λόγουσ φαύλωσ or λόγου φαύλω. Laur. 81, 12 has λόγουσ φαύλω.

1207a 3 ὡσαύτως] ὡσαύτωσ ἔχον Laur. 81, 12. 31 πράξαι K^bP² Laur. 81, 12; ὑπάρξαι M^b Laur. 81, 13. b 15 ἐν αὐτῷ] ἐν αὐτῇ Laur. 81, 12, supporting a conjecture of Scaliger. 21 συνθέντα] συντεθέντα Laur. 81, 12; Aldus.

1208a 19 *ἐνεργεῖν* K^b, Laur. 81, 13, Aldus; *ἐπιτελεῖν* M^bP² Laur. 81, 12.
28 *τῶν τοιούτων* Bekker, Susemihl] *τῷ τοιούτῳ* K^b and most; *τῷ τοπῳ*
Laur. 81, 12.

1209a 6 *ἔχεται δὲ καὶ ἀκολουθεῖ* K^b Laur. 81, 13 cett.; *ἐνδέχεται δὲ καὶ ἀκολουθεῖν* P² Laur. 81, 12.

1212b 3 *πῆσεται* K^b *ποιήσεται* Laur. 81, 13 *πείσεται* cett. Laur. 81, 12.

1213b 28 *ἐν τῇ τοιαύτῃ φιλίᾳ* Susemihl]. According to Susemihl all the manuscripts have *τῇ ἐν αὐτῇ φιλίᾳ*. Bekker reads *ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ φιλίᾳ* and does not notice any variant. K^b has *τῇ ἐν αὐτῇ φιλίᾳ*, but Laur. 81, 12 has *ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ φιλίᾳ*.

W. ASHBURNER.

THE GREEK PAPYRUS PROTOCOL.

THE recently published vol. iii. of the late Jean Maspero's Catalogue of Greek Byzantine Papyri at Cairo¹ contains a text (No. 67316, Plate VIII.) which is of considerable importance for the study of that palaeographical crux, the Greek papyrus protocol. It may be well to recall that the protocol was the official mark placed at the top of each roll of papyrus, the manufacture of which was a Government monopoly. When the practice was first instituted we do not know, but no protocols earlier than the Byzantine period have been discovered. Justinian's *Nov.* xlv. c. 2 forbids notaries to use any papyrus except such as has *προκείμενον τὸ καλούμενον πρωτόκολλον, φέρων τὴν τοῦ κατὰ καιρὸν ἐνδοξοτάτου κόμητος τῶν θείων ἡμῶν λαργιτιῶνων προσηγορίαν, καὶ τὸν χρόνον, καθ' ὃν ὁ χάρτης γέγονε, καὶ ὅποσα ἐπὶ τῶν τοιούτων προγράφεται.* The Byzantine protocol is written in an exceedingly artificial and illegible script, mainly consisting of indistinguishable upstrokes, to which, therefore, I have elsewhere given the name of 'perpendicular writing' (a name which Maspero adopts), and which I am inclined to suspect was modelled on the chancery hand seen in a well-known order for the release of a convict now in the Berlin collection of papyri. The writing seems to have been done with a brush rather than a pen, as the strokes are very thick. Under the Arabs the manufacture of papyrus continued to be a Government monopoly, and the protocol was still affixed to each roll; but during the reign of 'Abd al-Malik, according to the historian Al-Kisâ'i,² the Arabs substituted for the traditional formula a new one, which varies indeed not inconsiderably, but contains, in rough but comparatively legible script, the Mahomedan confession of faith in Arabic and Greek, retaining however the illegible script at the sides as a sort of frame to the Greek lines. It seems highly probable, as suggested by C. H. Becker (*Zeitschr. f. Assyriol.* xxii. pp. 178 f.), that the scribes at this period attached no meaning whatever to this 'perpendicular writing' but inserted it merely to equalize the length of the Greek and Arabic lines or for aesthetic reasons.

The first approximately legible protocols of the Byzantine type to be discovered (except perhaps one published by Wessely in his *Studien zur Paläogr. und Papyruskunde*, II. xli., where, however, Wessely's reading of

¹ *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire: Papyrus grecs d'époque byzantine*, Cairo, 1916.

² See the passage quoted by Karabacek, *Stzgsber. d. k. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien*, 161 Bd. 1 Abh., pp. 11 ff.

the name is not probable) were some, published in the second volume of Maspero's catalogue. The most legible was that in No 67151, and Maspero gave a tentative reading of part of this. Now at last 67316 gives us a protocol which, instead of an all but uniform succession of upstrokes with, at most, one or two recognizable letters here and there, shows a script not very dissimilar from the cursive of ordinary use. There is little doubt that if the protocol were complete it could be read entirely, but it is unfortunately fragmentary. Nevertheless Maspero reads a considerable part of it, and it should not be impossible eventually to decipher the whole. His reading is:—

‘ Φλς Ση[. . .] ενδοξς κομς
 απ[ο] υπ[α]τς κς [πατρι]κς
 δι . ρισ . μ[.]
 στρατηλατς βιλλ . [.]
 . . . πα βουλ . [.]θ . [. . .
 (ιωαννης)
 monogramme.’

This is valuable not merely in itself but because it confirms Maspero's tentative reading of 67151, thus showing, in the first place, that the general formula was probably fairly constant, and secondly, that where one or two recognizable letters occur and favour a reading *a priori* likely it is justifiable to adopt somewhat heroic methods in dealing with the remainder.

As regards the details of Maspero's reading, in l. 1 Ερ[is at least as likely to be the beginning of the name as Ση[. The reading after the lacuna is quite certain. In l. 2 ἀπ' ὑπ<ά>τ(ων) is the reading suggested by the facsimile; κς [πατρι]κς is quite uncertain so far as this protocol is concerned, but is supported by 67151, where και πατρικς begins l. 2, following ενδοξοτ κομετς (Maspero; I should prefer κομητς) in l. 1. It is there followed by διασημωτς (Maspero διασημοτς); but though δι seems certain in 67316 at the beginning of l. 3, it is quite impossible to read διασημοτς. The traces, as seen in Maspero's facsimile, would most naturally suggest δι(ὰ) μ[ε]ρισμῶ[ν], if any tolerable sense could be obtained from such a phrase in this context. In 67151, where Maspero reads l. 3 . λ . . . ρωθε . . . οξοτς, I am inclined to read δλ, with a certain ρ later in the line, so that very possibly the same word or combination of words occurred in both cases. The rest of l. 3 is lost in 67316, but in l. 4 στρατηλατς is all but certain. Now in 67151 l. 4 seems, as Maspero says, to begin with στρ, and at the end of l. 3 one might read ενδοξοτς without much forcing of the characters. Hence [ενδοξοτς] may perhaps be suggested in the lacuna in l. 3 of 67316. For βιλλ, if the facsimile can be trusted, I should prefer ν . . σ. In l. 5, for πα βουλ, . . τα βουλ might equally be read, and perhaps, at need, κατα βουλ, though κα is difficult. In l. 6, which is a very short line, Maspero, if I understand him aright, takes the characters as a monogram of Ἰωάννης. It seems much more likely that the monogram is ινδ(ικτίονος); the number might be α.

From the foregoing some general conclusions at all events can be drawn. The ϕ which regularly begins l. 1 of the perpendicular writing, even down to Arab times, is, as seemed probable from the first, the beginning of $\Phi\lambda\alpha\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$, not of $\Phi\rho\alpha\gamma\acute{\omega}\nu\iota\varsigma$ (the supposed place of manufacture), as Karabacek conjectured. This incidentally confirms the supposition that in the Arab period the perpendicular writing was meaningless; for the *comes sacrarum largitionum* would certainly not be named in a protocol containing the Mahommedan formulae, and the only names which ever occur in the legible portions are those of the Khalif and the Governor, which were of course Arabic.

Secondly, the apparent β or $\iota\zeta$ which in the majority of cases ends l. 1, both in Arab and Byzantine times, is the τ of $\kappa\omicron\mu\iota\tau$ ($\kappa\omicron\mu\epsilon\tau$, $\kappa\omicron\mu\eta\tau$), followed by the sign of abbreviation — that is to say, in Arab times, it is a reminiscence of it.

In l. 2 Arab protocols often have at the beginning a cartouche enclosing an η , which Karabacek in one case tried to read η (= 8) *octava*, and in one case *non* (*deus nisi Deus unus*). This is possibly a survival of the mysterious $\delta\iota$ of 67316, 67151. The β or $\iota\zeta$ which usually ends l. 2 may be part of $\delta\iota\alpha\sigma\eta\mu\omicron\tau\varsigma$ or $\epsilon\upsilon\delta\omicron\zeta\omicron\tau\varsigma$. In l. 3 (the last line of perpendicular writing in Arab protocols) indiction dates sometimes occur (see my 'Latin in Protocols of the Arab Period' in *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, v. p. 153); in 67316 I have already suggested a date in the last line. The apparent ϵ , which nearly always ends l. 3 in Arab protocols, finds no explanation in 67316 (where the end of l. 5 is lost) or 67151.

It will be seen from the above that protocol writers seem to have kept fairly constantly to a traditional model even when the strokes they made had ceased to have any significance for them. It may further be inferred that 67316 and 67151 give Karabacek's theory of trilingual (Latin, Greek, Arabic) protocols its *coup de grâce* if that were still needed; for if the protocols were in Greek only while Egypt recognized the authority of the 'Roman' Emperor at Byzantium, Latin can hardly have been felt to be necessary under the Arab Khalif at Damascus.

H. I. BELL.

UNE RECETTE HOMÉRIQUE.

Μίστυλλον τ'ἄρα τᾶλλα καὶ ἀμφ' ὀβελοῖσιν ἔπειραν.

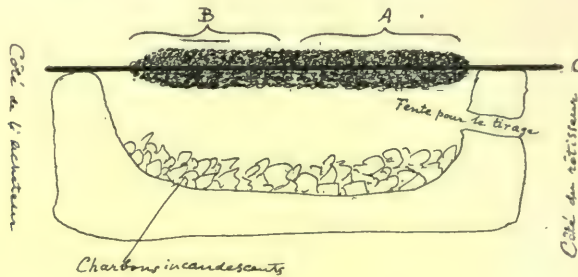
CETTE phrase, qui se retrouve avec quelques variantes cinq fois dans l'*Iliade* et cinq fois dans l'*Odyssée*, me paraît n'avoir pas été expliquée jusqu'ici d'une manière satisfaisante; il s'agit, dans tous ces passages (*Il.* i. 465, ii. 428, vii. 317, ix. 210, xxiv. 623; *Od.* iii. 463, xii. 365, xiv. 75, xiv. 431, xix. 422) d'un repas, souvent accompagné de rites religieux, ou d'un sacrifice proprement dit. Pessonneaux traduit *μιστύλλω* par: *diviser, couper en menus morceaux*; Lang, Leaf et Myers: *they sliced, ou cut up small, all the rest and pierced it through with spits*; ou encore: *they minced it (the ox) cunningly and pierced it through with spits*; Voss: *wohl zerstückte er das Fleisch und steckte es alles an Spiesse*; ou: *das Uebrige schnitten sie klein und steckten's an Spiesse*.

Μιστύλλω signifie hacher, couper en petits morceaux, broyer, piler; *μιστύλλη*, c'est le morceau de pain creusé en cuiller pour puiser les aliments liquides ou demi-liquides. On pourrait supposer que les morceaux de viande étaient assez grands pour être embrochés à la file les uns des autres, comme des perles sur une aiguille; cependant *μιστύλλω* semble indiquer une subdivision plus fine de la viande, une sorte de hachis; la traduction exacte serait alors, si cette hypothèse est admise: ils hachèrent le reste de la viande, le fixèrent sur des broches (et le firent rôtir avec soin). Mais comment peut-on fixer de la viande hachée sur une broche, ou autour d'une broche, sans qu'elle se détache et tombe dans le feu? S'agissait-il peut-être de broches de forme spéciale? C'est peu probable, car dans *Od.* iii. 463 Homère dit qu'elles étaient *ἀκροπόροι*, ce qui semble bien indiquer de simples tiges de métal pointues; la viande subissait-elle une préparation qui rendait la masse plus consistante et l'empêchait de tomber en morceaux? Un mot employé deux fois par Homère pourrait être cité en faveur de cette hypothèse; dans *Il.* vii. 317 et *Od.* xix. 422, il dit qu'on hacha la viande *ἐπισταμένως*: à la manière de gens qui connaissent le mode de préparation; mais en quoi consistait ce procédé?

Je crois avoir trouvé la réponse à cette question dans une très intéressante observation du Docteur F. Blanchod, l'un des médecins suisses qui furent envoyés par la Croix Rouge au Maroc, en 1916, pour y visiter les prisonniers de guerre. Le Dr. Blanchod a remarqué que les cuisiniers marocains grillent en plein vent la viande *hachée*, agglomérée autour d'une

baguette de fer ; dans une lettre qu'il a eu l'obligeance de m'adresser, il me donne les détails suivants :—

‘Les parties de l'animal non présentables à l'acheteur (flancs, paroi abdominale, cou, tête) sont hachées finement ; la viande hachée est pétrie dans une grande jatte de terre cuite avec de la graisse, de la farine et des épices. Le rôtiisseur, accroupi dans son échoppe, prend de la main gauche dans la jatte 30 grammes environ du mélange haché qu'il pétrit encore à pleine main ; puis il saisit de la main droite une tige de fer de 20 centimètres de longueur environ, exactement semblable à une aiguille à tricoter ; il place cette tige au milieu de la viande hachée qu'il a dans la main gauche et la tourne, en continuant à pétrir, jusqu'à ce que la tige soit entourée de viande sur la moitié A de sa longueur ; puis, par l'opération répétée une seconde fois, le rôtiisseur garnit la moitié B de la tige ; à Rabat surtout, j'ai remarqué que tous exécutent le même rite avec une grande dextérité ; le rôtiisseur place



5, 10, 15 tiges garnies de viande côte à côte sur un foyer en pierre rempli de charbons incandescents ; les foyers que j'ai vus étaient tous du même modèle, longs de 50 centimètres environ, larges de 20, usés et polis par le temps, placés toujours face à l'acheteur, devant le rôtiisseur accroupi qui surveille ses tiges, les tournant par l'extrémité C entre le pouce et l'index (*ᾠπτισηάν τε περιφραδέως*, *Il.* vii. 317, etc.) ; souvent la graisse coule sur les charbons et s'enflamme, mais la viande est agglomérée de telle façon que jamais elle ne se détache de la brochette ; les tiges, une fois à point, sont tirées à l'extrémité du foyer où il n'y a pas de charbons, mais où la chaleur de la pierre chauffée les maintient à une température favorable ; les clients, qui passent d'une échoppe à l'autre, choisissent les tiges les plus appétissantes, les mangent sur place et rendent la baguette au marchand.

Le croquis ci-joint montre la disposition du foyer.

La description si claire et si complète du Docteur Blanchod prouve qu'on peut fort bien rôtir sur une broche de la viande hachée, à la condition de lui faire subir préalablement une certaine préparation. Une objection se présente à l'esprit : pourquoi se servir de broches pointues (*Od.* iii. 463) puisque la viande était, non pas transpercée par l'instrument mais agglomérée tout autour ? L'explication me paraît bien simple : le rôtiisseur homérique, qui opérait avec un grand feu, ne pouvait pas employer une petite broche spéciale comme celle du marocain ; il se servait de la grande broche

ordinaire qu'il tenait à la main : ἀκροπόρους ὀβελούς ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντες (*Od.* iii. 463).

J'ai laissé de côté *Od.* xiv. 75 ; la préparation du repas y est décrite d'une façon si incomplète qu'on ne peut, me semble-t-il, en tirer aucune conclusion.

Je ne pense pas, d'ailleurs, que *toute* la viande était hachée ; l'animal était dépecé (διαχέω, τέμνω), certains morceaux étaient rôtis séparément et le reste était préparé comme je l'ai décrit ci-dessus.

Encore un petit détail : Homère dit, dans divers passages, que les convives mangèrent les entrailles, ou viscères (σπλάγχν' ἐπάσαντο, ἐπόπτων ἔγκατα πάντα) fixés sur des broches (σπλάγχνα ἀμπεύραντες) et rôtis sur le feu (ὑπεύρεχον Ἡφαίστοιο) ; voici comment j'ai vu cuire à Marathon l'intestin d'un agneau rôti en plein vent sur un brasier de sarments : le cuisinier coupe l'intestin près de l'estomac et l'enlève en le déroulant dans toute sa longueur ; puis, au moyen d'un entonnoir, il fait couler de l'eau à l'intérieur ; après ce nettoyage sommaire, l'intestin est enroulé autour d'une longue broche, comme un fil sur une bobine, aspergé de sel et placé sur le brasier dès que le bois a cessé de brûler : ἐπεὶ κατὰ πῦρ ἐκάη καὶ φλόξ ἐμαράνθη ; quand l'intestin est bien grillé, on retire la broche et l'on divise en tronçons le mets ainsi préparé ; il est sec, croquant, de couleur brune et de goût fort agréable. Les viscères grillés étaient les hors-d'œuvre des festins homériques ; on les mangeait pendant la préparation du reste du repas.

J. KESER, M.D.

GENÈVE, octobre 1916.

ON THE ORIGIN OF THE MAPS ATTACHED TO PTOLEMY'S GEOGRAPHY.

I.

THE scientific treatment of the Geography of Ptolemy (Γεωγραφικὴ ὑφήγησις) had made considerable progress during the last century, so that it seemed as if this work had been brought at least to a provisory issue. An edition arranged according to the demands of science and, as was to be desired, an edition that could be called final had not yet been produced, but there was reason to believe that the edition undertaken by the well-known editor C. Mueller in the great *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum*, published by Firmin Didot in Paris, would come up to these expectations. However, owing to his death in 1893 it has remained unfinished. After Part I. had appeared in 1883, C. Th. Fischer, to whom the continuation of the work was entrusted, was able in 1901 to publish Part II., which had been found almost ready for the press among the literary remains of the deceased. Thus of the eight books of the Ptolemaean geography the five first are at present published, but no continuation has as yet been heard of.¹ This edition is the result of extensive labours on the part of C. Mueller. The text is founded on a much wider and better textual apparatus than any of the earlier ones, and the different readings of the manuscripts are largely set forth. Besides, at the foot of the text is an extensive commentary, in which the statements of Ptolemy are examined and an attempt is made to identify as many of the names of localities and peoples as possible. It is, however, somewhat difficult now to estimate the value of Mueller's work, as his promised long introduction has not appeared and consequently it is also impossible to come to any certain conclusion concerning his principles as to the arrangement of the text. Nevertheless, after a closer examination of this edition, it must be stated that it does not justify all the expectations built upon it as a final edition of Ptolemy. Mueller certainly endeavoured to render the text in as pure and original a form as possible by comparing the different readings of the MSS. and selecting the best ones, but his ardent desire to identify the localities led him to attempt to emend the text by conjectures founded upon other geographical reports or actual facts—even in

¹ Cf. H. Wagner, *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde*, 1913, p. 767.

cases where the MSS. do not support any alterations, their testimony being in fact identical and even confirmed by the maps attached to the MSS.²

But even though it has been considered that the text is now, as far as Mueller has handled it, in a fairly satisfactory condition, yet critical research has lately taken a new turn, since more attention has been directed to the maps contained in the Greek MSS. It had indeed long been known that there existed maps attached to some of the MSS., but there prevailed doubts as to whether those maps were an integral part of the original work or whether they were of a later date, perhaps of the time of the Renaissance. The more so, as the Latin translations contained maps drawn by different persons, but particularly by Donnus Nicolaus Germanus, known in the earlier literature by the name of Nicolaus Donis, these maps having been taken as a basis for the earliest printed editions.³ The facsimile-edition of the MS. of the Geography of Ptolemy, preserved in the monastery of Vatopedi on Mount Athos (the Codex Athous), which was published with its maps by P. de Sévastianoff and V. Langlois in Paris, 1867, was considered rather important, but turned out however to be of little consequence for the research; the fact is, indeed, that it is no first-rate facsimile-edition,⁴ and that the MS. used for it seems to be of no great value. C. Mueller's contemporary remark on the existence of two different sets of maps⁵ remained quite unnoticed, as well as the fact that the Burney MS. 111 with its sixty-six maps was mentioned in the catalogue of maps in the British Museum, published as early as 1844.⁶ Shortly before his death, the famous explorer, Baron A. E. Nordenskiöld, had evidently begun to pay attention to the maps in the Greek MSS. of the Geography of Ptolemy, but death interrupted his work when it had hardly been begun. About the same time, Dr. L. Jelić (in Zara) published a facsimile reproduction of one map from the till then unnoticed Codex Urbinas graecus 82 in the Vatican Library, by which he brought this MS. particularly into notice.⁷ Not however till lately has a greater interest been taken in the maps. Quite independently of each other, the Librarian Dr. P. Dinse (in Kiel), and Professor Father J. Fischer, S.J. (in Feldkirch), had begun to examine the manuscript maps of the Ptolemaean geography, first the Latin and then the Greek, from which the former are derived. The attention of students was especially aroused by a lecture

² One instance: to the north-east of the coast of Egypt the site of Ὀστρακίνη and Ῥινοκόρουρα is, according to the MSS., ξδδ''-λα'λ'γ'' (except Cod. Vatic. 191, λα'ζ'') and ξδ'γο''-λα'λ'γ''; but Mueller, relying on the *editio princeps* and on the actual situation of the localities, demands in both cases the reading λα'ζ'' (Ptol. iv. 5, 6). The maps here support the reading of the MSS.

³ A. E. Nordenskiöld, *Facsimile-Atlas*, 1889, pp. 9-10; J. Fischer, *Verhandlungen d. XVIII deutschen Geographentages*, 1912, p. 227.

⁴ J. Fischer, *Petermanns Mitteilungen*, 60:

1, 1914, p. 295.

⁵ *Rapport sur les manuscrits de la géographie de Ptolémée* (Arch. des Missions scientifiques, 2 Série, 4 Tome, 1867), pp. 297-298.

⁶ *Catalogue of the Manuscript Maps, Charts, and Plans, and of the Topographical Drawings, in the British Museum*, i. 1844, pp. 3-5.

⁷ *Das älteste kartographische Denkmal über die römische Provinz Dalmatien* (Wissensch. Mitth. aus Bosnien und der Hercegovina, vii. 1900), pp. 167-214.

delivered by J. Fischer in 1912 at the Geographical Congress in Innsbruck, in which he emphasized the existence of the two different sets of maps, *i.e.* that besides the collection of twenty-seven maps, already well known from the Latin editions, there existed another set, in which the number of maps was more than doubled.⁸ Later on P. Dinse treated extensively the question of the value and the origin of the maps, in two lectures delivered in 1913, the one at the Congress of German Librarians in Mainz,⁹ the other before the Geographical Society in Berlin.¹⁰

These researches have shown that the number of Greek MSS. supplied with maps is thirteen, of which, however, only eight are ancient and independent enough to be of importance for the investigation of the maps.¹¹ Four of these (Class A) represent the set of maps known of old, which comprises twenty-six special maps and one map of the world. They are: the Codex Urbinas gr. 82, 13th cent. (Rome), the Codex Hafniensis Fabritius gr. (fragm.), 13th cent. (Copenhagen), the Codex Athous, 13th cent., second half, the Codex Marcianus gr. 566, 15th cent. (Venice). The remaining four (Class B), which are the Codex Laurentianus xxviii. 49, 14th cent. (Florence), the Codex Mediolanensis gr. 527, 14th cent. (Milan), the Codex Constantinopolitanus, 14th–15th cent., and the Codex Londinensis (Burney MS. 111), 14th cent., contain a greater number of maps, *viz.*, sixty-four special maps¹² and in addition either one universal map (Codd. Laur. and Lond.) or four maps of the continents (*i.e.*, Europa, Africa, Asia Septentrionalis, and Asia Australis) (Cod. Const.¹³). The sixty-four special maps correspond to the maps in Class A in such a way that some of them are identical in both groups (*e.g.*, Germania, Italia, Sarmatia), while sometimes two, three, or even four maps in Class B correspond to one map in Class A. Thus Hibernia and Albion in Class A are on one map, in Class B on two separate maps; and in the same manner in Class B Hispania is on three, Gallia on four maps, etc. In Class B the maps do not form, as they do in Class A, a special appendix at the end of the MSS.; they are instead inserted in their proper places in the text, as a rule at the end of the description of a province. The scale of the maps also varies more than in Class A. Generally the features of the maps are exactly identical in both classes, but certain dissimilarities exist, some in the names, others in the features themselves; *e.g.*, in Class A Scotland is of the same length as England, in Class B only

⁸ *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der Ptolemäus-Karten* (Verh. d. XVIII deutschen Geographentages, 1912; pp. 224–230, and *Petermanns Mitt.* 58: 2, 1912, pp. 61–63).

⁹ *Die handschriftlichen Ptolemäuskarten und ihre Entwicklung im Zeitalter der Renaissance* (Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen, xxx. 1913), pp. 379–403.

¹⁰ *Die handschriftlichen Ptolemäus-Karten und die Agathodämonfrage* (Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde in Berlin, 1913), pp. 745–763.

¹¹ *Zentralbl. f. Bibl.wesen*, xxx. 1913, p. 383. G. Schütte, *Ptolemy's Atlas: a Study of its Sources* (*Scott. Geogr. Mag.* xxx. 1914), p. 60, has added the eighth (fragmentary) MS. preserved in Copenhagen.

¹² Not 63, as Dinse says (*Zentr.bl. f. Bibl.wesen*, xxx. 1913, p. 384).

¹³ It does not appear clearly whether Codex Mediolanensis has both a map of the world and maps of the continents; but at any rate it has the maps of the continents. (Cf. J. Fischer, *Petermanns Mitt.* 60: 2, 1914, p. 287.)

half as long.¹⁴ How important these differences are is of course difficult to decide without comparing the entire material.

The earlier uncertainty as to the age of the maps of the Ptolemaean Geography is now much diminished. Especially Jelić,¹⁵ and later Dinse¹⁶ and Schütte,¹⁷ have clearly pointed out the evidently very old characteristics of these ancient maps, comparing them with the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, with the Madaba-mosaic representing the map of Palestine,¹⁸ and with the pictures of Provinces in the *Notitia Dignitatum*. They particularly note the marks for the towns, being square cartouches representing walls with battlements, or at more important places drawings of walls with gates and with three or even five towers. The question, however, whether these maps are really derived from maps attached to Ptolemy's original text, or whether they are of a somewhat later date, has as yet found no answer universally accepted: on the contrary, the opinions are entirely antagonistic. This question is indeed very complicated, and there are arguments for and against that well deserve notice. The debate is chiefly concentrated on the following points: (1) the aim of Ptolemy's work; (2) the Agathodaemon subscription.

1. In Book I. of his Geography Ptolemy declares that he wants above all to lay down a guide to map-drawing on a purely mathematical and astronomical basis. He consequently begins by giving an account of the art of projection, according to which the maps are to be drawn, at the same time criticising the work of his predecessors, especially that of the Tyrian Marinus. Then follow Books II.-VII., containing long lists of the localities, defined according to their longitude and latitude. In Book VIII. the author finally explains how by aid of the most surely determined points—at least some of them astronomically fixed—the known world can conveniently be drawn on twenty-six maps.^{18a} Concerning the nature of his work Ptolemy remarks¹⁹ that maps are often spoilt and distorted in the hands of the copyist, and that the form he has chosen—i.e., a list—warrants a greater durability to his work. Relying on Ptolemy's own words, many investigators²⁰ have held the view that originally no maps belonged to the work. This view has been maintained in the present discussion especially by Prof. K. Kretschmer,²¹ and his opinion is shared also by Dr. A. Herrmann.²² On the

¹⁴ Cf. Schütte, *Scott. Geogr. Mag.* xxx. 1914, p. 60, where the more important differences are enumerated.

¹⁵ *Mitt. aus Bosnien u. Hercegovina*, vii. 1900, pp. 172-173.

¹⁶ *Zentr.bl. f. Bibl.wesen*, xxx. 1913, p. 389.

¹⁷ *Scott. Geogr. Mag.* xxx. 1914, pp. 58-59: a complete list of identities and similitudes.

¹⁸ Cf. *Compte Rendu de l'Acad. des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, xxv. 1897, p. 140; Schulten, *Abhandl. d. Gesellsch. d. Wissensch. zu Göttingen*, Phil.-Hist. Kl., N. F. iv. 2, 1900, Pl. I.

^{18a} viii. 1-2.

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¹⁹ i. 18. 3: τό τε γὰρ αἰετὶ μεταφέρειν ἀπὸ τῶν προτέρων παραδειγμάτων ἐπὶ τὰ ὕστερα διὰ τῆς κατὰ μικρὸν παραλλαγῆς εἰς ἀξιόλογον εἰσῆθεν ἐξάγειν ἀνομοιότητα τὰς μεταβολάς.

²⁰ For instance: H. Kiepert, *Lehrbuch d. alten Geographie* (1878), p. 10; H. Berger, *Geschichte d. wissenschaftlichen Erdkunde d. Griechen*, iv. p. 147, etc.; H. Zondervan, *Allgemeine Kartenkunde* (1901), pp. 15-16.

²¹ *Zeitschr. d. Gesellsch. f. Erdk.* 1913, pp. 767-768; *Petermanns Mitt.* 60: 1, 1914, pp. 142-143.

²² *Marinus, Ptolemäus und ihre Karten* (*Zeitschr. d. Gesellsch. f. Erdk.* 1914), p. 783.

other hand, it has been remarked that the text without the maps—and likewise a later origin of the maps—is hardly conceivable. Dinse maintains at great length that the maps necessarily must have belonged to the original edition.²³ He considers it absolutely impossible, even for a modern skilled designer, to draw maps that could be satisfactory in any degree merely on the basis of Ptolemy's text; and, besides, he regards it as quite obvious that Ptolemy must have drawn the maps himself before he wrote his long lists in Books II.–VII. of the Geography. The fact that the greater part of the MSS. still existing have no maps does not conflict with this hypothesis, as the drawing of maps was generally more expensive than the copying of ordinary text; thus it is to be assumed that there were many more copies in circulation without maps than complete MSS. with maps. The last assertion is of course true, but does not prove anything. As to the other point, it is a matter of course that Ptolemy, when he made his catalogues, had before him his own maps, purged of the faults of his foregoers; and surely this is in no way inconsistent with his own statement, that he performed his task with the intention of correcting the faults found in the maps of his immediate predecessor, Marinus.²⁴ Nor has this been denied. But it does not follow from this that the final edition issued for the public contained maps. Ptolemy's own words in Book I. seem to point in the contrary direction. Again, as to the assertion that it would have been impossible to draw maps later on the sole basis of Ptolemy's text, this seems not to hold good either. For there existed maps, superior and inferior, and especially Marinus's maps, of which many editions had appeared, seem to have been universally known, so that with their help, and by following the hints given by Ptolemy, it ought to have been possible to design maps according to his scheme.²⁵

2. At the end of some MSS. there is the subscription *ἐκ τῶν Κλαυδίου Πτολεμαίου γεωγραφικῶν βιβλίων ὀκτῶ τὴν οἰκουμένην πᾶσαν Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων (vel Ἀγαθοδαίμων) Ἀλεξανδρεὺς μηχανικὸς ὑπετύπωσε*. This subscription is to be found in at least the following codices: Codd. Parisini 1401 and 1402, Codex Venetus 383, Codex Vindobonensis 1,²⁶ and Codex Urbinas gr. 82,²⁷ and possibly also in others.²⁸ The meaning of this subscription has been understood in different ways. Earlier it was the general opinion that the subscription was clear evidence that the maps were not Ptolemy's work, and as it was known that some of the letters of Isidorus of Pelusium are addressed to a grammarian by name Agathodaemon, the opinion was pronounced that both Agathodaemons were the same person, and that consequently the maps dated from the 5th cent.²⁹ There is,

²³ *Zeitschr. d. Gesellsch. f. Erdk.* 1913, pp. 754–756; *Zentr.bl. f. Bibl.wesen*, xxx. 1913, pp. 389–395.

²⁴ Cf. Kretschmer, *Petermanns Mitt.* 60: 1, 1914, p. 142.

²⁵ Cf. Herrmann, *Zeitschr. d. Gesellsch. f. Erdk.* 1914, p. 784.

²⁶ Berger, *Agathodaimon* (Pauly-Wissowa,

i. 1894), p. 747.

²⁷ Jelić, *Mitt. aus Bosnien u. der Hercegovina*, vii. 1900, p. 172, Pl. V.

²⁸ Dinse, *Zentr.bl. f. Bibl.wesen*, xxx. 1913, p. 391, n. 1.

²⁹ Cf. J. A. Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Graeca* (1708), iii. p. 412.

however, no proof of this identification; on the contrary, it is anything but probable. Nevertheless Kretschmer, for instance, decidedly holds the view that the author of the maps is Agathodaemon, not Ptolemy.³⁰ Dinse, on the other hand, who regards the maps as belonging to the original work and alleges both sets of maps to have been made by Ptolemy—a matter we shall recur to later—has invented an ingenious theory that Agathodaemon was the man who transferred not only the maps but the whole work from the roll of papyrus to a parchment codex of the usual form, and who thus became an intermediary for preserving this precious book to our days.³¹ It is of course possible that such a work was once performed, as was certainly the case with regard to the earlier classical literature, but in this instance there is no absolute necessity to presume it. At least the existence of codices of papyrus as early as the 2nd cent. A.D., the time when Ptolemy worked, seems to be a positive fact³²: thus the archetype can quite well be supposed to have been written in the form of a codex. Certainly the hypothesis of Dinse is in no way supported by the words by which Agathodaemon's work is accounted for; on the contrary, they imply that it was of a different and much more independent character. Lately J. Fischer has announced that the study of the Codex Urbinas gr. 82 has convinced him that Agathodaemon only drew the map of the world, which according to him is of a later date, while the other maps are originally Ptolemaean.³³

II.

The Nordenskiöld Library is a most valuable collection especially of works concerning ancient and mediaeval geography and the history of cartography, which the late Baron A. E. Nordenskiöld, the famous explorer, a Finn by birth, had brought together, and which after his death in 1901 was, in accordance with the wish of the deceased, purchased by the University in Helsingfors and is now preserved in the University Library there. It contains a series of negatives of a set of Ptolemy's maps taken on behalf of Nordenskiöld by Dr. F. R. Martin (a well-known expert in Oriental carpets and handiwork) from the MS. kept in the Old Seraglio of Pera in Constantinople (the Codex Constantinopolitanus). Considering that Nordenskiöld's interest during his last days was especially concentrated on this MS. and above all on its maps, it has been thought desirable at least in so far to continue his work as to publish the maps. Very few maps belonging to the MSS. of Ptolemy's Geography have as yet been published in facsimile; a complete facsimile edition exists only of the Codex Athous. This MS. however is defective and its maps not very good; the reproduction too is

³⁰ *Petermanns Mitt.* 60: 1, 1914, p. 143.

³¹ *Zeitschr. d. Gesellsch. f. Erdk.* 1913, pp. 759-761; *Zentr.bl. f. Bibl.wesen*, xxx. 1913, pp. 394-397.

³² *Oxyrh. Pap.* ii. p. 2; Serruys, *Revue de Philologie*, xxxiv. 1910, p. 102; Gardthausen, *Griech. Paläogr.* 2 i pp. 156-157.

³³ *Petermanns Mitt.* 60: 2, 1914, p. 287.

rather unsatisfactory. Some facsimiles of separate maps are also published.³⁴ Indeed a facsimile of Codex Urbinas gr. 82 is at present in preparation by J. Fischer: but of course research will merely profit by the publication of more MSS. with maps. Besides, this Codex Constantinopolitanus represents a class other than that of which one facsimile has been published (Codex Athous), and another is in preparation (Codex Urbinas gr. 82). In the expectation that the publication of the maps of this MS. will in due time be possible, I have endeavoured to do some preparatory work. On examining the material I have been struck by certain particulars, which seem to me of such a nature that I have thought it appropriate to call the attention of students to them and to present certain conjectures based upon them, though these conjectures are merely hypotheses, to be confirmed only by a comparison—at present impossible—between the maps of Codex Constantinopolitanus and those of the other MSS.

The MS. in question, Codex Constantinopolitanus chartaceus,³⁵ most probably dates from the end of the 14th cent. or possibly from the beginning of the 15th. Besides Ptolemy's Geography, the same volume contains some leaves with parts of the geographical poem of Dionysus the Periegete. Of the Geography of Ptolemy there are eighty-eight leaves written on both sides, size 41 × 29 cm. The text is drawn in black, the ornamental capital letters illuminated in red. The maps are coloured in such a manner that the sea is green, the mountains brown, and the cartouches of the towns red; so also some designs representing altars, temples, etc. Particularly beautiful—decorated with flags—are the drawings of Rome, Jerusalem, etc. As above mentioned, this MS. of the Ptolemaean Geography belongs to the same class as Codex Laurentianus xxviii. 49 (C. Mueller's Ω), Codex Mediolanensis gr. 527 (C. Mueller's S), and Codex Londinensis (Burney MS. 111), the peculiarity of which is the great number of special maps, *i.e.* 64. Besides these the Codex Constantinopolitanus contains also 4 maps of the continents. Codex Constantinopolitanus has not been preserved quite complete, the entire First Book is missing, as is the leaf on which was the map of Peloponnesus. Seemingly Book VIII. is also wanting, but as a matter of fact the list of places, which is usually contained in this Book, is scattered over Books II.–VII. at the end of the lists of localities of the respective provinces. Without any closer examination of the MS. this extension of the text in these Books has by earlier writers been accounted for as a supplement added in conformity with the demands of a later period.³⁶

³⁴ They are, as far as I know: From Codex Urbinas gr. 82: Rhaetia-Illyria (Jelić, *Mitt. aus Bosnien u. der Hercegovina*, vii. 1900, Pl. V.), Germania (Schütte, *Geografisk Tidsskrift*, xxiii. 1916, p. 259, Fig. II.), Dacia (Schütte, *ibid.* p. 262, Fig. VIa). From Codex Londinensis (Burney MS. 111): Germania (Schütte, *Scott. Geogr. Mag.* xxx. 1914, p. 297, Fig. 4). From Codex Constantinopolitanus: the continent map of Northern Asia, western

part (Bagrov, *Materials for the History of the Map of the Caspian Sea* [Russ.], 1912, p. 14, Fig. 8, and *Ancient Maps of the Black Sea* [Russ.], 1914, Pl. II.

³⁵ Cf. Blass, *Hermes*, xxiii. 1888, pp. 219–222, Nr. 27.

³⁶ E. Abel, *Literarische Berichte aus Ungarn*, ii. 1878, p. 567; Blass, *Hermes* xxiii. 1888, p. 223.

At first sight the maps of this MS. make a pleasing impression. The outlines of the countries are generally very carefully and conscientiously designed; the same is to be said of the mountains. As to the rivers, it is difficult to say anything without comparing with other MSS. The cartouches denoting towns and villages, beside which the names are written, are generally placed so that they approximately agree with the indications of the text. Still, the precision with which the strict position of each place in Codex Urbinas gr. 82 is marked (with a dot inside the cartouche) is here missing. Even certain deviations from the text of the MS. are to be found, and the reason is partly that, the space being limited on a map drawn on a comparatively small scale, the figures had to be transferred, partly mere carelessness either in the drawing in *this* copy or at some earlier stage. Similar peculiarities are also to be found in Codex Athous, indeed to a much larger degree; it is for instance simply typical for this MS. that the cartouches of the towns are placed in long rows, which only slightly recall the indications of the text and the disposition of the localities in the better MSS. Of course a general verdict on the maps of Codex Constantinopolitanus is of little value as long as they have not been compared with other maps, especially with those belonging to Class B.

On making, in view of the contemplated publication of these maps, a list of all the names in the form in which they occur in this MS., I had above all to observe that their writing was often influenced by the later Greek pronunciation, so that they differed from the orthographic form originally used by the author. This circumstance is of course quite intelligible and natural, and requires no special notice in this connexion. But here and there appear certain peculiarities of another nature, which are, as far as I can see, worthy of notice.

1. In Ptolemy's text the position of the rivers is generally not given more exactly than by defining the position of their mouths with the words *αἱ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ δεινός ἐκβολαί*. Only comparatively seldom other indications are added concerning the place of the sources of the river, of its chief windings, the mouths of its tributaries, etc. In the text the names of the rivers are consequently mostly in the *genitive* case. On the maps, however, as is to be expected, the names of the rivers appear as such, without any additions, *i.e.*, in the *nominative* case. But I have noted four or five exceptions to this rule. Thus we have: (i) on the map of Albion: *Λόγγου ποτ. ἐκβολή* (= *Λόγγου ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαί*) (Ptol. ii. 3, 1); (ii) on the map of Sicily: *Ἑλικῶνος ποτ.* (the name of the river is *Ἑλικῶν*) (Ptol. iii. 4, 2); (iii) moreover, on the same map: *Ἀκιθίου ποτ. ἢ Ἀκίθιος ποτ.* (Ptol. iii. 4, 3); (iv) on the map of Libya Interior: *Δάραδος ποτ. ἢ Δάρας ποτ.* (Ptol. iv. 6, 2). *Θυάμιο ποτ.*, occurring on the map of Epirus (Ptol. iii. 13, 3), must be considered somewhat uncertain; it may be a copyist's error for *Θυάμις ποτ.*, but it can also mean the genitive form *Θυάμιος ποταμοῦ*. In these instances the genitive, conveying no sense on the map, seems to be erroneously copied from the text, where it is correct.

2. When Ptolemy enumerates the towns and other places of some

province, he generally uses some prefatory words, such as 'πόλεις δὲ εἰςὶ μεσόγειοι αἶδε,' '[Δαμμόνιοι] ἐν οἷς πόλεις αἶδε,' 'πόλεις δὲ εἰσὶν ἐν τῇ [Οὐνδελικίᾳ],' and so on. In these cases the names in the list following the preamble are of course in the nominative. In the text concerning Italy another kind of construction occurs twice; the author writes ἡ μὲν οὖν Λιγουρία . . . ἔχει μεσογείους πόλεις (Ptol. iii. 1. 41), and ἡ δὲ Γαλλία ἡ Τογάτα . . . ἔχει πόλεις τάσδε (Ptol. iii. 1. 42), and then the names of places, needless to say, follow in the *accusative*. Of such names there are eighteen, of which five are here of no account, being neuters that have no special accusative form. Now on the map of Italy in Codex Constantinopolitanus, eight (or nine) of the remaining thirteen are altered to the nominative quite as it ought to be, but four recur in the accusative; these are: ἄλβαν πομπήα (= Ἄλβαν Πομπηίαν), Πάρμαν, μάτιαν (= Μούτιαν), and κάσαιναν (= Καίσηραν), to which possibly Λίβαρνον should be added, as it is evidently to be read Λίβαρναν (nom. Λίβαρνα).³⁷

3. On the map representing Asia Minor we find the nation ἐρίζηνοι μιονίας. In the normalised context of Ptolemy the corresponding words are as follows: (Ptol. v. 2, 15) Καρίας δὲ . . . καὶ δῆμος πρὸς τῇ Φρυγίᾳ Ἐρίζηνοι (the MSS. Ἐρίζηλοι). (16) Μαιονίας ἐν μεθορίοις Μυσίας καὶ Λυδίας καὶ Φρυγίας Σαῖται κ.τ.λ. (towns enumerated). Only from a MS. without any punctuation marks can a mistake like this have slipped into the map.

4. On the map of Macedonia appear the names Ἀμφαξίτιδες and Φθιώτιδες. In the text the corresponding forms are the genitives Ἀμφαξίτιδος (Ptol. iii. 12, 11) and Φθιώτιδος (Ptol. iii. 12, 14), which consequently on the map ought to have been Ἀμφαξίτις and Φθιώτις.

5. On several maps of Asia and even on some of Africa we find certain short notes from the text added to the names. Sometimes a name of a nation is followed by the attribute μέγα ἔθνος, e.g. Ἀφρικέρωνες μέγα ἔθνος (Libya Interior, Ptol. iv. 6, 6), Μιναῖοι μέγα ἔθνος (Arabia Felix, Ptol. vi. 7, 23), Τόχαροι μέγα ἔθνος (Bactriana, Ptol. vi. 11, 6), etc. In other cases larger descriptive extracts of a different nature are lent from the text and joined to the name. As examples may serve: Ἀζανία χώρα ἐν εἰς (= ἡ) πλείστοι ἐλέφαντες (Aethiopia *infra* Aegyptum, Ptol. iv. 7, 10), Σελήνης ὄρος ἀφ' οὗ ὑποδέχονται τὰς χιόνας αἱ τοῦ Νείλου λίμναι (*ibid.* and Aethiopia Interior, Ptol. iv. 8, 2). Especially there are many such examples on the maps of both Indias: Κῶσα ἐν ἡ ἀδάμας (Ptol. vii. 1, 65), Σαβάραι παρ' οἷς ἐστὶ πλείστος ἀδάμας (Ptol. vii. 1, 80), [Κιρρα]δία χώρα ἐν ἡ κάλλιστον μαλάβαθρον (Ptol. vii. 2, 16), Χρυσὴ χώρα ἐν ἡ πλείστα μέταλλα χρυσίου (Ptol. vii. 2, 17), [Τιλα]δαὶ ο[ἱ] καὶ Βησάδαιοι ο[ἱ] εἰσι δασεῖς, κολοβοὶ καὶ πλατυπρόσωποι (Ptol. vii. 2, 15), to mention some instances.

³⁷ Cf. Ptolemaei Geographia, ed. C. Mueller, i. 1, 1883, p. 345; the forms Libarna and Libarnum occur both in Roman inscriptions and authors, but Mueller chooses for his text

the form Λίβαρναν, occurring in the majority of MSS., though the form Λίβαρνον appears in the excellent Codex Vaticanus gr. 191.

These strange deviations from the general nature of the nomenclature of the maps, in so far as instead of a nominative form a genitive is by chance found on the map in the wrong place, or the genitive of the text is wrongly changed, or additions have been made after the names themselves, can as far as I can see be explained only in two ways. Either a copyist has first copied the maps without writing down the names from the model maps, and on finishing his work by adding the names taken them from the text, not from the model maps. In that case he has been able partly to change the names into the form required, partly to avoid additions that do not strictly belong to the names, but sometimes he has by mistake or negligence allowed the names to slip into the map unchanged, or changed them in a wrong way, or he has mechanically written on the map more from the text than would actually have been necessary. Or else the maps did not originally belong to the text, but some draughtsman has later on traced the maps and has then not been always careful enough to avoid the faults and inconsistencies above mentioned. This latter supposition seems to be preferable. On account of the present situation caused by the war, I have had no opportunity of comparing as to these points the Codex Constantinopolitanus with other MSS., only the facsimile-edition of the Codex Athous being at my disposal. But though this MS. (or at least the facsimile-edition) is very unsatisfactory as such, and especially its maps are often difficult to decipher, and besides the names on them are frequently abbreviated, I have been able to establish the fact that the same exceptional forms partly occur on it. Here it is of less importance that the additions mentioned in paragraph 5 recur, as they can be held to be of a somewhat different nature; the fact is that they affect less known countries, concerning which Ptolemy himself in his text has somewhat deviated from the dull form of mere enumeration without any illustrative attributes; thus the additions taken from the text seem in this case to be easier to account for; also these additions reappear even in the maps appended to the earlier printed editions. Of more consequence is it that some of the accusative forms on the maps of Italy mentioned above in paragraph 2 recur in Codex Athous; they are: Ἰάλβαν Πομπηϊάν, Λίβαρναν, Πάρμαν, Μούτιναν: others I have not been able to make out.

Now, as Codex Constantinopolitanus belongs to Class B and Codex Athous to Class A, these mistakes must have appeared in the maps very early, before the two sets of maps were separated, for of course it does not seem probable that such a remarkable fault should have found its way twice into the maps. As to the suppositions above mentioned concerning the origin of these faults, I have already pointed out that the former of them seems less probable. One might perhaps suppose that some copyist might really have checked the maps that he had designed, according to the text, but it seems highly improbable that, in copying the maps, he should not also have immediately marked the names from the model maps at the same time, as for instance, he marked in the margin the figures of longitude and latitude, the places of parallels, etc.; thus it is not very probable that

the errors and deviations in question could have originated in that way, however mechanical the supposed control might have been.

Consequently, if it is not to be supposed that these peculiarities slipped into the maps later, after the archetype of the maps had been finished, on the other hand it is in no way probable that this sort of irregularities and faults would appear in these maps if they had been made on Ptolemy's own initiative and if published by him. They would then, no doubt, have been in a blameless state, at least originally. Thus there seems not to be any other way of explaining the matter than that the maps have been added to the original text later. Then also the much debated question, why the maps are in equidistant cylindrical projection, though Ptolemy himself recommends the conical projection as scientifically more correct, is cleared up. There were older maps drawn in the former projection, and thus the draughtsman who designed the maps for the Ptolemaean geography and to whom these maps were familiar simply employed the same projection, a procedure not equally easy to believe on the hypothesis that the maps were designed under Ptolemy's own guidance, although Dinse and others seem to find such an inconsequence quite natural.³⁸ The final conclusion is, consequently, that the conception grounded on Ptolemy's own words, that the *Γεωγραφικὴ ὑφήγησις* was originally published without maps, is supported by the maps themselves.

The date of the origin of the maps is, at least at present, difficult to define. The comparisons with extant antique maps, made by Jelić, Dinse, and Schütte,³⁹ do not prove anything with certainty except that the maps added to the Geography of Ptolemy have been handed down from antiquity, but any preciser date they do not seem to give, as the possibilities extend over several centuries, the Madaba-map for instance dating from the 6th century.

III.

If we have thus shown that the maps preserved in the MSS. are of later date than Ptolemy's text, and designed by someone else, we still have to deal with the question of the relationship between Class A (twenty-six maps) and Class B (sixty-four maps). When at the Geographical Congress of Innsbruck J. Fischer's first communication gave rise to discussion, Prof. F. v. Wieser⁴⁰ expressed the opinion that the additional maps of Class B unquestionably derived their origin from the epoch of the Renaissance, bearing thus no relation to the original Ptolemaean maps of Class A, and on the same occasion Prof. E. Oberhummer⁴¹ considered that they were added in the Middle Ages; but these utterances were merely due to an insufficient acquaintance with the subject, for as a matter of fact there can be no question of real additions. Dinse⁴² has at great length expounded a

³⁸ *Zeitschr. d. Gesellsch. f. Erdk.* 1913, pp. 757-758.

³⁹ See p. 65.

⁴⁰ *Verh. d. XVIII. deutschen Geographentages*, 1912, p. xxxvii.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* p. xxxviii.

⁴² *Zeitschr. d. Gesellsch. f. Erdk.* 1913, p. 759-761; *Zentr.bl. f. Bibl.wesen*, xxx. 1913, pp. 392-395.

hypothesis that Ptolemy left two different text-editions, to which the different groups of maps belonged, in such a manner that Class B would represent the earlier edition and Class A the edition finally approved of by Ptolemy; and this opinion is also maintained by J. Fischer. Besides the fact that they consider both groups to be original parts of Ptolemy's work, Dinse moreover, in support of his assertion, insists that even the texts of both classes differ to a certain degree. I do not wish to underrate the existing divergencies, which are quite obvious, as is shown by Mueller's edition. But the greatest difference still seems to be that in Class B the greater part of Book VIII., the list of names of localities, is scattered about and joined to the end of the descriptions of provinces in the preceding Books. As regards Codex Constantinopolitanus this is a settled fact, but as Mueller's edition mentions that in Codex Laurentianus xxviii. 49 and in Codex Mediolanensis gr. 527 after the descriptions of Arabia Petraea and Mesopotamia there are added, besides the map, also the corresponding parts from Book VIII.,⁴³ it seems evident that in these MSS. also Book VIII. has been divided in the same manner as in the Codex Constantinopolitanus.⁴⁴ It is true that Dinse believes that this is the earlier form dating from the time when the author had not yet united the great number of maps of provinces to the twenty-six maps of countries. When uniting them he did, according to Dinse, simultaneously separate the more reliable topographical notices serving as a basis for these twenty-six maps, as an Eighth Book.⁴⁵ As far, however, as can be concluded from Codex Constantinopolitanus, this explanation does not hold good. As has already been mentioned,⁴⁶ Book VIII. is chiefly an account of the best method of drawing the known world on twenty-six maps; for every map the central meridian is given and the localities most reliably defined mentioned, and this is done by giving the length of their longest day and their relation to Alexandria also defined in hours and minutes (*i.e.*, degrees). Every section begins with the same formal words, for instance: *ὁ πρῶτος πίναξ τῆς Εὐρώπης περιέχει τὰς Βρετανικὰς νήσους σὺν ταῖς περὶ αὐτὰς νήσοις· ὁ δὲ διὰ μέσου αὐτοῦ παράλληλος λόγος ἔχει πρὸς τὸν μεσημβρινὸν ὃν τὰ ἰᾶ ἐγγιστα πρὸς τὰ κ. περιορίζεται δὲ ὁ πίναξ Τῆς δὲ Ἰουερνίας νήσου αἱ ἐπίσημοι πόλεις . . .* (Ptol. viii. 3, 1-4). Now, at least in Codex Constantinopolitanus, the pieces of Book VIII. are fitted into the text of the former Books so mechanically that these introductory words are taken along with the rest, in the instance just quoted between the description of Ireland belonging to Book II. and the list of the chief towns of Ireland taken from Book VIII. Consequently they have no sense in the context where they are placed, as only information on a separate province is in question, and not the topography of a whole country or several countries; besides, the number of the map cited has nothing to do with the

⁴³ Ptolemaei *Geographia*, i. 2 (1901), pp. 1000 and 1011.

⁴⁴ Also in the Codex Urbinas gr. 83, which belongs to Class B, but is too recent to have any independent importance, Book VIII.

is reported to show great lacunas, which must be explained in the same way.

⁴⁵ *Zentr.bl. f. Bibl.wesen*, xxx. 1913, p. 393, n. 1.

⁴⁶ See p. 65.

maps of Class B. Thus I cannot conceive that this form of the text could be of earlier date than the other, nor even that it could have been edited by Ptolemy. The best explanation at which I have been able to arrive concerning this combination of the two lists is that someone, on perusing the work, has considered as superfluous, perhaps unnatural, the existence of double lists of localities (and so far apart, too), and that he therefore inserted, or ordered his scribe to insert, the lists of Book VIII. into the respective places of the Books II.-VII.; and it can be easily conceived that this insertion may have been made quite mechanically.

As to the composition of Ptolemy's work the supposition seems quite acceptable, that it originally consisted of only seven Books, and that Book VIII. was added later; its connexion with the preceding ones seems indeed quite loose. There was perhaps a time when two different editions were in use side by side. But at least if we consider the maps now preserved, it seems improbable that the maps of Class B could have been made for such an edition of seven Books and those of Class A independently for an edition of eight Books or for an especial eighth Book. For if their origin had been such the difference between them would probably have been more conspicuous. The most important reason, which refutes the supposition that Classes A and B should have originated independently of each other, is that, as I have previously demonstrated, the same remarkable peculiarities as to certain names seem to appear in both groups, as far as can be observed by the comparison of Codex Constantinopolitanus with Codex Athous. Of course, it seems quite inconceivable that this could have been the case if both groups of maps had originated independently of each other.

If, in spite of all objections, the maps are thus of common origin, which edition then is the older? J. Fischer, Dinse⁴⁷ and Herrmann⁴⁸ regard Class B (sixty-four maps) as older. The last mentioned assumes that this edition contains direct reminiscences of the maps of Marinus, Ptolemy's predecessor. Dinse for his part especially points out how much better the maps of Class B fit into the main part of the text, *i.e.* the Books II.-VII., especially if we consider that the original publication was a roll. As to the former assertion, there is, as far as I can judge from the comparisons I have as yet been able to draw, no such great difference between the two sets of maps that we should on account of them be obliged to seek reminiscences of Marinus in the one without seeking them in the other. But if Herrmann's words imply only that the maps of Class B, being older according to the opinion of such a prominent scholar as Prof. J. Fischer, *eo ipso* are nearer to Marinus, the value of his opinion depends on the evidence set forth by Dinse and J. Fischer. We thus come to the arguments put forward by Dinse. I, for my part, am not convinced that the maps of Class B fit in every respect better into a work in the form of a papyrus-roll presumed by him than those of Class A. On the contrary, it seems to me that a separate roll of twenty-

⁴⁷ *Zentr.bl. f. Bibl.wesen*, xxx. 1913, pp. 392-395; *Zeitschr. d. Gesellsch. f. Erdk.* 1913, pp. 757-760.

⁴⁸ *Zeitschr. d. Gesellsch. f. Erdk.* 1914, p.

six maps, or twenty-six leaves with maps, would make a considerably more convenient appendix for a roll of papyrus than sixty-four maps scattered over the text, some of them being so large that, when rolled out, it was evidently very difficult simultaneously to read the text written beside them. Only think of the extensive text and the map of Italy and of those of India and Further India, where the maps in many, if not all, codices take two pages. Besides it may, as previously said, be doubted whether Ptolemy's work ever was in the form of a roll. But even for an ordinary book I believe that this statement holds good; surely every reader can confirm from his own experience that plates or maps, to which the text refers at greater length or more than once, are less handy to compare when they are inserted in the text than when they are parts of a separate appendix.

Superficially regarded, the insertion of these maps in the text may perhaps seem more rational, but, as has been pointed out above, there appears in the MSS. of this group B also another 'rational' correction: the splitting up of Book VIII. and the scattering of the pieces over the preceding Books II.-VII. As Ptolemy's own directions particularly point to a set of twenty-six maps,⁴⁹ it would rather seem that the arrangement of Class A represents an earlier edition than Class B. Thus the maps of Class B seem to have been composed later by cutting up the maps of Class A; probably at the same time when Book VIII. was split. Dinse⁵⁰ certainly maintains that the assumption of such a cutting up of the maps is preposterous, as the sixty-four maps of Class B are on a different scale, so that it is not possible to join them together mechanically to form the twenty-six maps of Class A, and *vice versa*; but, as far as I can judge, this assertion is not conclusive and, consequently, does not affect my observations presented above. The changing of scale is not particularly difficult in these maps, and I think that, if once some kind of net measure had been drawn, it ought to have been comparatively easy to copy the model-map on it, even if the scale was changed. Variety of scale is quite in accordance with the fact that sometimes larger countries are fitted into one map, sometimes quite small countries are separated, often depending on their importance and on the abundance of localities to be marked—but this pursuit of reasonable and practical advantage is quite in conformity with the general character of Class B.⁵¹

One more fact that favours the belief that the maps of Class B were made later by dividing up the maps of Class A is to be mentioned: though in both groups the provinces bordering upon the province represented on each map are marked only by outlines and some few more important names and marks, yet in some of the maps of Class B⁵² the bordering provinces are marked with greater plenty of details; thus it seems as if the designer

⁴⁹ viii. 2, 1.

⁵⁰ *Zentr.bl. f. Bibl.wesen.* xxx. 1913, pp. 384-385 and p. 392 n. 1; *Zeitsch. d. Gesellsch. f. Erdk.* 1913, p. 750.

⁵¹ Ptolemy already remarks that for the

particular maps the scale can vary according to the importance of the countries (viii. 1).

⁵² For instance, the maps of Hispania Tarraconensis and of Syria.

on dividing the maps of Class A had reproduced more than would have been strictly necessary.

From the material at my disposal I thus come to the conclusion that Class A is older than Class B, that Class B is founded on Class A, but that Class A itself is a later addition to Ptolemy's own work. First, the maps were designed according to the instructions given in Book VIII., then, aiming at some kind of rationality and convenience, the archetype of Class B was compiled. There is no reason for presuming that this should not have happened in the Roman period, but when and where it was done is difficult to say. Possibly a closer comparison between the two groups may show that the divergencies, for instance, in the nomenclature point in some particular direction; some additions, indeed, seem to suggest Asia Minor.

And what of Agathodaemon? Did he draw the maps, did he make the map of the world, or was he only a copyist? The subscription (. . . τὴν οἰκουμένην πᾶσαν . . . ὑπετύπωσε) can be interpreted as meaning either that he really designed all the maps, or that he made the map of the world, though the former interpretation seems more natural.⁵³ Dinse⁵⁴ mentions that the subscription is found in the MSS. of both groups, even in MSS. entirely lacking in maps; and this may point to Agathodaemon as the author of the original edition of the maps. But, on the other hand, J. Fischer, as remarked before, says⁵⁵ that he has found a proof that Agathodaemon drew the map of the world only, though, as far as the information till now at my disposal goes, he has not yet published this evidence. If his assertion holds good, the subscription in question may perhaps have an appropriate place in some MSS. of Class B all the same; for it is to be remembered that in the Codices Laurentianus and Londinensis, belonging to Class B, there is a map of the world added to the special maps, and not as in some of the other MSS. of this group, four maps of the continents; if it appears that this map matches with the map of the world belonging to Class A, then the subscription may, at any rate, be legitimate. Further conjectures on this question, before we make the acquaintance of the evidence promised by J. Fischer, seem useless.

One remark may still be added: that the maps of the continents are decidedly of later or, more exactly expressed, of other origin (leaving aside the question of time) than the maps drawn for Ptolemy's text. This is proved especially by the fact that on the map of Thracia appears *Βυζάντιον* in accordance with Ptolemy's text, but on the general map of Europe *Κωνσταντινούπολις*; thus, at least, this map cannot be older than the fourth century. J. Fischer has, indeed, lately mentioned⁵⁶ that Father P. Vogt has in a Codex Mediolanensis found a passage indicating the author of these maps of continents, but further information is as yet lacking.

LAURI O. TH. TUDEER.

⁵³ Cf. Kretschmer, *Petermanns Mitt.* 60, 1, n. 1.
1914, p. 143.

⁵⁵ *Petermanns Mitt.* 60, 2, 1914, p. 287.

⁵⁴ *Zentr.bl. f. Biblwesen*, xxx. 1913, p. 391,

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

A LYDIAN-ARAMAIC BILINGUAL.

I.

THE publication of the Lydian inscriptions discovered by the American excavators at Sardis¹ has long been eagerly awaited. Not only do the thirty-four which they found supplement in the most welcome manner the very scanty and fragmentary material hitherto known, but of especial interest was the news that they included an admirably preserved bilingual in Lydian and Aramaic which, it was hoped, might solve the problems of the Lydian language. Unfortunately the Aramaic has proved obscure in some important places; yet, none the less, the bilingual must remain for the present the basis of all further investigation. Hence this volume may legitimately be approached from the Aramaic side by one who, however, is profoundly ignorant of the linguistic problems of Asia Minor, and the attempt may perhaps be made to handle it with special reference to the bilingual and its interest from the Semitic point of view.

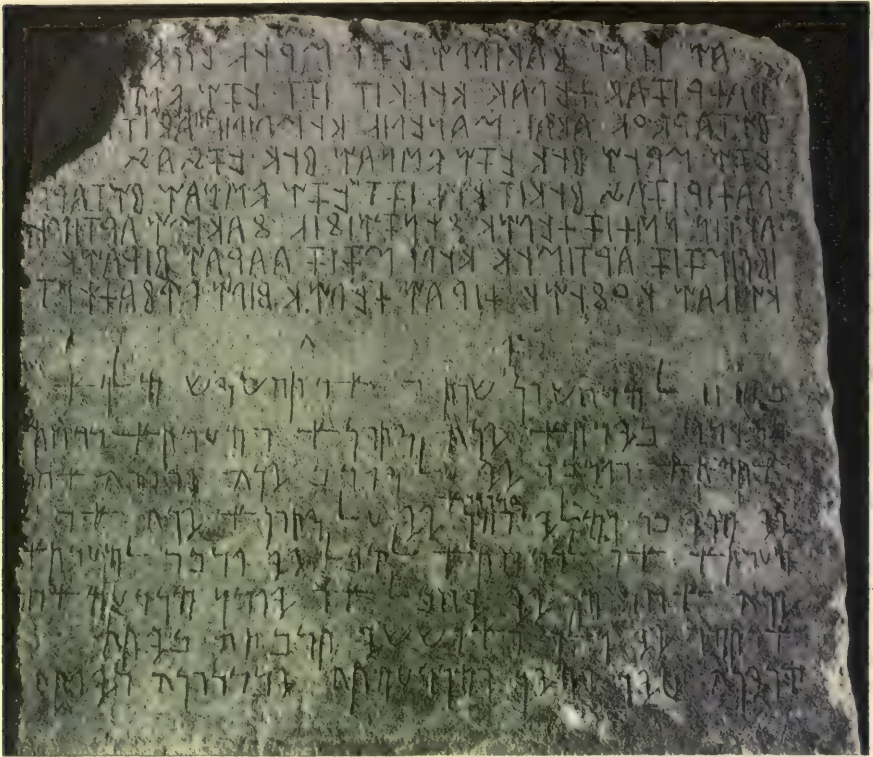
Of the fascicule as a whole it is to be said that Prof. Enno Littmann has accomplished his task with the zeal and ability that were to be expected of him. He has spared no trouble to consult the best expert opinion in Germany, and though the Lydian inscriptions still bristle with difficulties, he has brought the problems to a new stage. He has based his decipherment upon the proper names (*e.g.* Sepharad, Artemis, Artaxerxes), but he deals only briefly with the history of decipherment, and he does not notice the work of Sayce who edited and deciphered a small Lydian inscription from Egypt twelve years ago.² Moreover, it is to be regretted that of the thirty-four inscriptions from Sardis only fifteen are published, thus excluding about half-a-dozen which are of some length, and rendering it impossible to test the value of the references which are made to them and others. None the less, for what is provided in this fascicule one is grateful, and a word of praise is certainly due to the house of Brill for the excellent Lydian type, as also for the general sumptuousness of the production.

The Aramaic text is dated in the tenth year of Artaxerxes, and is of a

¹ *Sardis*: Publications of the American Society for the Excavation of Sardis, Vol. vi. Lydian Inscriptions, Part I. By Enno Littmann. E. J. Brill, Ltd., Leyden, 1916.

² *Proceedings of the Society for Biblical Archaeology*, 1905, vol. xxvii. pp. 123 *seq.* The bibliography, p. ix. (D), mentions only the older copy published by Sayce in 1895.

familiar funerary character.³ It records the ownership of a tomb and certain contents, and calls down divine punishment (the goddess Artemis is invoked) upon the sacrilegious. Almost all the Lydian inscriptions are said to be funerary (p. viii.), and are of the same general class as the bilingual; this is especially important, for, while some funerary inscriptions characteristically refer to monetary penalties (as in both Lycian and Nabataean), others deal with the subdivision of the tomb among different owners (as often in Palmyrene), and so forth. In general, there are several noteworthy points



LYDIAN-ARAMAIC BILINGUAL INSCRIPTION.

of contact between the style of the North Semitic inscriptions and that of the Greek inscriptions of Asia Minor; in like manner there are architectural similarities—the characteristic Palmyrene sepulchre, for example, resembling the tomb-tower of Lycia. It is necessary to recall the cultural similarities in view of the problem of the relationship between Lydians and Semites, and the question whether the Aramaic of the bilingual is a genuine composition. As regards the latter, Littmann's opinion will have to be

³ For the North Semitic epigraphical data, see Lidzbarski's *Handbuch der Nordsemitischen Epigraphik*, i. 141-148. Typical examples of

the inscriptions are given by Lidzbarski, and also by G. A. Cooke (*North-Semitic Inscriptions*).

compared with that of other Semitists. For myself, I am quite unable to agree with his view that the Aramaic portion was the work of an ignorant translator, who tried to be very literal (p. 24). Littmann's conclusion, if it were accepted, would be of inestimable service for the reconstruction of the Lydian language, but, as far as I can see, the Aramaic is in no way the work of some prototype of an Aquila, and in point of fact, in some important places the Lydian and Aramaic diverge very considerably.

Not only does Littmann betray a certain 'anti-Aramaismus' in exaggerating the faults of the translator, but he remarks that we have to 'take into consideration the probability that nobody spoke Aramaic at Sardis.' 'The people,' he continues, 'spoke Lydian, the higher officials Persian, and Aramaic was only an artificial language in those western provinces of the Persian Empire where no Aramaeans or Jews lived' (p. 24). On the other hand, if this were so, it would surely be difficult to explain why anyone should take the trouble to prepare this admirable bilingual; moreover, Aramaic was the *lingua franca* of the empire, and Littmann has failed to 'take into consideration' the actual facts—the Aramaic epigraphical remains from Asia Minor.⁴ Indeed, not only is the use of Aramaic at Sardis thoroughly intelligible, in view of these data, but it is even possible that Semites, perhaps Jews, were already living there.

The question of interrelations between Jews (Semites) and Sardis must be very briefly noticed. At the outset, it is proper to emphasize the possible political interrelations, first due perhaps to the Hittite empire with its centre at Boghaz-keui. The Lydian language has not yet been classified, although there are some very curious resemblances to the Indo-Germanic languages, e.g. 'and' is apparently represented by an enclitic *-k*. On the other hand, as Dr. Giles has recently pointed out, just as Indo-Germanic languages (e.g. Tocharish) can borrow endings from another stock, so, as regards Lydian, 'in a language which ultimately succumbed to Indo-Germanic languages, it may be wise to weigh the possibility of borrowed endings before any decision can be arrived at.'⁵ Viewed from the Semitic angle, too, a mixture of tongues is to be anticipated. So far as I have noticed, of the familiar 'Lydian' glosses, none have been found in the inscriptions, with the possible exception of *κοαλδδειν* ('king').⁶ Lagarde's attempts to find Iranian influence are so far justified by the Iranian words in the Aramaic bilinguals of Sardis and Limyra. But Hittite, Mitanni, Kassite, and other clues do not yet seem to have brought anything very tangible. An interesting fact is the appearance in the district of Zenjirli in North Syria, in the eighth century B.C. and

⁴ See the *Corp. Inscr. Semit.* ii. Nos. 108–110: Abydos (the lion-weight, in the British Museum); a fragmentary Aramaic and Greek bilingual from Limyra, and a fragment from Senq-Qaleh in the Caucasus. To these three add the fourth-century coins of Tarsus, and an inscription from S.E. Cilicia where a man records that he is on a hunting-expedition and is having a meal (Cooke, p. 194). Other

coins from Asia Minor (Gaziura, Sinope) also testify to the knowledge and use of Aramaic during this period.

⁵ In a paper read before the Cambridge Philological Society, 25 Jan. (*Camb. Univ. Reporter*, 27 Feb., pp. 587 seq.)

⁶ For the glosses I have consulted Lagarde, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 270 sqq.; and Pauli, *Altital. Forsch.* ii. 1 (1886), 67 sqq.

after the fall of the Hittite empire, of dialects which are (a) Canaanite or Phoenician, (b) Proto-Aramaic, and (c) distinctively Aramaic. These inscriptions belong to a district with Carian and related affinities (e.g. in the name of king Panammu, etc.), and they have linguistic features which are now barely Semitic and now quite un-Semitic. In fact, a stele from Ördek-burnu is practically inexplicable, and Hittite, Lycian, and other elements have been recognised in it by Lidzbarski and Sayce.⁷ With such interrelations it would not be unnatural if, *en revanche*, there were Semitic ethnical and linguistic elements in western Asia Minor; and it is permissible, I think, to urge that the familiar traditional relationship between Lydia and the Semites has some sound basis.

Whatever may have been the extent of intercourse under the Hittite empire, Lydia in the seventh century came into contact with Assyria, first, when its king Gyges, threatened by the Gimirrai, sent to Assurbanipal, and later, when his mercenaries assisted Psamatik against Assyria. In the two following centuries Lydia and Media were the great rival powers, and Lydians were in closer political touch with Semites. The Jews knew of the Lydian troops (Isaiah lxvi. 19, etc.; the identification need not be doubted); and when a late source includes Lydia among the children of Shem (Gen. x. 22), it is impossible to ignore a political conception which finds its counterpart in what the Lydians had to say of their old association with Assyria (Herod. i. 7). In course of time not only did the Jewish Diaspora extend to Sardis (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 10, 17, 24), but both Pergamos and Sparta claimed an old kinship between themselves and the Jews.⁸ Whatever be the substratum of fact in these traditions and claims, the theory of a deportation of Jews into Asia Minor by Artaxerxes Ochus rests upon insecure authority, and that under Antiochus the Great (Jos. *Ant.* xii. 3, 4) has been questioned. On the other hand, the evidence of Obad. 20 is significant, and it may be taken with that of Is. xlix. 12. The latter anticipates the return of Jews from the land of Sinim (read 'Syene'), i.e. Elephantine, whence have come numerous Aramaic papyri from a Jewish colony of the fifth century, which had been settled there before the time of Cambyses. The former looks for the return of the Jews from Sepharad, which, after being commonly identified with Sardis, now at last appears in an Aramaic text.⁹ The precise date of the passage in Obadiah is uncertain, but it can doubtless be claimed for the Persian period. The *terminus a quo* for the presence of Jews in Sardis still remains a problem, but at all events the two biblical passages point to the existence of bodies of Jews at two remote parts of the Persian empire, and it is tempting to conjecture that the Aramaic bilingual indicates that Jewish settlers were then living in Lydia.¹⁰

⁷ E.g. the Lycian *kupa* 'grave'; see (respectively) *Ephemeris*, iii. 1911, 205; and *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* xxxvi. 1914, 233 sqq.

⁸ Jos. *l.c.* 22, 1 Macc. xii. 21. According to the Talmud the Jews of Phrygia were of the Ten Tribes (*Ency. Bib.* col. 3767)!

⁹ It is not mentioned on the Lydian portion, but Littmann points to *Sfarvad* (L. 12, p. 62), *Sfarvad* (p. 11), etc.

¹⁰ It is worth adding that in Obad. v. 20 'this host' is corrupt. Bewer (*Internat. Crit. Comm.* p. 44) follows Duham and an early

In fine, Lydia was a great industrial power, with a slave-market and with a large commercial trade by land. Sardis was a meeting-place of caravans, and the intercommunication would encourage the use of a *lingua franca*, which would presumably have been Phoenician were it a coast town, but under the circumstances was Aramaic. Further, the use of Aramaic involves the question of the first beginnings of the Diaspora. Perhaps there had been frequent intercommunication. There is evidence for mutual knowledge on the part of Lydians and Semites, and Lydians and Jews would know one another as warriors. The very late evidence for Jews in Sardis and Pergamos can be traced back to the reference to Sardis (Sepharad) in Obad. v. 20, and while the current view of Halah would place deported Israelites in North Syria, etc., the suggested emendation 'Cilicia' (note 10) would carry them a stage nearer the Lydian capital. In any case, Littmann's remarks on the use of Aramaic cannot be accepted, and the bilingual gains distinctly in interest if we compare Obad. v. 20 with Is. xlix. 12, and bear in mind the place held by the Aramaic-speaking Jews of Syene—Elephantine.

From a palaeographical point of view the inscription is evidently of about the same period as the Memphis stele of 482 B.C. (*C.I.S.* ii. 122, Cooke, No. 71), the Elephantine papyri, and the lion-weight from Abydos. But the *b* (𐤁) and perhaps also the *h* (𐤇) point to about 400 B.C. In any case the inscriptions of Cappadocia (Lidzbarski, *Ephem.* i. 59–73) and Taxila (*Journ. of Royal Asiatic Soc.* 1915, pp. 340 *sqq.*) are later; and it is to be observed that the Sardis script is relatively earlier in those letters (𐤆, 𐤇, and also to a rather less degree 𐤅) whose forms in the Taxila stone led Dr. Cowley to descend later than the fifth century. My own impression, based solely upon palaeographical grounds, is that the Artaxerxes mentioned in the bilingual is the second or third rather than the first of that name; and it may be noticed that the Lydian inscription No. 26 (p. 55) belongs to the same series as the rest and is of the fifth year of Alexander.¹¹ The numeral signs call for no comment, they agree with Aramaic usage. Errors in the inscription are not excluded; there is an inexplicable *b*, apparently for *d*, in *S-f-r-b* (l. 3), and the gentilic *S-r-w-k-ya* was omitted and afterwards inserted in both the Lydian and Aramaic; in the latter with a strange *y* and the final *a* pointing downwards. If we may assume that the word was wanting in the original copy, it becomes conceivable that certain obscurities elsewhere are due to the misreading, by the mason, of the copy from which he carved. Hence we should observe that *d* and *r* (𐤇, 𐤆) and

conjecture of Cheyne, and reads: 'the exiles of the Israelites who are in Halah' (הלה ליהודים); cf. the similar correction in Ezek. xxvii. 11, for *R.V.* 'thine army'. But the question now arises whether Halah (whither Sargon deported Israelites, 2 Kings xvii. 6, xviii. 11) should not be Cilicia (on coins, הלה or הלה); this would be in harmony with

the Assyrian conquests there and with the order of the names in 2 Kings, *U.c.*, from 'Cilicia' in the west and the Median cities in the east.

¹¹ The tenth year of Artaxerxes can be 455 (445, p. 23 is a misprint), or rather 394 or even 349 (Littmann seems to leave the last out of the question).

t and *š* (ת and צ) are, as usual, practically indistinguishable, but since *b* and *d* can be confused in a cursive script, the strange *S-f-r-b* may be due to a misreading of a hastily written copy. Similarly *h* (ח) is perfectly clear, but in cursive script it sometimes resembles *t* and *š* (see below, the remark at the close of § II.). It may be added that Littmann infers from the omission and subsequent insertion of the gentilic that 'the two parts of the inscription must correspond with each other very closely.' Not only is this inference unnecessary, but when we proceed to an examination of the contents of the bilingual it is found to be in no way in accordance with the facts.

For facility of reference we print (1) the Aramaic text, (2) Littmann's translation, with slight changes, and (3) a transliteration of the Lydian (which for some reason is not provided). All restorations are bracketed, and uncertainties are marked by dots in (1) and (3) or by queries in (2). Littmann's decipherment is followed, but it should be observed that for *ũ* and *č* Mr. Arkwright proposes *l* and *n* respectively. To facilitate comparison the above three parts are divided into ten sections in order to indicate the correspondences. In the fascicule, the Lydian inscriptions are cited by numbers and sometimes also by letters; no table is provided, and it may be convenient therefore to subjoin one:—

L. 1—A	L. 13—F	L. 12 the metrical inscr., pp. 58 <i>sqq.</i>
L. 6—B	L. 14—G	L. 17 the Lydian-Aramaic bilingual.
L. 8—C	L. 15—H	L. 25 the Greek-Lydian bilingual (pp. 38 <i>seq.</i>)
L. 9—D	L. 24—K	
L. 11—E	L. 26—I	

The other inscriptions of which notice is taken below are (1) the 'Falanga' (p. vii.), and (2) the Lydian inscription in the Louvre to be edited by M. Haussoullier. I am much indebted to Mr. W. H. Buckler for copies of these and for other material belonging both to M. Haussoullier and to Mr. Arkwright. Other special acknowledgements of Mr. Buckler's help and courtesy in replying to my queries will be found in their place.

- (I) 1 בו ווו || למרחשון שנת ד ארתחשש מלכא
 2 בספרד בירתא (II) זנה סתונא ומערתא דורחתא
 3 אתרתא (III) ופרבר זי על ספרב זנה פרברה (IV) אחר
 4 זי מני בר כמלי סרוכיא (V) ומן זי על סתונא זנה או
 5 מערתא או לדורחתא (VI) לקבל זי פרבר למערתא
 6 זנה (VII) אחר מן זי יחבל או יפרך מנדעם (VIII) אחר
 7 ארתמו זי כלו ואפשי (IX) תרבצה ביתה
 8 קנינה טין ומין ומנדעמתה (X) יבדרונה וירתה

1 (I) On the fifth of Marḥeswān, of the tenth year of Artaxerxes, the king,

2 in Sepharad, the city, (II) this stele and the cavern (and) the funerary couches (?)

3 . . . (III) and the fore-court which is above Sepharad (?); this (is ?) its forecourt; (IV) (they are) the property

4 of M-n-y, son of K-m-l-y, of S-r-w-k. (V) And whosoever (Littmann 'if anybody') against this stele or

5 the cavern, or the funerary couches (?) (VI) opposite the forecourt of this

6 cavern, (VII) afterwards, whosoever (Littmann, 'that is to say, if anybody') destroys or breaks anything, (VIII) then

7 may Artemis of K-l-w and the Ephesian (one), (IX) with regard to his court, his house,

8 his property, soil and water, and everything that is his, (X) disperse him and his heir(s).

1 (I) . . . *aū islū bakillū* (II) *est mrud éssk (vānas)*

2 *lahrisak* (III) *helak kudkit ist esū vā(naū),*

3 *būtarvod* (IV) *akad Manelid Kumlibid Silukalid* (V) *akit (nāhis)*

4 *esū mruū buk esū vānaū buk eséac*

5 *lahirisaé* (VI) *bukitkud ist esū vānaū būtarvo(d)*

6 (VII) *aktin nāhis helūk fēnsūifid* (VIII) *fakmū Artimus*

7 *Ibšimsis Artimuk Kulušsis* (IX) *aaraū biraūk*

8 *kūidaū kofuūk hiraū helūk bilū* (X) *vqbahēnt.*

§ I. The beginning of the Lydian inscription is wanting. The Aramaic is straightforward. The spelling of the name Artaxerxes agrees with that at Elephantine (in contrast to the Biblical form), and suggests a well-known usage and not the work of an ignorant translator. The simple title 'the king' is familiar; for details, see Driver, *Lit. of Old Test.* (1909), p. 546. For the use of *bīrāh* (I shall give Hebrew forms where possible), cf. Shushan (Est. i. 2) and Elephantine; Sardis was the seat of a satrapy (Paus. iii. 9₅), and was a garrison-city (see W. H. Buckler and D. M. Robinson, *Amer. Journ. of Archaeol.*, xvi., 1912, pp. 66, 68).

§ II. The word for 'stele' is more familiar later with prosthetic *Aleph* and with *t* for *t*. But it is at least a coincidence that a very similar word appears in the Limyra bilingual (*C.I.S.* ii. 109):

... מן דן עבר אהרן בר ארזים בר ארזים [א] וזה [א] חתונה [א]

[A]ρτι[μας Ἀρσάπιος Λιμυρέως Ἀρτίμου δὲ Κορ]υδαλλέως πρόσταπος . . . [προ]κατεσκευάσατο τὸν τάφον [τοῦτον ἐ]αυτῷ καὶ τοῖς ἐγγύοις.

The first word has been identified with the Persian *astodān*, and the opening words can be rendered provisionally: 'This sepulchre (or this is his sepulchre) A. son of A. made . . .' (see below, § VII.). Thus there are two alternatives: (1) stele or pillar, with *t* for *t*; for the *t* one may perhaps compare the Abydos weight, if סתרם = staters, or the word as a whole may be associated with the Aramaic סתמ 'stele,' on which see Cooke, p. 197. Otherwise (2), we may assume the loss of *d* and identify with the Limyra term. Certainly, stele or monument (like the use of the Palmyrene סתמ, etc.) suggests a purely honorary rather than a funerary inscription, and on independent grounds it would be simpler if the inscription mentioned the sepulchre (cf. Greek τάφος in the Limyra bilingual) before the cavern or vault. For the latter (Hebrew *me'ārāh*), cf. the usage in the Old Testament, viz. the cave of Machpelah (Gen. xxiii.), and in Palmyrene; in

Palmyrene the tomb (קברא) is sometimes mentioned together with 'the cave,' and similarly in Nabataean the tomb (קברא etc.) contains a vault or chamber (*šāriḥā*, cf. the Hebrew word in Judg. ix. 46, 1 Sam. xiii. 6). The 'funerary couches' are entirely conjectural (p. 26); but the Lydian term is not found in L. 1 (a tomb with couches) and everything depends upon the interpretation of the words that [follow in §§ III. and VI. The Aramaic word is unknown and cannot decently be equated with the Nabataean *šāriḥ* ('vault'). On the other hand, Payne Smith, *Syr. Thes.* (col. 948), leads one to the Persian *dirakht* 'tree.'¹² It is at once tempting to refer to Gen. xxiii. 17 (the field, the cave, the trees in the field, in all the border thereof round about). Moreover an important inscr. from Petra (*C.I.S.* ii. 350, Cooke, No. 94) refers to the tomb, the larger and smaller vaults (*šāriḥ*), the surrounding wall (?) . . . gardens . . . wells of water . . . and the rest of all the entire property (?) in these places. Thinking of the *sepulchra* I enquired of Mr. Buckler, who, however, doubts whether there was room for trees or gardens on the steep hillsides where the tombs of Sardis were situated. Still, it is impossible to say how much may not have changed during the last twenty-three centuries or so, especially if we take into consideration the terrible earthquake of 17 A.D., in which Sardis suffered so disastrously. Moreover, Mr. Buckler tells me that although trees are not mentioned in the later Greek funerary inscriptions, 'from Tomi (Constanza) on the Black Sea we have an inscription mentioning τὸ σύνδενδρον καὶ τὸ μνημῖον ("lucum et sepulchrum" in the Latin version); Μουσεῖον, 1884-85, p. 37, n. υβ'; while near Hypaipa in Lydia has been found a tomb σύν καὶ τῷ περιβόλῳ καὶ τοῖς δένδροισιν αὐτοῦ τοῖς περὶ τὸ ἡρώον, (Keil and Premerstein, *Denkschr. Wiener Akad.*, LVII. i. [1914], No. 108).' Unfortunately it seems impossible to reach any confident conclusion, nor can I explain the next word (ארתא), which Littmann has not translated. It may mean 'places' (for ארתא, as in the above Nabataean inscr.; or for ארתא), i.e. 'in these places'; it seems hopeless to divide it into ארת ארת 'place of a chamber.' One would like to conjecture that it is an error for ארתא ' (and) other thing(s)!' At all events it is wanting in l. 5 (§ V.).

§ III. 'The forecourt,' a word of Persian origin. Professor Hoffmann calls attention to the Biblical Parbar (1 Chron. xxvi. 18), and Professor Andreas would write everywhere *p-r-b-d*; Littmann assumes that Parvar (2 Kings xxiii. 11, where the Syriac has *p-r-v-d*) is not, as is usually thought, to be identified with it. On the other hand, this severance is unnecessary, and while in later Hebrew-Aramaic *parbar* (? -d) is based upon the Old Testament, *parvar* (? -d) is used independently of suburbs, precincts, or outworks. It is especially interesting to encounter this word if there were Jews then living at Sardis; and if the term applies to the open space outside and in front of the tomb (cf. pp. 26 *seq.*), the conjectured 'trees' would find some support. But it is difficult to determine whether (1) *parbar* means a definite forecourt, or (2) the general precincts of the tomb, or (3) whether even it might not be applied to an internal *exedra*. Of these (1) has good support, cf. also the *stoa* before the tomb, in Palmyrene, Lidz. *Ephem.* ii. 305; (3) is suggested by difficulties in § VI.; and for (2) we may compare the references in Gen. xxiii. and the Petra inscription (above). Moreover, some Greek funerary inscriptions mention the surrounding district, see Le Bas and Waddington, Nos. 1687-9, from Hierapolis (ὁ περὶ αὐτὴν τόπος), and one from Lydia has a unique reference to κατ' αὐτῆς ἀέρι (Keil and Premerstein, *Denkschr. Wiener Akad.* LIII. ii. No. 102). See further below, § VI. The Aramaic קברא is hopeless, and it is impossible, as the text stands, to find any reference to 'writing' (*s-f-r*), cf. the allusions on funerary inscriptions to deeds and titles; or to 'bank,' or 'boundary' (*sefār*), cf. the allusion in Gen. xxiii. 17. The repetition and specific mention of 'this (is?) its forecourt' are unintelligible; more-

¹² Mr. Shafi of Pembroke College informs me that this word 'occurs in Avesta' as an adjective or a participle meaning something

like "standing fast." It occurs however in Pehlevi in the usual sense (viz. a tree). In Armenian it means . . . "a garden".

over, there is a similarly difficult affix *-h* in the Limyra inscription; both are cases of the suffix ('his'), or conceivably of an exceptional form of the emphatic state.

§ IV. The uses of מָדָר , מָדָר are noteworthy. Here (l. 3) Littmann reads מָדָר 'property,' whereas in §§ VII., VIII. (l. 6) מָדָר introduces a protasis and an apodosis. מָדָר in the Limyra inscription is similarly ambiguous; although in Nabataean (*C.I.S.* ii. 234) מָדָר is a verb ('this is the resting-place which A. occupied [prepared, Euting]'). There is no difficulty in the *d* (by the side of ד in ד), and Lidzbarski's objection (*Handbuch*, p. 139, n. 4) overlooks the late retention of the ד of the relative and demonstrative (see Driver, *Lit. of Old Test.*, App. pp. xxxv. seq.).¹³ It is at least an interesting coincidence that the cave of Machpelah belonged to 'a possession of a grave' (*āhuzzath keber*). On *s-r-w-k* see the note on the Lydian text.

§ V. The Aramaic has no verb in § V. seq. and the three terms are differently construed ('against' the stele, the cavern [in the accusative], and 'to' the couches). This hardly seems due to any literal translation of the Lydian which is much simpler than the Aramaic. Lidzbarski's attempt to treat עַר as a verb ('to wrong') is rightly rejected (p. 28); we should expect a verb in the imperfect. Besides, the detailed sentence (without a verb) in § V. seq. is resumed in § VII., see below; similar examples of resumption appear in Lydian (L. 11, and perhaps L. 26).

§ VI. 'The preposition לְקַבֵּל means in front of, opposite.' Littmann's words overlook the presence of ר . There are two usual constructions: (1) לְקַבֵּל (Biblical Aramaic *lōkōbhel*, 'according to,' 'by reason of,' and 'before' (Dan. ii. 31, before an image; Palmyrene, Cooke, No. 147, l. 10, a stele in front of a temple); and (2) ר (or ר) לְקַבֵּל , 'inasmuch as,' etc. (Ezr. vi. 13; Nab. *C.I.S.* ii. 164). As regards the latter, it seems impossible to find a verb in *p-r-b-r* (especially in view of its use in § III.); moreover, usage would suggest that a verbal clause would be associated with another, e.g. to express a reason. If we ignore ר , it may be asked whether the 'funerary couches' are opposite the *parbar*, or on the opposite side of it. Littmann takes them to be in the first of the two rooms which the tombs generally contained (p. 29). In Palmyrene we read of 'this *exedra* on the opposite side of the vault ($\text{מִקְבֵּלָא דִּי מִצְרִיחָא}$) which lies opposite the door ($\text{רִי מִקְבֵּל בְּנָא}$); see Cooke, No. 143; cf. No. 144, where a man gives another a part of the vault, namely, of the *exedra* lying opposite (מִקְבֵּלָא); cf. also Lidzbarski, *Eph.* ii. 274. Now, the *exedra* is compared by Cooke (p. 309) to the forecourt of the great temple at Baalbek; yet at the same time in Jewish usage it can refer to a porch or covered passage outside and before a house. Hence it seems *a priori* possible that the term *parbar* could also be applied to the inside or to the outside of a building, and upon this the interpretation of רִי מִצְרִיחָא ('funerary couches') will depend. If the *parbar* is inside, the specification in § VI. (the *p.* of this cavern) seems unnecessary; whereas, if it refers to the outside area, or to a part of it, the emphasis both here and in § III. ('this is its *p.*') seems more intelligible. But if the former, the conjecture 'funerary couches' has much in its favour; whereas, if the latter, it seems unnatural to define any of the contents of the vault by reference to something outside it.¹⁴ It may be added that Littmann's severe comment on the masculine 'this' with the feminine 'cave' is uncalled for; even *exedra* is sometimes used as a masculine (Cooke, p. 308; Lidzbarski, *Eph.* ii. 271). Further, one could connect 'this' with *parbar* (opposite the *p.* of the cavern—*this* one, cf. the emphasis at the end of § III.); as an alternative, one may transpose ר and read 'before the *p.* which belongs to this cave'; perhaps the latter is simpler.

¹³ With Littmann's suggestion that מָדָר is influenced by the corresponding Lydian *akat*, cf. an occasional usage of the Septuagint (e.g. *τόκος* for Heb. *tōk* 'oppression,' see Driver's note on 1 Sam. v. 4). But the cases are rather different.

¹⁴ It is quite intelligible, on the other hand, when (in the Palm. inscr. above) the couches lie opposite the door. If 'which is above Sepharad' means overlooking or facing Sardis (p. 27), the *p.* must clearly be outside the cavern.

§ VII. אחר lit. 'afterwards, consequently,' etc., may be influenced by Persian usage (Lidzbarski, cf. his *Ephem.* i. 68); and the repetition, to express the protasis and apodosis, seems to be connected with the Lydian use of *ak*. The word illuminates the Limyra inscription (see § I., above) where the editors (reading אחר) render: *sepulcrum istud Artim filius Arsafi fecit, unus ex eis qui . . .* If, however, we read אחר and observe that no imperfect follows, we can restore אחר, and render 'afterwards, whosoever (shall destroy?) a(ught) . . .' § VII. appears to sum up the detailed and verbless § V: *seq.*, as though: 'whosoever shall destroy or break anything at all.' The first verb is familiar in Aramaic (e.g. *C.I.S.* ii. 113), but the second means rather 'rub, crush, husk.' Littmann again protests, the word 'would scarcely have been employed here by a man whose native tongue was Aramaic. Again we see that the translator had but a slight and superficial knowledge of that language' (p. 29).¹⁵ On the other hand, the technical use (husk, rub fruits, etc.) would be not inappropriate if the 'funerary couches' should after all prove to be 'trees'.

§ VIII. The masculine form of 'Ephesian' affords another opportunity for a gibe at 'our worthy translator' (p. 29), although elsewhere the similar error in § VI. 'indicates that the Lydians had no grammatical gender in their language' (p. 24).

§ IX. The word for 'court' is familiar; it refers to a forecourt or garden near a house, and one is tempted to suppose that, as the inscription is to protect the grave ('the eternal house' in Palmyrene, etc.) and the *parbar* (? forecourt), so, if anyone destroys it, may his court and house suffer—an application of the talio. Of special interest is the phrase 'soil and water' (*ṭin wē-mān*); though apparently new, it is in keeping with Semitic assonance, and also with the alliterative pairs in the Lydian. Littmann aptly compares 'house and home,' 'Haus und Hof,' 'Kind und Kegel,' which are surely the phrases which 'ignorant' translators do not know. *ṭin wē-mān* will be an extraordinarily happy and literal rendering of one of the Lydian pairs, or a technical Aramaic phrase otherwise unknown and not necessarily a literal translation; either the translation is an excellent idiomatic one, by a skilled Semite, or it is a stock phrase which is no clue to the Lydian.

Finally, Littmann's note on 'everything that is his' is extremely confused. He objects that אחר would literally mean 'his anythings.' 'This is not good English; neither is it good Aramaic. The plural of the indefinite אחר together with a suffix is very conspicuous in Old Aramaic. The form אחר without the suffix occurs in the papyri from Elephantine . . .' Now, if the word occurs in the plural there can be no objection to the plural here. But it is the suffixed form which is the novelty, and the form cited from Elephantine occurs in a letter (Sachau i. 12) where, by the way, the writers in spite of their excellent Aramaic construe it with a verb in the singular. In fact Littmann's first two sentences should apparently be deleted.

§ X. The use of the verb 'disperse' is not so 'very strange,' as Littmann urges (p. 29), especially if we may suppose that the inscription would be read by Jews who knew what it meant to be scattered away from their native land. Further, the masculine for the feminine is not so noticeable as the failure to use the jussive form (which Littmann overlooks). 'His heir' is in the singular; to what parallel inscriptions with the plural Littmann refers on p. 29 is not clear, for examples of singular collectives, see Cooke, Nos. 65₁₀ (אחר), 79₂ (אחר).

In spite of its many obscurities the general character of the Aramaic is intelligible, and this in itself is important for the parallel Lydian and the other inscriptions from Sardis resembling it. I see absolutely no reason to assume that it is the work of an ignorant or of a mechanical translator; as is not infrequently the case with bilinguals,

¹⁵ The Lydian uses only one verb, which recurs several times in the inscriptions; but if it 'probably had a more general meaning than the two special words in Aramaic' (p.

35), it is more difficult to see wherein the translator is showing his ignorance of Aramaic.

there is no close correspondence, and it remains, therefore, to consider the Lydian in the light of the preceding remarks on the Aramaic.¹⁶

¹⁶ After writing out my notes on the Lydian text I received, through the kindness of Mr. Buckler, photographs and drawings of the Lydian inscriptions not included in this fascicule. It seemed desirable, therefore, to postpone the completion of this review, since these inscriptions contained many features of importance for the decipherment and explanation of Lydian. I may add, however, that although these increased my scepticism in several cases, I am unable to make any positive suggestion, as regards Lydian, and it is to be remembered that the advantage of

possessing the Lydian-Aramaic bilingual is counterbalanced by the twofold disadvantage—the one, that there is no precise word for word correspondence between the two parts, and the other that the Lydian language cannot be safely identified. But in the decipherment of Egyptian, Assyrian, and Old Persian monuments, the correspondence in the bilinguals and trilinguals was sufficiently close, and valuable constructive work was achieved by the help of Coptic, Semitic, and Persian languages respectively.

STANLEY A. COOK.

(To be continued.)

LYDIAN RECORDS.

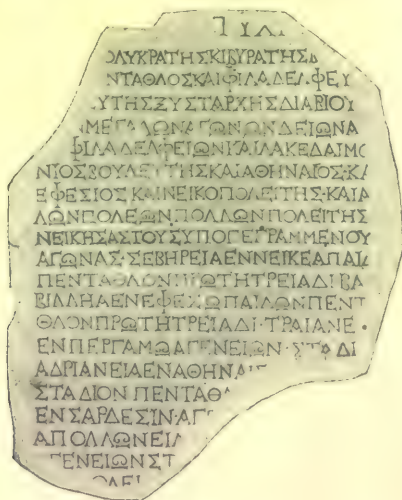
THE inscriptions here published were in the main copied by me during excursions made in the years 1912-1914. A few are reproduced from squeezes furnished by residents of Thyateira (Ak-hissar) and Smyrna who travelled much in the surrounding country. Of the texts from Philadelpheia (Ala-shehir) four (Nos. 1-4) came to light in 1913-1914 among the materials of the picturesque old Kursum-khane, the upper stories of which were being pulled down. These monuments, with five others (Nos. 5-9), were preserved at the official residence of the Metropolitan of Philadelpheia, by whose kindness I was enabled to take copies and squeezes.

Unless otherwise stated, these inscriptions are presumed to be unpublished, but owing to the present difficulty of obtaining foreign scientific journals, this point is in some doubt.

PHILADELPHIA.

(1)

Marble basis from the Kursum-khane, lying in the courtyard of the Metropolitan's house. Height, 79 cm.; width, 58 cm.; thickness 19 cm. Most of the original surface preserved at top, on left side, and on right side from top to within 27 cm. of bottom. Face of block broken away in upper left-hand corner and below the text. The rear and lower portions of the block have been split off. Text well preserved, except last line, which is blurred with cement. Height of letters in l. 1, 2.5 cm.; in other lines, 1.3 to 2 cm.



- Ἄγαθῆ] Τύχ[η
 Ἀὐρ. (?) Π]ολυκράτης, Κιβυράτης β[ουλευ-
 τῆς πέ]νταθλος καὶ Φιλαδελφεύ[ς
 βουλε]υτῆς, ξυστάρχης διὰ βίου
 5 τῶν] μεγάλων ἀγῶνων Δείων Ἀ[λεί-
 ων] Φιλαδελφείων, καὶ Λακεδαιμό-
 νιος βουλευτῆς καὶ Ἀθηναῖος κα[ὶ
 Ἐφέσιος καὶ Νεικοπολείτης καὶ ἄ[λ-
 λων πόλεων πολλῶν πολεῖτης,
 10 νεικήσας τοὺς ὑπογεγραμμένους
 ἀγῶνας· Σεβήρεια ἐν Νεικέα παίδ[ων
 πένταθλον πρώτη τρειάδι, Βα[λ-
 βίλλα ἐν Ἐφέσω παίδων πέντ[α-
 θλον πρώτη τρειάδι, Τραιάνε[ια
 15 ἐν Περγάμῳ ἀγενείων στάδι[ον,
 Ἄδριάνεια ἐν Ἀθήνα[ις ἀγενείων
 στάδιον πένταθ[λον, Χρυσάνθινα (?)
 ἐν Σάρδεσιν ἀγ[ενείων στάδιον,
 Ἀπολλώνε[ια Πύθια ἐν Ἱεραπόλει
 20 ἀγενείων στ[άδιον, Ἀκτια ἐν Νει-
 κοπ]όλει

Probable date : between 200 and 212 A.D.

Philadelpheia was named in honour of its founder Attalos II. Philadelphos, and its ethnic adjective was Φιλαδελφεύς (l. 3) or Φιλαδελφηνός (Buresch, *aus Lydien*, p. 108). Waddington (note on L.B.W. 645) was of opinion that the epithet Φιλαδέλφεια borne by the games mentioned in ll. 5-6 was given as at Nikaia in Bithynia (see below) in honour of Caracalla and Geta, and that it referred not to the city¹ but to the 'brotherly love' of the young princes. If this plausible theory is accepted, we must assume that the title was discarded after Geta's murder in 212. Thus in a Cilician inscription (*J.H.S.* xii. 1891, p. 242 n. 26 = *I.G.R.R.* iii. 860) in honour of the two princes the word *φιλαδελφίας* (l. 6) was erased after that year.

Line 2. This athlete is not otherwise known. From l. 11 onwards his victories as boy, as youth, and probably in the missing lines as man, are recorded in order of date, as in *I.B.M.* 615 and in *Ephesos* ii. 72.

Lines 5-6. These games are mentioned only in three other local inscriptions as follows:—

C.I.G. 3427 = L.B.W. 645 : τὰ μεγάλα Δεία Ἄλεια Φιλαδέλφεια.

Ath. Mitt. xx. 1895, p. 244 : τῶν μεγάλων ἱερῶν ἀγῶνων Δείων Ἀλείων Φιλαδελφείων.

C.I.G. 3428 : Δεία Ἄλεια ἐν Φιλαδελφεία.

In the third of these the epithet Φιλαδέλφεια is omitted. Waddington's view as to the origin of that epithet at Philadelpheia is based upon its

¹ For a similar distinction between different Λαοδίκειος and Λαοδικηνός, *I.B.M.* iii. 1, p. 2. forms of adjective, cf. Newton's remarks on

having been given in honour of Caracalla and Geta to the Σεβήρεια at Nikaia in Bithynia. A coin of that city bears the busts of the boy princes with the legend:

CEONHPPIA ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛ[ΦΕΙΑ ΜΕ]ΓΑΛΑ ΝΙΚΑΙΕΩΝ

(*B.M. Cat. Pontus, &c.*, p. 162, n. 63). These games at Nikaia appear to have had but a brief existence, and since no mention of our Φιλαδέλφεια has yet been found outside of their own city, it is likely that for the reason above suggested their career also was short-lived.

Besides the director (ξυστάρχης) here named, these games had a secretary or recorder (γραμματεὺς): *Ath. Mitt.* xx. 1895, p. 244.

Line 11. Σεβήρεια ἐν Νεικέα. See the preceding note. The only other epigraphic mention of these games appears to be *I.G.* iii. 1, 129: Σενήρεια ἐν Νεικέα. Perhaps Polykrates competed before they had received the epithet Φιλαδέλφεια.

Lines 12–14. The Βαλβίλληα of Ephesos are well known from many inscriptions; e.g. *I.B.M.* 615: ἐ[ν] Ἐφέσω παίδων Βαλβίλληα.

Lines 14–15. Τραιάνεια ἐν Περγάμῳ: cf. *I.G.R.R.* i. 443; *C.I.G.* 3428. This was the second of the great neocoric festivals of Pergamon (v. Fritze, *Münzen v. Perg.* 1910; p. 82).

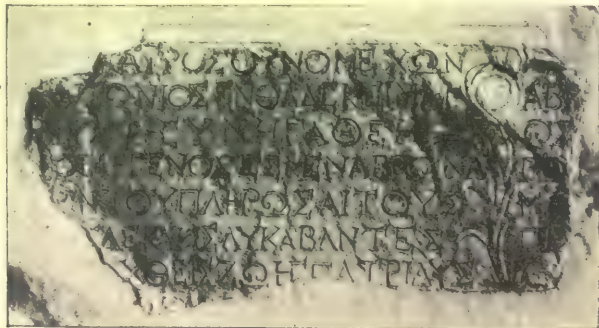
Line 16. Ἀδριάνεια ἐν Ἀθήναις: cf. *I.G.R.R.* i. 444; *I.G.* iii. 1, frequently.

Lines 17–21. The restorations are partly uncertain, especially Χρυσάνθια, since κοινὰ Ἀσίας would fill the space quite as well.

But though there were many Ἀπολλώνεια—e.g. at Miletos and Myndos—the restoration of l. 19 seems practically certain. The Ἀπολλώνεια Πύθια of Hierapolis are mentioned in another Philadelphieian text of this period, *C.I.G.* 3428, as well as in *I.B.M.* 615: ἐν Ἱεραπόλει ἀγενείων Ἀπολλών[εια]. The well-known games of Nikopolis are restored in l. 20–21, on the suggestion conveyed by Νεικοπολείτης in l. 8.

(2)

Marble slab, broken at sides and bottom, with moulding at top just above the inscription. In the same place as n. 1. Height, 19 cm.; width, 42 cm.; thickness, 13 cm. Height of letters, 1.8 cm. Date, second or third century A.D.



<p>{ τοῦ π]α[τ]ρὸς οὐνομ' ἔχων { Ἀντώνιος ἐνθάδε κείμει</p> <p>{ νύμφη σὺν ἡγαθέη, { τ]ὸ γὰρ γένος ἐσμὲν Ἀβρωνα·</p> <p>5 { π]ρὶν τοῦ πληρῶσαι τοὺς { τρὶς] δεκάκις λυκάβ(α)ντ(α)ς</p> <p>{ ἐξερ]χθεὶς ζωῆς πατρὶ δυσ- { πότημ]ω κατ[αθνήσκω.</p>	<p>"Αβρ[ων ως . . .</p> <p>ρο</p> <p>μα . . .</p> <p>πισ</p>
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The full name of the dead man, probably M. Ἀντώνιος Ἀβρων, is of interest in view of Rostowzew's theory as to the influence of Mark Antony at Philadelphæia: *Studien z. Gesch. des röm. Kolonates*, 1910, p. 290.

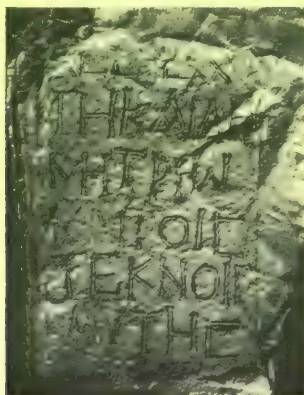
The second syllable of νύμφη (l. 3) is short, while τ]ὸ (l. 4) is long, but such laxity is common in verse of this kind.

The point of l. 4 is that Antonios and his wife lay in this tomb because they were of the family of Ἀβρων. The burial of anyone not belonging to the owner's family (μὴ ὄντα ἐκ τοῦ γένους, *I.B.M.* 1026) is often expressly forbidden in funerary inscriptions.

In l. 8 the Κ and the top of the Τ are quite clear. The Ω and Α are only partly preserved. The owner of the tomb Ἀβρων appears to have been mentioned in the second column.

(3)

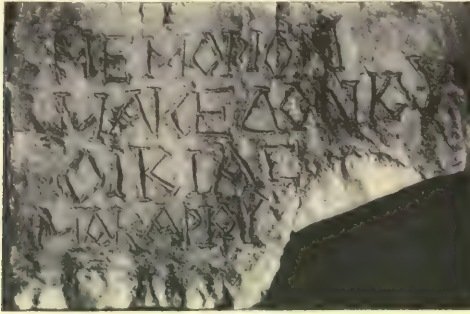
Small marble column, round at the back but flat in front where the text is inscribed. Upper part broken. Height, 29 cm.; width, 13 cm.; thickness, 10 cm. Height of letters, 1·8 to 2·8 cm.



[κατεσκέυ-]
 α]σε έα[υ-
 τῆ καὶ Δη-
 μητρίω
 καὶ τοῖς
 5 τέκνοις
 αὐτῆς.

(4)

Short column of coarse alabaster, with moulding projecting 3 cm. round the base. Flat top, 11 cm. below which the inscription begins. Height 40 cm.; diameter, 25 cm. Height of letters, 3·5 to 5 cm.



Μεμόριον

Μακεδονίου

οικίας

μακαρίου

For *μεμόριον* cf. Ramsay, *C.B.* i. p. 736, n. 672, *Μουσείον*, 1884-5, p. 69 n. *υξή'*. The form *μνημόριον* is found in K.P. II. 174.²

The epitaph of a bishop Makedonios of Apollonis in Lydia dates from the fourth century A.D. *B.C.H.* xi. 1887, pp. 88, 312.

The meaning of ll. 3, 4 may have been that Makedonios was a member of the household of Makarios, but since *μακάριος* often refers to the dead (*e.g.* *C.I.G.* 9130, 9641, 9829) it seems preferable to translate: 'Memorial to the household of the deceased Makedonios.'

(5)

Marble slab at the Metropolitan's house, said to have been found in the town. Broken on right side and at bottom, top and left side intact. Height 21 cm.; width, 27 cm.; thickness, 5 cm. Height of letters, 2·3 to 3 cm.



+ Ἐκμύθη(η) ὁ δ[οῦλος τοῦ Θε(ε)οῦ Ἰου-

λιανὸς μ

ιου μ

The lettering of this fragment seems to be much earlier than that of n. 11 below, but more modern than that of n. 9.

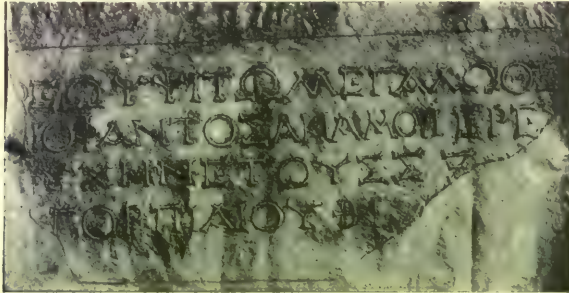
² K.P. I., II., and III. denote the *Berichte* of the three journeys in Lydia published by J. Keil and A. v. Premerstein in *Denkschr.*

Wien. Akad. liv.-lvii. 1908-1914. The Arabic figures refer to the numbers borne by the inscriptions.

(6)

Lower part of marble stele, broken on top and at sides. Traces of an effaced bas-relief are visible above the inscription.

Total height, 56 cm.; width, 48 cm.; thickness, 5 cm.; height of panel bearing the text, 19 cm. Height of letters, 2·1 to 2·5 cm. The Metropolitan informed me that it was found a short distance east of Philadelpheia.



Θ]εῶ Ὑψίτω, μέγλω θε[ῶ,
 Δ]ιόφαντος Ἀκιαμοῦ ἱερεῦ[ς
 ε]ῦχὴν. ἔτους σξ[. μη(νὸς)]
 Γορπιαίου θ(?)ί'.

The object of this dedication may be Zeus; see K.P. I. 39, from Philadelpheia, a text almost exactly contemporary with ours. But it seems more likely to have been Yahweh, whose worship among pagans was common at this period: cf. Acts, xvi. 17, Ramsay, *Bearing of Recent Discovery on N.T.* 1915, p. 137.

On the Judaeo-pagan worship of Θεὸς Ὑψιστος, see Schürer, *S.Ber. Akad. Berlin*, 1897, p. 200; Cumont, *Suppl. à la R. de l'Instr. publ. Belge*, 1898, *C.R. Acad. Inscr.* 1906, pp. 65-68. An ἱερεὺς of this cult is mentioned in *O.G.I.* 755, in *Μουσεῖον* 1876-78, p. 32, n. σλς' and in *A.E.M.Oest.* x. 1886, p. 238. See also the interesting dedication by a θεοσεβής, from Deliler near Philadelpheia: K.P. III. 42.

The last letter of Ἀκιαμοῦ was evidently inserted after the inscription had been engraved, and since no *sigma* was then added to Ὑψίτω this spelling would seem to have been intentional. For such suppression of the *sigma*-sound cf. ἀνέτησεν, K.P. II. 263; Σέκκτος II. 267; ἡ τὰς . . (for εἰς τὰς) III. 64; κολαθῖσα, Ramsay, *C.B.* i. p. 153, n. 53.

The Lydian name Ἀκιαμός is well known as that of the king mentioned by Nikolaos of Damascus, fr. 26; *F.H.G.* iii. p. 372; cf. Leigh Alexander, *Kings of Lydia*, 1913, pp. 53, 57. It is also found on a Sardinian coin of the first century A.D. (*B.M. Cat. Lydia*, p. 251, n. 101) but is very rare, if not unique, in epigraphy. Waddington's note on L.B.W. 668 discusses the Lydian proper names in -αμος, and to his list we should now perhaps add Τιαμος; cf. K.P. II. p. 104; Τιωλαμος (*Pisidia*), *B.C.H.* xi. 1887, p. 221, n. 15.

The year 260 of the Actian era = 229/30 A.D., but as a letter seems to be lost after ξ the actual date is probably later by a few years. The clear and well-preserved monogram or figure following Γορπιαίου is perhaps a form of *theta*.

(7)

Three small marble reliefs in the courtyard of the Metropolitan's house, said to have been found in a garden near the town with several others which the owner had chosen to hide. My measurements are lost but, as I remember, the stones are each about two feet high and about 1 ft. 6 in. wide.



Upper stone:	Αυτόλυκος
Lower r. stone:	Χρ]υσάνπελος
Lower l. stone:	Καλλίμορφος (?)

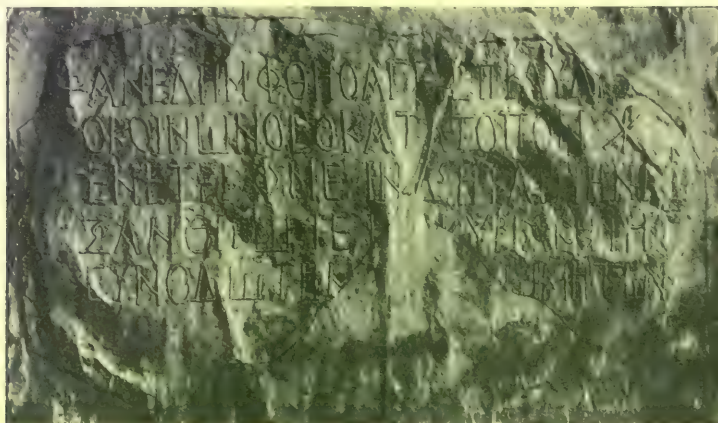
These probably belonged to a burial-place of gladiators (cf. Ramsay, *C.B.* i. p. 75, nos. 9, 10, p. 232, n. 79) perhaps connected with a local training-school (λοῦδος, K.P. II. 72), or built by an ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀσίας who had given a gladiatorial show. I can find no other case in which a group of such grave-stones, exactly alike except for their inscriptions, have been found together in Asia Minor. Αυτόλυκος is one of those professional nicknames which gladiators were fond of borrowing from literature or mythology; cf. Ἄνταιος, *R. de Philol.* xxxvii. 1913, p. 329, n. 21; Ἀμφιάραιος, K.P. II. 213; Ἐτεοκλής, K.P. iii. 60.

Χρ]υσάνπελος is probably also a nickname, like Χρυ[σό]πτερος in K.P. III. 60.

The third name is Καλλίμορφος, if I remember rightly, but my note on it is lost.

(8)

Marble slab from Mendechora, a village about 10 miles N.W. of Philadelpheia; see map in K.P. III. The Metropolitan told me that the two fragments, which fit closely, were found together in a wall in 1913, and were brought to his house in Philadelpheia by his instructions. Height, 42 cm.; width, 68 cm.; thickness, 6 cm.; height of letters, 3.5 cm. Back smoothly finished; copy and squeeze taken May 23, 1914.



† Ἀνελήμφθη ὁ ἅγι[ος] Πραῦλι[ος]
 ὁ κοινωνὸς ὁ κατὰ τόπον ✠
 ἐν ἔτει φμέ', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνι) ἡ' καὶ μηνὶ
 Ξανθικῶ ἰε', ἡ[μ](έρα) Κυριακῆ, τῆ (= Sunday, March 8, A.D. 515)
 συνόδῳ τῆ Μ[υλουκ]ωμητῶν.

The interest of this inscription lies in the light thrown by it on the constitution of the *κώμη*, in the name of this village, and in the elaborate dating, which is uncommon in Christian inscriptions from this part of Asia Minor: *Mél. d'Arch.* xv, 1895, p. 295.

That the date is of the Actian era, namely, 545-31 = 514/515 A.D., is confirmed by the mention of the eighth indiction: cf. Pauly-Wiss. *R.E.* i. 666. This era was in use throughout the territory of Philadelpheia (K.P. I. p. 29; III. pp. 18, 37) to which the site of Mendechora is thus shown to have belonged (K.P. III. pp. 15, 26). The script resembles that of K.P. III. 89 (Hypaipa) which appears rightly attributed to the reign of Justinian.

From the elegance of this script, the unusual epithet ἅγιος, the title ὁ κοινωνός, the careful dating and the dedication by the village community, it is evident that Praylios was a man of importance, probably an ecclesiastical

personage. Influential men, including ecclesiastics, were often at this period large holders of land in village estates as 'patrons' of the villagers. We may safely assume that Praylios was the patron of our *κώμη*, though the community could not lawfully commemorate him as such. Our inscription may have been a mere memorial, for there is nothing to show that it marked a tomb.

Line 1. The monogrammatic cross (cf. *B.C.H.* xi. 1887, p. 312) is here combined with the monogram of *Χριστός* at the end of l. 2. Both symbols are similarly found as mere ornaments in *C.I.G.* 9875, just as two crosses are used in an inscription somewhat resembling ours: Ramsay, *C.B.* i. p. 561, n. 454.

ἀνελήμφθη occurs in the text just cited. On this word cf. *KP.* III. 53.

ὁ ἄγιος, an unusual epithet for men other than saints or bishops, probably indicates that Praylios was bishop of Philadelpheia. It is true, as Prof. J. B. Bury has pointed out to me, that in texts of about this period the usual title of a bishop is *ἀγιώτ(ατος)*—cf. *C.I.G.* 8641 (A.D. 565); 9350–2 (seventh to eighth centuries)—and *ὁ ἄγιος* as an episcopal epithet does not to my knowledge occur until such late inscriptions as *C.I.G.* 8954, 8958. A bishop, however, may have been called *ἄγιος*, not as a title but in recognition of his saintliness, and since there are few accurately dated inscriptions from this region as early as the sixth century A.D. it would be rash to infer that *ἄγιος* was not at this period a correct episcopal prefix. On the other hand we know (1) that the patrons of villages consisted of two classes—powerful laymen and great churchmen—(Zulueta, *de patrociniis vicorum*, 1909, pp. 12–13; Mitteis and Wilcken, *Grundz. u. Chrestom. d. Papyruskunde*, I. i. 1912, p. 323); (2) that *ἄγιος* was not a term applied to laymen, until in later times it was given to the emperors. Praylios was therefore probably either a bishop or the head of a great monastery, and as no such monastery is known to have existed in this neighbourhood he is more likely to have been the local bishop.

Πραῦλιος, the name of a patriarch of Jerusalem (Le Quien, *Or. chr.* iii. p. 162), is found in Christian inscriptions at Mermere and Julia Gordos (*KP.* II. 13) as well as in the sixth century text below (n. 9). This seems to have been the form current in Christian times, whereas the earlier form was *Πράυλος*: *I. v. Priene*, 313⁵⁹⁸, 355⁸; *B.C.H.* xxiv. 1900, p. 335; cf. Fick-Bechtel, *Gr. Personennamen*, p. 242.

Line 2. *ὁ κοινωνός* evidently corresponds to the *consors* of *C. Theod.* v. 16. 34 (A.D. 425). This law, which aimed at preventing single individuals from buying a share in any imperial estate, provided that the purchaser should be *non unus tantum qui forte consortibus suis gravis ac molestus existat*. This implies that the single powerful *consors* or patron was apt to be overbearing toward his humbler fellow-owners (M. Gelzer, *Studien zur Gesch. der byzant. Verwaltung Aegyptens*, 1909, p. 83). In an earlier law, *C. Theod.* xi. 24. 1, the relation of the patron to the other owners of land in the *κώμη* is termed *consortium*, and patrons who have failed to pay their due share of the village taxes are required to refund this to their fellow

villagers, *vicani quorum consortio recesserunt* (cf. Gelzer, *op. cit.* p. 72). In a still earlier inscription (*Syll.*² 418 = *I.G.R.R.* i. 674), the non-resident owner of land in the village of Skaptopara in Thrace, who presented to the emperor a petition on behalf of the villagers, is called their *conuicanus et conpossessor*, while the term *conuicanus* is applied to ordinary villagers in a law of 415 A.D. for the suppression of patronage in Egypt (*C. Theod.* xi. 24. 6): *nec quisquam eas (metrocomias) uel aliquid in his possidere temptauerit exceptis conuicanis* (cf. Rostowzew, *Studien z. Gesch. des röm. Kolonates*, p. 388, note 1). These instances show that not only the humble resident villager, but also the non-resident landholder in a *κώμη* was described as *conuicanus*.

Since *Praylios* is called 'the partner in the estate,' he must have been the most important, in other words the patron of the *κώμη*. But prudence forbade describing him as such because patronage had long been legally prohibited. That it still existed however in 515 A.D., is proved by the subsequent effort made by Justinian again to abolish it: *C. Iust.* xi. 54. 1. From this constitution we learn that patronage had survived under colour (*sub praetextu*) of other transactions, gift, sale, etc., and our inscription would show that among the euphemistic designations of the patron was *ὁ κοινωνός*. The interest of this new technical term is enhanced by the relative rarity of such documents in Asia Minor; cf. Rostowzew, *op. cit.* p. 229.

ὁ κατὰ τόπον means 'in (or of) the estate'; cf. *ὁ κατὰ τόπον μισθωτής* = the lessee of the (imperial) estate; Ramsay *C.B.* i. pp. 272-3, Nos. 192-3 = *I.G.R.R.* iv. 927; *μισθωτής τῶν περὶ Ἀλαστον τόπων*; *ibid.* p. 307, n. 114 = *I.G.R.R.* iv. 894.

Our inscription sheds new light on the monument at Pogle (*Jahreshefte*, iv. 1901, *Beiblatt*, col. 38 = *I.G.R.R.* iii. 409) to a rich Loukianos who had given certain benefactions *ἔτεσιν πολ[ιτείας]* and had also acted as judge, *κρίνοντα τοπικὰ δικαστήρια ἔτεσιν κοινων[ίας]*. An estate probably containing several villages had here been erected into a *πόλις* (for such creations cf. Chapot, *La prov. rom. d'Asie*, pp. 96-103, Rostowzew, *op. cit.* p. 294, note 2), and the years when there was a civic constitution are contrasted with those in which the estate was administered by *κοινωνοί*. Rostowzew was puzzled by the failure of this Pogle text to mention the office held by Loukianos, and conjectured that he was *μισθωτής* of the estate (*Jahreshefte*, *loc. cit.* col. 44).

This seems correct, but he might also have been called *κοινωνός*, i.e. partner in the *societas* which farmed the Pogle property; as an important lessee he might well preside at the tribunals 'held on the estate' (*τοπικὰ*).³

³ Further research will doubtless reveal many other traces of ownership or tenure by rich men of lands in a *κώμη*. Among such traces, I suspect, we may include the ruinous house of Tib. Claudius Sokrates at Stratónikeia in Lydia (*Syll.*² 387; *R. de Phil.* xxxvii. 1913, p. 300, n. 4), which had pro-

bably belonged to him when he owned lands in the estate (*χώρα*) out of which Hadrian created the new *πόλις*. From the fact that the emperor disposes of the house we may conjecture that he had bought it with the other holdings of Sokrates, probably with a view to the new foundation, i.e. about 123 A.D.

There, as in Egypt at the same period, *κοινωνία* doubtless denoted a partnership of lessees: cf. M. San Nicoló, *Ägypt. Vereinswesen*, I. 1913, pp. 147–152. But the Egyptian testimony of the first and second centuries cannot be applied to a sixth century text such as ours, and there appears to be no evidence for the survival to so late a time of the practice of granting leases to *κοινωνοί*.

We may therefore assume that this term, which in the second century meant the *socii* in a leaseholding partnership, came to denote in the sixth century the *consortes* owning land in a village community.

Lines 3–4. The indiction year began, like the Asian provincial year, on September 23,⁴ 514; Gardthausen *Gr. Paläogr.*² 1911, p. 466. The 15th of Xanthikos = March 8, 515 A.D., which was a Sunday.

A change of dating in the fourth century, A.D., postponed the month Xanthikos to April; Dar.–Saglio *Dict.* i. 829. But there is no proof that this change was observed in Philadelphia.

ἡ[μ](έρα) Κυριακῆ; cf. Ramsay, *C.B.* p. 561, No. 454, where ἡμ(ετέρου) Κυρ(ίου) is now shown to be a wrong restoration.

Line 5. *συνόδα*. This may denote either the village community—for which *κοινόν* and *σύνοδος* are equivalent terms (Zulueta, *op. cit.* p. 77)—or the assembly of the villagers; cf. *ἀναγόρευσιν . . . ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις συνόδοις [κ]ωμητικαῖς [π]άσαις* (Buresch, *aus Lydien*, p. 38, n. 23). The former sense is here to be preferred, and the dative is probably to be connected, as Professor Bury suggests, with *ἀνελήμφθη*. We may translate ‘to the misfortune (or bereavement) of the community.’ . . .

M[υλουκ]ωμητῶν. This restoration was proposed by Captain J. Keil when I showed him the squeeze of our inscription in June, 1914, at Smyrna. There can be little doubt that this village is identical with the nameless *κώμη* whose petition has been edited by him and A. von Premerstein: K.P. III. 28, ll. 5, 6. Mendechora, the modern name of the village where that document and our text were found, is a corruption of Πέντε Χωρία (*ibid.* p. 26), but our initial M proves that this was not the ancient name. Now the inscription *C.I.G.* 3420 (= L.B.W. 1669) mentioning ἡ Μυλειτῶν [κα]τωικί(α) was copied by Arundell and Baillie nine miles from Philadelphia on the road to Sardis and thus quite near to Mendechora. It seems probable that this ‘Millers’ settlement’ was known also as the ‘Mill village’ (Μύλου κώμη) and that its chief industry consisted in grinding the wheat grown in the Kogamos valley. We may note that the petition above mentioned relates to the wrong-doing of *φρουμεντάριοι* and other officials. A similar descriptive name is *Μηλοκώμη*, the ‘Apple village’: Körte, *Inscr. Bureschiana*, p. 5, n. 2 (Tschapaklü in Lydia); Ramsay, *C.B.* i. p. 156, n. 64 (Kabalar in Phrygia). The form *Μυλοκώμη* would here be quite correct, but as five letters are required to fill the gap, it seems best to restore

Not being used or kept up by Sokrates, the house would naturally have fallen into disrepair by 127, when Hadrian wrote his letter.

⁴ In K.P. I. 191 the indiction year is taken as having begun on August 1.

M[υλουκ]ωμητῶν, on the analogy of Δαρειουκωμητῶν, *B.C.H.* ix. 1885, p. 394.

If we accept Rostowzew's hypothesis (*op. cit.* p. 290) that this κώμη was one of the imperial estates near Philadelpheia originally possessed by Mark Antony, it is tempting to assume further that the emperors had parted with it prior to the sixth century—perhaps by sale, as in *C. Theod.* v. 16, 34—and that the bishop of Philadelpheia had then acquired with the right of patronage a share in its ownership.

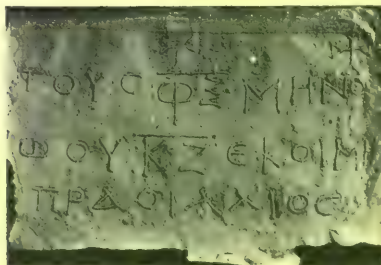
For a further note on *κοινωνός*, see p. 115.

(9)

(*Published.*)

Marble slab, now at the residence of the Metropolitan. Top original, broken at sides and bottom. Height, 23 to 30 cm.; width, 43 cm.; thickness, 3.5 cm. Height of letters, 2.2 to 4.5 cm.

Published incorrectly and without epigraphic copy, *Ath. Mitt.* xii. 1887, p. 257, n. 27 = Cumont, n. 123; *Mél. d'Arch.* xv. 1895, p. 295.



Ἐ]τους φξ' μηνὸς

Λ]ῶου κζ' ἐκοιμήθη

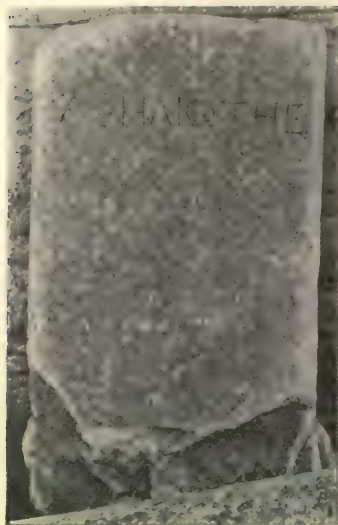
. Πρασίλλιος.

This text, dated A.D. 529/30 (= Actian era 560–31), is reproduced for comparison with n. 8. The name, given as Πραόλλιος in *Ath. Mitt.*, is the usual variant spelling of Πραῦλλιος.

(10)

Square marble pillar, with broken moulding at bottom, standing in June, 1914, on the south side of the street opposite the south entrance to the Metropolitan's house.

Inscribed on three sides, and probably also on the fourth side, which could not be seen because of its nearness to the garden wall bounding the street. My measurements are lost, but according to my recollection the stone stands about four feet high, and each of its sides is about two feet wide. Height of the letters, about 3 inches.



'Αφηλιώτης

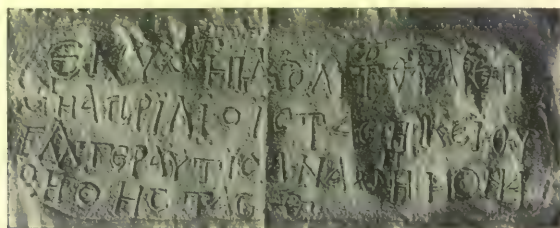
On r. side, Βορέας; on l. side, Νότος; at the back, if preserved, must be Ζέφυρος.

This basis or pedestal, like the stone on which *C.I.G.* 6180 is inscribed, must have been so oriented as to indicate the four points of the compass, and its flat top may have borne a capstone with dial.

The sumptuous inventory of the marble furnishings of a Lydian ἡρώων near Tire (*K.P.* III. 117) includes a sundial (ἡμερολόγιον). Our basis perhaps belonged to such a funerary monument.

(11)

Marble block, formerly owned by the porter Ali-oglu Hussein, sold by him in June, 1914, to Mr. Dedeyan, the station-master of Ala-Sehir. Height (r.), 19 cm.; (l.) 16 cm.; width, 51 cm.; thickness, 13 cm.; smoothly finished on top and at bottom. Height of letters, 1.6 to 4 cm.



Ἐκμ(ή)θη ἰ δούλι τοῦ Θε(ο)ῦ Ἀρετὶ
 μην(ος) Ἀπριλίῳ ἰς τὰς ἦ κὲ ἰ θυ-
 γάτερ αὐτῆς Ἄνα μην(ος) Ἡονα-
 ρ]ῆο ἦς τὰς θ'.

For similar lettering and dating cf. *B.C.H.* xxxiii. 1909, p. 84, n. 69; p. 101, n. 87; K.P. II. 201, and with this peculiar spelling of the month of January (l. 3-4) cf. K.P. III. 64: 'Hoάνου for 'Iωάννου.

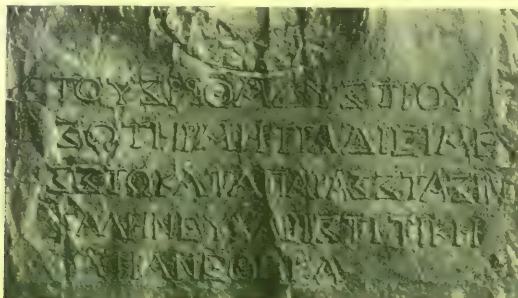
The date is probably of the tenth or eleventh century; cf. *C.I.G.* 9264, 9324-29 and particularly the Δ in 9329 (Plate XVI).

GIÖLDE.

(12)

Small marble stele with pediment found at Giölde in 1913, now built into the front of the Greek school. Well preserved, except for a break on the left side.

A votive wreath is carved in low relief above the inscription. Height, 61 cm.; width, 40 to 47 cm.; thickness, 8 cm.; height of letters, 2·4 cm.



Ἔτους ρθ', μη(νός) Δύστρου
 ε' ἀ(πιόντος)· Σωτήρ Μητρᾶ Διεὶ Με-
 γ]ίστω κατὰ παράστασιν
 με]γάλην εὐχαριστι<τι>κῆ
 5 ε]ύχῃ ἀνέθηκα.

Date by Sullan era : 199 - 85 = 114/15 A.D.

The retrograde *sigma* is found quite often in Lydia and at Smyrna (K.P. II. 136, III. 165), also at Maroneia and Amphipolis in Thrace (*B.C.H.* v. 1881, p. 92, xviii. 1894, p. 425). For the initial of ἀ(πιόντος) placed over the figure representing the day of the month, cf. *I. v. Pergamon* 554; K.P. II. 218; Buresch, *aus Lydien*, p. 16, n. 13 line 28.

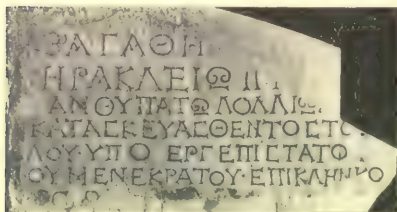
παράστασις must here mean that Zeus had acted as παραστάτης. Though this latter word is not rare (cf. Kaibel, *Epigr.* 790, 807), παράστασις in the sense of 'assistance' occurs only in the very late *C.I.G.* 8716: δι' ἐπιτροπῆς καὶ παραστάσεως Νικολάου.

On the custom of representing wreaths upon votive stelae, cf. K.P. II. pp. 84-5.

N. SIDE OF HERMOS VALLEY.

(13)

Marble slab found at Porias-damları, a small village on the N. edge of the Hermos Valley opposite Salikhli. Owned by Hafuz-oglu Achmet, who said it had been discovered there in 1911. Copy and squeeze taken in May, 1913. Height, 30 cm.; width, 50 cm.; thickness, 6 cm. Height of letters in l. 1, 3 cm.; in l. 2, 3.2 cm.; in other lines, 2.2 to 2.5 cm. Left side intact, the other sides broken.



Ἀγαθῇ [Τύχη,
Ἡρακλεῖ, Ὀπιῖ Ἀρτέμιδι. (?)
ἀνθυπάτω Λολλίῳ [Παυλείῳ, (?)
κατασκευασθέντος τοῦ περιβό-
5 λου ὑπὸ ἐργεπιστάτου
ου Μενεκράτου ἐπίκλην Κο
.

In l. 2, the last letter may be Ι, Ρ or Γ; the letter preceding this, though its top has vanished, is certainly Π. In l. 7 the fragmentary letters appear to differ in style from those of ll. 1-6.

The conspicuous lettering of the first two lines suggests that they contain a dedication to the divine being or beings round whose shrine the *περίβολος* had been built. But the object of this dedication is doubtful, and the restoration of l. 2 merely shows what appears to me to be the probable context.

1. The goddess Opis Artemis has not yet figured in the epigraphy of Asia Minor, though she is said to have been honoured at Ephesos (Macrob. *Sat.* v. 22. 4). But where the cult of the Mother Goddess was so much in vogue as in Lydia, her worship under the name of Opis (Roscher, *Lex.* iii. 1, 927) is by no means improbable. Two points which make this theory plausible are (1) that the alternative interpretations mentioned below are open to objection; (2) that Opis Artemis thus forms a triad⁵ with Agathe Tyche and Herakles, deities well suited to be grouped with her. In Lydia, the realm of Omphale, the indigenous cult of Herakles was widespread (Buresch, *aus Lydien*, pp. 40-1), while that of Agathe Tyche was popular throughout the Roman world of this period. At Dorylaeion dedications to Herakles and to the Mother Goddess have been found together (*J.H.S.* viii. 1887, p. 504). At Erythrae, in the third century B.C., three priesthoods, the sales of which are mentioned consecutively (*Syll.*² 600, ll. 86-9) were those of Herakles, of Agathe Tyche, and of Demeter.

The following versions of the 2nd line are possible, but seem to me

⁵ I infer a triad, partly because of the uniformity in script of ll. 1-2, partly because century carnelian gem bought by me in Smyrna Serapis is represented standing between Agathe Tyche and Demeter.

less probable than that given above. 2. The dedication may be to Herakles, bearing an epithet beginning with ΩΠ . . . It is not likely that this was (a) an unknown *local* epithet, because ethnics and demotics, such as were borne, e.g., by Zeus, Artemis or Apollo, were never, so far as I know, assigned to Herakles. Nor was it probably (b) a *descriptive* epithet (e.g., 'H. ὀπλοφύλαξ, Μουσεῖον, 1884-5, p. 85, n. 274; 'H. καλλίνεικος, *ib.* 1886, p. 93, n. 267) because no suitable adjective beginning with those two letters suggests itself. It may have been (c) a *personal* epithet, e.g., 'Hρακλῆς Ὠπιανός, like the 'Hρακλῆς Διομεδόντειος (*Syll.*² 734) who was the patron god of an association founded by Diomedon. But while a mere reference to the god might have mentioned him as 'the Herakles of Oppius' (cf. Ὠπιανός in *C.I.G.* 8853), it seems very doubtful whether a formal dedication addressed to the god could have been couched in such familiar terms. The theory of an epithet ΩΠ . . . coupled with the name of Herakles is therefore questionable. 3. The object may have been a heroized man, and l. 2 may have read (e.g.):

'Hρακλείω Π[ρόκλω ἥρωϊ.

Elaborate tombs with their buildings and enclosures were not uncommon in Lydia (e.g. K.P. III. 117), but ll. 3-5 seem to show that this was a public enclosure, such as that of a temple, and not that of a private monument. The ἐργεπιστάτης of a public building often recorded his labours in the phrases here used, but I can find no instance of this being done in connexion with a private structure such as a tomb.

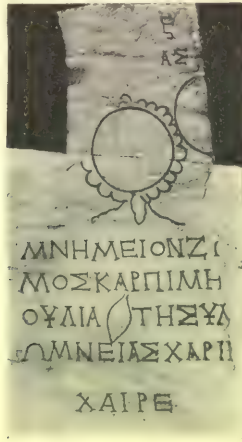
Line 3. The proconsul whose name is here restored was M. Lollius Paullinus Valerius Asiaticus Saturninus, who held office about 120 A.D.; Waddington, *Fastes*, n. 127; Chapot, *La prov. rom. d'Asie*, p. 313; *Prosop. I.R.* ii. p. 296, n. 233. But since in other inscriptions his abbreviated name is Valerius Asiaticus we cannot be sure that he was ever called Lollius Paullinus, and the restoration Παυλείνω is therefore doubtful. An inscription from Smyrna, *B.C.H.* vi. 1882, p. 291, mentions a proconsul Λόλλιος Ἀουεῖτος, whom Waddington identifies with L. Hediuf Rufus Lollianus Avitus (*Prosop. I.R.* ii. p. 127, n. 26), but though our upright *siglum* following Δολλίω slopes slightly to the right it can scarcely belong to an *alpha*, nor should we venture to assume that *Lolliano* was here again rendered by Δολλίω. If our name is not that of Lollius Paullinus, it is probably that of a proconsul otherwise unknown.

The only epigraphic mention in Lydia of the name of a proconsul resembling ours is in *Ath. Mitt.* xxv. 1900, p. 122 (from Urganlü, not far from Sardis) where the proper restoration would seem to be 'E[γνατίω] Δολλ[ιανῶ].

Line 6. ἐπικλην is said by Sir W. M. Ramsay to be specially characteristic of Christian inscriptions (*C.B.* i. p. 522, n. 364; p. 539, n. 400; p. 547, note 5), but our text does not appear to be of Christian origin, and ἐπικλην is merely equivalent to ἐπικαλουμένον (*O.G.I.* 603, 10) or τοῦ καὶ . . .

(14)

Marble slab at Porias-damlarü, owned by Holandja Bedeli Ibrahim. In May, 1913, this had been built face downward into a corner of his new house, but as the wall had been only completed to a height of three feet above the stone it was easily removed with the kind consent of the owner. Height, 68 cm.; width 33 to 35 cm.; thickness, 8 cm. Height of letters, 1·8 to 2·7 cm. Fairly intact on left side, at top and at bottom, but right side broken.



Μνημείον Ζ[ώσι-
μος Καρπίμη [Εί-
ουλία τῆ συ[μβί-
ω μνείας χάριν.

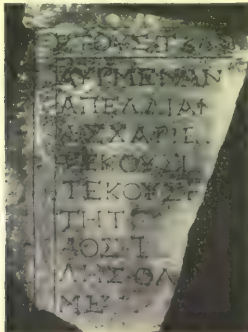
χαίρε.

The rare name Καρπίμη has been found at Daldis: K.P. I. 137. The letters engraved above the wreath appear to be without meaning.

(15)

Marble slab at Porias-damlarü in the stone-paved floor of the house of Hadji Moussa-oglu Mustafa. Top and left side original, right side and bottom broken away. Height, 31·5 cm.; width 26 cm.; thickness unknown. Height of letters, 1·3 to 1·5 cm. They are much worn.

On left side three parallel mouldings and the wing of a *tabula ansata*.



Ἔτους τκγ' [μηνός . . .
Ἀὐρ(ῆλιος) Μέναν[δρος
Ἀπελλια[νή ?
ας χαριε . . .

5 τεκούση
τεκούση
τῆ τε
λος τ . . .
λης ολ . . .
10 με

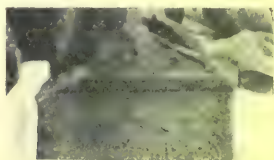
Date, probably by the Sullan era, 238/9 A.D. The last letter in l. 4 is not N, but almost certainly Ε. This suggests as restoration *χαρίε[σσα* and makes it probable that there was an epitaph in verse.

MERMERE AND DISTRICT.

(16)

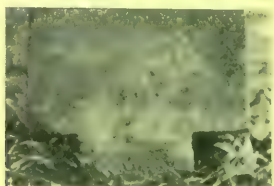
Marble stele found in 1912, copied by me soon afterwards, at Mermere. I photographed it in the absence of the owner, whose name I failed to ascertain.

Height, 105 cm.; width, 38 to 44 cm.; thickness, 10 to 12 cm. Height of letters, 2·2 to 2·5 cm.



ERRATUM.

P. 105, Line 11 of No. 16: for *μίaves* read *μελας*.



Φουρία Γαῖω τῷ υἱ-
 ῶ, Φίλιππος καὶ Χά-
 ρη καὶ Στρατονε(ί)-
 κη τῶ ἀδελφῶ, Μό-
 5 σχιον τῷ δαίρι, Ἄπ-
 ολλώνιος ὁ γαν-
 βρός, Γάιος καὶ Ἄπ-
 ολλώνιος τῷ μήτ-
 ρωνι, Δαμᾶς τῷ συν-
 10 τρόφῳ ἐποίησαν
 μίaves χάριν.

A good specimen of that class of funerary inscription which, as Radet puts it, 'est rédigée comme une lettre de faire part' (*B.C.H.* xi. 1887, p. 449, n. 10).

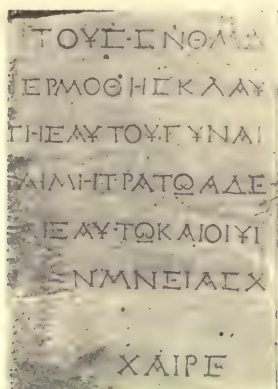
For the spelling *δαίρι* instead of *δαέρι*, cf. Buresch, *aus Lydien*, p. 116, n. 55.

Two utensils, to the left a slim jar, to the right a covered vase, are incised in outline beside the wreath at the top. On this custom in Lydia, see the instances cited by K.P. I. 153; II. 135.

(17)

Marble slab formerly built into the abandoned fountain to the east of the old baths of Sofular-mahalessi at Mermere. In May, 1913, I had it removed from the fountain and sent to the office of the Mudir, who agreed to preserve it.

Height, 60 cm.; width, 34 cm.; thickness, 5 cm. Height of letters, 2 to 2.3 cm. Top, bottom, and left side fairly well preserved, right side broken.



Ἐ]τους συνθ', μη(νός) Δ[είου (?)

Ἐρμόθης Κλαυ[δία

τῇ ἐαυτοῦ γυναι[κι

κ]αὶ Μητρᾷ τῷ ἀδε[λφῷ

5 κ]αὶ ἐαυτῷ καὶ οἱ υἱ[οι

αὐτῷ]ν μνείας χ[άριν.

χαῖρε.

Date by the Sullan era, 174/5 A.D.; by the Actian, 231/2 A.D. Which of these is correct we do not know, nor has the ancient name of Mermere yet been discovered: cf. K.P. I. p. 61.

The name Ἐρμόθης, which appears to be new, is the shortened form of Ἐρμόθεστος: cf. Ἐξάκης—Ἐξάκεστος, Fick-Bechtel, *Gr. Personennamen*, p. 16. Ἐρμόθεστος is itself a rare name, found only in Ionia, at Teos, *C.I.G.* 3081-82-89, and at Kolophon, *Μουσείον*, 1886, p. 90, n. φπα'; *B.M. Cat. Ionia*, p. 39, n. 24.

(18)

Short square marble column, much stained as if by weather, at Tehenli (=Teheni: K.P. I. 119-120) in the house of Hadji Ali Mehmet. On it, in low relief, a draped figure, much worn and battered, holding a staff on which a snake is coiled. This figure stands on a slightly projecting plinth which bears the inscription. The owner, unexpectedly coming home, destroyed the squeeze that I was taking, but a copy with measurements had already been made, and this sketch from my note-book gives a fair idea of the monument. Height, 56 cm.; width, 24 cm.; thickness, 24 cm.



Εἰητρός | πᾶρ' ἀνὴρ | πολλῶν | ἀντάξιος | ἄλλω[ν.

Line borrowed from *Iliad*, xi. 514, in which γάρ has been replaced by πάρ' in the sense of 'here stands'... The letters are square in cross-section and deeply cut, so that the reading seems to me certain. This line must have been a favourite 'tag.' Another variation occurs at Naples: ἐνθάδε κείται ἀνὴρ πολλῶν ἀντάξιος ἄλλων; Kaibel, *Erigr.* 600.

The relief shows that this was a dedication to Asklepios, who at Thyateira, a few miles to the north of Tehenli, was worshipped and honoured with games; Clerc-Zakas, *περὶ τῶν τῆς π. Θυατείρων πραγματεία*, p. 96; *B.M. Cat. Lydia*, p. cxxix. But except at Thyateira (K.P. II. 21), inscriptions testifying to the cult of Asklepios are rare in Lydia (cf. *Class. Rev.* xix. 1905, p. 370, n. 5; K.P. II. 203) though the god often appears on Lydian coins. This column is said to have been found not far from Tehenli, among architectural fragments which may have belonged to a local sanctuary of Asklepios.

(19)

Marble stele in excellent preservation lying, in 1913, in the farmyard of Mustafa-oglu Ali at Uzanja, one hour west of Mermere. Top of pediment slightly damaged.

Height with pediment, 140 cm.; width below pediment, 43.5 cm.; at bottom, 53 cm.; thickness, 11 cm. A dowel for insertion in a socket projects 13 cm. at bottom.

The stele is said to have been found near Uzanja, and a stone so heavy and so easy to break is unlikely to have been carried far. Height of letters: 1.2 to 1.4 cm.



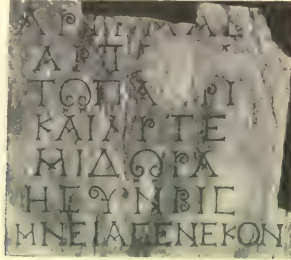
ὁ δῆ-
 μος
 Διοκλῆν Διοκλέους, Νεικόστ(ρ)ατον
 Διοκλέους.

Date: first century, B.C. The δῆμος is probably that of the unknown city which preceded the modern Mermere.

GÜRİDJE.

(20)

Marble slab in the mosque at Güridje (cf. K.P. II. 10–13). As it lies in the pavement partly supporting one of the uprights of the stairs, a few letters are hidden. Copied and squeeze taken by me in 1912. Height, 96 cm.; width, 52 cm. Height of letters, 3·2 to 3·5 cm.



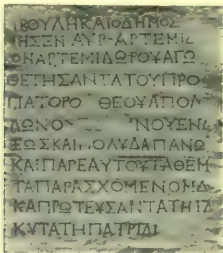
Ἄρ[τ]εμῶς
Ἄρτ[εμῶ]
τῶ πα[τ]ρί,
καὶ Ἄρτε-
5 μιδῶρα
ἡ σύνβις
μνείας ἔνεκον.

On the form *σύνβις* cf. K.P. II. 103, 132, 152; Buresch, *aus Lydien*, p. 73. *ἔνεκον* is unusual; for instances and explanation see K.P. II. pp. 63, 159.

THYATEIRA.

(21)

Marble block in the village of Moralü-damları, near Ak-hissar. Squeeze made by a friend in 1914. Original not seen by me. Height, 80 cm.; width, 55 cm.; thickness, 50 cm. Height of letters, 1·8 to 2·5 cm. The text is said to be complete, and the gaps shown on the squeeze are due to its having been made in a strong wind.



ἡ] βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος [ἔτεί-
μησεν Αὐρ[ήλιον] Ἄρτεμίδ[ω-
ρ]ον Ἄρτεμιδῶρου ἀγω[νο-
θετήσαντα τοῦ προ-
5 πάτορο[ς] θεοῦ Ἀπόλ-
λωνο[ς] Τυρίμ]νου ἐνδ[ό-
ξως καὶ [π]ολυδαπάνω[ς]
καὶ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ τὰ θέμ[α]-
τα παρασχόμενον, δε-
10 καπρωτεύσαντα τῇ γλ[υ-
κντάτῃ πατρίδι.

We have records of the two brothers, sons of Menelaus, who about 150 A.D. were the first agonothetes of these games in honour of Τύριμος (*R. de Phil.* xxxvii. 1913, pp. 308–9) and the names of five other agonothetes are collected by K.P. II. p. 34. To this list Αὐρ. Ἄρτεμίδωρος may now be added. His date must be after 212 A.D.

Line 5. Ἀπόλλων Τύριμος had a temple outside Thyateira, for he is

also called ὁ πρὸ πόλεως 'A.T.; *B.C.H.* xi. 1887, p. 464, n. 29. His most elaborate title is τοῦ προπάτορος θεοῦ Ἡλίου Πυθίου Τυριμναίου Ἀπόλλωνος; *ibid.* p. 101, n. 24.

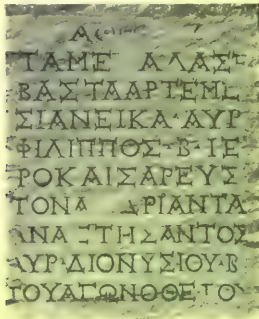
Line 8. τὰ θέμ[α]τα. The giving of such prizes was not among the ordinary duties of the agonothete; cf. *R. de Phil.* xxxvii. 1913, p. 325.

HIEROKAISAREIA.

(22)

Marble block near the road from Arpalü to Beyoba at a place called Satalmiun-kuyu. Squeeze taken in 1914 by a friend from Ak-hissar. Original not seen by me; I do not know whether the letters not shown on the squeeze are actually missing on the stone.

Height, 120 cm.; width, 90 cm.; thickness, 75 cm. Height of letters, 3 cm.; space between letters, 1·8 cm.



Ἄγ]αθ[ῆ Τύχη.
 Τὰ με[γ]άλα Σε-
 βαστὰ Ἀρτεμει-
 σια νεκᾶ Ἀὐρ(ῆλιος)
 5 Φίλιππος β' Ἰε-
 ροκαιοσαρεύς·
 τὸν ἀ[ν]δριάντα
 ἀναστήσαντος
 Ἀὐρ(ῆλιου) Διονυσίου β'
 10 τοῦ ἀγωνοθέτου.

This inscription on the statue-base of a winner at the Σεβαστὰ Ἀρτεμείσια is the fourth complete one so far discovered.

The three others are the following: (1) Μουσεῖον, 1886, p. 35, n. φιδ' = *B.C.H.* xi. 1887, p. 96, n. 18; (2) Körte, *Inscr. Bureschianae*, p. 13, n. 15; (3) *ibid.* p. 14, n. 16. The agonothete Ἀὐρ. Διονύσιος β', evidently the same as ours, erects a statue to Ἀὐρ. Καπίτων, and the games are called τὰ μεγάλα Ἀρτεμείσια.

Two fragmentary texts of the same kind are (4) K.P. I. 114: (5) Μουσεῖον, 1886, p. 42, n. φκβ', restored K.P. I. p. 57.

With the exception of (2) and (5), these agonistic inscriptions all appear to belong like ours to the third century A.D. This would indicate that these games in honour of the 'Persian' Artemis (Radet, *R. ét. anc.* x. 1908, p. 157) were then at the height of their popularity.

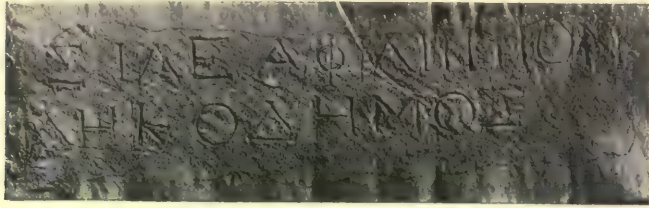
The present tense νεκᾶ seems to preserve the actual formula in which the athlete's victory was announced to the spectators. It is unusual except in the texts from Hierokaisareia above mentioned, but it occurs also at Tralleis: Μουσεῖον, 1884-5, p. 80, n. υq' = *Ath. Mitt.* x. 1885, p. 278.

(23)

Marble block, situated not far from Selendi, 'on the road thence to Sasoba, at a place called Kaïs-kuyu.' Squeeze and details furnished by a friend at Ak-hissar, 1914.

Height, 75 cm.; width 70 cm.; thickness, 35 cm.

Present length of inscription, 42·5 cm. Height of letters, 3·2 cm.



Βα]σιλέα Φίλιππων
ἢ βουλ]ῆ καὶ ὁ δῆμος.

This interesting inscription was not found by Keil and v. Premerstein when they visited the district (K.P. I. p. 53), and as no epigraphic copy has yet been published, this squeeze is here reproduced. The first and most complete publication is that of Fontrier (*Μουσ.* 1886, p. 39, n. φη'), who gives also a fragmentary text engraved on another face of the same block. From a squeeze supplied by Fontrier it was published by Foucart (*B.C.H.* xi. 1887, p. 104, n. 25), whose attribution of the monument to Philip V. of Macedonia is generally accepted.

Schuchhardt (*Ath. Mitt.* xiii. 1888, p. 7) suggests as date the year 201 B.C. when Philip made himself feared at Pergamon, and this view is adopted by Niese, *Gesch. der gr. u. mak. Staaten*, ii. p. 584, note 5; cf. also Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.* iii. 2, p. 464.

This is one of the few epigraphic memorials of Philip's connexion with Asia Minor.⁶ It may perhaps also be the earliest record of the city named in imperial times Hierokaisareia: cf. K.P. I. p. 53. But in view of the moderate size of the stone, there is no difficulty in supposing it to have been brought from Thyateira. A large stone monument certainly belonging to that city has been found at a short distance from Selendi: *B.C.H.* xi. 1887, p. 104, n. 26.

The style of lettering, and particularly the καὶ, are characteristic of a period much more recent than 201 B.C., but we may assume that in this, as in many other cases, the inscription was re-engraved in later times: cf. *Ath.*

⁶ The others are: *I. v. Priene* 37 (= *I.B.M.* 1904, pp. 345-6, nos. 1-2 (Stratonikeia). See 403), ll. 137-8, but see Nachtrag, p. 309; also. p. 354, note 1. *I.B.M.* 441, l. 92 (Iasos); *B.C.H.* xxviii.

Mitt. xxvii. 1902, p. 48-54, n. 71 (= *O.G.I.* 483) and *I.B.M.* 1042, both of which are copies of much earlier texts. For the re-engraving of an honorary inscription, cf. *B.C.H.* xxxiii, 1909, p. 479, n. 6.

NEAR GYGAEAN LAKE.

(24)

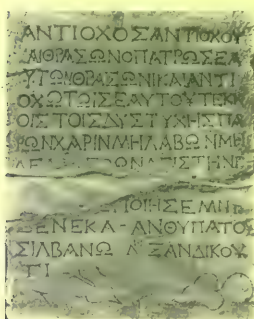
(Published.)

Marble stele, of which two fragments (*a*, *β*) are built into the fountain *Su-utli-tchesme*, situated half a mile north of the village of *Balük-iskelessi*, on the caravan road running between the south side of the *Mermere-giöl* (*Γυγαία λίμνη*) and the tumuli of the 'Lydian kings.' Though the edges of these fragments do not fit together, the fact that they belong to the same stele is proved by their width—the original sides of both being preserved—and by the identity of their lettering. Their thickness cannot now be ascertained.

Fragment *a* = *C.I.G.* 3468 = *B.C.H.* xi. 1887, p. 446, n. 2.

„ *β* = *B.C.H.* xi. 1887, p. 445, n. 1.

When copied by *Radet* the stones were in different positions from those which they now occupy. *a* is now placed as an ornament in the central arch of the fountain; *β* is one of the slabs used in the upper part of the structure. When the *C.I.G.* copy was made, a few letters in l. 7 appear to have been better preserved than they now are. *a.* height with pediment, 60 cm.; width, 48 cm.; *β.* height, 46 cm.; width, 48 cm. Height of letters, 2·2 to 2·8 cm.



<p><i>a</i> {</p>	<p>Ἀντίοχος Ἀντιόχου— κ]αὶ Θράσων ὁ πατὴρ εἰ- υτῶν—Θράσωνι καὶ Ἀντι- όχῳ τοῖς ἐαυτοῦ τέκν- 5 οῖς τοῖς δυστυχῆσι(ι)· πα- ρ' ὧν χάριν μὴ λαβὼν μη- δ]ε [δοῦ(ς), ἐθ]ῶν [δὲ] ἰς τὴν [π- [ατρίδα πίστιν ἐπιδείξ-] [άμενος, ἐ]ποίησε μν[ια- <i>β</i> { 10 ς ἔνεκα. ἀνθυπάτου Σιλβανῶ μη(νὸς) Ξανδίκου γί.</p>
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The mistakes are many: *ἐαυτῶν* (l. 2) for *αὐτῶν*; *τωῖς* (l. 4); *δυστυ-
χῆσι(ι)* for *δυστυχεῖσι* (l. 5); *ἐθ]ῶν* for *ἠθ]ῶν* (l. 7); *ἀνθυπάτου* for the dative;
besides which *δοῦ(ς)* in l. 7 appears from the *C.I.G.* copy to have had its
sigma omitted.

The former readings of l. 7 are as follows:—

C.I.G. ΔΕΔΟΥΣΘΩΝΑΤΙΣΤΗΝΓ

B.C.H. ΛΕΔ · · ΕΩΩΝΛΕΙΣΤΗΝΠ

The point under a letter indicates that it has been adopted in the foregoing text.

The conjectural restoration of ll. 8, 9 is made in order to show the general sense of the passage beginning with *παρ' ὧν* (l. 5), and to suggest the probability that only one line was destroyed by the breaking of the stone.

The meaning of ll. 5–9 seems to be that Antiochos had made this memorial to his sons not as an expression of their gratitude to him, nor of his to them, but as public evidence of their loyalty to their native city.

As Boeckh points out, the words *καὶ Θράσων . . . ἐαντῶν* (l. 2–3) are parenthetic, so that Ἄντιόχος is the subject of ἐποίησε.

The restoration [δοῦ(ς)] is certain, not only because formerly copied, but because it is the correct antithesis to λαβῶν.

[πατρίδα] is scarcely less certain, since it constantly occurs with such words as ἀρετή, εὐνοία, πίστις, etc. The phrasing of ll. 7–9 probably resembled that on the tomb of a Sardian lady: διὰ . . . τῶν ἡθῶν ἦν ἐπ[εδεί]ξατο ἐν τῷ βίῳ φύσιν μὲν ἐαν[τῆς] πίστιν δὲ προγόνων. (L.B.W. 626).

In l. 8 ἐπιδειξ— is restored, because in the space between the sigla representing E and Δ the stone shows what appear to be the bases of ΠΙ.

The reading μν[ία]ς is assured by the remains of A preserved at the end of l. 9. Radet's restoration μν[ήμη]ς must be rejected.

L. 11. This proconsul may, as Radet suggests, be identical with the Σιλβανός mentioned on Pergamene coins of the Augustan period, M. Plautius Silvanus (pro-consul about 4–5 A.D. (Waddington, *Fastes*, n. 64; *Prosop. I.R.* iii. p. 46, n. 361; v. Fritze, *Münzen v. Perg.* 1910, pp. 79, 92). But as the lettering appears to be later than the beginning of the first century, our dating more probably refers to Ti. Plautius Silvanus Aelianus, proconsul under Nero about 54 A.D. (Waddington, n. 85; *Prosop. I.R.* iii. p. 47, n. 363; Chapot, *Prov. rom. d'Asie*, p. 315).

SMYRNA.

(25)

Marble block, found at Boudja in 1913 on the property of Demetrios Kechayas, tobacco-grower, where this squeeze was taken by a friend of mine in 1914. I have not seen the stone. Height, 43½ cm.; width, 28 to 32 cm.; thickness, 17 cm. Height of letters, 2 to 2·8 cm.

Broken on right side and at bottom; the left side shows a moulding in the form of a *tabula ansata*.



Ἀὐρ(ἡλῖος) Διου[ύσιος Πο-
 λυδεύκου [Σμυρναῖ- (?)
 ος ἀ[γ]οράσ[ας τὸ ἡρώων
 καὶ τὰ ἐνσό[ρια καὶ τὴν
 5 ἐπικειμένη]ν σορὸν Προ-
 κονησίαν κα[τεσκευάσεν
 ἑαυτῶ καὶ τ[ῶ κληρονόμῳ
 Ἀὐρ(ηλίῳ) Σωκρά[τει, μηδενὸς
 ἔχοντος ἐξουσίαν αὐ-
 10 τῶν ἀποτ[εθῆναι μηδένα·
 εἰ δέ τις θελ[ήσει ἀπαλλο-
 τριῶσαι δῶ[σει τῇ Μητρὶ θε-
 ῶ]ν Σι[πυληνῇ * . . .

Line 5. Large supplies of Prokonnesian marble must have been brought to Smyrna through the Dardanelles, for it was a favourite material in the construction of Smyrniote tombs; cf. *C.I.G.* 3268, 3282, *I.B.M.* 1026, *Ath. Mitt.* xii. 1887, p. 248, n. 7. The marble-quarries of Phokaia competed in this market with those of Prokonnesos. *E.g.* βωμὸς Φωκαϊκός; *O.G.I.* 583; στρῶ[σιν Φωκαϊκὴν καὶ Προ[κονησίαν; Μουσεῖον, 1876-8, p. 37, n. σμῆ.

L. 13. Though three letters only—plus the top of the Ω—are clear on the squeeze, the restoration is certain. Fines payable to the temple of this goddess are often prescribed in Smyrniote inscriptions; cf. *C.I.G.* 3260, 3287, 3385-87, 3411; *Μουσεῖον*, 1878-80, p. 129, n. 168; 1884-5, p. 29, n. 255; p. 32, n. 262; p. 84, n. 273. In *B.C.H.* xxxvii. 1913, p. 243, n. 50: θεᾶ Σιπυληνῇ.

The fact that Σιπυληνῇ was the correct epithet of the Mother Goddess at Smyrna—Σμυρναϊκῇ is applied to her only once, and in verse: *Μουσεῖον*, 1878-80, p. 128, n. 166 = *B.C.H.* iii. 1879, p. 328—suggests that the Lydian *Sivrañ-* (*Sardis* vi. 1, 1916, pp. 15, 49), a local epithet of Artemis, means 'of Sipylos,' and has no connexion with the name of Smyrna. From *Sivra-* to *Sib(y)la-* is an easy change, and *b* was in Lydian not distinguished from *p*. Mount Sipylos is a conspicuous and imposing object as seen from the plain below Sardis.

(26)

(Published.)

• Marble stele in church of Ἅγιος Ἰωάννης at Boudja, said to have been found in 1876. The squeeze was made in 1914 by the same friend who made that of No. 25. The stone not seen by me. Height in centre of pediment, 1.02 m.; width at top, 36 cm.; at bottom, 43 cm.; thickness, 6 cm. Height of letters, 1.1 to 1.5 cm. Published in *Μουσεῖον* 1876-8, p. 45, n. σξεί.



Πυθίωνα
Ζωτίωνος

Ζωτίωνα
Ἄρτεμιδώρου

ὁ δῆμος

The Π has legs of unequal length; the cross-bar of the Α is curved.

Πυθίων was a fairly common name at Smyrna: cf. Διονύσιος Πυθίωνος, Μουσείον, 1873-5, p. 84, n. 59, Ἀπελλίων Πυθίωνος *ibid.* 1884-5, p. 4, n. 204. Ζωτίων, a somewhat unusual name, occurs often at Priene; *I. von Priene*, index.

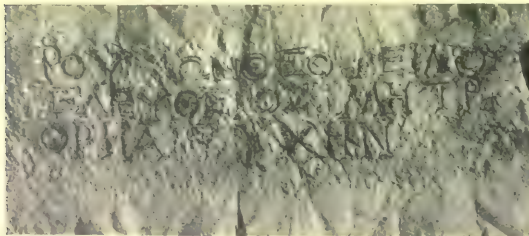
Probable date: about 100 B.C.

KULA.

(27)

(*Published.*)

Small marble stele, much worn and stained and with top broken away, carefully preserved in a Greek house at Kula. A seated figure of the Mother Goddess, with a lion on each side of her, occupies a niche, now 15 cm. high, below which is a plinth 10 cm. high bearing the inscription. The head and shoulders of the goddess are missing. Height, 25 cm.; width, 23 to 27 cm.; thickness, 9 cm. The original height with pediment may have been about 40 cm. Height of letters, 1.1 to 1.8 cm. Published L.B.W. 699.



Ῥου[φί]ων, Θεο[τ]είμον
ἐλεύθερος Μητρ[ι]

Ῥορῆα εὐχὴν.

The first three words are restored by Waddington as Ῥοῦ[φος] Θεοτείμο[υ] ἀ[π]ελεύθερος, but from the look of the stone and the alignment of the

three lines it seems improbable that any letters have been lost at the end of l. 1 or the beginning of l. 2. 'Ελεύθερος may be a second name of 'Ρου[φί]ων. Such double names are not uncommon in Lydia (see several examples in K.P. iii. 19) and for 'Ελεύθερος as a proper name cf. *C.I.G.* 4294. But in view of the frequency with which *ἱεροί*, *i.e.* persons under some obligation to temple service, mention this fact in connexion with their names (cf. Ramsay, *C.B.* i. p. 147, n. 38, pp. 151-2, nos. 45, 49, 51; K.P. ii. p. 99; *J.H.S.* x. 1889, p. 225, n. 17), it is not improbable that 'Ρου[φί]ων may have wished to emphasize his freedom from such obligation. I have therefore taken *ἐλεύθερος* to be an adjective.

The restoration 'Ρου[φί]ων is the most likely (cf. *B.C.H.* xi. 1887, p. 470. n. 37, *Μουσειον*, 1878-80, p. 155), but Ρού[σ]ων is also possible; cf. *R. ét. gr.* viii. 1905, p. 86, n. 33 = *B.C.H.* xxxiii. 1909, p. 57, n. 64.

W. H. BUCKLER.

AMERICAN EMBASSY, LONDON.

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON No. 8 (pp. 95 ff.).

The following note, which throws light on another type of *κοινωνός*, is a *précis* by Professor W. M. Calder of several pages from Kaerger, *Kleinasiens ein deutsches Kolonisationsfeld*, 1892, pp. 24 f.: 'The larger Turkish estates in Anatolia have part of their land worked by labourers hired by the year (*bekyar*) who get 700-800 piastres a year and their keep. Day labourers are hired in addition at harvest time. Another part of the land is handed over to "partners" (*ortakji*, Fr. *associés*, Gr. *κοινωνοί*) who receive from the landlord buildings, implements, seed, and, according as they cultivate 50 or 100 *dönüm* of land, one or two pairs of oxen. After deduction of the tithe they divide the crops with the landlord.' Professor Calder, in kindly forwarding this note, remarks: 'Coming into Asia Minor as warrior shepherds and settling down in a highly organized agricultural country, the Turks must have taken over the Graeco-Anatolian system of land tenure as it stood.'

This method of 'farming on shares'—to use an American phrase—seems to me, however, quite different from the *κοινωνία* of our text.

I wish also to express my indebtedness to Sir W. M. Ramsay and Mr. J. G. C. Anderson for advice connected with this subject.

A PRE-PERSIC RELIEF FROM COTTENHAM.

[PLATE I.]

EARLY in the year 1911 a labourer working on the farm of Mr. Arthur Bull at Cottenham, near Cambridge, struck with his pick the fragmentary relief here published. Mr. Bull—to whom we are already indebted for much information and assistance in respect of the Romanised British stations in his district, not to mention many points in its more recent history—recognised at once the possible interest of the find and handed it over to me at the Museum of Classical Archaeology. The fragment came to light at a depth of some eighteen inches below the present surface of the soil, and appears to be an isolated relic, thrown out in all probability from a house formerly existing in the neighbourhood. I see from a passage in Lysons' *Magna Britannia*, to which my attention was directed by the Rev. Dr. H. P. Stokes, that Roger Gale, the antiquary (1672–1744), inherited a manor at Cottenham in 1728.¹ His enthusiasm for 'Greek and Roman bustoes' is well known;² and it is at least possible that this relief, acquired by him one cannot guess when or where, had at some later date, and by some less instructed owner, been cast away as a broken and worthless bit of marble. Be that as it may, the relief is worthy of serious study. I proceed to describe its material, shape, design, and stylistic qualities.

Prof. T. McKenny Hughes, who has throughout taken a keen and helpful interest in the find, made a minute examination of the slab from a mineralogical point of view. He tells me that in his opinion it is a piece of white Pentelic marble from an inferior bed: I had judged it to be Hymettian. In any case it is of Attic *provenance*. The surface is, on the whole, well preserved, though here and there—notably on the background between the heads of horse and man—it exhibits a tendency to flake off.

The dimensions are as follows:—

Breadth at top	29·7	cm.
Greatest breadth	30·15	„
Greatest height	28·4	„
Height of moulding	4·25	„
Greatest depth of relief	c. 6·0	„
Thickness	c. 4·0	„

¹ D. Lysons and S. Lysons, *Magna Britannia*, London, 1808, vol. ii. Pt. 1 (Cambridgeshire), p. 171. The Cambridge University Library possesses an extra-illustrated copy of this work, containing much additional in-

formation about Cottenham and its history.

² See the 'Reliquiæ Galeanæ' = *Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica*, London, 1781–1782, No. II. Pts. 1–3.

The top and the left-hand side of the slab are worked smooth. The right-hand side was originally smooth, but is partially broken away—the break extending across to the opposite side and forming the lower limit of the relief. The two sides are convergent and, if prolonged upwards, would ultimately meet. It must, however, be remarked that there is a circular dowel-hole (3.35 cm. deep) in the right-hand side, the present aspect of which, together with a restored section of the moulding, is given in Fig. 1. From these *data* it seems clear (1) that the original shape of the slab was a comparatively narrow trapezoid, like that of the lower compartment on the *stèle* from the Themistoclean wall published by Noack;³ (2) that the surface thus provided, being too small for the sculptor's design, was enlarged by the addition of a piece on the right, the whole no doubt retaining a trapezoidal shape as was customary, *e.g.*, with the foot-panel of early Attic funereal *stélai*;⁴ and (3) that the extant portion is the upper left-hand quarter of the completed relief. A diagram (Fig. 2) will make the matter plain. These inferences are confirmed by a first glance at the subject portrayed. The blank space to the left presupposes a corresponding blank to the right; and it is obvious that the figures represented were continued downwards to the ground.

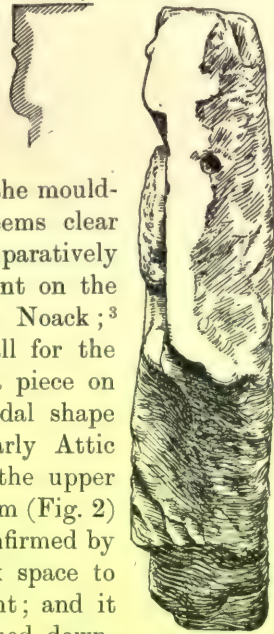


FIG. 1.

The design shows an *éphēbos* leading his horse. The young man appears to be entirely nude; and it cannot at once be assumed that a *chlamys*

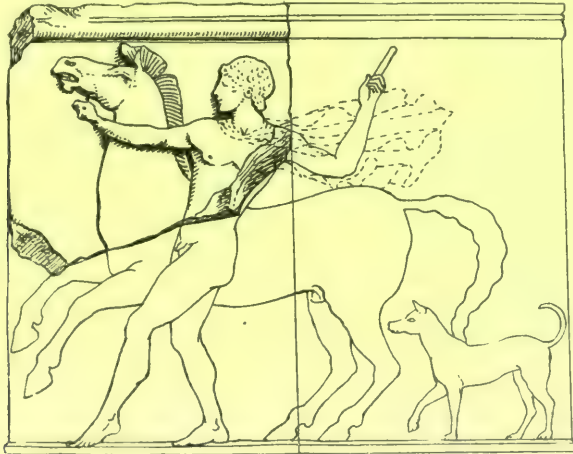


FIG. 2.

³ F. Noack in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1907, xxxii. 514 ff., Pl. 21.

⁴ G. Loeschke, 'Altattische Grabstelen,' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1879, iv. 36 ff., Pl. 1 (painted *stèle* of Lyseas), Pl. 2, 2 and 3 (painted frag-

ments); A. Conze, *Die attischen Grabreliefs*, Berlin, 1890, i. 3 f., Pl. 1 (Lyseas), i. 8, Pl. 9, 1 (Barracco fragment), i. 8, Pl. 9, 2 (painted fragment).

passing over his shoulders and meeting in front was added in colour. For, though we must admit⁵ that plastic forms were constantly coloured, that carving was often eked out by colour, and that accessories might be added in colour on a flat background, yet the painting of garments, etc., athwart bodies already existing in relief constitutes a somewhat different problem.⁶ The leader walks on the near side of his horse with the weight of his body thrown back to curb its restive paces. His right arm, stretched out to its full extent, keeps a tight hold on the bridle, which—as is indicated by three small holes (two touching the man's hand, one in the angle of the horse's mouth)—was added in bronze. His left arm probably held a short stick (cp. Fig. 10). The horse tosses its head and champs the bit, impatient of restraint. The whole is an admirably spirited rendering of a young Athenian warrior as he would wish to be remembered. Athens, all the world knew, was εὐίππος, and her hardy sons had as much right as Hektor to the heroic title *ἰππόδαμος*.

The relief is manifestly archaic in style—witness the isocephalic arrangement of man and horse, the combination of face in profile with body in full view, the updrawn lips, the roundish ear,⁷ the absence of all foreshortening. The eye is not clearly marked, the surface of the marble being here damaged. The musculature is on the whole remarkably accurate. Dr. W. L. H. Duckworth, University Lecturer in Physical Anthropology and Senior Demonstrator of Human Anatomy, has kindly supplied me with the following criticisms. The trapezius and deltoid muscles are correctly given. The sternomastoid on the man's left side is not strongly marked—a pardonable fault. The margin of the great pectoral muscle as it crosses the arm-pit is slightly convex: this we should not expect, considering the position of the arm as a whole. The posterior wall of the arm-pit is right; and so is the hollow denoting the interval between the deltoid and the clavicular portion of the great pectoral. In the upper arm both biceps and triceps are very well rendered: in the fore-arm the flexor mass of muscles is likewise well indicated. Finally, the position of the hand is true to life. It must not, however, be inferred from this fairly accurate representation of the tissues that the relief is not archaic. For superficial anatomy was attempted in reliefs even of the 'Minoan' age; and the close attention to bodily details,⁸ characteristic of all Ionian work, is in reality a continuous tradition from that remote period.

⁵ See, e.g., M. Collignon, *La polychromie dans la sculpture grecque*, Paris, 1898, p. 43 ff.

⁶ Overbeck, *Plastik*⁴, i. 450, has some judicious remarks on the subject. Personally I feel that much depends on the proportion of surface covered by the garment. If this were relatively small, the practice would be excusable, or at least tolerable. We do well to assume, e.g., that the bride of the Ludovisi 'throne' had painted straps to her carved sandals. But it would be rash to credit the

hetaira of the same monument with a painted *chiton* (yet see *infra* Fig. 11). Tried by this standard, a painted *chlamys* round the neck of our *ephebos* is certainly conceivable. Moreover, it is strongly supported by the analogy of Fig. 10.

⁷ H. Bulle, *Der schoene Mensch im Altertum*², Muenchen und Leipzig, 1912, p. 444, Pl. 196.

⁸ The nipple is here rendered, not plastically as with the 'Apollo' of Tenea (Brunn-

But nearer definition of date seems possible. Mr. H. G. Evelyn-White, in a careful and interesting paper on 'Two Athletic Bronzes at Athens,'⁹ remarks *à propos* of the Cottenham relief: 'The hair of the ephebus reproduces exactly the form of the hair seen in the two Athenian bronzes,¹⁰ and is lightly worked over in such a way as to suggest a thick crop of curls rather than long tresses of hair braided and coiled up.' He further compares 'the cap-like coiffure' to be seen on certain black-figured vases, and concludes that our relief is Attic work of about 500-490 B.C.

Another criterion of date may be found in the sculptor's treatment of the horse's head. The pricked ear, the long bony skull, the soft nose with its inflated nostril, the mobile puckered underlip, the mouth opened just enough to show both rows of teeth¹¹ and an upcurled tongue—these features together constitute a triumph of naturalistic modelling,¹² and afford a piquant contrast to the conventional lines of the mane and the broad flat surfaces of cheek and neck. If Kalamis was praised for the 'finish' of his horses,¹³ this relief may give us some inkling of his procedure. It should not, however, be forgotten that a detailed rendering of horse-heads was part of the heritage bequeathed to fifth-century sculpture by sixth-century painting. This is not the place in which to attempt a study of equine types as they appear on black-figured and red-figured vases. M. Morin-Jean, who has made an excellent beginning,¹⁴ would probably be the first to admit that the subject is far from being exhausted.¹⁵ But here I am concerned merely to use ceramic evidence as a means of dating the Cottenham fragment. Accordingly I figure a short representative series of horse heads from Attic vases of the sixth and fifth centuries (Figs. 3-9) in order to ask which of them most nearly resembles our relief.

Bruckmann, *Denkm. der gr. und röm. Sculpt.* Pl. 1; W. Deonna, *Les 'Apollons archaïques,'* Paris, 1909, p. 133) or a bronze athlete at Athens (A. de Ridder, 'Statuette de bronze de l'Acropole' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1894, xviii. 44-52, Pl. 5 f.; *id. Catalogue des bronzes trouvés sur l'Acropole d'Athènes*, Paris, 1896, p. 268 f., No. 740, Pl. 3 f.), but by means of a small incised circle, perhaps reminiscent of copper inlay as with the Piombino Apollo of the Louvre (Brunn-Bruckmann, *op. cit.* Pl. 78), if not also the Libadostra Poseidon at Athens (D. Philios in the 'Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1899, p. 57 ff., Pl. 5 f.).

⁹ *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1916, xxxvi. 21 f.

¹⁰ Nos. 6614 and 6615 of the National Museum (A. de Ridder, *Catalogue des bronzes trouvés sur l'Acropole d'Athènes*, Paris, 1896, p. 275 ff., No. 750, Fig. 257 f., p. 281 f., No. 757, Fig. 265 f.; V. Stais, *Marbres et bronzes du Musée National*², Athènes, 1910, i. 267).

¹¹ The teeth are carved separately, not as an undivided set, and the canine of the upper

row stands, as it ought to stand, well apart from the rest.

¹² Dr. W. L. H. Duckworth praises the teeth and mouth as 'extraordinarily good,' but regards the line from the brow to the front end of the nasal bone as overstraight. He also notes that the distance from the ear to the throat seems rather short in comparison with the length of the head, the defect being not in the lower but in the upper segment (from the ear to the zygomatic arch).

¹³ Prop. 3. 9. 10 'exactis Calamis se mihi iactat equis': cp. *Ov. ex Pont.* 4. 1. 33, *Plin. nat. hist.* 34. 71, *Paus.* 6. 12. 1.

¹⁴ Morin-Jean, *Le dessin des Animaux en Grèce d'après les vases peints*, Paris, 1911, pp. 200-219 and *passim* (series of equine eyes on p. 247, 'tableau récapitulatif des différents styles dans le dessin du cheval' on p. 249). See also H. Thiersch, 'Tyrrhenische' *Amphoren*, Leipzig, 1899, pp. 107 f.

¹⁵ Miss Evelyn Radford enters a useful caveat in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1915, xxxv. 133.

It will be observed, to begin with, that the teeth are indicated even in our earliest example (c. 600–550 B.C.), the galloping horse of Troilos on the famous *kratér* by Klitias (Fig. 3).¹⁶ True, they are absent from K. Reichhold's drawing.¹⁷ But that was made shortly before the catastrophe of Sept. 9, 1900, when—as L. A. Milani pathetically puts it¹⁸—‘Un sacrilego custode, mosso da pazzo furore di vendetta, lanciava un pesante sgabello contro il più prezioso cimelio de Museo il kratere di Ergotimos e Klitias, il



Figs. 3-9.

vaso François, di celebrità mondiale, il vaso principe della ceramica antica.' The careful cleaning to which the fragments of this masterpiece were afterwards subjected, served to bring to light many details, and among them the teeth of Troilos' horse. Now it is not a little remarkable that early Attic art should have insisted on such a detail in the case of horses, when in the case of men the same detail was regarded¹⁹ as the invention of Polygnotos

¹⁶ After L. A. Milani, 'Il vaso François,' in *Atene e Roma* (Bullettino della Società Italiana per la diffusione e l'incoraggiamento degli studi Classici), 1902, v. 709 f. Fig. 3.

¹⁷ Furtwängler-Reichhold, *Gr. Vasenma-*

lerei Pl. 11 f.

¹⁸ L. A. Milani, 'Il vaso François,' p. 705 f.

¹⁹ Plin. *nat. hist.* 35. 38, 'Polygnotus Thasius . . . plurimum . . . picturae primus contulit, siquidem instituit os adaperire, dentes

(c. 475–445 B.C.) The Argonaut-*kratér* in the Louvre (G 341)²⁰ proves that c. 450 B.C. a vase-painter, who relished the Polygnotan novelty and made six out of his seventeen figures part their lips to show the teeth,²¹ was already essaying a fresh difficulty with his horse-head, that of depicting it in three-quarter position (Fig. 9).²² The fact is that the representation of men normally lags behind the representation of the lower animals. From the very outset the primitive artist fastened with unerring judgment on the characteristic features of animals²³: even in quaternary times the cave-dwellers of southern France knew how to represent the teeth of a horse.²⁴ And the delight of the sixth-century painter in typical detail as applied to animal life was at once a survival from a distant past and an earnest of future development. Whatever may happen in the middle, art begins and ends in realism. Another little realistic touch seen in most of these horse-heads is the series of creases or folds in the skin beneath the jaw. Such lines, caused by the depression of the head, are wrongly retained by Euphronios (c. 500 B.C.), whose horse is raising its head (Fig. 6).²⁵ [?Ones]imos (c. 485 B.C.) in this respect managed better, and omitted the familiar wrinkles from the neck of a horse that holds its head horizontally (Fig. 7).²⁶ *A fortiori* our sculptor, whose horse is inclined to jib, will have none of them. Other features common to most or all of the vase-painters' horse-heads are the puckered underlip, the exaggerated nostril, and the prolongation of the eye by means of a line parallel to the nose.

But clearly none of these naturalistic or *quasi*-naturalistic details will serve to distinguish the horse of one decade from the horse of another or provide a convenient calendar for dating the Cottenham relief. Rather we must turn from them to some more conventional feature, where changing fashions may give a clue to change of period. And here the variable treatment of the horse's mane *saute aux yeux*. Klitias makes the mane fall over the neck, marked by a set of fine undulatory lines and topped with a grand *pompon* (Fig. 3). Exekias (c. 530 B.C.) does much the same, multi-

ostendere, voltum ab antiquo rigore variare.' The source of the statement appears to have been Xenokrates of Sikyon (c. 280 B.C.): see K. Jex-Blake—E. Sellers, *The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art*, London, 1896, p. xxviii.

²⁰ Furtwängler-Reichhold, *Gr. Vasenmalerei*, ii. 244 ff. Pl. 108.

²¹ *Id. ib.* p. 244.

²² After Furtwängler-Reichhold, *op. cit.* Pl. 108.

²³ See e.g. A. C. Haddon, *Evolution in Art*, London, 1895, p. 164 ff.; E. Grosse, *The Beginnings of Art*, New York, 1897, pp. 118 ff., 163 ff.; W. Wundt, *Völkerpsychologie*, Leipzig, 1908, iii² (Die Kunst). 138 ff., *id. Elements of Folk Psychology*, London, 1916, p. 106 ff. (wrongly rejecting the view of S. Reinach,

'L'art et la magie,' in *L'Anthropologie*, 1903, p. 257 ff. = *Cultes, Mythes et Religions*, Paris, 1905, i. 125 ff.); M. Hoernes, *Urgeschichte der bildenden Kunst in Europa*², Wien, 1915, p. 157 ff.

²⁴ É. Cartailhac, *La France préhistorique*, Paris, 1889, p. 70 f., Fig. 30; S. Reinach, *Répertoire de l'art quaternaire*, Paris, 1913, p. 148, 5 (cp. *ib.* p. 149, 4).

²⁵ From the Geryoneus-*kylix* at Munich (No. 377) after Furtwängler-Reichhold, *op. cit.* Pl. 22.

²⁶ From the *kylix* signed by Euphronios, as potter, and [?Ones]imos, as painter, now in the Louvre (G 105), after P. Hartwig, *Die griechischen Meisterschalen der Blüthezeit des strengen rothfigurigen Stiles*, Stuttgart u. Berlin, 1893, Pl. 53.

plying the wavy lines and either keeping the *pompon*²⁷ or instead of it giving us a row of tiny spirals all along the neck (Fig. 4).²⁸ The painter of the *Miltiades-pîanax* at Oxford (? Epiktetos, c. 515 B.C.)²⁹ represents a mane of transitional character, for he combines a solid mass of hair falling over the neck with waved lines standing up from it; he treats the top-knot similarly as a mass of solid black with lines upstanding, and for the first time parts the mane by means of a V-shaped break for the bridle (Fig. 5).³⁰ Euphronios shows a hogged mane, but still uses to represent it the wavy lines taken over from manes of the Klitias-Exekias sort; he adds a few more natural touches to his top-knot and keeps the V-shaped break for the bridle (Fig. 6). [? Ones]imos follows the example of Euphronios in portraying a definitely hogged mane, but discards the wavy lines in favour of two rows of straight and straightish strokes (Fig. 7). The *Amazon-kratér* at Naples (No. 2,421), on which Furtwängler recognised the influence of Attic mural painting c. 460 B.C.,³¹ has curiously long-headed horses with hogged mane, unparted, and a tuft of hair falling forward over the forehead in a much more natural manner: the example here illustrated adds straight lines on the mane to represent the hair *à la brosse* (Fig. 8).³² Lastly, the *Argonaut-kratér* in the Louvre, being of nearly the same date, shows a somewhat similar horse in three-quarter view, the mane unparted and marked with a few curved lines (Fig. 9). We are well on the way towards the waved manes of later Attic art.

Comparing, now, the relief with the vase-paintings, we find that its horse-head and theirs agree as follows:—

—	Cottenham Relief.	KLITIAS.	EXEKIAS.	EPIKTETOS (?).	EUPHRONIOS.	[? ONES]IMOS.	Amazon-kratér.	Argonaut-kratér.
		600-550.	c. 530.	c. 515.	c. 500.	c. 485.	c. 460.	c. 450.
Hogged mane . . .	Yes	No	No	?	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Hair indicated by straight strokes	Yes	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	No
V-shaped parting in mane . . .	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
Absence of folds in skin beneath jaw	Yes	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	No

The comparison points to a date c. 485 B.C. as that of our relief. If this can be accepted as a provisional estimate, it is hardly too much to claim that the

²⁷ So on an *amphora* (F 53), signed by Exekias, in the Louvre (Gerhard, *Auserl. Vasenb.* Pl. 107; *Wien. Vorlegebl.* 1888, Pl. 5, 1; Morin-Jean, *op. cit.* p. 205 f., Fig. 236).

²⁸ From the horse of Kastor on the magnificent *amphora* in the Vatican, after Furtwängler-Reichhold, *op. cit.* Pl. 132.

²⁹ P. Gardner, *Catalogue of the Greek Vases in the Ashmolean Museum*, Oxford, 1893, p. 30 f., No. 310, Pl. 13; F. Winter in the

Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1893, viii. 135 ff.; G. Dickins, *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum*, Cambridge, 1912, i. 138 ff., with the literature cited *ib.* p. 140 f.

³⁰ After P. Gardner, *op. cit.* Pl. 13.

³¹ Furtwängler-Reichhold, *Gr. Vasenmalerei*, i. 124.

³² After Furtwängler-Reichhold, *op. cit.* Pl. 26-27.

Cottenham relief is the finest sculptured memorial of the heroic *Μαραθωνομάχαι*.

A type used to commemorate their chivalrous valour might well be copied by subsequent sculptors. It was, if I am not mistaken, one of the many pre-existing types adopted and adapted by Pheidias. Figure 131 on slab xlii. of the Parthenon frieze (west end of north side)³³ presupposes just such a type, though the treatment is of course widely different. The sculptor no longer unites a full-front body with profile head and legs; he knows how to foreshorten the right lower arm; and he does not rely on painting for his *chlamys*s. Again, it would not be difficult to adduce hero-reliefs and the



FIG. 10.

like³⁴ as proof that the same type persisted for centuries and was modified in multifarious ways by many anonymous craftsmen.³⁵ One sample of its long-

³³ A. H. Smith, *The Sculptures of the Parthenon*, London, 1910, Pl. 60; M. Collignon, *Le Parthénon*, Paris, s.a. Pl. 103. Cp. also Figure 9 on Slab V. of the frieze (towards north end of west side) = Smith, *op. cit.* Pl. 64, Collignon, *op. cit.* Pl. 83.

³⁴ e.g. a splendid sepulchral relief, Attic work of c. 400 B.C., in the Villa Albani (Helbig, *Führer*³, ii. 417 f., No. 1861 = English ed. ii. 31 f., No. 759; Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkm. der gr. und röm. Sculpt.* Pl. 437; Conze, *Die attischen Grabreliefs*, Berlin, 1898,

ii. 252 (Lief. x), No. 1153, Pl. 247; Reinach, *Rép. Reliefs*, iii. 154, 1); another, Attic work of s. ii. B.C., from Loukou in Thyreatis, now at Athens (Svoronos, *Ath. Nationalmus.* p. 452 f., No. 1450, Pl. 75; Reinach, *Rép. Reliefs*, ii. 417, 1). With the Albani relief O. Bie, *Kampfgruppe und Kampfertypen in der Antike*, Berlin, 1891, p. 105, compares a slab from the first frieze of the Nereid monument (*Mon. d. Inst.* x. Pl. 14, O = No. 854 a in the British Museum numeration).

³⁵ It was even transmuted into sculpture in

lived popularity must serve. When I showed a photograph of the Cottenham find to Mr. A. H. Smith, he at once suggested comparison with the archaizing relief discovered by Gavin Hamilton in 1769 at Hadrian's Villa, Tivoli (Fig. 10),³⁶ and now preserved in the British Museum (No. 2206). Mr. Smith, in the official *Catalogue*,³⁷ describes the relief in question thus:—

Youth standing to the left, holding with his right hand the bridle of a horse, which rears to the left. The bridle, which was of metal, is now lost, but the holes by which it was fixed remain in the marble. The youth wears a diadem and a chlamys flying from his shoulders. In his left hand, which is raised, he holds a stick; behind him follows a hound. This figure has been called Castor, an attribution unsupported by any evidence. The sculpture seems an imitation of a relief of about 500 B.C., probably executed in the time of Hadrian.



FIG. 11.

Mr. Smith's acute diagnosis is fully borne out by the discovery of the Cottenham slab. Beyond all question this fragment preserves the archaic type copied by the sculptor of Gavin Hamilton's relief. The later artist while intending to reproduce the spirit and aspect of his original, has of course betrayed himself by sundry exaggerations and modifications. The forward plunge of the horse is more pronounced, and so is the backward throw of his leader. The horse's neck and shoulder are more fully modelled; the man's body is less *en face*; the mane of the one and the hair of the other have undergone later influence; the *chlamys* is carved. But the relation of copy to original is quite unmistakable, and—given the conservatism of

the round, as we see from the Dioskouroi of Monte Cavallo.

³⁶ From a photograph by W. A. Mansell and Co. (No. 1245).

³⁷ A. H. Smith, *A Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum, London, 1904, iii. 266 f., No. 2206.*

archaistic art—we may without hesitation mentally complete the Cottenham fragment by the aid of the Hadrianic relief (Fig. 2).

Two scruples remain. The short thick staff of the later relief is a somewhat unexpected attribute for an Attic *éphēbos*, especially when brandished in his *left* hand. And the hound seems more appropriate to a hunting-scene than to one of horse-taming.

Both difficulties can, I think, be cleared up. An Attic fifth-century type must be traced backwards into the past as well as forwards into the future. I should surmise that the type was derived from that of Herakles taming the horse of Diomedes. The well-known metopes of the temple of Zeus at Olympia (Fig. 11)³⁸ and the 'Theseum' at Athens³⁹ show the hero leading the restive horse by its bronze bridle from the left, while he swings the club in his right hand. The sculptor of the Cottenham relief manifestly borrowed the heroic type⁴⁰ presupposed by these metopes, substituting the *éphēbos* for Herakles and a short stick for the club. But, it may be asked, why did he reverse the sides of his design, putting right for left and left for right? And whence came the hound? The solution is simple. Herakles mastering the horse of Diomedes occurs first as a glyptic type. An early Ionic gem (Fig. 12)⁴¹ represents Herakles grasping the mettlesome steed by its bridle and brandishing a club in his right hand; he is accompanied on his quest by a faithful hound. The intaglio, of which this is the impression, may well have suggested to our artist both the reversing of the design and the addition of the hound.



FIG. 12.

And who shall say that a type devised to express the overthrow of a Thracian tyrant, the son of Ares, was used inappositely to denote the prowess of a man that fought at Marathon?

ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

³⁸ From *Olympia*, Berlin, 1894, Tafelband iii. Pl. 45, 8 (metope 2 of eastern series).

³⁹ B. Sauer, *Das sogenannte Theseion und sein plastischer Schmuck*, Leipzig, 1899, p. 173 f., Pl. 6 (metope 5 of eastern series). Cp. Tarentine diobols (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins*, Italy, p. 209; Garrucci, *Mon. It. Ant.* p. 128, Pl. 99, 45).

⁴⁰ It is possible that the archaic type of Herakles with the horse of Diomedes was itself a variation on an archaic type of Herakles with the Cretan bull (whence also was derived the type of Theseus with the

Marathonian bull), and that the type of Herakles with the Cretan bull in turn goes back ultimately to some 'Minoan' scheme of bull-grappling. To trace the whole pedigree would be a task of much interest, but is not here *ad rem*.

⁴¹ From *Olympia*, Berlin, 1897, Textband iii. 170, Fig. 200 = Cades Class III A, No. 157 (scale $\frac{1}{2}$). See, further, A. Furtwängler in Roscher, *Lex. Myth.* i. 2202, 2225 f., 2243, and in his *Die antiken Gemmen*, Leipzig-Berlin, 1900, i. Pl. 18, 56 and 24, 1, ii. 90 and 118.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Griechische Texte aus Ägypten. By PAUL M. MEYER. Pp. xiii + 233, with 4 Plates. Berlin : Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1916.

THE texts contained in this volume are taken from two different collections. The first section consists of papyri in the possession of the New Testament Seminar at Berlin, the second of ostraca in Deissmann's private collection. Meyer is sole editor ; but he has had the advantage of Wilcken's advice, and Deissmann has added a number of extra notes on matters of New Testament grammar and diction. The volume contains no text of outstanding importance, but several of both interest and value, and the editor uses his material to the fullest advantage. As usual in his editions, he provides the texts with a very elaborate commentary and a great wealth of bibliographical reference. Indeed the fault of his method, if it is to be regarded as a fault, is an occasional tendency to a superfluity of comment, so that the first sight of some of his texts, with their few Greek lines islanded in pages of elucidation might suggest to an irreverent mind Prince Hal's jibe at Falstaff's 'half-pennyworth of bread to this intolerable deal of sack.' But this would be quite unfair ; Meyer's introductions are always instructive, and his wonderfully full lists of parallels to the documents he publishes make his editions a particularly valuable quarry to other editors. The translations annexed to the texts are an additional service.

As already said, the present volume contains no text of the first rank, but several deserve notice as of real value. Such are Nos. 1 (a document of special interest for the military settlements of the Ptolemies, inasmuch as it concerns a grant of fertile land, contrary to the practice in the second century B.C., to *κάτοικοι ἱππεῖς*), 2 (an *ἐπίσταγμα* of a strategus, on the character of which the editor has an interesting discussion), 5-10 (papers of a family belonging to the '6475 Fayum Greeks')—among these last especially 5 (with 7 and 12 belonging to a puzzling class of documents which Meyer explains as instances of *datio in solutum*, though other explanations are possible) and 6 (a request to the archidicastes for the publication of a chirograph with an unusual clause)—15-17 (*libelli*), and 20 (a rather interesting private letter). Naturally, some of the editor's views, as to translation or interpretation, are open to question, but he always gives his reasons for holding them. In 3, 13f., for example, his rendering of *χρόνων τινῶν* as 'seit geraumer Zeit' seems very unlikely ; it seems more probable that it means, as suggested by Prof. Grenfell to the present reviewer, 'for certain periods,' going with *γνο(μένης)* [*l. γενο(μένης) ?*]. Prof. Grenfell indeed doubts the reading *μισθ(ώσεως) γνο(μένης)*. Again his interesting explanation of *ἐπικεκριμένος* (p. 59), though not unlikely, is by no means certain ; the poll-tax-paying persons so described may have paid the tax at a reduced rate and so have belonged, in some degree, to the privileged classes. The order of the words in Meyer's text does not *prove* the contrary, and the frequent use of *ἐπικεκριμένος* absolutely is an argument on the other side. The explanation of 27 as 'copies of grave inscriptions' seems very improbable ; the two parallels Meyer refers to (P. Hamb. i. 22 ; P. Giss. i. 99) are not really parallels at all.

The ostraca are preceded by an interesting discussion on the formulae in the Ptolemaic receipts. As regards the subject of the verb *τέτακται* in the second-first

century B.C. receipts from Edfu, Meyer comes to the conclusion that the usage was not constant, the person in question being sometimes the tax-farmer, sometimes the tax-payer. He gives weighty reasons for this view, but they are not conclusive; in particular, as regards the words *διὰ τῶν γραφείων*, one may ask whether it is not possible that the money was really paid 'through' the guild; i.e. that the individual tax-payers received acquittances for their payments handed over in a lump sum by the guild collectively.

The volume has full indices and four good plates.

Sylloge inscriptionum Graecarum a GUILIELMO DITTENBERGERO condita et aucta nunc tertium edita. Vol. I. 1915.

The third edition of this standard collection follows the second at an interval of seventeen years, only two years more than intervened between the second and the first, in spite of the lamented death of the original editor and the distractions of the war. The fact is that Dittenberger's *Sylloge* is indispensable and must never lapse out of print or become obsolete. This third edition is entrusted to the able care of Hiller von Gaertringen assisted by Kirchner on the Attic, Pomtow on the Delphic, and Ziebarth on the Euboic inscriptions. Their names fully guarantee its excellence.

Dittenberger's portrait and a brief memoir of him by Wissowa prefixed to the volume are more than that sentimental *envoi* with which the German, absolved at last to indulge his feelings, loves to issue his severest treatise. They are a prelude to the book and an introduction to the great humanist whose personality we have divined beneath the austerity of his commentary. It is a surprise to learn that, unlike his successors, he had little or no first hand experience of inscribed stones and their decipherment, and had never travelled beyond the limits of Germany. But he was no narrow specialist. His terse and lucid Latin style was built upon Caesar, whose *Gallic War* he repeatedly edited. His studies in Greek philosophy and history, his lectures on Thucydides, Plato, and Aristotle broadened his grasp of antiquity, disciplined his understanding, and schooled his faculty for interpretation. His portrait confirms our impression of him, a massive, just, and kindly man.

The new edition is greatly improved in form. Headings have been added not only to the pages, as in Dittenberger's *Orientalis Graeci inscriptiones selectae*, but also in heavy lettering to each text, and both give the date or approximate date of the texts. The notes are now printed in a type much clearer than the old. An innovation, which may in future go far, appears in the woodcut to illustrate the monument of Cleobis and Biton (No. 5). Useful tables are inserted to elucidate the Delphic documents. The texts are still too closely packed into the pages, but the book is bulky and space had to be economised.

This first volume comprises only three of the four sections included in the first volume of the second edition, and the third period ends at 217 B.C. instead of 146 B.C. The first section has grown from 56 texts to 115, the second from 102 to 194, the third, in spite of its shorter period, from 151 to 225. The total is therefore 534 against 309; but there must be deducted certain texts brought forward from later sections of the second edition, and on the other hand may be added many unnumbered headings giving references in their proper chronological place, without the texts, to inscriptions included in the supplementary collection *O.G.I.S.*, or even (e.g. the *Marmor Parium*, p. 675, No. 467) published elsewhere. The editors have evidently aimed at making this chronological part of the *Sylloge* as complete a guide as possible to the inscriptions most important for Greek history. Thus they give inscriptions quoted by classical authors, e.g. Nos. 79, 202, 223 ('Edidit Plutarchus'), and 224 (from the Didymus papyrus); or reconstituted from their allusions, e.g. No. 7 from Herodotus I. 54, cf. Nos. 35, 59; or inferred from other inscriptions, e.g. No. 17. This is a vein which might be worked

much farther—one may recall the ‘unpublished inscriptions from Herodotus’ promulgated by Dr. A. W. Verrall. On the contrary the less strictly historical portions of some lengthy texts are omitted, *e.g.* No. 270 gives the Delphian decree in honour of Philodamus without his paean.

The admission or rejection of documents and their classification will always leave room for difference of opinion. But the principle of selection enunciated by the editors will be generally approved—‘*Neque dubitaveris, quin praeclarissimum quemque titulum ultimis annis inventum, qui ad augendam libri utilitatem idoneus videretur, in novam syllogen ipse Dittenberger recepturus fuerit, abiectis iam aliis, quae sine detrimento desiderari possent. Quare non falsam quandam pietatem pro summo nostro negotio habuimus, sed artis leges et studiosorum commoditatem.*’ Perhaps it may be thought that Delphica have too big a share in the additions. But, apart from their novelty and importance, the principle of ‘all or none,’ which led Dittenberger to exclude from his second edition the Athenian ‘tribute lists,’ may justify the inclusion of the Delphic lists at such length, and Pomtow’s masterly exposition, which makes them for the first time conveniently accessible and intelligible to students, is one of the strongest points of the third edition. Much work will be done on them for many years to come, and when they have been assimilated they can be retrenched. Yet one may regret that space has not been found for at least the best of the Athenian lists, although one of them (No. 68) is recalled, possibly for the sake of Mr. Woodward’s fragment. It is a pity too that the Milesian lists of Eponymi are represented only by meagre extracts (Nos. 272, 322). Their value will increase with the exploration of Ionia. Milesian interests, however, are perhaps indemnified by the *lex Molporum* (No. 57), and the imperial claims of Athens placated by the *lex nummaria* (No. 87).

The editors have shown sound judgment in retaining most of Dittenberger’s comments, in themselves an education in Greek history, and now so deeply imbedded in the classical philology of our generation that to omit them would disconcert innumerable quotations and references. Perhaps ‘*pietas*’ has here and there been even too conservative, *e.g.* in No. 76, concerning the Athenian cleruchs in Lesbos, the very dubious restorations of the text and the risky conclusions based upon them are repeated without such warning as is given in the notes to the Salaminian decree, No. 13.

It need scarcely be said that the work has been thoroughly revised in the light of the latest discoveries and researches and brought up to date in every way. The progress of knowledge may be measured by comparing for example the Delphic decree of the Amphictyones in honour of Aristotle and Callisthenes as given and interpreted under No. 275 with the version of the second edition, No. 915. References to the most recent authorities are everywhere inserted down to the eve of publication. We observe with pleasure that cultured Germany does not boycott ‘Petrograd,’ which now replaces ‘Petropolis.’

The second volume is to consist of two parts, the former containing the historical documents of the Roman and the Byzantine periods, the latter the inscriptions which illustrate public and religious and private antiquities. The third volume will give the indices.

This third edition will maintain the reputation and enhance the value of the *Sylloge*. It is a noble monument of German scholarship, and a boon to every Hellenist.

The Evolution of Coinage. By G. MACDONALD, C.B., F.B.A., LL.D. Pp. viii. +148, with 8 Plates. Cambridge University Press, 1916. 1s. 3d.

This is one of the Cambridge Manuals of Science and Literature, and one of the most successful of what, so far as our experience goes, is an admirable series. Readers of such books fall into two classes: a small class, who are already acquainted with the subject, and read them in the hope of finding light reflected on it from an unfamiliar

angle ; and a large class who are in search of general culture. The former can take care of themselves. The latter usually find, in a book on this scale, that they are interested while reading it, but retain no lasting impression. In this case, it will not be the author's fault if they fail to be permanently edified ; for Dr. Macdonald's way of handling his material is always fresh, and his style combines incisiveness with sobriety in a way which drives his points home with great thoroughness. Those who know his *Coin Types*—probably the best general introduction to Numismatics in existence—will be familiar with his method and with much of his material in this little book ; but all that material is recast, and the arguments thought out again, while such a matter as the origin of types, which properly enough was discussed with great detail in the larger book, is here reduced to the proportions suitable to the wider scope of the smaller one. An introductory chapter is followed by chapters dealing with Coinage and the State, the Material, Form and Methods of Production, Types, Legends, Dates and Marks of Value. The economic side of numismatics, and all questions of coin-standards, receive merely a passing glance, which is perhaps as well, since a brief treatment of such questions is apt to be meaningless or to mislead. We have not space to discuss the many interesting suggestions made by Dr. Macdonald ; but his theory of the influence of Mohammedan coinage on the practice of dating coins seems to require more support than he is able to adduce. It is true that the earliest dated Christian coins are the Acre dirhems (copied closely from Mohammedan originals) and the dinars of Alfonso VIII. of Castile (inspired by Moorish coins) ; but the date on the Danish coin of the year MCCCXXXVIII can hardly have been suggested by the Mohammedan coins which had passed across Europe in the course of trade. It is doubtful whether the Danes had any idea of the meaning of the inscriptions on such coins ; and we should have expected to find influence of the same kind revealed by the coinage of other districts along the trade routes which crossed Europe. There are one or two instances of the copying of the Oriental inscriptions by Western engravers, as on Offa's 'mancus,' or the silver coin of the Emperor Henry II., but these are altogether exceptional, and it is not certain that the engravers understood what they were doing. On one other question connected with trade we would venture a suggestion. Dr. Macdonald remarks that some of the most highly civilized nations of antiquity never adopted coinage until they came under Greek influence. He instances Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria. May not the reason be that, owing to their great river-systems, these countries never felt the difficulties of transporting bulky goods in the same way as countries that depended for intercourse on land communications, and therefore were content to stick to primitive methods of barter ? The point seems worth considering. It is true that in China, with its great river-communications, coinage was invented at a very early date ; but that coinage was in the least precious, and therefore the most bulky, of the metals usually employed for the purpose. But perhaps the backwardness of the countries concerned was due merely to conservatism ; for it is clear that they used gold and silver by weight in commercial transactions.

The Architecture of Ancient Egypt. By EDWARD BELL, M.A., F.S.A.
Pp. xxiv. +255, with illustrations, plans, and map. London : G. Bell & Sons, 1915.
6s. net.

Mr. Bell's book will be a handy guide to architectural students and other general readers who do not desire to know more than the outlines of the subject. Nor in a book of this small size is it possible to do more than briefly sketch the matter. The architect or student of architecture who wishes to know the very latest results of archaeological discovery as regards Egyptian architecture must turn to and make his own book for himself ; he must study the very last publications of the British, American, and German archaeologists, and above all must study these results, notebook in hand, on the spot. Mr. Bell gives us a very competent conspectus of what is known, but it can hardly be said that he is completely up to date. The wonderful discoveries of

the Germans and Americans at Abûsîr, Gîzeh, and Lisht are hardly referred to. The temples of Abûsîr are mentioned, it is true, but most cursorily, and with no sign that Mr. Bell has studied the full publications of them, *Das Ré-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-weser-Ré* and the rest. Otherwise he could hardly have dismissed the Sun-Sanctuary and the pyramid-temples so cursorily, even in a short handbook. The omission is partly rectified, as regards Gîzeh, by a full reference to Dr. Hölischer's *Grabdenkmal des Königs Chefren*, with a plan (p. 39). The equally remarkable and interesting pyramid-temple of Mentuhetep at Deir el-Bahri is fully described and illustrated, as befits British work. And so, of course, are all the rest of the great sanctuaries which we know so well, from Edfu to Hatshepsu's fane, the latest of the great temples to be discovered, by the side of that of Mentuhetep at Deir el-Bahri. With regard to Esna, Mr. Bell should note for a future edition that the whole temple is now excavated. In the description of Karnak, we find no reference whatever to the great work of conservation on which M. Legrain has been engaged for so many years. Many of the illustrations are quite well chosen, but there are rather too many of the old clichés which we have known from our childhood. And Philae should not now be illustrated by photographs taken before the completion of the dam, unless it is especially pointed out, which is not done in this case, that the pictures represent the past. The plan, too, of Kom Ombo, on p. 187, gives no indication that part of the temple is nothing but foundation-lines and column-bases, and part more or less whole; the building appears to be complete. Such blemishes as these can easily be remedied in a future edition.

Ægean Archaeology. By H. R. HALL, M.A., F.S.A. Pp. xxi+263, with 33 Plates and Map. Lee-Warner, 1915.

It would be difficult to find a better summary of our present knowledge of Ægean civilization than is given in Mr. Hall's book. It is comprehensive, up-to-date, and very well illustrated. Thus the critic is driven to fasten on rather small points. One such is the omission in the chapter on Towns and Palaces of any mention of the interesting method used in building the Vasiliki E.M. III. houses; a cement in durability comparable only to the Roman reinforced by imbedded beams. Then a reference to the 'Warrior Vase' of Mycenae shows a regrettably open mind as to its date, and calls for the assertion that few students of pottery will believe the fabric of the vase to admit of a later date than L.M. III., for it is definitely 'Mycenaean.' We admire the courage of the author in putting on record his perfectly sound belief that the Ægean peoples were not Greek (which is just the statement that must not be made in Greece), but if he wishes the reader to grasp his doctrine he should avoid such phrases as 'the Greek of the Bronze Age' and the 'Mainland Greeks or "Mycenaean."' It is, of course, very tiresome of them to have lived in Greece. Equally it is very tiresome of the words *toreutic* and *ceramic* in English to be only adjectives, but, though *ceramics* is allowable on the analogy of *economics*, such phrases as 'the *toreutic* of this age' and 'the Ægean *ceramic*' have not yet made good their position. These verbal blemishes, though they are slight, and do not touch the essential excellences, which are great, are due to a roughness of finish, and carelessness of phrase, which have perhaps prevented the work from being as good a book as it is a guide.

Excavations in Eastern Crete: Vrokastro. By Miss E. H. HALL. Pp. 185, with 19 Plates. Philadelphia University Museum, 1914.

The dark ages that followed the break up of the Minoan civilization are full of problems for the student of prehistoric Greece, and Crete has great interest for him at this period also, because, owing perhaps to the geographical position of the island, remote comparatively from Northern influences, the change of civilization appears to have taken place

more slowly there, and there is more hope of understanding changes that are seen as it were in the making.

It is to be hoped that Miss Hall will be able to resume the important excavations undertaken in 1910 and 1912 on an inhabited site at Vrokastro in Eastern Crete. The stratification that the houses barely gave was found more fully in a series of tombs that could be dated comparatively with good probability by the method of burial. Pottery of three periods could be distinguished; very late Mycenaean from levels below the house floors, 'Quasi-Geometric' from chamber tombs showing both inhumation and cremation, and 'fully developed Geometric' from bone enclosures where the burials were always cremated. Miss Hall suggests that these represent three successive invasions of Crete from the Mainland, those of the Mycenaeans, the Achaeans, and the Dorians. If so, the two last were surely very closely related, but there is no reason to quarrel with the suggestion, if the names are understood as applied to successive waves of the same race. The facts of this excavation are set forth very clearly and the volume is well illustrated.

Catalogue of Arretine Pottery in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

By Professor GEORGE H. CHASE, Ph.D. 4to. Pp. xii. + 112. With thirty Plates and two Figures. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1916. \$2.10.

The authorities of the Boston Museum are to be congratulated on the fine representation of Arretine ware which they have been able to secure, and they are no less to be congratulated on the fortunate combination of liberality and scholarship that has rendered possible the issue of this excellent catalogue. We gather from the Preface that the cost of printing has been met by a generous gift from Mr. James Loeb, while the appearance of Professor Chase's name upon the title-page is in itself a sufficient guarantee of competence.

The importance of Arretine ware to the archaeologist is twofold. First, and chiefly, it is of interest because of its ancestry. The clear-cut outline assumed by many of the vessels, taken along with the style of their decoration, proves unmistakably that they were, to begin with, intended to provide a cheap substitute for the embossed silver ware which enjoyed such a vogue during the Hellenistic age; if a characteristic Arretine bowl is set alongside of a silver cup from Hildesheim or Boscoreale, the resemblance leaps to the eyes at once. With few exceptions the work of the silversmith has perished. It is easy to reconstruct it in imagination from the much more abundant remains of the work of the potter. Again, Arretine ware is of interest because of its progeny. It was without doubt the 'onlie begetter' of the 'Samian' or *terra sigillata* of Gaul and the Rhine, which has now become such an important instrument for elucidating the history of Roman sites in Western Europe. Nor is it only the archaeologist who will value the Catalogue. The artist will find in the graceful decoration of this typical series much that is deserving of careful study. And his study of the admirable plates will be greatly facilitated by the care and conscientiousness of the descriptive text.

Professor Chase's workmanlike introduction provides the general reader with all the information he requires in order to understand and appreciate the Catalogue. He discusses the origin of the ware, its technique, the history of the potteries, and other relevant points in twenty or thirty illuminating pages. Perhaps the most notable advance upon the tentative conclusions of Dragendorff and other pioneers is the greater precision as to dating. It is rightly claimed that 'the finest products are works of the Augustan age.' Whether 'the flourishing period of the Arretine potteries' extended as far down as 60 A.D. seems more doubtful. At all events, by that time the strain of competition must have been making itself keenly felt. Finds at Pompeii suggest that even in the days when Pliny and Martial were celebrating its praises, the popularity of Arretine ware was undergoing eclipse in Italy itself. In Campania, at least, it was being definitely ousted by imports from Gaul.

A Defence of Classical Education. By R. W. LIVINGSTONE. 278 pp. Macmillan & Co., 1916. 4s. 6d. net.

In these days the word Education is in many mouths, though its meaning is very far from being in as many minds. The advocates of a 'practical' or 'scientific' education are anxious to transform the vague and general uneasiness which the public feels about our educational system into a definite demand for its radical reconstruction. Mr. Livingstone's *Defence*, then, comes in a good hour. In the full consciousness that education, besides a training of the mind, should be a preparation for life, the author first inquires into the results obtained respectively by scientific and humanist studies. The case against Science on the whole is fairly argued, though many will quarrel with the saying 'she is of herself unimaginative'; if education should 'knock windows into the world for us' he who grasps, say, the principle of the anatomical resemblances between mammals may fairly claim to have found a window,—and a French window at that. Again, is it just to argue (pp. 28-9) that if, in Sir E. Schäfer's words, 'instruction in science should form the basis of secondary education' it would turn every 'citizen' into a 'trained scientist,' that is, a specialist in some branch of science? On the same reckoning humanist instruction should make every 'citizen' a specialist in some branch of humanism. The case of science *versus* humanism decided, Mr. Livingstone proceeds to that of classical *versus* modern languages and literature. In principle he can say nothing new, but he puts forward the old arguments with such soberness and clinching detail, that the cumulative effect is overwhelming. Stress is laid throughout on the study of subject matter as a 'preparation for life,' and the reforms suggested are all aimed at stimulating it even at the expense of linguistic study. There is no passing by dark corners; the weakness as well as the strength of Greek physical science is hinted at; Cato the Elder is uncompromisingly chosen as the typical Roman (would it not have been happy to add that, according to the story, in his old age he too learnt Greek?) The statistics for German education in the Introduction will interest and probably surprise many people, while the reforms suggested in the last chapter deserve the careful consideration of all who have the cause of Greek at heart. Whatever their judgment may be on such controversial matters, they will have nothing but praise for the book itself. The pity of it is that in the nature of things few will read it save the converted.

Poeti Alessandrini. AUGUSTO ROSTAGNI. [Piccola Biblioteca di Scienze Moderni, No. 242.] Fratelli Bocca: Torino, 1916. Pp. xiii. 398. L. 5.

This account of Alexandrian poetry appears to be primarily designed for the general student with literary interests. An introductory chapter sketches the transition, during the fourth century, from classical art properly so called to the Alexandrian era, Euripides, who points both backward and forward, being its most characteristic figure. The four chapters forming the body of the book deal respectively with Theocritus, bucolic poetry and the myth of Daphnis, Asclepiades of Samos and his school, and the Hymns of Callimachus; the notes contain a good deal of bibliographical information. The author's flow of language is rather fatiguingly copious, but within its limits his book is no doubt a useful compendium.

Goethe's Estimate of the Greek and Latin Writers, as revealed by his works, letters, diaries, and conversations. By WILLIAM JACOB KELLER. [Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, No. 786.] 1916. Pp. 191. 40 cents.

The aim of this book is 'to collect and present, in a manner convenient for reference and in an entirely objective way, all of Goethe's more important spoken and written utter-

ances' on the classical authors, and Mr. Keller appears to have done his work very competently. The book brings home forcibly to the reader the scope of Goethe's reading and his extraordinary activity of mind down to the very last days of his life. Scarcely one of the classical writers escaped his attention at one time or another (the index of authors at the end of Mr. Keller's book contains 172 names); only of Pomponius Mela does he confess: 'I never touched him during the course of my career.' It is interesting to note that Goethe was only moderately proficient in Greek and was for the most part content to study the Hellenic writers in translations, his Hellenism being thus derivative in much the same way as that of Keats. Of Latin, on the other hand, he had a very thorough mastery, as indeed is obvious to anyone reading the *Römische Elegien*, and he himself is reported as saying that he must surely have been alive under Hadrian in a previous incarnation. Of the utterances of Goethe recorded in Mr. Keller's book one deserves mention as specially characteristic: it is a paraphrase of the Solonian *Γηράσκω δ' αἰεὶ πολλὰ διδασκόμενος* by 'ich lerne immerfort, nur daran merke ich, dass ich älter werde,' which occurs in a letter to his friend Zelter written by Goethe in his eighty-third year, six months before his death.

The Doctrine of Literary Forms. By ROY KENNETH HACK.—**The Historical Socrates in the Light of Professor Burnet's Hypothesis.** By CHARLES POMEROY PARKER.—**The Chorus of Euripides.** By ARISTIDES EVANGELUS PHOUTRIDES. [Harvard Studies in Classical Philology. Vol. XXVII.] Pp. 176. 1916. 6s. 6d.

Mr. Hack in his very interesting essay sketches certain manifestations of the critical doctrine that every work of literature is to be judged according to the standard of some fixed *γένος* or literary form, which is established as the absolute model, and conformity to which is the highest excellence attainable by the poet—a doctrine which he rightly regards as fundamentally unsound. Starting from the confusion which has been introduced into the criticism of Horace's *Ars Poetica* by the assumption that this poem must necessarily be either of the didactic or the epistolary (isagogic) *γένος*, Mr. Hack goes on to show that the *Ars Poetica* itself, which finds the highest merit of a poem in its propriety, *i.e.* its conformity to the established model, is vitiated by the very same error. From Horace the error is traced back to Cicero (*Orator*) and thence directly back to Plato, since 'the laws of the genres are nothing but the expression in the sphere of literature of the Platonic doctrine of ideal forms'; Aristotle, too, went as far astray as his master in laying down definitions of poetry and its various kinds which were to be considered as immutably valid as natural 'laws' in the physical sphere.

Mr. Parker takes as his starting point Professor Burnet's hypothesis that the *Phaedo* of Plato gives a substantially true account of the talk which Socrates held with his friends on the last day of his life. Assuming the correctness of this hypothesis, Mr. Parker shortly examines the consequence which necessarily follows from it, which is that whenever in any Platonic dialogue Socrates is introduced as setting forth a method or doctrine inconsistent with the *Phaedo* and going beyond it in ways that the Socrates of the *Phaedo* could not have travelled, then this particular advance in philosophy is attributable to Plato and not to the historical Socrates.

The first part of Mr. Phoutrides's study consists of a defence of supposed faults in the choruses of Euripides. He shows statistically that the share of the chorus is if anything rather greater in the plays of Euripides than in those of Sophocles, and by apposite quotations disposes very fairly of the common accusation that the Euripidean choruses tend to be of the nature of interludes, with little organic connexion with the action of the play. In the second part the author develops his contention that Euripides

voiced through his choruses the religious and moral convictions of the people at large (this being especially the case in the *Bacchæ*) and brought his choreutæ near to the common passions of humanity, thus contrasting both with Aeschylus's conception of the chorus as the spokesman of a higher morality and with Sophocles's treatment of it as 'the ideal spectator.' The closing sections briefly discuss the hyporcheme and other technical matters.

A BRONZE FIGURE OF A YOUTH IN ORIENTAL COSTUME.

[PLATE II.]

THE remarkable bronze figure published on Pl. II. was exhibited, by permission of the owner, at a meeting of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies on Tuesday, May 8. It has not, so far as I am aware, been discussed in print, and has all the interest which attaches to an unsolved problem.

The figure was said to have been found by Egyptian natives, in 1912, in ruins to the east of the Suez Canal, but other reports ascribed it to Alexandria; and it is clear that, unless better information comes to hand, no stress can be laid on the alleged place of origin.

In the case of every new work of art, and especially if it presents features of striking novelty, the first question to be asked is: Is it genuine? But in the present instance, whatever the interpretation of the bronze may be, its authenticity and antiquity seem beyond question.

The figure is that of a boy, twenty-five inches in height, all told. The height of the head is a little more than a seventh of the whole, so the figure is not that of a young child, though it is familiar that the true proportion for the young is not always observed by the ancients. According to Schadow's scale of proportions he should be between ten and eleven.

The boy is dressed for a cold climate, with a sleeved tunic, gathered in folds under the girdle, cloak fastened on the right shoulder with a quatrefoil brooch, and low shoes, tied with looped thongs. The left hand is empty, but the fingers seem to have held an object of some size, which appears to have been attached to the wrist, near the end of the sleeve. The extended right hand held the handle of some lost object. It is finished off with a roughly modelled knob at the lower end, and is on a slight curve, and gradually increases in diameter to the point at which it is broken off, between the thumb and the forefinger.

One curious detail in the costume calls for notice. In front of the boy's middle is a sort of broad scarf, which hangs down in a heavy central fold, and is gathered up at the sides to two objects which serve as suspenders. On his right side the folds of drapery are complete. On the left, they are only preserved for a length of about half an inch, and are then cut away, as if by intention, to make room for the fingers, and for the object held in the

hand. For these there would certainly not have been room, if the folds had been of a size corresponding to those of the other side.

For the singular scarf I cannot supply any near parallel. At first sight, the object might be taken for a fold in a hitched up tunic, but it is not so. In some of the late terracottas of Erotes and the like, something of the sort occurs as a wisp of drapery.¹ But there the figure is otherwise nude. When, as here, the figure is fully draped in a tunic, the motive for the scarf seems to disappear.

Still more remarkable than the scarf is the headdress, which may be provisionally called a tiara. It is evidently supposed to be made of a stiff material. At the base it is nearly square in plan. The sides are slightly longer than the front and back, and the back is slightly wider than the front. At the top it terminates in a ridge, with three knobs. Each side is divided by parallel ribs into two panels, on which palmette ornaments are incised. A flap, as of leather, falls down at the back.



FIG. 1.—SILVER COIN OF TIGRANES. (Brit. Mus.)

It might be supposed that the clue to the subject is to be found in this extraordinary tiara, but it is by no means obvious. Western Asia is a region of distinctive headdresses. Those of Assyria, Persia, Crete, the Hittites, the Cypriotes and the rest have certain common characteristics and distinguishing marks. But the boy is so evidently Hellenistic, or Graeco-Roman, that it seems useless to hunt among the nations in remoter centuries.

If we confine our view to about the first century B.C. the Armenian royal headdress suggests itself, and we have it in detail on the coins of Tigranes² (97–56 B.C.). It occurs with trifling variations on different coins (Fig. 1). Like the tiara of the bronze, it has a tapering form, terminating above in a ridge with a series of knobs, and it has a long flap behind. On the other hand the lower part is oval, not rectangular in plan. Instead of the palmettes, we have a design of two eagles flanking a star. The flap is not a single one, falling at the back, but double at the sides, in the Persian manner. In case of need they can be brought across the chin, or, occasionally, to overlap on the lower part of the front of the tiara.

There is a reason for making minute study of the Armenian tiara, in connexion with the bronze. When the discovery was fresh a highly romantic interpretation of the bronze was suggested, which now calls for statement and examination. Antony and Cleopatra, as the consequence of their *liaison*, had twin children, a boy and girl, born in 40 B.C., and named Alexander

¹ Compare a figure of a boy, once in the Gréau collection, and not I think, entirely above suspicion. I owe this reference to Miss

Hutton.

² *B.M.C. Seleucidae*, Pl. 27.

Helios and Cleopatra Selene. There was also another child whom they called Ptolemy.

Some six years after the birth of the twins, Antony ejected Artavasdes from the throne of Armenia, and amused himself at Alexandria, redistributing the eastern kingdoms. I quote Plutarch's account³ of the proceedings:—

'Antony incurred additional hatred, on account of the division amongst his children, which he made at Alexandria, and which was considered theatrical, and pretentious, and anti-Roman. He filled the gymnasium with a crowd, and set two golden thrones on a platform of silver, one for himself and one for Cleopatra, and others not so high for the children. First he declared Cleopatra queen of Egypt, and Cyprus, and Coelesyria, with Caesarion, reputedly her son by Caesar, to share her sovereignty. Next he declared his own and Cleopatra's sons kings of kings, and to Alexander he assigned Armenia and Media, and Parthia (whenever it should be conquered); to Ptolemy, Phoenicia, Syria and Cilicia. At the same time he brought forward the children, namely Alexander in Median costume, including tiara and erect kitaris; and Ptolemy with boots and cloak and hat (*causia*) with a diadem. The latter was the costume of the kings who succeeded Alexander, and the former was that of the Medes and Armenians. The boys saluted their parents, and then one was surrounded by a guard of Armenians and the other by a guard of Macedonians. Cleopatra, both then, and on other occasions when she appeared in public, wore the sacred robe of Isis, and was styled New Isis.'

The later career of Alexander Helios was inglorious. In 29 B.C. Augustus celebrated his threefold triumph. On the third day, which was the Egyptian triumph, Cleopatra was carried along on a couch, in effigy, to represent the fashion of her death, and the children Alexander Helios and Cleopatra Selene were among the prisoners. Plutarch states that Antony's much wronged wife Octavia took the children, and brought them up with her own, but from that point Alexander disappears from history.⁴

Plutarch's account of the scene at Alexandria has suggested the theory that the bronze represents Alexander Helios, in his brief moment of childish and precarious splendour. The interpretation is romantic and exciting, but it will hardly stand sober criticism.

The first objection is of a general *a priori* kind, that unfortunately things do not fall so pat in archæology, as to give us in effigy a particular incident mentioned by Plutarch.

The Median costume would no doubt have included tunic and trousers. It also not infrequently includes a chlamys, but it seems on such monuments as the Sidon sarcophagi to be represented as a larger and more ample cloak than that of the boy, which is more suggestive of the Macedonian cloak worn by Ptolemy. But the main question is as to the form of the tiara, and we cannot do better than refer to the coins of Antony and Cleopatra, with Armenian symbols,⁵ for the shape which may be supposed to have furnished a model. On these the tiara is nearly of the form of that of Tigranes,

³ Plut. *Antonius* 54. The story is closely paraphrased by Shakespeare, *Ant. and Cleop.*, Act III. sc. 6.

⁴ Dio Cassius 21, 21; Plutarch, *Antonius* 87.

⁵ Grueber, *Cat. of Coins of the Roman Republic*, Pl. 115, Figs. 10 and 15. Compare also the denarius of Augustus, *ibidem*, Pl. 119, Fig. 4.

which as we have seen is materially different from that of the bronze, with its rectangular plan, its absence of side flaps, and its single flap at the back.

The tiptoe attitude of the boy is common in late Greek and Graeco-Roman art for children, Erotes and the like, but it hardly seems appropriate to the suggested regal portrait.

The royal costume of Commagene is in some respects not unlike that of Armenia. It is preserved for us in the reliefs of the Nemrud Dagh.⁶ That mountain, the highest of the eastern part of the Taurus range, is crowned with the royal burying place of King Antiochos (who reigned 69–31 B.C.). It consists of a mighty tumulus, 150 feet in height. East and west of the



a

b

FIG. 2.—VOTIVE RELIEFS OF NEMRUD DAGH.

tumulus, and just at its origin, are the two terraces, with their rows of colossal statues, reliefs, and inscriptions. The reliefs consist partly of votive reliefs of royal ancestors; partly of Antiochos doing homage to divine patrons, to Zeus enthroned (Fig. 2a),⁷ to Heracles (Fig. 2b), Helios and

⁶ Humann and Puchstein, *Reisen in Kleinasien und Nordsyrien*, p. 232.

⁷ Humann and Puchstein, *op. cit.* *Atlas*, Pl. 39.

Commagene. Antiochos wears the royal tiara. The cheek pieces are crossed above his brow in the Heracles relief, one lapping over the other. In the Zeus relief, the illustration leaves some uncertainty on the point. The costume includes a long sleeved tunic, a cloak, trousers and shoes. The singular plan of looping up the skirt of the long tunic with thongs, to give freedom of action to the legs, seems to be peculiar to the group of reliefs.

It is noteworthy, however, for our present purpose, that besides the royal tiara of Antiochos, and the Persian tiara of Zeus, different forms of tiara-like headdresses are worn by many others of the figures, both statues and reliefs. One such figure appears to be a royal kinsman.⁸

I would therefore suggest that by the first century B.C. the use of a tiara-formed headdress was somewhat indiscriminate, and that it was no longer, as in earlier ages, the special privilege of the great king, and that if we were better informed as to the Hellenistic art of Western Asia we might find more examples of its occurrence. If that is admissible, we may look about for one of those personages who in more Western representations are all characterized by a conventional 'Phrygian cap,' but who in the East might occur with a more distinctive headdress. Among such persons, Ganymede, Orpheus, Mithras, Attis and others, I would suggest the eunuch Attis as most appropriate.

Little is known of the earlier forms of the Attis type, before it was debased in Roman art. Certain terracottas found in numbers at Amphipolis⁹ seem to represent the subject. The figure is that of a youth with tunic and sleeves, long close-fitting trousers, sometimes a short cloak, and a peaked Phrygian cap, with flaps. His attributes are a syrinx and a pedum. In the later empire, the subject becomes common in votive and other reliefs, in a degraded form. The tunic, closely clinging to the abdomen, has been abandoned for nude flesh. It is worth pointing out that the gathering of drapery below the abdomen corresponds in some measure with the peculiar body scarf of the bronze.

The attribute, of which the handle remains in the right hand, may be a pedum. The fingers of the left hand seem to have held something, but there would hardly be room for the tympanum which occurs on the late reliefs, and the position of the fingers is not right for a syrinx.

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⁸ Humann and Puchstein, *Atlas*, Pl. 35, p. 517; Pls. 5-8. Cf. Biardot, *Terres-Cuites Grecques*, Pls. 16, 17.

⁹ Perdrizet, *Bull. de Corr. Hellénique*, xxi.

THE PARTHENOS.

THE recent publication of fragments of ivory statues in the *J.H.S.* has turned my thoughts to the Parthenos. It would be desirable to build up as complete a description as possible of this masterpiece of the world's art—a sort of verbal restoration, and I venture to offer the following notes as a basis for correction. To do the work thoroughly would be an elaborate piece of indexing evidences from a great number of authorities, a task for which I am in no way qualified.¹

The fragments just mentioned make the ivory part of the great work much more real to us, they show the polished surface, the accurate working of the joints in planes which must have been joined by glue, the colouring of lips and nostrils and the insertion of eyes in different materials. The colossal image must, as Furtwängler remarked, have been completed without the gold and ivory. The surface of the flesh parts was cut away in thin sections and renewed with ivory worked to the same forms: sheet gold was then 'dressed,' as plumbers would say, over the core of the draped parts. I cannot think that this core could have been of wood, as that would have cracked and moved, it was rather of some plastic material. After fitting, the ivory sections were doubtless removed and strongly riveted together at the back as we rivet china. The sheet gold was about as thick as a visiting card and weighed forty talents.²

Fig. 1 is very slightly restored from the cast of the statuette at

¹ I have founded in the main on: an analysis of authorities in *A.J.A.* (1911): Collignon's *Le Parthénon* (1910) which has full references: Dr. Farnell's *Cults of the Greek States* (vol. i. 1896), a good general discussion: Mr. H. Stuart Jones's *Select Passages* (1895). The Berlin *Jahrbuch*, 1907, has an account of the Basis by Winter and an article by Puchstein in 1891 (vol. v.); see also *Die Athena Parthenos*, J. Schreiber, 1883. The small Varvakeion figure I shall call the statuette.

² Mr. A. E. Zimmern has some computations as to the cost of the Parthenon and the Parthenos in his *Greek Commonwealth* (1915, p. 410). He estimates the temple at £840,000 and the image at £1,200,000, but goes on to

state that the average expenditure between 447 and 438 was about 350 talents and the average between 438 and 431 was 650 talents. That is 3150 for the earlier period and 4550 for the second. As it is generally accepted that the statue was dedicated in 438 and that then most of the structure was also completed there is something wrong or unexplained. How the figures are obtained is not stated. Forty talents of gold are usually supposed to be about equal to the gold of 96,000 English sovereigns. According to Michaelis 'we know from ancient testimony that the chryselephantine statue had been put in position in 438, when the building must have been practically finished.'

the British Museum. If one worked on a photographic enlargement a restoration might be produced which would very nearly approximate to the effect of the original. The Parthenos is recorded to have been 26 cubits high, that is nearly 38 English feet. The Victory on her hand was nearly 4 cubits high. It is generally agreed that the 26 cubits must have included the Basis.³ The figure was almost certainly some multiple of life-size, for a model would have been carefully worked out at that size so as to get all the parts and details properly in scale. Five times $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet would be $27\frac{1}{2}$ feet, leaving about 10 feet for the Basis and the tall crested helmet. The Basis



FIG. 1.—RESTORATION OF THE PARTHENOS.

was comparatively low, not more than 5 feet, so as not to be above the sight line. The enormous crest of the helmet may well have risen 5 feet over the head. We have some check on this estimate as the figure of Nike is said to have been nearly 4 cubits high. We probably may put this at life-size, say $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and it is about a fifth the height of the great statue. Again the

³ Collignon states that the total height was 15 m. But the relative height of the Nike shows that this is wrong, and the interior

height of the cella was not more than 13 or 14 metres. Furtwängler estimates the statue and base as 12 m. in a cella of 14 m.

Varvakeion statuette is about half life-size and might very well be one-tenth of the original. The plan size of the Basis is also known.⁴ In the design and execution of such a colossal statue in such mixed materials questions of stability and construction were of the first importance. Indeed to Pheidias, who could design anything presented to his thought, it was mainly a problem of support and craftsmanship. All English writers, I believe, have objected to the pillar which propped the extended right hand of Athene on which rested the statue of Nike, a statue which was itself of human scale. Most have suggested that the pillar could not be original, while others have accepted it only as a sorry expedient. M. Collignon, who points out that external evidence for its existence goes back to the fourth century, seems to lean to the view that it was not original. Dr. Farnell, who also appreciates the strength of the evidence, wrote—'Would Pheidias, if he had found some support necessary, have been content with a mere architectural pillar contributing nothing to the meaning of the whole?' Professor E. Gardner in the last edition of his *Handbook* says: 'So clumsy an expedient has been received with astonishment. Yet the evidence seems strong that a column existed when the copies were made. The best explanation seems to be that the statue as Pheidias designed it had no such support, but that some defect made it necessary to add a support, however unsightly.'

In a little book published nearly ten years ago I expressed the view that the pillar was not a mere prop added unwillingly—even if at the time—to a statue designed independently. To me it is an essential part of the design and a fundamental factor in the choice of the pose which leads to an understanding of the whole treatment and meaning of the work: for a certain pose requires a definite explanation.

The pillar was required to fill up the basis and to balance the shield, serpent, and spear on the other side.⁵ Further, from the great size of the statue, it was desirable to bring its head as far forward as possible lest it should become ineffective. By resting her arm on the pillar the goddess was able to lean slightly forward, although she supported the Nike on her hand. The free way in which the left foot is thrown back also confirms this view, as one may find by standing in this attitude while resting the arm on the back of a chair. Only thus does the pose become easy and natural. The attitude would have been distressing to contemplate unless the Nike-bearing hand were resting. Dr. Farnell urges that in the parallel case of the Zeus of Olympia the weight-bearing arm was unsupported, but this is surely a

⁴ Since writing so far I have found a careful study of the dimensions by Miss Perry in *A.J.A.* vol. xi. with which I have been in close agreement. It is argued that the 26 cubits included the Basis, that the great image was five times life size and that the statuette was half the scale of life. The size of the statuette is given as 1.035 m. high including the basis of 0.103 m. Wishing to make the image without accessories the round

dimension of 30 Greek feet, Miss Perry put the life size at 5 feet 10 inches, English. The Basis of the Zeus at Olympia was only about 3½ feet high. My final estimate for the Parthenon would be: Basis 4 feet: figure and shoes 28 feet: crest 5 feet: total 37 feet = about 26 Greek cubits.

⁵ See diagram given by Winter and compare with that given by Schreiber.

mistake as it rested fully on the side of the throne (Fig. 2). At a little later time the leaning one arm on a pillar became a commonplace of design even on vase-paintings and reliefs. Miss Jane Harrison says that the Parthenos had nothing in common with 'these lolling attitudes.' Perhaps not, but what made the fashion? The Amazon of Ephesus leans on a pillar. On this Furtwängler remarks: 'Pheidias had given a support to the Parthenos though only technical and not as here part of the composition.' But even this I do not believe.⁶ There is an absurdity to begin with in supposing that Victory had flown on to Athene's hand like a tame bird. The Nike is a statuette compared to the great figure, and a mere symbol. My reading of the work is that Athene has accepted a figure of Nike dedicated in her honour and representing the whole splendid temple which was a thank-offering for assistance—a Victory Temple. 'The Parthenon was erected by the triumphant city and by it Athens saluted the goddess.' (Collignon.)

For centuries it had been the custom to set up memorial- and votive pillars supporting statues in and about temples and the larger of these steles were about the size of the pillar of the Parthenos.⁷ Now Plutarch has recorded the fact that Pheidias had inscribed his name on the stele of the Parthenos.⁸ Mr. Stuart Jones however (disliking the prop) has elected



FIG. 2.—ZEUS OF OLYMPIA.

to translate stele as 'slab' and turn it into the floor of the basis on which the statue stood. He adds that the column would have been called *kion*: but surely a stele might be called a stele. My reading of the 'plot' is this—Athene has set down her shield and leaned her spear against her shoulder to accept the thank-offering of her people. 'In her right hand the goddess supports an image of Victory with drooping wings and turned partly towards her.' The image of Nike has been taken from its stele and in its place Athene rests her arm, accepting at once the figure and the pillar. At the same time she throws back her left foot in an attitude of standing at ease: Furtwängler's suggestion that she was stepping forward to welcome her worshippers won't do, for you cannot step forward holding a shield which rests on the ground, and with a spear loosely held with its end on the ground.

⁶ The Aphrodite of Cnidos had a support contrived in a more sophisticated manner.

⁷ About 15 feet high. Miss Harrison speaks of 'the countless dedicatory columns lately

found on the Acropolis.'

⁸ The Zeus of Olympia and Hera of Argos and Nemesis of Rhamnus and Lemnian Athene were also signed.

Even those who will feel that the explanation offered here is too complete must, I think, admit that the goddess really leant on the stele. The Nike herself was crowned with leaves and turning towards Athene held out a garland.⁹

All are agreed as to the thought of Victory. Furtwängler makes it the occasion of a pronouncement—'Pheidias gave expression to much of that from which the blossoms of the time of Pericles sprang: strength that commands respect, armed peace after victorious battles, soul and intellect, and lastly wealth in abundance.'

The most extravagantly high-crested and ornately decorated helmet was required so that the head should not be dwarfed by the immense size of the parts near the spectator. The skirt of the peplos fell in strong vertical folds to the floor; the upper part was full at the sides, filling out against the arms, both of which had this support as far as the elbows. The drooping arm supported by the shield had a wonderful flowing grace which even in the dry little copy reminds me of some of the women's arms in the pedimental sculptures. These great ivory arms, however, were so arranged that they could not have 'told' like the gleaming face, reinforced as it was with eyes of precious stones, jewelled necklace and earrings, and the splendid gilt helmet. The overlap of the peplos fell very low beneath the girdle and was freely relieved from the 'skirt,' so as to break up the otherwise plain lower part.

X Above the middle of the helmet was a winged Sphinx, bearing a high and flowing crest. Parallel to it were winged Pegasi supporting two other crests, and outside these were cheek-flaps hinged and turned upwards, on which were reliefs of griffons. The four lateral additions were not fixed upright, but so as to radiate when seen from the front. The front rim of the helmet was decorated with ornamental reliefs, and just above it the foreparts of several galloping beasts projected. The Berlin head and two gems in the British Museum show that these were horses and this is supported by the fact that such half horses are found on a number of elaborate terra cotta vases found in South Italy. The effect must have suggested the galloping horses of a chariot. This throwing forward of the brow fell in with several expedients to attract attention to the head. The goddess's face was perhaps slightly more oval and youthful than the statuette alone would suggest, but the type of this is Pheidian. Short curls of hair fell from the helmet on to the cheeks, and smaller locks appeared above the temples. Two long tresses dropped on each shoulder. These freely falling tresses were doubtless coils of wrought gold.¹⁰ The mouth of Athene was full and slightly open. In

⁹ In the Inscription Hall of the B.M. is a small fragment of an inscribed fluted stele of early date and probably about 14 or 15 inches in diameter. In *A.J.A.* (vol. ii.) an account is given of 'an inscribed Doric stele' from Assos. Puchstein illustrated a small inscribed Doric capital (Fig. 39) from a similar early

stele. A great number of Ionic forms are known; indeed I have ventured to suggest that the Ionic type of capital was first developed in these 'steles.'

¹⁰ Separate curls, but of lead, seem to have been applied to the Aegina statues. The Caryatids of the Erechtheum, which closely

consequence of the great size of the mouth the upper teeth at least must have been seen and the chance of representing them in ivory might hardly have been neglected. Dr. Farnell makes it an objection to the Berlin head that the teeth are showing, but many of the Centaurs of the metopes have their teeth wonderfully rendered.¹¹ The eyes were wide open and the pupils were of precious stones, which doubtless flashed (Plato, *Hippias Maj.*, p. 290 B). A little bronze in the British Museum has diamonds for this purpose. The painted head at Berlin indicates blue-black as the colour of the irises. The statuette has a yellow pupil outlined with red and black iris and the eyelashes are indicated. Collignon quotes a record which says the irises were black. The eyeballs must have been of specially white stone or quartz. The eyes would have been surrounded, as was usual where they were inserted in a different material, by eyelashes. A large marble statue of Apollo at Munich, which Furtwängler says represents a temple statue of the Pheidian time, has eyes of white stone, the pupils of which were inlaid, and also eyelashes of thin bronze. An interesting head from Cyrene in the British Museum (1506) has eyes of the same kind.¹²

The Roman version of the head of the Parthenos at Berlin has red in the corners of the eyes and on the lids, while the upper lash is shaded with black. The eyebrows as well as



FIG. 3.—FROM CISTA AT B. M.

followed the Parthenos in many respects, had long curls falling free although cut in the marble. Spiral curls are found on some bronze heads. The hair of the Zeus of Olympia also fell freely around his neck, for according to Lucian single locks weighed six minae (Fig. 2).

¹¹ According to Pliny, Polygnotos the painter was the first to open mouths and let the teeth be seen. Slightly open mouths were general in the next generation. One fine head from the Heraeum has the mouth open and teeth showing: Waldstein, *Argos*, Pl. XXXII.

¹² The marble of this head is of a particularly fine ivory-like texture, highly polished, and the hair was applied in a separate material—doubtless gilt bronze. This work is described in the Catalogue as—'Head worked to fit a socket, the hair or helmet was also separate. The eyes have inlaid eye-balls surrounded by thin plates of bronze which may have represented eyelashes. The pupils were of inlaid stones or glass paste.' This head is

called male; but from the form of the hair line on the forehead, which begins high in the middle thus \sim and passes close above the eyebrows and in front of the ears, over which the hair swept in projecting masses, it appears rather to be female; the sharp eyebrows, oval face, delicate ears, and rounded neck, confirm this view. Indeed it seems to me to be a version of the Velletri Athene. Since coming to this conclusion I have found that a head of the Velletri type was found at Cyrene, and by a curious chance it is illustrated by Smith and Porcher on the same plate as the 'male head.' They look little alike because one is set looking down and the other is looking rather upwards. Note, however, the similarity of the cutting below the throat for insertion into the drapery. For marbles imitating ivory see a head of Athene illustrated in Farnell's *C.G.S.* i. p. 368. In these we get the technique of the acroliths. The fragments of the arm of the Athene of Priene in the B.M. still show high polish and the statue must have been acrolithic.

the hair were coloured dull red. The eyebrows of the ivory fragment in the Vatican were also painted. The great arches of the eyebrows of the original must have been represented as well as the eyelashes¹³ which were delicate fringes veiling the hardness of the inserted eyes. There was a fashion in eyelashes about the middle of the fifth century; the fine Chatsworth bronze head of Apollo c. 460 is an original example, and eyelashes even appear on vase paintings and on some coins of Syracuse. The edges of the eyelids would have been painted red.

The neck seems to have had the horizontal beauty crease like that of the Laborde head. The rich earrings and necklace which the goddess wore were of course separately made and applied; they were doubtless jewelled. The streaming horsehair crests were scarlet, as shown by the statuette.



FIG. 4.—FROM VASE.

That painting was used on the ivory work is, as has been said above, brought out by the lately published ivory masks. The peplos, a vast area of sheet gold as big as a large carpet, cannot have been left without interesting detail and this is especially evident of the expanse above the lower hem which was close to the spectator. The robes of the Zeus of Olympia had animals and lilies wrought on them in colour. The draperies of the Athene also, it is safe to conclude, were delicately decorated with enamel-like colour. In the *Iliad*, Athene has a vesture of many colours that herself had wrought. 'Every inch of material was an opportunity for art' (Pliny). The borders only of the peplos are gilt on the statuette, and this must point to some difference of treatment in the original: compare also Fig. 3 from an engraved cista in the B.M. which shows many reflections from the Parthenos. Fig. 4, from a fine vase at Karlsruhe, shows the sort of decoration which might be expected. The sceptre of Zeus was wrought in various metals, and accounts of bronze statues show a liking for such mixtures which doubtless were used in the Parthenos too.

Her vesture, peplos or Doric chiton, was open on the right side: the fashion and fall of this has a peculiar freshness which to my mind is only matched by Furtwängler's Lemnian.¹⁴ 'Fine linen the maidens had on'

¹³ See also *J.H.S.* 1916, vol. xxxvi. p. 375 for eyelashes and eyebrows. Many statues of the great time have projecting ridges along the eyebrows which must frequently have been painted. The fine bronze head of Augustus recently added to the B.M. collection has eyebrows and eyelashes and eyes of white stone with dark irises and pupils of a different material. For imitative eyes see

J.H.S. 1915, p. 272, and Dar. and Saglio, *Statuaria*. The iris was probably crystal painted at the back.

¹⁴ Still scholars hold out against this identification, which seems proved to me by considerations beyond Furtwängler's reasons: the likeness of this girlish type of figure and face to the seated Athene of the east frieze; the close resemblance to the Athene of the

(*Il.* xviii. 595). Vivacity, brilliance, life, were the ideals, there were as yet no canons of taste which insisted that sculptures should be dull and dreary and dead.

The aegis seems to have been put on rather loosely, projecting around the edges and casting a shadow; it was patterned over with scales and the great Medusa's head set at the centre was of ivory. The serpents around the edge of the aegis were energetically twisting and flapping. Other serpents formed her girdle and her bracelets. Sandal straps doubtless divided up the ivory surface of the feet.

One of the best authorities for the head is the gold medallion at Petrograd which is usually (as in *A.J.A.*) dated *c.* 400 B.C. It cannot, however, be much earlier than 200, as is shown by the continuous maeander of the border, a pattern which was not developed until a late time. This medallion shows an owl resting on one of the cheek-pieces of the helmet. There is no other direct authority for this, but owls were frequently associated with statues and other figures of Athene,¹⁵ and, further, many coins of a time directly following that of the making of the Parthenos

have owls decorating the helmet of Athene. Mr. G. F. Hill has kindly referred me to six coins of Cumae, Naples (2), Hyria, Nola and Allifa, all in South Italy, and dating between 420 and 330 B.C.

An owl was associated with the head of Athene on opposite sides of the coins of Athens for more than a century before Pheidias designed the Parthenos. An eagle was perched on the long staff-sceptre of Zeus at Olympia and a cuckoo on that of Hera at Argos. These birds were about the height of the heads of these two great temple statues. On the medallion the owl perches so perfectly on the rounded rim of the raised cheek-flap of the helmet of the Parthenos that it seems probable that the curious arrangement of turning these flaps up at an angle was contrived for this very purpose. Moreover, putting the owl here falls in with the problem of giving the head of the great figure arresting interest. See also Reinach's *Vases*, i. 331, where an owl is actually perched on



FIG. 6.—PROMACHOS
FROM COIN.

western gable with her diagonally worn aegis; and an affinity with Myron's Athene. Fig. 5 is from a drawing by Stuart at the B.M. of the now much injured stone vase at Athens which shows a diagonal aegis. It is, I think, sure that Furtwängler's Lemnian was at Athens and was a work of the time of Pheidias. Fig. 6 is enlarged from what seems



FIG. 5.—FROM MARBLE
VASE.

to have been an especially clear rendering of the Promachos on a coin illustrated in Leake's *Athens*. Comp. Fig. 4.

¹⁵ See Fig. 28 in Miss Harrison's *Mythology and Monuments*, where A. carries one in her hand, and an article on Athene's Owl in *J.H.S.* xxxii. 1912.

Athene's helmet. Altogether the evidence for the owl is as strong as may be short of proof. The saying of Demosthenes—'Oh, mistress Athene who dwellest in the citadel, why dost thou so delight in three such strange monsters, thy owl, thy serpent, and thy people?' is a final confirmation.

Dr. Farnell suggests that the Sphinx on the helmet (which was an important feature and pointed out as a special beauty) typified Wisdom. Explanation of symbolism is a dangerous pastime, but in this case it seems convincing. It almost follows, of course, that the winged horses which, like the Sphinx, were nearly three feet long, had a meaning beyond mere decoration. They most obviously signified swiftness and the griffons watchfulness. The griffons guarded the ears, the Pegasi were directly over the eyes, the Sphinx was exalted in the middle. In the language of art this must have meant attention to hear, swift penetration of sight, and the governance of wisdom. This was indeed a helmet of salvation and crown of virtues. In the Homeric Hymn to Athene are the words 'Gleaming eyes, ready mind, unbending heart.'

The Centaur battle which was wrought on the rims of the sandals cannot have been only ornamental, indeed such little figures, perhaps four inches high, would be rather ridiculous in such a position if a 'symbolic' meaning were not attached. The meaning must have been that the goddess was shod with the preparation of order. She had aided her chosen people to put beastliness under foot. C. O. Müller wrote long ago of the Zeus: 'The idea was that of the omnipotent ruler hearing and benignantly granting the prayers of men. In it the Greeks beheld Zeus face to face. To see it was an anodyne, not to have seen it was a calamity.'

Dr. Farnell says that the Graces and Hours on the back of Zeus's throne 'expressed the character of the god as the Orderer of the Seasons and the Disposer of the fruitfulness and beauty of the year.'¹⁶ And the lilies on his robe 'we may probably interpret as the symbol of immortality.' Fig. 7, from a vase, shows the sort of thing meant by lilies.



FIG. 7.—LILY.

Athene's spear-shaft was a great reed (?); the spear-head may have rested point downwards, as in several reliefs and vase paintings, but Pliny's account of the Sphinx seems against this. A little relief at the British Museum (among others) (Fig. 8) shows the angle at which the spear rested. As constructive rigidity was required for the pillar which supported the right arm of the goddess it was probably of bronze—a tubular stanchion.¹⁷ Bronze was used in the great work, for Pliny says that the Sphinx of the helmet was bronze; doubtless all three of the crest-bearing animals were castings of this material. The serpent and shield also acted as supports on the side opposite the pillar and these, too, we may suppose were of bronze. The serpent must have

¹⁶ This is curiously parallel to the Zodiaes and labours of the year in chief places in mediaeval churches.

¹⁷ This stele has a base but yet the roughly

indicated capital is not Ionic. It suggests something more like a Corinthian capital and may indeed have had stele-like foliage at the top of delicate leaves and spirals.

been at least twenty feet long, and as it was one of the specially admired features it must have had delightful details. The statuette had the serpent coloured yellow on the head with a red beard and the scales of the creature were drawn in brown above and red below.¹⁸

The Hermitage disc shows even the little serpents of the aegis mottled on the surface. Dr. Murray has remarked of the great serpent that 'a combination of bronze and gold is suggested by the natural colours.' It appears from an inscription that the Gorgon's head at the centre of the shield was of silver gilt.¹⁹ Silver applications on bronze would be a natural combination. The interior of the shield was painted with a battle of gods and giants.²⁰ The handles and straps must have been fully imitated (Fig. 3). The Parthenos was imagined and imaged as the protector of the city, strong, alert, and full of good will. She was there always the same, but she ever anew welcomed her worshippers and accepted their offerings. She has set her spear for a moment against her left shoulder and leans forward smiling—speaking. The thought embodied



FIG. 8.—RELIEF IN B.M. (773).

in the pediments shows that Pheidias aimed at the expression of action, life, drama. In the words of an ancient author, quoted by Dr. Farnell, the Parthenos represented 'a beautiful maiden of high stature and gleaming eyes in no way inferior to the goddess in Homer's poetry.'²¹

One point which I intended to bring out has been overlooked. The frontality of the statue, the direct gaze, the archaic dress, the long tresses of hair and the grotesque Gorgon's head on the breast, all show that an archaic form of the goddess was the foundation of the design. It was a translation of consummate skill of the xoanon type into Pheidian terms. This again is an argument for a moment of rest in the pose and for a deep aegis protecting the breast. If the aegis had not come below the slope above the breasts it would not have been seen in a close-in view and but little anyway, as much

¹⁸ *Ath. Mitth.* v. pp. 377-8.

¹⁹ Köhler in *Ath. Mitth.* v. p. 96. A battle of the Centaurs was executed by the celebrated silver chaser Mys on the shield of the Promachos, Sellers, *Pliny's Chapters on Art*, p. 3.

²⁰ Sir Cecil Smith, *B.S.A.* vol. iii. Cf. Dar. and Saglio, *Clipeus*; a shield painted inside also appears on the Alexander sarcophagus. See also our Fig. 4. Pliny, *N. H.* 36. 18, refers directly to the shield of the Parthenos as painted by Pheidias.

²¹ While writing this I have come to the conclusion that our national impersonation

Britannia which we have on our pence comes to us from the Parthenos herself. The first step was on the coin of Lysimachus (c. 300) where is a seated version of the Parthenos holding the Nike in her right hand, her left leaning on her shield and her spear resting against her shoulder. The next step was the *Britannia* of the Roman coins which was as evidently adopted from the coin just mentioned or from some later one of the same type. Finally the *Britannia* of the coins of Charles II. was obviously, as Forrer points out, taken from the Roman coins.

of it would have been covered by the curls. Here I trust the Varvakeion and other copies rather than the Patras statuette which may be a less accurate copy so far as it is a better original work of art. This general view of the Parthenos sweeps aside much argument as to the immaturity of the style of Pheidias; a willed archaism is common in religious images.

An Athene on a vase c. 500 B.C. is very close to the type of the Parthenos (Hoppin, *Euthymides*, Pl. XXXIX.) in many respects. Here we have the spear leaning against the left shoulder which is a formula for rest. This too is a welcoming scene. Compare also Fig. 28 in Miss Harrison's *Mythology and Monuments*.

Reliefs.—On the exterior of the enormous shield was wrought a battle of Greeks and Amazons. This composition is represented by the 'Strangford Shield,' which is a large fragment of a small and poor copy of late date. It is about 19 inches in diameter and we may perhaps assume that it was an eighth of full size as the original must have been about 13 feet. From the fact that this crude copy has the two figures which were said to represent Pericles and Pheidias,²² as described, and because some of the other figures are repeated on the shields of the Lenormant and Patras statuettes it may be accepted as being to some extent accurate although failing in skill and spirit. It does not seem to be a fragment from a statue but a copy of the shield alone.

There are two fragments of similar shields at Rome. I suppose that they were all cheap trade productions for visitors to Athens. The figures were distributed according to the method commonly used in painting, the surface being broken up by waving lines suggesting different planes and levels: a fine vase at Naples has the Amazon battle represented in this way. From the climbing attitudes of some of the figures it appears that steep rocky ground was represented, the action taking place on several ledges. The scene is doubtless some struggle in the legendary siege of Athens by the Amazons.²³

The fragment of the shield in the Vatican, illustrated by Michaelis, fortunately came from the top left-hand sector and shows a group of four or five Amazons who were evidently opposite the head of the attacking column on the right. The other fragment, in the Capitoline Museum, which is illustrated by Schreiber, came from, or near, the same part. It shows a Greek

²² The identification of two of the figures with Pheidias and Pericles falls in with a common tendency to form myths of explanation. On the throne of Zeus at Olympia a figure binding his hair with a fillet who must have been specially charming (and the prototype of the statue by Polycleitos?) was said to have been a boy beloved by Pheidias. A figure in the painting of the Taking of Troy by Polygnotus was said to be a sister of Cimon beloved by the painter.

²³ A similar scheme is clearly brought out in the larger Niobe disc at the British

Museum where 'the figures are irregularly disposed in four tiers on the rocky background.' This resemblance, indeed, proves that the Niobe disc is not a modern forgery as Overbeck thought. Furtwängler, on the contrary, thought that some of the figures showed echoes of Pheidian types. My own view is that the Niobe disc is similar hark work to the Strangford shield produced by arranging some famous Niobe elements on the plan of the Parthenon Shield and perhaps as a companion to a larger copy of that work.

attacking an Amazon from behind with an axe. The chief action of the Greeks was from the bottom left, climbing upwards to the right and attacking at the top the main body of Amazons. A few Amazons are isolated on the right and a few Greeks scale the rocks on the left. The attitudes are energetic to fury, striking, climbing, falling; one soldier turns his back thrusting at an enemy beyond. Little of the master's beauty remains in the frigid, rigid little copy, but theories of Pheidias restraint and limitation are set aside by its evidence and the slender dying Amazons were definitely pathetic. The main thought, as in the picture of the Taking of Troy by Polygnotos, was of the double tragedy of war—Victory and Defeat. At the centre of the lowest tier of action on

the shield, lay with one arm over her head a wounded Amazon whom 'Pericles' was slaying with his spear (Fig. 9). This Amazon was evidently an exquisite figure, echoes of which were far passed on in Greek sculpture—the Amazon of Ephesus and the dying Amazons of Pergamon both derived from this source.²⁴ I have found the dying Amazon repeated again on late sarcophagus reliefs of Amazon battles. One of these is at Messara,



FIG. 9.—FROM STRANGFORD SHIELD.

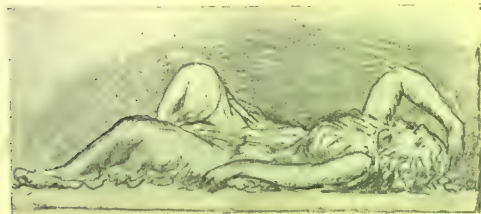


FIG. 10.—FROM SARCOPHAGUS.

Italy (Fig. 10). A Greek soldier, 'Pericles,' has his foot on her body and is thrusting his spear into her throat. Another group of a Greek who has seized an Amazon by the hair also seems to be an echo of the shield. Two other versions of the dying Amazon are found on sarcophagi from Algeria and Cyprus.²⁵ A third group on the shield was probably of an Amazon supporting a sister. Benndorf thought that Polygnotos had such a pair of which there are echoes at Trysa and Bassae, and also, I may add, at the Nike-temple. Compare also two figures on a vase figured by Miss Harrison (*Myth. and Mon.* p. 260) and two on the beautiful Niobe slab at the Hermitage. On the Strangford shield the Amazons are attired in the typical later form. On the sarcophagi the figure of the dying Amazon seems to be fully draped. As

²⁴ If the best known of the Ephesus wounded Amazons was inspired by the shield of the Parthenos, that would seem to be a point against the former being a work of the great Polycleitos. Some writers have supposed that the story of the competition applied to projects for one Amazon, but that is obviously impossible as they are so much alike. To explain the striking resemblances of the four members of the group Furtwängler

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supposed that four artists 'came to some agreement.' It is much more likely that the statues were done in one shop as a group of attendants on Artemis and probably in Ephesus itself for the new temple. Or Polycleitos followed Pheidias closely; see note 32.

²⁵ Reinach's *Reliefs*, iii. 58, and ii. 1, and ii. 138. The last also has the motive of the flying sleeve derived from the Alexander sarcophagus. Compare a Lycian tomb in the B.M.

the later formula was not established so late as the time of the Mausoleum frieze we must suppose that the Strangford shield is not to be trusted on this point.

The Great Basis.—The Bathron, as it is called in an inscription,²⁶ was adorned with figures of silver gilt. These figures were probably between two and three feet high and in the highest relief. The metopes of the Parthenon are in high relief, parts being detached from the backgrounds which were painted blue or red. For the Basis, figures in high relief applied against a background of marble²⁷ would best explain the treatment of the Basis of the temple statue at Rhamnus by Agorakritos, the favourite pupil of Pheidias. Of this basis beautiful fragments of white marble figures, about 20 inches high, have been found, which were set against a background which may have been of black stone like the frieze of the Erechtheum, another variant of the treatment.

The Parthenon Basis, which may also have been partly of black marble, was about 25 feet on the front and half as much from front to back. The subject of the sculpture was, according to Pausanias, the Birth of Pandora—'Hesiod and other poets have told how that Pandora was the first of women.' The subject was thus connected with the creation of the Athenian Eve, the Greek Genesis.

There can be little doubt what Pandora herself was like and the central group of three figures probably closely resembled those on the Anesidora vase at the British Museum. In this most exquisite work Pandora stands upright, her feet close together and her arms drooping by her side, the hands holding her garment—she has not yet moved. Hephaistos has put a diadem on her head and Athena seems to have been attaching a necklace, of which the string is in her extended left hand, the rest being hidden.²⁸ According to Hesiod, Athene decked Pandora with a robe and Hephaistos placed a golden diadem which he had made on her head. If this cylix is earlier than the basis of the Parthenos,²⁹ a second vase painting at the British Museum (*J.H.S.*

²⁶ Köhler, *Ath. Mitth.* vol. v. p. 91.

²⁷ The Basis at Olympia was of dark grey marble about 3 feet 7 inches high with mouldings above and below. The latter showed where small figures of metal had been attached. *Olympia* ii. p. 13. Fig. 11 is from a drawing of a vase, in a collection at the V. and A. Museum, made about a century since. It shows how low these bases were and incidentally gives an interesting type of Artemis.

²⁸ The evidence for the necklace seems not to have been noticed. It has been said that Hephaistos is lowering a diadem by a string but that must be the other end of the necklace which he has just made. The golden diadem is already on her head. He has his hammer in his hand. Certainly this is the Adorning of Pandora. Pandora's drapery is spotted over with little crosses, so is the dress of the Aphrodite of the swan on another white cylix

which must, I think, be by the same master.

²⁹ On the whole I suppose this must be accepted, but I am drawn to see in it a copy of the Basis. There is a sculptural quality about the drawing of Hephaistos which suggests this and the whole work is perfectly mature, the gilding on raised work also suggests a later rather than an earlier date. On the other hand it is very like some fragments in the Louvre which have been attributed to Euphronios (Gérard, *La Peinture Antique*, p. 185) 'I do not think that one may dream of purer drawing or nearer to the style of Polygnotos.' The types of heads and hair dressing are strikingly similar in the two works. Polygnotos was still working when the Parthenon works were begun in 447. According to Furtwängler the Aphrodite and swan cup was probably painted by Sotades. I doubt if it is necessary to date the Pandora

xi. Pl. XI.) is certainly later. Here too, Pandora stands, a semi-lifeless figure, in the middle, with pendent hands which carry sprigs of vegetation. Athene, again on the left, gives her a garland, and further to the right and left are other gods and dancing nymphs—Graces and Hours? There are also in another row dancing Satyrs astonished at the sight. Satyrs, I suppose, were an older race than men—‘there were giants on the earth in those days.’ There is yet a third Pandora vase at Oxford (*J.H.S.* xxi. Pl. I.) on which the birth of Ge-Pandora is shown with Olympian gods as spectators. A closer comparison of the vase paintings than I have been able to make at the present time might yield important suggestions for the Parthenos Basis. The injured traces of the central figure on the Basis-copy found at Pergamon certainly show a stiff figure with drooping arms and facing front.

Portions of six figures in relief have been found on this Basis-copy. This relief has been studied by Puchstein in the Berlin *Jahrbuch*, vol. v. and by Winter in vol. xxii. (1911).³⁰ On the original there were twenty-one figures but not more than nine or ten could have appeared on the reduced Pergamon base. According to Puchstein there were ten figures disposed in two groups approaching one another, and the Birth of Pandora itself, which would have been treated on the original as on the cylix in the British Museum, was in the copy left out. Winter also thinks there were ten figures on the copy, but that two of them formed the central action, and he argues with great fulness that, although we are told there were in all twenty-one figures on the original, there too the composition fell into two parts (not halves) on either side of a central interval.



FIG. 11.—FROM LOST (?) VASE.

Collignon, however, says of the same copied basis that on it figures surrounded a young woman at the centre. So far as I can judge from the illustrations an interval is nearer the actual centre than a figure; but on the other hand the figures on the left appear to be more closely spaced than those on the right, and as it is the figure which is supposed to have been the fifth, which must be Pandora, it is most likely that there were not more than nine persons on this reduced work. I have no doubt indeed from what is left of this ‘central’ figure that Miss Jane Harrison was practically right in saying (in 1900) that the central group would have been like the figures of

cup earlier than c. 450. In the style of these white-ground vases we see some of the influences which went to the forming of the immaculate freshness and noble gaiety of the

style of Pheidias.

³⁰ According to Winter it was probably ordered by Eumenes II. and carved at Athens.

Athene, Pandora, and Hephaistos on the almost contemporary Anesidora cylix in the British Museum. The figure of Pandora on the basis-copy as on the cylix faced to the front, her right hand dropped straight at her side, and she doubtless looked to her right. At Pandora's left on the basis-copy seems to be a male, and this would agree with the Hephaistos of the cylix. On the cylix (where there are only three figures in all) Pandora has on her right Athene; on the basis-copy, however, there is a group of three females who seem to have arrived hurriedly, none of whom seems to be Athene. The three look more like Seasons or Graces. They are not actually hand in hand, but there is a rhythm in their attitudes which suggests that they had come up in that way.

According to Hesiod's story Hephaistos

'Took clay and moulded an image, in form of a maiden fair,
And Athene the grey-eyed goddess girt her and decked her hair.
And about her the Graces divine and our Lady Persuasion set
Bracelets of gold on her flesh; and about her others yet,
The Hours with their beautiful hair, twined wreaths of blossoms of spring,
While Pallas Athene still ordered her decking in everything.'

(From version given by Miss Harrison.)

If there were twenty spectators on the original Basis, many more than the great gods must have been present; and enough is left of the group of three figures on the Pergamon Basis-copy to convince me that they were the Graces ('Charites') and represented figures by Pheidias.³¹ The last of the three is draped in the fashion which became most popular: the deep turn-over falls to an arched line just above a second line caused by a fulness above the girdle. Some of the maidens of the Parthenon frieze are dressed in this way. The overlap of the chiton has its folds dragged sideways and at the back a mantle falls from the shoulder. This is the scheme of the draping of the Eirene of Kephisodotos of which Furtwängler has remarked that it was a reversion to Pheidian types. It may, however, be more significant that Eirene was reckoned one of the Hours by Hesiod and Pindar, and she was probably adapted from the Basis as carrying on a Pheidian type.³²

On the Basis-copy from Pergamon, another of these figures displays another Pheidian motive: one of the Grace-goddesses gathers her flowing mantle with her pendent right hand against her thigh, while the lifted left holds it above her left shoulder. This action is found on the west metope of the south side of the Parthenon. The holding of the mantle with the hand in this way appears to signify arrival or departure.³³ The same action is

³¹ Winter and Collignon are agreed as to the Pheidian style.

³² Persephone of the Ephesus column is also dressed in this way and I may say here that I have come to the conclusion that this figure was holding the ends of her girdle: cf. some vase paintings: it is a variation of the boy and fillet mentioned above.

³³ The figure of Triptolemus on the noble relief from Eleusis holds his mantle in this way. With other Pheidian characteristics it makes me think that this was indeed an original work by the master. The whole motive is like that of the central group of the Olympia basis and also like the Anesidora cup.

made by the last of the three Graces as figured on some later reliefs; see one in the Vatican figured by Miss Harrison (*M. and M.* p. 375). The middle figure on the Basis-copy has the left hand dropped at ease appearing slightly in advance of the body; this is found frequently on the frieze and the action is almost typical for the Graces. The most advanced figure on the Basis-copy, who is also draped in Pheidian style, seems to have held something in her hands. (Compare the Birth of Aphrodite on a vase at Genoa.)

The Seasons ('Hours') as well as the Graces were represented on the throne of Zeus at Olympia and on the crown of Hera at Argos. Both Hours and Graces were probably present on the Basis of the Parthenos and together formed a choir of Nymphs. The lines quoted from Hesiod could not in such a place have been overlooked. A Grace was on the Basis at Olympia, and I have been drawn to think that the best attributions for the three 'Fates' of the E. Pediment would be Hestia, Charis, and Aphrodite.

I had got so far before I read the long article on the Graces in Daremberg and Saglio's *Dictionary* and that has opened up new ground. Following Furtwängler it is there suggested that three figures forming a group on the eastern frieze of the temple of Nike Apteros (c. 420) are the Graces—'three young girls in floating chitons going to the right with a light dancing step, but without holding hands.' This might just as well describe our three 'graceful' figures from the Basis-copy. Turning to the illustrations I find a close resemblance to the group on the Basis, and there was a second group to the right. Furtwängler's description is—'Several maidens in rapid motion . . . It is clear that we have before us two of those triple sisterhoods of divine maidens which from old time (cf. the Moirai, Horai, and Charites of the François vase) artists were fond of introducing into processions of the gods. The swift, dance-like advance would be specially appropriate for Nymphs, Horai and Charites. We are inclined to suggest as most probable that those on the left are the Charites.' This he confirms by showing that the next figures are almost certainly Aphrodite and Eros; but he withdraws the 'Hours' in favour of some special nymphs who would suit his general explanation better. However this may be, there can now be little doubt that we have in this frieze an echo of the Basis of the Parthenos and that the 'Hours' were on the Basis as well as the Graces, just as we might suppose from Pausanias having been reminded of Hesiod's description of Pandora's birth. As there were only twelve great gods, yet twenty spectators were present, the Seasons and Charites *must* have been there also to take their gifts to the Greek Mother Eve. It is quite probable, however, that on the abbreviated Pergamon Basis favourite groups were picked out and that the Graces did not come next to Pandora on the original work. The Graces would have been specially suitable for this statue of Athene executed for a city library. The war-like attributes seem to have been left out; Athene was here the goddess of Wisdom.

Aphrodite must have been an important figure on the original Basis,

perhaps the group with Eros on the Nike frieze reflects it.³⁴ Persuasion must also have been there and Hermes. The closely grouped pair of female figures on the right of the frieze—Demeter and Persephone—were possibly taken from the Basis; there are many existing variants of such a group,³⁵ but see below.

On the Nike temple frieze the Graces were tripping forward with their advanced left arms drooping freely. The second one seems to have held her mantle above her shoulder with her right hand, and the last one had fluttering draperies which were probably gathered in by her right.³⁶

On the Thasos relief of the Graces, which was about contemporary with the Basis of the Parthenon, the figures do not hold hands, and the same is true of a copied relief which bears the name of Kallimachos (Reinach's *Reliefs*, iii. p. 181) which follows the same tradition. (See also Horae in Daremberg and Saglio's *Dictionary*, Fig. 3877). If we now compare these three and the group on the Pergamon Basis-copy no doubt can remain that Pheidias represented the Charites as present at the Birth of Pandora. This brings up the interpretation of the last metope on the south side of the Parthenon, which has been already mentioned. Here Athene is seated on the Acropolis rock. She is probably conceived as having returned from the Trojan war, the final scenes of which were treated in the other metopes. A messenger-like figure trips up to her who is not Nike or Iris and who resembles very closely one of the figures on the Basis of the Parthenon. It must be either Hebe or a Grace. The last metope of the Herakles series of the Theseum is a variation of the same motive.³⁷ Herakles seems to rest after the adventure of the Hesperides Garden. The figure who runs forward may be one of the daughters of Atlas or Hebe or one of the Graces. A relief in the Louvre shows the three Graces approaching a resting Herakles.³⁸ The Graces and Hours were sculptured on the archaic throne of Apollo at Amyklæ by Bathykles of Magnesia. Dr. Murray observed of these: 'The function of these figures was the same as that of the Caryatides of the Erechtheum, or those which served as stands for mirrors, or otherwise acted as supports. We may assume for them a general character not unlike those archaic statues on the Acropolis.' Just so, is it not probable indeed that some of these were indeed Graces? At a later time there was a group of the Graces on the Acropolis and one of the earliest works of sculpture which is

³⁴ Mr. Cook lately brought forward an Aphrodite as a claimant to a place on the east Pediment, but, if Pheidias, there is no reason why it should not have been on the Basis, where doubtless some of the figures were seated for variety as on the frieze.

³⁵ One of these is Gandy-Deering's beautiful relief which appears to be lost (*Ionian Antiquities*, vol. v. note on title page vignette). That this relief indeed came from Rhamnus is made sure by similar reliefs, one of which is at Munich. The Hermes on the Oxford Pandora vase who is nearly repeated on the

second B.M. vase may be an echo from the Basis.

³⁶ This more fluttering drapery seems to have been a good deal like that of a relief of three nymphs led by Hermes now at Berlin (Farnell, vol. i. Pl. XXI.).

³⁷ On the basis of the cult statue of Nemesis at Rhamnus was a similar messenger figure. Here it was Leda bringing in Helen. Yet another is on the stage front of the theatre of Dionysos, a work which has many echoes of the Basis.

³⁸ Reinach's *Reliefs*, vol. i. p. 92.

recorded were some figures of the Graces made by the Ionian artist Bupalos.³⁹ Compare also some torsos of figures from Xanthos in the British Museum which are described as 'architectonic.' They seem too slender to have been Caryatides.⁴⁰ Two 'maidens' lately in the Hope collection seem to have been found in S. Italy.

The composition of the seventeen figures on the Basis of the Zeus at Olympia was remarkably parallel to the Parthenos Basis and to the Nike frieze. Here were: a central triad, two end groups, and intermediate pairs of figures. We may assume that Aphrodite rose from the sea between two taller figures. Persuasion we are told was crowning Aphrodite, and we have seen Pandora was crowned. The Eleusinian relief is again similar. It is possible that there is a survival of the scheme in Early Christian Baptism scenes. The scheme of the Basis of the Zeus may be represented thus:—

HELIOS	ZEVS	HERA	Hephaistos	Charis	Hermes	Hestia	WINGED EROS	APHRODITE	PERSVASION	Apollo	Artemis	Athene	Herakles	AMPHITRITE	POSEIDON	SELENE
chariot	(seated ?)														riding	

What exactly was the thought which led to the choice of the Pandora subject on the Basis of the Parthenos? On considering the position of Athene and Hephaistos here and as the craft gods of Athens, and also the special interest the builders of the Parthenon had in the Arts, it will appear that the subject was conceived as the Adorning of Pandora, rather than her creation. The subject was none other than the Origin of Craft in the double sense of the word:—

'Thus he spake . . . and next Athene he bade
Teach her the work she must do, how the wonderful web is made.'

And to Aphrodite:—

'And give thou a shameless mind, and all furtive thievish ways.'

The Parthenos was not only the giver of Victory, she was the Teacher of the Arts and Cunning, the Goddess of Wisdom.

Returning now to the eastern frieze of the Nike temple, of which there is in the British Museum a cast of the left-hand central portion. The style of

³⁹ Murray, i. p. 112.

⁴⁰ Caryatid figures were an ancient Ionian invention and were probably at first Charites and Hours as on the throne of Apollo at Amyklæ. Those of the Treasury of Cnidos at the Apollo Sanctuary at Delphi were also probably Hours or Charites and such also may have been those at the angles of later sarcophagi. The Caryatides of the Erech-

them while following the general Ionian tradition gave the 'Maidens' a local meaning. Dr. Murray's description of the three figures bearing gifts on the Harpy Tomb quite convinces me that they must be Charites or Hours. Comparing them again with other groups on the Thasos Relief and a vase figured by Daremberg and Saglio under Horæ the probability seems to be turned to proof.

this part is strikingly Pheidian; yet the figures are in high relief and not like those of the great frieze of the Parthenon in this respect. The female figures are draped in the manner described above with a deep turn-over of the chiton forming an arched line and with folds which are dragged aside. Athene, in the centre, carries her shield high and is after the type of the Promachos and the new-born goddess of the Pediment of the Parthenon (cf. Fig. 6). The seated Zeus seems also to have echoed the figure on the pediment. Behind Zeus was a dignified goddess lifting her veil or mantle. This must have been Hera and it may also be a reflection from the pediment. The corresponding figure behind Poseidon should be Amphitrite.⁴¹ 'One figure may be seen resting on his staff engaged in conversation with his graceful neighbour goddess.' (There seems to be a borrowing from this pair on the Nereid Monument.) Such conversations are Pheidian motives. The 'Hours' on the right must have been an exquisite group: one was resting, another was starting up eagerly.

Furtwängler's interpretation of the frieze is not satisfactory. It had been recognised as an assembly of the Gods, but while he accepted and made identifications of Aphrodite, Eros, Persuasion and the Charites on the left,⁴² Poseidon, Athene and Zeus in the centre, and Demeter and Persephone with a group of Nymphs on the right, he yet thought that other figures to the right and left of the central group were heroes and not gods.

The conditions for the interpretation of the frieze are: (1) the temple was that of Athene Nike; (2) close by it, probably in front of the east end and the frieze we are considering, was a site sacred to the Graces with their statues close by; (3) the sculptures on the other three sides of the temple treat of Greek battles; (4) the eastern frieze itself shows Athene armed in the middle between Zeus and Poseidon, and considering the dedication of the temple this figure must be of Victorious Athene; (5) the central composition closely resembles that of the birth of Athene in the east Pediment of the Parthenon. Without arguing up to it I will say that the best solution appears to me to be that the sculpture represented Athene's victorious return from battle for the Greeks, and the Graces and Hours hastening to minister to her. I imagine such a scene as that at the end of the Fifth *Iliad*: 'Then fared the twain back to the mansion of great Zeus, even Hera and Athene, having stayed Ares.' At her going Athene had put on helm and aegis and had issued by the gates of Heaven 'of which the Hours are warders to whom is committed Olympus' (see note 42).

'The Gods,' says Collignon, 'seem to await the issue of the battles. The real subject is the glorification of Athenian victories.' With the exception that I would amend 'await' to 'discuss' I agree entirely; but victories must be won. This remarkable frieze, I suggest, closely followed the reliefs on the

⁴¹ Zeus and Hera, Poseidon and Amphitrite, were opposite pairs on the Basis at Olympia.

⁴² He takes no notice of a fourth female in front of the 'Graces,' but separated from them by being seated. I would read this left-hand

section as Dione, Eros, Aphrodite, the Charites and Persuasion. (There is a good later examination of the frieze in Petersen's *Athen* (1908), p. 84).

Basis of the Parthenos. On each there was a group of three figures at the centre, on either side were conversations of Gods. Beyond these were triads and then the end groups. On the Basis these end groups were probably Helios and Selene; on the frieze there were two sets of three figures. Even the number of figures was very nearly alike on the two works, 21 on the Basis and about 25 on the Frieze. The Basis of the Parthenos was probably very similar to the Basis of the Zeus with one figure (Hestia) omitted and five added for the full complement of Graces and Hours.

HELIOS
HERA
ZEVS
Grace
Grace
Grace
Herakles
Artemis
Apollo
P. ATHENE
PANDORA
HEPHAISTOS
Persuasion
Aphro. & Eros
Hermes
Hora
Hora
Hora
POSEIDON
AMPHITRITE
SELENE

I suggest this scheme for the Basis of the Parthenos; an alternative would be to leave out the Horai and substitute Dionysos, Demeter and Persephone.

W. R. LETHABY.

NOTE.

At the last moment I find that Petersen (*Athen*, 1908) has also brought out the resting pose of the Parthenos; the pillar under her hand was necessary not only technically but to communicate to the spectator the sense of rest. He also noted the archaic type and the prominence given to the helmet; he read the Basis-copy as Aphrodite bringing a fillet to Pandora. On the basis see also *Revue Archéologique*, 1904 (iv.), p. 108, where it is argued that Pandora should be a half figure, although it is admitted that the statuette shows a central standing figure: this view is based on a claim that on the Genoa vase the subject is rather the birth of Pandora than of Aphrodite: the B.M. cylix is the 'Adorning of Pandora' not the Birth. It may be recalled that Mrs. Strong noted that Pliny spoke in a doubtful way of 'what is called the genesis'; this would be explained if as I have suggested the subject on the basis was really the adorning.

SUN MYTHS AND RESURRECTION MYTHS.

THERE is a type of resurrection myth, originating in Thrace and in North Greece, the connexion of which with the sun and moon worship is at present unduly set aside in favour of the Demeter-Persephone derivation. This type is seen in the stories, so popular in the art and drama of fifth century Athens, of the wife or husband who prevails against death, for a time at least, by recovering the beloved one. The most famous examples form a triad which is frequently mentioned, the tales of Laodamia, Alcestis, and Orpheus.

The beautiful slab representing Orpheus and Eurydice at the fatal moment when

restitit, Eurydicenque suam iam luce sub ipsa
immemor heu victusque animi respexit

was made no doubt under the influence of the great Parthenon sculpture and very possibly about the time of the production of the *Alcestis* of Euripides in 438.¹ Indeed in the *Alcestis* (348 ff.) there is one passage in which the three myths are linked. There is a reference to the plot of the *Protesilaos* of Euripides in the use of the image-motive, immediately followed by a reference to the journey of Orpheus. I quote the translation by Gilbert Murray:—

‘ O, I shall find some artist wondrous wise
Shall mould for me thy shape, thine hair, thine eyes,
And lay it in thy bed; and I will lie
Close, and reach out mine arms to thee and cry
Thy name into the night and wait and hear
My own heart breathe; “Thy love, thy love is near.”
A cold delight; yet it might ease the sum
Of sorrow . . . And good dreams of thee will come

¹ Gruppe in Roscher, 3, pt. 2, Sp. 1173, calls the slab the oldest example of the use of the Thracian costume for Orpheus, which began, as he thinks, in the second half of the fifth century. He puts the date of the original about the time of the Archidamian war. This change to the Thracian dress would very well suit the time in which, as Dr. Leaf suggests in his article on the *Rhesus*, the interest in

Thracian things had been quickened in Athens by the founding of Amphipolis. Kekulé von Stradonitz in *Bildwerke im Berliner Museum, V. Jahrhundert*, puts the original of the Medea slab ‘in der Epoche des Parthenonfrieses’ and on the following page (172) says that ‘das Orpheusrelief im ersten Vorbild der gleichen Epoche angehört.’

Like balm. 'Tis sweet, even in a dream, to gaze
 On a dear face, the moment that it stays.
 O God, if Orpheus' voice were mine to sing
 To death's high Virgin and the Virgin's king.
 Till their hearts failed them, down would I my path
 Cleave and naught stay me, not the hound of wrath
 Nor the grey oarsman of the ghostly tide,
 Till back to sunlight I had borne my bride.'

Of the Alcestis myth Mr. Thomson in his delightful chapter on Alcestis and her Hero writes:—

'Her worshippers might call her here Kore, and Semele there and Alcestis somewhere else. At heart under all these names and in spite of local variations in her ritual, the *Rediviva* is everywhere and always one and the same, being in fact the Earth, who appears to die in winter and to come to life again in the spring' (*The Greek Tradition*, p. 115).

Wilamowitz, too, in his militant manner, says in a footnote in his *Isyllos von Epidaurus* (p. 75, n. 50) that 'the fact that anyone could have the daring, after K. O. Mueller's demonstration that Admetus is Hades, to refer the myth to the Sun and his rising and setting shows the depth to which the study of mythology has sunk.'

This imperious dictum was written in 1885, and Miss Harrison's paper on Helios-Hades has since its writing shown that 'Helios is the bright side of Hades.'² It has also become clear that Hecate-Selene is the bright side of Hecate-Persephone. The statement made by Wilamowitz on the authority of K. O. Mueller, and followed universally so far as I have observed by other scholars, that Admetus is Hades I believe to be erroneous. It rests on a line of the *Iliad* (9, 158) and on the doubtful phrase (33 f.) in the second idyll of Theocritus, in which the interpretation of τὸν ἐν ἄδᾳ ἀδάμαντα by R. J. Cholmeley as meaning 'the gate of hell' is probably right. The word in the *Iliad* is ἀδάματος, used in Homer only here in this form. In the form ἀδάματος it is used by the dramatist of unwedded girls and of untamed beasts; ἀδάματος itself is used by Xenophon of an unbroken horse. Except for the proper name Admetus, this form (ἄδμητος) is found only in the feminine in Homer and of unbroken animals, while the form ἀδμήτης is used of unwedded girls, in which sense ἀδμήτη is found in Aeschylus and Sophocles. I can find no support for the statement that 'Ἄδμητος, the unconquered, is a common title of Pluto' (Hayley, following Mueller, *Alcestis*, p. xi).

On the other hand the epithet ἄδμητος is appropriate to Helios, who afterward in these very Balkan regions in which his early cult was so strong was known as ἀνίκητος and Sol Invictus. Further we find an Admetus among the descendants of Helios. This phenomenon frequently means that an epithet has been detached from the Sun himself and given to a child of his, as for example Phaethon and Phoibos. In Polygnotus' picture at Delphi

² Thomson, J. A. K., *The Greek Tradition*, p. 119.

there appeared an Admetus,³ son of Augeias, whose name is also one that refers to the light of the sun. Augeias is the son of Helios, to whom his father gave this 'gift pre-eminent, to abound in flocks above all men, and Helios himself did ever and always give increase to the cattle, for upon his herds came no disease, of them that always minish the herdman's toil. But always more in number waxed the horned kine, and goodlier year by year, for verily they all brought forth abundantly and never cast their young and bare chiefly heifers' (Theocritus 25, 117 ff., Lang's translation). Another Sun-god, Apollo, in the home of Admetus of Pherae rich in flocks, caused all the cows to bear twins. In the genealogy of the Thessalian heroes one comes constantly on the track of the Sun-god. There is the notable sinner, Phlegyas, the Flaming; his son Íxion, the Sunwheel (Cook, *Zeus*, p. 197 ff.), who is sometimes son of Aithon, the Gleaming; Peirithoos, the Revolving, and Asklepios, whose epithets *Αἰγλάης* and *Ἀγλαόπης* mean *Shining*, and in whose very name, as Wilamowitz says, 'steckt Glanz.'⁴ The Hesychius definition adduced by Wilamowitz, following K. O. Mueller (*Isyllos*, 75), and by Farnell (*Cults*, ii. 475) to show that Admetus is a god of the lower world has, I believe, been misinterpreted. In it Hecate is defined as *Ἀδμήτου κόρη*. Elsewhere, with the exception of the fragment of Bacchylides in which she is called the 'child of blackrobed Night,' she is the child of heavenly parents and is called Perseis.⁵ I think it probable that in this late gloss Hecate has been understood as Selene and is called daughter of Admetus, as in the *Phoenissae* (175) Selene is addressed as daughter of Helios. Cf. Schol. Arat. 445, *παρὰ τοῖς τραγικοῖς Ἡλίου θυγάτηρ*.

Since the Hesychius passage is the one on which the identification of Admetus and Pluto chiefly rests, and since Admetus elsewhere is a child of light with evident traits of the Sun-god in his holiness and his rich flocks, I can see no reason for connecting the hero with the deity of the lower world, and feel that Mr. Thomson is right when he says 'It was to Admetus in his shining aspect—as it were the Sun-god himself—that Alcestis was married on the day of the strange procession.' It is wrong, however, as I think, to identify Admetus with Pluto as Mr. Thomson does on page 118. Admetus does not even, like Heracles and so many others of the family of the Shining Ones, descend into Hades' realm to reappear again, or to remain forever for some sin.

I do not wish to advocate the theory of the German scholar who comes under the ban of Wilamowitz in the passage cited from his 'Isyllos' for maintaining that in the marriage of Alcestis and Admetus there is a picture of the marriage of the Rose of Dawn or the Rose of Twilight to the Rising or the Setting Sun. Dawn does marry in Greek mythology, but it is the primitive feeling about the love and marriage of the Sun and his sister the Moon that has expressed itself in countless myths about unhappy lovers of the hero type from ancient times down to the present. To the union of the

³ Paus. x. 25, 5.

⁴ *Isyllos von Epidauros*, 92 ff.

⁵ Warr in *C.R.* ix. 390-393.

heavenly bride and bridegroom Frazer ascribes the establishing of the Olympian games, and Cornford adds much interesting material in the sixth chapter of Miss Harrison's *Themis*. The pair are said by Hesiod to be brother and sister, children of Theia and Hyperion. Here the epithets have become the parents as so often epithets have become the offspring of the Sun and Moon. In a Roumanian folk-song there is preserved a myth of the love and longing of the Sun for his sister and their punishment and parting.

'Helen of the long gold hair
 And thou Sun so shining fair,
 Thou who from all sin art pure,
 Sun and Moon ye are condemned
 While my heavens shall endure,
 Till eternity shall end,
 To seek each other through the skies,
 Following with yearning eyes,
 Never having power to meet
 On the high celestial street,
 Only following endlessly,
 Lifted over land and sea,
 Wandering heaven day and night,
 Filling all the world with light.'⁶

It is the Christian Lord God who in this song condemns the Sun and Moon to pine forever, but the rest of the myth consists of the primitive Balkan belief in the Sun and Moon, modified by the Hellenic story of Helen, the fair.

Another song from Roumania which preserves the marriage myth is this⁷:—

'You see I know all the white moon's dark secrets.
 It is she herself that kills the sun
 And on the sky her knife is bloody,
 But the sun rises from his tomb,
 And every night she has to kill again.

* * * * *

But the sun rises every morning from his red tomb.
 Now to-day I have heard a strange thing, my fair husband,
 The moon still loves the sun
 And they are wedded;
 They have a marriage ring,
 It is made of the gold of the sun and the silver of the moon
 Exactly like our own.'

'The Moon herself,' Plutarch says, 'revolves in love of the Sun and desiring ever to wed with him.' We are told (Proclus on Hesiod, *Works*,

⁶ Jewett's *Folk-Ballads of Southern Europe*, 23 ff.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 271 f.

5, 280) that the Athenians chose the time of the new moon for the celebration of marriage and the 'theogamia,' holding that this was the time when the Moon was going to her marriage with the Sun. We have the authority of Pindar for the interest of the Sun in the prayers of men who are in love while the Moon listens to the lovesick woman (Schol. on Theocritus, *id.* 2, 21). These stories of the heroes and heroines in which the theme is nuptial love and parting reflect an old and widely spread conception of the union (*σύνωδος*) of Sun and Moon at the *νουμηνία*. (Cf. the interesting passage, Eur. *Suppl.* 990 ff., where the *σύνωδος* of Sun and Moon makes a good omen for the marriage of Capaneus and Evadne.) They are influenced also in their Greek form by the drama of the other year deities, and Eurydice and Alcestis have points of contact with Persephone, just as the Balkan goddess of the Moon, Artemis the Queen, Hecate and Brimo are sometimes one with the dread goddess of Hades. In the *Phoenissae* (108) Euripides, who understands such things well, calls Hecate the royal child of Leto; in the *Ion* (1048) Enodia is addressed as 'Daughter of Demeter, who dost rule the haunting things, which come by night.' Again in the *Helen* (579) Hecate has the epithet *φωσφόρος* and is entreated to send blessed visions. In the next line she is Enodia. In *I.T.* (21) Artemis is *φωσφόρος θεός*. The Thessalian goddess Pheraia, worshipped at Pherae, the home of Admetus, is Hecate-Enodia-Brimo-Artemis, the great Moon-goddess of the Balkans, who has her dwelling in the lower world as well. The names of the three heroines, which are usually interpreted as epithets of Persephone, can as well refer to the Moon-goddess, Alcestis, the Mighty, Laodamia, Her who quells the Folk, and Eurydice, Her of the Wide Sway. It was Hecate-Brimo of Pherae, who according to the Hellenised form of the tale is Artemis, whose wrath at not receiving sacrifice brought the doom of death upon Admetus. The children and grandchildren of the Sun are often sinful, as for example Ixion, Peirithous, Medeia, and Circe. So Admetus, the heroised namesake of the Sun, is guilty of remissness toward the Moon-goddess.

In Orpheus as in Paean we have a spirit of healing. Paean deals with *φάρμακα* and Orpheus with the *ἐπώδη* (*Cyclops*, 646). Paean becomes identified with Apollo, who assumes the character of medicine-god, and Orpheus, whose healing is more psychological, the enchanter and singer, gives his life for the sake of the Sun-god (according to Aeschylus in the *Bassarids*). In the picture of Polygnotus⁸ Orpheus is without his bride in Hades. In the famous slab we see him at the moment in which he offends against the law of magic, which demands that one should not look upon the magic act. So Medeia, in a fragment (491) of Sophocles' *Rootdiggers*, cuts her magic herbs with head turned away. In the version of the *ἀναγογή* of the bride which is regarded as the first, Orpheus brings up, perhaps successfully, Argiope or Agriope.⁹ These are plainly moon-epithets, either of the shining or the baldful face of the moon. A. B. Cook (in his *Zeus*, p. 537) discusses Europe, daughter of Argiope, as a moon-goddess. The name

⁸ Paus. x. 30, 6.

⁹ Hermesianax ap. Athenaeum, xiii. 597 f.

Argiope is formed like Antiope, who, as Mr. Cook shows (p. 738), was as early as the eighth century B.C. the wife of Helios and probably a moon-goddess. Antiope, according to Mr. Cook, following Gruppe, 'is a highly suitable appellation for the full moon, which at its rising exactly faces the sun.' If then the first wife of Orpheus was a moon-hypostasis, we may assume the same of Eurydice and regard the parting as originally that of the loving Sun and Moon rather than that of Spring leaving the Earth. I should like to suggest here a derivation which I have not seen advocated for another Thessalian heroine, the mother of Asklepios, Aigla or Koronis, who was daughter of Phlegyas and beloved of Apollo. Aigla is obviously a moon-epithet; Koronis can well refer to the sickle-shape of the new moon. We are told by Isyllos that she was given the name Koronis for her beauty. Wilamowitz, who connects the name with the crow or raven, says that it is indeed peculiar that she should be called *Koronis* for her beauty's sake. 'Aber die Griechen scheinen doch Koronis als ein auszeichnendes Beiwort, als einen Namen, bei dem man an Schönheit dachte, empfunden zu haben.' Since Koronis was the beloved of Apollo, who fell in love with her as she dipped her feet in the lake of Phoebus or Phoebe, it seems reasonable to see in her a heroine whose names both come from the moon. The meaning of the words τὸ κάλλος δὲ Κορωνίς ἐπεκλήθη, which are so puzzling to Wilamowitz, may be clear if we think of the beauty of the new moon. The comparison of Dido, retreating from contact with Aeneas in the lower world, to the new moon seen dimly through the clouds is unspeakably lovely:—

obscuram, qualem primo qui surgere mense
aut videt aut vidisse putat per nubila lunam.

In the story of Laodamia we see the longing of the Moon for the Sun typified more clearly than in the other two myths. Protesilaos appears to have been worshipped as a fructifying daemon in his home in Phylace (Pindar, i. 1, 21) and in Elaeus (Philostratus, *Her.* 2, 8; Hdt. 9, 116; Thuc. 8, 102). In the fifth century version, preserved in several sources, Laodamia asked the gods below that her husband might return to her. She obtained the boon of three hours of companionship with him in the upper world. At the expiration of this time, when her husband had left her, she had a bronze or wax or wooden image of him made, which she placed in her chamber under the pretext of offering sacrifice, and began to worship it. She was found by her returning husband, according to Eustathius, embracing the statue. In another account a servant, seeing her embrace the statue, believed that she had admitted a lover to her room and reported the thing to her father, who burned the statue. Laodamia in grief, according to this version, threw herself on the fire and was burned to death. The use made in the plot of Euripides' *Protesilaos* of the image-motive is not certain and has been discussed most fully by M. Mayer in his paper entitled 'Der Protesilaos des Euripides.'¹⁰ I make the suggestion that the statue was used by

¹⁰ See Mayer, M., 'Der Protesilaos des Euripides,' *Hermes*, xx., 101 ff.

Laodamia in the play of Euripides in a ritual (*γοητείας*) like that ascribed to the *Ghost-raisers* of Aeschylus. Compare Phryn. Bekk. 73, 13: *τοὺς τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν τεθνεώτων γοητείας τισὶ (ἀν)άγοντας τῆς αὐτῆς ἐννοίας καὶ τοῦ Αἰσχύλου τὸ δρᾶμα ψυχαγωγοί*. The statue, if of wax, as suggested in some sources, would be such a 'koros' as is mentioned in fragment 493 of Sophocles: *κόρον ἀιστώσας πυρί*. Its use would be that of sympathetic magic, like that employed by Simaetha in the second idyll of Theocritus for the purpose of making Delphis melt with love for her. It would be very appropriate for a Thessalian heroine, who owes her name to the moon-goddess, to use magic in order to make Protesilaos feel her longing for him even in the underworld. In a passage near the close of the *Alcestis*, in which Admetus expresses the fear that Alcestis may be a phantom from the world of shades, Heracles says 'No *ψυχαγωγός* (ghost-raiser) hast thou made thy friend' (Murray). As the play of Aeschylus had this name, and as Euripides was a close student and sometimes a critic of Aeschylus, he may be referring to the plot of that play, which he may have copied in some details of his *Protesilaos*. The *Alcestis* in that case marks an advance in his treatment of the resurrection theme.

We know the exact date of the production of the *Alcestis* to have been 438 B.C., and I have noted that the style of the sculptured slab depicting Orpheus turning toward Eurydice on the upward way is in the manner of that period. Resurrection myths of the Balkan-Thessalian type were a frequent theme in Athens at that time. Dr. Leaf¹¹ has shown that the *Rhesus* was in all probability composed with reference to the settlement of Amphipolis by an Athenian colony in 437. In this too we have a resurrection myth which embodied a deep-seated religious belief of the Danubian regions and one that is connected with sun-worship. 'Like many Thracian heroes Rhesus has a dash of the Sun-god in him, the burning targe, the white horses and the splendour. Like them he is a boaster and a deep drinker, a child of battle and of song. Like other divine kings he dies in his youth and strength, and keeps watch over his people from "some feasting presence full of light," where he lies among the buried silver-veins of Pangaion.' (Introduction to *Rhesus*, Murray, p. xii.)

The Muse says of her son's fate:—

' My son shall not be laid in any grave
Of darkness; thus much guerdon will I crave
Of Death's eternal bride, the heavenly-born
Maid of Demeter, Life of fruits and corn,
To set this one soul free. She owes me yet
For Orpheus widowed an abiding debt.
To me he still must be—that know I well—
As one in death, who sees not. Where I dwell
He must not come, nor see his mother's face.
Alone forever, in a caverned place

¹¹ *J.H.S.* 1915, p. 1 ff.

Of silver-veined earth hid from men's sight
 A Man yet Spirit, he shall live in light;
 As under far Pangaion Orpheus lies,
 Priest of great light and worshipped of the wise.'

(Gilbert Murray's Translation.)

The immortalising 'Getae, who live between the Balkans and the Danube (Bulgaria), had a belief in a similar life after death, in which they personally would spend an eternity of revelling with their *δαίμων* Salmoxis, who is a form of the Sun-god priest. Herodotus (iv. 94) says that these are the Getae who on occasion of thunder and lightning shoot arrows into heaven, threatening the god, believing only in the existence of their own god.' I think that the meaning of this passage has been misunderstood by Erwin Rohde¹² (*Psyche*, 2, 28) in that he regards Salmoxis as the Getan god and thinks the god against whom they direct their arrows is one in whom they do not believe. Their procedure is rather sun-magic, like that practised by the Paeonians in worship of or magic dealing with the same god. Salmoxis is a rude Danubian daemon and sun-priest, who never assumed a beautiful Greek form as did Orpheus, though he got so far as to be transformed into a follower of Pythagoras according to the theory of some Greeks from the Black Sea, to whose statement Herodotus attaches no great importance. The *penteteris*, given by Herodotus as the time intervening for the messengers to Salmoxis who are tossed against the spears, points to the sun and moon *penteteris*. (See page 231 of Miss Harrison's *Themis*: Cornford's discussion of the time reckonings.)

The resurrection myths of Alcestis, Eurydice, and Protesilaos were humanised and stamped with the beauty of the Periclean period by the genius of an unknown worker in marble in the depiction of the Orpheus myth, and by Euripides in his *Alcestis* and his *Protesilaos*. They had their roots in their myths about the sun and moon which found their way from the Danube and Thessaly in the sixth (see Farnell, *Cults*, ii. 508, for Hecate) and fifth centuries. They were 'myths' to the Greeks, but came from deep-rooted folk superstitions and beliefs in the Balkans and Thessaly, where the magico-religious cult of the moon-goddess was so strongly seated and where sun-worship produced a cult of medicine destined to be fruitful for good in the worships of Paeon of Paeonia and Asklepios of Tricca in Thessaly.

The tales of Salmoxis in his cave, Orpheus on Pangaeos, worshipping the Sun, Brimo-Hecate at Pherae, Koronis and Apollo at the Shining Lake, Artemis and Apollo in Greek art and literature, are the product of, or have been profoundly affected by, the worship of Sun and Moon in the Danubian lands from which their cult has never wholly perished.¹³ Poetry and custom and religion in those places still celebrate their *πρέσβιστον σέβας*.

GRACE HARRIET MACURDY.

¹² Dr. Farnell (*Cults*, v. 94) appears to follow Rohde.

¹³ See *Servia by the Servians*, Chapter xii.,

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Manners and Customs, by S. Troyanovitch, Director of the Ethnological Museum in Belgrade.

A SURVEY OF GREEK FEDERAL COINAGE.

THE object of the present article is to bring the evidence of coins to bear upon a type of Greek state which has received comparatively slight attention at the hands of historians, the federal union of cities or tribes.¹

A preliminary survey of Greek federal money was made some fifty years ago by the Hon. J. B. L. Warren.² More recently important additions to our knowledge of the coin-systems of individual leagues have been made by several expert writers on numismatics.³ But certain aspects of federal coinage have hardly yet been considered.

In particular, no systematic attempt has yet been made to use their evidence to illustrate one crucial problem of federal politics, the relation of the federal government to the confederate states. In the following pages an endeavour will be made to throw light upon this problem by means of a survey of the various federal coinage systems.

The scope of this survey will be confined to the federations of the pre-Roman era, whose object was mainly or solely political. The more or less formal leagues of the Roman period will be left out of account. On the other hand the term 'federation' will be taken in the wider sense, so as to include all unions of Greek states which possessed separate organs of government over and above the governments of the federating cities or tribes.⁴

(1) *Acarnania.*⁵

Federal Coins. *Æ* and *Δ*. 400-167 B.C.

Predominant Type.—Head of Acheloiüs.

Inscriptions.—F(*ακαρνάνων*), AK, AKAPNANΩN. Name, presumably of federal strategus, on some of the earlier coins.

¹ In addition to Freeman's well-known work on *Federal Government*, we now have a more comprehensive and up-to-date account by Swoboda (in Hermann's *Lehrbuch der griechischen Antiquitäten* I^o. pt. 3, pp. 208-443). Swoboda does not ignore the numismatic evidence, as Freeman did, but the scope of his work has not allowed him to discuss it in detail.

² *Essay on Greek Federal Coinage* (London, 1863).

³ See especially the articles by Weil on the coins of Arcadia (*Zeitschrift für Numismatik*,

ix. p. 19 *sqq.*, xxix. p. 139 *sqq.*), and by Babelon (*Revue Numismatique*, 1913, pp. 457-485), and P. Gardner (*J.H.S.* 1913, pp. 147-188) on the money of the Delian Confederacy.

⁴ This definition is more comprehensive than that of Swoboda, who lays down the rule that a 'federation' in the strict sense of the word only includes those unions which created a federal franchise in addition to the municipal or tribal franchises (*op. cit.* pp. 208-9).

⁵ Head, *Historia Numorum* (2nd ed.), pp. 328-334.

Local Coins.

(a) 400–250 B.C.—Silver coins, with Corinthian type and local inscription, are issued at Alyzia, Anactorium, Argos, Astacus, Leucas, Metropolis, Stratus, and Thyreium.

(b) 250–167 B.C.—No municipal coins are issued, except some bronze pieces of Anactorium, Leucas, and Oeniadae (219–11 B.C.).

(2) **Achaëa.**⁶*Federal Coins.*

(a) 370–360 B.C. \mathcal{R} and $\mathcal{Æ}$.

Predominant Type.—Head of Artemis or Zeus.

Inscription.— \mathcal{X} or AXAIΩN.

(b) 280–146 B.C. \mathcal{R} and $\mathcal{Æ}$.

Predominant Type.—Head of Zeus Amarius.

Inscription.—On \mathcal{R} coins: \mathcal{X} ; name of city and of local⁷ magistrate.

On $\mathcal{Æ}$ coins: name of League and of city combined (AXAIΩN AΓΓIPATΩN, etc.).

Local Coins.

(a) Before 370 B.C.—Aegae issues \mathcal{R} , and Helice $\mathcal{Æ}$, with municipal types and inscriptions.

(b) 370–322 B.C.—Dyme and Pellene strike \mathcal{R} : Aigeira, Bura, and Pellene $\mathcal{Æ}$. Local types and inscriptions.

(c) 280–146 B.C.—Coins with local types and inscriptions are issued as follows:—

\mathcal{R} at Argos, Megalopolis, Patrae, Sicyon, and Sparta.

$\mathcal{Æ}$ at Argos, Dyme, Elis, Messene, Patrae, and Sicyon.⁸

(3) **Aenianes.**⁹

Federal Coins. \mathcal{R} (400–344 B.C.¹⁰) and \mathcal{R} and $\mathcal{Æ}$ (168–146 B.C.).

Inscription.—AINIANΩN.

Local Coins.—None.

(4) **Aeolis.**¹¹

Federal Coins. $\mathcal{Æ}$. 330–280 ? B.C.

Predominant Type.—Fulmen.

Inscription.—AIO Δ E.

⁶ Head, pp. 412–418. Hill, *Historical Greek Coins*, pp. 73–5. M. G. Clerk, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Achaean League* (with copious illustrations).

⁷ The local character of these magistrates has been demonstrated by Warren, pp. 45–8.

⁸ B. M. *Catalogue, Peloponnesus*, p. xxvii.

⁹ Head, pp. 291–2.

¹⁰ In the B. M. *Catalogue for Thessaly*, p. 10, the date assigned is 302–288 B.C. But the analogy of the adjacent Oetaeans suggests 400–344 B.C.

¹¹ Head, pp. 559–563.

Local Coins.—Concurrent issues, with local types and inscriptions, at Aegirus (Æ), Antissa (Æ), Eresus (Æ), Methymna (Æ and Æ), Mitylene (Æ and Æ).

(5) **Aetolia.**¹²

Federal Coins. Æ, Æ, and Æ. 279–168 B.C.

Predominant Type.—Seated figure of Aetolia.

Inscription.—ΑΙΤΩΛΩΝ.

Local Coins.—A concurrent bronze issue, with Aetolian types but local inscriptions, is found at Amphissa, Apollonia, Oeantheia, Oeta, and Thronium.¹³ These places, however, should be regarded as tributaries rather than as regular members of the League.¹⁴

(6) **The Amphictyonic League of Delphi.**¹⁵

Federal Coins. Æ and Æ. *Circa.* 346–339 B.C.

Predominant Types.—Head of Demeter; Apollo.

Inscription.—ΑΜΦΙΚΤΙΟΝΩΝ.

Local Coins.—The constituent states of the League strike independently and without restriction.

(6 bis) **The Anti-Spartan League.**^{15 bis}

No *federal coinage*, strictly speaking. A standardised series of silver tridrachms of the Rhodian standard was issued from 394 to 389 B.C. (or perhaps to 387 B.C.) by Ephesus, Samos, Onidus, Iasos, Rhodes and Byzantium; they have their own reverse types, but a common obverse type of the infant Herakles strangling the serpents, with the inscription ΣΥΝ(MAXIKON).

(7) **Arcadia.**¹⁶

Federal Coins.

(a) 520–420 B.C.¹⁷ Æ.

Predominant Type.—Seated figure of Zeus Lycaeus.

Inscription.—ΑΥΡΑ, ΑΡΚΑΔΙΚΟΝ, etc.

¹² Head, pp. 334–5. Hill, pp. 115–7.

¹³ *B. M. Catalogue, Thessaly*, p. lvii. *Hunter Catalogue*, ii. pp. 30, 33.

¹⁴ For other instances of such *συντέλεια*, see Swoboda, pp. 348–350.

¹⁵ Head, pp. 341–2. Hill, pp. 89, 91–2.

^{15 bis} Head, p. 573; Hill, pp. 62 ff. Strictly speaking, it is doubtful whether the 'anti-Spartan' combination of 394–387 B.C. should be included in the present review. As our sole knowledge of its existence is derived from coins, we have but little evidence of its political structure. In particular, we cannot make sure that the combination was a federation in the proper sense of the term, i.e.

whether it possessed any common organs of government over and above the governments of the individual states. However, the 'anti-Spartan' coin types illustrate, if not a federation ready made, at any rate a federation in the making. On this ground they can fairly be included in our survey.

¹⁶ Head, pp. 444–456. Hill, pp. 72–3.

¹⁷ The beginning of this series, which is commonly placed at 490 B.C., has been thrown back by Weil (*Zeitsch. f. Num.* xxix. p. 141) to 520 B.C. The large number of extant specimens and the diversity of their style indicate that the series was a long one.

(b) 370–362 B.C., or later.¹⁸ \mathcal{R} and \mathcal{A} .

Predominant Type.—Head of Zeus Lycaeus; seated figure of Pan.

Inscription.—APK.¹⁹

(c) 251–244 B.C. \mathcal{A} .

Similar types and inscription.

Local Coins.

(a) 520–420 B.C.—Municipal silver issues, dating back to 450 B.C. or earlier, are found at Cleitor, Mantinea, and Psophis. Alea, the Parrhasii, Pheneus, and Tegea begin to coin before the end of the fifth century.²⁰ Their first issues perhaps overlap with the last of the 520–420 B.C. series of federal coins.

(b) *Circa* 362 B.C.—Coins with municipal types and inscriptions are struck at Cleitor (\mathcal{R} and \mathcal{A}), Heraea (\mathcal{R} and \mathcal{A}), Mantinea (\mathcal{R} and \mathcal{A}), Methydrium (\mathcal{A}), Orchomenus (\mathcal{A}), Pheneus (\mathcal{R} and \mathcal{A}), Stymphalus (\mathcal{R} and \mathcal{A}), and Tegea (\mathcal{R} and \mathcal{A}).

(c) 251–244 B.C.—No local issues can be dated with certainty to this period.

(8) **The First Athenian Confederacy** (Delian League).²¹

Federal Coins.—None.

Local Coins.—Independent local issues show a tendency to decline from the inception of the League.²² In the second half of the century they become increasingly rare. About 415 B.C. the only important surviving mints, beside that of Athens, are those of Chios, Cyzicus, the Rhodian towns, and Samos.²³ Elsewhere the local issues are replaced by the coins of Athens.

¹⁸ Weil (*Zeitschr. f. Num.* ix. p. 38) dates the series down to 300 B.C.

¹⁹ The inscriptions $\Gamma\Theta$ and $\Theta\mathcal{E}$, which occur on some of these pieces, have been ingeniously explained by Head as referring to Possicrates and Theoxenus, two founders of Megalopolis. In this case we have an intrusion of a municipal legend on a federal coin.

²⁰ According to Head, this series commenced about 450–420 B.C. The *B. M. Catalogue for Peloponnesus* takes 431 B.C. as the starting point.

Heraea, whose earliest coins date back to 550 B.C., issued no money during the greater part of the fifth century B.C. Weil (*Zeitschr. f. Num.* xxix. p. 144), conjectures that this was due to a *δικαισμός* not otherwise recorded. Imhoof-Bloomer (*Monnaies grecques*, p. 196) suggests more plausibly that in the fifth

century Heraea was the seat of the federal mint, and used the federal coins for its local purposes.

²¹ See especially P. Gardner, *J.H.S.* 1913, pp. 147–188, and Babelon, *Revue Numismatique*, 1913, pp. 457–485.

²² The time at which the Athenians conceived the deliberate policy of closing the mints of their allies is a matter of dispute. Babelon (p. 467 *sqq.*) would date this policy back to the beginning of the League. Weil (*Zeitschr. f. Num.* xxviii. pp. 355–6) argues with some force that restrictive measures were not taken before 454 B.C., from which time the tribute of the allies came to be spent more and more in Athens.

²³ P. Gardner, *loc. cit.*, and Head, pp. 524–5, 636–7.

(9) **The Second Athenian Confederacy** (377-338 B.C.).*Federal Coins.*—None.*Local Coins.*—Not only Athens, but numerous other members of the League, strike local pieces without any restriction.(10) **Boeotia.**²⁴*Federal Coins.*(a) 480-456 B.C. \mathcal{A} .Type.—Boeotian shield.²⁵Inscription.— $\tau\alpha(\nu\alpha\gamma\rho\alpha)$. $\beta\omicron\iota(\omega\tau\hat{\omega}\nu)$.(b) 379-338 B.C. \mathcal{A} .

Type.—Boeotian shield.

Inscription.—Name of federal magistrate.²⁶(c) 338-315 B.C. \mathcal{A} .

Type.—Boeotian shield.

Inscription.— $\beta\omicron\iota\Omega\tau\Omega\mathcal{N}$.(d) 288-146 B.C. \mathcal{A} and $\mathcal{A}\mathcal{E}$.

Type.—Head of Poseidon; or Poseidon standing.

Inscription.— $\beta\omicron\iota\Omega\tau\Omega\mathcal{N}$.*Local Coins.*(a) To 480 B.C.—Local currency (\mathcal{A}) is issued at Thebes and Tanagra from 600 B.C., at Acraephia, Coroneia, Haliartus, Mycalessus, Orchomenus, and Pharae from 550 B.C.

The coins of all these towns are on the same (Aeginetic) standard of weight. Except Orchomenus, they all bear the device of the Boeotian shield. But their inscriptions are purely municipal.

(b) 480-456 B.C.—Local coinage is suspended everywhere except at Thebes, which continues to strike pieces with the Boeotian shield and the legend $\Theta\epsilon\beta\alpha$.(c) 456-446 B.C.²⁷—Acraephia, Coroneia, Tanagra, and Thebes coin in the same style as before.(d) 446-386 B.C.—All municipal mints are closed except that of Thebes. The Theban coins (\mathcal{A} and $\mathcal{A}\mathcal{E}$) retain the type of the Boeotian shield, but on their reverse they generally bear a purely Theban device (*e.g.* Heracles strangling the serpents). The inscription is a purely local one.(e) 386-374 B.C.²⁷—The old series is resumed at Coroneia, Haliartus,²⁴ Head, pp. 343-355. Hill, pp. 69-71.²⁵ In the *B. M. Catalogue for Boeotia* (p. xxxvi.) it is suggested that the shield presumably had its origin at Thebes. It certainly appears continuously on the coins of that town, even at a time (146-27 B.C.) when other Boeotian towns had adopted different types. But the same device was commonly used by the generality of the Boeotian towns, and was not discarded by these in the periods when the influence of Thebes in Boeotia was in

abeyance (480-456 and 387-374 B.C.). The shield should therefore be regarded as a federal rather than a municipal symbol.

²⁶ On the federal character of the magistrates named on these coins, see Hill, pp. 70-71.²⁷ In 456-446 and 386-374 B.C. the Boeotian League ceased to exist for political purposes. It is probable that it remained in being as a sacral union.

Mycalessus, Pharae, and Tanagra, and is extended to Chaeroneia, Copae, Lebadeia, Plataea, and Thespieae. Orchomenus now begins a fresh series with the device of the Boeotian shield. It is not known whether the Theban mint remained open at this period.

(f) 374-338 B.C.—All municipal mints are closed.

(g) 338-315 B.C.—Coroneia, Haliartus, Lebadeia, Orchomenus, Tanagra, and Thespieae strike Æ on the same pattern as before.

(h) 315-288 B.C.—Thebes alone strikes money (Æ).

(i) 288-146 B.C.—All municipal coinages cease.

(k) 146 B.C.-27 A.D.—Municipal pieces (Æ) are struck at Lebadeia, Orchomenus, Thebes, and Thespieae. Thebes alone retains the type of the Boeotian shield.

(11) Chalcidice.²⁸

Federal Coins.

(a) Circa 450 B.C. Æ.

Type.—Horse cantering (the contemporary type of Olynthus).

Inscription.—∇ ΑΛΚ.

(b) Circa 400-350 B.C.²⁹ Ἀ, Ἀ, Æ.

Type.—Apollo; lyre.

Inscription.—ΧΑΛΚΙΔΕΩΝ. Some coins bear the name of a presumably federal official. One extant piece is inscribed
○ ΑΥΝ ○.³⁰

Local Coins.

(a) Before 400 B.C.—Independent silver coins are struck at Mende, Olynthus, Potidaea, Sermyle, and Torone.

(b) After 400 B.C.—Independent coins are issued by Acanthus (Ἀ), Apollonia (Æ), Mende (Ἀ and Æ), Orthagoreia (Ἀ and Æ), Potidaea (Ἀ and Æ). The currency of the Bottiaei imitates the federal type, but has a local inscription.

(12) Cyrene.³¹

Federal Coins. Circa 247-221 B.C. Ἀ and Æ.

Type.—Head of Zeus Ammon; silphium plant (the ordinary devices of Cyrenaica).

Inscription.—Κ Ο Ι Ν Ο Ν.

Local Coins.—No concurrent local issues are known, whether at Cyrene, Barca, or Euesperides.

²⁸ Head, pp. 203-214. Hill, pp. 66-7.

²⁹ The variety in the types of the fourth century pieces suggests that their issue extended over the whole period of the League's existence (Hill, pp. 66-7. Wroth, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1897, p. 100).

³⁰ B. M. *Catalogue, Macedonia*, p. 87. This solitary piece does not suffice to show

that the Chalcidian League was really a unitary state under the control of Olynthus (so Freeman, *Federal Government*, p. 152 sqq.). All the rest of the numismatic evidence supports the contention of Swoboda (*op. cit.* p. 215, n. 10), that the League was a genuine federation.

³¹ Head, pp. 871-2.

(13) **Epirus.**³²*Federal Coins.*

(a) Before 238 B.C. Æ.

Predominant Type.—Fulmen.

Inscription.—ΑΓΕΙΡΩΤΑΝ.

(b) 238–168 B.C. Ἀ and Æ.

Predominant Type.—Heads of Zeus and Dione.

Inscription.—ΑΓΕΙΡΩΤΑΝ.

Local Coins.

(a) Before 238 B.C.—Pieces with local types and inscriptions are issued by Ambracia (Ἀ), Cassope (Æ), Elea (Æ), and the Molossi (Ἀ and Æ).

(b) 238–168 B.C.—Coins with local types and inscriptions are struck by Ambracia (Ἀ and Æ), the Athamanes (Æ), Cassope (Ἀ and Æ), Pandosia (Æ), and Phoenice (Æ).

(14) **Euboea.**³³*Federal Coins.*

(a) 411–338 B.C. Ἀ.

Type.—Head of nymph; bull; bunch of grapes (same as on Eretrian coins).

Inscription.—EYB or EYBΩI.

(b) 197–146 B.C. Æ.

Same type.

Inscription.—EYBΩIEΩN.

Local Coins.—During both the above periods coins are issued by Carystus, Chalcis, Eretria, and Histiaea. All of these bear a local inscription. The types of Chalcis are wholly different from the federal ones. Those of Carystus and Histiaea show an occasional resemblance to the federal types. The device of the Eretrian coins is identical with those of the League.

(15) **Ionian.**³⁴*No federal coinage.*

Municipal issues of various types and weights are copious. About 500 B.C. a standardised series is issued by Chios, Samos, Abydos, Clazomenae, Lampsacus, Cyme, Dardanus, Priene, and perhaps some other towns. These pieces are all struck on the Milesian standard and have an identical reverse type (incuse square), but their obverse types are those of the individual cities. They bear no inscription.

After the Ionian Revolt the city coinages again become completely independent.

³² Head, pp. 319–325.³³ Head, pp. 355–365.³⁴ P. Gardner, *J.H.S.* 1911, pp. 151–160;

1913, p. 105. 'Ionian' is here taken in its wide sense as the Greek fringe of Asia Minor.

(16) **Italiotes** (*circa* 389 B.C.).

No federal coins.

The *municipal coins* of the Italiote cities are various in weight or type. Some coins of Croton, whose emblem is that of Heracles strangling the serpents, show some affinity to concurrent issues in Heracleia and Tarentum, on which the exploits of Heracles are figured.³⁵

(17) **Locris** (Opuntiorum).³⁶

Federal Coins. 338–300 B.C. \mathcal{R} .

Types.—Head of goddess; the Locrian Ajax.

Inscription.— ΛOKP ; $\Lambda\text{OKP}\Omega\text{N}$ $\Upsilon\text{Π}\text{OK}$ (*ναμιδίων*), $\Lambda\text{OKP}(\hat{\omega}\nu)$

$\text{ΕΠΙΚΝΑ}(\mu\delta\acute{\iota}\omega\nu)$.

Local Coins.—Pieces of identical type with the federal coins, but with municipal inscription, are struck at Opus, 400–338 B.C. (\mathcal{R}) and 197–146 B.C. (\mathcal{A}); also at Scarpheia (\mathcal{A} : same dates).

(18) **Lycia**.³⁷

Federal Coins.

(a) 520–323 B.C. None.

(b) 168 B.C.–43 A.D. \mathcal{R} and \mathcal{A} .

Predominant Type.—Head of Apollo Lycius.

Inscription.—On \mathcal{R} coins: $\Lambda\Upsilon$, $\Lambda\Upsilon\text{ΚΙ}\Omega\text{N}$.

On \mathcal{A} coins: initials of town, with or without $\Lambda\Upsilon\text{ΚΙ}\Omega\text{N}$.

Local Coins.

(a) 520–323 B.C.—There is an abundance of \mathcal{R} and \mathcal{A} coins with similar types (*e.g.* a triquetra), bearing the names of local dynasts and towns.

(b) 168 B.C.–43 A.D.—Eight towns issue independent \mathcal{R} or \mathcal{A} coins; fourteen others cease to strike.³⁸

(19) **The Macedonian League** (338–323 B.C.).

No federal coinage.

Local coinage continues unrestricted both in Macedon and in the confederate Greek states.

(20) **Magnetes**.³⁹

Federal Coins. 197–146 B.C. \mathcal{R} and \mathcal{A} .

Type.—Artemis.

Inscription.— ΜΑΓΝΗΤΩΝ .

³⁵ *Hunter Catalogue*, i. pp. 131, 86–88, 80–81. [Head remarks (p. 67) that the Heracles diobols of the fourth century struck at Tarentum and Heraclea, which are identical in type, should be regarded as federal rather than local issues.—G.F.H.]

³⁶ Head, pp. 336–7.

³⁷ Head, pp. 688–698.

³⁸ Seven other Lycian towns struck local pieces alone, and issued no money of federal type. These towns, however, were not included in the Lycian League.

³⁹ Head, pp. 300–301.

Local Coins.—About 290 B.C. Demetrius issued a series with municipal inscription and a device which is evidently the prototype of the federal Magnesian coins. But this issue came to an end long before the establishment of the federal mint.

(21) **The Nesiotic League** (315–168 B.C.).⁴⁰

Federal Coins.—None.

Local Coins.—Independent silver issues are abundant till 200 B.C. Local bronze coins are plentiful till the first century B.C.

(22) **Oetaeans.**⁴¹

Federal Coins.

(a) 400–344 B.C. \mathcal{R} and \mathcal{A} .

(b) 196–146 B.C. \mathcal{R} .

Types.—Lion's head; Heracles.

Inscription.— $\circ\text{I}\text{T}\text{A}\Omega\text{N}$, $\circ\text{I}\text{T}\text{A}\text{I}\Omega\text{N}$.

Local Coins.—None.

(23) **The Peloponnesian League.**

Federal Coins.—None.

Local Coins.—Independent series are issued without restriction.

(24) **Perrhaebi.**⁴²

Federal Coins.

(a) 480–400 B.C. \mathcal{R} .

Inscription.— $\Gamma\text{E}\text{P}\text{A}$.

(b) 196–146 B.C. \mathcal{A} .

Inscription.— $\text{P}\text{E}\text{P}\text{P}\text{A}\text{I}\text{B}\Omega\text{N}$.

No local coinage.

(25) **Phocis.**⁴³

Federal Coins.

(a) Circa 450⁴⁴–421 B.C. \mathcal{R} .

Type.—Bull's head.

Inscription.— $\Phi\circ$, $\Phi\circ\text{K}\text{I}$.

(b) 371–357 B.C. \mathcal{A} .

Type.—Head of Athena.

Inscription.— $\Phi\Omega$.

⁴⁰ Head, pp. 479–493.

⁴¹ Head, pp. 392–3.

⁴² Head, p. 304.

⁴³ Head, pp. 338–343. Hill, pp. 89–91.

⁴⁴ On the beginnings of Phocian coinage, see Earle-Fox (*Num. Chron.* 1908, p. 81), who gives good reasons for dating the earliest known pieces to 450 rather than to 550 B.C.

(c) 356-346 B.C. \mathcal{R} and \mathcal{A} .⁴⁵

Type.—Head of bull, or of Delphian Apollo.

Inscription.—On \mathcal{R} coins: $\Phi\Omega$.

On \mathcal{A} coins: $\Phi\Omega\text{K}\acute{\epsilon}\Omega\text{N}$. On some pieces: $\circ\text{N}\text{Y}\text{M}\text{A}\text{P}\text{X}\circ\text{Y}$
or $\Phi\text{A}\text{L}\text{A}\text{I}\text{K}\circ\text{Y}$.

(d) 189⁴⁶-146 B.C. See below.

Local Coins.—An independent series of silver coins was issued by Delphi 520-448 and 421-355 B.C. During this period Delphi was not a member of the League. During 448-421 B.C., and after 355 B.C., when Delphi was incorporated in the League, its mint was closed down.

In the fifth century Neon struck silver pieces with the bull's head type and twofold inscription: $\Phi\circ$ ($\kappa\iota\kappa\acute{o}\nu$) on obverse, $\text{N}\epsilon$ ($\sigma\nu$) on reverse. A similar issue, with only a local inscription, is doubtfully referred to Lilaea.

Elateia is perhaps represented by a late fifth century coin with local type and legend. But this attribution is not certain.

In the second century a bronze series appears at Anticyra, Elateia, Ledon, and Lilaea, with federal type. The obverse is inscribed with the initial of the town, the reverse with the legend $\Phi\Omega\text{K}\epsilon\Omega\text{N}$.

Anticyra also struck late \mathcal{A} coins with local type and inscription.

(26) **Thessaly.**⁴⁷

Federal Coins.

(a) To 344 B.C. None.

(b) 196-146 B.C. \mathcal{R} .

Predominant Type.—Head of Zeus; Athena Itonia.

Inscription.— $\circ\text{E}\Sigma\Sigma\text{A}\Lambda\Omega\text{N}$.

Local Coins.— \mathcal{R} and \mathcal{A} coins, with local types and inscriptions, are extremely plentiful previous to the formation of the League (especially between 400 and 344 B.C., when no less than twenty-one separate mints were active). Between 196 and 146 B.C. the local mints entirely cease to issue money.

The first impression conveyed by the foregoing survey will probably be one of bewilderment at the immense variety of coinage systems passed under review. The arrangements include not only the extremes of complete federal monopoly and complete local liberty of coinage, but almost every possible intermediate stage between these two limits. These variations, moreover, extend not only to different leagues, but to one and the same league in its different periods. The coinage system of the Boeotian League exhibits in turn almost every possible kind of relation between the central and the local

⁴⁵ It has been conjectured that gold coins must also have been struck at this time, in view of the large quantities of gold which the Phocians looted at Delphi. But no \mathcal{A} coins

are extant.

⁴⁶ For the date of the League's reconstitution, see Swoboda, p. 321, n. 10.

⁴⁷ Head, pp. 290-312.

powers. In numerous other leagues similar if not quite so manifold changes of relation may be observed.⁴⁸

These diversities and fluctuations will appear all the more remarkable when we compare them with the rigid uniformity of modern federal coinages. Complete federal monopoly of issue is now the invariable rule, and deviation from this clear and simple arrangement is seldom, if ever, permitted.⁴⁹ The numerous compromises between federal and local authority which characterise the Greek issues would appear a veritable monetary Babel to the creators of the modern federal currencies.

The anomalies of Greek usage, however, are not a matter for surprise. It is but the rule of Greek coinages of all sorts and descriptions that they should alter their type and legend and even their standard of weight with an inconsequence which modern states dare not copy. In the case of the Greek federal states such a fluctuation of systems was the more to be expected, because these states remained in an experimental stage until a late period of Greek history and did not stereotype their constitutions as soon as the city and the territorial monarchies. It is but natural that the instability of federal institutions should have been reflected in a kaleidoscopic variety of coinages.

The complexity of the federal money systems makes it impossible to classify them into a few well-defined categories. But a rough tabulation of the principal varieties may be attempted.

(1) *Complete Decentralisation.*

(No federal coinage. Local coinages unrestricted and mutually independent.)

- The Delphic Amphictyony, before 346 and after 339 B.C.
- The Second Athenian Confederacy.
- The Boeotian League, 146–27 B.C.
- The Ionian Confederacy (fourth century onward).
- The Italiote League.
- The Macedonian League.
- The Nesiotic League.
- The Peloponnesian League.

(2) *The First Stage towards Centralisation.*

(No federal coinage. Local coinages standardised in weight and partly standardised in type.)

⁴⁸ *E.g.* the Acarnanians, Achaeans, Arcadians, Chalcidians, Epirotes, Euboeans, Lycians, Phocians and Thessalians.

⁴⁹ So in Australia, Austria-Hungary, Germany, Switzerland, and the United States of America. The gold currency of Germany offers a partial exception to the general rule, for on the reverse face the heads of rulers other than the German Emperor, *e.g.* the kings of Bavaria and Saxony, appear.

A much closer parallel to the chaos of Greek federal coinage is to be found in the postage stamps of modern federations. Switzerland and the United States have established a federal monopoly of stamps. Australia and Austria-Hungary issue no federal stamps, but have standardised the issues of the constituent states. In Germany there is a concurrent emission of federal stamps and of one local issue (Bavaria).

The Boeotian League, 550-480, 456-446, 387-374 B.C.

The Ionian League (*temp.* Ionian Revolt).

The Lycian League, 520-323 B.C.

(3) *The Second Stage.*

(No federal mint. Coinage monopolised by one confederate state.)

The First Athenian Confederacy. (Monopoly of Athens.)

The Boeotian League, 446-386, 338-315 B.C. (Monopoly of Thebes.)

The Locrian League, before 338 and after 197 B.C. (Monopoly of Opus.)

(4) *The Third Stage.*

(No federal mint. Local issues struck on a common standard of weight, with a common federal type, and a common federal inscription side by side with the municipal title.)

The Achaean League, 280-146 B.C.

The Lycian League, 168 B.C.-43 A.D.

The Phocian League (second century).

(5) *The Fourth Stage.*

(Concurrent issues by federal and local mints.)

(a) Local issues unrestricted:—

The Acarnanian League, 400-250 B.C.

The Achaean League, 370-360 and 280-146 B.C.

The Aeolian League.

The Delphic Amphictyony, 346-339 B.C.

The Arcadian League (fifth and fourth centuries).

The Boeotian League, 338-315 B.C.

The Chalcidian League, *circa* 450 B.C.

The Epirote Confederacy.

The Euboean League.

The Phocian League (fifth century).

(b) Local mints restricted to emission of bronze:—

The Acarnanian League, 250-167 B.C.

(6) *The Final Stage.*

(Monopoly of federal coinage. No local issues.)

The League of the Aenianes.

The Aetolian League.

The Arcadian League, 251-244 B.C.

The Boeotian League, 480-456, 374-338, 288-146 B.C.

The Chalcidian League (fourth century).

The Cyrenaic League.

The Locrian League, 338-300 B.C.

The League of the Magnetes.

The Oetaean League.

The League of the Perrhaebi.

The Phocian League, 371-346 B.C.

The Thessalian League (second century).

A glance at the above table will show that certain classes are distinctly smaller than the rest. Comparatively few cases fall under heads (2), (3), and (4), whereas a large number is comprised under (1), (5), and (6). A further analysis of these cases will confirm the impression that classes (2), (3), and (4) are exceptional.

In class (2) we need hardly consider the Lycian League, which in the fifth and fourth centuries had hardly yet entered the pale of Greek nationality. The standardised coinage of the Ionian League lasted at least some half-dozen years and did not outlive the revolt which gave it birth. The similar issues of the Boeotian League had a far longer duration, but even these did not last beyond 374 B.C., which marks a comparatively early stage in the history of Greek federalism.

Class (3) represents a deviation from the normal type of federal states. Equality between the confederate communities was a requisite condition in any normal Greek league,⁵⁰ and the usurpation of an exclusive right of coinage by any one such state was an obvious, not to say ostentatious, breach of the rule of equality. It is significant that the two principal cases of a municipal monopoly of coinage are those of the Delian Confederacy and the Boeotian League from 446 to 386 B.C. These leagues were notoriously denatured by the predominance of Athens and Thebes over them, and both in turn were broken up on the ground of their having been converted into tyrannies. It is true that in return for the fame and profit which Athens derived from her mint-monopoly she gave her confederates a currency which was of convenient weight, of fine quality, and universally acceptable.⁵¹ Nevertheless it required some drastic legislation on her part before she eliminated the competition of other mints.⁵²

Class (4), which represents a fusion of federal and local coinages into an issue of duplicate character, so far from being a perversion of federal practice, constitutes a singularly equitable arrangement between all parties concerned. Hence it was adopted by those two federations which in theory at least had the best contrived constitutions, the Achaean League of Aratus and Philopoemen, and the later Lycian League. Nevertheless the coinage system of these leagues was not generally copied elsewhere: like other hybrids, it had no progeny.

The remaining three classes may be taken as illustrating the normal practice of Greek confederacies.

Class (1) is the smallest of the three, and it contains several cases which present peculiar features. The Delphic Amphictyony can hardly be ranked

⁵⁰ Note the stress laid on equality between state and state in Polybius' encomium on the Achaean League (ii. 38. 8): οὐδενὶ γὰρ οὐδ' ἐν ἰπολειπομένη πλεονέκτημα τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, Ἰσα δὲ πάντα ποιούσα τοῖς αἰεὶ προσλαμβανομένοις, ταχέως καθικνεῖτο τῆς προκειμένης ἐπιβολῆς, δύο συνέργοις χρωμένη τοῖς ἰσχυροτάτοις, ἰσότητι καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ.

⁵¹ Babelon, pp. 464-6.

⁵² A general decree of prohibition against concurrent mints was passed in 415 B.C. (see esp. Weil, *Zeitschr. f. Num.* xxv. p. 52). It was preceded by other such measures, which Babelon (p. 467 *sqq.*) would date back to the early days of the League.

in the number of genuine political leagues. Unfortunately for Greece, it failed to fulfil the promise of its youth. It did not grow into a national government for the defence of common Greek interests and the composure of inter-state quarrels, but lapsed into a comatose sacral college whose sphere of interests hardly extended beyond the stewardship of Apollo's estate at Delphi.

No serious political importance can be ascribed to the Nesiotic League, which was an almost purely formal body, and served no political purpose except to create a show of legitimacy for the Hellenistic monarchs who seized in turn the thalassocracy of the Aegean.⁵³ Neither did the Ionian League of post-Alexandrine times play a higher rôle than the Nesiotic League.⁵⁴ The Second Athenian Confederacy was a far more effective factor in Greek politics. But it was conceived in a peculiar spirit of mistrust against Athens, its organising member. Hence it was handicapped by a constitution which impeded the exercise of even a legitimate federal authority.⁵⁵ The total lack of federal control over the coinage of the constituent states is a reflex of this abnormal political organisation.

The Peloponnesian League is to be ranked among the foremost of Greek federations for practical usefulness. But it never developed more than a rudimentary constitution, and its directing agent, Sparta, was so little interested in money matters that it had not even a local coinage of its own. The absence of federal control over the other local currencies may be regarded as a consequence of Sparta's peculiar lack of organising capacity and her peculiar indifference to finance.

Of the remaining cases under this head, the most notable is that of the Hellenic League instituted by Philip and Alexander of Macedon. This federation was the most comprehensive of all Greek Leagues; its organisation was tolerably complete,⁵⁶ and its achievements were incomparably the most important. Its founder, moreover, was a man who understood very well the value of money, as is proved by the 'philips' which he struck in such abundance for his own kingdom of Macedon. A policy of complete *laissez faire* in regard to coinage is hardly what one would have expected of Philip and Alexander's League.

Class (6) is numerically the largest. It contains some important representatives of the federal principle, e.g. the Boeotian League in the days of its greatest power, the Chalcidian, Aetolian, and Thessalian Leagues. The Aetolian League presents perhaps the best example of federal centralisation, for none of the constituent states of the League ever struck a local issue.⁵⁷

⁵³ Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas*, pp. 76-9.

⁵⁴ *J.H.S.* 1815, pp. 184-6.

⁵⁵ Marshall, *The Second Athenian Confederacy*, pp. 50-53.

⁵⁶ Wilhelm, *Attische Urkunden (Sitzungsberichte der k. Akad. der Wissenschaften in Wien, 1911)*.

⁵⁷ Warren (p. 58) has suggested that the high degree of centralisation which we find in

the Aetolian League is due to the fact that its constituent states were village communities which lacked the desire for autonomy so prevalent among Greek towns. But the Aetolian League, as remodelled at the end of the fourth century, was constructed not out of tribes but out of city-states of the standard type. See Swoboda, *op. cit.* pp. 330-332.

But a hardly less notable instance is that of the Thessalian League in the second century. Since in the fourth century Thessaly had no federal mint and twenty-one wholly independent local mints, the complete federal monopoly of the later period marks a very rapid progress towards centralisation.

On the other hand, in class (6), as in class (1), there is a large 'tail' of politically insignificant members. It is, indeed, almost an abuse of language to dignify with the name of 'federations' such associations as those of the Aenianes, the Locrians, the Magnetes, the Oetaeans, and the Perrhaebi. So tiny were these groups that their territories hardly exceeded that of a fairly large city state, and the part which they played in Greek history is correspondingly minute.

The Arcadian and Cyrenaic Leagues of mid-third century were at any rate not mere toy articles. Their founders harboured the same ambitions as the contemporary statesmen of the Achaean League, the restitution of republican governments in place of despotisms, and the Arcadian League had at least a chance of growing to dimensions like those of the Achaean League. But both the leagues were destroyed in their infancy, so that they never had time to attain to any importance.

Another feature of class (6) is that its members do not, on the average, belong to a much later period than the members of the other classes. *A priori* one would suppose that the tendency of the federal coinage systems was towards progressive centralisation. It is a general law of federalism that those leagues which show any disposition to longevity should become more and more centralised in their institutions as time goes on. That the federal coinages should observe this law would seem but natural. But it would not be true to say that the most centralised of the federal coin systems were uniformly or even generally the latest.

Class (5) is at once numerous and substantial. Except the somewhat shadowy Aeolian League, and the enigmatic Chalcidian League of the fifth century,⁵⁸ all its members were of respectable size and displayed considerable political activity. If any coinage system deserves to be picked out as being most typical of Greek federal practice, it is the system of concurrent issue by federal and local mints. This system obviously lies midway between complete local liberty and complete federal monopoly. But it may approximate the more to the one or the other extreme according as the federal and local mints coin indiscriminately, or observe some rule by which the pieces of higher denominations are reserved for the federal mint. Of the latter arrangement we can discover hardly a trace among the Greek confederacies. Only in two instances, those of the Acarnanian League from 250 to 167 B.C., and the Boeotian League from 338 to 315 B.C., have we a clearly established case of this sort, for here alone do we find that the local issues were restricted to

⁵⁸ If the fifth-century coin with Olynthian type and legend $\Psi\Lambda\text{K}$ is not merely agonistic, it can only represent a transitory league which was formed by the Chalcidians

before their admission into the Delian League or, more probably, during the revolt of 433/2 B.C., when Olynthus brought about a $\sigma\upsilon\nu\omicron\kappa\iota\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ of Chalcidian communities (Thuc. i. 58).

bronze. In no other case can we discern a clearly marked tendency to reserve the issue of silver pieces or of higher values to the federal mint. Complete dualism of authority is the general rule where a concurrent issue of federal and local coins occurs. This dualism suggests that the Greek federalists had a tendency to regard their central and local governments as co-ordinate and equal, instead of hierarchising them into a higher and lower authority. Such co-ordination of competences is more likely to be found at the beginning than at the end of any process of political organisation. It bears out the conclusion that Greek federations as a whole were rudimentary structures, and lay a farther way off from finality than their successors of the present day.

In conclusion, I wish to express my obligations to Mr. G. F. Hill, who has helped me in the writing of this article with some important suggestions and corrections.

M. O. B. CASPARI.

NOTE.—Owing to the author's absence on military service, this article is printed without revision at his hands.—EDD.

VALONA.

THE Italian occupation of Valona has drawn attention to what has been called one of the two keys of the Adriatic. It may, therefore, be of interest to trace the history of this important strategic position, which has been held by no less than twelve different masters.

The name *αῦλῶν*, 'a hollow between hills,' was applied to various places in antiquity, and from the accusative of this word comes the Italian form 'Valona,' or, as the Venetians often wrote it, 'Avalona.' In antiquity there were, however, few allusions to this particular *αῦλῶν*, the probable date of its foundation being, therefore, fairly late, although the pitch-mine of Selenitza, three hours to the East, was worked by the Romans in the time of Ovid,¹ and Pliny the Elder² knew the now famous island of Saseno, to which both Lucan³ and Silius Italicus⁴ allude, as a pirate resort. But there is no mention of Valona till the second half of the second century A.D., when Ptolemy⁵ describes it as 'a city and harbour.' It subsequently occurs several times in the Antonine, Maritime, and Jerusalem Itineraries,⁶ and in the *Synékdemos* of Hieroklês⁷; whereas Kánina, the little town on the hill above it, which may have been its akropolis, was 'built,' according to Leake,⁸ 'upon a Hellenic site,' and identified by Pouqueville⁹ with Oeneus, the fortress taken by Perseus during the third Macedonian war, and probably destroyed by Aemilius Paullus, which would thus explain its long disappearance from history.

Despite the importance of its position as a port of transit between Rome and Constantinople, Valona is rarely named even by Byzantine historians before the eleventh century. Bishops of Valona, who were at different times suffragans of Durazzo or Ochrida, are mentioned in 458, in 553, and in 519, when the legates sent by Pope Hormisdas to Constantinople were received by the then occupant of the see.¹⁰ It was there that Peter, Justinian's envoy, met those of Theodatus, the two Roman Senators, Liberius and Opilio, and learnt what had befallen Amalasantha, the prisoner of

¹ *Art. Am.* ii. 658; *Epist. ex Ponto*, iv. xiv. 549, 608, 611-12.

45.

² *H. N.* iii. 26.

³ ii. 627; v. 650.

⁴ vii. 480.

⁵ iii. 12, § 2.

⁶ Ed. Wesseling, 323, 329, 332, 489, 497,

⁷ Ed. Teubner, p. 13.

⁸ *Travels in Northern Greece*, i. 2.

⁹ *Voyage dans la Grèce*, i. 284.

¹⁰ *Acta et Diplomata res Albaniae mediae aetatis illustrantia*, i. 4, 5, 7.

Bolsena.¹¹ Constantine Porphyrogénnetos¹² merely enumerates it as one of the cities comprised in the Theme of Dyrrachium. Possibly it was one of the Byzantine harbours between Corfù and the Drin, which escaped temporary absorption in the Bulgarian Empire of Symeon (c. 917). But Kánina was included in that of the other great Bulgarian Tsar Samuel (976–1014), until Basil II., ‘the Bulgar slayer,’ overthrew that powerful monarch,¹³ and it is, therefore, probable that Valona too was for a brief space a Bulgarian port. The Sicilian expeditions against Greece in the eleventh and twelfth centuries naturally brought Valona into prominence as a landing-place for troops. Anna-Comnena¹⁴ frequently mentions it. Thus, in 1081, Bohemund, son of Robert Guiscard, took and burnt Kánina, Valona, and Jericho, as the ancient harbour of Eurychós (the Porto Raguseo of the Italians) was then called; Robert was nearly shipwrecked in a storm off Cape Glóssa, and later on spent two months in the haven of Jericho. When he left Albania in 1082 he bestowed Valona upon Bohemund, and when he made his second and fatal expedition in 1084 it was to Valona that he crossed from Otranto. Trade privileges at Valona (renewed by subsequent Emperors in 1126, 1148, and 1187) formed part of the price which the Emperor Aléxios I. paid for the assistance of the Venetian fleet in this contest.¹⁵ It was there that the Greek Admiral Kontostéphanos watched for Bohemund’s return, and shortly afterwards we find Michael Kekauménos Imperial governor of Valona, Jericho, and Kánina. In 1149, after the capture of Corfù, Manuel II. went to Valona, and encamped there several days before sailing for Sicily to punish King Roger for his attack upon Greece. He landed on the islet of Aeironésion (identified by Pouqueville and Professor Lámpros with Saseno); but storms prevented his ‘punitive expedition,’ so he left Valona by land for Pelagonia.¹⁶

The fourth crusade, which led to the dismemberment of the Greek Empire, consequently affected the Adriatic coast. The partition treaty of 1204 assigned to Venice the province of Durazzo, which included Valona, as well as Albania, and in the following year the Venetian *Podestà* at Constantinople formally transferred these possessions to the Republic, which sent Marino Valaresso with the title of ‘Duke’ to govern Durazzo. But meanwhile Michael I. Angelos had established in Western Greece the independent Hellenic principality known as the Despotat of Epeiros, which included both ‘Old’ and ‘New’ Epeiros (in the latter of which was Valona), extending from Naúpaktos to Durazzo, and which he agreed in 1210 to hold as a nominal fief of Venice, from the river Shkumbi, south of Durazzo, to Naúpaktos, paying a yearly rent, and promising to grant to the Venetian merchants a special quarter in every town of his dominions, freedom from

¹¹ Procopius (ed. Teubner), ii. p. 23.

¹² iii. 56.

¹³ Jireček, *Geschichte der Bulgaren*, 167, 191, 202 n.

¹⁴ Ed. Teubner, i. 49–50, 126, 132, 137, 161, 177, 187, 193–94; ii. 168–69, 189, 194, 197;

Recueil des historiens des Croisades: Historiens occidentaux, iii. 177.

¹⁵ *Fontes Rerum Austriacarum*, II. xii. 118, 184.

¹⁶ Nikéttas, 118–19.

taxes, and assistance in case of need against the Albanians.¹⁷ Thus Valona for fifty-three years formed an integral part of the Greek Despotat of Epeiros.

The mutual rivalry of the two Greek states which had arisen out of the ruins of the Byzantine Empire—the Empire of Nicaea and the Despotat of Epeiros—suggested to the ill-fated Manfred of Sicily that he might recover the ephemeral conquests of the Sicilian Normans on the Eastern shores of the Adriatic. In 1257, while Michael II. of Epeiros was at war with the Nicene troops, he occupied Valona, Durazzo, Berat, the Spinarza hills (near the mouth of the Vojussa, or perhaps Svernetsi on the lagoon of Valona), and their appurtenances; and Michael, desirous of securing Manfred as an ally against his Greek rival, made a virtue of necessity by conferring these places together with the hand of his daughter Helen upon the King of Sicily on the occasion of their marriage¹⁸ in 1259. Manfred wisely appointed as governor of his trans-Adriatic possessions a man with experience of the East, Filippo Chinardo, a Cypriote Frank, and his High Admiral. Indeed, when Manfred fell in battle at Benevento, fighting against Charles I. of Anjou, in 1266, Chinardo, who married Michael II.'s sister-in-law and received Kánina as her dowry, continued to hold his late master's Epeirote dominions, but later in the same year was assassinated at the instigation of the crafty Despot.¹⁹ The latter had doubtless hoped, now that his son-in-law was no more, to reoccupy the places which had been his daughter's and his sister-in-law's dowries. But a new claimant now appeared upon the scene. The fugitive Latin Emperor of Constantinople, Baldwin II., by the treaty of Viterbo in 1267 ceded to Charles I. of Anjou 'all the land which the Despot Michael gave, handed over and conceded as dowry or by whatsoever title to his daughter Helen, widow of the late Manfred, formerly Prince of Taranto, and which the said Manfred and the late Filippo Chinardo (who acted as admiral of the said realm) held during their lives.'²⁰ The Sicilian garrisons of Valona, Kánina, and Berat held out, however, against both Michael II. and Charles I., the latter of whom was for some years too much occupied with Italian affairs to intervene actively beyond the Adriatic. Accordingly, a devoted follower of Chinardo, Giacomo di Balsignano (near Bari), remained independent as castellan of Valona; but in 1269 Charles, having made this man's brother a prisoner in Italy, declined to release him at the request of Prince William of Achaia, unless Valona were surrendered. Although he actually named one of his own supporters to take Balsignano's place, that officer held out at Valona for four years more, when he handed over Valona, but was at once reappointed castellan of both Valona and Kánina by Charles. Thus, in 1273, began the effective rule of the Angevins over Valona. In the following year, the Italian castellan received fiefs in Southern Italy in

¹⁷ *Font. Rer. Aust.* II. xii. 472, 570.

¹⁸ Miklosich et Müller, *Acta et Diplomata Graeca Medii Aevi*, iii. 240; M. Sanudo, *ap. Hopf, Chroniques gréco-romanes*, 107; Ughelli, *Italia Sacra* vi 774.

¹⁹ Del Giudice, *Codice Diplomatico del Regno di Carlo I° e II° d'Angiò*, i. 308; Pachymères, i. 508.

²⁰ Buchon, *Recherches et Matériaux*, i. 33.

exchange for Valona and Kánina, and a Frenchman, Henri de Courcelles, was appointed in his stead.²¹ Chinardo's heirs, who had at first been allowed to live on at Valona, were imprisoned at Trani.

The Angevins attached considerable importance to Valona, especially from a military point of view. Frequent mention is made of the castle in the Angevin documents; Greek fire was deposited there, its well is the subject of several inquiries, and it served as a base for Charles I.'s designs upon the Greek Empire, which were cut short by the Sicilian Vespers. The chief Angevin officials were a castellan (usually a Frenchman, e.g. Dreux de Vaux), a treasurer, and more rarely a 'captain' of the town, who was subordinate to the castellan, who was in his turn under the Captain and Vicar-General of Albania. The garrison sometimes consisted of Saracens from Lucera, and its fidelity could not always be trusted, for a commission was on one occasion sent over to inquire whether it had sold munitions to the Greek enemies of the Angevins. Nor was the harbour, which the Venetians frequented, free from pirates.²² After the death of the vigorous Despot Michael II., it was not so much from his feeble successor, Nikephóros I. of Epeiros, as from the able and energetic Emperor Michael VIII. Palaiológos, that the Angevins had to fear attacks upon Valona, especially after the defeat of their army and the capture of its commander at Berat in 1281. There is no documentary evidence of the presence of any Angevin governor at Valona after 1284, which, between that date and 1297, when we find a certain 'Calemanus' described as 'Duke' of the Spinarza district, and, therefore, almost certainly of Valona also, must have been occupied by the Byzantines.²³ Nevertheless, the Angevins continued to regard the Epeirote lands of Manfred and Chinardo as theirs on paper. They are mentioned in the ratification of the treaty of Viterbo by the titular Latin Empress Catherine in 1294, by which they were confirmed to King Charles II., who in the same year transferred them to his son Philip of Taranto,²⁴ then about to marry Thamar, daughter and heiress of the Despot Nikephóros I. of Epeiros.

The Byzantines evidently attached considerable importance to Valona and its district, for the successive Byzantine governors were men of family and position: Andrónikos Asàn Palaiológos, subsequently governor of the Byzantine province in the Morea, who was son of the Bulgarian Tsar John Asèn III., connected with the reigning Imperial family, and father-in-law of the future Emperor John Cantacuzene; Constantine Palaiológos, son of Andrónikos II.; and a Láskaris.²⁵ Under these exalted personages were minor officials, such as George Ganza, a friend of the Despot Thomas of Epeiros, and his son Nicholas, who successively held the office of Admiral of Valona for over twenty years, while the latter on one occasion grandiloquently

²¹ Del Giudice, II. i. 239; *Act. et Dip. Alb.* i. 73, 84, 85, 93, 94.

²² *Ib.* 106, 115, 117, 127, 139; *Archivio Storico Italiano*, Ser. IV. ii. 355; *Font. Rer. Aust.* II. xiv. 226, 243.

²³ *Act. et Dip. Alb.* i. 146, 157.

²⁴ Ducangé, *Histoire de l'Empire de Constantinople* (ed. 1729), II. *Recueil*, 21, 22.

²⁵ *Act. et Dip. Alb.* i. 159; *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levanticum*, i. 150, 233; Miklosich et Müller, III. 109.

styles himself *protosevastos et protovestiarius et primus camerlengus* of the Emperor; the *sevastos* Theodore Lykoudâs, and Michael Malágaris, prefect of the castle of Kánina.²⁶ During this second Byzantine period, when Valona was *civitas Imperatoris Grecorum* (as a document styles it), there was a considerable trade with both Ragusa and Venice, and a colony of resident Venetian merchants there. Occasionally, however, serious quarrels arose between the Ganza family and the Ragusans and Venetians, who demanded satisfaction from the Emperor, and on one occasion Ganza's son was killed. That there was likewise traffic with the opposite Italian coast is clear from King Robert of Naples' repeated orders to his subjects to export nothing to a place which belonged to the hostile Byzantine Empire, and to which the Angevins still maintained their claims. For as late as 1328 Philip of Taranto named a certain Raimond de Termes commander of Berat and Valona,²⁷ and death alone prevented him and his brother, John of Gravina, who in 1332 received the kingdom of Albania with the town of Durazzo in exchange for the principality of the Morea, from prosecuting the Angevin claims. The Albanians, however, rose and attacked Berat and Kánina in 1335, but were speedily suppressed by Andrónikos III., the first Emperor who had visited Albania since Manuel I.²⁸

But a more formidable enemy than Angevins or Albanians now threatened Valona. The great Serbian Tsar, Stephen Dushan, was now making Serbia the dominant power of the Balkan peninsula, and the value of the harbour of Valona and the castle of Kánina could scarcely escape the notice of that remarkable man. An entry in a Serbian psalter informs us that the Serbs took Valona and Kánina²⁹ in the last four months of 1345 or in the early months of 1346, and Serbian they remained till the Turkish conquest. Dushan, like the Byzantines, showed his appreciation of these places by appointing as governor of Valona, Kánina, and Berat his brother-in-law, John Komnenòs Asén, brother of the Bulgarian Tsar, John Alexander. This Serbian governor, a Bulgar by birth, married Anna Palaiologína, widow of the Despot John II. of Epeiros, and mother of the last Despot of Epeiros, Nikephóros II., and became so far Hellenised as to take the name of Komnenòs (borne by the Greek Despots of Epeiros, whose successor he pretended to be, and whose title of 'Despot' he adopted), and to sign his name in Greek in the two Slav documents which he has bequeathed to us.³⁰ Although, like his predecessors, he preyed upon Venetian and other shipping at Valona, for which the mighty Serbian Tsar paid compensation, he became a Venetian citizen,³¹ and was allowed to obtain weapons in Venice for the

²⁶ *Dip. Ven.-Lev.* i. 135, 161; *Act. et Dip. Alb.* i. 214, 215, 220, 237; *Archivio Veneto*, xx. 94.

²⁷ *Dip. Ven.-Lev.* i. 125, 130, 136-38, 147-49, 154, 159-62, 191; *Arch. Ven.* xx. 92; *Act. et Dip. Alb.* i. 217, 245.

²⁸ Cantacuzene, i. 495.

²⁹ *Starine*, iv. 29; Jireček, *Geschichte der*

Serben, i. 385 (thus disproving Hopf's statement, for which there is no authority, that Valona became Serbian in 1337).

³⁰ *Spomenik*, xi. 29, 30.

³¹ *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum Meridionalium*, iii. 176. Predelli, *I Libri Commemoriali*, iii. p. 307.

defence of Cheimárra and its port of Palermo from Sicilian pirates.³² After the death of Dushan and in the confusion which ensued he embraced the cause of the latter's half-brother, the Tsar Symeon, who had married his step-daughter, Thomaís, against Dushan's son, and he is last mentioned in 1363, when nearly all the Venetians at Valona died of the plague, and he perhaps with them.³³ Alexander, perhaps his son, followed him as 'Lord of Kánina and Valona,' and allied himself with Ragusa,³⁴ of which he became a citizen. The name of Porto Raguseo (Pasha Liman of the Turks), at the mouth of the Dukati valley on the bay of Valona, still preserves the memory of this connexion, and was the harbour of the 'argosies' of the South Slavonic Republic, whose merchants had their quarters halfway between Valona and Kánina.

In 1371 those places came into the possession of the family of Balsha, of Serbian origin, which a few years earlier had founded a dynasty in what is now Montenegro. Balsha II., who with his two brothers had already taken Antivari and Scutari ('their principal domicile'), killed a certain George, perhaps Alexander's son—for Alexander is thought to have perished by the side of Vukashin at the battle of the Maritza in 1371—and in a Venetian document of the next year is described as 'Lord of Valona.' In consequence of his usurpation the inhabitants of Valona fled for refuge to the islet of Saseno in the bay, and placed themselves under the protection of Venice.³⁵ Under Balsha II. Valona formed part of a considerable principality, for on the death of his last surviving brother, in 1378, the 'Lord of Valona and Budua' had become sole ruler of the Zeta—the modern Montenegro—and then, by the capture of Durazzo from Carlo Topia, 'Prince of Albania,' assumed the title of 'Duke' from that former Venetian duchy. By his marriage with Comita Musachi, he became connected with a powerful Albanian clan³⁶; but his ambition caused his death, for Carlo Topia begged the Turks to restore him to Durazzo, while Balsha, like other Christian rulers of his time, instead of concentrating all his forces against the Turkish peril, wasted them in fighting against Tvrtko I., the great King of Bosnia, for the possession of Cattaro. Consequently, when the Turks marched against him, he could raise only a small army to oppose them; he fell in battle on the Vojussa in 1385, and his head was sent as a trophy to the Sultan.

Upon his death his dominions were divided; Valona with Kánina Saseno, Cheimárra, and 'the tower of Pyrgos'³⁷ alone remained to his widow. Left with only a daughter, Regina, she felt unable to defend all these places from the advancing Turks: so, in 1386, she offered 'the castle and town of

³² Hopf *apud* Ersch und Gruber, *Allgemeine Encyclopädie*, lxxxv. 458^o.

³³ *Mon. sp. h. Sl. Mer.* iv. 58.

³⁴ *Ibid.* xxvii. 264; Miklosich, *Monumenta Serbica*, 178.

³⁵ Orбини, *Il regno de gli Slavi*, 289; *Mon. sp. h. Sl. Mer.* iv. 100-103. For the history of Saseno cp. Lámpros in *Néos Έλλη-*

νομήμων, xi. 57-93.

³⁶ *Historia della casa Musachia ap. Hopf, Chroniques*, 290.

³⁷ From *turri del Prego, turris Pirgi*, Hopf has evolved Parga, which in 1320 formed part of the Despotat of Epeiros (*Dip. Ven.-Lev.* i. 170), and became Venetian in 1401.

Valona' to Venice on 'certain conditions.'³⁸ The cautious Republic replied that her offer would be accepted, if she would hand over freely 'the castle of Kánina with its district and the town of Valona with its district.' This shows that the Venetians, like their present Italian representatives, realised that Valona required Kánina for its defence, as well as a certain *Hinterland*. The reply went on to add that, in case she declined to accept this condition, Venice would be content to take over these places, paying her half their rents for her life, while she paid half their expenses. Under those circumstances, she could remain at Valona, or come to Venice, as she chose. But, if she would accept neither proposition, then Venice would be willing to take Kánina and the other places, giving her all the rents for her life, on condition that she paid all the expenses of their maintenance. Nothing came of this negotiation; but in 1389 her envoy agreed to furnish three rowers annually to the captain of the Venetian fleet in recognition of Venetian dominion over the islet of Saseno, which commanded the bay. Thus Venice, like the late Admiral Bettòlo, considered that the occupation of that islet was sufficient. In 1393 Dame Comita Balsha made Venice a second offer of Valona. But, in the meantime, the battle of Kossovo had been fought; the Serbian Empire had fallen, and it was obvious that the Turks had become the most powerful Balkan state. Thus, although Comita was ready to give Venice the men whom she had promised in recognition of Venetian rights over 'the tower of Pyrgos and Saseno,' and disposed to cede Valona, her offer was declined with thanks, because 'we Venetians prefer our friends to remain in their own dominions and govern them rather than we.' Two years later her envoy, the Bishop of Albania, made a third offer of all the four places which she held: Valona, Kánina, Cheimárra, and the tower of Pyrgos, provision being made for her and her son-in-law that they might go where they liked and live honourably there. This meant in cash 7,000 ducats for their lives out of the 9,000 which the bishop estimated as the total revenue of the above places. The Venetians ordered their admiral to inquire into the state of the places and the amount which they produced, before deciding, and ere that Comita died.³⁹

She was succeeded by her son-in-law, 'Marchisa' (or Merksha) Jarkovich, 'King of Serbia,' a near relative of her own by blood and a cousin of the Byzantine Emperor Manuel II. He must, therefore, have been a relative of the latter's Serbian wife, who was a daughter of Constantine Dragash, Despot of part of Macedonia.⁴⁰ He at once, in 1396, offered to cede Valona, Cheimárra, Berat, and the tower of Pyrgos to Venice, but was told that his offer could not be accepted till the Venetians had accurate information about them. He then turned to Ragusa, of which he became an honorary citizen with leave to deposit all his property there for safety. In 1398 he again applied to Venice, because he did not see how he could defend his lands against the Turks. Venice thought it undesirable that they

³⁸ *Mon. sp. h. Sl. Mer.* iv. 226.

³⁹ *Ibid.* iv. 263, 266, 308, 349.

⁴⁰ Miklosich et Müller, ii. 230; Hopf, *Chroniques*, l.c.

should become Turkish, but decided first to send her admiral to inquire into their revenues, cost, and condition, expressing a preference for leaving them in their present ruler's hands. In 1400, as this inquiry had not yet been made, another envoy was sent from Valona to Venice, only to receive the same answer. Upon Merksha's death, his widow sent yet another envoy to Venice in 1415, with a like result, and was reminded of her late husband's and her subjects' debts to the Republic. Then the end came; a document of 21 July, 1418, informs us that Valona had fallen into the hands of the Turks.⁴¹ Consequently, lest they should attack the Venetian colony of Corfu or passing Venetian ships, the Venetian baily, who was about to proceed to Constantinople, was instructed to endeavour to obtain its restitution with that of Kánina and its other appurtenances to Regina Balsha, whose husband had been, like herself, a Venetian citizen. If the Sultan refused, then the baily was authorised to offer up to 8,000 ducats for Regina's former possessions, and another offer was made in 1424.⁴² The Turks, however, retained Valona continuously for 273 years, and, with one brief interval, for 495.

There is little record of its history in the Turkish period. In June, 1436, Cyriacus of Ancona spent two days there, and copied a Greek inscription which he found on a marble base at the Church of Geórgios Tropaeophóros.⁴³ In 1466 Venice was alarmed at the repairs executed there by its new masters, which endangered Venetian interests owing to its proximity to the Republic's colonies in that part of the world—Corfu and its dependencies, in the South, and Durazzo, Alessio, Dulcigno, Antivari, Dagno, Satti, Scutari and Drivasto, in the North—and to the quantity of wood for shipbuilding which it could furnish. Accordingly, the Republic suggested to Skanderbeg to attack it with his own forces and with Venetian and colonial troops.⁴⁴ Nothing came of this suggestion, but in 1472 a Corfiote, John Vlastós, offered to consign Valona and Kánina to Venice on condition of receiving a fixed sum down and an annuity; and the Republic instructed the Governor of Corfu to enter into negotiations with him.⁴⁵ This also failed, and Valona, in Turkish hands, became, as had been feared, a base for attack against the Ionian Islands and even Italy. Thence, in 1479, the Turks moved against the remaining possessions of Leonardo III. Tocco, Count of Cephalonia; thence, in the following year, they sailed to take Otranto.⁴⁶ In 1501, during the Turco-Venetian War, Benedetto Pesaro entered the bay of Valona with a flotilla of light vessels, but a sudden hurricane caused the death by drowning of all his men except those taken prisoners by the Turks.⁴⁷ In 1518 the Governor of Valona, a renegade Cheimarriote, succeeded, with the aid of Sinan Pasha, the Turkish Admiral, in compelling

⁴¹ *Mon. sp. h. Sl. Mer.* iv. 384, 412, 423; v. 81, 120; xii. 198, 199, 263; Gelcich, *La Zedda e la Dinastia dei Balšidi*, 204.

⁴² Sáthas, *Μνημεία Ἑλληνικῆς Ἱστορίας*, i. 173.

⁴³ *Epigrammata reperta per Illyricum*,

p. xxi.

⁴⁴ *Mon. sp. h. Sl. Mer.* xxii. 372.

⁴⁵ Hopf *ap.* Ersch und Gruber, lxxxvi. 159^a.

⁴⁶ Sáthas, *Μνημ.* vi. 135, 137, 139, 173, 218.

⁴⁷ Sáthas, *Μνημ.* ix. 174.

Cheimárta to accept Turkish suzerainty by the concession of large privileges. Sinan was so greatly pleased with Valona that he became its governor. In the same year two Turkish subjects attempted from Valona a *coup de main* upon Corfù, and it was there that the former of the two great Turkish sieges of that island, that of 1537, was decided by Suleiman I.⁴⁸ In 1570 a further descent was made from Valona, where the Turks had established a cannon-foundry, upon Corfù.⁴⁹ In 1638 the attack by the Venetian fleet upon certain Tunisian and Algerian ships off Valona nearly provoked war with Turkey, and led to a temporary prohibition of trade between the inhabitants of that and of other Turkish possessions and Venice.⁵⁰

The Turco-Venetian war towards the close of the seventeenth century led at last to the Venetian occupation of Valona, then a place of 150 houses surrounded by a low wall. The motives were the fertility of the district and the desire to expel the Barbary corsairs. Morosini's successor, Girolamo Cornaro, accompanied by many Greeks, after being delayed two days by a storm off Saseno, landed at Kryonéri, a little to the south of the town, early in September, 1690, where he was joined by 500 Cheimarriotes and Albanians. A Turkish attempt to prevent his landing was repulsed; Kánina, weakly fortified by crumbling walls, was forced to surrender, and its fall had as a natural consequence the capitulation of Valona without a blow. Cornaro, leaving Giovanni Matteo Bembo and Teodoro Corraro as *provveditori* of Valona and Kánina, proceeded to attack Durazzo, but was forced by a storm to return to Valona, where, on 1 October, he died.⁵¹ Venice intended at first to keep these two acquisitions. Carlo Pisani was ordered to remain at 'Urogliá' (Gerovoliá opposite Corfù) with four galleys for their defence, while the fortifications of Kánina were repaired and cisterns made. But when the Capitan Pasha encamped on the banks of the Vojussa to intimidate the Albanians, many of whom wished to join Venice, the garrisons began to suffer from lack of food and consequent desertions. Thereupon, Domenico Mocenigo, the new Venetian Captain-General, proposed and carried out the demolition of Kánina by mines, and wrote to the Home Government advocating the destruction of Valona on the ground that its preservation would cripple the campaign in the Morea. A debate upon its fate followed in the Senate. Francesco Foscari urged its retention on account of its geographical position at the mouth of the Adriatic and on a fine bay, well supplied with fresh water from Kryonéri (or 'Acqua Fredda'). He alluded to the valuable oak forests in the neighbourhood, whose acorns furnished the substance known by the topical name of *valonea* to dyers, to the ancient pitch-mines, the salt-pans, and the fisheries. To these material considerations he added the loss of prestige involved in the surrender of a place whose capture had been celebrated with joy by Pope Alexander VIII.

⁴⁸ A. Mauroceni *Historia Veneta* (ed. 1623), 172.

⁴⁹ Sáthas, *Μνημ.* ix. 218; Paruta, *Storia della guerra di Cipro*, 225.

⁵⁰ Predelli, *Commém.* vii. pp. 190-93.

⁵¹ Garzoni, *Istoria della Repubblica di Venezia* (ed. 1720), i. 365-71.

and announced as an important event to the King of Spain, because it signified the destruction of the corsairs, so long the terror of the Papal and Neapolitan coast of the Adriatic. Besides, 'Valona,' he concluded, 'opens for us the door into Albania.' To him Michele Foscarini replied, proposing to leave the decision to the naval council, and this proposal was adopted. Mocenigo's first idea had always been to abandon the place, and his resolve was confirmed by the advance of the Turkish troops under Chalil Pasha; but General Charles Sparre, who was sent to execute his orders, found that the rapid approach of the enemy made such an operation 'too dangerous. The Venetians accordingly burnt the suburb, but prepared to defend the town. But at the outset both Bembo and Sparre were killed by the Turkish artillery fire, and, though the garrison made a successful sortie, the Captain-General repeated his order to blow up Valona. Four cannon and one mortar were left there to deceive the Turks, and on 13 March, 1691, after a siege of forty days, they too were removed and Valona evacuated and destroyed. The Turks offered no opposition to the retreating Venetians, and the opinion was freely expressed that the place could have been defended. Thus, after six months, ended the Venetian occupation of Valona.⁵² When Pouqueville⁵³ visited it rather more than a century later, he saw the remains of the two forts blown up by the Venetians, and found that one street with porticoes recalled their former residence. In his time the population was 6,000, including a certain number of Jews banished from Ancona by Paul IV. The place was then, as now, very unhealthy in summer, but he foretold a brilliant future for it, if the marshes were once drained.

The Turks neglected Valona, as they neglected all their Albanian possessions. Sinan Pasha had been so good and popular a governor that, although a native of Konieh, he was nicknamed 'the Arnaut,' and his descendants long held the appointment as almost a family fief; indeed, as late as the middle of the eighteenth century, the natives of Valona besieged and cut to pieces a certain Ismail Pasha, who had endeavoured to wrest the governorship of the town from one of Sinan's descendants.⁵⁴ A generation later, however, a sanguinary feud, which broke out between the members of this governing family, led the other notables of Valona to invoke the intervention of the famous Ali Pasha of Joánnina, who had already cast covetous eyes on the place, then ruled by Ibrahim Pasha. But the treacherous 'Lion of Joánnina' carried off not only Ibrahim but also the notables of Valona to the dungeons of his lake-fortress, where they were subsequently put to death. Ibrahim, however, lingered on, and was forced to address a petition to the Turkish Government begging it, in consideration of his age and infirmities, to bestow the governorship of Valona and Berat upon his gaoler's eldest son, Mouchtar Pasha, who appointed a Naxiote Christian, Damiráles, as his representative in the former town. In 1820 the Turkish authorities, resolved to crush the too-powerful satrap of Joánnina,

⁵² *Ib.* 390-407; *Epirotica*, 254.

⁵³ *Voyage*, i. 285.

⁵⁴ Aravantinós, *Χρονολογία τῆς Ἠπείρου*, i. 190-92, 248-49.

easily induced the people of Valona to drive out Mouchtar's partisans. But the population repeatedly gave the Turks cause for alarm, and in 1828 Rechid Pasha treacherously executed a powerful Bey of Valona, who had come to pay his respects to him at Joánnina. Nevertheless the local people continued to resist any obnoxious Turkish authority.⁵⁵

During the first Balkan war, on 28 November, 1912, Albanian independence was proclaimed at Valona, and an Albanian Government formed, of which Ismail Kemal Bey was President.⁵⁶ But when an Albanian principality was created in the following year, and Prince William of Wied was chosen as its ruler, Valona recognised Durazzo as the capital. Meanwhile, Italy had intimated that she could not consent to the inclusion of Valona, to which she attached special importance, within the new Greek frontier; and insisted on the islet of Saseno, which had formed part of the Hellenic kingdom since 1864, being ceded to the Albanian principality. Greece complied with this demand, and on 15 July, 1914, the Greek garrison abandoned Saseno at the order of the Venizélos Cabinet. When the European war broke out, Italy took the opportunity, on 30 October, to occupy Saseno by troops under the command of Admiral Patris, who found it inhabited by twenty-one persons, and rechristened the highest point 'Monte Bandiera' from the Italian flag which was hoisted there.⁵⁷ She had sent a sanitary mission to Valona itself, and on 25 December occupied that town. Now, as in 1690 and as in the days of Manfred and his successors, Kánina is likewise in Italian hands, while for the first time in its long history Valona has been connected with Great Britain, for the new jetty there was the work of the British Adriatic Mission, sent to rescue the retreating Serbian army.

RULERS OF VALONA.

Byzantine Empire	-1081	Byzantine Empire	(?) 1297-1345
Normans of Sicily	1081-4	Serbs	1345-1417
Byzantine Empire	1084-1204	Turks	1417-1690
Despotat of Epeiros	1204-57	Venetians	1690-1
Manfred	1257-66	Turks	1691-1912
Chinardo	1266	Albanians	1912-14
Giacomo di Balsignano	1266-73	Italians	25 Dec. 1914-
Angevins of Naples... ..	1273-(?)97		

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⁵⁵ *Ib.* i. 261, 288, 306, 311, 319, 328-29, 383, 400-1, 409-10.

⁵⁶ *Diplomatische Aktenstücke* (Wien, 1914),

p. 71.

⁵⁷ *Il Messaggero*, 31 Oct. 1914.

THE PLOT OF THE *ALCESTIS*.

THE immediate occasion of these notes on the *Alcestis* of Euripides was a recent performance of the play at the Little Theatre in London. In this performance, though the programme professed that the interpretation which had been adopted was essentially that proposed by Dr. Verrall in 1895, an innovation seemed to be contemplated which even at first sight, and still more when one went behind the English version to the original, appeared to stray beyond reasonable conjecture, and indeed ran counter in some points to the express indications of Euripides. In particular, the genuine reluctance of Admetus to give the assurance which Alcestis asks, that he will not marry again, was so greatly emphasized, and so markedly enhanced by his behaviour in the last scene, till the identity of the veiled woman was disclosed, as to lead up to a catastrophe which was tragical in every sense, and 'satyric' in none; while the behaviour of the restored Alcestis showed only too clearly that in her interval for cool reflection at the tomb she had taken the measure of Admetus; that it was only with reluctance that she had returned to this life at all; and that it was the crowning point of her misery to find that the reason why she was restored was that she might resume her place as his wife. This, at all events, was the manner of her retreat into the palace, and the convulsive writhings of Admetus both before and after it hardly admitted any other interpretation. The one cheerful spot in the gloom was the hilarity of Herakles, who, tactless as ever, bade them fare well and 'live happy ever afterwards.'

Now of all this thoroughly modern nonsense there is no hint at all in the Greek; but in the process of verifying that rather obvious fact I have been led to question also some other current interpretations, and in particular that of Dr. Verrall, which, as readers of his essay on *Alcestis* in *Euripides the Rationalist* will remember, rests on two cardinal points: first, on the assumption that Admetus 'deliberately accepted the sacrifice of another life for his own'—conduct, that is, which 'could be dignified and justified only if it were his duty to live; if his life were important to others, and much more important than hers, which nevertheless Euripides does not show, or indeed give us reason to suppose.' And, secondly, he relies on an estimate of the altercation between Admetus and Pheres, and of the whole behaviour of Herakles, as 'mechanically useless and æsthetically repulsive'; 'they are useless to the conduct of the story, and according to an instinct which, not

without reason, we assume to be universal, they are repugnant to the solemnity of the topic.' As regards Pheres, Dr. Verrall is here assuming further that there was, as he says on p. 7, 'no other way of redeeming the life of Admetus except the self-sacrifice of Alcestis.' This, however, is in mere contradiction to the text. It is precisely because there was another way, namely, by the substitution of Pheres himself, and because this other way had been expressly indicated, not merely by the traditional legend, but at the outset of the piece by Apollo (line 16), that the altercation with Pheres was not merely admissible, but dramatically inevitable. To ignore this alternative, as it seems to me, is to disregard one of the main characteristics in which the Greek view of family life must be regarded as differing fundamentally from our own. I hope to be able to show that the behaviour of Pheres was neither 'mechanically useless' to Euripides nor 'aesthetically repulsive' to a fifth-century audience. I hope also to show that while there is no evidence that Admetus 'deliberately accepted the sacrifice of another life for his own,' the tragedy of his situation consists precisely in this, that Admetus himself had no choice in the matter; that it was not so much that if no substitute could be found Admetus must die, as that if any other person volunteered to take his place, Admetus *must live*, and thereby must endure, among other disastrous consequences, the unjust blame which, in fact, did befall him at the hands of Pheres and other 'bad men,' and has befallen him also at the hands of most modern commentators, including Dr. Verrall.

I hope also to show, by some study of what for short I will call the sociological content of the play, that these, and with them some other difficulties, tend to disappear in the light, first of the position of Admetus, and then of the motives of Alcestis herself as expressly presented by Euripides, especially when those motives are contrasted with what again for short I will call the 'ordinary' presuppositions of current social morality, as these too are expressed by Euripides in utterances of all characters in the piece, and particularly in those later scenes which make up what I venture to call the 'probation of Admetus.'

I.—*The Position of Admetus.*

From the beginning to the end of the play there is not a word to suggest that Admetus had really any choice in the matter. If there is one thing certain about the character of the Moirae, it is that whatever they ordain neither men nor gods can alter, and in Apollo's opening speech he states expressly that the boon (as he intended it to be) which he secured for Admetus was a decision of the Moirae, contrived indeed by his own deceit, but none the less binding and irrevocable. The situation is briefly this: though the Moirae have fixed in advance the death-day of Admetus, as of all other men, Apollo has secured that on that occasion not Admetus but someone else shall die, provided only that that other volunteers to do so. That is why all Admetus' entreaties to Alcestis not to die are at the same

time quite unavailing and entirely appropriate to a man in his position. He does not want her to die at all; indeed, by general admission and his own repeated assertions, he has every reason to want her to live. It is only her will-to-die that defeats his will that she should live, and he die, after all, in the natural course. It is true that after her death, when he is reviewing his his own position,¹ he pictures what people will say, namely, that his continuance in life is a disgrace, that he dared not die, and sacrificed his wife, and therefore his manhood. That too, they will say, is why he has fallen out with his parents, because he was himself afraid of death, and he expressly adds *τοιάνδε πρὸς κακοῖσι κληδόνα ἔξω*; this is what his enemies will say. Compare *ὅστις ἐχθρὸς ὧν κυρεῖ* in line 954. There is no hint on his part, or on the part of anyone in the play except Pheres, who has himself played the coward, that it is by any act of his that Alcestis has come by her death; and whatever we may think of the behaviour of Admetus to Pheres, there appears to be no disagreement among commentators that the character of Pheres is contemptible (*κακός*), or that Euripides intended it to appear so.

Apollo, in his opening speech, puts down the whole trouble to Zeus; but that is not quite fair. Apollo himself was directly to blame for a want of foresight which is less excusable in him than in another deity, seeing how closely, in his rôle of *Διὸς προφήτης*, he is involved in the affairs of men as well as in those of Heaven. Apollo's knowledge of human nature, in fact, wide though it was, has for once failed him. He had arranged with the Moirae to guarantee on these terms a fresh lease of life to Admetus, without suspicion that he would be put to the smallest embarrassment to realise this favour. Surely, for so good a man and so beloved a king, not one but many persons, whose lives were of smaller account, would claim the privilege of dying in his place. Apollo's words (lines 15-18):

πάντας δ' ἐλέγξας καὶ διεξελθὼν φίλους,
πατέρα, γεραιάν θ' ἢ σφ' ἔτικτε μητέρα,
οὐχ εὖρε, πλὴν γυναικός, ὅστις ἤθελε
θανὼν πρὸ κείνου μηδ' ἔτ' εἰσορᾶν φάος,

seem to me to make it clear that Admetus had begun by sharing this view. He belonged, like Agamemnon, Achilles, and other heroes of Attic tragedy, to an age in which, as the tragedians and their audience believed, human sacrifices and substituted victims were not regarded as anything out of the common: a belief which, by the way, is totally independent of the question whether such sacrifices, or any ritual survivals indicating their former prevalence, survived or not in fifth-century Greece. It was only when the

¹ In lines 954-961:—

ἔρεϊ δέ μ', ὅστις ἐχθρὸς ὧν κυρεῖ, τάδε
ἰδοῦ τὸν αἰσχροῦς ζῶνθ', ὃς οὐκ ἔτλη θανεῖν,
ἀλλ' ἦν ἔγηνεν ἀντιοῦς ἀψυχία
πέφενγεν Ἄδην. κἄτ' ἀνὴρ εἶναι δοκεῖ;

στυγεῖ δὲ τοὺς τεκόντας, αὐτὸς οὐ θέλων
θανεῖν. τοιάνδε πρὸς κακοῖσι κληδόνα
ἔξω. τί μοι ζῆν δῆτα κύδιον, φίλοι,
κακῶς κλύοντι καὶ κακῶς πεπραγότε;

new decree of Fate had been formally proclaimed, in whatever was the customary form in Pherae, that embarrassment began. To the surprise of everyone, nobody came forward to save Admetus. Subjects and friends alike failed to realise the reasonable expectation of Apollo and of everyone else. Even the old father and mother, whom, seeing how old they were (as Herakles says in the play) and how closely bound in affection to Admetus, everybody, who did not know them as well as we have come to do, would have pictured running into the vacancy rather than see their only son pre-decease them, stood aside. So much for the negative aspect of the matter. Apollo's innocent and, in fact, reasonably well-founded calculations had gone completely astray, and yet Admetus was in no way himself to blame. In spite of Apollo's good-will and good offices, he would yet have died on his proper day if nothing else had happened to prevent it.² There is no hint that he himself expressed, then or subsequently, any positive desire to survive his appointed day; and whether he did so or not matters nothing, for he could use no compulsion: the substitute had to volunteer. Even after the disaster has come upon him, and he is in utter misery, he does not once express regret that he has not stood to his fate, and released Alcestis. On the contrary, true to the conception now proposed of his character and situation, he behaves as though there was hope, as long as there was life, that Alcestis would even now change her mind. It is she, in fact, who has to assure him that it is now too late for her to recant: that she is, in fact, dying, and too near death for recovery to be possible—all, however, without for one moment faltering in her resolve that it shall be she, and not he, who shall die on that day.

I submit, then, that a fair reading of the text clears Admetus of the charge that by any act of his he has caused another person to die to save himself. The only question at issue was whether, on that date, Admetus or someone else should die. That question could only be settled by the voluntary resolve of somebody not Admetus. No one outside the family chose to take that resolve; and Admetus must therefore surely have died, had not Alcestis of her own motion, and against all his entreaties, resolved that if it was a choice between her husband's death and her own, it was better that she should go, and that he should stay.

II.—*The Motives of Alcestis.*

This brings us to the second link of argument. Why did Alcestis wish to die in place of Admetus? This is obviously the central question of the

² A similar hint concludes the Maid's Narrative (in 209 ff.):

ἀλλ' εἶμι καὶ σὴν ἀγγελῶ παρουσίαν
οὐ γὰρ τι πάντες εὐφρονοῦσι κοιράνοις
ὥστ' ἐν κακοῖσιν εὐμενῆς παρεστάναι.

With these facts of the prologue in mind, it is difficult to understand the opprobrium into which Admetus has fallen among commenta-

tors. The nearest approach to a justification of it is in line 15, where he is described as

πάντας ἐλέγξας καὶ διεξεθῶν φίλους,

but this cannot fairly be taken as indicating more than conformity with the command of the Moirae to ascertain whether anyone was willing to die in his place.

plot, and here again I venture to suggest that before proposing any other motives for her decision we should face the plain text of the play and see what Euripides thought her motive was.

The occasions for such a revelation of motive are two: the Dying Speech of Alcestis herself (280-325), and the Maid's Narrative (in lines 152-198). As the Maid may have been mistaken, the former is clearly the more authentic, and shall be considered first. It must, of course, be considered in its full context. Alcestis has been brought out of the palace, and is seen to be dying. The observations of the Chorus deal with a well-worn theme: all marriage is a lottery. They speak of widowhood, but assume also that widowhood is intolerable (lines 240-3):

*ὅστις ἀρίστης
ἀπλακὼν ἀλόχου τῆσδ' ἀβίωτον
τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον βιοτεύσει.*

Admetus' grief makes him at first merely unreasonable (lines 245-6):

*ὄρᾳ σε κάμει, δύο κακῶς πεπραγότας,
οὐδὲν θεοὺς δράσαντας ἀνθ' ὅτου θανεῖ.*

'What have we done to the gods that they should treat us so?'

The first words of Alcestis also are irrelevant to the main issue: they express a purely physical clinging to life (lines 248-9). Admetus, therefore, will not give up hope yet (lines 250-1):

*ἔπαιρε σαντήν, ὦ τάλαινα, μὴ προδῶς·
λίσσον δὲ τοὺς κρατοῦντας οἰκτεῖραι θεούς.³*

But the horror of death is upon Alcestis now, and she implicitly rejects Admetus' encouragement; 'things have gone too far now.'

Admetus now gives up hope, and begins a quite conventional, and at the same time quite natural, farewell; and it is at this point that he makes the first mention of the children, who, as he now admits, are in the same sorrow as himself (lines 264-5):

*οἰκτρὰν φίλοισιν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν μάλιστ' ἐμοὶ
καὶ παισίν, οἷς δὴ πένθος ἐν κοινῷ τόδε.*

At the mention of the children Alcestis fairly breaks down (lines 270 ff.) and Admetus responds (273 ff.)

Up to this point we are merely face to face with the fact of death, devoid of complications, except the bare mention of the children, natural enough, but premonitory too as we shall see. It is only when the bitterness of death has passed, when, in the popular metaphor, she is 'in the boat,' that Alcestis can call up her last strength to reason with Admetus on the matter which is upon her mind.

³ Or, as a modern Greek would put it, *φορᾶσε καυμένην ὁ θεὸς μαλὸν σοῦ.*

Then comes Alcestis' last will and testament (280 ff.). The opening lines, in terribly simple diction, emphasize the solemnity of the occasion (lines 280-1):

*Ἄδμηθ', ὀρᾶς γὰρ τὰ μὰ πράγμαθ' ὡς ἔχει,
λέξαι θέλω σοι πρὶν θανεῖν ἂ βούλομαι.*

Then she comes to the point (lines 288-9) which we may paraphrase thus:— 'If I did not die, you would have had to do so, and then I could have married any of the princes of Thessaly. This, in fact, is what any ordinary woman would have done, and would have had to do if she had children to provide for, as I have' (line 288):

ξὺν παισὶν ὀρφανοῖσιν·

'and especially if she were still, as I am, in the prime of life.'

*οὐδ' ἐφείσά μην,
ἤβης ἔχουσα δῶρ' ἐν οἷς ἕτερπόμην.*

What, then, would Alcestis have done? for the implication is that she is not an 'ordinary' woman.

But, first, there is a side issue to be dealt with. 'Whether I am an ordinary woman or not, I should not have had to do this thing at all, if only Admetus' parents had been ordinary people with an only son threatened with death.' The implication is here again, that it is the children who make the difference. 'It is only because (she means) I have borne these children to Admetus that the old folks are able to take this advantage of me. If he had been unmarried, or still childless, there could have been no question. Pheres *must* have offered himself, if only to secure his own well-being in the other world by leaving someone on this side to perpetuate the family, and thereby maintain the cult of the ancestors.' Note, in passing, that Alcestis herself takes precisely the same view as Admetus and the 'ordinary' persons in the play, of Pheres' indecency and cowardice. If we blame Admetus for this view, Alcestis herself is in the same condemnation.

These, however, are by-gones. It is no use to go into reasons. Some god has done it (line 298):

θεῶν τις ἐξέπραξεν ὥσθ' οὕτως ἔχειν.

one of those tiresome gods who are always doing unintelligible and aggravating things. Our part it is, to look to the future (line 299):

εἶεν· σύ νῦν μοι τῶνδ' ἀπόμνησαι χάριν·

And now come the terms of her last request. It is a very great request, and she must prepare the way for it elaborately. 'It is a very big thing,' she says, 'that I am about to ask of you, Admetus; almost as big as what *I* am doing for *you*.' She agrees, in fact, with the Chorus that (lines 240-2):

*ὅστις ἀρίστης
ἀπλακῶν ἀλόχου τῆσδ' ἀβίωτον
τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον βιωτεύσει.*

'If you are a normal man' (*εἴπερ εὖ φρονεῖς*, line 303), 'your love for the children is as great as mine; and if that is so, this is what you will do.' Now, why is there need for all this preparation if the request itself was not regarded by Euripides as a quite abnormal one, and if it would not be so regarded also by the first audience of the *Alcestis*. Our impression that it really is abnormal is confirmed conclusively at the end of the speech. Admetus clearly is not ready to grant her request right off; else why does the Chorus intervene with the consoling assurance that of course he will do so, accidents (of course) apart? (As Elmsley, I think, was the first to point out, the phrase *ἤνπερ μὴ φρενῶν ἀμαρτάνῃ*, in line 327, refers, not to his present mood, but to the possibility, which cannot be ignored, that accidents may happen at a later stage.) The request indeed is one which, even if granted now, may turn out to be a very hard one to realise, in after time.

Returning now to the substance of the request itself, we have only to note first that it concerns not Admetus but the children exclusively, and that it is clearly a provision for the children, which Alcestis regards as the only possible consolation for her self-sacrifice. From beginning to end of the speech, there is no hint that she has any other motive than the welfare of the children. *In no sense is she dying to save her husband*: only to substitute a widowed father for a widowed mother as the guardian of the next generation. Without this assurance, in the interest of the children, she may even risk losing what her self-sacrifice is planned to secure.

Admetus' reply (328 ff.) shows that he is totally taken aback by her request. After what the Chorus has said, he cannot but humour her, as anyone would wish to humour a last wish, however unusual, but he will not carry humouring so far as to suppress all protest. If he does what she asks, it will be in the face of custom and public opinion. What, in fact, will he say to the candidates for the vacancy created by Alcestis' death? Well, this, at all events, he *can* say, that after what Alcestis has done, no other woman in Thessaly is either so well born or so good-looking as to pass muster. Cold comfort for a dying wife: complete inability (we have been prepared for this) to follow Alcestis' train of thought: above all, not a word as yet about the children. The children, however, have their turn; yet when he deals with them, it is from his point of view, not hers. On second thoughts (line 334):

*ἄλλις δὲ παίδων τῶνδ' ὄνησιν εὐχομαι
θεοῖς γενέσθαι.*

there can be no objection in principle to what Alcestis asks, since he has children already. He does not, in that sense, *need* to marry again. But he lets fall words (lines 335-6):

*σοῦ γὰρ οὐκ ὠνήμεθα.
οἴσω δὲ πένθος οὐκ ἐτήσιον τὸ σόν.*

which show that in the 'ordinary' way he would have mourned like anyone else for a year, and then—what? On still further consideration, again, the

proposed arrangement may not be so impossible; the natural emotions of the ordinary man can be given other channels of expression: 'if I cannot love, I can at all events hate, and I shall solace my widowhood by hating my father and mother, and all fair-weather friends' (lines 338-9):

*στρυγῶν μὲν ἢ μ' ἔτικτεν, ἐχθαίρων δ' ἐμὸν
πατέρα· λόγῳ γὰρ ἦσαν οὐκ ἔργῳ φίλοι.*

But even now, in spite of her silence on this point, he does not see that it is for anything or anybody but himself that she is dying (lines 340-1):

*σὺ δ' ἀντιδούσα τῆς ἐμῆς τὰ φίλτατα
ψυχῆς ἔσωσας. ἄρά μοι στένειν πάρα;*

'just wait and see me in mourning for you when you are dead; I shall be a model widower.' The rest of this speech consists wholly of variations of this theme, sufficiently appalling to modern taste, ending with commonplaces about an eventual cottage in Elysium. But not another word about the children. And as for himself, it is she who has been loyal to him: *τῆς μονῆς πιστῆς ἐμοί*; that is the ground of his consent to be loyal still to her. The Chorus (369-370), though they urged consent at first, are as much puzzled as Admetus; they applaud faintly: they see his point: they approve his widower's devotion: they clearly will not omit to call on the cottagers in Elysium. Admetus, in a very difficult situation, has done the respectable thing, at considerable sacrifice to himself and to current ideas.

In these few lines the talk has become rather irrelevant, but in 371 Alcestis recalls the conversation to her point. She turns to the children and explains to them in simple language what she has gained; adding, however, a further point which marks a distinct advance (372-3):

*πατρός λέγοντος μὴ γαμῆν ἄλλην ποτὲ
γυναῖκ' ἐφ' ὑμῖν, μηδ' ἀτιμάσειν ἐμέ,*

'your father will not give you a stepmother, and it is for my sake that he will do this.' But it was not for her own sake that she had asked him to do it, but for the sake of the children, and Admetus had made no mention at all of the children's interest in his reply. What Alcestis seems to be trying to say is this: 'he will not give you a stepmother; but it is for my sake (on a point of honour) that he agrees to this, not for yours, though it was for your sake (*not on* the point of honour) that I asked him. He does not see my argument, but let that pass; for whatever reason, to avoid dishonour to me, he has conceded it.'

This new point, however, Admetus takes up with eagerness as something at last which he can understand, and in his next words he admits her re-statement of the case as a new one, and conclusive (line 374):

καὶ νῦν γέ φημι, καὶ τελευτήσω τάδε.

'I did not understand what you said before,' he says; 'it was just the kind of talk a dying person might use. Now, however, you have put the matte

on the common ground of decency to yourself personally; and if you put it that way, why of course I have no choice.' The appeal to his reason had fallen upon deaf ears: the appeal to his code of honour touches and convinces him at once.

The next line adds a grim touch (line 375):

ἐπὶ τοῖσδε παῖδας χεῖρὸς ἐξ ἐμῆς δέχου.

Now, and not till now, can Alcestis make her last will and testament, and *bequeath to him the children*, since now, and not till now, in her view, has he qualified himself to be their trustee. But the scene is laid in Greek society, in a patriarchal household where φύσει ἀρχικὸς πατὴρ υἱῶν, and the mother has no legal right over her children at all. Alcestis is clearly presented as 'fey'; she is talking wild. Only a person who was 'fey' would have dreamt of such a preposterous idea, and Admetus, taken aback once more, receives them with a platitude, almost a sarcasm (line 376):

δέχομαι, φίλον γε δῶρον ἐκ φίλης χερός.

Alcestis continues to take the matter solemnly. She begs him, their father, to be a mother to them—another palpable absurdity. With stupid surprise Admetus answers (in line 378):

πολλή γ' ἀνάγκη, σοῦ γ' ἀπεστερημένοις.

'As they have not got you, I suppose I must.' This closes the business interview. As her last cry shows (line 379):

ὦ τέκν', ὅτε ζῆν χρῆν μ', ἀπέρχομαι κάτω.

it is a *pis aller* that Alcestis has arranged; but it is better than nothing.

We turn now to the Maid's Narrative earlier in the Play. This passage is obviously of less authority than Alcestis' own speech, for Euripides may have meant the Maid to be mistaken⁴; but it is the only other direct statement of her motive in the Play, and deserves to be considered carefully. That Euripides *did* mean to mislead us through the Maid's words is, in the first place, most improbable as a matter of dramatic workmanship, and, secondly, almost inconceivable when we take the speech in its context; for it is a confidence, a secret, overheard by the Maid and retailed as servants will. It is intended to reveal Alcestis as no other device could reveal her. Four points are clear. In the first place, Alcestis, queen and brave woman that she is, is in no fear of death. Secondly, her prayer to the Goddess is not for herself at all, nor is there a word in it about her husband: it is wholly for the children (lines 163-166):

δέσποιν', ἐγὼ γὰρ ἔρχομαι κατὰ χθονός,
πανύστατόν σε προσπίτνουσ' αἰτήσομαι,
τέκν' ὀρφανεῦσαι τὰμά, καὶ τῷ μὲν φίλην
σύζευξον ἄλοχον, τῇ δὲ γενναῖον πόσιν·

⁴ Though this is commonly assumed by commentators, probably because the Maid's Narrative, if true, is fatal to their theories of Euripides' meaning.

exactly the same position as she takes up in her dying speech. Thirdly, the only hint of personal regret is implied in the last words of her prayer that the children's lives might not be curtailed like hers. She regrets, as was only natural, that she will not herself have the good time that as a normal person she might have expected; yet here, too, there is no mention of her husband. Fourthly, only one thing troubles her, and that is a thing so intimate that it is only through the indiscretion of the Maid that we, or anyone else, have word of it at all. Both before and after she is calm, dignified, self-contained; only in her own room does she break down and show her real self. To die in Admetus' place was the only way for her to avoid something which for her was intolerably worse. To survive Admetus at all—if he should die while he and she are in the prime of life—involved inevitable betrayal of her marriage vow, as she understood it. But in Greek thought, the marriage vow had no sanction after the death of either of the parties. Alcestis' point of view is new; surprising, quite incomprehensible to the Maid (line 157):

ἀ δ' ἐν δόμοις ἔδρασε θαυμάσει κλύων

and in the highest degree revolutionary. If either Admetus or Alcestis must die, Greek society and manners being what they are, Alcestis' theory of matrimony offers no choice but to be the first victim. What Admetus may think or do after she has gone, though by no means negligible, is another and a subordinate affair. In her own room, Alcestis is alone, thinking her own thoughts, thinking now and now only (in the plain sense of the words) *for herself*; and her thoughts there, at all events, as interpreted by the Maid's Narrative, are in complete conformity, so far as they go, with what she says to Admetus in her dying speech. The only point of difference is that at this earlier stage she has not yet thought out, or at all events does not give expression to, the corollary—what ought *Admetus* to do?—which she formulates eventually in her request to him. And that request, as we now see, I think, virtually comes to this: that he also will conform to her theory of matrimony—so far, at least, as not to marry again.

This slight contrast, not in principle but in the degree to which the principle has been worked out, is noteworthy as independent support for a criticism which many readers of the *Alcestis* have been inclined to pass upon Dr. Verrall's objections to the hurried action of the plot. Dr. Verrall, as we remember, builds a very elaborate super-structure on the single observation that Alcestis' death and burial are so hurried and imperfect as to be out of accord with Greek funerary practice. But in this view, he appears to have made very insufficient allowance for two considerations, both important, though of unequal dramatic value. As a matter of mere stagecraft, if Alcestis is to fall ill, die, be buried, and be restored from the tomb within the limits of a 1500-line play (and the *Alcestis* is rather below the average of length) some compression and elimination of non-essentials was inevitable. In the *Agamemnon*, similarly, there is clearly not enough time between Agamemnon's entry into the palace (line 975) and his murder

(line 1343) for him to have had his bath and eaten a good dinner, as Aeschylus seems to assume. Are we to infer that Aeschylus threw doubts on the reality of hunger?

This, however, is a matter of pure form. It does not touch the plot of the *Alcestis*. What *does* concern the plot intimately is what the Maid's Narrative indicates quite clearly (in lines 157-9):

ἀ δ' ἐν δόμοις ἔδρασε θανάσει κλύων.
 ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἦσθεθ' ἡμέραν τὴν κυρίαν
 ἤκουσαν, ὕδασι ποταμίους λευκὸν χροῶ
 ἐλούσᾱτ', κ.τ.λ.

Death days are not like birthdays; they only come once, and unannounced. Nobody knows, beforehand, the day on which the Moirae have decreed that any human being shall die. That is their secret. When the day comes, the Moirae warn Thanatos to be ready, and the symptoms of death appear in the victim. The first human intimation that the death-day of Admetus had come—for the Prologue is witnessed by no human eye—was when Alcestis was 'taken ill' in the course of the morning. Apollo himself had no warning that he would have to leave Admetus' house to avoid pollution until, with the rest of the household, he saw Alcestis' strength ebbing. It is a simple fact of observation that healthy people doomed to sudden death do not know beforehand that they are just going to die, and it is by seizing this fact that Euripides has at the same time made it possible as a matter of stagecraft to condense the traditional narrative into the limits of an Attic drama, and as a matter of invention to present within these limits of time the development of character and conduct which is essential to a dramatic problem.

One other point should be noted, if we are to judge truly the position of Alcestis, and the problem which Euripides proposes to discuss. Apollo's bargain with the Moirae, and Alcestis' resolve, are ancient history, and common knowledge. This is clear from Heraklés' open reference to them (in line 524):

οἶδ' ἀντὶ σοῦ γε κατθανεῖν ὑφειμένην.

From the same line it is clear also that to 'ordinary' people—and the whole handling of Herakles shows that Euripides is using him as the type of the ordinary man's intelligence—to ordinary people there was not, at the time when the resolve was made, any grave difference between what we call the 'expectation of life' of Alcestis and that of Admetus. Each, by their own admission, is in the prime of life, at the moment of the catastrophe; they are just an ordinary well-matched couple; and (accidents apart) their chances of predecease were as nearly equal as possible. Unless we recognise and admit this, we lose a large element of tragedy. Once again, in the words of the Chorus (1161):

καὶ τὰ δοκηθέντ' οὐκ ἐτελέσθη.

It is no injustice to Alcestis if we infer that when she made her resolve, she did not in fact take any extraordinary risk. That a young married man, or for that matter a young married woman, is likely to die young, is the last thing that enters the head of either, or of bystanders if they too are normal, healthy-minded persons.

That Alcestis' 'expectation of life,' as we say, was a good one is clear from other words of Herakles. When he hears that someone in the house is dead, his thought is first for the children. It is hardly possible that child-life in the Mediterranean was less precarious in antiquity than it is in Greek villages now, and Herakles' ejaculation (line 514):

ἀπ' οὖν τέκνων σῶν πημονὴν εἶργοι θεός

is exactly the *να σου ζήση*! of Romaic speech. Only when he is reassured about the children, does he enquire secondly for the parents who, as he says, are 'ripe' (line 516):

πατήρ γε μὴν ὠραίος, εἶπερ οὔχεται.

The *γε* shows that to a mere acquaintance like Herakles the mother's 'expectation' is obscurer; in Pherae as among ourselves many women were of 'uncertain age.' Only in the third place does he ask after the wife (line 518):

οὐ μὴν γυνή γ' ὄλωλεν Ἀλκηστis σέθεν;

and he does so in words where, as the grammar books say, 'the form of the question expects the answer NO.' Alcestis being of the age that she is, and Admetus apparently in his usual health, the 'risk' to Alcestis is still, for an 'ordinary' person like Herakles, inconsiderable, even though he knows quite well about her destiny.

I lay stress on this bit of 'background' as evidence that Euripides has been careful to present us with a perfectly normal situation, with a quite ordinary Greek family in which the parents have essentially the same expectation of life. Only on this presupposition can he put fairly and squarely before us the problem which I venture to suggest that he mainly intends to put in this play: '*Supposing that one or other parent has to go, which can be best spared?*' Which is, in fact, the 'better half,' more self-sufficient in default of a partner, above all more indispensable to the children? And if so, why? and is it rightly so? On this point, Alcestis has no hesitation at all: nor in all probability had nine out of ten of the first spectators of this play. The prospect, on either side, is clear in outline. Neither survivor, as far as personal convenience was concerned, stood to suffer very heavily, in the long run, and as the 'ordinary person' counts suffering. Both Alcestis and Admetus know quite well that the 'ordinary' survivor of a short-fated marriage marries again. This was the probability even in ordinary life; and in high places the probability became a certainty. Look first at Alcestis' lament, in the Maid's Narrative; 'it is not that I regret my marriage with Admetus; but, if he dies now, and I live, I must marry again.' This forecast she repeats with brutal frankness at the opening of her dying-speech. There

will be competitors all over Thessaly for the hand of the Widow of Pherae. The 'only way' for her to escape this fate is to take her husband's place and die first. In that case, it will be for him to marry again, and of course he will do so. Clearly at this stage, as I have hinted already, she has not yet reached the partial solution of her tragedy which she propounds in her dying speech.

Admetus' words entirely agree with this: his reply to Alcestis, as we have seen (328 ff.), is made up of excuses to candidates for the vacancy, and forecasts of his own plans for mitigating that aggravated form of widowerhood to which Alcestis is consigning him.

But there is a profound difference between the fates of widower and widow; and it is here that I think we find Euripides most obviously about his characteristic business of 'making people think.' On all this ground, and not least as applied to the *Alcestis* the criticism of Aristophanes is eminently fair:

ὀρθῶς μ' ἐλέγχειν ὦν ἂν ἄπτωμαι λόγων.—*Ar. Ran.* 894.
 λογισμὸν ἐνθεῖς τῇ τέχνῃ
 καὶ σκέψιν, ὥστ' ἦδη νοεῖν
 ἅπαντα καὶ διειδέναί
 τά τ' ἄλλα καὶ τὰς οἰκίας
 οἰκεῖν ἄμεινον ἢ πρὸ τοῦ,
 κἀνασκοπεῖν, πῶς τοῦτ' ἔχει;—*Ibid.* 973-8.

His method, and the mode of thought to which he is to bring his public is:

νοεῖν, ὄραν, ξυνιέναι, στρέφειν, ἐρᾶν, τεχνάζειν,
 καχ' ὑποτοπίεσθαι, περινοεῖν ἅπαντα.
 οἰκεία πράγματ' εἰσάγων, οἷς χρώμεθ', οἷς ξύνεσμεν.—*Ran.* 957-9.

What Euripides represented then, at least to Aristophanes, was a drama of social reform: and in all social reform the *τρίτον κῶμα*, as Plato found, is the traditional inequality of the sexes. In contrast with India, the Greek widow is not outside society; but her place *in* society is very different from that of the widower. He at all events *can* remain single if he *will*; at all events, if he has *ἄλις παίδων* (334) as Admetus has. The widow of a man as young as Admetus, *ἡβης ἔχουσα δῶρα* (289) has no such freedom. In Greek society, the only safety for the *femme seule* is to find other coverture. Spectators of the *Alcestis* knew the *Odyssey* by heart, and in this respect their social code had not changed since the *Odyssey* came into being.

This unequal lot—the proverbial lot of 'the fatherless and the widow' in all patriarchal societies—affects Alcestis in two ways. First and foremost, there is the fate of the children. In patriarchal society the children belong to the father, or, in default, to the father's family. But we hear of no brothers to Admetus; in this respect, as in others, Euripides has isolated and typified his social unit, the man-ruled household, by eliminating separable accidents, and 'making people think' about the bare framework of a Hellenic *οἰκία*. But if Alcestis had been left, as in Attic law she would

thus have been left, Admetus' heir and trustee of his children, what was the prospect for them when that Thessalian baron came for her, *καὶ δῶμ' ἔναιεν ἄλβιον τυραννίδι*? The answer is a commonplace of Greek tragedy, and of the Attic courts. On the other side of the family, though her father is dead, Alcestis has a brother living; but the 'ordinary' brother has his own interests to watch, as well as his sister's; by the time both these are secured, there is not much left for her children. The *wicked uncle* stands side by side with the *step-father* in the dramatic and the social pillory. Compare again the advice which 'Mentes' gives to Telemachus in the *Odyssey*, and the fate for Penelope if she returns, as he suggests, to her own people:

ἄψ ἴτω ἐς μέγαρον πατρός μέγα δυναμένοιο
οἱ δὲ γάμον τεύξουσι καὶ ἀρτυνέουσιν ἔεδνα
πολλὰ μάλ', ὅσσα ἔοικε φίλης ἐπὶ παιδὸς ἔπεσθαι.—*Od.* i. 276-8.

Thus, on all counts but one, it is better for Alcestis to go, if thereby Admetus can stay; and that one count is of a piece with the rest. Once again it is the rôle of Euripides to 'make the wife and the maiden to speak out.'

ἔπειτ' ἀπὸ τῶν πρώτων ἐπῶν οὐδὲν παρήκ' ἂν ἀργόν,
ἀλλ' ἔλεγεν ἡ γυνή τέ μοι χῶ δούλος οὐδὲν ἦττον,
χῶ δεσπότης χῆ παρθένος χῆ γραυὸς ἄν.—*Ran.* 948-50.

For Admetus and for Eumelus, it is better for Alcestis to go; but what about the girl? We have only to look forward to Admetus' own confession (1049) of the inner state of a household which has lost its mistress: it is no longer any place for a lady. If she has her father's good-will and a good nurse, like the nurses of Medea or Phaedra, the girl may with luck pull through; but with a step-mother to poison her father's ear, what chance has she?

This is the ground—and, until the end, the only ground—of Alcestis' appeal to Admetus not to marry again. A successor to herself she will tolerate; indeed, she knows society, and Admetus, too well not to expect one. She is not there to diminish his freedom, any more than she is there to 'save his life' in the vulgar sense. She knows it is a hard, almost impossible, thing that she is asking; it is only because now, in the act of dying, she knows (as who knows otherwise?) how great is her sacrifice, her personal gift of life to him, that she ventures even to ask it at all.

But this is not quite all. Only in two short phrases does Euripides even hint at an aspect of the matter which for modern sentiment is fundamental. In the Maid's Narrative, already analysed (179-180), the point where Alcestis' fortitude gives way is not at her prayer for the children, but at the surrender of her wifehood. For her married life she has no hard thought. Tragic as it has been for her, it has at least brought disaster to no one but herself; and it has only brought it to her because, for her, remarriage would have been intolerable betrayal of her troth to Admetus:

προδοῦναι γάρ σ' ὀκνοῦσα καὶ πόσιν
θνήσκω.

But we have seen already that re-marriage, among Greeks, as among Sadducean Hellenizers, was no betrayal, once the first partner was dead. The only shadow of blame which Mentès imputes to Penelope is that she ought to have made quite sure about Odysseus' death before allowing suitors in the house. It is the grass-widow, not the relict, who imperils her reputation.

If Alcestis thought otherwise, as apparently Euripides represents her as thinking, it was a revolution in manners, however obvious her thought may appear to most of us now. An 'ordinary' Greek woman did not marry for love; she was given in marriage, with (or in exchange for) cattle or other wealth, as a business transaction between male trustees for her welfare, past and future, her father and her husband. It is only the dramatic indiscretion of a chambermaid that lets us into the heart of Alcestis; for Euripides has let a woman have a heart. That he let a slave have a heart, too, was hardly a more striking achievement; at least, so his chief critic would have us think:

ἔπειτ' ἀπὸ τῶν πρώτων ἐπῶν οὐδὲν παρήκ' ἂν ἀργόν,
ἀλλ' ἔλεγεν ἡ γυνή τέ μοι χῶ δούλος οὐδὲν ἦττον.

But this is not for the public gaze. When she can bring herself to leave her own room, she is the doomed Queen once more, with grave sympathy (and no more) for the children, and a kind word (and no less) for the meanest.

Only twice again is any word of this kind let fall: once, in a mere turn of phrase in her long speech (where ἀποσπασθεῖσα σοῦ (287) replaces, as indeed metre compelled, the more obvious ἀποσπασθέντος); and then, at the end, when she explains to the children their father's promise, μηδ' ἀτιμάσειν ἐμέ (373). It is this last phrase, by the way, which alone strikes any fervour of response from Admetus, as we have seen. This, at all events, he has heard of before, and can understand. But this is proper pride, not love; in public (for she is in public now) Alcestis can go no further than ἀτιμία, which is as ineffective a rendering of what she means, though in another direction, as the colourless φιλία of the Chorus.

Only in such tentative allusions, and in the tattle of the backstairs, does Euripides, the woman-hater, give us ἀπὸ τῶν πρώτων ἐπῶν a first glimpse of Love stronger than Death, a notion otherwise modern or barbaric; for as he says to Aeschylus in the *Frogs*, 1045:

μὰ Δι', οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν τῆς Αφροδίτης οὐδὲν σοι.⁵

⁵ We are reminded once again of his final boast in the *Frogs*:

τοιαῦτα μέντοι γὰρ φρονεῖν
τούτοισιν εἰσηγησάμην,
λογισμὸν ἐνθεῖς τῇ τέχνῃ
καὶ σκέψιν, ὥστ' ἤδη νοεῖν

ἅπαντα καὶ διειδέναι
τά τ' ἄλλα καὶ τὰς οἰκίας
οἰκεῖν ἄμεινον ἢ πρὸ τοῦ,
κἀνασκοπεῖν, πῶς τοῦτ' ἔχει;
Frogs, 971.

III.—*The Probation of Admetus.*

ἡ γλώττ' ὁμώμοκε. But will Admetus keep his promise? And what will happen if he does? How will Alcestis' new theory of Sacramental Marriage work out in practice? We in the audience know that 'in the story' Alcestis *will* come back. But in what form is Euripides about to recast that story, so that Alcestis *must* come back, so that this shall be the only *dénouement* that is dramatically possible? We also know, from Apollo's threat to Thanatos (65–69), that she will be restored, not by grace of Korè, which was the alternative tradition, but by the intervention of Herakles. How is Euripides to weave this second modification into the story?

Admetus must either keep his promise or break it. If he breaks it, on what terms can he possibly resume married life with Alcestis, as we know that he will have to do? ὁ γὰρ λόγος οὕτως αἰρέει. The views of Euripides about the *ménage à trois* we, unlike the first audience of the *Alcestis*, are privileged to know from his subsequent *Medea*. Its possibility depends upon the consent of the primary wife:

χρῆν σ', εἴπερ ἦσθα μὴ κακός, πείσαντά με
γαμεῖν γάμον τόνδ', ἀλλὰ μὴ σιγῇ φίλων.—*Medea*, 586–7.

But Alcestis has already *dissented*. She has given 'reason of state,' which Admetus has accepted; and from the Maid's Narrative we know that she had another reason as well, more personal, more intimate. But *can* Admetus keep his promise, ἄνθρωπος ὢν? In this question, two problems are really combined. First, is Alcestis' theory of the indissolubility of marriage practicable at all, without radical reconstruction of society? and second, even if it is, is Admetus the man to put it into practice? The latter is the larger issue, but the first step in the proof is to show us the real Admetus. Then, when we know what manner of man he is, he can be put to the test; and in the trial it will be clear enough, no doubt, how much reconstruction of society Alcestis' new theory will involve.

First, then, Euripides is to show us the real Admetus. He does this in characteristic fashion:

οἰκεία πράγματ' εἰσάγων, οἷς χρώμεθ', οἷς ξύνεσμεν,
ἐξ ὧν γ' ἂν ἐξηλεγχόμην· ξυνειδίστε γὰρ οὐτοι
ἤλεγχον ἂν μου τὴν τέχνην.

The appeal is, in fact, to the audience. Admetus is to be a man of like passions with us; he that is without sin among us shall cast the first stone, if he fails:

ἔπειτα τουτουσὶ λαλεῖν ἐδίδαξα.

How would *you*, and *you*, and *you*, in the audience, have performed your vow, if *you*, not Admetus, had been Alcestis' widower?

Three preliminary tests are applied, and from the first of them Admetus issues, as we shall see, just the autochthonous Athenian whom we already suspect him to be, and whom Euripides must needs make him, if his

probation is to make us *voeîn, órân, ξυνιέναι*, when we come, with him, to the later ordeals. This first test, a conflict between personal affliction and the duty of hospitality, Admetus passes easily enough, at least to modern ideas. It is not so clear to me that to a Greek audience the heroism of Admetus, in the first scene with Herakles, was so moderate a quality as it seems to us. What an 'ordinary' Greek thought about it, we are to judge by what Herakles thinks, and says, when he learns what Admetus has done for him, and by the supreme reparation which he offers; for it is in proportion as his intrusion was unpardonable, that Admetus acquires merit by his just handling of it. But while he acquires merit, it is nevertheless at the expense of all hope of ours that he will ever do anything striking or original; least of all, anything inconsistent with the Code. It was only by an appeal to the Code, we must remember—*μήδ' ἀτιμάζειν ἐμέ*—that Alcestis wrung from him more than toleration for what seemed merely her dying whim. That a man should behave to a modern Herakles 'like an English gentleman' would not compel us to expect of him any work of genius, when he meets his Deceased Wife's Sister! No test of merit would have been offered by any version of the story which did *not* bring in some real *enfant terrible*: and in this aspect the scene seems to me neither 'mechanically useless' nor so 'aesthetically repulsive' as it seemed, for example, to Dr. Verrall.

From this first test, then, Admetus and his Code alike issue triumphant. The second test is more subtle. Some men's charity does not begin at home; it ends there. Enough has been said in the prologue and elsewhere already, to rouse curiosity about Pheres, the old man, ripe for death, who did not want to die. He was certain to come to the funeral—do not all skeletons leave their cupboards for a funeral?—and the Chorus announces his arrival without comment. *οἰκεία πράγματ' εἰσάγων, οἷς χρώμεθ', οἷς ξύνεσμεν*. We are left quite without indication how Admetus will treat him. Pheres' view of the matter at least justifies his presence. Alcestis has put him, no less than Admetus, under an obligation; for if she had not replaced him, Admetus must have died, and this, while bad for Admetus, would have been (if anything) worse for Pheres. He has no word of apology even now; no hint that any other way had been closed, or ever open. Dr. Verrall did not think that there was any other way, and held the interview between Admetus and Pheres 'useless to the conduct of the story' and 'repugnant to the solemnity of the topic'; so did poor old Pheres, and so, with reserves, does the Chorus.

But is this so? Doddering old men are a tempting mark for sarcasm at all times. In the Periclean Age, they had been taught their place; and there can have been few genuine Marathonomachai alive in 438 B.C. For the next generation we have the opening chorus of the *Wasps*, and the treatment of Strepsiades when Pheidippides has learned:

*voeîn, órân, ξυνιέναι, στρέφειν, ἐρân, τεχνάζειν,
κάχ' ὑποτοπέισθαι, περινοεῖν ἅπαντα,*

for Euripides kept school next door to the Phrontisterion. Briefly, Euripides is once more at his own trade :

*οἰκεῖα πράγματ' εἰσάγων, οἷς χρώμεθ', οἷς ξύνεσμεν,
ἐξ ὧν γ' ἂν ἐξηλεγχόμεν·*

On his honour as an Athenian and a man of spirit and intelligence, would any father's son in the audience have acted otherwise than Admetus, under similar provocation? And could any father's son in the audience remember *his* father offering any prospect that he would act otherwise than Pheres, either when exposed to abuse, or when the chance of sacrifice was his?

Yet the Code was nowhere more explicit than where it was said by them of old time 'Honour thy Father and thy Mother; and he that curseth Father or Mother, let him die the death.' If Admetus is acquitted here, it is at the expense of the Code, as well as of Pheres: and it is the new commandment that has set him free. 'For this cause shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife.' *ὀθνεῖος, ἄλλως δ' ἦν ἀναγκαῖος δόμοις* (533). There is a fine play here on the double meaning of *ἀναγκαῖος*. Not here alone, as we know, has Euripides anticipated teaching which is a cornerstone of modern society. Under the old dispensation, we must remember also, it was the wife who left her father and mother and clave unto her husband.

From the second test, then, Admetus emerges; once more, just an ordinary man. But at what a cost to the Code! The revolution proclaimed by Alcestis works apace. Admetus, draggled and hot, but clearly represented as the winner in a nearly even encounter, is a sorry convert; but a recruit he is none the less, to the cause which Euripides pleads, the cause which its enemies called indifferently 'feminist' and 'woman-hating.' And on the whole he carries the sympathies of the audience with him. The Chorus is sorry for the scandal, but has no word of blame for the sentiments themselves:

*κάπειτα τουτουσὶ λαλεῖν ἐδίδαξα . . .
. . . ξυνειδότες γὰρ οὔτοι.*

I do not find them clamorous that Admetus shall 'die the death,' and from 'ordinary' persons, this was perhaps as much as was to be expected.

The impression grows, however, that Admetus will not have an easy time. Pheres is not likely to keep his views about 'murder' to himself; if Acastus, who is Alcestis' brother and next-of-kin, takes them seriously, Admetus may have to look round for allies; and alliance in early Thessaly, as in mediaeval Europe, was commonly sanctioned by matrimony. It was the same in contemporary Thrace (Thuc. ii. 101, 5. *καὶ τὸν Σεῖθην κρύφα Περδίκκας ὑποσχόμενος ἀδελφὴν ἑαυτοῦ δώσειν καὶ χρήματα ἐπ' αὐτῇ προσποιεῖται*); in the Thessaly of Jason of Pherae; and in the Macedon of Philip and Alexander. And meanwhile Admetus' acceptance of Alcestis' theory of marriage has tied his diplomatic right hand behind his back.

The third test of Admetus is in the scene where he returns from the tomb, and from this scene, which need not detain us long, several points

emerge. First, bad as the prospect had seemed before Alcestis' death, it was nothing to the reality: Happy are the dead: what profit is there any longer in life (861-871)?

Second, in rather grim irony, he couples with husbands who lose their wives, the parents who lose their children. It is a tacit apology to Pheres, who would have been where Admetus is now, had not Alcestis done as she did. It is also Admetus' first spontaneous recognition that upon himself falls now the care of his children. And what a care is that. What if Eumelus were to die now?

Third, very gently is sounded the *motif* of a *mutual* loyalty between husband and wife (lines 900-2):

δύο δ' ἀντὶ μιᾶς Ἄιδης ψυχὰς
τὰς πιστοτάτας ξὺν ἂν ἔσχευ, ὁμοῦ
χθονίαν λίμνην διαβάντε.

With *πιστοτάτας* now in the plural—it has always been in the feminine singular before,—what would have been *πρόδοσις* in Alcestis if she had lived, will be *πρόδοσις* in Admetus too. He begins to see that now; and his next stave (910-925) recalls their married happiness; how he went *φιλίας ἀλόχου χέρα βαστάζων*, and how *σύζυγες εἶμεν*. But in all this the Chorus, 'ordinary' as ever, sees nothing that is not commonplace:

ἔθανε δάμαρ, ἔλιπε φιλίαν.
τί νέον τόδε;

Sure sign in Euripides that Admetus is in fact saying something which is not commonplace at all. That his present mood is a revelation to Admetus himself seems clear from 939-40:

ἐγὼ δ', ὃν οὐ χρῆν ζῆν, παρείς τὸ μόρσιμον,
λυπρὸν διάξω βίον· ἄρτι μανθάνω.

He had never dreamed it could be at all like this. Nothing in his life now is without its reminder of Alcestis. Note that once more the mention of the children (line 947) is quite perfunctory: everything centres on the personal tie between himself and his wife. Even those other Thessalian women—the counterpart, for him, of all the possible second-husbands of Alcestis—*Θεσσαλῶν ὃν ἤθελον*—only remind him of her: they cannot console or replace.

Fourthly, there will certainly be reproaches; misunderstandings, it is true, but intolerable to him now; though he had faced them bravely enough with Pheres.

Fifthly, even here, and in spite of all, there is no word of remorse. Admetus' conscience is clear. As I hope I have shown at the outset, it is only 'bad people' who will abuse him: he knows, as Apollo has known, since the morning, that this is Fortune's work. And the Chorus forthwith agrees (965-6): *κρείσσον οὐδὲν ἀνάγκας ἤντρον*. They too know the Code.

καὶ γὰρ Ζεὺς ὃ τι νεύσῃ
ξὺν σοὶ τοῦτο τελευτᾶ.—978-9.

It is, in fact, Zeus and the Moirae who should be ashamed if anyone: but they are above such weakness.

οὐδέ τις ἀποτόμου λήματός ἐστιν αἰδώς,
καὶ σ' ἐν ἀφύκτοισι χερῶν εἶλε θεὰ δεσμοῖς.—983-4.

Thus we are prepared for the worst: Alcestis cannot come back; a divine and gracious power she may be—and deserves to become—but never again will she be Admetus' wife.

τόλμα δ' οὐ γὰρ ἀνάξεις ποτ' ἐνερθεῖν
κλάων τοὺς φθιμένους ἄνω.

χαῖρ', ὦ πότνι· εὐ δὲ δοίης.

And so the capstone is set on the tomb of Alcestis: the new Admetus, model king, fond husband, blameless host, with all the ordinary Greek man's contempt for meanness, selfishness and cowardice, is launched again on life; misunderstood now by Pheres, Acastus, and all 'bad men,' and liable to further misunderstanding as soon as his year's mourning is over; supported only by the cold comfort of the Code (930):

ἔθανε δάμαρ· ἔλιπε φιλίαν· τί νέον τόδε;

and by his promise to his wife. Is this, however, all? I have tried to suggest that it is not; that in short phrases, and turns of phrase, Euripides reveals the first throb of a new emotion in the man: involving a view of matrimony not far removed from that attributed to Alcestis herself in the Maid's Narrative.

In this fashion the scene shifts back, as we know it must, from the silent house into publicity (1006):

καὶ μὴν ὄδ' ὡς ἔοικεν Ἀλκμήνης γένος,
Ἄδμητε, πρὸς σὴν ἐστίαν πορεύεται·

and the new Admetus, raw from his conversion, is on his trial. Public opinion, of which we already know him apprehensive, takes the very turn which not he, but Alcestis, had foreseen. It is not his enemies now who will think him a knave for losing his wife, but his friend who is to call him a fool for not taking another. The 'ordinary' assumption, which has haunted the whole play, that the marriage bond is loosed by death, is explicit now, with no disguise at all.

It is all of a piece with the real good-nature of Herakles that, though it is Alcestis herself whom he has brought back, he devises a mode of restoration which shall be, as people say, a 'pleasant surprise' for his friend. The last thing to occur to him is that he will cause him pain, or even embarrassment. Above all, seeing how deeply he is in Admetus' debt, after the

morning's *gaucherie*, he does not want to be thanked, and make a fuss. Dr. Verrall's criticisms of the closing lines of the play are only valid if the whole behaviour of Herakles is, as he thinks, 'useless to the conduct of the play.' Restore, however, to Herakles the function which Euripides expressly assigns to him in the Prologue, as the fore-ordained means of Alcestis' return (which return itself, as we have seen, involves the dramatic evolution of an Admetus fit to have her), and the modest exit of the deliverer explains itself to us. His entrance was not so easy for him to explain to Admetus. It had been no joke to wrestle with death, even for Herakles: the pains that he takes to excuse himself, the precise form that his invention takes, and the short-winded sentences in which he speaks, are stage direction enough. *Enter Herakles dishevelled and panting.* But Admetus must not know why. Herakles wastes no time, but, breathless and tactless, begins his tale at the end, or in the middle, or anywhere. Over-scrupulous observance of the Code (he says) has given Admetus himself quite unnecessary pain, and made things very difficult for Herakles too. How difficult, we in the audience, who know what he has had to be doing to make amends, can estimate better than Admetus. However, he has done his best. Many texts print a comma at 1017:

καὶ μέμφομαι μὲν μέμφομαι παθὼν τᾶδε,

and a full stop at 1018:

οὐ μὴν σε λυπεῖν ἐν κακοῖσι βούλομαι.

Punctuation, of course, in a *stuccato* passage like this, does not count for much; but I venture to suggest at all events as great a pause at τᾶδε as we choose to allow at βούλομαι, and, if anything, a rather closer connexion of the βούλομαι line with what follows than with what precedes. Otherwise it would surely have been ἐν κακοῖς ἐβουλόμην. The construction (in thought) of the whole passage is this, omitting only what is irrelevant: καὶ μέμφομαι μὲν μέμφομαι παθὼν τᾶδε (1017), 'I am very sorry for having given you so much pain'; οὐ μὴν σε λυπεῖν ἐν κακοῖσι βούλομαι (1018), 'and I have not come back to cause you more pain now'; ὅν δ' οὖνεχ' ἦκω δεῦρ' ὑποστρέψας πάλιν λέξω (1019), 'this is why I have come'; γυναῖκα τήνδε μοι σώσον λαβῶν; (1020), 'Will you keep this woman for me? I came by her honestly,' οὐ γὰρ κλοπαίαν; 'and she cost me much effort,' ἀλλὰ σὺν πόνῳ λαβῶν ἦκω (1035), 'that is why I am still so short of breath'; (1036) χρόνῳ δὲ καὶ σὺ μ' αἰδέσεις ἴσως. 'It was the least return I could make to you, to put her in your hands. *Comprenez?* Good-bye.'

The motive, and underlying assumptions, are obvious. It hardly needs noting that we have only to write prize-horse or prize-dog, in place of prize-woman, to see how reasonable and everyday a request it was. Herakles was on special service, and travelling light. He could no more take his prize-woman to Thrace than you could take a bull-dog to the Congo. Only a foolish access of athleticism has saddled him with her at all. Will Admetus, like a good fellow, help him out of this fix? A modern Herakles, when he

attends a funeral by mistake, does not deposit a prize-woman; but it's 'just like him' to leave his clubs or a gun in the front hall, and to wire from Southampton that he will 'call for them after the war, if you've anything left of them by then.'

This is all that *need* come of the incident. But Herakles, besides being a good fellow, and happy-go-lucky, is a man of the world; he is under a recent obligation to Admetus, and his last words (l. 1036)

χρόνῳ δὲ καὶ σὺ μ' αἰνέσεις ἴσως:

are entirely of a piece with the rest. Of course Admetus will marry again. For his own sake, if not for the children's, he will marry soon; and Herakles—happy thought—has 'the very thing.' Between friends, there is no contract, explicit or implied. Herakles hopes he will return soon from his Thracian adventure; and Admetus will of course expect to know, also as between friends, what Herakles' own intentions are, in that event. Well, Herakles *has no intentions*. He will take the risk that when he returns Admetus may have a proposal to make. It goes without saying that if he has he must make it to Herakles. If, however, Herakles should not return, Admetus is still free to propose—to the lady. It will hardly surprise us that at this stage the Chorus has nothing to say. They scent no complications at all till 1070, when Admetus has already stated his view of the matter.

Very courteously, as ever, but very firmly, Admetus draws his friend's notice to what even Herakles must surely see is a weak point in his kind plan; and at the same time to what, for Euripides, was very clearly the crucial defect of 'ordinary family life.' Now he has his chance, with a vengeance to teach us Athenians:

τὰ τ' ἄλλα, καὶ τὰς οἰκίας
οἰκεῖν ἄμεινον ἢ πρὸ τοῦ
κἀνασκοπεῖν πῶς τοῦτ' ἔχει;

Read Admetus' question in 1049

ποῦ καὶ τρέφοιτ' ἂν δωμάτων νέα γυνή;

and what follows, in connexion with the supreme grief of Alcestis over her own daughter in 311; with the catalogue of *faits accomplis* which make up the Dictionary of Mythology; and with the customs of seclusion which in later and less violent days seemed still the only way to keep the trouble within bounds. We must remember that the private life of the heroic age, as depicted in the Tragedians, is in principle, and in a great part also of its practice, as anachronistic as the rest of the setting of Attic Tragedy. It is the private life of fifth century Athens, projected, in all innocence of antiquarian purism, into the heroic past; simplified and idealised, but essentially the same. It were poor fun for Aristophanes to parody pre-Homeric manners faithfully transmitted through the Tragedians; it is the Tragedians who drew their situations and their morals from an Attica of which Aristophanes and the Orators only show us a slightly seamier side.

This, then, is Admetus' criticism of Herakles' plan. Herakles asks him to keep the girl safe. It is in Herakles' own interest that Admetus objects: in Admetus' palace the only safety for her is in Alcestis' place; and Alcestis' place is not occupiable.

Only now can we measure the revolution that Alcestis has proposed. Under existing conditions, at Pherae, or in Athens, *ἀγαμος βίος ἀβίωτος*. Alcestis has deliberately withdrawn one of the 'pillars of society,' and if that pillar be not replaced, down will come the whole social fabric. What is to happen next? Apart from miracles, down it must come; for only by a miracle could that pillar be put back where it was.

We in the audience, of course, know that at Pherae the miracle has happened. But do miracles happen in Attica? And if they do not, what about *our* social fabric? Euripides leaves the question open. We may fairly believe that even he could not safely do more. Few besides Euripides could have gone so far as to open it. It is, in fact, the *τρίτον κῦμα* of the *Republic*, which he has brought upon us; in education, and in common life,

*καὶ παῖς μὲν ἄρσην πατέρ' ἔχει πύργον μέγαν
σὺ δ' ὦ τέκνον μοι πῶς κορευθήσει καλῶς.*

These are the bare facts of the situation which Alcestis has created. But two other points reinforce Admetus' criticism, and increase his reluctance to the obvious and neighbourly courtesy which Herakles asks. First, public opinion, as we know already from ll. 954-61, has begun to swing round. Admetus 'owes it,' as 'ordinary' people will think, to the peculiar circumstances, to remain a widower. Second, there is the promise to his wife. This he clearly intends to observe; and if he is to observe it, there must be no half-measures (line 1061):

πολλὴν πρόνοιαν δεῖ μ' ἔχειν.

The spirit indeed is willing, but the flesh is weak.

There might have been more about this; but at this point precisely Euripides has chosen to shift the scene. Admetus' eye wanders almost inadvertently to the veiled woman. The situation would have been difficult and painful in any event; this added complication, that, veiled as she is, she is the image of Alcestis, makes it impossible. Even the Chorus sees that, and Chorus-like remarks that what can't be endured, is not likely to be cured. It is a *θεοῦ δόσις*; those gods are really very tiresome to-day; no man-made world would conceive a cruelty like this.

Admetus is now face to face with the Code, and what he will do is already clear. Without prevarication, almost without courtesy, he throws the whole Code overboard:

*ἄλλον τιν' ὅστις μὴ πέπονθεν οἱ' ἐγὼ
σῶζειν ἄνωχθι Θεσσαλῶν.*

'Why can't you take her somewhere else.' The rest of his speech is in justification of this breach of the Code: but he never retracts, and Herakles,

even after he has admitted in 1102 that the story of the prize-winning was a fiction, has in the end to take him at his word, and begin again on a fresh line of temptation (1104-6):

ΑΔ. καλῶς ἔλεξας· ἡ γυνὴ δ' ἀπελλθέτω.

HP. ἄπεισιν, εἰ χρεὶ· πρῶτα δ' εἰ χρεῶν ἄθρει.

ΑΔ. χρεὶ· σοῦ γε μὴ μέλλοντος ὀργαίνειν ἐμοί.

Where the *χρεὶ* of course catches up not *εἰ χρεῶν* but *εἰ χρεὶ* in the line before. 'Yes, anything to please you, provided only that she goes.' By this time, however, Admetus has begun to see that he is once more the plaything of higher powers; his *νίκα νυν· οὐ μὴν ἀνδάνοντά μοι ποιεῖς* in 1108 is explained, and excused, by his ejaculation just before in 1102, which is where he first has a glimpse of this new *ἀνάγκη*. His poverty and not his will, consents; and, as his will consents not, *he has won*. Constancy such as this may well justify a miracle. For it is a miracle itself. Alcestis comes back to a husband worthy of her.

At this point, what could she *say*, which, even if Euripides could write it, an Athenian audience would understand, or even tolerate. Dr. Verrall, and some others, have taken her silence, 1143, and the sudden ending of the play as a jibe or an indiscretion. I venture to suggest, as an alternative, that it is the silence of eloquence, and high dramatic instinct. Herakles alone really finds his tongue: brusque and candid as ever, he points the moral of it all. 'Good-bye; and take care of the Code.'

καὶ δίκαιος ὢν
τὸ λοιπὸν, Ἄδμητ', εὐσέβει περὶ ξένους.

But Admetus knows better; and knows, too, that Alcestis understands:

νῦν γὰρ μεθηρμόσμεσθα βελτίω βίον
τοῦ πρόσθεν· οὐ γὰρ εὐτυχῶν ἀρνήσομαι.

J. L. MYRES.

NOTE.

Owing to the absence of the author on naval service, this article has been printed without revision at his hands.—EDD.

A LYDIAN-ARAMAIC BILINGUAL.

II.

(Continued from p. 87.)

The Lydian-Aramaic bilingual comprises a type of text, of which, as it fortunately happens, several purely Lydian examples were found. It seems clear from a comparison of the Aramaic and the Lydian that there is a sufficiently close agreement between the two to allow the conclusion that several of the other Lydian inscriptions are not merely funerary, but also are in certain respects of the same general trend as the bilingual. If so, the bilingual is of the first importance for the preliminary information it furnishes touching the general character and contents of these inscriptions; and, in fact, it is easy to observe the recurrence of certain Lydian words and phrases which distinguish the inscriptions published in the present fascicule, and to contrast other inscriptions not included in it, where we often miss these features. But it is necessary at the outset to feel tolerably sure of the translation of the Aramaic text and of the preliminary conclusions which can be based upon a comparison of the two portions of the bilingual; and since here and there the Aramaic is extremely obscure, and there is room for more uncertainty than Littmann allows, the attempt may now be made to reconsider the Lydian in the light of the Aramaic, and at the same time, to take account of criticisms and suggestions which have reached me since the appearance of the first part of this article.¹

The initial assumption, based upon the Aramaic and the similarity between the Lydian texts, is that we have funerary texts, of the same general structure, specifying property, objects, etc., and the owner of them, uttering some warning against interference, and sometimes invoking a deity (Artemis), or deities, evidently to punish the offender. In this way it is possible to recognise (1) characteristic objects, which are mentioned apparently first in the nominative (*e.g.* this X is . . .), and later in the oblique case

¹ I am indebted to Dr. A. E. Cowley and Dr. G. B. Gray, of Oxford, for remarks which I am glad to be able to use. The former has, however, some very revolutionary suggestions, which will be noticed at the proper place. My indebtedness to Mr. Buckler has been already mentioned (p. 82).

I should add that the 'Louvre inscription' (note 5, etc.) is a Lydian text found by M. Bernard Haussoullier and shortly to be published by him and presented to the Louvre. He has very kindly allowed me to use a copy and photograph of it in preparing this paper.

(whosoever shall injure [?] or do injury [?] to this X), and (2) certain typical conditional clauses with protasis and apodosis, and with necessary verbal forms. Hence Professor Littmann has been able to make considerable initial progress with Lydian. Aided by the best expert opinion in Germany he has handled the problems with industry and ingenuity. He has outlined some of the main features of Lydian grammar and syntax, and has undoubtedly presented a consistent result, the very coherence of which is of course a strong point in its favour—provided the initial clues are sound. For myself, I may say at once that in many cases I feel exceedingly sceptical, perhaps unnecessarily so. The problem is not merely one of decipherment, but of methodology; and when one has observed the painful steps in the decipherment of hieroglyphs and cuneiform, one is led to fear that many plausible clues and working hypotheses will prove to have merely a temporary and provisional value. In particular one must lament the lack of external control—the identification of the language, the need of independent criteria, and independently converging arguments instead of pyramidal constructions standing on hypothetical apexes. One is forced to pursue one's conjectures to the utmost limit, fully assured that the truth can only be obtained through experimental theories upon which one dare not place undue weight; and the immediate problem of decipherment is scarcely of such personal interest as the problem of methodology, of solving problems, and the theory of theories.

Consequently, it has seemed to me futile to suppose that an industrious search through the lexicons of the Semitic languages would provide anything reliable. Renan has said something about what may be achieved by a generous mind and an Arabic dictionary; and for my part I have found various isolated identifications, too ingenious to be trustworthy, and too fragmentary to be worthy of mention. On *a priori* grounds one is led to assume that Lydian is a mixed language (cf. above, p. 79 *seq.*), and the horrors of uncritical scholarship are magnified if the Semitist may fill up his blanks with 'Hittite' and other dubious aids. At present, the Indo-European theory finds considerable favour (Littmann, pp. 77 *seq.*) and the Latinists are holding the field. The alleged Indo-European character of Hittite adds to the interest of Lydian decipherment, especially the view that Hittite approaches most closely of all to Latin. The alleged Hittite equivalents of Latin and Greek forms are doubtless attractive, but unfortunately there does not appear to be that similarity between Hittite and Lydian which one would expect, were both Indo-European, or more specifically of Latin kinship. However, this is a question upon which I can offer no opinion.²

² Hrožny's solution of Hittite (*Mitt. Deut. Orient. Gesell.* No. 56, Dec. 1915) is welcomed by Ed. Meyer and by Bohl (the latter in the *Theol. Tijdschrift*, Jan. 1916). A brief and cautious summary is given by Vosté in the *Revue Biblique*, 1917, pp. 315 *sqq.* Among

the identifications may be mentioned the Hittite *ug(a)*—Lat. *ego*; *tuēl*—*tuus*; *kuiš*, *kuiški*—*quis*, *quid*; *kuwatka*—*quodque*; *danteš*—*dantes* (plu. part.); *ammug*—*ἐμοίγε*; *āppa*—*ἀπο*; *parā*—*παρα*; *šipanti*—*σπεινδαι*.

It is essential to bear in mind that in these pages I have followed Littmann's decipherment and transliteration. It is by no means certain that all his identifications are to be accepted; and although I have had the privilege of consulting various photographs and drawings, it is often impossible to arrive at any clear decision regarding those characters which are indistinct or easily confused. It may be convenient, therefore, to tabulate them:—

⊥ <i>l</i>	⊥ <i>v</i>	⊥ <i>d</i>	⊥ <i>e</i>	⊥ <i>g</i> (?)
+ <i>h</i>	⊥ <i>t</i>	⊥ <i>s</i>	⊥ <i>n</i>	
⊥ <i>u</i>	⊥ <i>n</i>	⊥ <i>ś</i>	⊥ <i>m</i>	<i>M ā</i>
⊥ <i>ē</i>	⊥ <i>ū</i>	⊥ <i>q</i> (?)		
○ <i>o</i>	⊥ <i>r</i>	⊥ <i>b</i>	⊥ <i>f</i>	

The remaining characters are *A*, *l*, *k*, *Q* *ē* (*i*, *e*) and *⊥* *é*(?).³

It must be confessed that though one must admire the work contained in this fascicule, the material is often very inconveniently arranged and unmanageable. The facsimiles are sometimes disappointing, and it is to be regretted that it was not found possible to publish all the Lydian texts at once. Many incidental references are made to those not yet published, and since they not only illustrate and supplement the material in this fascicule, but include some long and important texts, no real progress can be made until the whole lies before us. There can be no desire to trespass upon another's preserves, but so long as the Lydian problem is one to be submitted to the learned world, it is not a little embarrassing to approach the details so far published with the knowledge that the complete material gives a firmer grasp of the critical value of Littmann's work than the fascicule permits.⁴

§ I. The bilingual (L. 17) is introduced by a date of which unfortunately only a mere fragment survives in the Lydian. As some of the other Lydian inscriptions are dated, it is extremely unlucky that the Aramaic and Lydian do not agree, and that no trace can be found in the latter even of the mention of 'Sepharad, the city' (§ I. end). The Lydian is restored conjecturally (Littmann, p. 38):—

borlū X Artaksassaš quvellū oraū islū bakillū.

In the tenth year of Artaxerxes, the great king, in the Dionysiac month.

Mr. Buckler, however, would transpose the proper name and *q*. ('king'), and render *oraū* ('great,' Littmann) 'during' or 'in the course of' (the Dionysiac month). The

³ The above forms are of course highly schematic. Mr. Arkwright—as observed, p. 82 (above)—assigns to Littmann's *ū* and *é*, the values *l* and *n* respectively. Dr. Cowley, too, has other doubts.

⁴ The readings in L. 1b, ll. 4-5 (for the references see the list above p. 82) on p. 42 and quoted on p. 13 are doubtful. The citation from L. 7, l. 1 is inaccurate; read *Hudānl Artimuūk*. On p. 15, middle (the remarks on *ū*), the words *savūnt* and *akmūt* should presumably be *savēnt* and *akmūt* or

akmūt. Page 17, among the words where *é*(?) occurs in the middle or beginning, references should have been given, *fētamčič*, for example, I cannot verify, unless it is *fetamé idč*, 7₁₈. The same applies to the words beginning with *q*(?) on p. 18, especially *qashrlāc* (? omit the *s*). *qišāūd* (for *ś* read *r*), cf. 29_{5, 6}. On p. 64 read *dummūis* for *dummis* (l. 7 from foot) and apparently *fēllāūin* (at foot). On p. 69, l. 8 from foot, for 26 read 24. Page 84, third item, read *kulumčak* and 11₁₀ (for 10₁₀).

restoration and the spelling of Artaxerxes are based upon L. 11 (p. 50), where *A.* is followed by (*h*)*aïmüüü dâc*, on which see below. L. 26 appears to be dated in the fifth year of Alexander (*brvâc III II Aïksântruü dâc*), and the ending *ü* in the proper name seems to recur in the Falanga inscription; *borlü XVI, Arta aï haïmüüü dâc*.⁵ Since *ü* is commonly a sign of the oblique case, Littmann observes that it is uncertain whether the final *s* is merely an ending which 'indicates determination, like *s* in Armenian,' or whether 'the sign of the oblique case was not "affixed" to the form *Artaksassaš*, but "infixd" before the *s*, which was considered as a part of the name, not as the Lydian ending of the subjective case' (p. 50). Decision is difficult, but notice may be taken of the variation in the names *Mitridastaš* and *Mitridastaüs* in the very closely related inscriptions 7₅, 18, 30₁₇ (p. 84).

The translation of *quvellü* is based upon the Hesychian gloss *καλδδευ*, and is the main support of the precarious identification of *q* (p. 18).⁶ The gloss is questioned by Lagarde (*Ges. Abhand.* 273 seq.), though perhaps unnecessarily (Pauli); and it may be asked whether the Lydian word may be connected with the gloss *καλοις* 'king' (cited by Sayce, *P.S.B.A.* xxxiv. 272 seq.).

The 'Dionysiac month' is Buckler's brilliant suggestion (p. 38). He notes the small bilingual, 25 (*bakivalis* = Διονυσιακος) and 4₉, where *kavek bakillis* apparently means 'and—priest of Dionysos.'⁷ *kaveis*, 'priestess,' is found in honorific Greek inscriptions from Sardis, and a masculine *κανης* may be postulated.⁸ The equation *bakillü-bakivalis* is perhaps not too difficult, and since the Aramaic unambiguously names the month *Marḥešwan* (the eighth month, October-November), that would be the time when the vintage was over and the first wine drunk, and such a month might very well be called 'Dionysiac.'

The eighth month corresponds to the Canaanite *Bûl*, the Macedonian Δίος, and the Aramaean *Canun* (ܢܘܢ) or (later) *Second Tishri*.⁹

The analogy of the Syrian double *Canun* and *Tishri* makes it conceivable that there was a first and a second 'Dionysiac' month, and that an ordinal lies in the unknown *islü*. Again, it is conceivable that the two parts of the bilingual did not agree throughout in the dating; one may compare the Tamassus bilingual (Lidzbarski, *Handbuch*, p. 421), where only the Phoenician is dated, and the Palmyrene inscriptions (*ib.* 457 sqq.), where the corresponding Greek omits the month. It is also possible that the Lydian is dated after some local office, more important to local readers than to those for whom the Aramaic text was intended. Thus the Greek inscription Le Bas-Waddington, No. 1651, is dated in the seventh year and the seventh month βασιλείουτος Ἀραξέσσω ἐξαρραπειούοντος Ἰδριέως. It is *à propos* to observe that some of the later Greek inscriptions from Sardis are dated after the priest (*Amer. J. Arch.* xvii. 47 sqq.), and that *bakillü* closely resembles the Hesychian *βάκηλος* (= *ὁ μέγας* and *γάλλος*), in which case it can have nothing to do with Bacchus.¹⁰

A more complete collation of parallel texts may suggest some new clue. Thus, the

⁵ Cf. also the Louvre inscription *forlü xii oraü . . . Aïksantruü aïmüüü dâc*.

⁶ No notice is taken of the sign Φ in Sayce's Lydian inscription from Egypt (above, p. 77, n. 2).

⁷ For *-valis*, cf. *katovalis* (cited p. 84), which has some relation to *katovaü* (16₂) and presumably to *kotav* (7₁₇). *Kotav* may be the Greek *καθας*, etc., see W. H. Buckler and D. M. Robinson, *American Journal of Archaeology*, xvii., pp. 33 seq. *Katovalis* occurs several times in 16, along the right-hand side of which is a typical threat preceded by the obscure words *ēnaüt bakivalü* (see p. 65 seq.).

⁸ *Amer. J. Arch.* xvii. 362, 366.

⁹ Further light on the names of the months may be hoped for from the Asia Minor calendar. The ordinary Semitic evidence is given by Lagrange, *Études sur les Rel. Sém.* 2nd ed. (1905), pp. 275 sqq.

¹⁰ Sayce conjectures that *βάκηλος* is the Hellenised form of the Hittite *Aba-kali* (*P.S.B.A.* xxiii. 105, n. 2); if so, it is to be compared with the Assyrian *abkallu*, wise man, etc. As an official or priestly title the word seems to be found in Nabataean and Palmyrene (Cooke, pp. 223, 296, with references).

combination *hāimūū dāc* is especially perplexing. It is found after the mention of Artaxerxes (11), Alexander (Louvre), after a lacuna (3), and in an obscure context in an inscription published by Keil and Von Premerstein.¹¹ In each case some date-indication precedes. On the other hand, in 26, cited above, *dāc* occurs alone and the introductory word is not *borlū* (or *forlū*) but *brvāc*, which may be another word for year (p. 55). Littmann, I think, does not cite 7₄₋₅ (*brvās III II dāc ānñēt Mitridastās*), which, when compared with the related text 30₁ (*ānñēt M.*, etc.), would suggest that *dāc* and *ānñēt* are to be connected with what respectively precedes or follows. It must be left for the Hittite-Latinists to give the most obvious explanation of *ānñēt*, and Etruscan experts must decide whether *borlū* can conceal the Etruscan *ril*, 'year' (so Dr. Ancey, *P.S.B.A.* xxxiv. 192), which, however, according to Professor Conway, means 'old, aged' (*Ency. Brit.* 11th ed., ix. 862b).¹²

Littmann's own view is that *dāc* = 'days' is a plural in the oblique case. This is admittedly awkward in 26 ('of the five years [*i.e.* in the fifth year] in the days of Alexander'), where, too, the omission of some word for 'king' is strange. Moreover, if (*h*)*aūmūū* really represents some month (p. 50), in the Louvre inscription the introductory *forlū XII* (? in the year XII.) is separated by several words from 'Alexander *aūmūū dāc*'; and it is surely very unlikely that the year and month of the reigning king would be parted in this way. Finally, if *h.d.* mean 'in the days of the month . . .', it seems strange that they occur separately in 12_{3, 9} (p. 58), where, by the way, *dāc* follows *šfardak Artimuū*, apparently 'Artemis of Sardis' (p. 61). In any case, Littmann's rendering, however clever, brings too many difficulties, although it seems impossible at present to offer any alternative satisfactory guess. The not altogether unfamiliar advice: Better a bad theory than no theory at all, can hardly be recommended!

Passing on to §§ II. and V., we can easily make these equations:

mrud = מרוד, stele or monument (? sepulchre).

vānas = ביתרה, cavern or vault.

lahrisak = להריסא (sic, ? add להריסא) funerary couches (! trees).

On the Aramaic terms, see above, p. 83 *seq.* Dr. Cowley observes that the first word is certainly the same as the modern Persian ستون and the Zend *stūna*, column, and that the spelling (ה for ט) belongs to a time when Persian was, to some extent at least, familiar in Sardis; the later spelling with *ṭ* would be a corruption. As for the Lydian terms, *vānas* has sometimes the first place, so, *e.g.*, in the twofold 7 (pp. 42 *seq.*), where *vānas* in 1b is replaced in 1a by *aānas* (sic), and amplified with the addition of *anololac* and *karovū*. Otherwise *mrud* seems the more important, whether in the case of the plain stele 16, or in those with reliefs (4, 12, 26). Especially noteworthy is the plain *mrumit baal* (29), which is not of the usual funerary type, and seems to name the Semitic Baal. While *mrumit* is probably a compound, the word *mruvaad* in the metrical inscription 12 may be, as Littmann conjectures, merely an archaic poetical form.¹³

Among other objects named upon the inscriptions are the *anololac*; Littmann compares the form *anololac*, and we may perhaps add (*h*!)*anolalau* from the Falanga inscription. One is tempted also to include *arlallū*, *arlilū* (7_{11, 13}, 30₁₃). *Taaqs* is prominent in the Louvre, the Arably Hadjili, Pergamon, and Falanga inscriptions; Littmann ventures upon the pure guess 'column' (p. 39), but there is no evidence as to whether this is in accordance with the nature of the monument.¹⁴ *Sadmes* has the first place, before *mrud*, in the ornamented stele 5, which also names the *maštāc*. Elsewhere we find *sirmas* (7, 27, ? cf. *srmlis*, 30₃), *ēmināc* (13), *mūvēndac*, *būasokiū* and *būasou* (11).

¹¹ *Denkschr. Wiener Akad.* liv. (1911), ii. No. 182.

¹² To add to these conjectures one may note in 7₇ the combination *brafrsis brafrlu* (? -*šlu*) which suggests both the above *brvāc* and the *islū* of the bilingual. That *-lū* is merely an ending is probable on other grounds;

see below, n. 18 (3c).

¹³ He includes *Šfarvad* (= *Šfard*, Sardis) in the same inscription; but the form recurs in 16₁₉, which does not appear to be metrical.

¹⁴ The fragment 23 mentions *taaqađac*. For the ending, cf. *neūmdac* (29₄), *qidaūmdac* (4₆), *šfēndac* (11₉, but *šfēndavmūin*, l. 12).

A peculiar difficulty is *helak* (§ III.) and its relation to *helük* (VII., IX.). The former is presumably *helad*+*k*, the enclitic conjunction. This *k* is sometimes repeated; in 1*b* the two deities, Hüdāns and Artemis, appear in 7₁₀ as *Hüdānk Artimuk*.¹⁵ But there seems to be no warrant for the variation *hela(k)*—*helü(k)*, hence the two cannot be identical, and since the latter appears to sum up the list in § VII. (corresponding to the Aramaic ‘anything’), the *k* is not conjunctival, but, Littmann suggests, may have a somewhat generalizing force, like the Latin *-que* in *quidque*. Here, however, more serious difficulties begin.

Some introductory remarks on endings are first necessary. The nominative with a demonstrative can be recognized in *ešš vānāš*, *ešš laaqš*, etc.—also *eš vānāš* (1*b*), *eš vānāc* (14)—and *est mruđ*, *est mruvaad*; but 27₁ offers *est mru*. The endings *-š* and *-d* are dropped with the enclitic *-k*, so *Artimuk*, *katovalik* (9₅₋₆ for *-s+k*), *mruk* (11₂), *esk mruđ* (9). The oblique case is illustrated in *ešü mruü*, *ešü vānāü* (in 11_{6, 7}, the noun precedes). For the enclitic *-k* compare *mruük* (16₇). Littmann suggests that the demonstrative stem is *es*, becoming *ešš* and *est* with nouns in *š* and *d*. The plural of the demonstrative is apparently *esk* for the nominative (p. 32); the oblique case is clear in *esčac anlolač*, etc. (in 13, the noun precedes). The plural nominative ending, however, is distinctly conjectural.

In *Artimuc Ibsimcac Kulumcak* (11₁₀₋₁₁), the ‘Artemides’ are apparently in the oblique plural (*-cak* for *-cac+k*), and the word should be compared with the bilingual, where *Artimus Ibsimsis Artimuk Kulumsis* refer to the Ephesian Artemis and the Colossian Artemis.¹⁶ But it proves difficult to translate the former as any other than a nominative, in spite of the ending *-ac*. Again, when *aaraü biraük* in the bilingual is compared with *nak aarac nak birak* (30₁₀), the natural assumption must be that the former exemplifies the singular oblique case-ending *-ü*. But in the latter the meaning of *nak* is unknown, and *birak* presumably stands for *birad-k* or *birac-k*. It is difficult to decide, therefore, whether in the latter we have the nominative singular (*birad+k* and *aarac* for *-š*) or the plural—nominative or oblique. The interchange of *-š* and *-č* in the nominative singular is already vouched for by *eš vānāc* (14); but the plurals still remain perplexing.

In *vānākt esčac* (12₁₁), the familiar noun appears to precede the demonstrative, and is apparently in the plural, although 1. 2 names only the singular *vānāš*. *-t* is possibly the affix *-it* which stands at the beginning of conditional clauses (pp. 60, 70 *seq.*). If, then, *-k* is the sign of the plural, Littmann does well to cite the Armenian nominative plural in *-k* and to recall that there, too, the oblique cases end in a sibilant (*-ts* or *s*). It is this fact which induced him to fix the value of the sign for *č* (pp. 17, 31, 68). Unfortunately if *esčac* is in the oblique case, and *vānākt* is nominative, the difficulty still remains. Similarly, as regards the Lydian equivalent of the problematical funerary couches, *esčac lahrisac* (in the bilingual) or *lahrisac* (9, etc.) exemplify the oblique case. But the nominative presumably appears in *lahrisak* (8), *e. . lahrisk* (9), and *lahrisakin* (11), the last-mentioned with the affix *-in* to which Littmann would ascribe the force of a concluding particle.¹⁷ In 8 the conjunction, if it occurs at all, coalesces with the plural ending *-k*, while in 9 we may restore *esk*. The precise function of *-k* is also doubtful in *sarok* (7₁₂) compared with *sarodak* (30₁₂) and *sarou* (27₁); it is tempting to treat the first as *sarod+k*, for *sarod* would become *sarou* in the oblique case. Again

¹⁵ In 1*a*, Šanāš, Kuoadk, Marivdak, are presumably three gods; the second is Kuoad, but it remains uncertain whether the last is Marivda (pp. 43 *seq.*) or, as Ehelolf suggests, Merodak=Marduk (p. 85).

¹⁶ Above, p. 83, l. 7, of the Lydian, read *kulmsis* with *-m-* instead of the doubtful *-š-* which seemed preferable at the time of writing. It is interesting to recall that the place

Koloë, near Sardis, with a famous sanctuary of Artemis, probably gave its name to Colossae, whence the ‘Colossians’ of the New Testament (Woodhouse, *Ency. Biblica*, col. 859 n.).

¹⁷ P. 71. The same inscription contains *buk* (‘or’) repeated five times, the last with the ending *-in*. For an exception to this use of *-in*, see 13₂ (n. 30 below).

in 11₂, ⁷ *būasokiñ* and *būasoñ* can be connected through a nominative singular *būasod*. It is conceivable that the word for 'funerary couch' would be *lahrisad*, but one must conclude with Littmann (p. 69) that the plural has not yet been satisfactorily determined.¹⁸

§ IX. The relation between the Aramaic and the Lydian is as follows :

... <i>aaṛaū bīraūk</i>	... his court, his house...	... הרבצה ביתה
... <i>kūidaū kofuūk</i>	... his possession, soil ...	... קנינה פין
... <i>hīraū helūk</i>	... and water and everything ...	... ומין ומרעמחה
... <i>bilū</i>...	... that is his.	

It is at once tempting to find in the Lydian three pairs, each with the enclitic *-k*, although as has been pointed out, the final *helūk* creates a difficulty. Moreover, in Aramaic, the fourth and fifth words form an excellent jingling pair, but the third and sixth fall outside it. But *helūk* so plausibly means 'anything' in § VII. ('if any one destroys anything') *-k* having a generalizing force, that Littmann very ingeniously proceeds to translate *helūk bilū* in § IX. by 'everything that is his' (p. 36 *seq.*). Further, in 13 Artemis is apparently invoked against a man's *hīraū helūk*, and since no other objects are named he urges that *hīraū* will hardly mean 'water,' but something more general, like 'property.'¹⁹ Hence he equates the first pair in Lydian with the first two words in the Aramaic, the second with the Aramaic 'soil and water,' and the third sums up 'the property whatsoever it is belonging to him.'

As regards the Aramaic, Dr. Cowley points out that the word for 'his court' can be taken as a verb 'may (Artemis) crush him,' and that 'soil' or rather 'mire or mud' (פין), can be read 'well' (תקן). 'It makes a better jingle *ayin u-mayin* (if they pronounced it so), "well and water."' The plural verb in § X. can hardly refer to the Artemis deities, who would be regarded as one, and he would take people generally as the subject of 'disperse.' Finally, he suggests that the conclusion 'and his heir[s]' (ורחקה) should be read as a noun 'and his heritage.' While giving all weight to Dr. Cowley's important suggestions,—and I may add that in his view the three Lydian pairs consist each of a noun and of a verb in *-k*—I do not feel convinced at present by his arguments. I see no reason to reject Lidzbarski's translation 'his court' (הרבצה); and although Littmann's 'Artemides' in 11₁₀ are not above reproach, I see no difficulty in the plural verb, and should be surprised to find in a sacred funerary inscription that the people in general were invoked to scatter those who injured the property. His suggestion 'well' is, of course, palaeographically excellent, but not inevitable, and I do not share his feeling that 'mud' stands in no antithesis to 'water.' It still strikes me that 'soil (mire) and water' is a popular rhyming phrase, not to be taken too literally—could one not equally

¹⁸ Littmann's remarks on affixes and endings (pp. 70 *seq.*, 73 *sqq.*) may be extended by the following note on typical variations:—

(1) As regards the oblique case in *-ū*, it may be observed that *-as* (or *ad*) *-es*, *-os* (or *-od*) become *-aū*, *-eū*, *-oū*; but *vratos* (19₉, 11) becomes *vratuū* in 12₃, an inscription with several peculiarities, and *dumms* (4₂) becomes *dummūit*, *dumūit* (27₂, 9), where *-it* is presumably an affixed particle.

(2) For the relation between *-s* and *-d*, cf. *his*, *hid* whoever (p. 67), *iskoš* (12₂), *-od* (l. 10, 29₆), *aūas* (7₁₆), *-ad* (30₆), cf. also *aūēc* (11₇).

(3) Other endings:—

(a) *-t*, in *astrkoš*, *-koū* (4₁₄, 2), *-kot* (19₄), *-kotak* (29₂); *bukmūad* (30₅), *-at* (l. 9), *-ūis* (l. 8); *bitad* (7₉), *-aad* (30₇), *-at* (19₆);

(b) *-is*, in *akmūad* (4₁₅), *-ūis* (30₇); *ēmē* (7₁₆), *ēmū* (13₄), *ēmīs* (19₂), *ēmīnac* (13₄);

dumis (29₁), *-mēt* (l. 14), cf. 1 above.

(c) *-lū*, in *mūimns* (4₂), *-mlū* (l. 14), *-mnaš* (l. 1), *-mnač* (l. 8); *nivīštū* (30₁₀), *-šqč* (6₆); *Artimulū* (Falanga); *Hūdānl Artimuūk* (7₁). Cf. also *tarblaš* (19₈, 34₂), *-latil* (34₅); and *alarmš* (3, 26, 27₆), *-maš* (19₁), *-mū* (27₂), *-mn* (16₁₇); and . . . *larmlē* (29₅).

(d) *-i* in *sellis srmlis* compared with *serlik* (*-i+k*) *srmlī* (30₃, 16).

(e) *-idč*, in *qēnsidč* (19₁), *inānidč* (16₁₀), *faqasidč* (l. 16), *kotišfamrasidč* (29₆); *bidč* (30₆, but *bidčē*, l. 11); *hid trodč* . . . *historidč* (16₅); cf. also *hisredč* (14₁, but *hisred* 26₃).

(f) *šfarvad* (12₁, 16₁₉); *šfarū* (4₅, 10, from *šfard?*), *šfardak* (12₉), *šfardēnū* (4₁), *-ētū*, *-ētak*, *-ētik*, *-ētač* (ll. 2–13).

¹⁹ In 4₁₂ it follows *qēhraū*, but the context does not appear to contain any threat.

find logical faults in 'house and home'? Dr. Gray, moreover, sees in the Aramaic a good Semitic construction; the two words are to be taken with the preceding—i.e. 'his possession(s) in (or of) soil and water!'

As for the Lydian terms, Littmann cites the Hittite *biran* and *kuedani* which resemble the second and third, but are too obscure to be of much use (p. 80). I, for my part, have come across the Lydian *kufa* 'grave' and the Caucasian *hiri* 'water,' which recall the fourth and fifth. But I am not disposed to press them.²⁰ On the other hand, I have already observed that the grave (or 'eternal house' in Palmyrene) finds a parallel in the home of the living (above, p. 86), and consequently the conception of a *talio* may be worth developing. The old Semitic funerary inscriptions sometimes contain ideas of this nature: thus an old Aramaic text reads: 'if thou shalt protect this image and couch may another (?) protect thine' (Cooke, No. 64), and the well-known Tabnith inscription from Sidon threatens with a disturbed future him who disturbs the occupant of the tomb. To some extent the equipment of tombs resembled that of private houses—a Nabataean inscription from Petra even speaks of gardens and wells (Cooke, No. 94, above, p. 84). Consequently, it may be worth considering whether the clue should not be followed up, and the effort made to interpret the bilingual on the assumption that there is a close resemblance between the property of the dead and the threatened property of the offender.²¹

There seems no reason to doubt the general character of the Lydian in § IX.—unless Dr. Cowley's revolutionary view is right.²² In any case it is unsafe to assume any close relationship between it and the Aramaic. If we ignore *bilū*, the Lydian consists of three pairs united rhythmically, whereas the Aramaic, apart from the solitary jingle (כַּן כַּן), might suggest two triplets: 'his court, his house, his property, "mud and water," and whatever is his.' There is apparently no reference to 'his heirs' in the Lydian, and Littmann would find the only trace of the possessive in *bilū* (p. 37). As evidence for this he cites the phrases *nik bis nik bilis* (7₁₃) and *bū bilūk* (30₁₃), which he translates: 'neither he nor anyone who is his,' and 'him and anyone who is his.' But fuller data should have been presented, because the latter (in the parallel 7₁₁ *buū*) occurs before the objects *arilū* and *hiraū* (in 7 *arēllū*, *hōraū*), and in a context where Artemis (7 adds *Hūdāns*) is invoked to curse (? *katsarlokid*) the offender. Would 'him and anyone who is his' naturally follow the verb and precede two objects, as is here the case? Moreover, in 5 *bilis* in conjunction with *Tivdalis*, though in an obscure context, could mean, on the analogy of [*v*]ānās *Tivdalis* (3), the *b* belonging to *T*.—see further below. In 27₈ *bilik* (? *bilis* + *k*) before *esš sfatrīnās* can hardly mean 'and his this . . .'²³ The case for the possessive does not seem to be made out.

In § III. *helak* is presumably *helad* + *k*. *Helad* should stand for something definite; in 6 it follows after *vānās* and *lahrisa(k)*, and since, there, the oblique case is *helaū*, as is only to be expected, the word is not to be identified with *helūk* in §§ VII. and IX. The Lydian in §§ III. and VI. has an appearance of simplicity, whereas the Aramaic is extremely complex. Dr. Cowley asks whether the Aramaic *parbar* (on the reading, see above, p. 84) may not be the *περίβολος* often mentioned in Greek inscriptions from Lydia in the sense of 'enclosure, sacred precincts.' The ordinary Persian etymologies are, in his

²⁰ *hiri* is the only parallel I have observed among the many Caucasian words collected by Kluge (*Mitt. d. Vorderasiat. Gesell.* v. 1907, p. 46).

²¹ So Dr. Gray independently suggests this possibility as regards the Aramaic, and relating *כַּן כַּן* and *כַּרְרַא* and *כַּרְרַא* and *כַּרְרַא* and *כַּרְרַא* may not be some very general term corresponding to 'his possessions, in soil and water.'

²² 'May (Artemis) break up (his) house,

destroy (his) goods, spoil (?) his land—may they drive him away'—three verbs in the singular (ending in *-k*) and the last verb in the plural.

²³ *buuk bilis* in the inscription noted above (n. 11) is too uncertain. In *hūk būu* (7₁₆, cf. *hū* l. 6), the oblique case of *his*, *hid* (he who, that which, p. 67), can scarcely be in combination with a possessive. It will be seen that the ending *-is* in the oblique case is *-ū* not *-iū*.

opinion, hopeless, whereas a Greek etymology is in harmony with the late date I have suggested for the inscription (p. 81). The phrase 'above Sepharad' (if correct) is at least strange, and while he is inclined to wonder whether the extraordinary construction in § VI. could mean 'between the *parbar* and the cavern,' Dr. Gray points out that, to judge from § III., the two cannot be contiguous. This seems to be extremely important for the interpretation, and it is independent of the misspelling *s-f-r-b* for Sepharad in § III. As regards this spelling, Dr. Cowley thinks it extremely unlikely that a workman would make a mistake in the name of his city, and other objections can also be brought, e.g. the use of the preposition, and the specific mention of the site on the monument. On the whole, however, I think it not improbable that a workman might have had before him a copy written in a cursive script, where *b* and *d* might be easily confused; and experience convinces one that when one is carefully copying words, the question of sense and intelligibility is not always so prominent as it is at other times. Moreover, it is not so strange that 'Sepharad' should be mentioned only in the Aramaic text for the benefit of those to whom Aramaic was the only *lingua franca*. Elsewhere, Lydian inscriptions seem to mention Sepharad specifically, and the emphasis is more marked if, with Dr. Gray, the Aramaic demonstrative in § II. *seq.* belongs, as in § V. *seq.*, to the noun preceding, in which case we can translate 'in *this* city of Sepharad' (l. 2), 'above *this* Sepharad' (§ 3).²⁴

Dr. Cowley doubts the reading *s-f-r-b* (§ III.). He suggests that the word denotes some part of the tomb corresponding to *vā(naū)* at the end of l. 2, and therefore perhaps a native term for the Aramaic 'cave' or 'vault.' It is, however, doubtful whether there is sufficient agreement between the two portions of the bilingual in § III. to prove this. As the texts stand, *helak*, with the conjunction, would correspond to *הלך* rather than to the preceding *הלך*; but the word, together with *kudkit* and *būtarvod*, offers immense difficulties. Since *helak* in § III. appears to correspond to 'and *parbar*,' it should recur in § VI. But *helak kudkit* is replaced by *bukitkud*, and the latter is probably a compound of *buk kudkit*, although Littmann takes *bu-* to be merely an error (p. 35). *Buk* presumably means 'or,' while *kudkit* may mean 'opposite, before' (p. 32). But if so, *kudkit* defines the position of *helad* in § III. and of *lahirisac* in § V. *seq.*, which is too improbable ('the couches or opposite'!). Far more attractive is Dr. Cowley's conjecture that *kudkit* must be the relative and *būtarvod* a verb. We can then translate: § III. 'and the *h.* which stands upon (?) this cavern,' and § VI. 'the couches (?) or whatever stands,' etc. Already the Hittite *kuiški*, *kuid*, *kuwatka* have been associated with the Latin *quisque*, *quid*, *quodque*—it is easy to see how the Latinity of *kudkit* seems to be assured! On the other hand, the relative and indefinite pronouns have been found by Littmann in the forms *his*, *hid*. In any case, the whole clause is to be compared with 9₉₋₁₁ (. . . *buk ešac lahrisac kudkit ešū vānaū būtarvod*), whence it seems that *ist* in the bilingual is an unessential word, perhaps, as Littmann conjectures, meaning 'here.'²⁵

§ IV. *Akad*, 'property.' Littmann notes two formulæ of possession: (1) *akad Manelid* (as here), and (2) *eš vānaš Manelis* (1b), *eš vānaš Sivāmlis Armāvlis* (15₁), etc. Both occur in 2₆ (*eš vānaš esk nrud Atrastalid Timlelid*). Thus, *-lis*, *-lid* are 'the endings of adjectives denoting appurtenance or origin,' and correspond with nouns in *-s(š)* and *-d* (p. 33). A curious exception, however, seems to appear in 5₂ (*biliš Tivdalis Atalid*). At all events, a third case is probably to be added (3), viz. *ešū (v)ānaū karolū Sabūalū* (11₈₋₉).²⁶ Littmann conjectures that the adjectival endings are derived from the

²⁴ The *π* in *πρῆ* in § III. may be an error for the definite affix *π* (Cowley), or (with Gray) an anticipatory suffix, '(above Sepharad is) his *parbar* (viz.) the property of,' etc.

²⁵ The form *kudkit* seems to resemble that of *dqtdid* in 11₈ (Littmann takes *q* to be an error for *-e*, pp. 18, 50) and of *fadofid* in

16₁₁. But the clue may be illusory. *Būtarvod* (*b-t-r-v-d*), too, resembles the form *p-r-r-b-d* which Andreas everywhere reads in place of *parbar* (p. 26), seeing that *-t-* may be merely a sign of a derived stem (so as regards *varb-tokid*, p. 45).

²⁶ *Karolās* follows immediately in 11₉, but *Sabūalid* comes in 11₄ after *akad Karolid* and

genitive, *-l* being originally a genitive termination. In this connexion it will be remembered that, after Mr. Arkwright's phonetic analysis of the inscriptions, *-ū* the sign of the oblique case has the value of a *l*.²⁷

A point of some interest lies in *Silukalid*. Unfortunately as regards the Aramaic Dr. Cowley expresses strong doubts. He remarks that the names *M-n-y* and *K-m-l-y* are Mani and Kumli, 'compare Manius and Camillus, the former probably, the latter certainly an Etruscan name.' But 'of S-r-w-k' (סררמא) should perhaps be read סררמא (! *σνήγοπος*); at all events 'it cannot end in סר-.' Dr. Cowley's palaeographical objections are very weighty, but as the word, in both parts of the bilingual, is a later insertion, it may have been made by another and less skilled hand. Nor do I think the absence of uniformity so crucial, since also in the Lydian, *l*, for example, takes rather different forms. Moreover I would fall back on the theory of the possibility of a cursive copy, from which the insertion may have been made rather hurriedly and carelessly.

As regards the Lydian terms, there seems no reason to doubt that *akad Manelid Kumlilid* means (very literally) 'the property belonging to M. belonging to (i.e. son of) K.' But can we translate *Silukalid* 'belonging to (member of) S.'? The ending would have three different meanings: possession, parentage, and (after the Aramaic) some tribal or similar relationship. It is tempting to point to the Biblical-Aramaic 'Shushanchites' (שושנכיתא, Ezr. iv. 9), a compound of Shushan and *-ak* (cf. Andreas in Marti's grammar, p. 85), and to conjecture that *-k* is a gentile. Littmann, too, has suggested that *šfardak* (12) means 'Sardian,' and has compared the Etruscan *-ax* (p. 62). If this conjecture be worth considering, we may venture, retaining the Aramaic סררמא, to suppose that Mani and his father Kumli were 'Syrians,' and to analyse *Silukalid* into *Silu + ka + lid*. Without going into the question of the name itself, it is interesting to observe that the Jews in Elephantine were ready to assert, in the papyri, that they were 'Jews' or 'Aramaean,' and even to assume foreign names. It may seem an objection that, in the bilingual, 'Syrian' is (*ex hyp.*) written in the native form with *k*, but also in Elephantine the adjectival form of Syene has on one occasion both the Iranian and Aramaic endings.²⁸

Passing over an obscure use of *akad* in 4₁₁₋₁₂, we may note 13 (pp. 51 *seq.*), where *éśš vānas Atalis . . . ak Tešastid Sivāmlid* appears, at first sight, to offer *ak* for *akad*.²⁹ The inscription concludes (ll. 3-5) with the typical threat 'if anyone (*ak nāhis*) . . . then may Artemis (*fakmū A . . .*)'; but the use of *akin . . . ak* in l. 2 is puzzling. Littmann decides that these cannot be the familiar particle *ak* 'if,' but are perhaps independent words for 'and' like the Latin *atque* and *que*. Now if l. 1 specifies the ownership, it is rather unlikely that *akin* or *ak* can be connected with *akad* 'property.' But it is conceivable that the warning begins in l. 2, in which case we can find a plausible meaning, provisionally utilizing some of Littmann's conjectures; 'This is the vault (or cavern) of A. T. T., now if ³⁰ *k* (? certain relatives), if *mūola* (? also relatives) of T. S., *mūola* of S. M., if anyone . . .' In this case the warning is first addressed specifically to these unknown names, and is finally quite general; and this is precisely in the style of the bilingual, where we pass from the specific objects in § V. *seq.* to the very general 'anything' in § VII. Moreover, the Nabataean inscriptions will commonly specify those who may share in a tomb; and this would be strongly in favour of the preliminary conjecture that

before *Ištubeūmlid*. Cp. also *Sivamlis*, *-lid* and *-lū* with *-š*, *-d* (see above), and *-ū* in 15₁, 13₂, 27₁.

²⁷ Cf. also Littmann's discussion p. 16. For *-l*, and *-lū*, cf. above, n. 18 (3c).

²⁸ In the Aramaic papyri from Elephantine, Sachau (*Aram. Pap.*, p. 268) cites סררמא (with Iranian ending *-kan*), and סררמא (with the further addition of the Aramaic סר-). It may be added that from the same source comes

the Persian גררמא the name of an official class, wherein *-k* is an affix (see Andreas in Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, ii. 215).

²⁹ Cf. the inflection above, n. 26.

³⁰ The inscription begins: (1) *éśš vānas Atalis Tivdalis Tarvāllis*, (2) *akin kudkañ-aures ak Tešastid Sivāmlid*, (3) *mūola Šrfastid Mēualid mūola ak nāhis*, etc. *-in* here, however, is not a *concluding* particle, contrast above, n. 17.

akin and *ak* in l. 2 were connected with *akad*, in which case ll. 1-3 would name all the owners. But since this seems out of the question, the alternative conjecture is that, whereas Nabataean inscriptions explicitly state the kinsmen and others who may share a vault, here the inscription is excluding certain individuals, who perhaps might otherwise be supposed to have some rights or claims. This of course is as purely conjectural as Littmann's view, but he has to postulate new meanings for *ak(in)* in l. 2, which it would be preferable to avoid if possible. *Akin*, on this view, is a compound of *ak* and *in*, of which the latter appears elsewhere in *aktin*, another form of *akit*; see further below.

§ VII. The ordinary formula of the threat can be easily recognized. The verb in the protasis ('destroy' or the like) is *fēnsūibid*—the spelling with *-fid* in the bilingual need not have been corrected (p. 35), compare the form *fortū* in the date-introduction of the Louvre inscription in the place of *bortū*. The verb recurs without the initial *f* in 26. In the apodosis the verb is *vqbahēt* ('scatter' or the like)—used variously with a singular or plural subject. Another form of the verb is apparently to be seen in (*v*)*qbuhid* (11₁₃), but *vqbinec* which occurs in an obscure context may have no connexion with it (4₁₃). Some curse or other punishment is expressed by the verb *katsarlokid*—used indifferently with the singular or plural (p. 70). Although the formula in the bilingual is common, another occurs several times: *fakac* (or *akac*, 16) *višsis* (or *-iši-*) *nivišqc* (or *-šš-*) *varbtokid* (or *varbtod*, 16). Littmann ingeniously conjectures: 'may a god upon the godless take vengeance' (p. 45 seq.). The verb lies in the last word; for the verbal ending *-d*, cf. *qitolad*, in the parallel texts 7₉, 30₇, and *qitalad* (30₁), and possibly *būtarvod* and *dqtdid*.³¹ *Višsis* and *nivišqc* (cf. 7₃ and *nivišlū* 30₁₀) are evidently related, and it is suggested that *ni* is a sign of the negative. In support of this he compares, among others, *haaslū* and *nihaslū* (27, 29). Here, as further comparison shows, *ni-* can be replaced by the separate word *nid*, and since the latter precedes the verb *ēnsuibid* (26₃) and the possible verb *kanrod* (12₁₂),—in 7₁₅ the context is obscure—a negative-idea is very plausible.³²

The conditional particles vary considerably (see p. 72 seq.). The variations *fakmū* and *akmū*; *fakac* and *akac* suggest the use of *f* as a prefix. *f-* is frequently found at the beginning of words in Lydian, but it is difficult in l to see any real difference between *ēnsūibid* (a5) and *fēnsūibid* (b3), nor does it seem possible at present to determine whether elsewhere *f-* is a prefix or not. At all events, the particle *f* is used in the old Aramaic inscriptions of Zenjirli in North Syria (latter half of the eighth century B.C.).³³ But it is also found in Nabataean, Palmyrene, and especially in Arabic; and consequently it must be left open whether the early use of *f-* at Zenjirli is due to some linguistic influence from Asia Minor, or, as would otherwise be assumed, is an early use of a purely Semitic particle.

The fact that *his* also occurs instead of *nāhis* (§ VII.) suggests that *nā* is merely an indefinite particle (p. 71); cf. the forms *nāhid*, *nāhida* (4₅, 30₃).

The use of *-it* as an introductory particle in conditional clauses is well illustrated in the line written down the margin of 16 *ēnaūt bakivalū mrud bnl esūt mr his fēnsūibid akac viššiq nivišqc varbtod* (pp. 65 seq., 70, 73). Littmann conjectures: 'the said (!) Bakivalis stele is sacrosanct (?), now (-it) this stele, whosoever destroys (it), may a god take vengeance upon the godless.' [The same affix appears in *akit*, and *aktin* (for *ak-it-in*), and in *fakmūt* and *akmūt* (for *-ū-it*). It is difficult, however, to understand the relation between *akmūis* (7₉, 30₇) *fakmūt* (30₁₂) and *fakmūtīn* (7₁₀, cf. l. 3). In *-mū* Littmann would recognise a personal suffix, used perhaps as an ethic dative (pp. 34, 37, 66). The

³¹ See above, n. 25. *qitalad* is the verb in the protasis of 13; and strangely enough Littmann has not recorded the parallels in the (as yet unpublished) inscriptions 7 and 30.

³² Unfortunately not all these and other necessary details are given in this fascicule, and judgment must therefore be suspended. So, for example, *nahaaslad* (29₆) compared

with *ninīn nid haaslis* (27₅) suggests the possibility of the use, in the latter, of a double negative, *nin* and *nid*.

³³ Viz. the old Hadad inscription (Cooke No. 61), e.g. *f-m-z*, l. 3, 'whatever'; and before verbs in the perfect and imperfect, ll. 14, 31.

corresponding plural would be *-ac* in *akac*, *fakac*, etc. At all events, *ak* is the radical conditional particle, and the successive forms it can assume by the prefix *f* and by affixes, lead to such results as *fakatac* (11₁₁), *fakmūatac* (12₁₂), and *aksuakmū* (12₁₀).

In the bilingual the construction is: *akit nāhis* (§ V.) followed by specific accusatives and no verb, and continued by *aktin nāhis* (§ VII.) with the necessary verb and a generalizing object. The meaning is evidently to the effect: 'if any one, as regards these particular objects, if any one destroys (?) anything, then may Artemis . . .' The Aramaic construction is similar: 'and whosoever against this . . . in fine (*lit.* "afterwards") whosoever destroys or breaks anything, then (*lit.* "afterwards") may A . . .' It has been suggested that a somewhat similar type of construction recurs in 13 (above). Again in 11 (p. 49) the repetition of *aktin nāhis fensūbid* (ll. 5 and 11) may be due to a suspended construction; but the context is hardly clear enough to allow a decision.

In conclusion, I may add that I have been unable to follow up the mason's marks between the two portions of the bilingual—other examples appear in 6 and 9; nor have I been in a position to work out the numeral signs, viz. on the bilingual, 11, the Falanga and the Louvre inscriptions. One gains the impression that Lydian used the North Semitic forms—through the influence of the Aramaeans; but the point is an important one, and one must await the publication of facsimiles. The symbols (*e.g.* on 7) and the various religious criteria (names of gods) have been outside my scope, and the endeavour to find proper names and gentilics has not been very successful; Littmann has collected many useful notes, but the results of my own inspection of the names on the Greek inscriptions from Sardis are poor.³⁴ The names, in fact, have proved decidedly more disappointing than was to be anticipated from one's experience in the Semitic field; and it is for others to say whether there is really a gap between Lydian onomatology and the later Greek inscriptions, and also, to what circumstances it is due.

To sum up as fairly as possible, we must acknowledge that Littmann has made many extremely suggestive conjectures, which, on the whole, are fairly consistent with one another. It is to be regretted that all the Lydian inscriptions from Sardis could not have been published together, and until they have been made accessible it seems premature to proceed further. The present reviewer is obliged to confine himself to the bilingual and to questions arising out of it, and here alone there is room for much further discussion.³⁵ It seems to be very necessary to bear in mind, what is common enough in bilinguals, the relative independence of the Lydian and the Aramaic, and the impossibility of treating either as a literal translation of the other. This conclusion does not exclude the likelihood of certain influences, *e.g.* the Aramaic word for 'property,' the omission of the verb in

³⁴ See *Amer. Journ. of Arch.* xvi. (1912), 28 sqq. Among the names are 'Αρτεμῆς, a man's name (*A.J.A.* xviii. 61 seq.). 'Ατταλος (*A.J.A.* xviii. 35), cf. Atalis in L. 13, Dionysias as the name of a tribe (*ib.* p. 57); Menelaus (*ib.* p. 66), cf. Manelis I, etc.; Μῆτρας (p. 58)? cf. Mētrid, 7, 30; Myrsilus, etc. (*A.J.A.* xvii. 45)? cf. Mrslāš—if a proper name, 29; Nannas, Nīnis (*A.J.A.* xviii. 35,

38), cf. Nannas, 25; Σαδούπτης (*A.J.A.* xvi. 41)? cf. the first syllable of Sadkorfū 29.

³⁵ As further Semitist opinion is necessary, it may be as well to mention that in 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁 (l. 2, end), the final *n-* is assured by plain traces upon the negatives (as Mr. Buckler kindly informs me), and by Aramaic usage. The traces do not come out, however, on the photograph, p. 78 above.

§ V. *seq.*, and perhaps also the syntactical clumsiness of §§ III. and VI.³⁶ But one has only to consider the present unintelligibility of the long metrical inscription, L. 12 (p. 58) to appreciate how much we are indebted to the bilingual for a general preliminary knowledge of the briefer and interrelated Lydian funerary texts. Moreover, one is able to realise the fact that when the parallel texts of a bilingual or trilingual are not practically identical, the inability to identify an unknown language makes itself seriously felt. In the past, the reconstruction of Egyptian, Old Persian and Babylonian, was furthered by parallel texts and by the help of (respectively) Coptic, Persian and the Semitic languages. Here, however, the identification of Lydian remains problematical, and at present, there appear to be no philological equations sufficiently sober and decisive to form a basis for further unimpeded comparative and constructive work.³⁷ Viewed from a purely Semitic standpoint, the Lydian problem is one with that of the other non-Semitic languages which prevailed through what may be called the 'Hittite' area, and which leave their mark upon the Semitic inscriptions of North Syria. The bilingual adds another link to the chain connecting Asia Minor with Syria and Palestine, and, in emphasizing the inter-communication and intercourse throughout Hither Asia at different periods of its history, is a positive contribution to our presuppositions and preconceptions of the area.

Finally, in addition to all that this text can directly or indirectly contribute to the world of scholarship must certainly be mentioned its great popular interest—its suggestiveness for the history of the Jewish Dispersion and for its sidelights upon a place of much importance. If, as seems extremely probable, the bilingual, taken with the reference in Obadiah *v.* 20 to the Jewish exiles of Sepharad, testifies to a Jewish colony or garrison, similar to that at Elephantine, there is obviously a possibility that, just as the latter has divulged some of its secrets and has illuminated the religious and other antiquities of the Jews of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., so future excavations may well bring to light facts relating to the life and thought of the Jews at Sepharad, the predecessors of the Christian Church in Sardis.³⁸

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³⁶ Dr. Cowley remarks that 'the "curious usage of ארמ" (Littmann, pp. 24, 29) is common in the Elephantine papyrus of Ahikar and of the Behistun inscription, where it corresponds to the Old Persian *pasāva*. There is no need to compare the Pehlevi. It is simply due to Persian influence.' As regards foreign influence the archaeological facts are of interest, and Mr. H. C. Butler has drawn attention to the resemblance between the jewellery found in Lydia and the Etruscan. The expedition also found seals, gems, etc., of Persian design, perhaps cut for Persian nobles; these may have been of local manufacture (*A.J.A.* xv. 157, xvi. 479).

³⁷ To the non-classical student *kudkit* and H.S.—VOL. XXXVII.

vānaš suggest *quidquid* and *fanum*, but a conscientious study of Semitic and Persian lexicons would produce equally curious resemblances elsewhere.

³⁸ It is at least a very curious coincidence that at Sardis there was evidently a cult of 'Artemis of k-l-w (Koloë) and Ephesus,' and that the coordination of this Colossian and Ephesian Artemis recalls the close relationship between the Colossians and the Ephesians, and between the Pauline Epistles addressed to each. But it is taken for granted that the Phrygian Colossae is meant, even though the name of the city itself is actually of Sardinian origin (see n. 16).

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

The Fragments of Sophocles. Edited, with Additional Notes from the Papers of Sir R. C. Jebb and Dr. W. G. Headlam, by A. C. PEARSON, M.A., formerly Scholar of Christ's College, Cambridge. Three volumes. Pp. c + 270, 0 + 330, x + 339. Cambridge University Press, 1917. Price £2 5s.

Regrettable as it is that Jebb's magnificent work on Sophocles was not entirely completed, it is permissible to doubt whether the fragments have not gained rather than lost by being left to a rather later date and handled by a younger generation of scholarship. The special gifts of literary judgement and taste which mark Jebb's editions of the complete plays would not have had the same scope in dealing with the fragments, whereas in certain respects Mr. Pearson is probably better equipped for this particular task than his great predecessor. For example, he is more thoroughly versed in recent German periodicals, in questions of metre, and in comparative philology. And Dr. Headlam's contributions, though not very extensive, are always fine and often original.

The work of editing Fragments demands special qualifications. First, the mastery of much tiresome and elusive literature; the constituting of a text by evidence and methods quite different from those on which a continuous text normally depends; a power of dealing with minute questions of lexicography, and with the literary treatment of mythology (quite a different subject from mythology proper); and lastly, if it does not demand, it warmly welcomes a power of brilliant speculation, such as Welcker's, in matters of dramaturgy. In no one of these varied qualifications can Mr. Pearson be said to fail, and in his whole work he shows a very high degree of competence, thoroughness, and sound judgement. It is a point in his favour rather than against him that he indulges so little in speculation or in corrections of the text.

The Greek Tragic fragments have attracted, naturally enough, some very gifted editors. Welcker's *Griechische Tragödien mit Rücksicht auf den Epischen Cyclus geordnet* (Bonn, 1839), though based on a questionable foundation, was a work of real genius and still exercises a profound influence. Mr. Pearson, for example, finds it necessary to argue against Welcker far more than against any more recent writer; so much does he hold the field. Bothe, Wagner and Ahrens followed him closely; Hartung temerarily tried to outbid him and showed what Welcker's daring without his knowledge and judgement resulted in. Nauck in his *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* struck out a different line. He applied strict principles of criticism to the text and sifted the sources of the fragments; and to any reader who takes the trouble to look up Nauck's references his second edition of 1869 remains a wonderfully impressive and educative work.

As instances of Mr. Pearson's method one may cite his excellent note on fr. 776, *Ἄθος σκιάζει νῶτα Ἀθηνίας Βοός.*: on the *Inachus*, where his argument that the play was satyric has been confirmed in the last month or two by a papyrus discovery; on the *Sundeipnoi*, *Tyro*, *Eris*, *Odysseus Acanthoplex*, *Phineus*. One is glad to see the odd title *Διονυσιακός* has become *Διονυσίσκος*, a simple correction which at once clears the air. There are interesting lexicographical notes on *ἐξερπνάσεις* 181 (due

chiefly to Headlam), on ζ 471, εἶδος 603, λαρός 285, ἀντίσπαστα 412—but one might cite such notes by the score. The fragments of the new Satyr play, the *Ichneutae*, seem improved in some five or six places since Hunt's *editio princeps*, and make on me still the same impression of rare beauty. Mr. Pearson's explanation that the nameless Master of the satyrs is Apollo confirms my own view of that difficult little point, and his conjecture on v. 168, [ἀ]φίστω τριζύγης οἶμον βάσω, 'Get away from the cross-roads,' i.e. 'make up your mind,' may well be right. Also μέτρον ἐκμε[μαγ]μένον in 104 is a decided improvement on ἐκμε[τρού]μενον. On the other hand I cannot believe in his reading of *Eurygylus* 52 ὁ μὲν δάκη τόσ' (δ' ἄκρητος Π), 'The one just wounds and nothing else.' I regret that he has not accepted Miss Harrison's explanation of the house of the nymph Cyllene as a conical underground dwelling with the door at the top. In another part of the book, *Incerta et spuria*, 1127, 1128, I wish he had ventured on a discussion of the source and nature of the curious fragments cited by Clement and Justin de *Monarchia* for the purpose of discrediting the pagan tradition. But that is only because of my own curiosity, not because an editor of the fragments is at all called upon to deal with the question.

The fragments of Sophocles are somewhat arid and tantalizing; there is so much lexicography, so little drama, and on the whole so few passages of great poetical beauty compared with the natural expectation formed from the plays. But that is not the fault of Mr. Pearson, nor yet of Sophocles.

G. M.

Euthymides and his Fellows. By JOSEPH CLARK HOPPIN. Pp. 186. 48 Plates and 36 Illustrations in the Text. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1917.

Dr. Hoppin's monograph *Euthymides* is well known to scholars. The present book is on a much larger scale. The author describes the signed work of Euthymides, studies the artist's style, and attributes to him a number of unsigned vases. He proceeds to treat Phintias and Hysis in the same way, and concludes with a short account of the anonymous Kleophrades painter, who in his early period was influenced by Euthymides. Although the book is mainly concerned with these four artists, important general questions are discussed at suitable length. The text is accompanied by pictures of all the vases handled, some reproduced from other books, many from new photographs and drawings.

The signature of Euthymides is found on five vases in all, one of which is now lost: and always in the form *Ευθυμιδης εγραψε* (or *εγραφε*): that is to say, it is the signature of the artist, not the trademark of the manufacturer. Inscriptions tell us further that Euthymides was at one time the friend of the vase-painter Phintias; for he is toasted on one of Phintias' vases: and the rival, though not necessarily, as has generally been assumed, the enemy, of the vase-painter Euphronios; for he writes 'Better than Euphronios' on one of his signed amphorae. Was he better than Euphronios? The Euphronios with whom Euthymides must be compared, for he has invited comparison, is not of course the many-handed prodigy destroyed by Furtwängler and Robert, but the painter of the four vases signed *Ευφρωνιος εγραψε* and such unsigned vases as cluster round them: and it is quite fair to say that the Theseus amphora in Munich, which is beyond all doubt by Euthymides, is not inferior to any Euphronian work: like the Munich Euphronios cup, like the Petrograd psykter, it is one of the masterpieces of archaic drawing.

Which artist is the more 'progressive' is an entirely different question, though it has commonly been confused with the first; and difficult to answer, seeing that we do not know which was the older of these two nearly contemporary artists. Hoppin seems to consider Euthymides the older, for he speaks of the time of Euphronios as subsequent to the time of Euthymides (p. 41. See also p. 25). But if we compare the drawing of the Antaios krater and the drawing on the Hector amphora, with the drawing of about 480 B.C., for

instance on Makron's kotyle or on a cup by the Brygos painter, Euphronios, whether you look at the naked figure, the drapery, the hands or the ears or the feet, will produce a more archaic impression than Euthymides: to cite but one detail, Euthymides never uses black relief-lines for the minor markings of the body, a practice which Euphronios shares with Oltos and other masters of the previous age, but always the brown lines which are regular in the ripe archaic period. I take it that Phintias, Euphronios, and Euthymides are nearly contemporary and equally 'progressive': Phintias may perhaps have begun painting before the others, at any rate his Munich cup is more archaic than any extant work of the other two, and Euthymides last: but our evidence is incomplete. What is certain is that the three painters are the chief representatives of the new 'athletic' period, Phintias standing in the middle, with Euphronios on one hand and Euthymides on the other, while two other less significant artists may be attached to the group, for Furtwängler was right in placing Hypsis by the side of Euthymides, and Smikros by the side of Euphronios. Oltos may be reckoned the forerunner of Euphronios, and the follower of the anonymous Andokides painter; the ancestry of Phintias and Euthymides is doubtful: Hoppin attempts to connect Euthymides with the Andokides painter, but on slender evidence.

Hoppin places the end of Euthymides' career about 490 B.C., which seems to me rather too late: I should be surprised if he survived the new century. Hoppin makes a slip in associating me with Hauser on p. 40: for I do not consider the Kleophrades painter to be the same as Euthymides: Hoppin gives my view correctly on p. 147.

To describe an artist's style is a difficult task, as everyone realises who has undertaken it. Just what is characteristic in his renderings often eludes expression, and over and above the renderings of separate parts there is something which can hardly be put into words. And so it cannot be expected that Hoppin's account of Euthymides' style (pp. 40-45) will enable the student to tell himself with assurance that this or that unsigned piece is or is not by Euthymides; but it will draw his attention to the particulars he must observe and guide his steps in the right track. The author might have mentioned Euthymides' tendency to render the commissure of the lips by a pair of arcs, and to place a brown line on the neck near the Adam's apple. The chests on the Theseus amphora are not so dissimilar from the chests on the signed vases as would appear from the text: the conception of a chest is the same: it is above all the drawing of breast and collarbone that persuades me to ascribe the Boston Hestiaios plate to Euthymides, an ascription which Hoppin rejects (p. 91). I feel less confident that the Compiègne psykter is by Euthymides, but I should like to place the original or an accurate drawing before Hoppin's eyes. The Petrograd hydria is surely by Euthymides. Hoppin finds that the proportion of human head to body is the same on all the signed vases of Euthymides, namely, 1 to 7, and therefore refuses to count as Euthymidean any vase which shows a different scale. He may well be right: but I doubt whether all vase-painters are so faithful to their canon: it is an important question which has been discussed before and which demands further enquiry.

As to the precise value of the composition graphs at the end of the book I am less certain. It is obvious that one painter will prefer certain compositional lines, and another others; but it must not be forgotten that certain compositions are naturally appropriate to certain vase-shapes, and that the composition is frequently given by the subject: for instance, it may well be that one day we shall unearth a 'Contest for the Tripod' by Euthymides, and no one would be astonished if its graph did not differ from the graph of Phintias' 'Contest' on the amphora in Corneto. A large series of such graphs, made in the first instance without reference to authorship, would certainly be useful, and Hoppin has done well to make a beginning.

I now pass to the unsigned vases attributed by Hoppin to Euthymides, to Phintias, to Hypsis, and shall speak of them in order, giving Hoppin's numbers.

E III. Theseus amphora in Munich. It has long been recognised that this is by Euthymides, and his masterpiece. How fussy and petty, for all its scrupulous virtuosity,

the Tityos and Leto of Phintias (Pl. 31, in the book), when it is placed beside the grandeur of Theseus and his bride (Pl. 3)! The inscriptions on the Theseus amphora offer some difficulty: Hoppin, following Engelmann, supposes that the subject is the Rape of Helen, although the bride is labelled Korone on the vase: on the whole I prefer this view to Furtwängler's counter-theory.

E 1. Amphora. B.M. E 254. Hoppin is certainly right in connecting it with Euthymides, but I must consider it a lifeless imitation and not an autograph work.

E 2 (= P 5). Amphora. B.M. E 255. Hoppin attributes the obverse to Euthymides and the reverse to Phintias. Both sides are to my mind by a single painter, the author of E 1. It is quite possible that two painters may occasionally have collaborated on one vase, but I do not know any instance. Hoppin adduces a Berlin cup with the signatures of both Anakles and Nikosthenes: but the signatures are both of *εποιεσεν* form: and that *εποιεσεν* does not include *εγραψεσεν* in the b.f. any more than it does in the r.f. period, is shown by the signatures on the François vase. Again, it is true that the finest part of the London cup E 12 has generally been attributed to Euphronios and the rest abandoned to 'Pamphaios': but in fact the whole is by one artist, neither Euphronios, nor 'Pamphaios,' who was a shopkeeper and not, so far as we know, a painter.

E 3. Amphora. B.M. E 256. 'Obverse by Euthymides, reverse by Euthymides or a pupil of his.' The highly schematic drawing seems to me neither Euthymidean nor Phintian: in particular, the feet, hair, ears, fingers, quality of relief-line, reveal the hand of a new painter. The crinkly intermediate lines on the drapery have not the specific Euthymidean form: such lines are by no means peculiar to Euthymides, though his own variety of them is: they occur on signed works by Smikros, Euphronios and Epiktetos.

E 4. Amphora. Würzburg 300. 'Obverse by Euthymides, reverse by the Kleophrades painter.' I agree with Hartwig in giving both sides to the Kleophrades painter. I will mention only one argument against the Euthymidean authorship of the obverse, and that is one which will appeal to Dr. Hoppin:—the proportion of the heads to the bodies, if I measure it correctly, is the same as on the obverse, namely 2 to 13: the Kleophradean, and not the Euthymidean proportion.

E 5. Amphora in Leyden. 'School of Euthymides' according to Hoppin. This is an improvement on the older attribution to Oltos, but I cannot find anything specifically Euthymidean in the drawing.

E 6. Amphora. Louvre G 44. I was doubtful at one time whether this was by Euthymides or by an imitator, but when I had an opportunity of inspecting it more closely I saw that it was beyond all doubt by the painter himself. Hoppin arrived independently at the same conclusion. I read the inscriptions on the reverse . . . ΑΣ, the end of the man's name written backwards, and ΧΑΙΡΕ ΤΙ[σται or the like]. The central figure is obviously female, as Hoppin suggests. The hair on the man's crown has an incised contour.

P. 62. The Louvre amphora. G 45. I persist in holding this to be an imitation of Euthymides' work, in spite of Hoppin's denial: it is not a companion piece to Louvre G 46 (p. 57), but stands very close, both in style and in quality, to the London amphorae mentioned above, B.M. E 254 and E 255.

E 7. Psykter. B.M. E 767. 'Euthymides or school-piece.' I do not discover any Euthymidean traits in this unpleasant vase. Contrast the markings on leg and hip, the coarse lines of the collarbones, and the tinny drapery with the renderings adopted by Euthymides.

E 8. Calyx-krater. Berlin 2180. I follow Robert and Furtwängler in ascribing it to Euphronios and not to Euthymides as Hoppin does. The ears with their double lobe are exactly Euphronian, and the hands, the collarbones, the breast, and the parts below it: for all these, and other details, compare the Antaios krater of Euphronios.

E 9. Kalpis in Dresden. Hoppin attributes to Euthymides, but hesitatingly. It seems to me Euphronian.

E 10. Kalpis in Brussels. This was assigned by Furtwängler to Phintias. Hoppin substitutes Euthymides, which is an improvement, although I do not think it hits the mark. The drawing somewhat resembles that of the two London amphorae E 254 and E 255.

E 11 and E 12. Pelikai in Vienna and in Florence. Hoppin follows Furtwängler in assigning the pair to Euthymides, who is undoubtedly the artist, although the drawing, for some reason or other, though not less careful, is rather less ample than in his other works.

E 13-E 15. Cup with $\Phi\text{INTI}\Lambda\text{S}\ \text{E}\Gamma\text{OIE}\Sigma\text{EN}$ in Athens: cup with $\Phi\text{INTI}\Lambda\text{S}\ \text{K}\Lambda\text{L}\text{O}\Sigma$ in Berlin: cup in Leipzig. These three small cups were given to Phintias by Hartwig, and are now transferred to Euthymides by Hoppin. I do not regard Hoppin's arguments (p. 84) as conclusive: the lines of the ears on E 13 are not the Euthymidean lines: the helmets, the drapery, the bisected blazon are not peculiar: the backs of the figures on E 14 and E 15 are different from Euthymidean backs, as well as from each other. On the other hand, I do not feel sure that any of them is by Phintias.

E 16. Plate in Boston. The charming Nereid bears a certain resemblance to the Euthymidean figure which Hoppin sets beside it, but not enough to warrant his attributing it to Euthymides. The earrings are the same in both, but this is the commonest kind of earring: chin and breast are the same, but in how many other vases as well! hair and hood are only alike in type: eye and ear are quite different. I suggest that the Nereid plate is by the same hand as the Menon amphora in Philadelphia and the earlier amphora with the love name Hippokrates in Munich. Add to Hoppin's description that the rim of the plate is white-ground.

E 17. Fragment of cup in Boston. Important as showing that Euthymides, like Phintias and Euphronios, painted cups as well as other shapes of vase. The subject still obscure: the 'cord' on the arm seemed to me part of the sleeve of a chiton.

E 18. Fragment in the Louvre. This is part of a pelike: it cannot belong to a psykter, as no psykter has a side-border.

E 19. Votive pinax in Athens. Bears a certain likeness to the work of Euthymides, but hardly his.

P 1 and P 2. Hydriai in Munich. The attribution to Phintias is certain. Hoppin is inclined to think that the shoulder of P 2 may have been painted by Euthymides; but few will go with him.

P 3. Louvre hydria G 41. Hoppin assigns it to Phintias, mainly on inscriptional evidence: (1) the greeting $+\text{AIPETO}\ \text{E}\text{VO}\text{VM}\text{I}\Delta\text{E}\Sigma$ recalls the invocation on the Phintian hydria Munich 2421: but what was to prevent any other artist from greeting Euthymides if he liked? It is surely unfair to say that 'if the hydria be assigned to another painter, it would have to be shown, aside from the style, that such an artist was in the habit of using such dedications.' (2) The names Chares and Sostratos occur on two Phintian vases: but the same names are used by different artists, for instance Megakles: (3) the graffito resembles that of the London Phintias: but we cannot assume that the graffiti are due to the artist. The Louvre hydria is to my mind neither by Phintias nor by Euthymides: this can be more clearly seen in the original than in the drawings, which omit important details like the inner marking on Hermes' legs.

P 4. Louvre amphora G 42. Certainly by Phintias.

P 6. Psykter in Boston. Certainly by Phintias. Hoppin considers that it surpasses anything in Euthymides' work: a remarkable judgment.

P 7. Stamnos in Leipzig. This seems to me to be Euphronian rather than Phintian, although the drawing is a little tighter than we expect from Euphronios. In form and decoration the vase belongs to the same class as the three stamnoi by Smikros, in Brussels, London, and the Louvre (G 43: unsigned).

P 8. Calyx-krater in Petrograd. Both sides are by Phintias and not merely the obverse, though this is not clear from the photographs.

P 9. Fragment in the Villa Giulia. A typical example of Olto's work: see his Corneto cup.

The list of Phintias signatures may be increased by a fragment in the Acropolis

collection at Athens. It is the mouth, neck, and handles of a round aryballos, or a vase with plastic body like Hoppin, p. 109: on the mouth, in black letters of exquisite style, the legend $\Phi\Lambda\tau\tau\iota\alpha\varsigma : \epsilon\pi\omicron\iota\epsilon\varsigma\epsilon\tau\eta\mu\epsilon : \omicron\pi\alpha\iota\kappa\alpha\lambda\epsilon$.

Hoppin attributes only one unsigned vase to Hypsis, the amphora B.M. E253. The resemblances between the amphora and the work of Hypsis seem to me very slight: in particular, the chiton of Hippaichmos, which Hoppin invites us to observe, lacks exactly what makes the chiton of Hypsis' Amazons remarkable, the absence of vertical lines in the lower border.

Though I am compelled to differ from several of Hoppin's conclusions, I regard *Euthymides and his Fellows* as a very useful, handy, and interesting book, which will bring pleasure and profit to many other readers besides myself.

J. D. B.

Beiträge zur Griechischen Religionsgeschichte. II. Kathartisches und Rituelles. Von S. EITREM. (Videnskapsselskapets Skrifter II. Hist.-filos. Klasse. 1917, No. 2.) Pp. 50. Kristiania, 1917.

Dr. Eitrem's new contribution to the history of religion, which forms a useful supplement to his *Opferritus*, is devoted to the examination of the rites of circumambulation and marching through as means of purification, an investigation of certain points regarding the ceremony of the October Horse, and notes on the part played in ritual and magic by the tail and the head of an animal or a man. Like all the author's work, the treatise is somewhat defective in ordered arrangement, but it is marked by a wide command of the material and by a sound and prudent judgment. No better example of these qualities can be given than his treatment (pp. 23-27) of Festus's notice of the *auctio Veientium*, and the proverb *Sardi venales*, arising from the curious ceremony performed at Rome on October 15th in each year. The author considers the suggested comparison with the treatment of Saturnalian kings whether in Moesia or Jerusalem, and definitely dismisses it: he recognises the possibility of bringing the sale into connexion with the legend of Anna Perenna as interpreted by Usener, and he notes the possible conclusions to be drawn from the figure of Mamurius Veturius, but at the end he admits that the evidence is too scanty to allow of any result being attained—a conclusion the wisdom of which cannot be called in question.

Of his own theories the most interesting is that (pp. 12-14) which seeks to find a purely lustral origin in the curious covenant rite referred to in Jeremiah,¹ and more remotely alluded to in Genesis,² the essence of which consisted in marching between the two halves of a victim. He rejects the common explanation that the process is symbolic, the victim undivided indicating the unity which should exist between two members of an alliance, while the divided condition signifies the fate awaiting those who break the bond, and the alternative suggestion that the victim serves as a witness of the agreement. In doing so he is doubtless right, but his argument that there is no bilateral contract in the cases in question is clearly untenable; in both cases God is one of the parties, and the rite must be deemed to be based on the normal human types of formal pact. He finds the true parallels in the cases of lustration of armies by marching between the halves of the body of a victim whether a dog or a man, recorded for the Macedonian and Persian armies,³ and of the taking in this way of specially formal oaths, for which however in Greece there is no better evidence than that of Dictys Cretensis,⁴ who may be suspected of confusing different rites. The transition from lustration to use in a covenant he seeks to exemplify by the Scythian practice,⁵ by which a man seeking help sat on the skin of a

¹ xxxiv. 18, 19.

² xv. 9, 10.

³ Liv. xl. 6; Curt. x. 9, 11; Herod. vii. 39.

⁴ i. 15; ii. 49; v. 10.

⁵ Lucian, *Tox.* 48.

slain animal, and any helper indicated his aid by placing his right foot on the hide, partaking of the cooked flesh, and declaring with how many warriors he would help the suppliant; while in other cases—as, for instance, was the practice with the *Dios kodium* at Eleusis—the skin of a victim serves for purposes of lustration. The explanation has the temptation of simplicity, but it lacks plausibility. It is assumed that the marching of an army between the halves of the body of a victim in some manner takes away any pollution which may be upon it, the victim attracting to itself the miasma, but no suggestion is made to explain this curious power of the victim. In the theory of Robertson Smith,¹ which the author decidedly negatives, a rationale is found for the form of contract on the ground that originally the animal, which is sacrificially offered and therefore is charged with divine power, is eaten, and that the mere process of marching through is a substituted rite by which the whole of a people is made to partake of a covenant more effectively, economically, and expeditiously than could be secured by feasting on the victim. Similarly, if the victim is in some way holy, marching past it may serve to purify the host, or this ceremony may be a mere case of the transfer of evil, and therefore be explained on quite different grounds than the ceremony of compact. Other explanations are also possible, but the facts are certainly too complex to be met by Dr. Eitrem's suggestion.

Many other points invite discussion, but it must suffice to note one or two matters on which Indian religion, the field in which Dr. Eitrem is least at home, may throw light. The author revives (p. 33) Kaibel's interesting suggestion that the Titans are pre-Hellenic phallic daimons; beside them we may set the phallic aboriginal deities detested by the Vedic Indians. The exposure of the dead on trees which is recorded of the Kolchoi (p. 42) is not merely known to the Indian epic,² but undoubtedly must be seen in a passage of the *Atharvaveda*,³ which refers to one class of the dead as uplifted (*uddhita*). It is a mistake to hold (p. 32) that the Vedic Indians treated the tail of the victim as in any sense specially sacred; tail and head alike were reckoned among the ordinary parts of the victim and divided among the priests,⁴ the omentum being the part treated with special respect. Nor is it certain that, when we hear in the *Rgveda*⁵ of Indra becoming a horse's tail in battle with the demon, it is his strength which is alluded to; his cunning adoption of a form to defeat his enemy's attack seems rather to be meant. In the discussion of practices regarding the treatment of the head it is curious to find no reference to the strange practice by which in India the murderer is required in certain cases as a penance to carry with him the skull of his victim,⁶ and it is clearly an undue pressing of language to reckon *Il. x. 457* as an instance in which a severed head continues to speak: early as is this view of the Homeric passage, which has left traces in the MS. tradition, it is perfectly plain that the line is no more than a graphic description of the severance of the head as Dolon was seeking to utter the prayer which he meditated, and that no reference to the mantic power of the head is contemplated.⁷ More mysterious perhaps than any head recorded by Dr. Eitrem is the horse's head which the *Açvins* gave to Dadhyañc, son of Atharvan, and with which he revealed to them the mead of *Tvastr*.⁸

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

¹ *Religion of the Semites*², p. 480.

² M. Winternitz, *Geschichte der indischen Literatur*, i. 298.

³ xviii. 2, 34.

⁴ *Aitareya Brâhmana*, vii. 1.

⁵ i. 32, 12.

⁶ H. Oldenberg, *Religion des Veda*, p. 324.

⁷ *Od. xxii. 329* seems an echo of *Il. x. 457*, and can hardly be pressed as an argument in favour of taking *φθεγγόμενον* as 'in his death cry.' The present participle is conative.

⁸ A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, pp. 141, 142.

Greek Ideals: a Study of Social Life. By C. DELISLE BURNS. Pp. 275. London: Bell, 1917. 5s.

When the archaeological professor, in the literary contest in Mr. R. C. Trevelyan's inimitable fable of the New Parsifal, quotes the 'Psalm of Life,' and Gigadibs interrupts with 'No, really, that will hardly do,' Circe asks 'Why not? It was most beautiful, most Greek, in thought and form and feeling, so direct, so grand.' Mr. Burns's very fresh and stimulating study of certain aspects of Greek civilization serves to remind us, in like manner, that although the great Greek thinkers and artists rose to heights where few if any have since challenged them, for the mass of the Greeks, even of the Athenians, convention ruled life and thought. The average Greek was satisfied 'if he did the right thing'; in religion, for instance, he would approve the precept of Isocrates to 'reverence the divine always, especially *μετὰ τῆς πόλεως*.' Mr. Burns translates this 'in the way that everyone else does,' or 'in the way that the community does'; but it is fair to say that he insists throughout on the fact that the *polis* comprises far more than we mean by the body politic; it includes, for instance, the whole religious organization of society. The ideal, however, is not high. Nevertheless it is absurd to suppose that the mass out of which sprang Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle, to mention only three of the most famous philosophers, was not intellectually above the level of most nations. Mr. Burns's sympathies are obviously rather with Socrates and Plato than with Aristotle, whom he dismisses in a brief chapter, and on whose indulgence in platitudes he is somewhat severe; forgetting perhaps that much of his teaching has come down to us in the form of lecture-notes (and if a lecturer utters a platitude it is much more likely to be recorded than something more difficult to grasp), and, secondly, that what may seem platitudinous to us has only become so by long familiarity. The first portion of the book gives some account of Attic religion, as shown in the chief festivals. Mr. Burns is evidently less familiar with this ground than with the philosophers; but an occasional remark shows that he estimates at its true value the work of those 'who prefer the serpents and mist of early magic and late mysticism to the shining faces of the gods and the sunlight of Homer.' We could wish that Mr. Burns had attempted to deal more fully with non-philosophic literature and with the fine arts as expressive of the Greek ideals. The limitation of the ideal of Greek sculpture, which has been so trenchantly expressed in Browning's 'Old Pictures in Florence,' is exactly paralleled by the limitation of the Greek ideal of liberty; and it was this clear-cut definition of the goal, so dear to the intellectual habit of the Greek, that enabled them to reach it. A vaguer aspiration would not have permitted the Greeks to establish the firm foundation on which the later comers, such as Christianity, have been enabled to build with security.

There are rather too many misprints in the few Greek words, and an occasional statement that surprises. Thus we are told on p. 43 that preaching was, happily, unknown in Athens; but what about Protagoras, whose 'sermon' on the beauty of virtue Mr. Burns knows quite well? And there are some remarks that can only be called peevish, as: 'In modern England, at least among the self-styled "upper" classes, if you want to dance you must pretend that you do it for charity or patriotism.' In war-time, possibly; but otherwise: 'Fum, thou son of Fo, what sort of a people is he got amongst?'

The Religious Thought of the Greeks. By Professor CLIFFORD HERSCHEL MOORE. Pp. x + 386. Harvard: University Press, 1916.

This book contains eight lectures given before the Lowell Institute in Boston. It covers a very wide field. The first lecture is on religion in Homer and Hesiod. The author proceeds to deal with the Attic literature and the mystic religions, and comes at last to Christianity. Obviously the treatment must be slight, and the writer does not pretend to much originality. But he manages to include an immense deal; and though so com-

pressed never becomes either dull or obscure. In fact perspective and lucidity are the most notable features of the work. By bringing the most important features into relief, and skilfully sketching in the background, Mr. Moore has succeeded in giving a remarkably clear and sensible sketch of the whole course of ancient religious thought so far as it is most interesting. He gives one the impression that he is quite at home in every part of the wide field which he surveys. Of course in tracing his bold outlines, the writer cannot always be microscopically accurate. But it would be difficult to find another short treatise on the subject so fair in its judgments and so sensible in its outlook. It may be confidently recommended to intelligent readers. The chief danger is that a reader, passing so easily and smoothly over the surface of the Greek religion, may not realize the hidden depths below. Mr. Moore is of course unable to give the authorities for his assertions in most cases: but he appends a well chosen bibliography.

P. G.

Andros. By THEOPHIL SAUCIUC. Wien: Alfred Hölder, 1914. Pp. 168, with 77 Illustrations.

This painstaking work, one of the publications of the Austrian Archaeological Institute, collects and collates, though in somewhat over-annotated form, all our knowledge of Andros, geographical, historical and archaeological, and for that reason alone it will be indispensable to any who make a study of the Islands. Though unable to undertake excavations on his own account, the author gives a very careful description of the existing antiquities of the island and, in an epigraphical appendix, elucidates several points in inscriptions already published, besides adding twenty-one new inscriptions to the list.

The scattered paragraphs dealing with numismatic questions are the least satisfactory part of the book: the somewhat fanciful theories and attributions of Paschalis (*Journ. Int.* i. p. 299) are taken over wholesale and presented as established facts. For instance, it is doubtful if the archaic coins of the amphora type with incuse reverse are to be given to Andros rather than, with Dr. Imhoof-Blumer, to Carthaea in Ceos, and it is wildly improbable that the late fourth and third century coins have any connexion with Southern Italy because some of them bear the mystic letter Φ . To say (p. 56) that the early coin legends of Acanthus, a colony of Andros, because they end in $-\Omega\text{N}$ and not $-\Omega\text{N}$, decide for us the alphabet-group to which Andros belonged, is to ignore the possibility that the nominative singular may really be intended, as it undoubtedly is on the coins of neighbouring Sermyle which read $\Sigma\text{ΕΡΜΥΛΙΚΩΝ}$. There are some good illustrations and an excellent index.

A Study of Archaism in Euripides. By CLARENCE AUGUSTUS MANNING. [Columbia University Studies in Classical Philology.] Pp. 98. 1916.

Mr. Manning holds that 'although a sceptic and a critic of the Greek state as he knew it . . . yet Euripides (not Sophocles) was often the conserver and the restorer of the old,' and his book accordingly sets out to show how 'in many ways Euripides undertook successfully to revive and adapt the methods of Aeschylus.' In the structure of Euripides's dramas, in his prologues and epilogues, in the metres he assigns to the chorus, in his treatment of religious questions, Mr. Manning finds evidence that he deliberately drew away from the practice of Sophocles and walked once more in the path of the Aeschylean tradition. The various counts of this evidence are, however, of such very unequal value as to leave the reader wondering whether there is anything in the theory at all. Much of what Mr. Manning advances indicates no more than that Euripides is spiritually of nearer kin to Aeschylus than to Sophocles—an obvious fact which has

nothing to do with 'archaism.' Nor, again, is the latter term appropriate in cases where Euripides was fain to amplify some simple old myth which struck his fancy with episodes in order to eke out his play to the length required by his more modern and more exacting audience. Doubtless the result often diverges widely from the Sophoclean practice, but so far from this being due to the dramatist's hankering after the archaic it is actually a consequence of his lively desire of being up-to-date.

The Ethics of Euripides. By RHYS CARPENTER. [Archives of Philosophy, Columbia University, No. 7.] New York: Columbia University Press; London: Humphrey Milford, 1916. Pp. 48. 2s. 6d.

The bulk of Mr. Rhys Carpenter's opuscle is taken up with a discussion of the proposition that the Euripidean ethic is substantially a poetical counterpart of the Aristotelian ethic of the mean and of τὸ κατὰ φύσιν ζῆν, and that 'little change is necessary to cast it in obvious Aristotelian form.' Whatever the intrinsic value of this thesis, the evidence cited by the author in support of it is far from cogent, consisting as it does for the most part of isolated passages alleged to be descriptive of the 'excess,' 'defect' and 'mean' of various moral qualities. Thus, for instance, the remark of Pylades in *Iph. Taur.* (114, 5), τοὺς πόνοὺς γὰρ ἀγαθοὶ Τολμῶσι, δειλοὶ δ' εἰσὶν οὐδὲν οὐδαμοῦ, is quoted as an instance of Euripides's insistence on 'the evil of defect' in respect of 'courage and fear.' But obviously sententious tags of this description have no more specific connexion with the Aristotelian ethic than with the proverbial philosophy of all nations and ages; and even so Mr. Carpenter's examples are drawn largely from the Euripidean fragments, the exact force of which necessarily remains uncertain in the absence of the context. One or two of the plays, notably the *Hippolytus*, Mr. Carpenter examines as a whole, but the result is not any more satisfactory in establishing a connexion with Aristotle apart from the general Hellenic outlook on life.

Ingram Bywater. The Memoir of an Oxford Scholar, 1840-1914. By W. W. JACKSON, D.D. Pp. xi + 212. With a Portrait. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1917. 7s. 6d. net.

This slim book is a welcome relief to the present fashion of devoting two thick volumes to the biographies of persons of ephemeral if brilliant reputation. Bywater was not well known personally, even at Oxford; he held steadily aloof from University politics and from any other distraction that might disturb the somewhat austere ideal of scholarship that he always kept before his eyes. So that it would have been difficult, even had Dr. Jackson wished, to make a long book of his subject; even the few excursions in which he indulges, on such matters as the Tests, seem to be a little irrelevant. Bywater as scholar does not belong to any one age of Oxford; he is merely typical of the best work of English scholarship, and might have existed at almost any period since the Renaissance. He pursued a higher aim than those scholars of whom it may be boasted that they have made 'English classics' of this or that ancient writer—a boast which is complimentary neither to the ancient writer nor to the classical standard in English literature. When he lectured his somewhat eccentric delivery tended to distract the hearer. So it was that he who was perhaps the greatest pure scholar produced by England in recent times did not impress his generation as much as he might have done. Dr. Jackson makes it clear that in those who knew him well he inspired deep affection; and the aloofness which characterized his life was in no way due to lack of human kindness or of public spirit, but merely the reserve exercised by a strong mind in the service of a high ideal. Dr. Jackson's book should be read by every student of the classics.

Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome. Volume I. School of Classical Studies, 1915-1916. Bergamo: Istituto Italiano d'Arti Grafiche, 1917. Pp. 172. Frontispiece and 54 Plates.

Although it is not our custom to notice periodicals, we are glad to welcome this first volume of the *Memoirs*, which is a continuation, in a most sumptuous form, of what used to be called *Supplementary Papers of the American School of Classical Studies*. That school is now incorporated in the 'American Academy in Rome,' and the opportunity has been taken to issue its special publication on a grand scale (a large quarto, $14 \times 10\frac{1}{2}$ inches, with numerous half-tone plates of the finest quality). The only criticism we have to make unfavourable to the illustrations is that many of the half-tones, printed separately, are laid down on rough paper, with a sham plate-mark, which gives the appearance of photogravures or something of the kind. The device has the merit of making such plates pleasanter to handle; but it is none the less a sham. As regards the text, the late Mr. Carter leads off with a short article on the 'Reorganization of the Roman Priesthoods at the Beginning of the Republic.' There is a long and fully illustrated article (14 plates) on the 'Vatican Livy and the Script of Tours' (E. K. Rand and G. Howe); Mr. A. W. van Buren and Mr. G. P. Stevens write on the 'Aqua Traiana and the Mills on the Janiculum'; Mr. C. D. Curtis on 'Ancient Granulated Jewelry'; Mr. J. R. Crawford on 'Capita Deseeta and Marble Coiffures' (he rejects Gauckler's ritual explanation of these segmented heads, gives a full account of all known specimens, and prefers to look for explanations, not necessarily always the same, on technical grounds); Mr. E. S. Macartney on the 'Military Indebtedness of Early Rome to Etruria.' But the most elaborate article is a very full study by Mr. Stanley Lothrop (with 29 plates) of Bartolommeo Caporali, a minor Perugian painter of great charm.

Our Renaissance: Essays on the Reform and Revival of Classical Studies. By HENRY BROWNE, S.J. With a Preface by Sir F. G. KENYON. Pp. 281. London: Longmans. No Date. 7s. 6d.

This work is made up of a collection of addresses and papers in regard to the use of archaeological illustrations in schools. Professor Browne is a keen enthusiast who is doing much to infuse actuality into classical studies in Ireland, England and America. The most original part of the book is the last, which is a practical discussion of the use of museums, loan collections and reproductions in classical teaching. There is no doubt that here lies a decided gap in English education. A Classical Aids Committee was formed just before the war; but its work has naturally been at present suspended, and it is very difficult to find in London any systematic supply of casts, prints and facsimiles suitable for schools. It is to be observed that Prof. Browne takes up the whole question from the school rather than the university point of view, and does not discuss advanced work in archaeology: Greek sculpture, for example, he dismisses as being too remote from the English temper of mind. What we specially need is books which bring to bear on classical history and life all the most recent results of research, and in a form adapted to schoolboys. In his *Ancient Times* Mr. Breasted has attempted this, and admirably succeeded so far as the Oriental empires are concerned, but he is less perfectly at home in dealing with Greece and Rome, leaving great opportunities for men of talent. There is a contagious energy and enthusiasm in Professor Browne's book which is delightful. We cannot conclude without expressing regret that so eminent publishers as Messrs. Longmans should adopt the immoral custom of publishing a book undated.

The Future of Greek. By A. H. CRUICKSHANK. Pp. 25. Oxford: Blackwell, 1917. 1s. net.

Canon Cruickshank has taught Greek for over thirty years, and offers out of his experience a few suggestions of how to save something out of the wreck which, as some of us fear, Greek studies are likely to suffer. His plan seems to be to make things much easier for passmen, dropping the choruses in plays, for instance, or the speeches in Thucydides. Generally, he thinks we lay too much stress on Greek drama, and finds many of our revivals of Greek tragedy a weariness of the flesh. He also seems to hold Aristophanes in comparatively light esteem. (We are quite sorry for Aristophanes, but suppose it cannot be helped.) But the point in which, perhaps because of his position at Durham, he seems to take most interest, is the possibility of insisting on Greek and if necessary rather omitting Latin in the theological course. The pamphlet is a good instance of the haphazard manner in which we are all groping for a way out of an impossible situation. There is no word of the study of antiquities, which strangely enough is becoming more popular as the study of the language and literature decays. Perhaps, having come into contact with archaeology through attempts at reviving Greek plays, Canon Cruickshank finds it all a weariness of the flesh. But if only all teachers of 'pure classics' realised that the material remains of antiquity will bring conviction to some people who otherwise can never be got to believe that Greek literature deals with real people, the chances of snatching a few brands from the burning would be greatly increased.

A Guide to the Select Greek and Latin Inscriptions exhibited in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum.
London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1917. Pp. 44. Price 6d.

This guide, which should be useful to beginners of the study of Greek inscriptions, even without reference to the actual stones, consists of the descriptions already to be seen on the labels attached to the originals in the British Museum, with a brief introduction (including a table of alphabets) by Mr. A. H. Smith. A certain number of blocks of facsimiles are included.

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I

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THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES

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RULES

OF THE

Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies.

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

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

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

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

2. The Society shall consist of a President, Vice-Presidents, a Council, a Treasurer, one or more Secretaries, 40 Hon. Members, and Ordinary Members. All officers of the Society shall be chosen from among its Members, and shall be *ex officio* members of the Council.

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

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

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

6. In the absence of the Treasurer the Council may direct that cheques may be signed by two members of Council and countersigned by the Secretary.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

16. The President shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting for a period of five years, and shall not be immediately eligible for re-election.

17. The Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting for a period of one year, after which they shall be eligible for re-election.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

26. The Annual Subscription of Members shall be one guinea, payable and due on the 1st of January each year; this annual subscription may be compounded for by a single payment of £15 15s., entitling compounders to be Members of the Society for life, without further payment. All Members elected on or after January 1, 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 40 British or Foreign Honorary Members. The number of British Honorary Members shall not exceed ten.

32. The Council may, at their discretion, elect for a period not exceeding five years Student-Associates, who shall be admitted to certain privileges of the Society.

33. The names of Candidates wishing to become Student-Associates shall be submitted to the Council in the manner prescribed for the Election of Members. Every Candidate shall also satisfy the Council by means of a certificate from his teacher, who must be a person occupying a recognised position in an educational body and be a Member of the Society, that he is a *bonâ fide* Student in subjects germane to the purposes of the Society.

34. The Annual Subscription of a Student-Associate shall be one guinea, payable and due on the 1st of January in each year. In case of non-payment the procedure prescribed for the case of a defaulting Ordinary Member shall be followed.

35. Student-Associates shall receive the Society's ordinary publications, and shall be entitled to attend the General and Ordinary Meetings, and to read in the Library. They shall not be entitled to borrow books from the Library, or to make use of the Loan Collection of Lantern Slides, or to vote at the Society's Meetings.

36. A Student-Associate may at any time pay the Member's entrance fee of 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.

REGULATIONS FOR THE USE OF THE LIBRARY

AT 19 BLOOMSBURY SQUARE, W.C.

I. THAT the Hellenic 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 10.30 A.M. to 5.30 P.M. (Saturdays, 10 A.M. to 1 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 for August and the first week of September.

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; but Members belonging both to this Society and to the Roman Society may borrow *six* volumes at one time.
- (2) That the time during which such book or books may be kept shall not exceed one month.
- (3) That no books, except under special circumstances, 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. Libraries of Public and Educational Institutions desiring to subscribe to the *Journal* are entitled to receive the *Journal* for an annual subscription of One Guinea, without Entrance Fee, payable in January of each year, provided that official application for the privilege is made by the Librarian to the Secretary of the Society.
- 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.

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Applications for books and letters relating to the Photographic Collections, and Lantern Slides, should be addressed to the Librarian, at 19 Bloomsbury Square, W.C. 1.

* Representatives of the Roman Society.

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- Christiania**, Universitäts-Bibliothek, *Christiania, Norway*.

RUSSIA.

- Petrograd**, La Bibliothèque Impériale Publique, *Petrograd, Russia*.

SWEDEN.

- Stockholm**, Kongl. Biblioteket, *Stockholm, Sweden*.
Uppsala, Kungl. Universitetets Bibliotek, *Uppsala, Sweden*.

SWITZERLAND.

- Geneva**, La Bibliothèque Publique, *Genève, Switzerland*.
Lausanne, L'Association de Lectures Philologiques, *Avenue Davel 5, Lausanne*
 (Dr. H. Meylan-Faure).
Zürich, Zentral Bibliothek, *Zürich, Switzerland*.

SYRIA.

- Jerusalem**, École Biblique de St. Étienne, *Jérusalem*.

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

- American Journal of Archaeology (Miss Mary H. Buckingham, 96, *Chestnut Street, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.*).
- American Journal of Numismatics (American Society of Numismatics, *Broadway, and 156th Street, New York, U.S.A.*).
- American Journal of Philology (Library of the Johns Hopkins University, *Baltimore, Maryland, U.S.A.*).
- Analecta Bollandiana, Société des Bollandistes, 22, *Boulevard Saint-Michel, Bruxelles.*
- Annales de la Faculté des Lettres de Bordeaux (Revue des Études Anciennes—Bulletin Hispanique—Bulletin Italien). Rédaction des Annales de la Faculté des Lettres, *L'Université, Bordeaux, France.*
- Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology (The Institute of Archaeology, 40, *Bedford Street, Liverpool.*).
- Annual of the British School at *Athens.*
- Annuario della Regia Scuola di Atene, *Athens, Greece.*
- Archaiologike Ephemeris, *Athens.*
- Archaiologikon Deltion, *Athens.*
- Archiv für Religionswissenschaft (B. G. Teubner, *Leipzig.*).
- Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift (O. R. Reiland, *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.*).
- Bulletin de la Société Archéologique d'Alexandrie, *Alexandria.*
- Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma (Prof. Gatti, Museo Capitolino, *Rome.*).
- Byzantinische Zeitschrift.
- Catalogue général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, with the Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, *Cairo.*
- Classical Philology, *University of Chicago, U.S.A.*
- Gazette des Beaux-Arts (The Secretary, 106, *Boulevard St. Germain, Paris, VI^e.*).
- 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, and *Man*, 50, *Great Russell Street, W.C. 1.*
- Journal of Egyptian Archaeology (*Hon. Editor*, Dr. A. H. Gardiner, 9, *Lansdowne Road, Holland Park, W. 11.*).
- 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. E. Kornemann, *Neckarhalde 55, Tübingen.*).
- Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale de l'Université S. Joseph, *Beyrouth, Syria.*
- Mélanges d'Histoire et d'Archéologie, *École française, Palazzo Farnese, Rome.*
- Memnon (Prof. Dr. R. Freiherr von Lichtenberg, *Lindenstrasse 5, Berlin Südende, Germany.*).
- Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome (The Librarian, *American Academy, Porta San Pancrazio, Rome.*).
- Memorie dell' Instituto di Bologna, Sezione di Scienze Storico-Filologiche (*R. Accademia di Bologna, Italy.*).
- Mitteilungen des kais. deutsch. Archäol. Instituts, *Athens.*
- Mitteilungen des kais. deutsch. Archäol. Instituts, *Rome.*

- Mnemosyne (c/o Mr. E. J. Brill), *Leiden, Holland.*
 Neapolis, Signor Prof. V. Macchioro, *Via Civillo 8, Naples.*
 Neue Jahrbücher, Herr Dr. Rektor Ilberg, Kgl. Gymnasium, *Wurzen, Saxony.*
 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, c/o M. E. Leroux (Editeur), 28, *Rue Bonaparte, Paris.*
 Revue des Études Grecques, 44, *Rue de Lille, Paris.*
 Revue Épigraphique.
 Rheinisches Museum für Philologie (Prof. Dr. A. Brinkmann, *Schumannstrasse 58,
 Bonn-am-Rhein, Germany*).
 Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums (Prof. Dr. E. Drerup, *Kaiser-Strasse
 33, Munich, Germany*).
 University of California Publications in Classical Philology and in American
 Archaeology (Exchange Department, *University of California, Berkeley, Ca., U.S.A.*).
 Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie, *Berlin.*

PROCEEDINGS

SESSION 1917-18

During the past Session the following Papers were read at General Meetings of the Society :—

November 13th, 1917. Professor Percy Gardner : *A Female Figure of Pheidian Type* (J.H.S. xxxviii. pp. 1 sqq.).

May 7th, 1918. Professor B. P. Grenfell : *The Value of Papyri for the Textual Criticism of Extant Authors* (see below, pp. xliii. sqq.).

June 25th, 1918. Mr. E. Norman Gardiner : *The Alleged Kingship of the Olympian Victor* (see below, pp. xlvi. sqq.).

THE ANNUAL MEETING was held at Burlington House on June 25th, 1918, Dr. Walter Leaf, President of the Society, in the Chair.

Mr. George A. Macmillan, Hon. Secretary, presented the following Report for the Session 1917-1918.

The Council beg leave to submit the following Report for the Session 1917-18.

In this the fourth year of the war the Council have little to report beyond the fact that to the best of their ability they have carried out the programme set forth in last year's Report, 'not to initiate any fresh development of the Society's work, but merely to keep the machinery in good working order so that when the proper moment comes no time may be lost in making a fresh start.' At the same time it is necessary to look ahead now, to consider how this fresh start is to be made, and it has been suggested that the Society might usefully undertake the collection, examination and classification of sketches, plans, diaries and notes made by travellers in the Near East in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The moment is opportune because under the stress of war conditions libraries are being dispersed and portfolios and papers examined which have been untouched for many years, and it may well be that among them are papers of no money value but of great interest as records of things now lost or destroyed, and of conditions which have

passed away. A beginning has already been made owing to the kindness of Miss Annie Barlow, who has handed over to the Council a roll of drawings of Sicily, Malta, etc., bought at the Frere sale, and which from internal evidence were probably collected by the Rt. Hon. J. H. Frere, the translator of Aristophanes, who lived in Malta from 1819-1846.

The Council are prepared to make arrangements for the examination of any collections reported to them, but the discovery of such collections must be, in the main, the work of individual members whose co-operation in the scheme is herewith invited. (See below, p. lii.).

The Council have once more to record their appreciation of the voluntary services rendered to the Society by their colleagues, Mr. G. F. Hill and Miss C. A. Hutton. On Mr. Hill falls the full responsibility for the *Journal*, no light responsibility in these days of a restricted supply of paper and metal; on Miss Hutton the management of the Library and the secretarial work, though Mr. Penoyre, in addition to the important national work on which he is engaged, has made time to keep the Author and Subject Catalogues in the Library up to date, and to revise and enlarge the Library Catalogue of the Slide Collection.

It will have been a great satisfaction to members to see in the recent list of Honours that Mr. Penoyre has been made a Commander of the new Order of the British Empire in recognition of his valuable services. No honour could have been better deserved.

After careful consideration the Council have decided until further notice to issue the *Journal* in one part only, to be published in the autumn. By this means a considerable saving will be effected in the incidental expenses of packing, carriage, etc.

Changes on the Council, etc.—On the occasion of Monsieur Venizelos' visit to England in the autumn of 1917, the Council, feeling that such a course would be in accordance with the wishes of the Members, offered him the compliment of Honorary Membership of the Society, which he gratefully accepted.

The Council record with regret the deaths during the past year of two foreign Honorary Members, Professor John Williams White of Harvard, and Monsieur Maxime Collignon of the Sorbonne. Among the older members who have passed away are Dr. Montagu Butler, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, Dr. W. W. Merry, Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford, and Canon Greenwell of Durham; while the interests of archaeological and classical studies in the United States have received a severe blow in the premature death of an American member, Professor J. R. Wheeler, professor of Greek archaeology and art in Columbia University. The Society has also lost one of its French members, Monsieur J. P. Milliet, a former student of the *École du Louvre*, and the author of two important catalogues of Greek pottery.

Of the younger members now on active service the following have laid down their lives during the past year: L. Davies, L. W. Hunter,

A. W. Maugham, J. B. K. Preedy, and E. W. Webster. The death of Captain Webster (K.R.R.), a former Craven student of the School at Athens, Fellow of Wadham College, an accomplished linguist and a zealous student of Aristotle, is a great loss to the study of pure scholarship at Oxford.

The Council do not recommend any additions to the number of Vice-Presidents this year, nor any changes in the Council. The following Members retire by rotation, and being eligible, are nominated for re-election: Messrs. J. D. Beazley, E. R. Bevan, W. H. Buckler, R. Burrows, M. O. B. Caspari, F. M. Cornford, E. J. Forsdyke, E. Norman Gardiner, H. R. Hall, and C. Flamstead Walters.

The British Museum.—A Special Meeting of the Council was held on January 8th, 1918, to consider the proposal of the War Cabinet to take over the British Museum as the offices of the Air Board. A strong resolution of protest was carried unanimously and forwarded to the Prime Minister, and it is satisfactory to record that in this instance the combined pressure of every learned and scientific society in the United Kingdom, and of educated opinion generally, compelled the War Cabinet to reconsider a policy which might have involved great danger to the National Collections.

General Meetings.—Three General Meetings have been held during the past Session, it having proved impracticable to hold one in February as contemplated.

At the first Meeting, held on November 13th, 1917, Professor Percy Gardner read an illustrated paper on 'A Female Figure of Pheidian Type,' recently acquired by the Ashmolean Museum owing to the dispersal of the Hope Collection at Deepdene. An interesting discussion followed Professor Gardner's paper, which will be published in the forthcoming volume of the *Journal*. Mr. Arthur Smith discussed various points raised by the lecturer, and congratulated him on this important addition to the Ashmolean Collection.

At the General Meeting held on May 7th, 1918, Professor B. P. Grenfell read a paper on 'The Value of Papyri for the Textual Criticism of Extant Authors.' He said that Homeric papyri showed that the vulgate was not the prevailing text in Egypt before B.C. 150. Ludwich's view that the additional lines in the earliest papyri were eccentric variants was unsatisfactory; the influence of the Alexandrian Museum was responsible for the later predominance of the shorter text. Papyri of Sophocles showed that the value of the Laurentian MS. in relation to the rest had been overestimated; the papyri of Euripides tended to be superior to the MSS., and those of Aristophanes to support the Codex Venetus as much as the Codex Ravennas. Forthcoming papyri of Pindar and Theocritus stood apart from the existing families. Herodotean papyri tended to be conservative, while those of Thucydides presented

many improvements in the text. In Xenophon they were noteworthy for their agreements with the so-called *deteriores*, and in Plato they modified the pre-eminence assigned to the Bodleian and Paris MSS. A papyrus of the *Ῥητορικὴ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον* was much superior to the MSS. Demosthenes, except in his minor works, was less affected than Isocrates and Aeschines. In later authors, such as Polybius and the writers of Romances, the papyri were, as a rule, much superior to the MSS. In summing up, the lecturer said that the texts of the chief authors had not undergone extensive changes since the second century, but that there was evidence for much less stability at an earlier period. In some authors conjectural emendations had received pleasing confirmation from the papyri. The division of the MSS. into families was later than the papyrus period. In the lecturer's opinion an eclectic method in reconstructing a text was right as against reliance on a single line of tradition.

In proposing a vote of thanks to Professor Grenfell for his erudite and valuable communication, the President offered some observations on the questions raised by the Homeric papyri, and observed that one of the results of the lecturer's investigations was to clear the character of the mediaeval scribe who was often accused of tampering with the texts he copied; evidently an unfounded charge if the texts of the chief authors had not undergone extensive changes since the second century.

Library, Photographic and Lantern Slide Collections.—Over 500 visitors have used the Library during the past year, the number of volumes borrowed from it being 497. Partly for economic reasons, and partly because very few suitable books have been published, the number of *new* books added to the Library is small, but through the kindness of friends it has been enriched by the addition of some important earlier works.

The Hon. Librarian, Mr. Arthur Smith, presented thirty volumes of early travel and topography, including two volumes of the *Tracts on Troy*, written by Bryant, Chandler, Le Chevalier, Morritt and Wakefield, at the end of the eighteenth century.

Another interesting addition is a copy of the Plan and View of the *Plains of Troy*, drawn on the spot by Sir Henry Acland and published in 1839. This rare publication has been presented to the Society by his son, Sir Reginald Acland, K.C.

Three books were obtained at the sale of the Deepdene heirlooms, one of which, a beautiful presentation copy of the *Bedford Marbles*, given by the Duke of Bedford to Mr. Hope, was purchased with funds provided by Miss Lorna Johnson.

During the past year exchanges have been arranged with the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* and the *American Journal of Numismatics*.

The Council acknowledge with thanks gifts of books from H.M. Government of India, the Trustees of the British Museum, the Ministère

de l'Instruction publique (Paris), the Egypt Exploration Fund, and the following donors: Sir Reginald Acland, K.C., Sir R. Allison, Messrs. W. H. Buckler, A. van Buren, S. Eitrem, E. R. Garnsey, B. Haus-soullier, G. F. Hill, Miss L. Johnson, Mr. J. G. Milne, Dr. W. Rhys Roberts, Mr. G. A. Rosenberg, Sir John Sandys, Mr. G. Schütte, Mr. Arthur Smith, and Dr. Parkes Weber.

The following publishers have presented copies of recently published works: Messrs. G. Bell & Sons, H. Blackwell, W. Heinemann, Longmans, Green & Co., Macmillan & Co., the Medici Press, and the University Presses of Oxford and Cambridge, and of Chicago, Johns Hopkins, Princeton and Virginia.

The number of slides borrowed during the past session is 1,280, a slight decrease on the figures for last year; the number purchased is 131, including some sent to S. Africa and to America. The Council regret that the great increase in the cost of materials and of labour compels them to increase by thirty-five per cent. the charge for slides and photographs purchased from the Society. No change is made in the charge for the hire of slides (1*d.* per slide and postage).

The Council desire to express their special thanks to Mr. J. G. Milne for a generous gift of negatives and photographs, also to the Committee of the British School at Athens, and to Prof. E. A. Gardner, Mr. G. F. Hill, Miss C. A. Hutton, and Mr. Arthur Smith for donations of slides, negatives and photographs.

As almost all the books and slides added during the past Session were included in the *Lists of Accessions* published in *J.H.S.* xxxvii. 2, it has been decided not to publish further lists this year.

Finance.—In order that the latest possible figures may be presented at the Annual General Meeting it has been the practice to close the accounts annually at May 31 in each year. This year the usual rule has been observed, but, with the omission of expenses for the *Journal* consequent on the decision to issue the volume complete in the autumn, the accounts presented look more favourable than would have been the case if, as usual, the cost of one of the parts for the current year had been included. Under present conditions the expenditure during the later months of the year must necessarily prove more heavy than during the earlier, and it may therefore be deemed advisable to close the books yearly at December 31, in order to present more accurately the exact financial position than is possible by the present practice.

Apart from the *Journal* account there is hardly anything that calls for special note. The expenses vary but little, while the income, although less than last year, must be regarded as very satisfactory under present circumstances. The amount for the current year's subscriptions from Members is only £14 less than last year, while the receipts from Libraries are a few pounds up. The losses by death and resignation have not been heavier than usual, and the number of members elected, although

not equal to the losses, has been very gratifying. The number of Candidates is due to the valuable help of members who have introduced the Society to their friends, for which assistance the Council desire to express their best thanks.

The President announced the re-election of all Vice-Presidents and Officers, and of those members of Council retiring by rotation of whose names a printed list had been circulated. He then made a few comments on the Report, paying an eloquent tribute to the late Master of Trinity, Dr. Montagu Butler, a pillar of Hellenic culture throughout his long life, and a man whose name was revered by all who, like himself, had had the good fortune to come under his influence. Dr. Leaf concluded by moving the adoption of the Report. This was seconded by Mr. A. B. Cook, who desired to associate himself with the President's tribute to Dr. Butler, to whom he also owed more than he could express.

A vote of thanks to the Auditors was moved by Professor P. N. Ure and seconded by Mr. Penoyre. It was mentioned that, owing to the absence, on active service, of Captain W. E. F. Macmillan, the whole duty had this year fallen on Mr. C. F. Clay.

Mr. Norman Gardiner then read a paper on 'The Alleged Kingship of the Olympian Victor.' He said that the theory discussed was originally propounded by Mr. A. B. Cook and had since been elaborated by Sir James Frazer in *The Golden Bough* and by Mr. Cornford in *Themis*. These writers found the origin of the Olympic Games in a ritual contest for the throne.

The theory was based on the arbitrary interpretation of certain arbitrarily selected myths. Proof of the kingly character of the victor is found in the honours 'regal and divine' paid to him in historical times. The four-horse chariot 'assimilated him to the Sun-God,' the olive wreath 'likened him to Zeus,' he was pelted with leaves 'like Jack-in-the-green.' Hymns were sung and statues erected in his honour. He was feasted in the Prytaneia, and, on his return home, clothed in purple and drawn into the city in a four-horse chariot through a breach in the city walls. After death he was worshipped as a hero.

In the speaker's opinion some of these honours belonged to the beginnings of the Games, others were the result of the athletic hero-worship of the fifth century, or of the ostentation of Hellenistic princes and Roman emperors. None of them was peculiar to the Olympic victor, none of them proved his regal or divine character. If the theory was true of the Olympic victor, it was equally true of almost any athletic victor.

Sir James Frazer further connected the Olympic festival with his theory of the octennial tenure of the throne. The only evidence for this

theory was found in a passage of Plutarch about the Spartan kings and Plato's explanation of a line in the *Odyssey* that Minos

ἐννέωρος βασίλευε Διὸς μεγάλου ἁριστής.

The interpretation of these two passages was too doubtful to justify the assumption that the octennial kingship existed in either Sparta or Crete, much less that it existed in 'many parts of Greece.'

There was then no proof that the Olympic victor was ever regarded as a divine king. Greek athletics were secular in origin. Competitions were held at religious festivals because they alone afforded the necessary peace and security. The athletic character of many legends was due to the athletic character of the nation and did not prove that athletic competitions originated in ritual.

At the conclusion of Mr. Gardiner's paper the President read letters which he had received from Sir James Frazer and Captain Cornford dealing with various points raised. A discussion followed in which Mr. A. B. Cook and Dr. Farnell took part. Mr. Cook pointed out that some time had elapsed since he first put forward the views discussed, that he had since modified them in several important particulars, and that he hoped to return to the subject in a future publication. Dr. Farnell expressed general agreement with the point of view and the argument of Mr. Gardiner's paper. He had long ago come to disbelieve in the ritualistic origin of Greek games. Ancient legends as well as historic records point to several occasions for their institution: funerals, marriages, temple worship, celebration of victory by an army: on all such occasions large numbers of men would be gathered together, and in the athletic-heroic age games would be a natural accompaniment of the gathering. It is easy to understand how the great games grew up under the aegis of temple-worship: the great difficulty to be solved was to institute international games and yet preserve the peace between members of different communities that might be at feud: the sacredness of the temple-ground secured a holy truce: for the same reason it might be convenient to hold a market on temple-ground. There was no evidence for the ritualistic origin of Greek athletics in general; where running was part of ritual, as in the *Karneia* at Sparta, and in the *Lampadephoria* at Athens, the ritual purpose remained dominant and obvious, and it never developed into an independent sport. There was no evidence for connecting the Olympian games with the marriage of Sun and Moon or succession to a divine kingship; no evidence that the Olympian victor was originally a divine personage or had anything to do with the girl who conquered in the *Heraia*. (Greek festivals were regulated by the Calendar, and the Calendar by the lights of heaven; but it did not follow that the personal agents in the festivals impersonated the lights of heaven.) The whole of Mr. Cornford's structure was based on one fundamental error: he took the first Olympian ode of Pindar as giving the accepted tradition of the origin of the Olympian games, and therefore connected it with the story

of Tantalos and with Pelops and Oinomaos : there was nothing in this ode to suggest that Pindar pretended to be giving any myth of origin : it was in the tenth Olympian that he formally and explicitly did this. And he explained the institution of the games as a celebration of Herakles' victory over Augeas—a secular event of epic saga. That this was the only orthodox Elean tradition might be taken on Pindar's authority : that it gave a *vera causa* is indicated by the legend concerning the foundation of the Nemea (army-sports), the historic record concerning the army of the Amphictyones and the Pythia, and by Xenophon's account of the games instituted by the Ten Thousand at the end of their journey.

The proceedings closed with a hearty vote of thanks to the lecturer.

BALANCE SHEET. MAY 31, 1918.

<i>Liabilities.</i>	£	s.	d.
To Debts Payable.....	99	17	1½
„ Subscriptions carried forward	437	6	6
„ Endowment Fund	781	5	0
(includes legacy of £200 from the late Canon Adam Farrar and £200 from the late Rev. H. F. Tozer)			
„ Emergency Fund (Library Fittings and Furniture)	394	18	6
Total Received			
„ Life Compositions and Donations—			
Total at June 1, 1917	1883	4	0
Received during year	37	5	0
1920	9	0	
Less carried to Income and Expenditure Account—Members deceased	nil.		
„ Balance from Income and Expenditure Account	113	11	6½
Less Deficiency at May 31, 1917	36	17	9½
Balance Surplus at May 31, 1918.....	76	13	9
	£3710	9	10½

* Examined and found correct.

(Signed) C. F. CLAY.

* In the absence of Captain W. E. F. Macmillan on military service the accounts have been audited by Mr. C. F. Clay alone.

<i>Assets.</i>	£	s.	d.
By Cash in Hand—Bank ..	273	4	0
Assistant Treasurer	2	5	0
Petty Cash	49	1	11
	324	10	11
„ Debts Receivable	106	5	2½
„ Investments (Life Compositions)	1384	3	11
„ „ (Endowment Fund)	770	0	0
	2154	3	11
Less Reserved against Depreciation	100	0	0
	2054	3	11
„ Emergency Fund—Total Expended	426	0	0
„ Valuations of Stocks of Publications	448	8	0
„ „ Library	350	0	0
„ Expenses 'Strabo' carried forward	1	1	10
	£3710	9	10½

NOTICE TO MEMBERS.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL DRAWINGS AND MEMORANDA.

ONE of the objects of the Hellenic Society, according to Rule II., is 'to collect drawings, facsimiles, transcripts, plans, and photographs of Greek inscriptions, MSS., works of art, ancient sites and remains.' The Council are anxious to increase their collection of such documents, and desire to call the attention of members and their friends to the fact, and to beg them to use their influence to save such objects from the destruction or dispersal which too often awaits them. The Council would also be glad, quite apart from any question of acquisition, to be made acquainted with the present whereabouts of any such memoranda or sketches. Communications should be addressed to the Librarian, at 19 Bloomsbury Square, London, W.C. 1.

A FEMALE FIGURE IN THE EARLY STYLE OF PHEIDIAS.

[PLATES I.-III.]

I.

I HAVE to bring before the readers of this *Journal* a female figure of great interest recently added to the Ashmolean Gallery of Sculpture. Its beauty and dignity will be evident to all who look at the plates (Pls. I., II.). In addition to its beauty it has also special interest, because a discussion of it necessarily involves the whole question of Attic art in the age of Pericles, and particularly of portrait sculpture in that age.

The figure comes from the Hope Collection at Deepdene in Surrey, which was sold by auction in July last. It lay unnoticed in the Deepdene mansion, and was not seen by Michaelis when he visited it in 1877, nor by more recent visitors. I have not succeeded in finding any information as to its source; but as many of the Hope sculptures were found in Rome, it is very probable that this comes thence. The restorations are in Italian marble, and were probably executed in Rome. It is wrongly described, and not figured, in the Hope Sale Catalogue.

The height is 6 feet (m. 1.83); the height of the face (chin to roots of hair, is 7 inches (m. .18); the breadth of the shoulders is 1 foot 6 inches (m. .46). The figure and head are of Pentelic marble. On this point I am supported by Mr. W. Pinker, head mason at the British Museum, who has had rare opportunities for studying that material.

The body is sculptured in a hard block of Pentelic marble, which seems almost impervious to the action of time and weather, and preserves all details. The restorations are: both forearms from the elbow, and a few patches in the ridges of drapery on the front. Both forearms were originally made of separate blocks, and fresh blocks have been inserted in the vacant holes. The restorer has placed in the left hand a scroll, evidently regarding the lady as a poetess, probably as Sappho. The right hand was so badly restored as to be intolerable, and I was obliged to amputate it.

The right foot, which is very delicately carved, is partly visible (Fig. 1). The dress consists of an Ionic chiton, of which only the sleeves with lines of

fibulæ on the upper arms are visible, and over this the heavy woollen Dorian garment commonly called the Dorian chiton but more correctly the Dorian peplos. The peplos of our figure is fastened on both shoulders, but the brooches by which it is fastened are not visible. The peplos is not, as in some cases, open at the side, but forms at the sides two false sleeves.

The lower part of the neck is a restoration. Of the head, the nose and a small part of the upper lip are also restored. The upper part of the right ear is broken away; the left ear, which is beautifully modelled, is complete. The lips are slightly parted.

The proportions are noteworthy. The shoulder breadth, so far as it can be measured through the dress, is one fourth of the height. The length of



FIG. 1.—RIGHT FOOT OF THE OXFORD STATUE.

the face is one tenth of the height. The build is very solid and dignified; but the hips, as in all statues of the period, are somewhat narrow.

The head and the body belong to one another. At first sight I doubted this, as the head has suffered far more than the body from weathering, especially on the top. It seems to be of a softer block of marble, but style and period correspond. There is however more definite proof at p. 102 of Furtwängler's *Masterpieces* (Eng. trans. p. 70). There will be found a poor engraving of a statue, formerly in the Cepparelli Gallery at Florence,¹ now

¹ Dütschke, *Bildwerke in Nord-Italien*, ii. No. 413.

in the Museo Archeologico, of which both head and body nearly resemble our statue, though they are rather later in style. The head, it is true, is—like that of our statue—inserted with a modern neck. But both Dütschke and Milani are convinced that it belongs to the body; and when Furtwängler expresses a doubt on this subject, he gives no reasons for scepticism. Now it might have been possible to doubt the belonging, either of our head or of that of Florence, if either figure were unique, but that twice over a head of a special type (of which but two are known) should have been arbitrarily joined to a body of almost exactly the same style and date passes all limits of probability. To the Florence statue I return later. (See Fig. 2.)

Though the provenience of our statue is uncertain, any one with trained eyes who considered it carefully could scarcely doubt that it was a fifth-century original. The delicate way in which the ends of the garment are treated, the admirable modelling of the shoulders at the back and the breasts, the beautiful work of the foot, make this clear. Copies of the Hellenistic age are mostly exaggerated and fanciful, those of the Roman age mechanical and unintelligent; but here we have a figure perfectly self-consistent, combining in the highest degree simplicity and elegance; every detail, even of the back, finished with perfect care.

If our statue, for example, be compared with a copy of a draped statue of the fifth century from the Library of King Juba II. of Mauritania, now in the Museum of Cherchel,² which is no doubt the work of a copyist of Roman times, the contrast will be striking. Here the drapery is dry and undecided, the nude under it is imperfectly rendered, the proportions are unsatisfactory: on all these points our statue will pass the severest criticism.

No doubt some beautiful statues of the same class found in Rome are by most archaeologists regarded as copies of the Roman Age. Prof. Mariani³ has suggested that they are in some cases copies made by artists of the school of Pasiteles. But the signed works of that school are by no means mere exact copies but transpositions. Of course, if a precise copy of a fifth century work were made at Rome, we could not now detect it. But we have no reason to think that this was usual: Roman copyists were not so exact and conscientious. There is no reason why genuine Greek statues of the early period should not be found in Rome, and in fact many such have been found, especially in the Horti Sallustiani. Such are the fifth century Niobids in the Ny-Carlsberg Gallery, the Hestia Giustiniani, and other figures mentioned below.

II.

I propose to consider in turn the drapery and the head.

The drapery ranges our statue with a large class of figures of the fifth century. These I propose to divide into two groups.

The first group is of female figures clad *only* in the heavy Dorian chiton or peplos. As is generally known, this was a mere square of cloth, doubled

² Gauckler, *Musée de Cherchel*, p. 102, Pl. V. ³ *Bull. Comm.* 1901, p. 79.

back so as to make an overfall to the waist, and generally drawn up through the girdle, so as to form a kolpos. Sometimes one side is left open all the way down: more often it is fastened so as to make on both sides rudimentary or false sleeves. Some of these figures are quite archaic in style. Of those belonging to the middle part of the fifth century, I would specially cite the following:—

Hippodamia in the Olympian pediment.

Female figure in the Ludovisi gallery, headless, of Parian marble.

(Helbig, *Führer*, ii. 1287; Brunn, *Denkmäler*, Pl. 357. Helbig regards it as a Greek original.)

Figure in the Villa Borghese, not unlike the last mentioned.

(Helbig, *Führer*, ii. 1558; Brunn, *Denkmäler*, Pl. 261, 262. Helbig calls it a copy of a bronze statue of Peloponnesian school.)

Figure in the Ny-Carlsberg Gallery, headless.

Catalogue, Pl. 7, 8, p. 13. Arndt considers it a Greek original. A head in plaster is now added.

The Hestia Giustiniani, with veiled head.

A figure in Greek marble, headless, now belonging to Mrs. J. Gardner of Boston. (Mariani in *Bull. Comm. di Roma*, 1901, p. 71, Pl. VI.)

Bronze girls from Herculaneum, the peplos variously arranged.

All of these statues show considerable severity.

In this connexion should be mentioned a very interesting series of statuettes about a mètre high, existing in the Doge's palace at Venice, and coming from the Grimani Collection, which was formed in Greece in the sixteenth century. These are described by Furtwängler.⁴ According to him they belong together, and are Greek originals from some temple in the Greek Islands or Asia Minor. They range in date from the middle of the fifth to the middle of the fourth century. The dress in some cases is the Ionian chiton with himation, in some cases the Dorian peplos. Whom do they represent? The view of Furtwängler is that they all represent Demeter or Persephone; and belong to a shrine of those deities; but only one or two have any of the attributes of the goddesses, and it is more probable that most of them represent women. The heads, however, so far as they remain, are not individual, so that we seem in this case to have a continuation of the early custom of dedicating generalized female figures in the temples of the deities. Two points which are common to all these figures, that they are of Parian marble, and that they show no Ionian chiton under the peplos, as well as their small size, make a broad line of distinction between them and our statue. Certainly they are not of Attic school.

Figures of this class, clad only in the peplos, are commonly regarded as Peloponnesian, and, generally speaking, with justice. We know that Dorian girls were thus clad. Thus we are told that Periander of Epidaurus saw Melitta the daughter of Procles clad in the chiton only (*ἀναμπέχονος καὶ*

⁴ *Abhandl. der bayr. Akad. der Wissensch.* vol. xxi. part 2, p. 277.

μονοχίτων),⁵ by which is doubtless meant the peplos. In one of the fragments of Anacreon⁶ we have the phrase *ἐκδύσα χιτῶνα δωριάζειν*, which shows that the absence of a chiton under the peplos was generally recognised as a distinctively Dorian costume. The peplos served both as the *ἔνδυμα* or undergarment and the *περίβλημα* or outer garment.⁷ And this information, derived from ancient writers, is confirmed by existing remains. A number of small bronzes and terracottas of this type have been found in Peloponnesus.⁸ But though most of the statues above mentioned are Peloponnesian, there may be exceptions, since the Dorian dress became quite usual for girls at Athens in the early fifth century. For example, the beautiful Hestia Giustiniani may very well be an Attic original.

But there is a second group, of which the Attic origin is probable. It consists of figures which wear, under the Dorian dress, a fine linen chiton.

The prototype is the archaic dedicated figure in the Acropolis Museum at Athens, which differs from all of the rest of the set in dress, and is one of the earliest. It is well known.⁹ The under chiton is clearly visible on the upper arms. Some other Acropolis figures, of a time before the Persian wars, show the same costume: an Athena (Dickins, *Cat. No. 140*); a Nike (*Cat. No. 694*), etc. Furtwängler insists on the Attic character of these. A few later works in the round with this costume are known, such as the great Medici torso of Athena in Paris, and a statuette in the Ny-Carlsberg Museum 675 mètres high (*Cat. p. 13*), of which the head is supposed to belong, though re-inserted; this figure is of Pentelic marble, and so probably Attic.

Closer to our statue, alike in head and body, is the figure in the Archaeological Museum at Florence already mentioned. The size is given by Dütschke as more than life. Both arms are restorations. Milani in his Guide to the Museum describes the statue. It has been wrongly restored as Demeter, holding ears of corn; Milani regards it as an Aphrodite. He calls it a fine Pheidian type (*tipo fidiaco*) and says that it is of Pentelic marble. He also figures it (Plate CL, No. 6), but on so small a scale that it cannot be clearly seen. I insert here a cut (Fig. 2) made from a photograph kindly supplied by the Director, Sig. Pernier, through the friendly mediation of Mrs. Strong. It will be seen that though the head apparently closely resembles that of our statue, the style of the body is somewhat later, and the weight rests on the right leg; both feet, clad in shoes, are visible. The Florence figure wears a fine chiton, and over that a doubled Dorian peplos, over which again is a small cloak, falling at the back down to the waist, and drawn forward over both shoulders. It is the same dress, but for the under

⁵ Pythænetus in Athenæus, xiii. 56.

⁶ Fragm. 59.

⁷ Pollux, vii. 49.

⁸ See especially *Tiryns*, i. Pl. IX, X; S. Reinach, *Répertoire de la Statuaire*, ii. 643;

J.H.S. xxx. Pl. XIII.

⁹ E. A. Gardner, *Handbook*, p. 170; Collignon, i. p. 341; other references in Dickins, *Cat. Acropolis Museum*, No. 679.

chiton, which is worn by the girls in the Parthenon frieze; and this fact combined with the character of the marble, make clear its Attic origin.¹⁰



FIG. 2.—STATUE IN THE MUSEO ARCHEOLOGICO, FLORENCE.

¹⁰ This figure is not mentioned by Amelung in his *Führer durch die Antiken in Florenz*, (1897).

In the *Bulletino Comunale* for 1897 Mariani publishes several female figures which have some likeness to the Ashmolean statue. The only one of them which calls for more detailed mention is one found in Crete.^{10a} It is of Greek marble, small-grained and like ivory in hue; whence it would seem to be Pentelic. The height is six feet; the figure not only wears the Ionic chiton under the Dorian peplos, but even the folds of the over-garment, the ponderation, and the way in which the right foot comes out, are almost identical with the Ashmolean figure, which however, so far as one may judge from photographs, seems to be much finer in execution. But the remarkable thing is that the head of the Cretan figure which, though reinserted, seems to belong to it, is of quite another type. It is of rather severe features, with the hair in two masses over the temples, and drawn back in a knot at the back. Several heads of the kind are known. Arndt has brought together several of them,^{10b} and expressed the view, which is in fact generally held, that they are of Peloponnesian type. But of this there is no adequate proof. In fact they vary considerably among themselves: and the Cretan head, at all events, has an Attic appearance.

It is well known that, after the Persian wars, there was a great tendency at Athens to abandon Ionian customs, in dress and other matters, and to adopt the Dorian ways. In dress the change was rather gradual. The archaic dedicated figures of the Acropolis nearly all wear the Ionian chiton, and over it a cloak or himation. And most Athenian figures, both in vase painting and sculpture, still wear this dress after the Persian wars. By the time of Praxiteles it had again become usual, though in the fourth century the cloak was far more elaborately arranged. But meantime, during most of the fifth century, the Dorian modes were prevalent. Thus in Attic vase-paintings of the time just after the Persian wars the Dorian peplos is very frequently found on girls, either open or joined, and with or without girdle. But the combination of the Ionic chiton, as an undergarment, with the Doric peplos is a rarer arrangement. It is difficult to trace in red-figure vase-painting, except in the case of Athena. Athena certainly sometimes is thus clad: I would instance the Theseus vase of Euphronius;¹¹ also she is thus clad on the earlier Athenian terracotta, representing the birth of Erichthonius.¹² But though thus infrequent on vases, this particular form of dress is quite Athenian. It is also to be found later on the well-known relief from the later temple at Ephesus, which represents (perhaps) the return of Alcestis from Hades, and in Hellenistic and Roman art.

The marble and the costume thus both indicate Athens as the place of origin of our statue; the next point is the date. This is certainly about the middle of the fifth century. The decisive features are the following:—The upright folds of the drapery, and particularly the folds across the breast, belong to a time shortly before the Parthenos of Pheidias and the Iris of the Parthenon pediment, and a little later than the Sterope of the

^{10a} *Bull. Com.* 1897, Pl. XII.–XIII., p. 170.

^{10b} *La glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg*, p. 49.

¹¹ Furtwängler and Reichhold, Pl. 5.

¹² *Archäol. Zeitung*, 1872, Pl. 63.

Olympia pediment and the bronze charioteer of Delphi. The work of the outer corners of the eyes is a good test of the date of statues. In figures earlier than the middle of the fifth century, such as the sculpture of Olympia, the upper eyelid meets the lower at an angle, but does not overlap it. After the middle of the century it does overlap. We may see the custom coming in in the head of Nemesis by Agoracritus and the sculptures of the Parthenon. One can only cite dated works on such points as these; to cite undated works is useless. And to cite Roman copies is still more futile, for the Roman copyist often alters or transposes such small points of style. In our statue the upper eyelid does not overlap. A survey alike of drapery and head thus justifies one in assigning our statue to B.C. 460-440.

The school must be that of Pheidias, the most noteworthy of the schools of Athens at the period. Though Pheidias's greatest works were in ivory and gold, yet he is said to have also worked in marble, and a statue of Aphrodite of his handiwork, made of Parian marble, was shewn at Elis,¹³ and another in the Gallery of Octavia at Rome.¹⁴ The other noted Athenian school of sculpture at the time was that of Calamis, which was distinctly conservative and Ionic in character. Calamis and his pupils devoted their skill to the perfecting of graceful detail. We are told by Dionysius of Halicarnassus¹⁵ that the school of Calamis was noted for lightness and grace (*λεπτότης καὶ χάρις*) while that of Pheidias aimed at what was dignified and large in style (*τὸ σεμνὸν καὶ μεγαλότεχρον καὶ ἀξιοματικόν*). There can scarcely be a doubt as to which of these tendencies is shown in our statue. A noted feature in the Pheidian school was the adoption of Peloponnesian dress, as is shown by the use of the Dorian peplos in the Pheidian statues of Athena. But sometimes, as in the great Medici statue of Athena—no doubt a somewhat later work of Pheidian type—the finer under-chiton was combined with the peplos. There can thus be little question but that our figure must belong to the Pheidian school. We do not know with certainty when Pheidias began his activity, but he must have been born very early in the fifth century, and as we shall see later he was well established by B.C. 460.

III.

Let us next more carefully examine the head (Pl. II.). I know of only one head of the same type and of so early a period, that of the statue in Florence already mentioned. But parallels of a somewhat later date exist in several museums. Bernoulli has enumerated them;¹⁶ and Furtwängler,¹⁷ S. Reinach,¹⁸ and others have discussed them. They form the group commonly regarded as portraits of Sappho.

The most distinctive feature in the Ashmolean head is the way in which the hair is arranged in the form called a *sphendone*, from its likeness to a

¹³ Paus. i. 14, 7.

¹⁴ Pliny, xxxvi. 15.

¹⁵ *De Isocrate*, ch. 3.

¹⁶ *Griech. Ikonographie*, i. pp. 59-73.

¹⁷ *Meisterwerke*, p. 102; *Masterpieces*, p. 70.

¹⁸ *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1902, 2, p. 457.

sling. The band is narrow above the forehead, wider a little higher up, widest at the back of the head, where it forms a sort of bag. Above the middle of the forehead is a fastening in form like an ivy-leaf, and on either side over the temple there is a bunch of hair, while two spiral curls in the form of sea-shells hang on each temple. The *sphendone* is common on the heads of goddesses on the coins of Syracuse¹⁹ and Corinth,²⁰ where it occurs in infinite variety. It occurs often also in Attic sepulchral reliefs. The *sphendone* on the head of Hegeso²¹ is remarkably like that on the present head, and the hair running in parallel waves is adapted to the lines of the fillet in similar fashion in both heads: but in the case of Hegeso the ends of the fillet fall in front of the ears.

The little spiral curls, two on each cheek, are a more notable feature, and may furnish us with a clue. As to their origin, they seem to succeed, and to supersede, the long curls falling over the breast which are usual in archaic art, and so they form a transition to later styles of hair-dressing. In the Chigi Athena at Dresden,²² which may be regarded as in almost all respects a faithful copy of an original of the mid-fifth century, there are still three curls on each shoulder, but they are no longer stiff and formal. In the head of one of the bronze figures of women from Herculaneum, we have three curls on each cheek, but they no longer fall over the breast. Formal curls lingered longer in Asia Minor, as relics of the stately customs of early art. We may judge this from the formal curls on the head of Artemisia from the Mausoleum, and the head from Priene. Traces of the old convention may even be found in the masks of the comic stage. In the dress of the New Comedy at Athens, the mask of the courtesan had curls by the ear (*βοστρύχους ἔχει περὶ τὰ ὦτα*),²³ and her hair was bound about with a taenia (*ταινιδίῳ τὴν κεφαλὴν περιεσφιγμένον*). The particle *περι-* seems to imply something more than one simple band, and would very well apply to such an arrangement as that of our statue. Probably the dress of the stage courtesan was taken from that of some of the noted courtesans of Ionia; and they no doubt followed the highest fashions of their time. Thus, though the *sphendone* in itself is a very ordinary headdress, we may well suppose that when combined with the short curls it was specially appropriate to the attractive women of Ionia.

The attribution of the heads of this type to Sappho is based on grounds which are not very solid. The reason consisted, in fact, in the inscription on a herm in the Palace of the Conservatori at Rome, on which was a head with this kind of headdress,—which inscription is certainly modern.²⁴

The figure of Sappho is found on vases of the red-figured class and on terracottas—Bernoulli has made a list of these representations; and several

¹⁹ For example, Head's *Syracuse* (*Num. Chron.* 1874), Pl. III. 1, V. 1, 2, etc.

²⁰ *Br. Mus. Cat., Corinth*, Pls. V. and X.

²¹ Conze, Pl. XXX. This figure is closely like the Parthenon Frieze.

²² Best published in *J.H.S.* 1912, pp. 43-56; Pl. I.

²³ Pollux, iv. 153.

²⁴ See Bernoulli. *Griech. Ikon.* i. p. 61.

of them are put together by Jahn.²⁵ I do not find in them anything distinctive, or indicating a knowledge of sculptural types. Some of the bronze coins of Mytilene of the Roman imperial class give representations of the head of Sappho and of a seated statue of her. But they are on so small a scale that they give us no testimony of value as regards features, and the hair sometimes is bound with a kerchief, sometimes with a fillet, and sometimes is arranged in a simple knot.

But much more interesting is the head to be found on bronze autonomous coins of Mytilene of about B.C. 300²⁶ (Fig. 3). The little lyre which occupies the reverse of these coins seems to be purposefully contrasted with the large square lyre which occupies the reverse of the coins on the obverse of which Apollo appears. And the notable feature of the two short curls on the cheek of the female head on the obverse seems to indicate an individual, not a deity. Julius Pollux tells us that the people of Mytilene put Sappho on their coins²⁷; and he can scarcely be referring to the coins of the imperial



FIG. 3.—BRONZE COIN OF MYTILENE, ENLARGED.

age, as in the other coin-types which he mentions he must be speaking of the autonomous series. I am therefore disposed to think that on the bronze coins to which I refer the head is that of Sappho, perhaps regarded as one of the Muses, and as the object of a cult.²⁸ These coins, however, being very small and of conventional character, do not help us to recover the actual traits of the poetess, or rather of her accepted art-type, for considering the period of Sappho, there could not exist any naturalistic portrait of her. Later sculptors who portrayed her, such as Silanion, who was a contemporary of Plato, must have created a conventional art-type of Sappho, just as they did of Homer.

We must examine the whole class of sculptured heads called 'Sappho.' They differ widely one from the other in essential particulars, and range in date from the middle of the fifth century to the time of Alexander. I will try to group them in chronological order.

²⁵ *Ueber Darstellungen griech. Dichter auf Vasenb.*

²⁷ *Onom.* ix. 84.

²⁸ *Br. Mus. Cat., Troas, &c., Pl. XXXVIII.*

²⁸ In the *Br. Mus. Cat.* Wróth thinks the head is of Aphrodite.

The earliest group is that which comprises two heads only, that of the Ashmolean statue, and that of the statue at Florence. Here the work of the eyes is almost archaic, long narrow eyes without any overlapping of eyelids.



FIG. 4.—THE 'OXFORD BUST.'

The curls on the cheek are also a clear survival of archaic art. These heads I reserve for further discussion.

The group second in order of date is in many ways quite different. Noteworthy examples are:—

Bust in the Ashmolean Museum, the so-called 'Oxford Bust' (Fig. 4).

Head in Corneto,²⁹ which appears to be similar but inferior.

Head in the janiform bust at Madrid, called Phaon and Sappho.³⁰

The Oxford bust is well-known, and has been frequently figured, but never adequately. I take this opportunity to edit it more seriously. (Pl. III.) The head has been put together from several fragments, but is complete except for the nose, and a part over the left temple. It is very pleasing, but unfortunately it has been so much exposed to the weather that little remains of the original surface. Especially noteworthy are the remarkable shape of the face, which is in form almost oblong, and the extremely beautiful arrangement of the hair, which is bound with crossing bands. This hair in its wavy outlines has quite the character of the fifth century.

The connexion between head and breast has caused much perplexity to archaeologists. The head has been regarded as a work of Pheidian school; but no parallel to the drapery is to be found earlier than the Pergamene age. Perhaps the nearest parallel is to be found in the drapery of figures in the frieze of the great altar at Pergamon, especially in the figure called Selene, who rides on a horse.³¹ This drapery is beautifully executed, and has suffered from weathering. It is drawn together round the bosom with a hem which, as Michaelis observed, passes tightly over the right breast without in any way modifying it. If this bust is antique, it must be part of an ancient statue with all but the front surface cut away in order to lighten it, for busts of this form were quite unknown in Greece. Furtwängler in speaking of this bust³² says that it does not belong to the head; but he does not say whether he regards it as ancient or modern. Professor Lethaby has suggested that it is a fine work of the Renaissance, and that seems to me the best solution of a difficult problem. In any case we must reject it as in no way connected with the head, and so outside the present investigation.

The head seems to be of different marble from the bust; but both marbles are Greek: I think the head is Pentelic.³³ The restorations are the nose (which is very bad) and some of the locks of hair over the left temple, which have been restored in plaster. The eyelids are almost gone: but one can still see that the outer corners of the eyes are finished in the style of the mid-fifth century, with no overlapping of the upper eyelid. In the older casts the neck was too long, in consequence of the interposition of a band of plaster between head and lower neck. This band has been partly removed.

Furtwängler and S. Reinach (a strong combination) have pronounced this head a work of the school of Pheidias. This is probable, though the arguments of neither writer can be called convincing. Furtwängler's arguments rest upon his views as to Pheidias suggested by the head at Bologna, which he regards as the Lemnian Athepa. Reinach's arguments

²⁹ *Gaz. des Beaux Arts*, 1902, 2, p. 457.

³⁰ Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, p. 68.

³¹ *Alterth. von Pergamon*, iii. 2; Pl. V.

³² *Statuenkopieen*, p. 50.

³³ A careful description in Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, p. 555.

are based upon the Laborde head, supposed to belong to the Parthenon pediment. This again is not very safe ground. The Laborde head is so much restored (forehead, nose, lips, chin, back of head)³⁴ that it is only authoritative for the treatment of hair and eyes. And as Pheidias certainly did not execute the Parthenon pediments (see p. 16), a head belonging to them can be no safe index of his style.

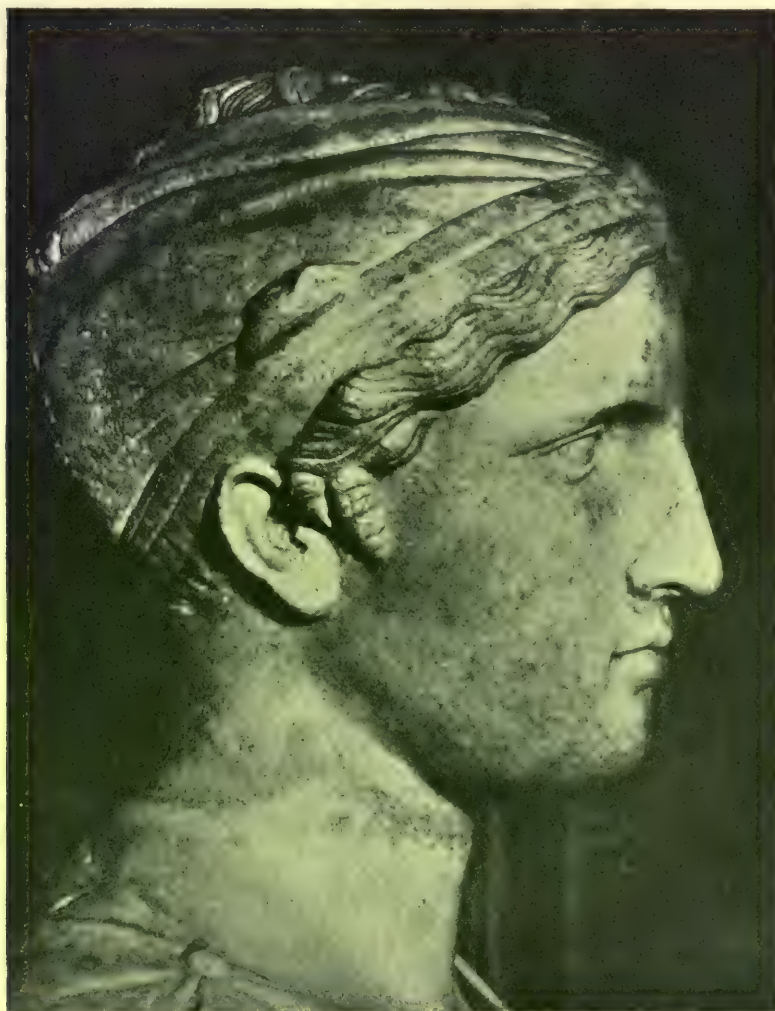


FIG. 5.—HEAD IN THE VILLA ALBANI.

A much safer authority for the Pheidian treatment of hair and eyes is to be found in the fragment of the head of Nemesis from Rhamnus, by

³⁴ See B. Sauer, *Der Weber-Laborde'sche Kopf*, 1903.

Agoracritus,³⁵ since this was a great religious work, and not merely decorative. Ancient critics were in doubt whether the statue was by Pheidias or Agoracritus, or by them jointly: but it is a first-rate piece of evidence for the wavy lines of the hair and the transitional corners of the eyes, which are doubtless late Pheidian in character.

A very interesting comparison may be made between the Oxford head and the head of the Greek poetess in the Palace of the Conservatori at Rome.³⁶ This delightful full-length figure, of Greek marble, clad only in a himation, has been restored as Urania, with globe and rod; but this restoration is incorrect, and the attributes of the figure are lost, only that by her side is a box of manuscripts, which is antique, and which proves that she was an authoress. According to Bulle, she originally held a lyre. The face is clearly a portrait; but the remarkable point about it is that it is unmistakably like the Oxford head. The long, almost oblong, form of the face, the long narrow eyes, the full lower lip, the fashion of hair and head-dress all correspond. The style of the Roman head is, however, somewhat more advanced and the appearance more youthful.

We must have in the two cases portraits of a poetess. There was no poetess at Athens in the fifth century. The representation is far more probably of some well-known poetess of an earlier age, such as Sappho. The dress of the Roman figure, consisting only of an over-garment which leaves the right shoulder bare, though quite usual in the case of a man, is very unusual, if not unique, in the case of a woman. What it may signify it is not easy to determine. For this head I am disposed to retain the identification as Sappho.

The third group is best represented in two heads of the Galleria Geografica and the Villa Albani³⁷ (Fig. 5). The features are of solid, not to say stolid, type. The hair is not merely bound with a *sphendone*, but almost entirely concealed by it. The eyes are large, the chin massive. There are curls on the cheek. This type certainly closely resembles the head on the bronze coins of Mytilene, which I have already tried to shew to be Sappho. I am greatly disposed to agree with Professor Winter, who regards it as a copy of the portrait of Sappho made by Silanion in the first half of the fourth century.³⁸ He compares the bronze coins of Mytilene above cited with curls on the cheek.

The fourth group is represented by a noteworthy head in the Pitti Palace at Florence³⁹ (Fig. 6). Here again the hair is almost concealed by

³⁵ *Br. Mus. Cat. of Sculpture*, i. p. 264.

³⁸ *Jahrbuch des Inst.* v. Pl. 3.

³⁶ *Bull. Com. arch. comunale*, 1878, Pl. I.

³⁹ Bernoulli, *Gr. Ikon.* i. p. 69; Arndt-

Arndt-Bruckmann, *Porträts*, Pl. 143-4.

Bruckmann, *Porträts*, Pl. 149, 150.

³⁷ Bernoulli, *Griech. Ikonogr.* i. pp. 65, 67.

the kerchief. But the character of the head is quite different, passionate and enthusiastic, and at once reminding us of the works of Scopas and of Lysippus. This must be a representation of a poetess; probably a head of Sappho of the later part of the fourth century.



FIG. 6.—HEAD IN THE PITTÌ PALACE.

These last three groups of heads cannot in any objective sense represent the same person. They are of varied character. Even the style of the headdress is not really the same, varying between a long taenia and a kerchief. Yet of course they may all be varied representations of a person who lived before the age of portraiture. It seems not unreasonable to regard

them all as poetesses; the heads in group 3 being almost certainly intended for Sappho, the second and the fourth groups being of more doubtful attribution.

The attribution of group 1 remains for further consideration in the next section. Meantime, I wish further to justify my claim that we have in our statue an early work of the Pheidian school. We have treated separately the body and the head, and have found that both, in the present state of our archaeological evidence, point to a Pheidian origin. But this view may be unpleasing, and may even seem paradoxical, to some English students who take their notions as to Pheidias from the Elgin Room at the British Museum. So it is necessary to say a few words as to our evidence for the period and style of Pheidias.

As Pheidias was represented as a bald and elderly man on the shield of the Parthenos statue,⁴⁰ made about 440 B.C., he cannot have been born much later than B.C. 500. Among his earliest works was probably the Athena of Pellene; for if this figure of Athena is represented, as is probable, on the coins⁴¹ of the city, it is of an archaic Palladium-like type. Pheidias made for the Athenians two monuments in memory of Marathon, the great bronze Athena of the Acropolis, which was of stiff and early type, to judge from Athenian coins;⁴² and the great bronze group with portrait of Miltiades, set up at Delphi. Exactly when these works were set up we do not know; but their date is not likely to be more than twenty years after the battle (*i.e.* B.C. 470). Unfortunately we are unable to identify any of the earlier works of Pheidias among extant statues, for the intricate attempts of Furtwängler to make such identifications are far too speculative and fanciful to serve as a basis for any conclusions. Our best evidence for Pheidian style is derived from copies of the Parthenos statue dating from the Roman Age, the Lenormant statuette, the Varvakeion statuette, and the copy from Patras. A comparison of these with such figures as the Athena from Pergamon and torsoes found on the Athenian Acropolis does enable us to form a fairly adequate notion of the Parthenos statue. But of no other statue by Pheidias can we form a satisfactory idea. The attempt of Furtwängler to assign to the great master a number of works now extant in the form of Roman copies nowhere reaches more than a low degree of probability, and often rests on a very fragile substructure.

When one speaks of the work of Pheidias most people at once think of the sculptural decoration of the Parthenon. And that Pheidias was in a measure generally responsible for this is made probable by the phrase of Plutarch in reference to the buildings of Pericles, πάντα διείπε καὶ πάντων ἐπίσκοπος ἦν αὐτῷ (Περικλεῖ) Φεΐδίας. But that Pheidias in person and

⁴⁰ This we learn from Plutarch, *Pericles*, Pl. S, x. ch. xi.

⁴² *Ibid.* Pl. Z, i.-vii.

⁴¹ *Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias*,

minutely directed the work of sculpture on the Parthenon is most unlikely. The oversight of such work was usually taken by the architect; and the architect of the Parthenon was not Pheidias but Ictinus. Moreover, from the record which is extant of payments to sculptors for the work on the Athenian Erechtheum we may judge how many artists worked at once on a temple. In the fragment of this record which is preserved twelve sculptors are mentioned, some citizens and some resident aliens, all of whom are paid at the same rate, 60 drachmas (about 60 francs) for each figure. The pedimental figures of the Parthenon cannot be by Pheidias. An Attic inscription is preserved⁴³ which records payment to the *sculptors* (not the sculptor) of the pediments; and the date of the document, though not absolutely fixed, appears to be too late for any superintendence by Pheidias.

Any careful examination of the sculpture of the Parthenon will shew not only varieties in execution but marked differences in important points of style. For example, two adjoining figures, Hephaestus and Poseidon, in the group of gods in the east frieze, are strongly contrasted in style; so are the running Nike of the east pediment and the adjoining seated figures. The actual sculptors, whoever they were, must have had quite a free hand: and this altogether accords with what we know of the ways of Greek artists in the fifth century. There was no broad line of distinction between sculptor and stone-mason. The latter may have worked under the general direction of a noted master; but he was no slavish subordinate. We know indeed that at Epidaurus Timotheus furnished models (*τύποι*) for one of the pediments, but that may have been a fourth-century innovation. And there are strong reasons for denying close relations between Pheidias and (at all events) the pedimental figures of the Parthenon. These not only were probably made after his death or imprisonment, but also they are much freer in style than the great cultus figures for which Pheidias was noted. The fact is that the great field for practice in sculpture offered by the decoration of the Parthenon seems to have produced a very rapid improvement in freedom and technique. It seems at first sight almost incredible that some of the stiffer metopes of the Parthenon, and the pedimental group of the Fates, can have belonged to the same building, and been produced within a few years of one another.

If Pheidias was really responsible for the planning of the sculpture of the Parthenon, it must have been quite at the end of his life. His earlier activities were concentrated on such works as the great statues of Athena at Plataea and Pellene, and the magnificent bronze memorial of Marathon set up at Delphi: and we know from ancient writers that it was not for technique that he was noted, but for the preciousness of his materials, and above all for his success in embodying the highest religious ideas of his contemporaries.

⁴³ Woodward in *Annual of Brit. School*, 1909-10, p. 190. Mr. Woodward observes that Pheidias exercised practically no supervision over the last stages of the decoration of the Parthenon.

III.

In discussing the meaning and attribution of our statue, we have before us three alternatives. It may represent, first a deity, secondly a generalized type, or thirdly an individual.

The generalized type, to begin with the second alternative, is best represented by the great series of archaic female figures dedicated to Athena, which was discovered on the Acropolis of Athens in the excavations of the latter part of the last century. That these figures did not represent the goddess is I think generally allowed: nor did they represent her priestesses. They must have been dedicated to Athena by her worshippers. But they had nothing individual about them; they were not portraits, but *κόραι* or girls given to, and belonging to, Athena. Similar series have been found on other sites.

In the case of the present statue we may reject this interpretation. These series of *κόραι* belong rather to archaic art than to that of the fifth century, although as I have already suggested, they may have been in some places continued. But anyone who carefully looks at our statue will reject at once the notion that it represents no one in particular; it is far too full of character.

A point not without importance is its size, six feet in height. That was certainly not, at all events for a Greek woman, life size, but heroic size. The usual height for a male heroic figure was about 6 feet 8 inches (2 mètres). Six feet for a woman nearly corresponds to six feet and eight inches for a man, being about one-seventh more than the normal height, taking that at 5 feet 10 inches for a man and 5 feet 3 inches for a woman. The series of dedicated *korae* at Athens and elsewhere are usually below life size. The heroic scale shews that our statue is not merely one of a series, but a figure of special significance, like the figures of the Tyrannicides at Athens or the Agias group of portraits at Delphi.

There remain the two other alternatives, a deity or a portrait. But these alternatives do not strictly exclude one another. For in the great period of Greek art, as well as in its later periods, it was possible to represent a person, living or dead, in the guise of a deity, and with some of the attributes of deity. It is in this compound way that I am disposed to interpret our statue.

If, whether simply, or in a divine translation, it is a representation of an Athenian lady, one can scarcely avoid the question as to the person portrayed.

According to the manners of Athens at the time, it is very unlikely that any ordinary matron would be represented in a statue. The queens of Syria and Egypt in the third century appeared in many statues. But the Athenians of the fifth century, and especially the statesmen, held that women of repute should not be seen (save on rare occasions) outside their own houses, that

their duties were limited to control of their children and their slaves. It is unlikely that a statue of any of them would be put up in a public place.

We must consider important facts in the history of Athens. We know from the life of Pericles by Plutarch, as well as from the comedies of Aristophanes, that a revolt against the accepted view of women was in progress at the time of the Peloponnesian war, and even earlier. Many Athenian women were dissatisfied with 'the trivial round, the common task'; and wanted to become of more account in public life and even in politics. At the head of this movement were two remarkable women, Elpinice and Aspasia. They were of very different rank. Elpinice, daughter of Miltiades and sister of Cimon, belonged to one of the highest families. But she chose to disregard the conventions of propriety, was a close friend of Pericles, and though married to a distinguished citizen, Callias, did many things which at the time caused scandal. The character of Aspasia has been in modern times the subject of much controversy. In origin she was a Milesian: probably her family had been sold into slavery on the failure of the Ionian Revolt. She had become, probably without any option, a hetaera, and drifting to Athens became the mistress of Pericles, who divorced his legal wife and openly lived with her. That she was clever and highly accomplished we are assured. She seems to have held a kind of *salon* to which the friends of Pericles resorted, and even in some cases took their wives. Socrates was among her admirers; and she was even credited—by the credulous—with the composition of the speeches of Pericles. After the death of Pericles, she took up with Lysicles, a dealer in cattle, and caused him to become an orator. Evidently she was in an eminent degree unconventional. But some modern admirers who try to represent her as not only brilliant but of high character, go beyond the mark. We need not accept all the many scandalous tales told about her at Athens, for we know that scandal was as rife in ancient as it is in modern Athens. But we make a mistake when we try to transplant into the glowing air of ancient Athens modern English notions. The class to which Aspasia belonged was held in no high esteem at Athens; and though she had exceptional talent, she was not generally regarded as above corrupt influences and debased means of acquiring wealth.

These two women, Elpinice and Aspasia, are perhaps the only two women of Athens in the middle of the fifth century likely to have had their effigies put up in a public place. And it is curious that we have just two Athenian portraits of women at the period.⁴⁴ One is closely wrapped in a cloak, with a veil on the back of the head, a figure equally charming and modest (Fig. 7), which has been reconstituted by Amelung,⁴⁵ from a veiled head of fifth century type at Berlin and a body of later date, which certainly belonged to the same type. That the head had been called a head of Aspasia need not influence us, for the attribution rested on no evidence whatever. It

⁴⁴ The Hestia Giustiniani may perhaps be a third, but her place of origin is uncertain.

⁴⁵ Published by Amelung in *Röm. Mitt.* xv.

represents a dignified Athenian matron, certainly not Aspasia, but very possibly Elpinice. If a statue of Elpinice were put up, it would have been of this type.



FIG. 7.—STATUE OF AN ATHENIAN MATRON.

I am tempted to venture somewhat further in the explanation of Dr. Amelung's charming statue in connexion with our own. The question naturally suggests itself, and is discussed by Amelung,⁴⁶ whether it can be

⁴⁶ *Röm. Mitt.* xv. p. 191.

a copy of one of the most celebrated statues of antiquity, the Sosandra of Calamis, which has always been something of a puzzle. This statue was set up at the entrance to the Acropolis of Athens. Whether it was identical with a statue of Aphrodite by Calamis seen near the same spot by Pausanias⁴⁷ has been disputed, but this seems by far the most probable view. But it does not at all follow that Pausanias is right when he called the figure Aphrodite; he may have judged quite hastily. He says it was a dedication by the Athenian Callias, who was the husband of Elpinice.

I cannot here discuss at length all the views which have been put forth as regards the statue of Sosandra. This task has been very satisfactorily carried out by Studniczka.⁴⁸ I quite agree with this writer that Sosandra, the saviour of a man or men, is a singularly inept epithet for Aphrodite, who was regarded as misleading men rather than saving them. Nor does it occur anywhere else as an epithet of Aphrodite or other deities. Another explanation must be sought for.

On the Acropolis there has been found an inscription reading⁴⁹ ΚΑΛΛΙΑΣ ΗΙΠΠΟΝΙΚΟ ΑΝΕΘΕΚΕΝ on a base on which once stood a bronze statue. At first of course one would suppose that this must have been the basis of the Sosandra statue. But this turns out to be a false light. For on the basis are the marks on which stood two naked feet which supported the lost statue. It could not have been a draped female figure; but it must have been a male statue—very probably an Apollo. Callias, indeed, being wealthy, may have made many dedications. However, our concern is not with the various dedications of Callias, but only with the Sosandra.

Lucian, in an often-cited passage calls the statue made by Calamis Sosandra merely, and his description of her is noteworthy. In his *Imagines*⁵⁰ he speaks of the figure as notable for modesty (*αἰδώς*), for a staid and unconscious smile (*μειδίωμα σεμνὸν καὶ λεληθὸς*), for the trim and orderly folds of her cloak,⁵¹ and for the veiled head. Lucian is the only ancient critic of art who has to be considered with respect; in his youth he had been a sculptor, and he knew what he was talking about. His words bring up to our minds just such a figure as that of Amelung, and it belongs to the period and probably to the style of Calamis. Archaeologists have been disposed, in the absence of clear light as to the style of this sculptor, to regard him as working in the style of the latest of the archaic dedicated figures of the Athenian Acropolis, late examples of the old Ionian art, wearing the fine chiton, and an over-garment over one shoulder or both. And certainly the terms delicacy and charm (*λεπτότης καὶ χάρις*) applied to his statues by Dionysius of Halicarnassus⁵² would apply to those statues. But they apply quite equally well to the veiled lady under consideration. And, in fact, we

⁴⁷ i. 23, 2.

⁴⁸ *Kalamis*, 1907.

⁴⁹ Studniczka, *Kalamis*, p. 54.

⁵⁰ Ch. 6.

⁵¹ The word is *ἀναβολή*, an outer garment; this excludes such figures as the Hestia Giustiniani.

⁵² *De Isocrate*, ch. 3.

can scarcely imagine that after the Persian wars, when Athens was boiling over with new ideas in art, a great sculptor like Calamis would keep up a merely traditional type. He probably retained the Ionic dress but used it with freer hand and greater artistic effect, leading art in the way in which Praxiteles afterwards developed it.

Amelung finds a difficulty about identifying his statue with the Sosandra in another passage of Lucian⁵³ in which, as he thinks, the ankles of the Sosandra are praised, and so must have been shown. The passage is ambiguous: but I cannot find in it more than a general assertion that the Sosandra was universally appreciated and warmly praised.⁵⁴ In fact it is unlikely that a draped figure of the period, notable for dignity and modesty, wearing a cloak, would show her ankles. I think that we may set this passage aside, as giving no clear evidence.

But if Callias dedicated a statue called Sosandra, the saviour of a man, it is easy to find an occasion when he might have done so. In B.C. 463 Elpinice, his wife, by pleading with Pericles, the accuser, saved her brother Cimon from being condemned to death for treason. On such an occasion it would be very natural for Callias, who was much in love with his wife, to set up her statue in the guise of Sosandra.⁵⁵ To her the matronly veil would be as suitable as it would be unsuitable to a figure of Aspasia.

The other portrait of a fifth century Athenian woman is that represented by our Ashmolean statue; as well as by the statue at Florence. It is curious that Bernoulli⁵⁶ should have remarked 'We might be disposed to search for the portrait (of Aspasia) among those heads of Aphrodite-like type, with beautiful head-covering, which we have been accustomed to call Sappho, some of which in style go back to the fifth century.' With this suggestion I am in agreement. If a statue of Aspasia were set up, it would probably represent her not as a matron, but partly as a woman and partly as a goddess.

Our statue is not a mere portrait, but a portrait of a woman in the guise of a deity. It was not without some justification that so able judges as Furtwängler and Reinach saw in the group of heads to which ours belongs representations of Aphrodite. In fact, women in Greece were seldom honoured with a statue, unless they were more or less deified: and this applies to the fifth century. Of Sappho there was a temple and a cultus at Mytilene. Leaena, the friend of the tyrant-slayer Aristogeiton, was honoured at Athens as a heroine after her death. To Phila the wife of Demetrius Poliorcetes the Athenians erected a temple, identifying her with Aphrodite. Amastris figures as a goddess on the coins of the city which bore her name. It is not at all rare to find erected on Greek tombs statues of the deceased in the guise of Hermes or even Asklepios. How easy the process of deification was among the Greeks, if any of their friends had

⁵³ *Dial. Meretr.* iii. 2.

⁵⁴ Furtwängler takes this view: *Sitzungsber. der bayer. Akademie*, 1907, part ii. p. 168.

⁵⁵ The assignment of a fresh name to those who were heroized was an ordinary custom.

⁵⁶ *Griech. Ikonogr.* i. p. 115.

money to make an endowment, is shewn by the celebrated document known as the will of Epicteta.

Perhaps the closest parallel to a deification of Aspasia as Aphrodite may be found in the similar deification of Lamia. Lamia was an Athenian hetaera who captivated Demetrius Poliorcetes, who abandoned for her his noble wife Phila. The Athenians and the Thebans both erected temples in which Lamia was adored under the name of Aphrodite. And the people of Lamia in Thessaly put on their coins a striking head of Lamia-Aphrodite.⁵⁷ The hair in this portrait hangs loose about her ears in a fashion unknown in portraits of matrons.

That Calamis should make a statue for Callias and Cimon, and Pheidias one for Pericles and Aspasia quite accords with what we know of the political relations of the two schools: Calamis was connected with the Athenian conservatives, Pheidias with the popular party of Pericles. The Aspasia-Aphrodite of Pheidias might well be a reply to the Elpinice-Sosandra of Calamis.

I must try to determine at what periods the portraits of Elpinice and Aspasia would be likely to be made. Elpinice was no longer very young when she interceded with Pericles on behalf of her brother Cimon, B.C. 463;⁵⁸ she may then have been approaching thirty, since Miltiades died in 489, and probably Elpinice was born shortly before that year.⁵⁹ Aspasia was decidedly younger. Judeich, in a careful paper in Wissowa's *Encyclopädie*, after examining the evidence, decides that Pericles' son by Aspasia must have been born in B.C. 449-440.

Amelung's statue above mentioned, with veiled head, is given by the general voice of archaeologists to about B.C. 460: Calamis flourished B.C. 480-440.⁶⁰ The Ashmolean statue I have already assigned to B.C. 460-440, which corresponds with the active period of Pheidias. There is then no reason arising out of chronology why these two statues should not respectively represent Elpinice and Aspasia, and come from the workshops of the great sculptors whom I have mentioned.

Of course, if our portrait is really of Aspasia, that would decidedly be a reason why the great master himself, as a personal friend of Pericles and Aspasia, should have made it. And he did work in marble. But the question whether a statue merely comes from the workshop of a great sculptor, or whether he himself made it, is much more important in reference to modern than in reference to ancient sculpture. The modern artist is anxious that all his work should bear his personal imprint; this search for originality did not sway an ancient artist, who was content to reproduce traditional types only improving upon them in detail, or distinguishing them by fine execution. It is probable, for the reason which I have given above, their employment on the great temples at Athens, that the pupils of Pheidias, Alcamenes, and

⁵⁷ *Br. Mus. Cat., Thessaly*, Pl. IV. 1, 2,

⁵⁸ Plutarch's *Pericles*, ch. x. Pericles, rather coarsely, tells Elpinice that she is too old for the business.

⁵⁹ Possibly the name Elpinice, 'Hope of victory,' may have had to do with Marathon.

⁶⁰ These are the dates arrived at by Studniczka, *Kalamis*, p. 81.

Agoracritus excelled their master in the production of works in marble, though they never had an opportunity of surpassing him in the great religious line of art. Lysippus was credited with the authorship of 1,500 statues, many of them of colossal size: and it is clear that he can have been only the head of a factory, though no doubt he may have impressed something of his style on all works which came out of his factory. I am quite content to say that our statue came from the workshop of Pheidias, without affirming his personal relation to it. There was shown at Olympia a workshop of Pheidias; and no doubt many years before he began the great statue of Zeus he had a workshop at Athens, alike for works in gold and ivory and in marble. Judging by what we really know as to the Pheidian treatment of drapery, we are quite justified in saying that our Ashmolean statue is just what we should expect from this workshop about the middle of the fifth century.

Supposing our head to be meant for a portrait of Aspasia as Aphrodite, it may serve to account for the accusation of impiety which we know to have been brought against her. Pheidias, as Plutarch tells us,⁶¹ was accused of impiety because he introduced portraits of himself and Pericles into the relief representing a battle with Amazons which adorned the shield of the great Parthenos statue. Surely it would be still worse impiety, if either Pericles or Aspasia set up a portrait of a concubine in guise of a goddess. The enemies of Pericles, not daring to attack himself, brought actions against his special friends, Anaxagoras, Pheidias, Aspasia, and in each case on religious grounds.

Of course it may be said that we have no direct ancient authority for these suggestions; that they rest only on an ingenious collocation of possibilities; but they certainly well fit the facts so far as they are known; and do not go beyond the limits of permissible theory. It is quite legitimate, and indeed necessary, in history to go beyond our documents by conjecture: what is wrong is to give out conjectures as facts, or to build conjecture on conjecture until the whole edifice becomes top-heavy.

Possibly a somewhat different view may commend itself to some readers. They may take their start from the curls on the cheek, exact correspondence with which is only found on the bronze coins of Mytilene, and the statues which I have allowed to represent Sappho. Why, they may say, should not our statue represent Sappho, or if Aspasia, Aspasia in the guise of Sappho? This view is plausible: but it seems less acceptable than that which I have set forth. Greek portraits in many cases represent historic persons in the guise of deities. But I do not know of one which represents one historic person in the guise of another. Alexander the Great is represented as Heracles, and as Castor,⁶² but not as Miltiades. An Athenian lady might appear as Aphrodite, or as a Muse, but not as a poetess whose works were well known. And that our statue is not a mere embodiment of someone's notion of Sappho seems to be proved both by its individual character, and by its simplicity and

⁶¹ Plutarch's *Pericles*, ch. xxxi.

⁶² In the remarkable statue lately discovered at Cyrene.

freedom from the imaginative element. Moreover, a statue of Sappho would scarcely represent her as clad in the Dorian dress.

Perhaps other objections to the identification of our figure as Aspasia may be suggested. The head is scarcely ideally beautiful in form. But the women who have affected history by their attractions have seldom been ideally beautiful; rather bright and witty, able to amuse and to charm. Also



FIG. 8.—SUPPOSED PORTRAIT OF ASPASIA IN THE VATICAN.

there is about the head a certain innocence and simplicity. Some of this may be due to the style of sculpture.

I must not, however, pass by in silence a head extant and published, which has some claim to be regarded as a portrait of Aspasia, and which differs notably from the Ashmolean statue (Fig. 8). It is a herm surmounted

by a bust of a woman, the back of whose head is covered by a veil, and whose hair is arranged in wave-like tresses like a melon running from the forehead to the back parallel to one another.⁶³ On the base of this herm is inscribed in letters, not cut with a chisel but merely scratched, ΑΣΠΑΣΙΑ. This inscription has been discussed by several writers, and presents a difficult problem. On the one hand the inscription seems to have already been on the herm when it was discovered near Civitavecchia. On the other hand the letters are suspicious in form, and not put in the ordinary place. But all the writers are agreed that it is very difficult to believe that we can really have Aspasia in this woman, of most common-place type, and wearing the veil, the mark of the Athenian matron. I think that the inscription is not trustworthy, though without seeing it I cannot decide when it was cut. It would take a great deal of evidence to persuade us that Aspasia could have been represented as an ordinary matron. This head cannot in any case claim to represent a contemporary portrait, as the fashion of hair does not occur in Greek sculpture before the time of Praxiteles. If, therefore, it was intended for Aspasia, it may be a mere fancy portrait of later time.

With our Ashmolean portrait we naturally compare the only portrait by a contemporary of Pheidias which has come down to us (only alas! in Roman copies), the herm surmounted by a portrait of Pericles, a copy of a work of Cresilas of Cydonia. In our copies much of the character is lost. But enough remains to show us how artists of the great Periclean group conceived a portrait. They did not try accurately to copy details of less importance. The hair and beard they treated almost in a conventional way. Nor did they lay emphasis on the time of life; we only feel that Pericles was at the zenith of his powers. But the portrait impresses on us the calm and dignity of the statesman, with something in the face, especially the upper lip, which belonged to the actual man. Such a generic and idealized portrait I think we have in the Ashmolean statue.

Let me sum up, proceeding from the more to the less certain. We may confidently assign our statue to the middle of the fifth century, to Athens, and to the school of Pheidias. That it represents a woman in the guise of a deity or a heroine is also fairly certain. Of which woman it is a portrait is of course not so clear. But no one seems so suitable as Aspasia: we may fairly accept this identification until a better is suggested.

PERCY GARDNER.

⁶³ See Bernoulli, *Griech. Ikonogr.* p. 113. It is in the Sala delle Muse in the Vatican.

SEVEN VASES FROM THE HOPE COLLECTION.¹

[PLATE IV.]

It is by publication that a private collection can best apologise for its existence, and for the following vases which passed from the Hope Collection to mine this apology is due:—

B.-F. Lekythos (Figs. 1, 2). Overbeck, *Die Bildwerke zum Thebischen und Troischen Heldenkreis*, Pl. XIX. 7, p. 455; Raoul Rochette, *Mon. In.* xviii. 2; Hope Sale Catalogue, No. 19. Ht. .312 m. The body is wide in order to accommodate the subject, the neck short, the foot low and spreading. The back of the vase has been restored. Below the neck are rays, on the shoulder palmettes, above the design a pattern of dots between lines, below a line and a broad band of black edged with purple.

The subject represented is Achilles dragging the body of Hektor round Patroklos' tomb. The chariot, drawn by four horses galloping to the right, is driven by a bearded and helmeted warrior in a leather jacket. To the chariot is bound the body of Hektor, bearded, with eyes closed. The *eidolon* of Patroklos flies in the same direction, winged, armed, and with a single spear. Beyond the chariot is an armed warrior running, and another is trampled beneath the horses' feet. The background is filled by the white grave mound of Patroklos on the left, by conventional vine sprays on the right.

Illustrations of this scene have been collected and discussed by various writers,² most exhaustively by Schneider.³ Two main types are recognised: in the first the chariot is in motion and an armed warrior runs beside it; in the second it is at rest and Achilles stands behind it, bending to contemplate his dead enemy. The problems of Type I. are the invariable presence of the running warrior, and the long white chiton frequently worn by the driver; they have induced all authorities with the exception of Overbeck to interpret the former as Achilles and the latter as Automedon. This interpretation involves fresh difficulties: firstly, that on the lekythos formerly in the

¹ I should like to express my thanks to Mr. Beazley for various kind suggestions, and to Miss Hutton for criticisms and corrections.

² The references are given in Pauly-Wissowa, vol. vii. p. 2817.

³ *Tro. Sagenkreis*, p. 25.

Cabinet Durand⁴ the armed warrior beside the chariot is duplicated by a second warrior, who stands next to the charioteer; secondly, that on the amphora Berlin, No. 1867,⁵ he runs in the direction contrary to the chariot. These difficulties are considered to be due to misunderstanding of the type.



FIG. 1.—B.-F. LEKYTHOS, A.

The more natural view is to regard Achilles himself as the driver. This would account for both the Durand lekythos and the Berlin amphora; it is supported by the fact that in the earliest representation of the scene, on a

⁴ R. Rochette, *Mon. In.* xviii. 1.

⁵ Gerhard, *A. V.* cxviii.

fragment from Klazomenae,⁶ the driver can be none other than Achilles. The white chiton, the running warrior, are easily accounted for by confusion with other types; an examination of the various combat scenes where chariots occur⁷ shews that it was almost *de rigueur* to put a running figure



FIG. 2.—B. F. LEKYTHOS, B.

beside the team, while the popularity of racing chariot scenes would account for the hero adopting a charioteer's dress. It is to be remarked that a large proportion of these combat and racing scenes come from the necks of

⁶ Zahn, *Ath. Mitt.* xxiii, Pl. VI.

⁷ *E.g.* B.M. Vases B 264, 317, 321, etc.

amphoræ, and hydriæ; oddly enough, the above-mentioned fragment from Klazomenai, as has been pretty conclusively shewn, comes likewise from the shoulder of a hydria. It may be fanciful to press this point too far, but it seems possible that in Attic vases also the scene may have occupied that place, to which indeed it is very suitable, and that there the confusion of types may have been effected.

When used for the main picture of a vase, Type I. presented a difficulty which was perhaps responsible for the evolution of Type II. The body behind the chariot complicated the picture by lengthening the space to be filled. Various solutions were attempted: in the Hope lekythos it is relegated to the unoccupied field at the back of his vase; in the lekythos, Naples, 2746,⁸ the space round it is filled with radiating sprays; in the amphora, Berlin, 1867,⁹ it is simply omitted. By this time the type had become so common that it had almost lost its meaning, and the production is a senseless compromise between it and the racing type.

Meanwhile the creator of the original of the Durand lekythos had thought of filling the space behind the body by the white grave mound, which previously had been placed beyond the chariot, and a painter with still more ingenuity and some dramatic instinct created Schneider's Type II. His great contribution was that, in shifting the centre of interest from the chariot to the space behind it, the difficulties of composition have been more than solved.

The vases illustrating this incident do not, therefore, reflect a common original, but are a series of experiments in the best way of fitting a given subject into a given space.

B.-F. Lekythos on a cream ground. Hope Sale Catalogue, No. 32. Height, .365 m. Foot in one degree. On the shoulder, palmettes on red ground: above the design, mæander. Accessories purple.

Harnessing of a quadriga: the chariot stands to r. with two of the horses already harnessed; on the l. a man in a himation, whip in hand, leads up a trace horse. Another man, dressed in a white chiton, stands at the far side of the chariot; a third, wearing a himation, stands at the horses' heads. The owner is in the act of mounting. All four men are bearded and wear wreaths. The group is a common one, forming part of the B.-F. painter's stock-in-trade: the relative positions of the figures remain much the same in the various examples, while they themselves appear in various guises.¹⁰

R.-F. Kotyle. Pl. IV. Hope Sale Catalogue, No. 93. The height is .083 m., the diameter .15 m. One handle is vertical, the other, probably horizontal, has been broken off and the lip restored without it.

On the one side (*A*) is a dancing satyr, his left hand extended; his right on his hip, the head being in profile to l., while the shoulders are full-face.

⁸ R. Rochette, *Mon. In.* xvii. Overbeck, *Die Bildwerke zum Thebischen und Troischen Heldenkreis*, xix. 6.

⁹ Gerhard, *op. cit.* cxviii.

¹⁰ Cf. B.M. Vases B 303-5, etc.

On the other (*B*) is a satyr bending his right hand stretched towards a rhyton on the ground, his body being in three-quarter position.

Relief lines are used for the collar-bone, breast, nipples, hip, ankles, toes, and fingers; occasionally on the outline, chiefly when bordering a somewhat enclosed space, but nowhere on the profile. A reserved line surrounds the hair. Interior markings are in faint brown; of special interest are the two short lines beneath the collar-bone, where it joins the median breast-line, and the two parallel to each other below the knees on *A*.

With regard to the heads: the profile on *A* is drawn with square lines similar to those of 'Styon' and 'Hydris' on the Brygan kylix, B.M. E 65. The head on *B* almost gives the impression of a three-quarter position, recalling such deviations from the true profile as occur in the case of the satyr with the double flutes and the satyr with the lyre on the kylix in the Cabinet des Médailles.¹¹ It is a pity that vase painters did not achieve their three-quarter effects by drawing a head such as this turned a degree more towards the front, instead of drawing a frontal head turned towards the side, as they usually did (*e.g.* the Centauromachy Psykter in the Villa Giulia¹²). At any rate, they were wise enough to experiment chiefly with beings who had irregular features to begin with, such as centaurs and sileni.

The evidence of style generally points to the Brygos painter. The vase may therefore be added to the series of satyr-vases already attributed to his hand, a series of which kotylai have been represented hitherto only by the example from Rhitsona published in *B.S.A.* xiv.¹³ The two kotylai are closely related, being of the same shape, and both decorated with a pair of figures, one at each side; in size that from Rhitsona is slightly the larger, and in style the more mannered of the two.

R.-F. Kotyle (Figs. 3, 4). Hope Sale Catalogue, No. 93. Height, .08 m. Diameter, .15 m. Two handles, one vertical, one horizontal.

On *A*, an Eros flying to r., with a floral ornament in the field before him.

On *B*, an athlete with his right hand stretched out over a square altar, and behind him a pillar.

Relief lines are used for the outline, but not for the pupil of the eye; for the contours of the figure, except at the ends of the wings, and for such markings as the hip (which on *A* is a simple curve, convex to the body). A wash of thinned varnish covers the upper part of the wings. No trace of brown interior markings is visible.¹⁴

The custom of athletes taking an oath before entering the games is attested by Pausanias' description of the oath at Olympia. That it was widespread is shown by numerous vase paintings, on a large proportion of which the oath is taken with hand uplifted, not, as here, extended.¹⁵ The

¹¹ Hartwig, *Meisterschalen*, Pl. XXXII.

¹² Furtwängler-Reichhold, Pl. XV.

¹³ Hartwig, *op. cit.* p. 309-318, Pls. XXXII., XXXIII. *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 302, Pl. XIV.

¹⁴ The marks which appear in Fig. 3, *e.g.* on the arm, are incised sketch lines.

¹⁵ *E.g.* B.M. Vases E 114, and cf. note to E 63.

former practice seems common to many peoples upon oath-taking, the raising of the hand being the natural gesture of one compelling attention either of



FIGS. 3 AND 4.—R. F. KOTYLE, A AND B.

god or man. The extended hand is natural when the presence of a sacred object is involved, as here the altar.¹⁷

¹⁷ Cf. the oath of an ephebos in *Ann. d. I.* 1868, Pl. I.

R.-F. Column Krater (Figs. 5, 6). Tischbein i. Pl. XIV. Hope Sale Catalogue, No. 53. Height, 315 m. From Capua.

Round the lip is a frieze of boars and lions confronted, in silhouette. On the neck, side *A*, are linked lotus buds; the designs are framed with tongue pattern above, ivy wreath to the sides.



FIG. 5.—R.-F. COLUMN KRATER, *A*.

On the obverse is the popular scene of a woman giving a drink to a young soldier. He wears the uniform of an *ephebos*: *petasos*, *chlamys*, boots, and carries two spears in his right hand. The woman's dress consists of a *himation* and a spotted Ionic *chiton*.¹⁸ Behind her is a bearded man,

¹⁸ The drawing of this detail is incorrect in Tischbein's plate. He calls the scene an illustration of *Odyssey*, iv. 219, which is, of H.S.—VOL. XXXVIII.

course, fanciful. In Fig. 5 the lines have been thickened through reproduction.

leaning on a stick, behind the youth a woman in chiton, himation, and sakkos.

On the reverse are three draped athletes conversing.
The style is that of the Polygnotan circle.



FIG. 6.—R.-F. COLUMN KRATER, *B*.

Kylix (Fig. 7). Hope Sale Catalogue, No. 93. Height, .05 m. Diameter, .16 m. With low foot and interior design only. Shape as in *Él. Cér.* Pl. D 101.

Youth with *ἀκόντιον*. On the pillar are two faint brown streaks, which do not appear in the photograph. It is uncertain what they represent; possibly a fillet. There are also brown markings on the body. The *kylix* E 114 in the British Museum¹⁹ is very similar in style.

¹⁹ Mr. Beazley informs me that the following appears to be by the same hand: a *kylix* in the Lunsingh Scheurleer collection,

No. 424. Illustrated Catalogue, Pl. XLIV.: this has a mark on the pillar resembling the one noted above.



FIG. 7.—R.-F. KYLIX.

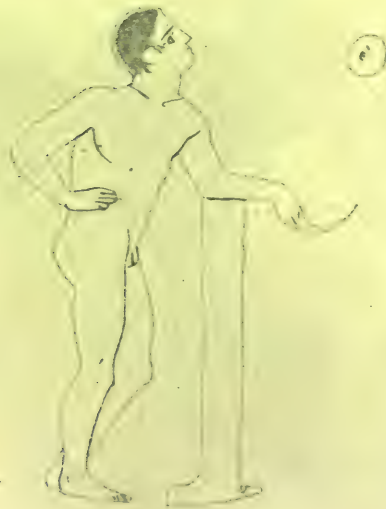


FIG. 8.—R.-F. KYLIX.

Kylix (Fig. 8). Hope Sale Catalogue, No. 93. Height and shape as above.

Youth with strigil. The position of the body may be reminiscent of a statue; that of the head, though common on vases, would not be used for a statue at so early a date. Altogether, the rather *posé* young athlete, leaning on a pillar and gazing at the stars, foreshadows the daintiness and sentimentality of a later period.

WINIFRED LAMB.

GREEK LION MONUMENTS.

THERE is in the British Museum a colossal marble lion which was found near Cnidos by Sir Charles Newton (*Cat. of Sculpt.* ii. p. 214, No. 1350). It is recumbent and sculptured out of one block, the underside being hollowed out to diminish the weight. Its length is 9 feet 7 inches. (Fig. 1.) In the *Guide to Greek and Roman Antiquities* (1908) the sculpture is thus described and discussed:—

‘A colossal lion which was found lying overturned on a lofty promontory about three miles to the east of Cnidos. On the site where it was lying were the remains of a great tomb, which consisted of a square basement surrounded by engaged columns of the Doric order and surmounted by a



FIG. 1.—LION OF CNIDOS.

pyramid. It was evident from the position in which the lion was found that it had once surmounted the pyramid, whence it had been thrown down, probably by an earthquake. The position of the monument on a promontory was thought by Sir C. Newton to indicate that it was connected with a naval victory, and he suggested a victory gained off Cnidos by the Athenian admiral Conon over the Lacedaemonians in 394 B.C. as that commemorated. It is evident, however, that both suggestions are very conjectural. The style of sculpture in this lion is large and simple and well suited for its original position on a monument forty feet high overlooking a headland with a sheer

depth of 200 feet and with a wild rocky landscape round it. The eyes, now wanting, were probably of glass or perhaps of precious stones; Pliny (*N.H.* xxx. 6) tells of a marble lion on the tomb of a prince of Cyprus, with emerald eyes so bright that the fish were terrified until the stones were changed.'

Notwithstanding the scepticism expressed here as to the origin of the monument, the theory is widely accepted. Although there is always a step from the best hypothesis to a proof, it is a pity, especially in popular hand-books, to give doubt too great prominence. Collignon in his account of the monument writes thus. 'Already in the archaic epoch the type of the lion was adopted for the decoration of tombs. That of Menekrates at Corfu is an instance (Fig. 104, vol. i.). They were also frequent on Attic steles. It is most natural that the type should be selected in preference to any other for those *polyandria* where the State gave common sepulchre to the soldiers who had died before the enemy. Without doubt we possess, thanks to Newton's discovery at Cnidos, the crowning sculpture from such a public tomb. According to a likely hypothesis it had rested on a polyandrion raised in honour of the Athenians killed in 394. Perhaps the lion taken from the Piraeus by the Venetians and placed at their Arsenal had been erected in Attica as a memorial of the same action. The Lion of Cnidos is the most beautiful of such lions, but that of Chaeronea must also be mentioned. No inscription was engraved on the former, says Pausanias, but all would comprehend the eloquence of such a symbol.'

Sir C. Newton was not so sure that eyeballs had been inserted in the lion's head. 'I should mention (he says) that he has no eyeballs, only deeply cut sockets, of which the solemn chiar-oscuro, contrasting with the broad sunlight around, produces the effect of real eyes so completely as to suggest the notion that the artist, here as in so many instances in ancient sculpture, preferred representation by equivalents to the more direct imitation of nature. But on the other hand we have abundant evidence to show that coloured eyes composed of vitreous pastes were sometimes combined with marble in ancient statuary. There is a curious anecdote in Pliny of a lion with emerald eyes which surmounted the tomb of a certain petty prince in Cyprus. . . . The contemplation of the Cnidian lion in the bright and delicate atmosphere for which he was originally designed, taught me much as to the causes why modern artists fail so generally when they attempt public monuments on a colossal scale. . . . When I stood very near the lion many things in the treatment seemed harsh and singular; but on retiring to the distance of about thirty yards, all that seemed exaggerated blended into one harmonious whole, which, lit up by an Asiatic sun, exhibited a breadth of light and shade such as I have never seen in sculpture; nor was the effect of this colossal production of human genius at all impaired by the bold forms and desolate grandeur of the surrounding landscape. The lion seemed made for the scenery and the scenery for the lion. The genial climate in which the Greek artists lived must have

enabled them to finish their colossal sculptures in the open air, and on the very site for which they were designed: hence the perfect harmony between man's work and nature which is so characteristic of Greek art in its best time.'

This seems excessive praise of a work which is not seen to advantage in the Museum: it might be worth while some day to repeat the lion out of doors and lifted high above the ground. The cost would not be great in stone and it might be contracted for by ordinary monumental masons who can do pointed work with fair accuracy.

This lion seems much larger than the dimension given above suggests, and its size may serve as a standard for imagining the scale of the other lions to be described further on. I doubt if the eye sockets were ever filled; the deep sharp darks are wonderfully effective in a photograph and the forms do not look as if eyeballs had been fitted in.

The architect G. L. Taylor, travelling in 1818 with Edward Cressy (with whom he afterwards produced a well known book on Rome), John Sanders (once a pupil of Soane), and William Purser (a painter), made an excursion to Chaeronea and discovered some fragments which they 'suspected to be parts of the famous Theban lion mentioned by Pausanias to have been placed over the tomb of those heroes who fell here opposing Philip,' (B.C. 338). 'My horse (says Taylor) made a stumble over a stone and on looking back I was struck with the appearance of sculpture. . . . We engaged some peasants and did not leave the spot until we had dug up the colossal head of the lion and some of his limbs. . . . From the nose to the top of the head it measured four feet six inches . . . A part of one of the hind [front] legs two feet two inches. Arranging these masses we decided that the attitude had resembled the one on Northumberland House. . . . We carefully buried the masses and left them.'¹ Taylor illustrates his account with a copy of the restoration made by Siegel in 1856,² which shows the lion crouching on its hind quarters on a tall pedestal.

In the Spiers collection recently given to the Victoria and Albert Museum is Taylor's note book, used on this tour, containing his sketch of the head and fragment of the leg. With these is a note copied out of some other book, possibly the diary of one of his companions: 'Wednesday, 3rd June, 1818. Made an excursion to Chaeronea, distant two hours from Lebadia. Our first discovery was the fragment of the famed Theban lion about a quarter of a mile before we entered the town; it had lain close by the side of the road and exhibited only a part of the right cheek and a little of the mane; we dug round and found the head complete and a leg of enormous dimensions (see sketches, etc.). The execution is bold, the marble very white and remarkable for its fine grain (see Pausanias).' Fig. 2 is taken from one of these sketches.

¹ *Autobiography of an Architect*, 1870. The attitude suggested was standing.

² For this and other references see B.M. *Catalogue of Sculpture* iii. No. 2698, p. 443.

The fragments thus reburied by Taylor must soon have been exposed again, and Wolfe, another English architect, who was travelling in Greece in 1820, examined them carefully so that he was able to make a correct restoration of the pose in a little sketch now in the Library of the Royal Institute of Architects. A second sketch shows the head with the teeth perfect but only cavities for the eyes. Others show mouldings from the pedestal agreeing with Siegel's restoration.

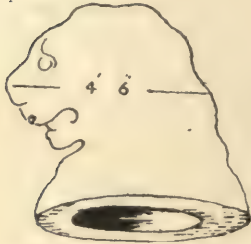


FIG. 2.—HEAD OF LION OF CHAERONEA FROM TAYLOR'S SKETCH-BOOK.

In the accompanying notes Wolfe says: 'Left Athens 9th April, 1820, sailed for Piræus about midnight, arrived next morning on the coast of Ægina . . . 12, set off for Epidaurus but driven by contrary winds to a rocky part of the shore where we anchored for the night. Picturesque scenery, crocus and pink drop-flowers, juniper, etc., on the rocks [page missing]. Kaprena 3, Daulis 3½.

Fragments of lion at Kaprena. The expression of the face of the lion by no means noble, the mouth too wide: not so good a face as that of the Parthenon. Nothing mannered about the head except the eyes, which do not appear at all natural—the eyeballs are sunk out. The muscles and bones like that of the Parthenon except that on the latter there is a greater sinking at the temples. The mane easy and flowing; ear scarcely visible. The attitude was evidently that of sitting or squatting on the haunches. The head was in a single piece dished out in the inside to lighten the weight as are the other pieces forming the body.' The mouldings of the pedestal do not appear in Fig. 3. The eyes are eighteen inches from centre to centre, and from the sketch it appears that a large circle is sunk in each eyeball almost filling its surface. A description of Chaeronea with its towered walls and small theatre follows. Ægina, Epidaurus, Argos, Tiryns, Mycenæ, Nemea, and Cleonæ are also described.

Wolfe must thus be credited with the correct restoration of the monument. This lion is of special importance to us in comparison with the great lion of Cnidos, the head of which is superior and the style of the hair less flowing and advanced. The Cnidian lion might well be fifty years earlier than the other, and like it, it was doubtless a war monument.

I take from Baedeker's *Greece* the following details of the more recent history of the lion of Chaeronea. Excavations carried on since 1879 revealed that the lion stood on the edge of a quadrangular enclosure within which the bones of the slain Thebans were deposited. In the course of centuries the monument sank almost into the earth, but it was broken to pieces only in the last War of Independence. In 1902 the ground was properly excavated with the result that traces were found of a vast pyre mingled with bones. The fragments of the lion, nearly all of which existed, were also pieced together and the whole was re-erected on a pedestal about 10 feet high, the lion itself being 12½ feet high. The lion as re-erected is shown in Fig. 3,

from a print lent to me by Mr. Arthur Smith. The pedestal seems to be restored without authority.



FIG. 3.—LION OF CHAERONEA.

In an excellent book on Persia, published in 1906 by Prof. A. V. Williams Jackson of Columbia University, a description of a colossal lion is given with two photographic illustrations. This lion, which lies outside the city of Hamadan, is so strikingly like the lion of Chaeronea that it

is very probable that they were executed for similar purposes at about the same date. There cannot be a doubt that this great fragment is a fine Hellenistic sculpture of much the same class as the two lions already described. The front legs are broken away and it rests now in a lying attitude partly buried in the ground. However, the attachments of the front legs show that it sat up. Prof. Williams Jackson describes it thus: 'The famous but battered stone lion, the only monument that has lasted through the long ages of Hamadan, now lies near the foot of the Masallah, not far from the road leading to Isfahan. It is one of the landmarks of Hamadan, and is regarded as a guardian genius of the town. Even a thousand years ago it was spoken of by Masudi³ as very ancient, and he describes it as standing by the Lion Gate on a low hill overlooking the road to Rei and Khorasan. He speaks of its lifelike appearance and compares it to some great bull or crouching camel, adding that it was carved after Alexander's return from Khorasan (as native tradition ascribes the founding of Hamadan to Alexander) and set up as a talisman to protect the walls of the city. . . . The overthrow of the lion was accomplished, he tells us, about his own time. . . . A legend almost as old, recorded by Yakut (about 1220), says the image was set up by Belinas as a talisman (Belinas is commonly explained as a corrupt Oriental form for Plinius, Pliny). Popular belief has certainly surrounded the sculptured stone with a deep veneration. . . . The lion is rather effective in the distance, as the mutilation of the stone does not then show, and I was impressed by the life-like appearance of the image as I first rode towards it, an effect which is enhanced by the yellowish sandstone out of which the figure is carved. The head is massive, and the heavy waves of the mane are realistic in appearance, but it is difficult to catch the exact expression of the face in its present prone position, although the chin is well marked and the jaws are partly open. . . . Although the legs of the creature are broken off at the shoulders and thighs the body is entire. A careful examination of the sculpture shows that the lion originally sat in an upright posture with the forelegs straight and without any curve from the shoulders except the natural rounding of the haunches. In other words it was a lion *sejant* not *couchant*. The right hip is lower than the left, and the tail, though missing, curved round the left flank, as is shown by a perceptible groove in the stone at that point. From head to tail the image measures between eleven and twelve feet (3.40 m.), the head itself being nearly forty inches in diameter (1 m.). The present position of the lion, about an eighth of a mile from the foot of the Masallah, and facing south, is probably due to chance. Both Masudi and Yakut speak of the sculpture as being near a gate of the city, and judging from a modern mud tower which guards the road at this point, it is possible that there once was a gate near by, or that the lion possibly guarded an entrance to the citadel at this spot. Concerning the age of the statue, we can only make

³ Died 951.

guesses, reckoning back from the time when Masudi spoke of it a thousand years ago. On the whole I agree with those who attribute a great antiquity to the sculpture, assigning it even to the times of the ancient Median Kingdom, when it may have anticipated the lion of the royal Persian emblem.'

The whole type of the beast is not Median but Alexandrine, and this lion may very well be an important memorial of Alexander himself. Prof. Jackson has no doubt that Hamadan is the ancient Ecbatana—'I have spoken of Alexander the Great in connection with Hamadan, and we know from history that he twice visited this ancient capital of Media, once when pursuing the vanquished Darius Codomannus, and afterwards when returning from Bactria and India. His name is still well known among the people as Iskandar, and various legends about him are preserved to the present



FIG. 4.—LION OF HAMADAN.
(The line *AB* is that of the present ground level.)

time.' The identification of Ecbatana is generally accepted, and I see in the Lion of Hamadan a memorial to be associated with Alexander himself. Fig. 4 gives a rough restoration.

There is a grace in the setting on of the head, and the curve of the back, as shown in the photograph, which mark out the sculpture as a fine Hellenistic work. The head closely resembles the heads of the lions of the Mausoleum, who are clearly related beasts. Apparently the eye sockets are empty. Prof. Jackson's description of 'the heavy waves of the mane, realistic in appearance,' agrees closely with Wolfe's phrase about the lion of Chaeronea—'the mane easy and flowing.' The pose must have been very like that of the Lion of Chaeronea, the 'life-like appearance, well marked chin and jaws partly open, the tail curving round the left flank,' and the

scale, are closely alike in both cases, and it may hardly be doubted that both were monuments of the same type and age. The pose is repeated in many other works.⁴ Later the lions of Donatello and Alfred Stevens descended from the same stock (probably through the Greek lion at Venice) and the latter would make a noble monument twenty or thirty feet high.

W. R. LETHABY.

⁴ Cf. the lion-statuettes in the British Museum (*Cat. of Sculpt.* No. 2127). On a late coin of Corinth a lion in a similar attitude appears which is supposed to represent a fountain, and it has been thought that the Venice lion may have been a fountain as the mouth is pierced. The monument of Lais, which is

also represented on a coin of Corinth, may also be mentioned (Imhoof-Blumer, *Numis. Comm.* Pl. E lxxiv). Mr. Arthur Smith informs me that there are remains of a lion monument at Amphipolis, which tradition associates with the monument of Brasidas.

LYCIAN AND PHRYGIAN NAMES.

ACCORDING to a theory which has been very commonly accepted by archaeologists in this country, the local names of Greece prove that a single language was once spoken there and in Asia Minor which was totally different from Greek, Thracian, Illyrian, or Phrygian. It was neither Aryan nor Semitic, and resembled that of the Lycian inscriptions. At a later date, whether before or after the arrival of the Greeks, certain Thracian and Illyrian elements were added, but they contributed little to the sum of geographical names.¹

This belief is founded on the occurrence in Greece of local terminations in $-\sigma\sigma-$ and especially in $-\nu\theta-$, which are considered to be foreign, and on their identification with the suffixes $-\sigma\sigma-$ and $-\nu\delta-$, which are well known in Lycia, as well as in other districts of Asia Minor, and are derived from the native Lycian language.² It is supported by the collection of a long list of geographical names from the islands and the mainland of Greece which are not recognisably of Greek origin, and show resemblances, so close and numerous that they can hardly be accidental, to names of places in Asia Minor.

The case as stated by Pauli, Kretschmer, and Fick has a very convincing appearance. But the facts on which it is based seem to be in general inconclusive and in part erroneous. In the case of $-\sigma\sigma-$, the doubling of the s, which is the most important point in common between the suffixes found in Greece and Asia Minor, is not present in the original Lycian.³ On the other hand, the same suffix occurs in several European countries: as in

¹ See especially Kretschmer, *Einleitung*, etc. (here cited as Kretschmer); Fick, *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen* (cited as Fick) and *Hattiden und Danubier*, etc.; and Pauli, *Altitalische Forschungen*, vol. ii. parts 1 and 2, *Eine Vorgriechische Inschrift*, etc. (cited as Pauli, ii. 1 or 2). Vol. iii. of the same work, *Die Veneter*, etc., is cited as Pauli, iii. Names from Asia Minor quoted without a reference will be found in the index to Sundwall, *Die einheimischen Namen der Lykier*, and from Thrace in Tomaschek, *Die alten Thraker*, ii. 2. Other geographical names without reference are to be found in Pauly-Wissowa.

² If Lycian were an Indo-European lan-

guage, related to the Phrygian, there would be no need to go to Asia Minor for the origin of any of these suffixes. The argument must proceed on the assumption that it is not. The differences are in fact, in my opinion, fundamental and irreconcilable. The resemblances hitherto verified are not beyond the range of coincidence. But Professor Kalinka's belief (*T.A.M.* i. p. 10) that it is a mixed language may prove to be correct. It is probable at least that the vocabulary has been deeply affected by one or more Indo-European languages, and the same may be the case with the grammar to some extent.

³ See below, p. 53.

Thrace, where it is common; ⁴ in Illyria, as Ὀργησσός; and the Illyrian region of Italy, as Τυλησσός. In the last instance, at least, the double *s* is native, as the Messapian inscriptions shew.⁵ In the case of *-νθ-* the Greek suffix is not identical with the Asianic, and if, as Kretschmer supposes,⁶ the Lycian *-νδ-* represents an earlier *nt*, no sufficient reason is given why the Greeks should have regularly altered this *nt*, which was a common suffix in their own tongue, into a *-νθ-* which was *ex hypothesi* foreign to it. But in Illyrian the actual suffix *-νθ-* is found in local names, and is formed in accordance with known laws of the language.⁷ It is also found not uncommonly in Thrace.⁸ Moreover, at least one of the Greek names in *-νθ-*, Mount Βερέκυνθος in Crete,⁹ is unquestionably derived from the Phrygian, a dialect which was closely connected with the Thracian on one side and the Illyrian on the other.¹⁰ The object of this article is not however to discuss the forms which appear in Greece, but the argument based on their resemblance to names found in Asia Minor.

The fact that the same stems occur in both countries is in itself of no value as evidence that a language of the Lycian type was ever spoken in Greece. For it is not disputed that Asia Minor was inhabited by two distinct races, one (allied to the Lycians) of native descent, the other (allied to the Phrygians) of European origin.¹¹ Unless the names quoted can be proved to belong to the older population, their evidence may tell indifferently on either side. But it is almost always extremely difficult, and very often quite

⁴ Kretschmer, p. 405, only mentions five instances, but he might have added at least ten more.

⁵ *S*, like other consonants, is doubled before *i*, which itself disappears, as *Arnisses* for **Arnisies*, etc.

⁶ P. 296. It is certain that *nd* is always written in Lycian with a *t*, and that the sound almost always arises out of a *t* preceded by a nasal. That *-νδ-* in this particular suffix so arose is not proved, but it is highly probable.

⁷ As in Cocynthus, Ἀρίνθη and Ἀριάνθη, in the Illyrian region of South Italy, which regularly represent names with the common Illyrian suffix *-ntia* (also *-ntium*, etc.). For in Messapian *t* before *i* turns to *θ*, and the *i* is usually dropped. The word *inθi* occurs in Messapian.

⁸ See Kretschmer, p. 402.

⁹ This name (Diodorus v. 64), which is omitted by Pauli and Kretschmer, is certainly connected with that of the Phrygian tribe of the Berecyntes. The existence of a Βερέκυνθιον ἕρος in Phrygia is denied in Pauly-Wissowa (s.v. Berecyntes), but without any assigned or discoverable reason.

¹⁰ See Conway, *B.S.A.* viii. p. 154, who himself has overlooked the name Βερέκυνθος,

which would have considerably helped his argument. His contention that the language of the Eteocretan inscriptions is Indo-European and allied to the Venetic-Illyrian is highly probable. It seems to me to have no kind of resemblance to Lycian. It will be seen that I accept his conclusions in general in respect of local names in Greece, though on grounds which are only partly the same as his.

¹¹ The question has not been simplified by the discovery, by American excavators, of Lydian inscriptions written in a language strikingly unlike either Lycian or Phrygian. The greater part of the proper names contained both in these and in the Greek inscriptions of the country seem to be Phrygian, and probably belong to the Maeonians, who preceded the Lydians. A few are akin to the Lycian, and may be assigned to a yet older population. The true Lydians seem to have been a race of comparatively late intruders, after the time of Homer. If so, the common worship, on which was based the belief in their blood-brotherhood with the Carians and Mysians, was taken over from the Maeonians as part of their title to the soil. See below, p. 72.

impossible, to decide to which stratum any particular local name belongs. The structure, in the case of towns, is generally the same in both languages. They are usually derived from a personal name followed by a suffix; and most of these suffixes are of an ordinary type, which is found in various countries.¹² Some of them are certainly common to the two groups. Even the *-νδ-*, which is rightly considered not to be Phrygian but distinctively Lycian, is sometimes attached to a Phrygian stem: as in *Βαγανδα*,¹³ a town in the Ormelian district, which is evidently derived from the Paphlagonian proper name *Βάγας*, and connected with the Phrygian Zeus *Βαγαῖος*.¹⁴ As for *-σσ-*, there are, as will be seen, stronger reasons for supposing it native to Phrygia than to Lycia.¹⁵ On the other hand, *-ειον*, *-εια*, as in *Γορδέειον*, *Νακόλεια*, etc. (as well as *-ιον* and *-αιον*, etc.), are peculiarly Phrygian,¹⁶ but *Μολύνδεια* is claimed (though I believe erroneously) as genuinely Lycian.¹⁷

The affinities of local names in Asia Minor cannot necessarily be inferred from their geographical position any more than from their structure. For though a comparison both of them, and of personal names, shews convincingly enough that a language allied to the Lycian was once spoken over the whole of the southern and western part of the peninsula, it does not prove that no other language was ever spoken there. On the contrary, there appear to be indications of subsequent occupation or penetration by Phrygians or kindred tribes in every country of Asia Minor west of the Halys, except in the small district of Lycia proper.¹⁸

The limits of the Lycian people and their language in the fourth century B.C., shortly before the hellenisation of the country, are proved by the area within which the native inscriptions are found. This coincides very exactly with the national frontiers as defined by Greek authors except towards the east, where the boundaries are rather vague. There can, however, be little doubt that Strabo is following an older authority in those passages in which

¹² In Lycia the commonest (after *-νδ-*, and *-σ-*, *-σσ-*) are *-δα*, *-λα*, *-ρα*, *-μα*, *-να*. These all have parallels in Phrygia, as in *Σύνναδα*, *Μάνταλος*, *Ἄγκυρα*, *Δίνδυμος*, *Μόσσυνα*. They are also to be found in Thrace and Illyria, and other European countries. By no means all such words are formed from proper names in the manner usual in Asia Minor, but there is no general test by which they can be distinguished from the Lycian.

¹³ Probably for *Βαγαντα*, with the Phrygian *-ντ-* as in *Ἰχαντα*, *Ριμελιαντά*, *Θιουντα*, *Πεσιουοντ-*, *Γορβεουντ-*. The Lycian, Cilician, and Pisidian change of *nt* to *nd* spread to the Greek dialect of Pamphylia (Kretschmer, p. 300), and may easily have affected the Greek or the original Phrygian forms in this mixed region (see Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics*, i. p. 286). *Κυλλανδιοι-Κυλλωντιοι* in Caria (Kretschmer, p. 301) may be explained in the same way.

¹⁴ See below, p. 62.

¹⁵ See p. 52.

¹⁶ Kretschmer, pp. 183 and 194. Mostly they represent *-Fιον*.

¹⁷ See below, p. 60, note 118.

¹⁸ It is necessary to observe that the name Lycia is used both by Kretschmer and Sundwall in a very wide sense, so as to include districts which were not Lycian until Roman or even Byzantine times. Therefore many names will be found in their works which appear to be exceptions to general statements made in this article. It is impossible in every case to enter into explanations, but on verifying the references it will, I believe, be found that such discrepancies are due to this difference of definition. A good many names are quoted in Sundwall's book from unpublished inscriptions simply as Lycian without mention of the place of discovery. Such names are quite as likely as not to come from places outside Lycia in the sense in which the word is here used.

he describes the Chelidonian islands as the beginning of Pamphylia.¹⁹ Beyond this point no Lycian inscriptions or tombs are found, and the name of Olympus cannot be Lycian.²⁰ Westward of this frontier, Lycia runs in a narrow semi-circular strip, only from twelve to twenty miles wide, between the sea and the mountains which bound the tablelands of inner Asia Minor. The high uplands thus surrounded belonged to Milyas, which was ethnically as well as geographically an extension of the Phrygian plateau, and was only politically united to Lycia by the Persian government.²¹ It included Nisa (Ptolemy v. 3), and even Arycanda (Pliny v. 27), on the south side of the main chain. Here again archaeological evidence confirms that of the geographers, and leads to the further conclusion that Acalissus, Idebessus, and Cormus lay outside the boundaries of Lycia when it was a distinct native state. Even of the Xanthus valley only the lower part was included, from the point where the river breaks through the mountains about eighteen miles from the nearest coast. North of this lay Cabalia, which had no connexion with Lycia until Roman times.²² On the west, the Carian frontier lay only a few miles beyond Telmessus.²³

Within the district thus defined the Lycian language is known to have been directly superseded by Greek without any considerable change of population. Therefore, though Greek and afterwards Latin names were commonly adopted, a large proportion of native names survived. These were sometimes completely and occasionally imperfectly hellenised, but in general they were transliterated as faithfully as the Greek alphabet allowed.²⁴ For

¹⁹ Strabo, p. 520 (probably from Eratosthenes), and p. 651. See Kalinka's remarks, *Jahreshefte*, viii. Beiblatt, p. 42.

²⁰ In Lycian $\mu\pi$ always turns to $\mu\beta$. Kretschmer (p. 301) takes the word (rightly in my opinion) to be Phrygian.

²¹ Thracum suboles Milyae (Pliny, v. 27) means no doubt that they were Phrygians: Hecataeus called them *ἔθνος Φρυγίας*, *fr.* 206. The words of Arrian about Milyas, *ἡ ἔστι μὲν τῆς μεγάλης Φρυγίας, ξυνετέλει δὲ ἐς τὴν Λυκίαν τότε οὕτως ἐκ βασιλέως μεγάλου τεταγμένον*, i. 24, mean that it was geographically and probably racially part of Phrygia, not that in his own day it was administratively joined to it instead of Lycia, for that was not the case. Alexander entered Milyas from the Xanthus valley, no doubt over the main pass north of Ak Dagh, and went on to Phaselis. This confirms Ptolemy's account of the Lycian part of Milyas (v. 3), which Sir W. Ramsay unnecessarily doubts (*Cities and Bishoprics*, i. 317). The country extended also far to the north (*ibid.*), and included the country of the Ὀρμηλείς (*ibid.* p. 280), but it was all counted as part of Phrygia in the time of Alexander, who is described as leaving Pisidia and entering Phrygia near the Ascanian (*i.e.* the Phrygian) lake, (Arrian, i. 29). The country of

the Ὀρμηλείς, which was certainly in Milyas, is proved to be Phrygian by the proper names found there (see p. 69), and is probably the Cillanian plain of which the population was a mixture of Phrygian with a certain amount of Pisidian, Strabo, p. 629. See Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics*, i. p. 278.

²² The Cabalian towns of Bubon, Balbura, and Oenoanda were only taken from Cibyra, and added to Lycia by Murena about B.C. 81. Four languages were spoken in the district (Strabo, p. 631) but Lycian was not one. In philological discussions Cabalian names should not be quoted as Lycian, as is commonly done.

²³ *J.H.S.* xv. p. 95.

²⁴ This is less true of local than of personal names, which, no doubt, were put into Greek letters originally by the bearers of them, in most cases. Names of places on the contrary were adapted, not by Lycians, but by Greeks before the hellenization of the country. In many instances this is known to have been the case, and it was probably so in all. For the proximity of every part to the sea and the nearness of Greek colonies, especially Megiste on its very shore, made the whole country familiar to the Greeks at an early date.

this reason they remained subject to most of the strict and peculiar phonetic laws which were characteristic of the native speech. It will be shewn that all certain exceptions to these transmitted rules are probably and almost all unquestionably either hellenised or borrowed from some other region.²⁵

In all the other countries of the peninsula in which names of the Lycian type are found, the proportion of exceptions is much higher. Dialectic difference may, as far as the vowels are concerned, possibly account for some of these divergent forms. But, in respect of the consonants at least, they may, so far as they really belong to Asia Minor, be apparently divided into two classes. Some of them are purely Phrygian. Others are originally Lycian, but have undergone changes which are not in accordance with the laws of the Lycian but of the Phrygian language.

Of vowels Lycian possessed *a*, *ā* (generally written as *e*),²⁶ *i*, and *u*.²⁷ Phrygian had all the Indo-European vowels, and in this respect Lydian agreed with it. The same may safely be said of Carian also.²⁸ In the other provinces no inscriptions in a native alphabet are preserved, and the evidence is therefore insufficient.

The subject of the long vowels *ē* and *ō* in Asia Minor is rather obscure. It seems certain that Lycian had no equivalent for *η*. In two of the three cases where a Greek word containing *η* is rendered into the native alphabet it is represented by *a*, and in the third by *ā*.²⁹ Moreover, *η* is not used in Greek transliterations of Lycian names except in three ways.³⁰ It may stand for *ew*, as in *Σηο* for *ssewa* in a bilingual inscription.³¹ It is not uncommonly used as an equivalent for the native *ē* before *m* and *n*, as in *-νηνις* for *nēni*. In both these cases the lengthening is in compensation, and originates in the Greek transcription. The third case is when *e* is lengthened before a double *s*. But it seems almost certain that this is not native. For among personal names, which give the most reliable evidence,³² there is no certain and only one possible instance.³³ Among local names in Lycia proper,³⁴ there are

²⁵ Names were borrowed from Greek, Persian, and Phrygian before the Greek period, as *pericle*, *artuūnpara*, *mida*. Some were so entirely naturalised as to form part of native compounds, as the Phrygian *Κωκος* (Kretschmer, p. 188) and *Koras* (Tomaschek, ii. 2, p. 50) in *epū-kuka* and *Ερμα-κoras*. But these were subject to the phonetic laws of the native language.

²⁶ In this respect I shall follow the practice of *Tituli Asiae Minoris* in employing *e*, which though less accurate is more convenient.

²⁷ It had also the nasalised vowels *ā* and *ē* (which appear in Lydian likewise), and the sonant liquids *m̃* and *ñ*. These are not found in Phrygian, nor so far as is known in Carian, where the *m* is apparently syllabic with a suppressed vowel, not itself a vowel.

²⁸ Though the Carian alphabet is very obscure, the great number of different vowels would almost be enough to prove that *o* and *u* were distinguished.

²⁹ *Jahreshefte*, ii. p. 55.

³⁰ Apparent exceptions are *Κτησκειτος* (*J.H.S.* xv. p. 112) and *Σαρητιος*. The first however, is hellenised so as to resemble the Greek names beginning with *Κτησ-*. The second has a termination *-ητιος* which is quite alien to Lycia, and markedly Indo-European: it is therefore probably a foreign name.

³¹ The *η* in *Δαρηος* is due to the same cause. *Κενδηβις* (Sundwall, p. 92), in an unpublished inscription, may not be from Lycia proper, as the place of origin is not mentioned (see note 18). But in any case it probably stands for *Κενδεφεβις*, from *Κενδεας* (for *ΚενδεFas*) or *Κενδεος*, found in Pisidia, Pamphylia and Cilicia.

³² See p. 48, note 24.

³³ *Σμενδησις* may perhaps be for **Σμενδεσις*. But it is at least equally probable that it stands for **ΣμενδεFesis*.

³⁴ *Ιδεβησοδός* does not apparently properly belong to Lycia (see p. 48).

only three,³⁵ and two of these come from literary sources, which on this point are not reliable.³⁶ The only example attested by the evidence of inscriptions or coins is that of Τελμησσός, or Τελμησός, and here the forms are variable, since Τελμισσός is not uncommon, and Τελεμισσός is also found. The last comes nearest to the original *Telebehi* for **Telebēsi*. The name was known to the Greeks before the hellenisation of the country, and the transliteration is due to them, not to the Lycians, a fact which accounts for its want of exactness. It is most probable that they simply assimilated it to that of the far more famous Τελμησσός in Caria,³⁷ where both the lengthening of the vowel and the doubling of the consonant seem to be regular. It appears certain, at any rate, that in Lycia the long *e* in the suffix -ησσός, as in other cases, is not native, but is due to the Greek transcription. Indeed, since the doubling of the *s* is not found in the Lycian, there can be no reason for the lengthening of the vowel.

The Lycian language had no equivalent for *ω*. The vowel *u*, which was the sound nearest to the Greek *ο*, was apparently always short. It is always rendered by *ο* or *υ* in proper names, never by *ου* except in one instance.³⁸ Otherwise, in all Lycian names written in Greek letters, *ου* represents an original *uw*, not *u*.³⁹ The Greek *ω* was evidently impossible to reproduce in Lycian, since Ἀπολλωνίδης is rendered by *pulenida*, Πιξώδαρος by *pikedere*, and Ἰωνικός by *ijānis*. Moreover, in Greek transliterations of native names *ω* is almost entirely absent, and, in the two certain instances where it is native, it represents *uwa* and *awa*.⁴⁰ It never stands for a naturally long vowel, nor, except possibly in one doubtful instance,⁴¹ for the lengthening of a vowel before a double consonant. The same rule holds good in Cilicia Tracheia, with few possible exceptions.

Proper names in -ων and local names in -ων and -ωνη are, as might be expected, foreign to Lycia. They are either Phrygian, as Βαλλίων (p. 56), or hellenised, as Ὀπλων, Στομῶν, Καλιβρύων.⁴² An apparent exception is Κονδιων, but this occurs at Idebessus, which does not seem to have been

³⁵ Τελμησσός, Καρμυλησσός (only in Strabo, p. 665) and Ἀρτύμνησος (only in Stephanus Byzantinus). Καθησσός in Lycia is a misquotation; the form cited from Hellanicus is Καβασσός (St. Byz. s.v.). The name occurs in connexion with Homeric commentary, which makes it rather suspicious, Σαρδησσός (St. Byz.) 'near Lyrnessus' must even if the text is correct have been in Pamphylia.

³⁶ For instance, Stephanus gives Ἀκαλησσός, though the correct form is certainly Ἀκαλισσός. There is great uncertainty among Greek authors in general about these terminations, both in respect of the vowel, and the doubling of the *σ*.

³⁷ Herodotus, i. 78, 84.

³⁸ Κονδαλι (gen.) though ungrammatical seems certain (*Reisen*, ii. 7). Σούρα is for the Lycian *sure*, but the transliteration of local

names is not always exact (see p. 48, note 24).

³⁹ An apparent exception, Ουλλίας, (compared with the Cilician Ολλίαι, Sundwall, p. 227) is not so in reality, as the man or his father is described as Κα[σ]αρεύς (*Reisen*, ii. 107), probably from Cappadocia. There was no Caesarea in Lycia.

⁴⁰ Παμαρας (C.I.G. 4303e) for **uwamara* and Τλω̄ς for *uwa*.

⁴¹ If Ωσσεον (gen., C.I.G. 4300d) is connected with the Carian *Οσσεας*, it is probably a Carian name. There is no certain instance of a Lycian name in -*εας*, or -*εος*. But *ω* may represent *uwa*, a common element in proper names. Κοδρωνάς (quoted by Sundwall) should represent Κοδρ-οανάς (**uwana*), unless it is meant for a Latin Quadronius, like Κοδρῶτος for Quadratus.

⁴² For Καλλι- as often in inscriptions.

a Lycian town in the exact sense (see p. 48).⁴³ In Cilicia Tracheia the very rare names in *-ων*, when they are not Greek, appear to be Phrygian.⁴⁴ In Phrygia itself the termination is common, as in *Κυρων*, *Κρυσιων* (Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics*, i. 142), *Δραυκων*, *Βιρων*, *Δαρων* (*ibid.* 314), etc., etc. As *ω* generally turned into *ου* (Kretschmer, p. 224), *-ων* may represent a native *-ουν*, as in the Isaurian *Μαθουν*. So the local names *Κασωνια*, *Μικκωνια*, and *Τωτωνια* appear side by side with *Αλγουνια*.⁴⁵ Proper names in *-ων* are not uncommon in Caria, but a good many are hellenised. Of the remainder, at least half seem certainly to be Phrygian,⁴⁶ and it is very doubtful if any have any connexion with Lycian words.

In the matter of long vowels, Lycian names contrast most strikingly with the Carian, in which they are remarkably common.⁴⁷ The chief cause is the rule by which *ε* and *ο* are lengthened before certain consonants when they are either doubled or followed by another consonant. Before liquids this lengthening is common, especially in the case of *ο* before *-λλ-* and *-λδ-*.⁴⁸ It also takes place before *σ*. This is shown by a comparison of the local name *Θυησσός* with *Θυεσσός* in Lydia, and of the ethnics *Λωσσευς* and *Λοσσευς* which indicate an intermediate **Λοσσευς*. Before *-στ-* it is found in *Κωστοβαλον*, as compared with *Κοστωλλιος*. Altogether it occurs before *σ* in nearly twenty names, personal as well as local. Clear instances of lengthening before other consonants are not found, but it probably takes place in the case of gutturals in the proper name *Πελδηκος*, possibly for *Πελδεκκος*, as compared with Artemis *Πελδεκειτις*, in *Κωκος* (which is also Phrygian), as compared with the Pisidian *Κοκκαλος*, and in the name of the Carian Zeus *Σπάλωξος* or *Σπάλαξος*, from which an intermediate **Σπάλοξος* might be inferred.

Examples of a similar lengthening are found in Lydia in the local names *Κορησσός*, *Καστωλλός*, etc. But these appear to have been inherited from their predecessors the Maeonians, one of whose chiefs is described in the *Iliad* as the son of *Βώρος*.⁴⁹ This is certainly connected with the Phrygian *Βορας*⁵⁰ and *Βορισκος*,⁵¹ the Thracian *Burus* (*Βουρος*), and the Illyrian *Borius*, *Burius*, *Burrus*, etc.⁵² If so, it should represent **Βόρρος*. Since the Maeonians are generally supposed to have been of Phrygian race, and the Phrygian origin of this name is evident, the question arises whether the lengthening of the vowel of which it is an example originates in the Phrygian language. Instances are certainly to be found there, and it is significant that parallel cases appear in Europe in

⁴³ *Δήμαρχος Τάρωνος Λύκιος*, Dittenberger *Syll.* 2 183 (inscr. found at Samos), may also have been Lycian in the wider sense only.

⁴⁴ *Κομιων* (Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics*, i. 337), *Μαριων* (*Studies in History*, etc., p. 326) are Phrygian; *Νορωνων* is Isaurian, and probably Phrygian in origin; *Μάρων* is Thracian.

⁴⁵ Ramsay, *Studies*, pp. 363, 365, and 371.

⁴⁶ *Βατων*, *Βοσθων*, *Βοτων*, *Βωλιων*, probably *Βαβιων*, see below p. 60. Also *Κοτυλων*

(Phrygian and Thracian *Κόνυς*, Tomaschek, ii. 2, p. 50), *Μαριων* (see the last note), *Μινυιων* (Bithynian *Μινας*, Tomaschek, *op. cit.* p. 24).

⁴⁷ Kretschmer, p. 364.

⁴⁸ Kretschmer, p. 364.

⁴⁹ *Iliad*, v. 44.

⁵⁰ Ramsay, *Studies*, etc., p. 322.

⁵¹ Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics*, i. p. 288.

⁵² See index to *C.I.L.* iii.

the districts from which the Phrygians migrated to Asia, in Paeonia, Mygdonia, and Macedonia.

For instance, the Carian proper name *Βωλιων* is no doubt connected with the ethnic *Βόλλι-εως* and the Lydian *Βολεας*. But it is derived from the Phrygian *Βωλας*, which itself is identical with the Illyrian **Bolles* and *Bulus*, and the Paeonian **Βυλας* in *Βυλα-ζωρα*.⁵³ Here the lengthening of *ο* before a doubled liquid is evidently Phrygian. So also the Phrygian town of *Νωνουλα* derives its name from *Νωννος*, *Νουννος*, etc. The native Phrygian *Ηλιος*,⁵⁴ connected with the *Ηλις* of inscriptions written in Greek, cannot easily be separated from the *Ελας* and *Ελιας* found in Isauria and Pisidia: it implies a form **Ελλιος*. Local names in *-ησσοσ*, *-ησος*, and *-ωσσοσ* are not uncommon in Phrygia and the Troad, of which the population in historic times was Phrygian,⁵⁵ but they are claimed as survivals from an older race. This explanation is improbable in the case of *Πειρωσσοός*, at least. For, as this does not appear in the Homeric enumeration of places in the Troad, there is a certain presumption that the name is of later origin, and it is obviously derived from that of the Thracian chief *Πείροσ*,⁵⁶ and connected with that of the Illyrian tribe of *Πειροῦσται*. Among proper names *Μανησσοσ*, from which the Phrygian town of *Μανήσιον* is probably derived in the regular way (p. 47) though found in Pisidia, is certainly Phrygian (Kretschmer, p. 200). Lengthening before a double guttural probably occurs, as has been already stated (p. 51) in *Κωκος* for **Κοκκος*, a genuine Phrygian name which is also found in the European Dardania and Illyria.⁵⁷ Before a double dental it takes place in the local name *Τωτωνια*, undoubtedly derived from *Τοττης*, *Τουτης*, etc.

Examples of a similar lengthening among the kindred European tribes are found before liquids in *Πωλα*, from Paeonia,⁵⁸ compared with the Odontian (Paeonian)⁵⁹ *Πόλλης* (Thucyd. v. 6), and the Dacian *Ρώλης* compared with *Ρολλι-γεραί* (Tomasek, ii. 2, 29). The probably Paeonian *Ὀρησκιοι*, *Ὀρρησκιοι*, or *Ὀρρεσκιοι* may afford another instance of this, as well as of lengthening before *σ* followed by another consonant. The *η* in the neighbouring towns of *Γάρησκος* and *Δράβησκος* no doubt arises in the same way. There is no good reason to doubt the Thracian origin of the local names *Ὀδησσοός*, *Ἀγησσοός*, and *Σαλμυδησσοός*.⁶⁰ The name of the Bisaltian king *Μωσσης* or *Μοσσης*⁶¹ is another example. The Thracian *Κωτυς* and *Κοτυς* for *Κότυς* shew a lengthening before a double dental.

This very imperfect list of examples from the allied European dialects is sufficient to make it appear highly improbable that the lengthening of vowels before a double consonant arose among the Phrygians after their

⁵³ See p. 59.

⁵⁴ Calder, *J.H.S.* xxxi. pp. 188, 190.

⁵⁵ Kretschmer, pp. 186, 188.

⁵⁶ *Iliad*, ii. 844.

⁵⁷ Dardanian *Cocaius* (Naissus), *Jahreshefte*, iii. Beiblatt 131; Dalmatian *Cocus*, Pauli, iii. p. 365.

⁵⁸ *Jahreshefte*, vi. Beiblatt, p. 3.

⁵⁹ Herodotus, v. 16. The tribes round Mount Pangaeum (of whom the Oreacii were probably one) were Paeonian.

⁶⁰ Kretschmer, p. 405.

⁶¹ Only known from coins.

migration to Asia. If, as seems likely, it was native to their language, it does not necessarily follow that the Carians, who in this respect agreed with them and differed from the Lycians, either spoke their tongue or learnt the usage from them. But the fact becomes important as part of a cumulative argument if the native names found in these countries respectively shew a similar agreement and a similar difference with regard to other phonetic peculiarities.

In a previous paper,⁶² I have shewn that Τελησσοός, Τυμνισσοός (therefore presumably also Ἄρτυμνησσοός), and probably Τυβερισσοός (or -σσοός), all ended in *-ehi*, for an earlier *-esi*: the same may by analogy be safely assumed about Καρμυλλησσοός. These are the only authentic local names in *-σσοος* (*σος*) found in Lycia proper.

There is nothing at all in the original Lycian corresponding to the double *σ*. For though *-σσ-* is sometimes found in other words, in every case it represents an original *-z-*, not *-s-*.⁶³ But *z* had the sound of *sh*,⁶⁴ and in these instances *σσ* is merely an attempt to express in the Greek alphabet a sound for which it had no equivalent letter. In the case of *s* no such reason existed, and though the *-s-* suffix is remarkably common in personal names, the doubling never took place among them, but is confined to the local names just mentioned. It seems therefore that the *-σσ-* is entirely due to the Greek transcription. The most probable explanation of it is that the early colonists on the mainland of Asia settled among Carians and Maeonians with whom the *ss* was native and very common. It thus became so familiar to them that they sometimes introduced it by analogy into names which were not entitled to it. That the *-σσ-* in Caria was a double letter, not a *sh* as in Lycia, seems proved by the lengthening of the vowels which took place before it in the same way as before other double consonants.

In Greek renderings of Lycian words, *-μμ-* and *-νν-* represent an original *-ñm-* and *-ñn-*, where a nasal is preceded by a sonant nasal. It does not seem that *l* could be doubled between vowels except in crases and contractions, for otherwise *ll* only appears in the late bilingual inscription *T.A.M.* 6, which was evidently engraved by a Greek.⁶⁵ It is therefore doubtful if any of the few names in the later Greek inscriptions which contain *-λλ-* are really native.⁶⁶ In the other countries of Asia Minor, intervocalic *-ll-* is often found. It is rather common both in Caria and in Phrygia.

⁶² *J.H.S.* xxxv. pp. 102, 103.

⁶³ The proper name *Ουασσοος* is certainly for **uwaza* as in *αρ-uwaza*, and *Ερμαδεσσα* for **erñmedeze* as in *hana-daza*. *Οσσυβας* is probably for **uzube*, as in *uz-eh[ī]ēmi*; compare the Carian *Παν-αβλημης*. *Ωσσεας* is probably foreign, see p. 50, note 41. Other cases are outside the boundaries of Lycia.

⁶⁴ See *Jahreshefte*, ii. p. 68. It corresponds to a Persian *sh* and to an Aramaic *shin*.

⁶⁵ In the name *mullijeshēh* (gen.) = *Μολλισσιος*. The engraver has twice written a Greek *ι* by mistake for a Lycian *ι*.

⁶⁶ *Λαλλα* is not uncommon, but may like some other names be borrowed from Phrygia (*Λαλα* from Galatia, *C.I.G.* 4123, also Thracian, Kretschmer, p. 352). *Βαλλιω* is certainly Phrygian (p. 56). *Μανσωλλος* is Carian. *Σολλασσοος* and the Isaurian-Cilician *Σουλλας* are probably Phrygian (compare Thracian *Sola* and *Sulu*; Illyrian **solas*, Messapia, *Soleia*, Venetia, Pauli, iii. p. 358, *Solia*, Noricum, *ibid.* p. 376). *Μολλισσιος*, mentioned above, is also Phrygian in origin; compare *Μολυξ* from the Phrygian region of the Ὀρμηλεις (Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics*, i.

If there is an uncertainty about *-ll-*, there is none about *-rr-*, which is entirely foreign both to the native Lycian, and to the Greek versions of Lycian, names. But examples are found in Phrygia, and in all the countries of southern and western Asia Minor, including Cilicia, where it is not uncommon. The doubling of *r*, as well as *l*, is found both in Thrace and in Illyria.

In Lycian neither gutturals nor labials are ever doubled between vowels, and the rule is observed in Greek transcriptions. In the case of gutturals the only exception is *Ακκα*, which is a Phrygian name, evidently borrowed.⁶⁷ In Phrygia *-κκ-* is not uncommon, and is found in the late native inscriptions.⁶⁸ It occurs also in Lycaonian and Isaurian names which are certainly of Phrygian origin, as *Μικκος* (compare the town of *Μικκωνια* in Phrygian Pisidia, and the Illyrian proper name *Μικου*, *C.I.L.* iii. 4459), *Δουκκου* (compare the Messapian **Dokies*); also in Pisidia, as *Κικκος* (compare the Venetic *Cicca*, Pauli, iii. 359), *Κοκκαλος* (compare the Illyrian *Cocus*, *ibid.* p. 365; *Cocceius*, *ibid.* p. 371, etc.), and in Milyas, as *Ποκκεις* (*J.H.S.* xv. p. 121; compare the Illyrian *Pocca*, Pauli, *op. cit.* p. 377, and *Poccia*, p. 360).

The doubling of a labial is only found in Lycia in *Πάππος*, *Πάππων*, and *Παππίων*,⁶⁹ and in *Ἀππίων* and *Ἀππαδης*. Each of these occurs once only, and they are, I believe, certainly either Greek or borrowed from Phrygia. For except the names mentioned and *Πάπου* (genitive probably of *Πάπος*, Kretschmer, p. 345), which is once met with, the whole class of names formed from *Παπ-* is absent in Lycia. *Παπας*, *Παππας*, *Παπιας*, and *Παππιας*, which are so extraordinarily common in Phrygia and Lycaonia, are here not to be found. Such names are also uncommon in Cilicia and southern Pisidia. But they occur in the northern parts of Phrygia as well as the southern, and are evidently connected with the Bithynian *Ζεὺς Πάπας* or *Παππῶος*, who is admittedly a European god.⁷⁰ They are likewise found in Thrace.⁷¹ Similarly names formed from *Απ-* are rare in Lycia, for besides the two mentioned we only find *Ἀφφιων* twice, *Ἀφφιων* once, and *Ἀφφαρους* once. But these forms are entirely foreign to Lycia, for the letter *φ* is not found in any other word. In fact, *Απφ-* and *Αφφ-* are especially characteristic

p. 314), the Macedonian *Μόλυκος* (Hoffmann, *Die Makedonen*, p. 211) and *Μόλων* (*ibid.* p. 228), also found in Caria, *C.I.G.* 2748. Compare the Illyrian *Mollico*, Pauli, iii. p. 362, and the Venetic **molos*, *molo*, *Mollo*, *Mollonius*, etc., *ibid.* p. 328. In Lycia proper, the only other related name is *mula*, *Μολας*, in an inscription in which Carian names are mixed with Lycian (*T.A.M.* 32). *Μολης*, *Μολεις*, etc., quoted as Lycian are really Cabalian, Milyan, Pamphylian, and Pisidian. The reading *Ξελλας* (*Reisen*, ii. 156) is uncertain: *Ξεδδης* is perhaps more probable. *Ξιλλης* and *Ξιλλ[ε]ας* are also quoted in Sundwall's work. The last, at least, if rightly restored is foreign to Lycia, in which the ending *-εας* does not

occur in native names, see note 41.

⁶⁷ *E.g.* *J.H.S.* xxxi. p. 182, in an inscription partly written in Phrygian; cf. Kretschmer, p. 351.

⁶⁸ As in *J.H.S.* xxxi. p. 181.

⁶⁹ *Πάππος* occurs also once at Olympus. Otherwise the form does not belong to Asia Minor, but is simply a not uncommon Greek name. As such only it was introduced into Lycia; *Πάπος* is a variant. The derivatives *Πάππων* and *Παππίων* are Greek in form, and foreign to Asia Minor, especially to Lycia, where names in *-ων* cannot be native; see p. 50.

⁷⁰ Kretschmer, pp. 199 and 241.

⁷¹ Kretschmer, p. 345.

of Bithynia, as well as Phrygia (compare Kretschmer, pp. 346 and 347, with p. 223),⁷² but seem to be absent in Cilicia and southern Pisidia, and all names of this class are rare on the southern side of Mount Taurus.

In Greek transcriptions of Phrygian words ζ is often found. It arises in two ways, from a guttural and from a *d*.⁷³ In Lycian the sound is not native, for the letter which is transcribed by *z* corresponds to σ not ζ in Greek. *Ζερμουνδισ* is the only certain example of a name containing ζ, and this is probably Milyan, as it is found at Arycanda as well as once at Myra. *Ζερμ-* here represents a native Lycian *Δερμ-* as in *Ουι-δερμα* and *Σεμρι-δαρμα*, but has undergone the same Phrygian change as *Ζαρμος*, which occurs in Phrygia itself (*C.I.G.* 4061). The Cilician *Ια-ζαρμας*, *Ρω-ζαρμας*, and *Τροκο-ζαρμας* are also examples of the alteration of δ to ζ which appears in several other names from the same province. It may be taken as evidence of the Phrygian influence of which other traces are found.

It has long been observed that no Lycian word begins with *b*, and the rule holds good of native names, both personal and local, written in Greek letters. There is only one apparent exception in an inscription at Limyra, which reads, according to Loew's copy, *Βισιναρις Αβασος Ιυμνις κατεσκευ[ασ]ε τὸ μνημα ἐαυτῆ, κ.τ.λ.*⁷⁴ The second and third words are meaningless as they stand, and, assuming the first to be correct, we must certainly read *Βισιναρις Αβασ[ι]ος [Τ]υμνις*.⁷⁵ The woman was therefore a foreigner from *Τύμνος* in Caria,⁷⁶ and this is one of the exceptions which prove the rule. All other instances are evidently foreign, and most of them are not really found in Lycia at all.

Βειθυς (*Reisen*, ii. 83) is a very common name in Thrace,⁷⁷ but is also Phrygian (*C.I.G.* 3837, addenda). From Phrygia it passed into Lycia and into Cilicia (*Βιθυς*, *J.H.S.* xii. 27, 26). *Βιτος* at Pergamum has the same

⁷² It seems to me certain, however, that the forms in *Αφ-* from which *Αφφ-* and *Αφ-* are formed, are hellenised on the model of the Greek *ἀφῶς*. *Ἀφάριον*, *Ναννάριον*, and *Τατάριον* seem to be Greek in form, as *Μαμμάριον* certainly is (Kretschmer, p. 339), and with these must be classed *Ἀπφαρούς*, *Ἀμμαρούς* and *Ταταρούς*, with the common late Greek feminine suffix *-οὐς*. Except in obviously hellenised or Latin or Persian names, φ is generally of the rarest occurrence in Asia Minor. Neither in words allied to the Lycian nor the Phrygian does it seem to be native. Its extreme frequency in this one class of names at a late date can hardly be explained except as the result of Greek influence. Of the two other names beginning with *Ἀππ-*, already mentioned, *Ἀππιών* seems foreign to Asia Minor.

⁷³ Kretschmer, pp. 230 and 196.

⁷⁴ *C.I.G.* iii. addenda 4315d. That Loew was not infallible as a copyist may be seen on

the same page, by comparing 4315 and 4315b with *T.A.M.* i. 139 and 152.

⁷⁵ It is not improbable that the first word should also be corrected to **Πισιναρις* on the analogy of *Πισινδηλις* etc. But I do not think that the initial *B* can actually represent a native initial *p* as Sundwall suggests (p. 181). No instance of such a transliteration appears to be well established, except the change of an initial *pd*, unpronounceable in Greek, to *Bδ* in the Pisidian *Βδενασις*, which is not analogous. The change of *mp* to *mb* took place within the Lycian language. On the contrary a native *b* was often altered into a Greek π; see below, p. 62, note 132.

⁷⁶ St. Byz. *s.v.* He gives the ethnic as *Τύμνιος*, but the typical Carian and Lyeian ethnic was *-εύς* (ibid. *s.vv.* *Ξύλος*, *Ἀγάθη*, etc.), which commonly has the feminine in *-ις*.

⁷⁷ Also from Upper Moesia (Dardanian and Mysian), *Jahreshefte*, iv. Beiblatt, p. 85, 86.

form as *Bitus*, which is found among the Paeonian *Dentheletae*. The feminine *Βιττω* is Carian.⁷⁸

Βρησαις, at Olympus, which is not properly to be counted as a Lycian town, is Greek, the feminine of *Βρησεύς*,⁷⁹ a well-known epithet of Dionysus, which properly belongs to Lesbos.⁸⁰ *Βιλλος* does not occur in Lycia but at *Celenderis* in Cilicia,⁸¹ and *Βατάκης* is a Phrygian name from *Cabalia*.⁸² *Βαλλιων*,⁸³ which is quoted as Lycian, is certainly of Phrygian origin,⁸⁴ connected with *Βαλήν* or *Βαλλήν*, *king*, from an Indo-European root meaning 'power.'⁸⁵ The Isaurian feminine *Βαλαθθις* is formed according to Phrygian rules from *Βαλατ-*, and recalls the numerous Illyrian names in *-atus* and *-atius*, as well as the Messapian-Illyrian *Baleties* (genitive *Baletihi*).⁸⁶ Names in *-ατος* are also Phrygian.⁸⁷ The stem appears in the Isaurian *Βαλιος*, the Pamphylian *Βαλος*, and the Lycaonian *Βαλαβιος*. From the last is formed the Lycaonian *Βαλβιοας* (feminine *Βαλβιοα*), for *Βαλαβιοφας*, which has no resemblance to any native personal name in Asia Minor but shews an evident connexion with that of the Phrygian district *Βάλβαδον* and the Cabalian (not Lycian) town of *Βάλβουρα*.

This, like most local names, is no doubt formed from a personal name (*Βαλβος*, probably for *Βαλαβος*). The ending is not to be classed with the *-ρα* of the Lycian *Λίμυρα*, but with the *-ουρα* of the Phrygian *Κάρουρα*, which is also found in *Γαρσάουρα* in Lycaonia,⁸⁸ *Γαζιουρα* in Pontus, *Κόλουρα* in Ionia, *Τοβαλμουρα* and *Αλμουρα*⁸⁹ in Lydia, and possibly *Μάσουρα* in Pamphylia. It appears also in the Dardanian (Illyrian) *Βρίττουρα*, and with a slight change in the Thracian *Βέλλουρος*; and in two places *Βόλουρος*, one in Epirus, the other a town of the *Tralles* in Illyria. It is very probable that *-ουρα* in *Βρίττουρα* represents the *-ουρα* in *Ολεουρα*, also in Upper Moesia, and corresponds to the Greek *Φόρος*, a word which was certainly represented in closely allied languages. It appears in the Phrygian *ορου*, *ἄνω* (Kretschmer, p. 235), and in the names of the Epirotic *Ὀρέσται*,

⁷⁸ Kretschmer, p. 318.

⁷⁹ See Boeckh's note on *C.I.G.* 2042.

⁸⁰ Cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v.* The Carian *Βρησιων* is similarly derived. Names beginning with *Βρ-* akin to Lycian are hellenised forms of originals in *Μr-*, just as *Μλαυδος* was changed by the Greeks to *Βλαυδος*. Thus the Carian *Βράσσις* corresponds to a Lycian *mrw[asi]* (to be so read in *T.A.M.* i. 55, 4), compare *mē-mrwvi*: as the Cilician *Βλενδιος* is for *mē-tije* (like *mizre-tije*, compare *mē-tederi*). There is no question in such cases of any exchange of consonants in the native languages, but only of the substitution of a possible for an impossible combination in the Greek transcription. Names in *Βρ-* and *Βλ-* may therefore be left out of consideration.

⁸¹ See below, p. 62.

⁸² See below, p. 59.

⁸³ Sundwall, p. 283. As the locality is not mentioned, it may not be Lycian in the exact

sense.

⁸⁴ *Βαλας* is found at Thessalonica, in the native land of the Phrygian Mygdonians.

⁸⁵ Kretschmer, p. 242¹; Tomaschek, ii. 2, pp. 11, 12. The Dardanian *Βαλλανστορα* may be for *Βαλλαν-στορα*, 'stronghold of the king,' see Tomaschek, ii. 2, p. 81. The root appears also in the name of the Dacian king *Δεκέβαλος* (cf. Dacian *Balius*, *C.I.L.* iii. 1629, 3) and the Illyrian king *Βαλλαίος*: probably also in the Bithynian Zeus *Βάλης*, and perhaps in the Thracian *Βαλιός* (Dionysus).

⁸⁶ Possibly the Lydian *Βελετρος* is from the same stem; see *American Journal of Archaeology*, xvi. p. 28.

⁸⁷ Kretschmer, p. 202.

⁸⁸ Also *Γαρσαυρα*, which makes it probable that *Ἰσαυρα* represents *Ισαουρα*.

⁸⁹ The root *Alm-* is Illyrian and Paeonian; see *Am. Journal of Archaeology*, xvi. p. 51.

the mountaineers, and of the probably Paeonian *Ορρησκιοι* or *Ωρησκιοι*, a tribe of Mount Pangaeum. It is also very probable that the *-ωρος*, so remarkably common in all districts which were or had been Paeonian,⁹⁰ is connected with *Φόρος*, and means a fortified height or burgh. It was carried by Phrygian tribes into Asia Minor, where the Bottiaei founded *Ἀγκώρη* near the Ascanian lake, similar in termination to their native *Ἀλωρος*, and in stem to the Illyrian *Ancus*⁹¹ and the two Phrygian cities of *Ancyra*. *Κοτύωρα* in Pontus is undoubtedly formed from the proper name *Κότυς*, which is Phrygian and Illyrian as well as Thracian; *Ἰβωρα* is found in the same region. The Paphlagonian *Κύτωρος* seems to be derived from a probably related proper name, Thracian *Cuta*, *Cuties*, etc., Illyrian *Cutio* (Pannonia, *C.I.L.* iii. 4083). It may be concluded that *-ωρα* is certainly, and *-ουρα* almost certainly, of European origin, and that *Βάλβουρα* is a Phrygian, not a Lycian, word meaning probably the borough of *Βαλβος*.⁹²

The name of the second Cabalian town, *Βουβών*, seems to be Phrygian also, in spite of its Greek appearance. The suffix is Phrygian, not Lycian.⁹³ It is evidently derived from the name *Βουβας*, found in Bithynia (*C.I.G.* 3795), which stands in the same relation to the Phrygian *Βαβης* as *Δουδας* to *Δαδας* and *Νουνας* to *Νανας*. It must be remembered that the genuine Phrygian origin of the class of names derived from baby-language which are so common in the province is not disputed. It is merely denied that they are exclusively due to immigration from Europe.⁹⁴ It follows that the origin of each particular name of this type must be determined separately, partly from its geographical distribution and partly from a comparison of similar names in other districts. Judged by these tests, *Ba*,⁹⁵ *Βαβα*, and a whole group of connected names are certainly Phrygian. They are entirely unknown in Lycia, and of the extremest rarity south of Mount Taurus and in the south-west.⁹⁶ They are found in the northern part of Phrygia,⁹⁷ where survivals of the older population are at least exceedingly uncommon, as well

⁹⁰ *Ἀζωρος*, *Ἀλωρος*, *Γάζωρος*, *Θέστωρος*, *Μίλκωρος*, *Πίλωρος*, *Τάρτωρον*.

⁹¹ Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v.*

⁹² *Βόλβαι* in Caria, a presumably older name of Heraclea (St. Byz. *s.v.*) does not seem related to *Βάλβουρα*, but rather to the town and lake *Βόλβη*, in Mygdonia, whence one of the Phrygian tribes migrated. If Tomaschek's derivation (ii. 2, p. 94) is correct, from the root *bhol*, Armenian *bol*-, 'to swell, to be round,' the Greek *βολβός* would seem to be borrowed from a dialect akin to the Phrygian. The islands *Bolbulae* (Pliny, v. 137, which should be emended to *Bolbusae*) off the Ionian coast derived their name from the Greek word. But the district *Βολβοσός* in Cilicia Tracheia (Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.* p. 371) no doubt had a native name.

⁹³ See p. 50.

⁹⁴ Kretschmer (p. 356) states this most

distinctly. It appears to me that all the names he collects (pp. 334, *seqq.*) are genuinely Phrygian, but that he over-estimates the number of those which are also Lycian.

⁹⁵ In *C.I.G.* 4009, *b*, probably *δμοίως ἀνέστησεν καὶ Νερσιων(α) καὶ Βᾶν*, *Βᾶ θυγατέρα*, should be read instead of *Βανβα*. The Phrygian local name *Βανβουλα* (p. 58) is probably a contraction of *Βαναβουλα*, and akin to *Βαναβα* in Cilicia (Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.* p. 371).

⁹⁶ *Ba* appears once in Cilicia at Dalisandus. The Pamphylian *Ἐλαιβαβης* seems, like most Pamphylian names (see p. 68), to be unrelated to the Lycian. Otherwise no names are compounded with *baba* in the second part. No related names seem to be found in Caria, unless the Milesian *Βαβίων* be reckoned, as it probably may, as Carian.

⁹⁷ *E.g.* at Cotiaenum, Kretschmer, p. 223.

as in the ancient native inscriptions in the heart of the country.⁹⁸ *Bās* is known as the name of a Bithynian king, and *Βάβας* as that of a Thracian general (Pauly-Wissowa, *sub vv.*). There can hardly be a doubt that *Βουβας*, like *Βάβας*, is one of the names which are common to the Phrygians and the Thracians, and consequently that *Βουβών* is of Phrygian origin. The town of *Βυβασσός* or *Bubassus* (**Βουβασσός*) in Caria is also to be derived from *Βουβας*, and has a Phrygian name. The termination, as has been already shewn, is not necessarily Lycian (p. 53).

A parallel case is found in *Βάργασα*, also in Caria. This cannot be separated from the Carian *Βαργυλία*, which shews marked Paeonian and Illyrian affinities, both in stem and suffix. It is identical in name with *Bargullum* in Illyria and with *Βράγυλος* near the Strymon.⁹⁹ The same stem is found in *Βάργαλα* in Pelagonia.¹⁰⁰ The termination of *Βαργυλία* is found exactly in *Σερμυλία* in Chalcidice and Mt. *Κερδύλιον* at the mouth of the Strymon, and almost exactly in *Τέρπυλλος* and *Μόρυλλος* in Mygdonia, whence the Phrygian tribe of Mygdonians migrated to Asia Minor.

As a man's name, *Βαργος* at Cyzicus recalls on the one hand the Bisaltian *Βεργαίος*,¹⁰¹ and on the other the Cilician *Βαργαίος*. Side by side with this is found *Βαργαθογς*, a name which is shewn to be of Phrygian origin not only by the initial B but also by the presence of *θ*, which is as foreign to Cilicia as it is to Lycia (see p. 67).

Another Carian town, *Βρίουλα*,¹⁰² has a Phrygian name. It has the same suffix as the Phrygian *Ατζουλα*, *Βανβουλα*, and *Ναζουλα*,¹⁰³ as well as the Dardanian *Ἄμουλος*, and the Thracian *Βεργούλη*, *Ρακούλη*, and *Γίνουλα*. The stem is Phrygian, as well as Thracian, Paeonian, and Dardanian.¹⁰⁴

Other Carian names with initial B are evidently Phrygian, not Lycian, in affinity. The proper name *Βάλαγρος* is not only Macedonian but also Illyrian, as is shewn by the Messapian *Balakrahi-aīhi*.

The Carian *Βοτων* is identical with the Illyrian *Boto*, *Buto*, *Butto*.¹⁰⁵

⁹⁸ Old Phrygian *Baba*, Kretschmer, p. 336.

⁹⁹ The neighbourhood of this place to Parthicopolis confirms its relationship to Bargullum, among the Parthini, Tomaschek, ii. p. 62.

¹⁰⁰ Hierocles, 641. This cannot possibly be the same as Bargullum, as suggested in Pauly-Wissowa, *sub vv.* It was in Macedonia, probably Pelagonia, while the other was near the Illyrian coast among the Parthini.

¹⁰¹ This may however be derived from the town of *Βέργα*.

¹⁰² The north side of the Meander valley was Carian in Homer's time as far as Mycale (*Iliad* ii. 869), and was still so reckoned by Ephorus (see frags. 35 and 86). Later it was generally called Lydian. The population was mixed in Strabo's day (p. 648), but the Lydians were probably immigrants. Native Carian (not Lydian) inscriptions have been found at

Tralles (Sayce, *Proceedings of S.B.A.* xxvii. Nos. 8 and 9).

¹⁰³ These two places (Ramsay, *Studies* etc. pp. 361, 371), together with almost all those named in the group of inscriptions in which they are mentioned, must be reckoned to Phrygia *παρόρειος*, to which Apollonia and Antiochia are distinctly assigned by Strabo (see Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.* p. 397; and *Cities and Bishoprics*, i. p. 316). Late Phrygian inscriptions are found in this district (Ramsay, *Jahreshefte*, etc. viii. Beiblatt, p. 85). The names, local and personal, which occur there, are almost exclusively Phrygian, and I shall quote them as such. It was only under the Roman empire that this part of Phrygia was included in Pisidia.

¹⁰⁴ See Tomaschek, ii. 2, p. 63.

¹⁰⁵ Pauli, iii. pp. 374, 366.

The related Phrygian *Βοτιος (in Βοτίειον) is the Illyrian *Bottius*, *Buttus*.¹⁰⁶ The Lydian Βουτας is found again exactly in Paeonia.¹⁰⁷ The Bithynian Βουτερας represents the Illyrian *Bouterius*,¹⁰⁸ whence the Thracian place Βουτερεις. Nothing similar occurs in Lycia or in compounds of the Lycian type.

The Carian Βατων is also one of the most characteristic of Illyrian names, which occurs in Dalmatia and Upper and Lower Pannonia. It is likewise found in Dardania.¹⁰⁹ The Phrygian feminine Βαττα, and Βαθθις from Isaura, are from *Βαττος, whence also the Pannonian¹¹⁰ and Peucetian gentile *Battius*.¹¹¹ From the same stem are derived the Cilician Βατεης, the Pisidian Βατασις, and the Phrygian Βαττάκης and Βατάκης, which is also found in Cabalia and has been incorrectly classed as Lycian.¹¹² It has no Lycian analogies, and is not found in any compound proper name.¹¹³

The Carian Βωλιων is derived from the Phrygian Βωλας, whence Βωλανος. By a change common in Asia Minor,¹¹⁴ though not Lycian, Βωλας would stand for *Βολλας. From the same stem is derived the Lydian Βολεας, and probably the Carian ethnic Βολλι-ευσ. The same name appears as *Bolles* in Messapian, and as *Βολος in Βόλουρος, a town of the Tralles, an Illyrian tribe, the legendary founders of the Carian Tralles.¹¹⁵ It is also found as *Bulus* in Pannonia and *Βυλας in the Paeonian town of

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 371, 377.

¹⁰⁷ Hoffmann, *Die Makedonen*, p. 224. It is also Thracian, Tomaschek, ii. 2, p. 16. The Phrygian *Βουδας in Βουδεια is a form of Βουτας, like the Illyrian Αυδο-Αυτο- (Kretschmer, p. 247), *Μεδέων-Μετέων* (*ibid.* p. 257). The Thracian Βούζης is for Βούδης as e.g. Δορ-ζευθης for -δευθης: it is identical with Βαζης from Pergamum. The Phrygian town of Βοζα is probably from the same stem, if it really existed (see P.-W. s.v. *Bozenos*). See Kretschmer, p. 199¹. By a slip in Sundwall, p. 176, Βοζα is confused with Βαζις in Cappadocia.

¹⁰⁸ *C.I.L.* iii. 4944.

¹⁰⁹ Kretschmer, p. 245.

¹¹⁰ Pauli, iii. p. 370; also *Bataro*, p. 369, *Bateia* and *Batelus* are found in Noricum. *ibid.* p. 373.

¹¹¹ Conway, *Italic Dialects*, index.

¹¹² The Isaurian or Cilician Βαδας is probably for *Βατας, as Βουδος for Βουτας (note 107). With it is connected the Cappadocian feminine name Βαζεις, and the town of Βαζις, in the same way as Βουζης with Βουδας. The dative Βαδι in Heberdey-Kalinka, p. 7, from Milyas, is probably from Βās, genitive Βāδος, as Παππās, Παππāδος.

¹¹³ Καλαβώτης found in Caria is certainly a Greek word 'lizard,' a known form of ἀσκαλα-βάτης. Thence, I believe, is derived the

Lycian place Καλαβατία, a corruption arising from the fact that the Lycians could not pronounce the Greek ω (see p. 50). Most places on the coast had Greek names. The river Κολοβατος is not likely to be a compound, as local names are almost always formed with a suffix. It is probably from the same stem as the neighbouring town of Κολβάσα. That district, afterwards reckoned Pisidian, was originally part of Phrygia.

¹¹⁴ See p. 51. The name does not, I believe, occur in any compound proper name of the Lycian type. Even for one of these, the supposed Cabalian Μολεβουλουβασιος (gen.) would be too long. It is certainly a double name, Μολεβης Λουβασις, such as are common enough in Asia Minor (see Sundwall, p. 265). In an inscription of the same family we find Μόλης δις τοῦ Λουβασιος (Heberdey-Kalinka, p. 47).

¹¹⁵ Through Strabo, p. 649, and Hesychius call them Thracians, Stephanus Byzantinus, in describing them as Illyrian (*sub vv.* Τραλλία, Βήγης, and Βόλουρος), cites the better authority of Theopompus, and Livy (no doubt following Polybius) expressly mentions several times that they were Illyrians (xxvii. 32; xxxi. 35; xxxiii. 4). They were much used in the armies of the Macedonian kings, who are more likely to be the βασιλείς referred to by Hesychius than the kings of Pergamum. See Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.* p. 112.

Βυλάζωρα.¹¹⁶ The Carian Βοσθων corresponds to the *-bostes* of the Dacian *Burobostes*, and the *-busta* of the Moesian *-obusta* (Tomaschek, ii. 2. p. 15); it is found also in the Dardanian Διτύβυστος (*ibid.* p. 33) and the Pannonian *Busturo* (*C.I.L.* iii. dxxxix). By a change very characteristic of Thracian, it probably appears in that language as Μόστις, whence the Lydian ethnic Μοστηνοι. Βοσθων has no resemblance to any proper name in Asia Minor.

It should be observed that the Carian Βαβίων, Βοτων, Βατων, Βωλιων, and Βοσθων, which are so markedly Phrygian, Illyrian, or Thracian in the stem, have also the suffix *-ων* which is very characteristic of Phrygian and Illyrian but as wholly foreign to Lycian as the initial B (see p. 50). These instances justify the presumption that the few remaining Carian names with initial B are likely also to be Phrygian, not Lycian, in affinity.¹¹⁷

The Carian place Βερραβλωνιον is certainly for Βερραβλοφιον, which seems clearly to have the suffix *-φιον*, remarkably characteristic of Phrygian local names,¹¹⁸ but probably unknown in Lycian.¹¹⁹ It should by analogy be derived from a proper name *Βερραβλος, or more probably *Βερραβαλος, like the Dacian Δεκέβαλος, from the Phrygian root *bal-*, power, already mentioned; if so, it would be equivalent to the Greek Φερεκράτης. The first part appears in Βέρροια or Βέροια in the traditional Macedonian home of the Phrygians, of which the typical Phrygian suffix (see Kretschmer, p. 203) appears still more distinctly in the form Βερόεια, carried with them by the settlers in the Syrian town.¹²⁰ The name was derived from a traditional founder Φερων, but is Phrygian not Greek.¹²¹ There seems to have been another Βεροια on the west coast of Chalcidice in territory that was probably once Phrygian (Mygdonian),¹²² as well as Βεροίη or *Beroe* in Thrace and *Beroe* in Moesia. From the same root may be derived the proper name Βερλας from Cilicia, for *Βερελας with the diminutive suffix so common in Phrygia (Kretschmer, p. 201), which may be connected with the Pisidian Μερλας and Μερλατος.¹²³

It is also probable that the Carian feminine name Βερθας may be derived from the same root. It does not seem to be connected with the Lycian

¹¹⁶ Also in the Illyrian tribe of Bulini and the district of Bullis or Βυλλίς.

¹¹⁷ Βιττω (p. 56), Βολβαι (note 92), Βυβασσός (p. 58), Βάργασα (*ibid.*), Βαργυλία (*ibid.*), Βρίουλα (*ibid.*), and Βάλαγρος (*ibid.*) have been already discussed.

¹¹⁸ See p. 47.

¹¹⁹ It is very likely that Μολυνδεια, quoted from Alexander Polyhistor (*St. Byz. s.v.*), may be formed in the Phrygian way from a proper name *Μολυνδας. But, if so, it was probably in Milyas (see p. 48), which in Alexander's time was part of Lycia, and where names in Μολ- are remarkably common: in Lycia they are almost unknown and probably foreign, see note 66. The termination *-νδας* is also especially Milyan. The only Lycian place

in *-ια*, Καλαβατια, is probably meant for Greek, see note 113. The suggestion (Sundwall, p. 175) that Βερραβλωνιον is derived from a possible Lycian *para-pluwa with a suffix *-ija* is not therefore convincing enough in itself to give any support to the view that a Lycian *p* may be rendered by β.

¹²⁰ *St. Byz. s.v. Βέροια.*

¹²¹ Tomaschek's derivation (ii. 2, 58) from the root *bher*, in the sense of fertile, is peculiarly suitable to the garden of Midas, Herod. viii. 138.

¹²² Grote's argument is very convincing and has other support, Pauly-Wissowa, p. 306 (2).

¹²³ The change of *b* to *m* is Thracian, Kretschmer, p. 236.

part-, *pert-*, in *pert-ina*, *ddaŵā-parta*, *parttala*, and *Παρτασις*. For *Παρδαλας*, which evidently corresponds to *parttala*, and is no doubt connected with *πάρδαλις*, or *πάρδος*, a leopard, occurs not only in Lycia and Lydia but also in Caria. There is abundant evidence that a Lycian *p* is represented by *π* in Caria, and a Lycian *-rt-* may correspond to a Carian *-ρδ-*.¹²⁴ It is not probable that the same stem should appear in the same language both as *Παρδ-* and *Βερθ-*, and still less that the change should be produced by its conversion into Greek, in which the word was already naturalised as *πάρδος*. It will also be shewn that the letter *θ* is not Lycian but Phrygian (see p. 67).

The Carian *Βοιωμος* is probably for *Boft-*, and connected with the Phrygian **Βοαλος* in *Βοαλια*¹²⁵ for *Βοφαλος* and the Paphlagonian *Boa*.¹²⁶ It may be compared with the Illyrian *Boviuda* (Pauli, iii. p. 360), *Boutius* (*C.I.L.* iii. 1934),¹²⁷ and probably with *Bovierius* from Noricum (*ibid.* 6513). The Dalmatian feminine *Buo* (Pauli, iii. p. 365) for *Buvo* is certainly Illyrian, but *Buio* (masculine), common in Pannonia, may be Gaulish, like *Boius*. In this case the connexion which has been suggested with the Carian *Ποιης*,¹²⁹ the Lycian *Ποαλα* (**ρuiwala*), etc., would perhaps in itself be preferable to the Phrygian and Illyrian derivation, if there were any clear cases of the change of a Lycian *p* to *β*, and if convincing Lycian analogies could be found for the other Carian words with initial B. These conditions however do not seem to be fulfilled, and the whole class may probably be considered as Phrygian in origin. The same may be said with confidence of the few remaining examples from southern and western Asia Minor.

The Phrygian, Thracian, and Illyrian connexions of the ancient Maeonian *Βῶρος* have been already mentioned.¹³⁰ It is not related to any Lycian word.¹³¹ The name of another Maeonian chief in the *Iliad*, *Μεσθλης*, is almost identical with the Dardanian *Mestula* (*Jahreshefte*, iv. Beiblatt, p. 85) and akin to the Thracian *Mestitu*, and *Μεστος* at Thasos (*J.H.S.* xxix. p. 100). Other related names are collected by Perdrizet (*Corolla Numismatica*, pp. 217-233) who shews that *Μέστος* is a native name of the river *Νέστος*. If it is the more ancient form, the Maeonians may once have dwelt in that region. The Maeonian god *Κανδαύλης* had an Indo-European name (Kretschmer, p. 388), and the possibly Maeonian king *Ἄγρων* (*ibid.* p. 389) had a later

¹²⁴ As Carian *Αρ-δυβερης* compared with Lycian *Τυβερης* in *Τυβερισσός* and *Περπεν-δυβε-ρῖς*.

¹²⁵ In the region of Antiochia Pisidia, which was certainly really Phrygian (see p. 58, note 103). The proper name *Βούβαλος* occurring in the same district is a Greek word 'antelope,' but is almost certainly hellenised from *Βοφαλος* for fashion's sake, as often happened.

¹²⁶ *F.H.G.* iv. p. 358.

¹²⁷ *Boatius* also occurs as a gentile name in Italy, but only in the Illyrian Daunia (Conway, *The Italic Dialects*, ii. index).

¹²⁸ The Venetic *φοήιος* (= *boiios*) is taken by Pauli (iii. p. 350) for Gaulish, but it might be Illyrian for *Bovios*, as *arahaos* for *aravos*, *ibid.* p. 386.

¹²⁹ This however may very easily represent **Βοιης*, as there is ample precedent for the conversion of a native *b* into *π*, though not for the reverse change.

¹³⁰ P. 51.

¹³¹ The Lycian *Κυδ-αβυρις* (*Kūt-abura*) is compounded with the word *abura* (*T.A.M.* 55, 2), whence also by a common change of vowel *Κεν-οβαρ[ι]ς*.

namesake who was king of Illyria (Polybius, ii. 2, 4). The name *Μαίονες* may well be identical with that of the European *Παίονες*, from a common original **Βαίονες*.¹³² This is the more probable since their neighbours the Phrygians, Mysians, and Trojans (Dardanians), were all considered to be related to the Paeonians, and lived near them in their European homes.¹³³

Βάγεις, a town in Lydia, may be connected with the Paphlagonian proper name *Βάγας*,¹³⁴ the probably Phrygian town of *Βαγανδα*, and the Phrygian Zeus *Βαγαῖος*.¹³⁵ It may also be compared with *Βήγεις*, a town of the Illyrian *Τράλλοι* (p. 59).

The native Lydian *Bakivaś* is translated by *Διονυσικλής* in a bilingual inscription.¹³⁶ This points to an alternative form *Βακος* by the side of *Βάκχος*, which probably appears in the Isaurian feminine name *Βακου*.¹³⁷ Such a form is also indicated by the Greek word *βάκιδες*, inspired prophets, and perhaps by the name *Βακων* (C.I.G. 165), as well as the Illyrian *Baccius*, *Baculus*, and *Bacausus*. *Βιρων* (compare *Βιρριος*, J.H.S. viii. p. 251) is a Phrygian (Milyan) name from the Ormelian district, with no Lycian affinities, but no doubt connected with the probably Macedonian *Βιρρον*.¹³⁸

Another name from the same region, *Βιλλιος*,¹³⁹ is rightly claimed as Phrygian by Sir William Ramsay. It is from the same stem as the Paphlagonian *Βίλλαρως* at Sinope (Strabo, p. 546), which is connected by Tomaschek, ii. 2, p. 94, with the Paphlagonian river *Βιλλαῖος* and the proper names *Βιλληρός* and *Βιλληνή*. *Βιλλις* is also found in Cilicia, as well as

¹³² The change of *b* to *m* in Thracian, especially where an *n* follows, is well-established (Kretschmer, p. 236). The substitution of a Greek Π for a foreign Β is not uncommon in regions bordering on Paeonia. The people of *Βριαρτική* in Thrace were also called *Priantae*: the Macedonian *Πέργαμος* is almost certainly for *Βεργ*: *Παλλήνη* represents a Macedonian *Βαλλήνη* (L. & S. s.v.). Mt. *Βόιον* on the Epirotic frontier is also called *Ποῖον*. On the Asiatic side we find *Παρταρας* for *Bartaras* in a Lydian bilingual at Pergamum, *Πάργασα* for *Βάργασα*, *Πρίουλα* for *Βρίουλα*, and other instances.

¹³³ Some held that the Paeonians were a colony from Phrygia, others that the Phrygians were a colony from Paeonia (Strabo, p. 331). The Mygdonians, from whom a Phrygian tribe were descended, were a people of Paeonia (Pliny iv. 10). Herodotus believed that the Paeonians were descended from Teucrians, by which he meant Trojans (Dardanians), as appears from ii. 114 and 118; from a comparison of vii. 20 with v. 13 it is to be inferred that Mysians were mixed with these Teucrians. Hellanicus (fr. 46) says that in the time of Macedon, son of Aeolus, the Mysians were the only inhabitants of the country besides the Macedonians. The true country of the

European Mysians or Moesians was the district about Ratiaria. There they bordered on the Dardani, whom they probably accompanied or followed in their migrations. The neighbours of the Dardanians on the south and south-east were Paeonians.

¹³⁴ Strabo, p. 553. The derivation of *Bagadaonia* in Cappadocia is obscure.

¹³⁵ On this disputed name, see Kretschmer, p. 198. Torp's objection to the derivation from *bhāga-*, on account of the suffix, does not seem to me so irresistible as to Kretschmer. For several parallel cases are found in Asia Minor, as Zeus *Παπῶος* by the side of *Πάπας* (*ibid.* p. 199), the goddess *Ἄμματα* by the side of *Ἄμμα* (Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. *Ἄμμας*), and possibly *Σαβάζιος* by the side of *Σάβος* (Kretschmer, p. 196), and *Κακασβέως* by the side of *Κακασβος* (*ibid.* p. 351).

¹³⁶ Littmann, in *Sardis*, vol. vi, pt. i, p. 39.

¹³⁷ It is uncertain if the Cilician local name *Βάκα* (Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.* p. 386) has any connexion with this.

¹³⁸ Hoffmann, *Die Makedonen*, p. 53. The name occurs at Pharsalus, but the bearers were not natives.

¹³⁹ Genitive of *Βιλλις*, according to Sundwall, p. 61.

Βίλλος, which is incorrectly described as Lycian.¹⁴⁰ The last form occurs in the epitaph of a little boy, whose parents had given him the name of Συνέγδημος, but everyone else called him Βίλλος. The word was evidently significant, and might easily be taken to mean 'darling,' connected with φίλος.¹⁴¹

The town of Βάρις in Pisidia bore a Phrygian name, which is found also in Hellespontine Phrygia, quite outside the region of Lycian affinities. It is also Illyrian, for it was the older name of the Messapian Veretum, and appears in the Peucetian *Barium*, and possibly in the Dalmatian *Bariduum*. From the same stem is probably derived the Lycaonian *Barata*, *Baratta*, or *Bareta*, and the Lydian *Baretta*, which again resemble the Italian-Illyrian *Βαρήτιον*; compare also the Phrygian *Βαρονκλια*.

The Pisidian Βωξος seems to have no affinities in southern or south-western Asia Minor, nor apparently in Phrygia. It closely resembles the Venetic *φοξσος* (*Bogsos*) and *φοκκνο[s]*¹⁴² (*Bōkno*s, cf. Kretschmer, p. 269). If these are really Celtic names, as Pauli infers from the comparison of *Bogionius* (iii. 350), it is possible that Βωξος may be borrowed from Galatia. But it is not at all certain that *Bugius*, *Bucius*, *Buctor*, *Bucio*, *Buccio*, and other names from *Buc-* common in Pannonia and Noricum,¹⁴³ are not genuinely Illyrian, as *Buccio* appears more than once in Dalmatia.

There remain a few names in which an initial B arises out of an original F (*w*). Such a change is quite unknown in Lycia, but in Phrygia it is both well-established and ancient.¹⁴⁴ It is not due to Greek transliteration, for in that case it would equally affect the rendering of the Lycian *w*. It occurs also in Thracian, where *-δανα* often turns into *-δαβα*. The towns of *Berbis* or *Verbits*¹⁴⁵ and *Binda* or *Vinda*¹⁴⁶ were both within the old boundaries of Phrygia. The Isaurian *Βαναλις*, for the commoner *Ουαναλις*, has no resemblance to anything in Lycia, and little to anything in southern or western Asia Minor.¹⁴⁷ It may be connected with Illyrian names, *Vanus*, *Vannius*, and *Vanamiv*, to which the Venetic *vantes* is apparently related (Pauli, iii, p. 308). The Isaurian or Cilician *Βασση* may be compared with

¹⁴⁰ *C.I.G.* 4322; see also Addenda. Müller, who found the inscription among Beaufort's papers, evidently mistook Chelindreh, by which Beaufort meant Celenderis (*Karamania*, p. 201) for Chelidoniae. No ancient remains seem to have been found by Beaufort on those barren rocks (p. 35), but he noted inscriptions at Celenderis (p. 201). This particular one seems to have been copied at Celenderis by three other travellers (*C.I.G.* iii. p. 1152).

¹⁴¹ It may be borrowed from the Greek, like the Macedonian Βίλιππος for Φίλιππος. Such a change could not take place in Lycian, which had no initial β, and would tend to prove that Phrygian was spoken at Celenderis. But it is more probable that a Macedonian colony was at some period settled there, and retained traces of its original

dialect in colloquial phrases. If so, Βίλλος has no direct connexion with the Phrygian Βίλλις, which in that case may be better compared with the Illyrian, Venetic *fila* (*bila*), Pannonian *Bilisa*, Messapian *bilias*, *bilionas*, etc. (Pauli, iii. 344).

¹⁴² Pauli, iii. p. 344.

¹⁴³ See the index to *C.I.L.* iii.

¹⁴⁴ As in *Σαβάσιος* for *ΣαΦασιος*, Kretschmer, p. 195.

¹⁴⁵ Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics*, i. p. 324.

¹⁴⁶ Ramsay, *op. cit.* p. 326.

¹⁴⁷ The Isaurian or Cilician *Bavis* may be for *Vanis*, but in a native Pisidian inscription (Ramsay, *Revue des Universités du Midi*, i. p. 360, No. 10) *Ουά Νις Βαβου[s]* should probably be read, not *Ουανις*.

the Messapian **vaššnes* and probably with the Venetic **vassenos* (*ibid.*).¹⁴⁸ The Carian proper name Βωρανδεις is evidently identical with the Lycaonian Ουρανδεις, which also appears in Lycaonia as Ουρουνδεις, and in Isauria as Ορονδης, Ωρονδης, and Ορονδιανος. These are all originally ethnics, meaning 'a man of the tribe of the 'Ορονδεις,' on the borders of Lycaonia and Pisidia,¹⁴⁹ and the variant forms make it clear that they represent a common Φορονδ- or Φορανδ-. It seems almost certain that this mountain-tribe must derive its name from Φορο-, mountain, which was a Phrygian word (p. 56), in the same way as the Epirotic 'Ορέσται, and the Orescii of the Paenonian Mt. Pangaeum.¹⁵⁰

It has seemed desirable to examine every example of initial B quoted from the area in which languages akin to the Lycian are supposed to have been spoken when these names were in use in their native form. They offer a convenient test, as in this case the distinction between Lycian and Phrygian is particularly clear. The result seems to me to be that they are all shewn to be Phrygian. Their distribution therefore gives valuable evidence about the relative extension of the two languages at the time when they were superseded by Greek in the several provinces.

Taking the index to Sundwall's book as a basis,¹⁵¹ it is necessary to strike out various names which are Greek or completely hellenised, and others which do not belong to Asia Minor. Names beginning with Βλ-, Βρ- and Βδ- must also be omitted,¹⁵² in which the B sometimes certainly is, and always may be, due to the Greek transliteration. Three quoted from Cappadocia must not be counted, as no attempt is made to give a full list in the case of that country. There remain seventy-seven names with initial B. Of these, nineteen are either described as Phrygian or come from the Phrygian part of Milyas, west of the Ascanian lake, or from Phrygia Παρώρειος;¹⁵³ both districts are reckoned to Pisidia, according to the late Roman usage. Of the rest, sixteen belong to Caria, fourteen to Lycaonia and Isauria,¹⁵⁴ ten to Cilicia, six to Lydia, five to Pisidia, three to Cabalia, two to Pamphylia, and two to Lycia. If the commonness of particular names and their relative number in proportion to the known total is considered, the figure in the case of Lycaonia and Isauria must be considerably raised, on account of the frequent occurrence of Βα and Βαβεις.

¹⁴⁸ On p. 350, Pauli says that the Venetic name is Gaulish, on account of its resemblance to Celtic names formed with *Vass-*. But the Messapian form cannot be explained in that way, and there are many resemblances between Celtic and Illyrian names which are due to relationship, not to borrowing (*ibid.*).

¹⁴⁹ See Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.* p. 398. There is no sufficient reason to suppose that 'Οραανεις (Hall, *Classical Review*, xii. p. 276) is synonymous with 'Ορονδεις. The supposed assimilation of δ (Kretschmer, p. 307) depends on a mistaken identification of Τρέβενδα near

Myra in Lycia with Τρέβεννα in Pamphylia. The two places had the stem in common, but not the suffix.

¹⁵⁰ P. 57.

¹⁵¹ P. 45, note 1.

¹⁵² P. 56, note 80.

¹⁵³ The number of examples in Phrygia is of course far greater. The author's object was only to include such names from Phrygia as he believed to be of Lycian or kindred origin. For the districts mentioned, see pp. 48, and 58, note 103.

¹⁵⁴ Names from Isauria proper are indistinguishable from those of Lycaonia.

Lycian possessed no aspirated consonants.¹⁵⁵ Except in hellenised names, χ is almost entirely absent in southern and western Asia Minor, and ϕ is exceedingly rare. There is no good evidence that either of these sounds existed in Phrygian any more than in Lycian. But it is clear that Phrygian had a θ , arising out of a τ followed by a consonant i (Latin j), which is also found in some dialects at least of Thracian and Illyrian. In Messapian t before i regularly turns to θ , and the i , when followed by another vowel, disappears, as in *Balethas* on coins of Baletium, *Avithos*¹⁵⁶ (compare the Peucetian gens *Avittia*); the t is often doubled, as in *Blatthihi*, genitive of **Blatthes*, in Latin letters *Blattius*. In transcriptions into Latin this θ is rendered by *ti*, but in Greek it is sometimes preserved. It is also found before e , as in *Θeotorres*, but here also the e may disappear, as in *Θotoria*, and in the Latin form *Tutorius*,¹⁵⁷ as well as in the Noric *Tutor* and *Tutuia*, the Venetic *Tuticanus*, and the Pannonian *Tutia*.¹⁵⁸ *Tutius* occurs also among the Paeonian *Dentheletae*.¹⁵⁹ But in the Illyrian *Tevta* the e remains. In Thrace *Τιωδτα* is found for *Τοῦτα*. Similar forms appear in Phrygia and on its borders. The word *teutous* or *teuteus* in the late native inscriptions seems to be connected on the one hand with the Phrygian proper name *Θιουθιους*, the Isaurian *Θουθου*, and the Lycaonian *Θουθους*, and on the other with the Isaurian *Τουτης*. In the same way the Phrygian town of *Τυτα* is written also as *Τευτα*.

The form *-θιατις* which appears in Lycia,¹⁶⁰ but is evidently foreign, with the Isaurian *Θαθεας* and *Θαθους*, cannot be separated from the common Phrygian names in *Τατ-*. It has an exact parallel in the Thracian *Θιαθιους*, which itself is formed from the Dacian *Tiatus*;¹⁶¹ but the feminine *Tata* is also found in Thrace, as well as *Taras* and *Tutaza*.¹⁶² *Tuttia* and *Tatoia* occur in Dalmatia, *Tutulo* in Pannonia, and *Tatue* and *Tutucus* in Noricum.¹⁶³

¹⁵⁵ In *J.H.S.* xxxv. p. 100, I have shewn that the supposed θ in Lycian is a sibilant.

¹⁵⁶ For the Messapian names see Deecke, *Rheinisches Museum*, xxxvii., where many other examples are given. For the Latin equivalents, see the index to Conway, *The Italic Dialects*, vol. ii. The same change in Thracian is proved by the names *Bitus*, *Bitius*, *Βιθους*; *-centus*, *-κεντιος*, *-κενθος*; *Cuta*, *Cuties*, *-κυθης*, *Κουθεις*; and other examples.

¹⁵⁷ In some cases the Messapian o certainly represents u , which is otherwise wanting in the inscriptions, and it may be questioned whether it does not always do so, as an original o regularly turns to a ; Kretschmer, p. 263, holds that o stands for \bar{o} in some instances.

¹⁵⁸ Pauli, iii. pp. 374, 377, 353, and 368.

¹⁵⁹ Tomaschek, ii. 2, p. 23.

¹⁶⁰ All names in Lycia containing θ are either hellenised or unquestionably foreign, except *Παναθιατις*. This should very probably

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be divided into *Πανα Θιατις*, in which case the woman, who may have been descended from Phrygian immigrants, bore a Lycian as well as a Phrygian name. *Taras* and all the related names seem to be of Phrygian origin, as they are common in all parts of that country, but are of the greatest rarity in Lycia and Cilicia. None of the examples quoted by Kretschmer and Sundwall, where the place of discovery is given, are found in Lycia proper except *Tarapoῦς*, which in form is Greek (see p. 55, note 72), and *Tarastion*, of which the termination at least is hellenised. The native name *tettimpe* is correctly divided by Sundwall (p. 210) as *te-timpe*, and probably has no connexion with *Taras*.

¹⁶¹ Tomaschek, ii. 2, p. 36.

¹⁶² *Tatta*, from Servia (Kretschmer, p. 348)—that is, Upper Moesia, is probably Dardanian.

¹⁶³ Pauli, iii. pp. 365, 370, 372, 374, 375.

But the Messapian *Θator*, for **Tiator* or **Teator*, resembles the Phrygian forms.

In these names the *i* appears to be an inserted letter, the stem being originally *Tat-*. This raises the question whether the same insertion has taken place in the case of *Tut-* in the similar names already mentioned.* The derivation of *Θeotorres* from **teutā*, people, is made questionable, not only by the analogy of *Θator* but by the occurrence in Messapian of the name *Taotinahihi* (for *Taut-*), which cannot well be separated from the Dacian *Tautomedes*.¹⁶⁴ This comparison makes it probable that in Illyrian and in Thracian *teut-* turned into *taut-*. It is perhaps better to class the names *Tut-*, *Tiut-*, *Teut-*, and *Θeot-*¹⁶⁵ with the Illyrian *Totto*, *Tottia*, and *Tottulo*, and derive them all from the baby-name *Τοττης*, *Τουττης*, and similar forms, just as *Tat-*, *Tiat-*, and *Θιατ-* are related to *Ταττης* and its variants, which are to *Τοττης* and *Τουττης* as *Navvas* to *Novvos* and *Novvnvos*, and *Δαδας* to *Δοδα* and *Δουδας*.¹⁶⁶ The Paphlagonian *Θυς* may be derived through **Tυς* from an unreduplicated form of the same name, like *Βας* for *Βαβας* and *Τας* for *Ταρας*. With this the Phrygian local name *Θιουντα* may be connected.

The Phrygian local name *Τετθα* or *Θετθα*, for *Τεττια*, the town of *Τεττης*, shews that *τ* may turn into *θ* before *ε* as well as *ι*, as in Illyrian. The termination is formed as in the Messapian *Blatθihi* already mentioned. The Lycaonian town of *Βάρατθα* or *Βάρατα* with the same suffix shews Illyrian affinities in the stem also.¹⁶⁷

The Isaurian proper name *Θιης* is probably for **Τιφης* and allied to the Phrygian *Τιει[a]* for **Τιφια*.¹⁶⁸ The Paphlagonian town of *Τίειον* (for **Τιφιον*) seems to be connected with the proper name *Τιβιος* (for **Τιφιος*) very common in that country.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁴ The derivation of this name from *tentā* (Tomaschek; ii. 2) is considered certain by Kretschmer, p. 228. Compare the Lithuanian *tauta*, country. Philipon, *Les Ibères*, p. 25, besides several names formed from *taut-* in Spain, quotes the Armenian proper name *Tautukas*, which may be taken as evidence with regard to the Phrygian form, if the relationship between those two languages is real (Kretschmer, p. 208).

¹⁶⁵ In that case the Isaurian *Θουθ-* and *Θαθ-* for *Τουτ-* and *Τατ-* would be analogous to the European-Dardanian *Thithi* (nom. masc. *Jahreshefte*, iv. Beiblatt, p. 85), as compared with the Lycaonian *Tirtis* (Kretschmer, p. 349), Illyrian *Titio*, etc.; see *C.I.L.* iii. index. Cf. also the Thracian *Θιθι-σαρτα* (Tomaschek, ii, 2, p. 48) and (B)υ-θειθος (*ibid.* p. 37) with Tithutes and Nusa-tita.

¹⁶⁶ The Phrygian 'youths,' *Τόττης* and **Οωνης*, who brought the mysterious *ιερά* of the Cabiri to Assesus in a chest and introduced their worship into Miletus, were evidently the two male Cabiri themselves, the son and

father, *F.H.G.* iii. 388. **Οωνης*, *Novvos*, and *Navvas* are the masculine forms of **Αννα*, *Novva*, and *Náva*, variant-names derived from the mother-goddess, **Αρτεμις Νάνα* (Kretschmer, p. 355). **Οωνης* was her mate, the father-god. *Τόττης*, like *Τάττης*, is a variant of the name of her son, **Αττης*, who is identical with **Αττης*.

The words *αυτος κε ουα κε ροκα γεγαριτμενος αιβαταν τευτους* in a late Phrygian epitaph (*J.H.S.* xxxi. p. 181; cf. p. 183) do not seem to be connected with the curse which precedes them. For *γεγαριτμενος* should represent the Greek *κεχαρισμένος*, and if so, *αυτος* probably refers to the dead man, and the phrase either commends him to the favour, or describes him as the favourite, of some god. *Τευτους* in that case would be the son-god *Τόττης*.

¹⁶⁷ See p. 63.

¹⁶⁸ *J.H.S.* xxii. p. 118. The name may more probably be *Τιει*, dative feminine from **Τιφια*.

¹⁶⁹ Strabo, p. 304.

The Paphlagonian name *Thuyis* (Θουυς for *Τοϋϋς)¹⁷⁰ seems to be related to the Lydian *Tuios* (for *Τυϋιος), which is identical with the Illyrian *Tuia* (Pauli, iii. p. 360); *Tuio* (p. 370) and *Tuillus* (p. 357) are also Illyrian. The Isaurian *Θουης*, and possibly the Lycaonian *Θωων* and the Pisidian and Cabalian (not Lycian) *Θοας*,¹⁷¹ may be connected with *Thuyis*.

In southern and western Asia Minor names containing *θ* are rare. In the index to Sundwall's work, when those which are manifestly hellenised¹⁷² are excluded, there remain thirty-three at most. Of these, fifteen are found in Lycaonia and Isauria,¹⁷³ where Phrygian was, I believe, certainly spoken;¹⁷⁴ eleven belong to Caria;¹⁷⁵ Lycia and Cilicia,¹⁷⁶ in which the sound was certainly foreign, have each one; three are in Pisidia and two in Lydia, but it may be doubted whether all of these are really native. The evidence of the native alphabets coincides closely with that which is given by the distribution of these names, and it may be concluded that the Greek transliteration really represents the original sounds. For in the Lydian, as well as the Lycian, there is no sign for *θ*, but in the Carian the letter is present in shape and presumably also in sound. It occurs in the late Phrygian inscriptions, not only in borrowed Greek but also in apparently native words.¹⁷⁷ On the ancient native monuments it does not appear, but its absence may easily be accidental, and it was certainly present in the alphabet, since it is found in the foreign inscription of Lemnos.¹⁷⁸

In summing up the results of this long discussion, it becomes very evident that Phrygian influence is far more predominant on the northern side of Mt. Taurus than on the southern coast. The contrast with Lycian in all phonetic peculiarities and the agreement with Phrygian make it almost

¹⁷⁰ Kretschmer, p. 207.

¹⁷¹ These may be hellenised, to resemble the Greek *Θόας*. There is also a Lycian name *tuwada*, of which the stem is found in *Ερμανδοας* and the Pisidian *Νανι-τοας*, etc. The resemblance to the Paphlagonian and Illyrian names is, I believe, merely a coincidence. The Cilician *Βαργαθοης* must on the other hand be considered as a Phrygian name, not only because the first part is Phrygian, not Lycian (see above, p. 58), but also because the change of *ι* to *θ* is foreign to Cilicia as well as to Lycia; no other Cilician name contains a *θ*, except the Phrygian *Βειθς* (see p. 55).

¹⁷² Such as *Θύμβρο*, *Θεμισων*, *Θύρα*, *Ίθαρός*, *Ορίμυθος*, etc., etc.

¹⁷³ *Θαβας*, *Θαβοις*, *Θαννις*, *Θιης*, *Θουας*, *Θωων*, *Θουθους*, *Θουθου*, *Ιμμαθις*, already discussed: *Βαθθις* (p. 59), *Βαλαθθις* (p. 56), *Βαραθθα* (p. 63). All these appear to be Phrygian names. *Μαθου* and *Γουλαθεις* (if correct) may be Phrygian adaptations of Lycian names, but the evidence is insufficient. *Θήλασα* is probably hellenised on the model of *Θήλαι*.

¹⁷⁴ See p. 68.

¹⁷⁵ *Βοσθαν* (p. 60), *Βερθας* (*ibid.*), *Θυσσος*, and the local names *Θασθαρα*, *Θεμβρια*, *Thymnias*, *Thabusion*, and *Συμμαιθος* seem native. *Θεμισσός*, *Ορθονδουακα*, and *Θυησσός* may be partly hellenised. *Θεκυλωνης* is omitted.

¹⁷⁶ *θιατις* (p. 65) and *Βαργαθοης* (p. 58). *Βειθς* and *Βειθς* should be added (p. 55).

¹⁷⁷ *J.H.S.* xxxi. pp. 161-215, Nos. xxxi., xlviii., and possibly lxxv. The borrowed *θαλαμει* (No. iv.) goes far to prove that the sound was native, as in other languages *θ* in words taken from the Greek usually appears as *t*. The frequent substitution by native engravers of *θ* for *τ* in writing Greek (*ibid.* p. 211) suggests that they were accustomed to such a substitution in their own language. In Lycia, where there was no *θ*, such an alteration is, I believe, unknown; it is certainly most exceptional.

¹⁷⁸ The alphabet in this is not merely similar but identical, and unless the Phrygians obtained theirs from Lemnos, which is most unlikely, they must themselves have taken *θ* from the Greek parent-alphabet, presumably because they required it.

certain that a Phrygian dialect was spoken in Lycaonia and Isauria. The conclusion is confirmed by the prevalence of names like *Ba*, *Baβεις*, and *Μανης*, and by the occurrence with the same extraordinary frequency as in Phrygia itself of *Παπιας*, *Ἀππια*, and similar forms which do not belong to Lycia. If frequency of repetition is reckoned as well as the number of distinct names, the nomenclature is Phrygian in a large majority of instances, and even if this be disregarded, the cases of Phrygian affinity are still in excess.¹⁷⁹ This is true of local as well as personal names.¹⁸⁰

In Cilicia, on the contrary, the great majority of names of both classes are manifestly Lycian. But it is very doubtful if only Lycian was spoken there at the time when Greek superseded the native dialects. Not only is the number of Phrygian names far greater than in Lycia, but those of native origin often shew signs of Phrygian influence in the lengthening of *e*, the doubling of *r*, and the change of *d* into *ζ*.¹⁸¹ Some local names are not Lycian, but Phrygian.¹⁸² It is probable that, besides numerous immigrants, there were settlements or colonies where Phrygian was spoken, but there is no evidence that the native language was entirely displaced by it.

In Pisidia the population was probably mixed. Names of the Lycian type seem to predominate in the southern part of the country, but even there they are mingled with others like *Μανης*, *Μανεις*, and *Μανησος*, *Κοττης* and *Κοτυσις*, *Δαος*, etc., which are certainly Phrygian. The same may be said of the local names *Βάρης*,¹⁸³ *Πάππα*,¹⁸⁴ *Μίσθεια*,¹⁸⁵ and *Ἀνάβουρα*.¹⁸⁶ The native inscriptions¹⁸⁷ are too brief to give any certain information, but in the two grammatical points which seem fairly clear, the language apparently agrees with Lycian.

In Pamphylia, though some of the inscriptions in the local Greek dialect contain names which are not Greek, hardly any of these are akin to the Lycian, and the Lycian type is generally rare. There are about an equal number of Phrygian proper names. Among local names *Πέργη* is probably

¹⁷⁹ As a test I have taken at random fifty names from *J.H.S.* xix., xxii., xxiv., and xxv., and *B.C.H.* x., which happened to be at hand. Of these seventeen are certainly or probably allied to the Lycian and twenty-three to the Phrygian: ten are doubtful.

¹⁸⁰ *Λύστρα*, *Κύβιστρα*, and *Ἰλιστρα* have the same ending as *Λαπιστρα* and *Πλουριστρα* in the region of the Phrygian Antiochia, *Sostra* and *Κάναστρα* in Thrace, *Βαλλανστρα* in Upper Moesia or Dardania, and *Ἄλιστρος* in Illyria. *Δέρβη* is synonymous with *Derba* in Dalmatia, and probably with the Thracian *Ζαρβα* and *Zervae*. *Βάρατα* has also an Illyrian name (p. 63). No local name has any special Lycian affinities, unless it be *Κοροπασσός*.

¹⁸¹ See pp. 54 and 55.

¹⁸² As *Βαραβα* (note 95), *Βολβοςος* (note 92), and possibly *Βακα* (note 137). *Ἄνα-ζαρβά*

seems to be compounded from the Thracian *Ζαρβα* with the preposition *ἀνά*. The older name *Κώνδα* is Lycian.

¹⁸³ P. 63.

¹⁸⁴ P. 54.

¹⁸⁵ The name is probably formed in the Phrygian way (p. 47) from a proper name *Μεστος* or *Μεστιος* (p. 61), slightly hellenised.

¹⁸⁶ Probably from *ἀνά* and *βουρα*, 'house'; see Fick, p. 95.

¹⁸⁷ Ramsay, *Revue des Universités du Midi*, i. p. 356. Sundwall is, I believe, right in stating (p. 255) that the nominative both in masculine and feminine names ends in a vowel, and that the genitive ends in *-s* in both genders. In both these points Pisidian agrees with Lycian, for the Lycian 'genitive' in *-h* represents an earlier *-s* (*J.H.S.* xxxv. p. 106). If there is no grammatical gender, the agreement is more significant.

Phrygian,¹⁸⁸ and Ὀλυμπος (p. 48) should be included in Pamphylia. The historical evidence that Milyas was a Phrygian district (p. 48) is entirely confirmed by the proper names found in the territory of the Ὀρμηλεῖς, which was certainly in Milyas.¹⁸⁹

The names of the cities Βουβών and Βάλβουρα are sufficient evidence of a Phrygian population in Cabalia (pp. 56 and 57).

The evident relationship to the Lycian of a great proportion of Carian names, personal and local, has established a presumption that the languages were nearly connected. It might well be supposed that the existence of a large number of Carian inscriptions would determine this question beyond dispute. But it must be admitted that they cannot be satisfactorily deciphered. Even the intuition of Professor Sayce has only been able to determine the value of a few letters with real certainty. In other cases it has to be assumed that they have the same sound as those letters of the Greek alphabet which they most resemble. This method is always uncertain, and in this instance it leads to results which may fairly be called impossible. In the Carian alphabet there is no letter corresponding in shape to the Greek ι. Both κ and τ are so rare that their existence is doubtful, and the same may be said of both labials β and π.¹⁹⁰ All these sounds are abundantly present in the Carian proper names preserved in Greek inscriptions, whether of Lycian or Phrygian affinities, and they are common in both those languages themselves. The inference seems unavoidable that the Greek alphabet is not a reliable guide.¹⁹¹ As in most cases we have no other, the value of the Carian letters remains too uncertain to allow the inscriptions to be used as positive evidence. A negative conclusion may possibly be drawn. If the proper names in which they chiefly consist corresponded to those of Lycian origin which abound in the Greek inscriptions of the province, or with the native Lycian, they could hardly fail to be recognisable, and the alphabet would then be decipherable without difficulty. But after every possible value for the many uncertain letters has been tried, no such correspondence appears, and it seems to me almost certain that the relationship does not exist in the great majority of examples.¹⁹²

The only grammatical point known with any kind of certainty is that

¹⁸⁸ The derivation from *bhergh* is too intrinsically probable to be easily set aside; see p. 62, note 132.

¹⁸⁹ The list of nearly thirty names given by Ramsay, *Cities and Bishopricks*, i., p. 314, contains six or seven which seem to be of Lycian origin. The remainder are, I believe, rightly claimed by him as Phrygian.

¹⁹⁰ In the inscriptions published by Sayce in *S.B.A. Transactions*, ix., and *Proceedings*, xvii., xxvii., and xxx., β only occurs in xxx., No. vii. (if this is Carian). A letter β, which is taken to be β, is found twice, ix. i. 1 and ix. ii. 4, but in the same name, in which elsewhere it is replaced by the vowel ⊕ (e.g. ix.

i. 7). Γ is found in ix. i. 7; xxvii. ii. (?); and xxx. i. But in all cases the writing is so irregular that exceptional forms are suspicious.

¹⁹¹ The Carian alphabet appears side by side with the Ionic at Abu-Simbel, already fully developed and so unlike any Greek alphabet as to indicate a separate evolution of some duration. It must therefore be derived from a very primitive form of the Greek.

¹⁹² The commonest name (occurring in various forms at least seven times), and one of the most legible, is *M(e)smia* . . ., which resembles the Venetic (Illyrian) *mesme*, Pauli, iii. p. 327.

the genitive of proper names generally ends in a vowel Θ , which interchanges with o , and is taken by Sayce to be a kind of u , and by Kretschmer to be a kind of o .¹⁹³ The Lycian genitive (so-called) ends, on the contrary, in $-h$ (also $-he$, rarely $-hi$) in proper names, which almost certainly represents an earlier $-s$, $-se$, $-si$.¹⁹⁴ The discrepancy is explained by Kretschmer on the hypothesis that the Carian $-\Theta$ is a form of the ending which is commonly rendered by $-\Theta he$, and sometimes appears in words which may be patronymics. He supposes an apocope of the $-e$, followed by a loss of the sound of $-h$. Apart from several difficulties in this theory,¹⁹⁵ it seems almost certain to me that the letter which is taken to be h is really t . For, since in the Greek renderings of names in Caria, τ is one of the commonest consonants, it seems impossible to doubt that it was present in the native alphabet, and if so, it can only be represented by this supposed h ,¹⁹⁶ which commonly appears as \mathbf{X} . In the inscriptions at Abu-Simbel, which are presumably the most archaic, this letter has the form \dagger , and especially in No. 3 the lower limb is distinctly the longer. It is identical in shape with the τ of the ancient Campanian-Etruscan and other Italic alphabets, which in this respect are more archaic than the Greek, and preserve the original Phoenician form nearly as in the Baal-Lebanon fragments. Signs of great archaism are naturally to be expected in the Carian letters. It is probable that the ending in question should be read as $-ute$, and compared with the demotic Μνιευτῆς and the phyle of Ταρβευται . As these seem to be in form patronymics,¹⁹⁷ the native Carian words may be so also. It is also probable that the common genitive ends in $-u$,¹⁹⁸ and has no connexion at all with the Lycian ending in $-h$.

If the Carian inscriptions differ so widely from the Lycian as they seem to do in their language and in the names which they contain, the question arises why so large a proportion of the proper names found in the Greek inscriptions of the country are of Lycian derivation. The explanation is that these happen to come chiefly from a district of which the population is said on good authority to have been distinctively Lycian. Apollodorus, accounting for the absence in Homer of some of the known names of races in Asia Minor,

¹⁹³ Kretschmer, p. 382. The theory of Sundwall that it is a guttural is, in my opinion, untenable; *J.H.S.* xxxv. p. 104.

¹⁹⁴ In this respect the Pisidian seems to agree with it (p. 68). The Lydian has a patronymic in $-l$, quite unlike the Carian, and unknown in Lycian. It has also, I believe, an ethnic in $-m$, equally foreign to Lycian. But the subject of Lydian cannot at present be discussed, as the material is largely unpublished.

¹⁹⁵ If my contention is right that the Lycian h represents an earlier s , and that the change was still in progress about B.C. 300 (*J.H.S.* xxxv. p. 104), it would be surprising that h should appear in Carian at Abu-Simbel about

300 years earlier. Another difficulty is the great frequency of s in the native and Greek inscriptions.

¹⁹⁶ The letter which has the shape of θ is probably required for that sound, and in any case is not common enough for t , and the same may confidently be said of various consonants of unknown value.

¹⁹⁷ From proper names $*\text{Μνιευσις}$ ($*\text{m}^{\text{m}}\text{-ijesi}$, cf. $\text{m}^{\text{m}}\text{-uhe}$ and $\text{aruw}^{\text{m}}\text{-ijesi}$) and $*\text{Ταρβευσις}$ ($*\text{uw-erbbesi}$, cf. uw-ita and Carian Ἀρβησις). The names are Lycian, but the suffix $-\text{vης}$ is quite unknown in that language.

¹⁹⁸ The Carian letter \mathbf{V} may not be u . It might, for instance, be l .

maintains that some were omitted because they had not yet settled in the districts which they afterwards occupied, and others 'because they were comprised in other races, as the Idrians and Termilae among the Carians, and the Doliones and Bebryces among the Phrygians.'¹⁹⁹ No one can suppose that that marvel of erudition²⁰⁰ was ignorant of the identity of the Termilae with the Lycians, who were certainly not omitted by Homer. He undoubtedly refers to an *enclave* of Lycians in Carian territory, whose existence was so well known that their absence in the *Iliad* required explanation. Stephanus no doubt means the same settlement when he speaks of a *Τερμίλη* in Caria, which he takes to be identical with *Τέλμερα* (meaning *Τέρμερα*).²⁰¹ The near connexion of the Termerians with the Lycians is recorded in a mythic form by Philip of Theangela (a neighbouring town), in his book on the Carians and Leleges, who says that Termerus and Lycus were Leleges, and the first to practise piracy, not only on the coast of Caria but crossing over to Cos on rafts; Termerus founded the town of *Τέρμερον*.²⁰² The myth is purely local, and Lycus is probably the eponymus of local *Λύκιοι*, the Termilae of Apollodorus.²⁰³ In using the term Leleges, Philip concurs with Strabo, when he talks of Leleges expelled by Achilles from the Troad, who founded eight towns near Halicarnassus²⁰⁴ It is more than doubtful if the name was in actual use in historic times, but there is no reason to question another statement of Philip that the Carians, both in antiquity and in his own day, used the Leleges as servants (*οϊκέται*), like the Helots in Laedaemon and the Penestae in Thessaly.²⁰⁵ He evidently refers to the same Lycian population as in the former passage, and

¹⁹⁹ Strabo, p. 678; διὰ τὸ ἐτέροις γένεσι περιέχονται, ὡς Ἴδριεῖς μὲν καὶ Τερμίλαι Καρσί, Δολιῶνες δὲ καὶ Βέβρυκες Φρυγί.

²⁰⁰ Ἀπολλόδωρος ὁ θαυμασιώτατος, St. Byz. s.v. Ἰδρικός. He appears to have been also one of the sanest and most scientific of ancient critics, as might be expected of the pupil of Aristarchus and follower of Eratosthenes.

²⁰¹ The *Τέρμερα* of Stephanus in Lycia is not an error, but a reference to Asclepiades of Myrlea (*F.H.G.* iii. p. 300), whom he quotes elsewhere (s.v. *Μύρλεια* and *Νίκαια*). The myth probably refers to the foundation of Patara (cf. St. Byz. s.v. Ἄπτερα).

²⁰² *F.H.G.* iv. p. 475.

²⁰³ In *J.H.S.* xvi. p. 207, the *Τερμίλη* of Stephanus is identified with a fort at Tremil. It is very probable that his tentative identification with *Τέρμερα* is wrong, but possibly the name of the district rather than a town may have survived at Tremil. The archaeology of the region is discussed in two valuable articles by Paton and Myres in *J.H.S.* xvi.

²⁰⁴ P. 611. In their earlier days they spread and multiplied greatly, ὅσπερον δ' ἕμα τοῖς Καρσί στρατεύμενοι κατεμερίσθησαν εἰς ὄλην

τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ ἠφανίσθη τὸ γένος. He certainly means that this dispersal took place in prehistoric times. Therefore, when he goes on to say that six of the eight towns were joined to Halicarnassus by Mausolus, he cannot imply, as is sometimes supposed, that they were then inhabited by a people bearing the name of Leleges. The whole story, which is a continuous narrative, seems to come from the Homeric commentary of the notoriously untrustworthy Callisthenes (Strabo, pp. 680, 814, etc.), who told a similar legend about the expulsion of the Homeric Cilices and their migration to Pamphylia (*ibid.* p. 667). Eratosthenes (Pliny, v. 30) described the Leleges as an extinct race, and it may be noted that Apollodorus does not mention them among the historical peoples of Asia Minor. If Herodotus had known of existing Leleges near his native town, distinct from the Carians, he could hardly have speculated on the relative accuracy of Cretan and Carian myths about their identity (i. 171). It is, in fact, evident that he considered them extinct as a people.

²⁰⁵ *F.H.G.* iv. p. 475.

though the name by which he calls them is probably a piece of archaeology,²⁰⁶ he must certainly have known the facts. The Ἰδριεῖς of Apollodorus formed another *enclave* in Carian territory. They were the inhabitants of the Ἰδριάς χώρα of Herodotus (v. 118), in the upper valley of the Marsyas, the territory of the later Stratonicea. According to Apollonius (a learned Greek from Egypt, who settled at Aphrodisias and wrote on the archaeology of Caria), Ἰδριάς was a city founded by Lycians and originally named Χρυσσαορίς.²⁰⁷ Afterwards (as we are told unquestionably on the same authority)²⁰⁸ it was named Ἰδριάς, after Idrieus the son of Car, meaning that it came into the possession of the Carians. The relationship of the original population to the Lycians was recorded in the genealogy which made Chrysaor the brother of Bellerophon. He was also the father of Μύλασος, the founder of Mylasa,²⁰⁹ which was apparently in tradition once a Lycian town.

It is evident that the Ἰδριεῖς, as well as the Τερμίλαι, of Apollodorus were held to be of Lycian descent, and he especially records that they were a different race (ἕτερον γένος) from the Carians. To them, no doubt, Herodotus particularly refers (i. 171) when he says that all those who, though of another race, were speakers of the same language as the Carians were excluded from the temple of the Carian Zeus at Mylasa. If so, it would appear that, though they had lost their original language along with their independence, they were still a distinct people.

It so happens that our knowledge of Carian proper names was originally based and still largely depends on an inscription containing about eighty from the district of Halicarnassus,²¹⁰ and on others from the same region. Among these there is a small proportion (probably about 10 per cent.) related to the Phrygian, but the great majority are of Lycian origin as far as the stem is concerned. Phonetically, however, they show marked differences from the Lycian, and seem to approximate to the Phrygian. This is exactly what might be expected if a population which remained essentially Lycian (as this seems to have done) became politically subject to a race of Phrygian invaders and acquired their language.

The words of Herodotus may be taken in evidence against the relationship of the Carians to the Lycians. But the statement which he reports about the brotherhood of the Carians, Lydians, and Mysians is ambiguous,

²⁰⁶ The story about Leleges and Minyae who once existed as a degraded caste at Tralles (Plutarch, *Quaest. Gr.* 46) represents them as originally invaders. It is frankly archaeological, like the legends about the foundation of Aphrodisias by Leleges (St. Byz. *s.v.* Νινώη and Μεγάλη πόλις), but may well contain elements of real tradition.

²⁰⁷ St. Byz. *s.v.*

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.* *s.v.* Ἰδριάς. The statements here given without the author's name are ascribed to Apollonius under Χρυσσαορίς and Εὔρωμος.

²⁰⁹ St. Byz. *s.v.* Μύλασα. The kinship with the Mylasians which was claimed by the Pisidians of Termessus (Kretschmer, p. 395) was probably based on a similar genealogy. The name of Termessus seems to be connected with *trēmisis*, which is, I believe, the adjective corresponding to the substantive *trēmīli*, 'Lycian.'

²¹⁰ First published by M. Haussoullier, whose learning continues after the lapse of nearly forty years to throw light on these obscure studies.

since the Mysians were almost certainly of European origin;²¹¹ but their language was a combination of Lydian and Phrygian,²¹² while the Lydian cannot well be an Indo-European language, but seems to have some Indo-European admixture,²¹³ and the nomenclature is largely Phrygian. Since, however, Carian names also shew a Phrygian element, it is probably this which is common to the three.

In any case, it is quite unsafe to assume that Carian names as a class are allied to the Lycian. The relationship requires to be demonstrated in each individual case. Even in Cilicia and southern Pisidia it can, at most, only be presumed. In all other districts the presumption is the other way. As to any derivation of local names in Greece and the islands from the original language of Asia Minor, if that language is really represented by Lycian nothing is proved by a comparison with any name from any other region, unless it can be shewn to be related to the Lycian. With regard to the suffixes which are held to be specially characteristic, *-νδ-* is generally, though not invariably, a proof of Lycian origin; *-σ-* affords no evidence on either side; and *-σσ-* in local names is probably native to Phrygia, but not native to Lycia.

W. G. ARKWRIGHT.

²¹¹ Kretschmer, p. 391.

²¹² Xanthus Lydus, frag. 8.

²¹³ Littmann, in *Sardis*, vol. vi. pt. i. p. 75.

STUDIES IN THE TEXT OF THE NICOMACHEAN ETHICS.

III.

MESSER GIANNOZZO MANETTI—if we may give credit to his enthusiastic biographer—was accustomed to say that there were three books which he had got by heart from long handling—Saint Paul's Epistles, Augustine's *De civitate Dei*, and (among the heathen) Aristotle's *Ethics*.¹ There may be some exaggeration here; but there is no doubt that Manetti, from the beginning to the end of his long literary career, was deeply interested in the moral writings of Aristotle. Vespasiano tells a story of him in the early period of his studies. He used to give a Latin *Ethics* to somebody, and taking the original himself, would reel it off so fast in Latin that his hearer was unable to follow him. I have seen him go through six books in this way, says Vespasiano.² During the last three years of his life, while he was in voluntary exile at Naples, he translated the *Nicomachean* and the *Eudemian Ethics* and the *Great Morals*.³ Manetti, like many learned men of that

¹ 'Usava dire, avere tre libri a mente, per lungo abito: l'uno era l'*Epistole* di Santo Pagolo, l'altro era Agostino, *De civitate Dei*, e de' gentili l'*Etica* d'Aristotele.' Vespasiano da Bisticci, *Vite*, ed. Frati, ii. p. 33. Naldo Naldi ('Vita Jannotii Manetti' in Muratori, *SS.* xx.) repeats the story, col. 532. In reading the *De civitate Dei* 'ita diligenter dedisse operam fertur, ut eum constans fama esset ad verbum edidicisse, quaecumque in illis voluminibus continerentur. . . . Praeterea quas Divus Paulus Epistolas scripserat, & Aristotelis *Ethica*, ad verbum ediscens, memoriae commenda vit.' Naldi's life however is little more than a paraphrase of Vespasiano's and he cannot be treated as an independent authority.

² 'Faceva pigliare l'*Etica* d'Aristotile in latino, et egli pigliava la greca, e leggevavi suso in latino tanto velocemente che colui che l'aveva in latino non poteva tenergli drieto. Vidine iscontrare libri sei a questo modo' (*Vite*, ii. p. 88). Cp. Naldo Naldi in Muratori, *SS.* xx. col. 533.

³ 'Tradusse i *Magni Morali* di Aristotile e le dua *Etiche*: l'una che non fu mai tradotta, che sono libri sei, che la mandò ad Eudimio.

Tradusse la seconda *Etica* ad Nicomacum, la quale aveva tradutta messer Lionardo' (*Vite*, ii. p. 178. Cp. p. 79). Naldi simply paraphrases this (Muratori, *SS.* xx. col. 596). There is some discrepancy as to the number of the books in Manetti's translation of the *Eudemian Ethics*. Vespasiano, and after him Naldi, here make it six. In the list of Manetti's works which Vespasiano adds to his shorter life he mentions 'Ethicorum Aristotelis ad Eudemum libri vii' (*Vite*, ii. p. 81). In the list which he adds to the longer life of Manetti, he mentions 'Ethicorum ad Eudemium lib. viii.' (*Vite*, ii. p. 200) and in this he is followed by Naldi (Muratori, *SS.* xx. col. 607.)

Notice that Vespasiano says that the *Eudemian Ethics* had never been translated. He cannot have known of the translation by Gregory of Città di Castello which I spoke of in my first Study. Gregory dedicates this to Nicholas V. and says in his dedication that the translation was made by the Pope's order. It is earlier therefore than the translation by Manetti, who did not settle in Naples till after that Pope's death.

time, was a collector of books. 'He had always employed scribes, both in Greek and in Latin,' says Vespasiano, 'and had books written for him that he did not possess, and bought all that he could in every department. . . . His books were worth several thousand florins, and he was always buying others, because his intention was to make a library in Florence in the Convent of Santo Spirito. The site was above where the novitiate is. He had studied in that convent, and had a very great love for it. About this he had written before his death to Master Francis of Santo Spirito. And if he had not died he would certainly have done it, and it would have been a very worthy thing in his memory. . . . To all men time is lacking; they are anticipated by death, which they do not expect . . . and their successor is not of their mind nor their wish.'⁴ Although Manetti's intentions were frustrated—perhaps, as Vespasiano suggests, by the indifference of his heirs—his library was not altogether scattered. A good many of his Greek books have found their way via Heidelberg to the Vatican.⁵ It is to one of these that I venture to call the attention of the learned reader, as it partly supports and partly modifies the suggestions which I threw out in the first of these Studies as to the text of the three books which are common to the *Nicomachean* and the *Eudemian Ethics*.

I there described three manuscripts of the *Eudemian Ethics* which contain these books. I now have a fourth to add to the number.⁶ Palatinus graecus 323, which I shall hereafter call D, is on ninety-four leaves of parchment, of which the first two are unnumbered. Of the ninety-two numbered leaves the last is blank. On the *recto* of the first unnumbered leaf is the following note: 'Ciceronis in p̄ de divinatione verba hec sunt.' [The passage quoted is *De Divin.* I. xxv. 53]. On the *verso* of the second unnumbered leaf is: 'Jannoctii Manetti 91 Primus Liber 1 Secundus 9' and so on to 'Octavus 86.' The numbered leaves are occupied as follows: F. 1a ἀριστοτέλους ἠθικῶν εὐδημίον α^{ov} F. 9a ἠθικῶν εὐδημίον β F. 24a ἠθικῶν εὐδημίον γ F. 34b ἠθικῶν εὐδημίον δ F. 47a ἠθικῶν εὐδημίον ε F. 55b ἠθικῶν εὐδημίον ζ F. 68b ἠθικῶν εὐδημίον η F. 86a ἠθικῶν εὐδημίον θ F. 91b τέλος. (The numbering of the books agrees with that in my B). The manuscript was written, according to the catalogue, by John Scoutariotes.⁷ Now John Scoutariotes copied at Florence from 1442 to 1494;⁸ and Gianuzzo Manetti died on the 27th of October, 1459.⁹ This manuscript therefore must have been written between 1442 and 1459. In

⁴ *Vite*, ii. pp. 187, 188. Naldi—the favourite of Phoebus, as his friends called him—simply turns into elegant Latin the unstudied phrases of Vespasiano (Muratori, *SS.* xx. col. 601).

⁵ Sabbadini, *Scoperte dei Codici*, i. p. 55.

⁶ There are two manuscripts in the Vatican library which, according to the catalogues, contain an *Eudemian Ethics* in seven books—Reginensis Gr. 125 and Urbin. Gr. 45—but, as Reginensis Gr. 125 is ascribed by the catalogue to the sixteenth and Urbin. Gr. 45 to

the sixteenth or seventeenth century, I have not been at the pains to examine them.

⁷ In the Vatican there is another manuscript of the *Eudemian Ethics* by the same scribe—Pal. Gr. 165. See Appendix C.

⁸ Omont, *Facsimiles*, p. 12. Omont's facsimile of his hand is dated 1460. He copied the *Politics* for Poliziano in 1494 (Susemihl, ed. major of *Politics*, p. xxvii.).

⁹ Vespasiano da Bisticci (*Vite*, ii. p. 195; Voigt, *Wiederbelebung*, i. p. 498, n.).

reporting the testimony of D, so far as I have examined it, I propose to deal, first, with its readings in the three common books and, secondly, with its readings in the exclusively Eudemean books.

As regards the common books, it may be said generally that where AB or ABC agree in a reading, D in its original form agrees with them, and that where A presents a peculiar reading of its own, D very frequently agrees with it as against B or BC or the whole body of manuscripts. It follows that a good many of the mistakes which in the first of these studies I rashly attributed to John Rhusus are really due to an earlier scribe. That Cretan priest has received less than justice at my hands.

Although, as I have said, D agrees almost always with AB or with ABC when they agree, this is to be understood of its original reading. D has suffered from considerable correction. Here are some cases where it originally agreed with AB or with ABC and has been corrected.

1129b 16 D in the text omits *ἡ κατὰ ἀρετὴν* in conformity with ABK^b and adds it in the margin.

1130b 12 D in the text reads *ὡς μέρος πρὸς ὄλον, τὸ μὲν πλέον ἅπαν, ἄνισον τὸ δ' ἄνισον, οὐ πᾶν πλέον*. This agrees with AB. Then *γὰρ* has been added above the line between *μὲν* and *πλέον*, bringing the text into agreement with K^bL^b, and after *ὄλον* there is a reference to the margin, which has *τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἄνισον ἅπαν παράνομον τὸ δὲ παράνομον οὐχ ἅπαν ἄνισον*, thus bringing D into practical agreement with M^bO^b.

1134a 26 D reads in the text *καὶ τὸ πολιτικὸν δίκαιον, ἀλλὰ τί δίκαιον*. After *δίκαιον* there is a reference to the margin, which reads *τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ κοινοβίου πρὸς τὸ εἶναι αὐτάρκειαν, ἐλευθέρων καὶ ἴσων, ἡ κατὰ ἀναλογίαν, ἡ κατὰ ἀριθμὸν, ὥστε ὅσοις μὴ ἔστι τούτοις πρὸς ἀλλήλους, τὸ πολιτικὸν δίκαιον*. This passage is omitted also in AB. Note that in its marginal addition D agrees with L^b in omitting *ἐπὶ*. b 15 D has in the text *τοῦ ἄρχειν καὶ ἄρχεσθαι* but *τοῦ* and *ειν καὶ* are over erasures. It is evident that it originally agreed with AB which give *καὶ ἀρχὴ τοῦ ἄρχεσθαι*. 21 D has *οὕτως διαφέρει οἶον*, but all is over an erasure. ABC have *οἶον διαφέρει* and K^b *διαφέρει οὕτως ἢ ἄλλως οἶον*.

1136a 16 D has *ἅπαν ἐκούσιον*, but *ε* is over an erasure and the breathing is soft. AC have *ἅπαν ἀκούσιον*; B has *ἐκούσιον* but *έ* is over an erasure. b 14 D has *ἔτι* but *ε* is over an erasure. Here D agrees with B, while AC have *ὄτι*.

1137b 5 Here Bekker and Susemihl read *ταυτόν ἐστιν*. In K^b *ταυτόν* is inserted in and above the line by a later hand. ABC omit it, but in B the corrector has added it in the margin. In D *ταυτόν ἐστιν* is added in a small hand at the end of a line between *σπουδαία* and *ἡ μὲν*.

1138a 17 D has *κατὰ ταύτην ἀδικεῖ* but *τὰ ταῦ* and *εἰ* are over an erasure. A has *καθ' ἃ τὴν ἀδικίαν* and BC *καθ' αὐτὴν ἀδικίαν*. K^b has *κατὰ ταύτην ἀδικεῖ ἄν*.

1144b 12 D adds *δὲ* above the line; AB omit it.

1146a 2 τῶ] Here ABK^b have *τὸ*. D also has *τὸ* but with a dot over o to call attention to the fact that it stands in need of correction.

The few cases in which the original text of D, so far as I have examined it, differs from AB or ABC are generally of slight importance. There are however, one or two which deserve mention.

1144a 30 D has *ᾄμματι*, which is apparently the reading of all Bekker's manuscripts: ABC have all originally *ὄνόματι*.

1147b 12 *ὁ οἰνωμένος* is the reading of the editions and manuscripts, except A, which omits *ὁ*, and D, which both omits *ὁ* and reads *οἰνωμένους*.

1149a 9 For *ἀφρόνων*, the reading of the editions and most manuscripts, ABCK^b read *ἀφροδισίων*, but C has in the margin *ἀφρόνων*. D has *ἀφροδίων*.

There is one correction in D, which does not appear to be supported by other manuscripts. 1134b 4 Between *αὐτῷ* and *εἰ μὴ* there is a reference to the margin, and in the margin *ἔλαττον δὲ τοῦ ἀπλῶς κακοῦ*.

I have examined D in every place in the three common books in which Appendix A to my first study reveals a difference between A and BC. Here are the results:—

First, as to omissions. Most of the longer passages which are omitted exclusively by A are found in D. For instance D has:

1129b 21 *καὶ τὰ τοῦ σώφρονος· οἶον, μὴ μοιχεύειν μηδὲ ὑβρίζειν.*

1132b 18 *ζημιουῖσθαι οὔτε κερδαίνειν. ὥστε κέρδους τινὸς καὶ.*

1134a 29 *ἀλλὰ τὶ δίκαιον, καθ' ὁμοίότητα· ἐστὶ γὰρ δίκαιον.* 34 *ἀγαθῶν, ἔλαττον δὲ τῶν ἀπλῶς κακῶν, διὸ.*

1142b 30 *τὸ ἀπλῶς κατορθοῦσα, ἢ τὶς δὲ ἢ πρὸς τι τέλος.* 33 *ἀληθὴς ὑπόληψις ἐστίν. ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ἡ σύνεσις.*

1143a 33 *καὶ γὰρ τὸν φρόνιμον δεῖ γινώσκειν αὐτά.* b 29 *οὐθὲν ἂν εἴη χρήσιμον ἔτι δ' οὐδὲ τοῖς μὴ ἔχουσιν.*

1154a 19 *τὴν ὑπερβολὴν φεύγει ἀλλ' ὅλως· οὐ γὰρ ἐστίν.*

D agrees with A in the following omissions:—

1131b 22 *ἐστὶ γὰρ τὸ ἔλαττον κακόν.*

1132a 16 *ἐναντίως τὸ μὲν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ πλεον τοῦ κακοῦ δὲ ἔλαττον.*

Here is a passage omitted by D which A does not omit.

1142b 5 *ἕτερον καὶ ἡ εὐβουλία· ἐστὶν δὲ εὐστοχία τις ἢ ἀγχίνοια.*

On the other hand, so far as I have examined D, wherever AB or ABC omit a passage, it is also omitted by D. For instance, D omits:—

1134a 8 *τοῦ ὠφελίμου ἢ βλαβεροῦ παρὰ τὸ ἀνάλογον. διὸ ὑπερβολὴ καὶ ἔλλειψις.* 26 *τοῦτο . . .* 29 *δίκαιον.*

1137b 8 *δίκαιον, καὶ οὐχ ὡς ἄλλο τι γένος ὃν βέλτιόν ἐστι.*

1149b 19 *ὁ δ' ὀργῇ ποιῶν πᾶς ποιεῖ λυπούμενος.*

Secondly, as to gaps, I have already pointed out in my first Study that Rhosus constantly leaves gaps at the beginning, middle, or end of a word. Very few of these gaps are recognised by D. Here is a list, the left hand reading being A's, and the right hand D's.

1132a 5 *χ . . . τα] χρῆται.*

1133b 24 *εἰπὲρ . . τ . .] εἰπέτε.*

1134b 33 *ἀρμό . . ει] ἀρμόσει.*

- 1136a 23 ὁ τ . . ἄδικον] ὄτ' ἄδικων.
 1137a 6 τὸ δίκαι . . .] τὸ, τὰ ἄδικον (ἄδικον is over an erasure). 22
 δεῖ . . αἰνεῖν] δειλαίνειν.
 1138a 6 ἑαυτοκτ . . νύναί] ἑαυτοκτινύται. 30 ὑγίειν . . .] ὑγιεινὸ.
 b 28 πο . . εἶν] πονεῖν.
 1142b 5 ἀγχιω . . . a] ἀγχινοια. 27 π . .] πω.
 1144a 21 πέφυκ . .] πέφυκε.
 1146a 1 ἡρέμ . . . a] ἡρεμαία. 16 δόξ . .] δόξα corr. from δόξη. 20 ὁ
 οὐ . .] ὁ οὐκ.
 1147b 1 and 19 . . κρατεῦεσθαι] ἀκρατεύεσθαι. 4 οὐκ ἀκρατῆ om. but
 leaves gap] οὐκ ἀκρατῆ.
 1148a 20 νεανί . . .] νεανικῆ. 33 μάχοι . . .] μάχοιτο. b 1 ἐπικ . . .
 λούμενος] ἐπικολούμενος (sic). 32 οὐχ ὄπ . . ουσιw] οὐχ ὄπύουσιw. The first
 v is over an erasure and a circumflex over ου has been struck out.
 1149b 29 π . . ρώσεις] πηρώσεις.
 1151a 3 οὐκ ἀπροβούλευτοι om. but leaves gap] οὐκ ἀπροβούλευτοι.
 . . τεροι] ἄτεροι. 33 ὁ ὅποιο . . .] ὁ ὅποι (letter erased) οὖν.
 1154b.3 αὐτ . . .] αὐτοί.

I have only noticed one gap in D. 1147a 23 D had originally ὑποκ . . .
 μένουσ but ^{vo}ρι has been inserted in the vacant space.

Having regard to the testimony of D, I withdraw the view which I expressed in my first Study, that these gaps were in the archetype originally. It is more likely that the archetype became unreadable in the interval between the transcription by Scoutariotes and that by Rhosus.

Thirdly, these matters being out of the way, I now give D's testimony in all other cases in which, in the common books, there is a difference between A and BC. I give a few cases here which will not be found in Appendix A. They are cases where A's reading was so palpably absurd that it did not seem worth while to record it. In order, however, to make complete reparation to John Rhosus, so far as I now can, I have included these cases. Where D agrees with A, its reading is given without any note. Where D differs from A, I give A's reading on the left, and D's on the right hand.

- 1129a 5 δικαίων. 8 ἀφ' οἷς. 33 καὶ om.] καὶ. b 10 τοῦτο γὰρ ἡ
 παρανομία ἦτοι ἡ ἀνισότης περιέχει πᾶσαν ἀδικίαν καὶ κοινὸν ἐστὶ πάσης
 ἀδικίας] τοῦτο γὰρ περιέχει καὶ κοινὸν, καὶ παράνομοσ· τοῦτο γὰρ, ἡ παρα-
 νομία ἦτοι ἡ (above line) ἀνισότης, περιέχει πᾶσαν ἀδικίαν καὶ κοινὸν ἐστὶ
 πάσης ἀδικίας. [Note that M^b O^b omit ἡ before ἀνισότης, while BCL^b retain
 it]. 20 λίπειν. 23 κατηγορεῖν καὶ om. 26 οὖν καὶ ἡ. 28 ἕτερος] ἔσπερος
 but σπ is perhaps over an erasure. 29 παραιμιαζόμενοι] παροιμιαζόμενοι.
 1130a 18 λειλίαν] δειλίαν. b 6 τίς δὲ καὶ] τίς καὶ. 25 νομοθέτηται]
 νενομοθέτηται. 29 εἶναι om.
 1131a 10 κατηγορία. 22 καὶ ἐκεῖνα. 29 ἀριστοκρατικοὶ ἐνάλογον]
 ἀνάλογον. b 1 οἶον om. 6 τὸ δ. 8 οὖν ὃ μὴ] ἦν ὃ μὴ. 17 τοῦτο παρὰ.
 1132a 3 εἰ δ' εἰ. 4 πρὸ. 8 ἀποθάνει. 10 ἀφέρων. 20 ἴεται, τὸ ἰέναι.

26 ὡσπερ γραμμοῖς γραμμῆς. 26 ταῦτ'. 32 δίκαιον διχαστής om. b 9 τοῦ γδ] τῷ γδ. 10 ἐποιούντο οἶον. 25 γε om. ῥαδαμάνθους. 27 εἰ καὶ κείσθι] κείθι. 29 ἄρχοντες] ἄρχοντα.

1133a 13 κρεῖττον om. θάτερον] θατέρον. 19 ἐφ' ὧν. 33 τοῦ σκυτ. b 7 κρεία] χρεία. 14 διὰ.

1134b 15 οἷσι] οἷς. 20 οὔτω. 24 τὰ om.

1135a 4 πάντα. 12 D adds ὅτι ὅταν πραχθῇ ἀδίκημά ἐστιν. Probably this was in the archetype, as it is given also by BCK^bL^bO^b. 18 ἄκρων] ἄκων. 27 τύπτει. b 14 ἐνήθη] ὠήθη.

1136a 3 τὸ δίκαιον. 10 διώρισθαι. 31 οὐδ'] εἰδ'. b 8 δεῖ] δεῖν. 12 D has οὐκ in the line while in A it is above the line. 14 δ' ἔστιν. 19 ἔχων] ἐκὼν. 31 ἰκέτης. 32 κατὰ τὸν ν. 34 τὸν ν.

1137a 11 οὐχ ἄλεπὸν] οὐ χαλεπὸν. 35 ἐπανοῦμεν] ἐπαινοῦμεν.

1138a 9 δὲ om. 13 ζημοῖ. 14 πολιὰν] πόλιν ἂν. 19 πείσιν. 21 ἀντιπιῶν. 25 τοιχωρυγεί] τοιχωρυχεῖ. b 10 For δῆ of the other manuscripts, A has δεῖ. D has δῆ, but η is over an erasure. Note that the accent has not been altered. 20 διέλομεν. 35 δῆ om.

1139a 18 A has τούτω for τούτων of the other manuscripts. D has τουτώ. The dot over the last letter, to which another corresponds in the margin, calls attention to the fact that correction is required. b 4 ἡ προαίρεσις. 13 ἔξις] ἔξεις. 28 δῆ om. 32 προσδιορισόμεθα.

1140a 13 ἀρετῆ. 30 εὐλογίζονται. 35 ἔχει] ἔχειν. b 15 ἴας. 22 οὐ ἔστι.

1141a 4 ἄλλω. 11 πολέκλειτος. 20 ἔχουσαν. 26 φύσει. b 24 αὐτοῖς] αὐταῖς.

1142a 8 τὸσουτους] τὸ τούτους. 33 εὐστυχία] εὐστοχία. b 2 εὐτυχία] εὐστοχία. 3 ταχύτητος εὐτυχία] εὐστοχία. 4 δεῖ βουλευσθέντα. 11 διώρισθαι. 29, 31 βουλευσθαι. 32 καθ' ἃ] κατὰ.

1143a 6 ἀπορήσει. 15 D here has κακῶς with A but with a dot over the second κ and another in the margin. 17 οἱ εὐσύνετοι. 27 ἡ δῆ. b 2 ἀκρινήτων. 11 προέχειν.

1144a 12 δι' αὐτήν] διὰ τήν. 14 δικαίας] δικαίους. 24 ὑποθέντα. 26 ἐπαινετός] ἐπαινετή. b 8 ὑπάρχει] ὑπάρχειν. 19 ὥστ'] ὡετ'. 20 πάντας] πάσας. 33 ὧς.

1145a 2 ὑπάρχουσι. 8 ἄρα] ὄρα. 16 ἦθη ἡδη] εἶδη. 18 A has ἀρετῆ, D ἀρετήν, but ν is added in a different ink. The original hand of D has, however, ἐγκράτειαν. 24 τῆ om. 25 ἀντιθεμένη] ἀντιθεμμένη. 27 τὸν. b 17 οὔτε. 18 οὔτε] ὅτε. 24 περὶ. 30 παθεῖν.

1146a 1 ἀντιτείνουσαν. 4 ἀντεινούσης. 7 ἔχοντα. 19 τις om. 26 οὐμπερανθέν] συμπερανθέν. b 26 δοξάντων διαστάζουσι. 31 A has ἐδιχῶς for ἐπεὶ διχῶς of the other manuscripts. D had ἐδιχῶς but πεί has been added above the line after ἐ.

1147a 7 D has ἀλλ' εἰ τότε τοιόνδε. 9 δοκεῖ. 11 ὑπάρχοι. 15 ταῖς] τοῖς. b 3 διὰ om. 11 ἐπίσταται. 12 ὁ om. 23 καὶ οἱ μ.] καὶ μ. 31 τὰς] τοὺς.

1148a 17 D does not add περὶ ταῦτα. 20 προσγένειτος ἐπιθυμίαν but

in D final *v* is erased. 23 *εἰσι τῷ γένει καλῶν.* *b* 6 *ψευκτῶν]* *ψεκτῶν.*
9 *οὐδὲ*, but D omits the preceding *οὖν.* 10 *ὁμοίως]* *ὁμοίαν.*

1149a 20 *οἶον ἦν.* *b* 23 *ὡσπερ]* *ὡς.*

1150a 23 *μέσον, ὁ.* 25 *δι' ἡδονῶν.* 29 *εἰ* (1st)] om. *b* 10 *ἀλώπη]*
ἀλώπη. 13 *ἀντείνειν.* 15 *διὰ γένος.* 23 *προσεγείραντες]* *προεγείραντες.*
32 *ἱατρός]* *ἱατός.*

1151a 3 *ἡττώται.* 8 *τε]* *γε* *πράξις* *δημοδόκου]* *δημοδόκου.* 14 *μετὰ*
πίστεως] *μετάπιστος.* 22 *λόγον* om. 31 *προαιρέσει μὲν ἐμμένων.* *b* 1
αἰρένται] *αἰρεῖται.* 2 D has *κατὰ.* 13 *ὁ ἄγροικοι]* *οἱ ἄγροικοι;* D does not
add *καὶ οἱ ἀμαθείς.* 17 *δοξάσασιν.* 18 *τοῦ Σοφ.]* *τῷ Σοφ.*

1152a 1 *καὶ σῶφρων.* 13 *κατὰ* om. 18 *ἢ μὴ πόνηρος]* *ἡμιπόνηρος.*
b 4 *δὲ.* 13 *φύσιν καὶ.* 21 *αἰσχροὶ]* *αἰσχραὶ.* 34 *ἡδιναι.*

1153a 4 *καὶ* om. *b* 2 *τῆ.* 24 *καλεῖ.* 27 *φημί.* 33 *κληρονομίαν]*
κληρονομίαν. 35 *γνωρισμοὺς.*

1154a 5 *φεύγει.* 11 *μοχθηρία]* *μοχθηραὶ.* 13 *τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ]* *τοῦ ἀγαθαί.*
14 *ὑπερβολῆς.* 18 *ὄψεις]* *ὄψοις.* 26 *οἱ]* *αἰ.* *b* 1 *τελουμένων.* 21 *τὰ*
αὐτὸ.

The patient reader who casts an eye over this record will see that, though D is on the whole more carefully written than A—Rhosus is prone to omissions—it coincides with A in the majority of its peculiar readings, which we must therefore attribute to the archetype of the two manuscripts.

So much for the testimony of D as regards the common books. I now pass to the exclusively Eudemian books. I have collated D as far as 1217b 26 and examined it in a number of places and here are the results. So far as they go, D agrees very closely with A, as against all the other manuscripts. Where A and B agree as against the other manuscripts, it agrees with them. Where A and B differ, A agreeing with M^b as against BP^b, it agrees with AM^b as against BP^b. I here speak of its original reading; for in many cases where A gives an independent reading, the reading of D, which originally agreed with A, has been corrected.

Here are some cases where D agrees with A and has not been corrected.

1214a 7 *συγχωροῦμεν.* 30 *δ']* om.

1215a 19 *ἂ τοῖς αὐτοῖς.* *b* 10 *ἢ καὶ.* 23 *ὑπέμεινεν.* 24 *τέ]* om.

1216a 5 *ὅποσονοῦν.* 20 *ἔλοιτο* (A has *ἔλλοιτο*). 29 *τῆν]* om. 34 *μὲν]*
om. 38 *τε]* om. 39 *ἄλλης.* *b* 18 *τοῦθ'.* 19 *γιγνώσκειν.* 23 *καὶ]* om.

1217a 16 *τῆν]* om. 18 *λέγομεν.* *b* 1 *τὶ]* om. 9 *λέγεται.* 20 *μὲν]*
om. *δέαι.* 21 *ότοοῦν.*

Here are some cases where D originally agreed with A as against the other manuscripts and has been corrected.

1214a 1 A omits *ἐν Δήλῳ.* In D it is added above the line. 11 A omits *καὶ.* D adds it in the margin. 18 A omits *τῆς.* D adds it above the line.

1215a 2 D now reads *περὶ ὧν ἐπισκεπτέον μόνας*, but the second *ε* of *ἐπισκεπτέον* has been corrected from *ο*. It therefore originally agreed with

A. 11 A omits τὴν περὶ; D adds it in the margin. 31 D has ὧν ἀγορὰς with B, but ὧν is over an erasure. Probably it originally agreed with A. b 34 A omits ὧν; D adds it above the line.

1216a 10 A omits τὸ; D adds it above the line. b 36 A omits μὴ; D adds it above the line. 37 A has πολιτῶν for πολιτικῶν of the other manuscripts; D has πολιτικῶν but ιτικῶν is over an erasure.

1217a 20 A has ἐπισαφῶς for ἐπὶ τὸ σαφῶς of the other manuscripts. In D τὸ is added above the line. 36 A reads διὰ for καὶ ἃ of the other manuscripts. In D καὶ is over an erasure. 37 A omits τὴν; D adds it in the margin. b 23 ἔπειτ' εἰ καὶ ὅτι] A reads εἰς for εἰ καὶ. In D τ' εἰ καὶ are in a small hand over an erasure. 27 In D ὧν is over an erasure; A has οὔ.

1218a 3 D has πρότερον πρότερον γὰρ τὸ κοινὸν with the printed texts, but ρον πρότερον γὰρ τὸ are over an erasure. A has πρότερον γὰρ τὸ γὰρ κοινόν. 26 ἐφίενται (2nd)] ἐφίεται A. D has ἐφίενται but φίεν are over an erasure.

1221a 24 D has ὀλιγαχόθεν but γα are added above the line. A has ὀλιγόθεν; BC ὀλιγαχόθεν but in B γαχο are probably over an erasure.

1229a 26 δοκοῦσιν εἶναι οὐκ ὄντες. This is the reading of most of the manuscripts and of the printed texts. A has εἶ for εἶναι. D reads as above, but οὔσιν εἶναι οὐ are over an erasure. 33 τὰ ποιητικὰ] A omits; D adds in the margin. 35 φθαρτικῆς] So D, but ικῆς is over an erasure. A has φθαρτικοῖς.

1230a 27 προαιρετικῆ] A omits; D adds in the margin. b 23 σόφρων (2nd)] A omits; D adds in the margin.

1247b 24 καὶ οὐ δεῖ] A omits; D adds in the margin.

1248b 26 ἐπαγωγῆς] A has ἀπαγωγῆς. D has ἀ (afterwards erased) ἐπαγωγῆς.

Here are some cases in which D originally agreed with ABC or AB as against the other manuscripts and has been corrected.

1214b 17 ABC omit οὐ; D adds it above the line.

1217b 14 AB (but not C) omit χωριστὴν; D adds it above the line.

In other cases, in which ABC, AB, AC or A alone agreed with the M^b text as against P^b, D originally agreed with them and has been corrected to agree with the P^b text.

1214a 24 ABCM^b read δαιμονία; P^b δαιμονίου. D reads δαιμονία, the dot under *a* denoting that it requires correction. b 7 D adds δεῖ above the line, in agreement, according to Sussehl, with 'mg. re. P^b.'

1215a 15 οὐδὲ τῆς. ABCM^b; οὐδὲ διὰ τῆς P^b. In D διὰ is added above the line.

1217b 26 ABCM^b omit το; D adds it above the line.

1218a 16 ACM^b have δείκνυσι. D has δείκνυσι^{ου}. Note that the corrector left the accent untouched.

1219a 3 καὶ γὰρ ἔργον τὶ BP^b] ACM^b omit γὰρ; D adds it in the margin.

1220a 20 ὁ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ BP^b] ACM^b omit τῶν; D adds it in the margin.

1222b 2 καὶ μὴ ὀργίζεσθαι ῥαπιζόμενον BP^b] ACM^b omit μὴ. In D καὶ μὴ are over an erasure.

1223b 35 πρὶν γενέσθαι ἀκρατῆς τοῦτο δ' ἀδύνατον] In D νέσθαι ἀκρατῆς τοῦτο δ' are over an erasure. Now M^b for γενέσθαι reads γε. AC have πρὶν γε; B πρὶν γε.

1228a 33 καὶ γὰρ οὗτος ACM^b] καὶ γὰρ ὁ τοιοῦτος BP^b. D has καὶ γὰρ ὁ τοιοῦτος, but καὶ γὰρ ὁ τοι are over an erasure. The corrector has left the original breathing.

1229a 25 ACM^b have θῆρες; BP^b σύες. D has θῆρες and in the margin γ' σύες.

1230b 39 ACM^b have αἰσθήσεων; BP^b αἰσθητῶν. D has αἰσθήσεων and in the margin γ' αἰσθητῶν.

1232b 8 ABCM^{b1} read κατεψηφισμένως. D has this in the text and in the margin Γⁿ κατεψενσμένως, agreeing with P^b.

1236b 29 D has ὁ δι' αὐτὸν αὐτὸς αἰρετός, which is the reading of ABCM^b. In D there is a reference to the margin after αὐτὸν and in the margin ὁ δὲ δι' αὐτὸν. Susemihl notes: αὐτὸν οὐδὲ (?) δι' αὐτὸν 'mg. rc. P^b'.

Here are some independent readings of D.

1216a 2 ὁμοίως δὲ οὐδὲ διὰ τὴν τοῦ καθεύδειν ἡδονήν] P^bM^b agree except that M^b reads οὐ for οὐδὲ. Both D and Pal. 165 omit οὐδὲ in the text and add it in the margin, and both agree with ABC in reading ἐν τῷ for τοῦ. The latter reading is probably right. b 30 Bekker reads πάντως without noticing any variant. According to Susemihl 'γρ. πάντας Victorius' and he admits πάντας into the text. A has παντός; BC πάντως; D πάντας.

1217a 16 D had originally ὁ λόγος ἔστι ἔστι, which may be right. Then the first ἔστι was erased. ABC have only one. b 13 τὸ δὲ πρῶτον. This is the reading of all the manuscripts including ABC. Spengel conjectured τὸ δὲ πρότερον (*Aristotelische Studien*, ii. p. 7). D has πρῶτον.^{ep}

1231a 32 The mss. read οὐ (BP^b καὶ ACM^b) γὰρ ὑπερβάλλουσι τῷ χαίρειν μᾶλλον ἢ δεῖ τυγχάνοντες καὶ λυπεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ δεῖ μὴ τυγχάνοντες, which seems to be right. BP^b omit καὶ λυπεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ δεῖ μὴ τυγχάνοντες. D reads καὶ γὰρ ὑπερβάλλουσι τῷ χαίρειν μᾶλλον ἢ δεῖ τυγχάνοντες· καὶ λυπεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ δεῖ τυγχάνοντες· καὶ λυπεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ δεῖ μὴ τυγχάνοντες. It is curious that Pal. 165, which originally left out καὶ λυπ... μὴ τυγχάνοντες, should have added it in the margin in the duplicated form in which it appears in D.

1233a 26, 27 P^bM^b read ὁ δὲ μικρόψυχος ὃς ὑπαρχόντων αὐτῷ μεγάλων κατὰ τιμὴν ἀγαθῶν ἀξιοῖ, τί ἂν εἴποι εἰ μικρῶν ἀξίος ἦν {εἰ P^b} γὰρ {ἂν P^b} {ἢ M^b} {om. M^b} μεγάλων ἀξιών χαῦνος ἦν ἢ {ἐλαττόνων ἔτι P^b} {ἔτι ἐλαττόνων M^b}. ABC agree with M^b, except that they retain ἂν. D reads ἀγαθῶν οὐκ ἀξιοῖ ἑαυτὸν ἀξίος

τὸ ἂν εἴποι, all which words, except the first, are over an erasure. In the text D reads *ἔτι ἐλαττόνων* and in the margin Γ *εἰ ἐλαττόνων ἂν εἴη, ἔτι*. - D's reading in the text comes near to that of 'mg. re. P^b' and his reading in the margin agrees with that of 'D^c et mg. re. P^b' (I quote from Susemihl). b 8 The manuscripts give *δεῖ δὲ πρέπον εἶναι καὶ γὰρ τοῦ πρέποντος κατ' ἀξίαν, καὶ πρέπον καὶ περὶ ὃ, οἶον περὶ οἰκέτου γάμον*. There seem to be no variants. D gives *καὶ γὰρ τὰ (corrected from τὸ) πρέποντα κατ' ἀξίαν ἀξίαν (over an erasure) πρέπον. καὶ περὶ ὃ, οἶον περὶ τῷ οἰκέτου γάμον*. Now it is evident that a line has been repeated here. Above is *τὸ γὰρ πρέπον κατ' ἀξίαν ἐστίν· οὐδὲν γὰρ πρέπει*. It is repeated in D more closely to its original form than in the other manuscripts. We should read *δεῖ δὲ πρέπον εἶναι καὶ περὶ ὃ κ.τ.λ.*

1237b 19 Bekker and Susemihl read *οἶονται οὐ βούλεσθαι φίλοι ἄλλ' εἶναι φίλοι*. This is the reading of ABCM^b. P^b omits *οὐ*. It is clear that D agreed originally with M^b and then was corrected to agree with P^b. D reads *οἶονται* (two letters erased) *βούλεσθαι φίλοι εἶναι* (over an erasure) [new line] *εἶναι* (also over an erasure) *φίλοι*. In the margin at the end of the first line is *ἄλλ' οὐκ εἰσὶ φίλοι* and at the beginning of the second *ἄλλ'*.

1238a 24 Bekker and Susemihl read: *ἐκείνων τε γὰρ τὸ μὲν ἡδὺ ταχὺ δηλοῖ*. This is M^b's reading; P^b omits *ἡδὺ*. D in place of *ἡδὺ* has a space of about ten letters in length. (A omits *ἡδὺ* but leaves no gap; BC omit it, leaving a space of four or five letters. M^b's *ἡδὺ* is no doubt a conjecture.

1240a 27 Bekker following P^b reads *μὴ τῷ εἶναι τούτῳ ἂν δόξαιεν* M^b has simply *μὴ τὸ δόξειε*. ABC have *μὴ τὸ* (then space of about thirty-five letters) *δόξειε*. D has *μὴ τῷ εἶναι τούτῳ ἂν* (space of seven letters ends the line), (space of fourteen letters begins next line), *δόξειε*.

Of the four manuscripts which I have examined of the Eudemian tradition, D, in its original and uncorrected form, appears to me to approach nearest to the common archetype, and where A and D agree, I think we are entitled to assume that we have the readings of that archetype. On the other hand, B and C are probably not derived immediately from the common archetype, but from a copy of that archetype, which has itself been corrected on the same style and scale as D.

The evidence of a close connexion between A and D which is afforded by the similarity of their readings may be supplemented and strengthened from another source. In 1137a 6 most manuscripts read *συγγενέσθαι μὲν γὰρ τῇ τοῦ γείτονος καὶ πατάξαι τὸν πλησίον καὶ δοῦναι τῇ χειρὶ τὸ ἀργύριον ῥάδιον καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς*. D reads *πατάξαι τὸν πλησίον αὐτῶν*. It is clear that the scribe of D had his eye caught by *αὐτοῖς* in the line below and took it in and then saw his mistake. Now it is probable that *αὐτοῖς* in the line below came immediately below the end of *πλησίον*. By this reasoning we get a line of thirty-seven letters for the archetype of D. On the other hand, in 1148a 17 A reads *οἱ δ' εἰσὶ μὲν περὶ ταῦτά, ἄλλ' οὐκ ὡσαύτως εἰσὶν, ἄλλ' οἱ μὲν περὶ ταῦτα*. In 1151b 13 A reads *καὶ οἱ ἀμαθεῖς καὶ ὁ ἄγροικοι οἱ μὲν ἰδιογνώμονες καὶ οἱ ἀμαθεῖς*. In these cases, if we suppose that *περὶ ταῦτα* was repeated because *περὶ ταῦτα* stood immediately above it in the preceding

line and that *καὶ οἱ ἀμαθείς* was repeated because *καὶ οἱ ἀμαθείς* stood immediately above it in the preceding line, we get for a line of the archetype thirty-five and forty-two letters respectively (A reads *ὁ ἀγροικοὶ* but this is evidently a mere slip of Rhosus; BCD give *οἱ ἀγροικοὶ*). Again, in 1149b 23 A reads *ὡς περ μὲν τοῖνυν αἰσχίων ἢ περὶ ἐπιθυμίας ἀκρασία τῆς περὶ τὸν θυμόν*. I suspect that Rhosus wrote *περ* after *ὡς* because his eye was caught by the *περ* of the second *περὶ* coming immediately after it in the line below. This gives us a line of forty letters for the archetype. The omissions which are peculiar to A point in the same direction. Here are the figures: 1129b 21, forty-three letters; 1132b 18, forty-three letters; 1134a 29, thirty-nine letters; 34, thirty-one letters; 1142b 30, thirty-five letters; 33, thirty-four letters; 1143a 33, thirty-three letters; b 29, thirty-eight letters; 1154a 19, thirty-five letters; 1216b 25, thirty-eight letters. All this suggests an archetype with about the same number of letters to the line as K^b, which has generally thirty-seven or thirty-eight letters to the line, but sometimes as few as thirty-five and occasionally forty-three or forty-four. (This modifies what I said in my first Study at page 51).

These arithmetical calculations are, however, as dangerous as they are fascinating, and I only draw attention to these striking coincidences between A and D as affording some additional support to the view that they are immediate copies of one and the same manuscript. A suggestion may be hazarded as to the origin of that manuscript.

Philephus on his return from Constantinople in 1427 gives a list of the manuscripts which he had brought back with him to Italy.¹⁰ Among them are the *Ethics* of Aristotle, the *Magna Moralia* and the *Eudemean Ethics*. The manuscript of the *Eudemean Ethics* may have been a copy made in Constantinople. Philephus had a *Nicomachean Ethics* copied for him in Constantinople in 1423—and what is more, by a copyist who praised his liberality.¹¹ But if Philephus' manuscript of the *Eudemean Ethics* is the archetype of ABCD, it is more probable that it was a manuscript of considerable antiquity. What makes me suggest that it was the archetype of our manuscripts are the facts that B was written for Philephus, that C belonged to him, and that he was—or professed to be—on very friendly terms with Giannozzo Manetti, who would therefore have had no difficulty in borrowing the archetype for the purpose of making a copy. There is a letter from Philephus to Manetti dated 'xii. kal. octobres. M. cccc. lvii.' He speaks of 'our old and great friendship.' 'Iampridem,' he says, 'cum Florentiae agerem, solebam primis annis tuum vitae institutum non probare solum, sed etiam laudare, qui platonice, ut mihi videbare, praeceptis imbutus reipublicae gubernacula nullo pacto velles attingere. Itaque totum graecae disciplinae studiis et exercitationibus te dedideras. Erasque ejus rei gratia

¹⁰ See on the whole subject Calderini (Aristide) 'Ricerche intorno alla biblioteca e alla cultura greca di Francesco Filefo' in *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica*, V. xx., Firenze, 1913, pp. 204-424.

¹¹ Brandis, 'Die Aristotelischen Handschriften der Vaticanischen Bibliothek' in *Abhandlungen der k. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* (Historisch-philologische Abhandlungen) p. 74.

quotidie mecum una.' D cannot date back to these happy times, as Scoutariotes did not begin his career till long after Philelphus had withdrawn from Florence. But the archetype may have been sent to Manetti afterwards.

The reader has now before him the testimony for the Eudemian tradition of the three common books in as complete a form as I can present it.

W. ASHBURNER.

APPENDIX C.

There is another manuscript of the *Eudemian Ethics* written by John Scoutariotes—Palatinus Graecus 165. This manuscript contains the *Nicomachean Ethics* and therefore in the text of the *Eudemian Ethics* the common books are omitted (see Bekker at 1234b 14). Susemihl, who calls it D^c and says that it belongs to the same class as P^b, gives its readings for 1214, 1215, and in some other places. While it is true that it agrees closely with P^b from beginning to end, so far as I have examined it, it is also true that, in the early part at least of the *Eudemian Ethics*, it has been largely corrected from a manuscript of the M^b family. Here is a list of words and phrases which Pal. 165 in agreement with P^b omits in the text and which it adds in the margin. (The readers of my first Study will notice that some of these places are also omitted in the text by my B, which in its early part belongs to the P^b family, and are also supplied in the margin).

1219b 31 τι.

1221b 14 πλήκτης δὲ καὶ λοιδορητικὸς ταῖς κολάσεσι ταῖς ἀπὸ τῆς ὀργῆς. 39 πέφυκε γίνεσθαι χείρων καὶ βελτίων.

1223a 17 καὶ κατὰ προαίρεσιν τὴν ἐκάστου ἐκείνον αἴτιον εἶναι ὅσα δὲ ἀκούσια. b 5 βουλόμενος πράττει.

1224a 31 χαίρων δὲ.

1228b 10 πρῶτον. 13 εἴη ἄν.

1231b 5 καὶ χαλεπότητος.

The corrector did not persevere to the end. Thus 1246b 10 Pal. 165 omits ἔτι and ἡ νοῦς with P^b; 11 it omits χρῆται . . . 12 ἀρετῇ with P^b; 14 it omits ἡ with P^b; but in none of these cases is the omission supplied in the margin.

Here are a few more cases where the reading of Pal. 165 points in the same direction.

1220b 15 ποιότης. λέγω δὲ τὰς δυνάμεις are dotted underneath, no doubt as a sign that they should be omitted. M^b omits a passage, the last word of which is ποιότης. It is probable that the corrector of Pal. 165 was trying to bring his text into conformity with a manuscript of the M^b type, and made a mistake in his dots.

1224a 4 προαιρεῖται δ' οὐδεὶς is in the text but over an erasure. οὐδὲν ἐξαίφνης. εἰ δὲ ἀνάγκη μὲν is added in the margin. P^b and my B omit in

the text *προαιρείται δ' οὐδείς οὐδέν ἐξαίφνης*. B adds it in the margin. Probably Pal. 165 originally had the same omission and corrected it, partly in the text and partly in the margin.

1231a 32 Pal. 165 adds in the margin *καὶ λυπεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ δεῖ τυγχάνοντες καὶ λυπεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ δεῖ μὴ τυγχάνοντες* between 31 *τυγχάνοντες* and 33 *οὐδ' ἀνάληγτοι*. P^b—followed by my B—omit *καὶ λυπεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ δεῖ μὴ τυγχάνοντες*. It is probable that Pal. 165 intended merely to correct this omission. It is rather singular that my D has in the text the whole passage which Pal. 165 adds in the margin. Can Pal. 165 have been corrected by the aid of D? However this may be, I think it will be found that Pal. 165 in its original form is merely a copy of P^b.

APPENDIX D.

In my first Study I identified the unknown manuscript of Victorius, which Susemihl makes use of and calls C^v, with my B and suggested that, where Susemihl gives a reading which is not found in B, he may have used another manuscript. Victorius in his commentary on the *Nicomachean Ethics* makes considerable use of the *Eudemian Ethics*—‘quamvis mendosi.’ he says of them, ‘non sine fructu tamen leguntur’—and discusses questions of their text not infrequently.

Here are the passages. (I cite from *Petri Victorii Commentarii in X Libros Aristotelis de Moribus ad Nicomachum*, Florentiae, 1584, fol.)

1215b 8 In citing the passage about Anaxagoras, he reads *ὃν σὺ νομίζεις* (p. 601). This is the reading of C Z, M^b, while P^b and AB have *ὄν*.

1218b 32 ‘Verba Aristotelis sunt in altero illo opere *πάντα δὴ τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἢ ἐκτὸς, ἢ ψυχῆς*, suspicari tamen posset quispiam, quam opinionem non temere sequendam iudico, defecisse eo loco tertium membrum, cum calamo exaratos libros eius de moribus operis viderim nulla re illic variatos’ (p. 38) Bekker’s and Susemihl’s manuscripts all give *ψυχῆ* and the editors prefix *ἐν*. ABC also have *ψυχῆ*. Possibly *ψυχῆς* is a printer’s error. It is curious that Spengel (*Aristotelische Studien*, ii. p. 8) first inserts a tertium membrum and then repents of his insertion.

1221b 19 ‘Nec tamen omittere debeo, quin tester, duo menda, hac ipsa in parte eo loco excusos libros habere, quae auctoritate calamo scriptorum tolluntur: nam pro *πῶς λαμβάνειν* legi debet *προσλαμβάνειν* et pro *συννημμένον, συνειλημμένον*’ (p. 98). P^bB have *προσλαμβάνειν*; M^bAC *πῶς λαμβάνειν*: P^bM^bABC all agree in *συνειλημμένον*.

1222a 3 Victorius in citing this passage reads *ἀπαθείας, καὶ ἡρεμίας*: ‘ita enim quoque illic, calamo exarati libri, multitudinis numero, non unitatis habent’ (p. 82). P^bM^bAC have *ἀπάθειαν καὶ ἡρεμίαν*. B has *ἀπαθείας καὶ ἡρεμίας*.

1229a 19 ‘Pro *κατενωχηκότες* igitur *κατεντυχηκότες* illic legi debet’

(p. 170). *κατεωχηκότες* is the reading of Aldus and *κατευτυχηκότες* of P^b M^b and my BC. A has *κατευτηκότες*.

1232b 38 He reads *ἀνόητον*. 'Ita enim scriptum est in libris antiquis, cum in Aldino exemplari hoc verbum turpiter depravatam sit (p. 232). P^bM^bABC all read *ἀνόητον*.

1239a 37 'Corruptum profecto id est in omnibus, quos viderim libris: pro *ὑποβολαῖς* enim perperam scriptum in ipsis est *ὑπερβολαῖς*, cui lectioni locus nullo pacto est; conjecturam igitur sequutus, locum emendavi' (p. 464).

1241a 35 . . . 38 'Sed cum eius dubitationis prima pars valde corrupta sit in libris etiam duobus, quos vidi manuscriptis, quomodo putem legi debere, hic significabo: nam in peroratione ipsa nullum mendam extat: *ἀπορείται δὲ διὰ τὸ μᾶλλον φιλοῦσι οἱ ποιήσαντες εὖ, τοὺς παθόντας, ἢ οἱ παθόντες εὖ, τοὺς ποιήσαντας. δοκεῖ δὲ δίκαιον εἶναι τοῦναντίον: τοῦτο δ' ὑπολάβοι μὲν ἂν τις διὰ τὸ χρήσιμον, καὶ τὸ αὐτῷ ὠφέλιμον συμβαίνειν, et cetera quae sequuntur minime depravata' (p. 520).*

1246b 34 'Redigit mihi in memoriam locum, quem in libro de moribus ad Eudemum, videor mihi, conjectura ductus, fideliter emendasse: ubi enim illic legitur *καὶ ὀρθῶς τὸ σῶμα κρατητικόν, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἰσχυρότερον φρονήσεως, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐπιστήμης (sic) ἔφη, οὐκ ὀρθόν*, et quae sequuntur, prorsus existimo pro duobus illis verbis, miserum in modum depravatis legi debere *Σωκρατικόν*' (p. 373).

It is clear from Victorius' own words that he had two manuscripts to consult, and equally that one of them was B and that the other was not A. Can it have been C?

THE CHARACTER OF GREEK COLONISATION.¹

THREE movements of expansion can be distinguished in what we know of the history of the Greeks. The first, that of the so-called Dorian and Ionian migrations, left them in possession of the Greek mainland, the principal islands of the Aegean, and the western seaboard of Asia Minor. The second, that of Greek colonisation properly so-called, extended the Greek world to the limits familiar to us in the history of Greece during the fifth and fourth centuries. The third, in which Macedonian kings act as leaders, began with the conquests of Alexander, and resulted in that Hellenisation of the East which was the permanent achievement of his successors. The general character of the second of these movements forms the subject of this essay. Much has still to be done before a detailed history of Greek colonisation can be given to the world. Sites must be excavated, and the main lines of Greek commercial history established, before it can even be attempted. But we know enough already to judge with fair accuracy of that tremendous outburst of activity, which left the Greeks almost undisputed masters of Mediterranean commerce. Here and there the course of development is still uncertain, and almost everywhere we are ignorant of details that would inevitably be instructive; but, since recent historians of Greece aim rather at narrating the story of individual colonies than at presenting general conclusions, it may prove worth while to give here a survey of the whole field. Perhaps the clearest way of presenting such a survey will be to discuss first the causes of Greek colonisation; secondly, the political and social conditions under which it developed; and lastly, the relations which resulted between each colony and its mother-state.²

I.—*The Causes of Greek Colonisation.*

Thucydides had no doubt as to the underlying cause of Greek colonisation: *ἐπιπλέοντες τὰς νήσους κατεστρέφοντο, καὶ μάλιστα ὅσοι μὴ διαρκῆ*

¹ The essay here printed, by permission of the Council of the British Academy, was awarded the first annual Cromer Prize 'for the best Essay on any subject connected with the language, history, art, literature, or philosophy of Ancient Greece' (see *J.H.S.* xxxvi. p. lxxiii.).

² I acknowledge my authorities in the

course of the essay; but I should like here to express my gratitude to Rev. E. M. Walker, of Queen's College, Oxford, and to Professor Percy Gardner for the personal help and encouragement which they have given me. It will be also plain how much I owe to the recent edition of Beloch's *Griechische Geschichte* (1914).

είχον χώραν.³ It may be objected that the historian had before him little more evidence as to the history of his country in the eighth century than is now at our disposal. From the standpoint of the archaeologist he had perhaps even less; but he had fewer misconceptions to clear away, and there can be little doubt as to the accuracy of his conclusions. Greek colonisation was due, above all else, to the need for land. But the simplicity of this statement must not rob it of its force. Colonisation, it is true, implies at all times a need for expansion, and under healthy conditions it is a sign that the population of the home-country is fast out-growing its productive capacity; but Greek colonisation was due to a motive that was peculiarly urgent. Greece is, before all things else, a small country—so small, that the traveller on his first visit needs time to grow familiar with the shock of this discovery. Cultivable land, moreover, is precious where bare rocks are so plentiful; and it is of cultivable land, of course, that Thucydides speaks. Here, then, lies the force of his remark. We have only to look at the map to see how truly his words apply to the chief colonising states of Greece; Corinth, Megara, Chalcis, Eretria, Phocaea, Miletus, all are sea-ports with a territory of some extent and fertility, but so confined either by natural obstacles or by the neighbourhood of powerful states as to preclude the possibility of expansion by land. Yet, when once their population of peasants and farmers began to grow, land must be had somewhere, and, since it could not be had at home, expansion over the seas became a necessity: ὄσοι μὴ διαρκῆ εἶχον χώραν.

But geography is not alone in teaching us the force of the words used by Thucydides. Greek colonisation begins in the eighth century B.C., continues in full vigour for some 150 years, and begins to decline towards the middle of the sixth century—that is to say, it begins in what we now call “proto-historic” times, and has practically ended at an age of which later Greeks had no connected history. We know now that they filled in many of the gaps in their knowledge by inferences drawn from the history of their own times. For us the temptation to do the same is still great, but we must learn to think away our previous conceptions if we wish the early history of the Greek colonies to become vivid and intelligible. And, in the first place, we must think away all the associations which life in a highly-developed industrial society has inevitably left in our minds. Thucydides tells us that Greece was once a land of villages.⁴ The fact is undisputed, but its logical consequences in Greek history are hard to realise. There were no cities in the days when Archias sailed from Corinth or the first Ionian settlers from Miletus. The statement sounds almost a contradiction in terms, but it is literally true. In the age to which these early colonies belong, the Greeks had already developed the typical πόλις or city state; but the city, as we know it, owing its existence to industry and commerce, was still in process of development, for the population of Greece was still mainly agricultural, tillers of the soil, not dwellers in the city.⁵ The social conditions which we

³ Th. i. 15; cf. Plato, *Laïos*, 708 B, 740 E.

⁴ Th. i. 10.

⁵ Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.* (ed. 2), i. 1, pp. 202-3, for the development of the πόλις.

know to have existed in pre-Solonian Athens seem to have been typical of many other Greek states. Feudal aristocracies, based on the tenure of land, were still strong throughout the country—possibly the old feudal monarchies had not yet completely disappeared; and though the whole population was grouped in the constitution of a regular state, the majority lived and worked, not in the central town, but in villages or on the land.⁶ In such a community land is the most valuable of all possessions, the only guarantee of permanent wealth. The great wars of which we hear in this period (those of Argos against Sparta and of Chalcis against Eretria) were waged in deadly earnest, because each side fought for the possession of a plain; and the states which sent out colonies were urged by the same motives, for here, too, the possession of land was at stake.

Here, however, we must make a distinction—which is of some importance. In the passage which we have already quoted, it will be noticed that Thucydides makes no distinction between the era of colonisation, according to the sense in which we are now using the term, and the earlier occupation of the islands by Aeolian, Ionian, and Dorian tribes; and this failure to distinguish between two separate epochs in Greek history can be traced also in an earlier chapter.⁷ Yet the difference is not merely one of time. The earlier migrations were, it is true, caused by the pressure of advancing tribes, and were thus due, in a sense, to the need for land; but, unlike the later movement of expansion, they were themselves tribal conquests, not settlements organised by a city-state. In the history of modern Europe they correspond rather to the barbarian invasions of the fifth century A.D. than to the movements of colonisation which took place in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The later Greek settlements, on the other hand, were due to the natural growth of a population which had lived for generations under settled conditions, and to them alone can we apply the words of Thucydides: *ἡσυχάσασα ἡ Ἑλλὰς βεβαίως καὶ οὐκέτι ἀνισταμένη ἀποικίας ἐξέπεμψεν.*⁸ After the period in which Dorians, Ionians and the other tribes of the mainland had struggled for the supremacy, Greek life, both on the mainland and in the newly-won territories, settled down to a period of agricultural development. Soil hitherto untilled was made productive, tenure of land became more secure, and by sea the pirates, with whom Homer was familiar, were gradually forced to a more regular existence.⁹ It is in this period of growing order and prosperity that the origins of Greek colonisation are to be sought. On the one hand, as families began to hold land continuously for generations, and since the amount of fertile soil was very limited, the natural growth of a peasant population soon needed some outlet to replace the earlier custom of restless wandering. On the other hand, with the clearing of the seas from pirates, men grew accustomed to regular intercourse by water. It needed

⁶ Cf. Bury, *History of Greece*, pp. 86-7.

⁷ Th. i. 12, where the Athenian settlements in Ionia are treated as parallel to the Peloponnesian colonies in Italy and Sicily.

⁸ Th. i. 12.

⁹ Beloch, *op. cit.* i. 1, pp. 229-232 and 282 (though his views on the Homeric question have disturbed his chronology).

only some local crisis, or the enterprise of some prominent citizen, to suggest the plan of a public emigration.

If we turn again to the map we shall see more exactly what were the geographical limits of the Greek peoples when they embarked on their enterprise of expansion over the seas. On the mainland, all was of Greek nationality from the Peloponnesus to the borders of Illyria and Thrace; but the tribes of Acarnania, Aetolia, Thessaly and Macedon were behindhand in their social development, and did not really share in the civilisation of their more advanced kinsfolk. In the Aegaeon, Lemnos and Imbros, still barbarian, marked the northernmost limits of the Greek world; but in the south the advance had been more rapid. Crete was wholly, Cyprus partly, in Greek hands, Greek settlers had occupied at an early date the coast-line of Pamphylia, and it is possible that others had penetrated as far south as the district later to be known as Cyrenaica.¹⁰ On the Asiatic coast, Dorian, Ionian and Aeolian settlers had already made their homes from Cnidus in the south to the Troad in the north; but the Hellespont and the Propontis, and (in Europe) the whole Thracian coast were still in the hands of native tribes. Within these limits Greek life had attained, with fair uniformity, the settled conditions already described, and the number and variety of the states which took part in the early colonial movement show how widely prosperity had already been diffused in the different regions of the Greek world. But progress had, of course, been relative, and we must free our minds from many conceptions of value made familiar by later Greek history. Athens was as yet unimportant, Sparta was only beginning her rôle of arbiter in the Peloponnesus; Corinth, Chalcis and Eretria were the great cities of the West, and in the East Ionia was already outstripping the mother-country both in enterprise and culture.

The mention of these towns naturally suggests the question, so familiar in the history of modern colonies: Was there, in addition to the need for expansion felt by a growing population, the further motive of commercial enterprise? In a lecture recently delivered to the Classical Association, Professor Myres has thrown new light on some old puzzles in Greek colonial history by an appeal to the facts of geography.¹¹ The currents of the Mediterranean, the winds of the Adriatic, the temperature of the Euxine are all cited in explanation and illustration of the paths taken by the Greek colonists; but we must remember, in turn, to examine these geographical facts in the light of the facts of chronology. Professor Myres is convincing when he shows, taught by his own personal experience, that the Greeks were kept aloof from the Adriatic by adverse winds, and helped to Italy and the West by favouring currents; but neither winds nor currents can justly be named prime causes of Greek colonisation. Professor Myres is, therefore, forced to supplement his geography by economics, and he speaks constantly

¹⁰ Cf. A. Gercke, 'Die Myrmidonen in Kyrene,' *Hermes*, 1906. For Pamphylia, cf. Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* (ed. 2), i. p. 323.

¹¹ *Proceedings of Classical Association*, 1911, pp. 45-69.

of Greek traders and commercial routes. Here, surely, his chronology is at fault. No one can dispute for a moment that the Greeks were by instinct a race of traders, and that this instinct was nowhere more conspicuously shown than in the history of their colonisation. But we must distinguish carefully between two stages in that history. If the Greeks of the sixth and fifth centuries were predominantly a trading race, it does not follow that they were always so. Greek colonisation goes back, at least, to the closing quarter of the eighth century B.C.—an early date in the history of their social development. Was the Greek instinct for commerce sufficiently developed at that early date to act as a compelling motive in a great migratory movement? If we answer in the negative, it is because the evidence of archaeology seems to prove that the Greeks had not so early at their disposal the materials requisite for large industrial or mercantile enterprises. In the recent edition of his *Griechische Geschichte* Dr. Beloch has pointed out how small were the industries and how inadequate the shipping of the Greek world during the era of the earliest settlements.¹² Thucydides himself dates the first great advances made by the Greeks in the art of navigation two or three generations later than the traditional date of the first Ionian settlements,¹³ and we can safely say that not until the second half of the seventh century did commerce and industry begin to play a dominant part in Greek life and history. The earlier Greeks were, in the main, not traders but peasants, and the first Greek colonies did not owe their existence to reasons of commerce, as do to-day, for example, the States of North America. But, on the other hand, commercial enterprise must certainly have had its share in the origins of Greek colonisation. In his account of the founding of Cyrene, Herodotus tells how the men of Thera first heard of the new country from a fisherman of Crete, and how they were helped on their journey by Samian fishermen.¹⁴ We have here, in all probability, some relic of tradition which, if only we could supply the missing details, would throw light on the part played by individual traders in the work of discovering new sites and of acting as guides to the emigrant community. Such guides there must certainly have been. Possibly in many cases the actual impulse to go from the mother-country was due to the tales brought home by adventurous traders; but, given the conditions which we know to have prevailed in eighth century Greece, the main cause of unrest at home, and of the consequent settlements abroad, must always have been the pressure of a growing population seeking to expand within limits which were inevitably too small.

To illustrate these social conditions, it is well to recall a neglected statement preserved by Strabo which, when set in its proper light, sets us speculating as to the whole course of early Greek history. He tells us¹⁵ that, when Archias set sail from Corinth for Syracuse, most of his followers came from Tenea, a village in Corinthian territory. No authority is given for this statement, but it is evidently based on local tradition (the only possible

¹² Beloch, i. 1, pp. 264–277.

¹³ Th. i. 13.

¹⁴ Her. iv. 151–2.

¹⁵ Strabo, p. 380.

source for so obscure a fact), and traditions of this kind are almost always of the highest authority.¹⁶ But what a light it sheds on early Corinthian history! Corinth, we know, was one of the first Greek states to develop a commercial system,¹⁷ its coinage was among the earliest struck on the mainland, and it was early afield in the work of colonisation. Here, if anywhere, we should suspect the influence of commercial motives: the conclusion seems almost inevitable that Syracuse, Coreyra and the other early Corinthian colonies were founded with the immediate object of establishing Corinthian influence on an important trade-route. Possibly thoughts of this kind were in the minds of Archias and the other leaders of the expedition; they may have heard from traders of the gain to be won by opening up the sea-road to Italy. What is certain is that the majority of those who sailed with him on his expedition, if Strabo's statement is correct, cannot have been of the seafaring class. Tenea is an inland village; its inhabitants must always have been of the peasant-class, and can have had but little interest in questions of commerce and trade-routes. Whatever may have been the later history of Corinth's colonising activity, her first settlements were made at a time when her population was still mainly agricultural, and when commercial interests had not yet become the dominant element in domestic politics. Even after a century of archaeological discovery, we know so little about eighth century Greece, that we can go little further than the mere statement of that fact; but it is always well to remember that the men who followed Archias across the seas were very different from the fully civilised Greeks of the fifth century. Mr. Hogarth has argued very ably against those who would see in "proto-historic" Greece nothing but a society of savage tribes "with an innate instinct for humanism,"¹⁸ and his objections gain force with each succeeding century in Greek history. Comparatively speaking, civilisation in its various forms was well advanced in Greece in the eighth century B.C., and the recent excavations at Sparta have taught us to think highly of early Greek art; but three centuries were still needed to produce the full bloom of Periclean Athens. The comrades of Archias belonged to a less complex society. They went about their day's work clad in the simplest, barely decent clothing,¹⁹ and the implements which came readiest to their hands were still the sword and the plough. In spite of Mr. Hogarth one is tempted to ask whether they were anything more than half-wild, healthy men, with an eye for beauty and an almost endless capacity for improving their minds. Certainly they were not the men to organise a great national venture on a purely commercial basis, and for purely commercial ends.

Having regard to these facts, we may, perhaps, claim that the earliest Greek settlers were led rather on the path of adventure than along recognised trade-routes; but again we must be careful not to confound ancient

¹⁶ Strabo's immediate authority cannot, apparently, be Aristotle (quoted for another fact about Tenea shortly afterwards), for in the same sentence he speaks of the Roman conquest of Corinth.

¹⁷ Th. i. 13; Strabo, p. 378.

¹⁸ Hogarth, *Ionia and the East*, p. 20.

¹⁹ Lang, *World of Homer*, p. 64 and frontispiece. He speaks only of Ionians, but his frontispiece is taken from Sparta.

with modern history. We read often of the era of discovery which preceded the settlement of the Greek colonies,²⁰ but we have only to compare the history of eighth century Greece with the history of Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries to see how misleading is the phrase. Medieval Europe was startled into new life by the discovery of new continents, and we need only follow on the map the rapid progress of Portuguese discovery round the coasts of Africa, or read of the successive attempts to find the New Atlantis, to appreciate the glamour of romance which still hangs round those first centuries of European colonisation. To the sailors of Spain and Portugal the craving for travel and adventure was a stimulus more powerful than the desire for gold; but the Greek sailors of the eighth century B.C. can have had little of that craving. Greek colonisation was not heralded by any startling discovery of new lands; it was rather a gradual process, during which, slowly and cautiously, Greek ships advanced from headland to headland, never venturing far from the mainland, and for the most part remaining for two or three generations within waters which had been already explored by the Phoenicians, or included within the former sphere of Minoan thalassocracy. The Samian and Phocæan adventurers whose voyages thrilled Greece in their own day and interest us still in the pages of Herodotus,²¹ lived not in the eighth, but in the seventh century B.C. Massalia itself was not founded until about 600 B.C.²²

Since these statements may seem to have something of the air of a paradox, it will be well to examine more closely the different regions in which Greek enterprise was most marked in the eighth century B.C. To this period tradition ascribed the settlement of Corcyra, the foundation of the earliest Italian and Sicilian colonies, and the first Milesian settlements on the shores of the Propontis and the Euxine; we may perhaps add the first Eretrian colonies in Chalcidice, though here even the approximate date of foundation must remain in doubt.²³ Of these regions, Corcyra and Chalcidice were geographically almost part of the Greek world; they lay within sight of Greek-speaking countries, and were the natural stepping-stones for an advance overseas. Italy lay but fifty miles from the coasts of Epirus, and on a clear day it is possible to see one coast from the other.²⁴ Exploration under such conditions was, without doubt, a real advance, but it was not, as in the annals of fifteenth century seamanship, a voyage into the unknown; and, once the Greek sailors had crossed the straits, the coasts of Italy and Sicily were but a repetition of their own familiar shores. Only in one region did the Greeks of the eighth century B.C. penetrate into a country almost wholly unlike their native land. The Milesian exploration of the Euxine is a signal proof that, even at an early date, Greek sailors were not afraid to face real dangers, both from climate and from the uncertain

²⁰ Cf. Bury, *History of Greece*, p. 86; Zimmern, *Greek Commonwealth*, p. 249; Prof. Myres, *loc. cit.* pp. 49-50.

²¹ Her. i. 163; iv. 152.

²² Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule*, i. p. 205. Cyrene was not founded until 630.

²³ Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* (ed. 2), i. p. 452, n. 4.

²⁴ Cf. Beloch, *op. cit.* i. 1, p. 233.

hospitality of native tribes. But here again it is well to remember the map. Milesian colonisation was, even more notably than the colonies of Corinth, connected in her later history with the development of commerce, and in particular with the traffic in corn from the shores of the North and West.²⁵ But this traffic was a consequence, not a cause of the early Milesian settlements beyond the straits of Bosphorus, as is shown plainly by the geographical line of their advance. Cyzicus, Sinope and Trapezus belong to the eighth century B.C.; the remaining colonies on the southern coast may have followed shortly after the foundation of Trapezus, but tradition separated by more than a hundred years the settlement of Istrus, Tyras and Olbia in the North West from the foundation of Sinope in 770 B.C.; Panticapaeum, Theodosia and Tanais in the extreme North follow a generation later; and last of all come the settlements in the West (Tomi, Odessus and Apollonia), founded in the first half of the sixth century.²⁶ These dates are, of course, only approximate, but they must be taken as giving us, at least, a correct sequence. It follows that Milesian exploration was for long confined to the southern coast, and only ventured into the unknown regions of the North-West and North after more than a century's familiarity with the waters of the Euxine.

It would be idle to deny the adventurous character of the Ionian sailor, and Herodotus bears witness to the fact that the colonies of the Euxine were later regarded mainly as centres of export for trade;²⁷ but the facts which we have cited show that the prospect of traffic in corn was not the motive which first drew settlers from Miletus so far from home; for it was precisely in the regions of Tomi, Odessus, Olbia and Panticapaeum that trade had afterwards its most important centres.²⁸ Sinope is the type of the earliest Milesian settlements, and Mr. Leaf has taught us to see the history of Sinope in a new light.²⁹ Her unrivalled position as mistress of the Euxine gave her in later centuries an unflinching source of wealth, but it is plain that her position as the distributing centre for the trade of the Euxine was slow in bringing her prosperity. Such a position depended for its importance on the development of trade between the straits of Bosphorus and the North, and the fact that Sinope had to be refounded about the middle of the seventh century B.C. shows that her fortunes must for long have been low. Almost certainly, for the first hundred years of her existence, her main income must have been from the local fisheries and the cultivation of her territory on the mainland.³⁰ It is interesting to note that Cyzicus, founded according to tradition about the same time as Sinope, took for the device of her coinage, not any symbol of her traffic as an emporium, but the tunny, in

²⁵ Cf. E. von Stern, in *Clio*, 1909; *Hermes*, 1915. But Prof. Myres goes too far when he says (*loc. cit.* p. 62): 'it is the Pontic corn, as we well know, which was the primary motive of Pontic colonisation.'

²⁶ The dates will be found in *Companion to Greek Studies*, p. 56. They are fully discussed

in Beloch, *op. cit.* i. 2, pp. 218-238.

²⁷ Her. iv. 24.

²⁸ Cf. E. von Stern, *Hermes*, 1915 (pp. 165-172 and 190-204).

²⁹ Cf. W. Leaf, *J.H.S.* 1916, pp. 1-16.

³⁰ *Ibid.* pp. 2-3; Strabo, 545-6.

recognition of her income as a town of fishermen.³¹ Both towns were founded on sites admirably chosen for purposes of trade, but both seem to have been mainly dependent on local industry and agriculture for their early prosperity. This is what we should expect from settlements founded when Miletus was only beginning to realise her commercial future.

The connexion which we have here noticed between the early foundation of colonies and the subsequent development of trade-routes is of vital importance for our whole subject. Our evidence for the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. points so plainly to the existence of commercial relations between the colonies and their mother-states that we are apt to conclude that the colonies were originally founded in consequence of those relations; but in almost every instance it is possible to show, at least as a probability, that it was rather the existence of colonies in a certain area which later created the commercial connexion. In Chalcidice and Thrace, for example, the early colonies of Eretria and Andros preceded by generations the sudden development towards the end of the sixth century of that mining industry which made the fortune first of Thasos, then of Athens, and lastly of the Macedonian kings, and of which we are only now beginning to have clear knowledge.³² With the exception of Potidaea (not founded until after 600 B.C.),³³ the sites of the various Chalcidic colonies are obviously better suited for agricultural settlements in what has been styled 'the Greek Riviera,' than for towns destined to be centres of trade. So, too, in Italy and Sicily the earliest settlements are not those most obviously chosen for reasons of commerce. Cyme, the earliest Greek settlement in the West, had no regular port. Sybaris and Croton became later great commercial cities, but their trade was due not to their commanding positions, but to the fertile territory which they commanded in the interior. In Sicily, Naxos was evidently chosen as a desirable site by sailors approaching from the sea, but it was not in any way marked out as a natural centre for sea-trade. Syracuse, perhaps the ideal Greek colony, had all the advantages of a great commercial and imperial site; but Acragas and Selinus, to name two of the most prosperous colonies in Sicily, owed their prosperity almost entirely to the fertility of the neighbouring land.³⁴ We shall see later that our first glimpse into the politics of a Sicilian town shows a society founded on the basis of land-tenure, not on a system of commercial capitalism.³⁵ But perhaps the most interesting example of a region, originally agricultural, which was transformed by later commercial enterprise, is to be found in the outlying region of Cyrenaica. In the sixth and fifth centuries this region owed its importance mainly to the export of its famous local herb, the *silphium*, and Βάπτου σίλφιον passed as a proverb among the merchants of Greece.³⁶ But we have only to read an account of the sites chosen by the Greeks for their new foundations to

³¹ B. V. Head, *Hist. Num.* (ed. 2), p. 523.

³² Cf. Perdrizet, in *Clio*, 1910 ('Scaptésylé'), pp. 1-27.

³³ Cf. Nic. Dam. fr. 60 (*F.H.G.* iii.).

³⁴ Cf. for a most instructive commentary on these sites, Freeman's *History of Sicily*, vol. i.

³⁵ Her. vii. 155.

³⁶ Cf. Liddell and Scott, *s.v.*

understand how little these early settlers cared for the conveniences of transit by sea. Cyrene itself is situated on the heights of a line of cliffs rising steeply from a low-lying shore.³⁷ A community of traders would have chosen a port as the site of their new home, but the Greeks, as Herodotus tells us,³⁸ soon moved from the island on which they had first landed to this more inaccessible site; for behind Cyrene stretch those plains which even the first settlers could see to be almost unrivalled for the mildness of their climate and for fertility of soil.³⁹ Later, these plains were to be made famous by the discovery of the virtues of *silphium*, but the sudden development of this industry dates apparently from the reign of Battus the Fortunate (c. 590–560 B.C.), two generations later than the foundation of the colony.⁴⁰ When the fortunate merchant-king came to organise the export of his precious commodity, he must have found it difficult to convey his bales down the steep cliffs to the shore; modern explorers have found it difficult to smuggle away the treasures unearthed by the spades of their workmen.⁴¹ No better proof could be required that the men who first founded Cyrene were bent on cultivating a soil which promised to yield the abundance which had failed them at home rather than on establishing a centre for trade with the home-country.

There is, therefore, much ground for saying that the earliest Greek settlements were not mainly due to the promptings of commercial enterprise; but, as we pass on to the later chapters of Greek colonial history, we shall see that motives of commerce come to be of increasing importance. The conscious development of that policy, either by a capable government at home or by the constant working of racial rivalry, will be discussed in a later chapter. It only remains, for the present, to note yet another difference between ancient and modern colonisation which, though often overlooked, is of the most profound significance. For centuries the Christian religion has been a main factor in determining the character of Western civilisation, and the stimulus which it has given to the expansion and diffusion of the European races is written on every page of the history of modern colonisation. That stimulus is without a counterpart in the history of the Greek settlements. It is not hereby meant that the Greeks were not a religious people. Religion played a leading part in their history; above all, during the earlier period with which we are dealing. But in the history of their colonisation religion, though a force, was a force which acted rather for the preservation of national sentiment than as a motive for travel and conquest. The theory, once made so popular by Ernst Curtius in a brilliant chapter, that the priests of Delphi organised the movement of colonisation with the intention of creating a wide sphere of Hellenic influence in the Mediterranean world, is as contrary

³⁷ The most recent account is to be found in the *Annual* of B.S.A., 1895–6, pp. 113–140, by H. Weld-Blundell (with notes by Prof. Studniczka).

³⁸ Her. iv. 156–9.

³⁹ Her. iv. 199; Diod. iii. 49; Strabo, p.

837; cf. Pind. *Pyth.* ix. 9.

⁴⁰ The history of the Battid dynasty is fully discussed by Beloch, *op. cit.* i. 2, pp. 210–217.

⁴¹ Cf. the account by R. Murdoch Smith and E. A. Porcher of their expeditions to Cyrene (1860 f.).

to the psychology of the Greek religion as it is destitute of historical evidence.⁴² When the Greeks founded their earliest settlements in the West and on the Euxine, their religion had not yet developed from a local cult to a universal faith. Men were content to worship the gods of their fathers in their own homes, and no thought of evangelising other nations ever came to trouble their prayer. Hence the missionary, so familiar a figure in the history of modern colonisation, plays no part in the story of the Greek colonies; and he was to remain unknown in the ancient world until the sophists destroyed all intelligent faith in the local cults, thereby paving the way for the universal creeds of the Stoics, the Epicureans, and the Cynics. In the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. no Greek left his home with the thought that he was the bearer of a higher faith as well as of a higher culture. Whatever other motive influenced the foundation of the early settlements, the motive of religious enthusiasm was entirely wanting; and its absence will become notable when we consider the relations of the Greek settlers with the native tribes whom they displaced. The ancient Greek had the spirit of a trader and an adventurer, but he was never an apostle.

II.—*The Formation of a Greek Colony.*

It is important, when speaking of the formation of a Greek colony, to remember that we know very little indeed of the manner in which the settlements of the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. came into existence. For the settlements, much fewer in number, of the fifth and fourth centuries we have abundant information in Thucydides and Diodorus,⁴³ and we know that in this period the process of founding a colony had been reduced to certain legal forms; the inscription relating to the foundation of Brea towards the end of the fifth century is a contemporary and authentic document.⁴⁴ But for the earlier period our information is very slight, and often of doubtful value. There must have been "foundation-legends" current about many of the cities of historical Greece. Herodotus has preserved a few of them,⁴⁵ and we get a few more from Strabo and other late compilers, but no Greek historian had the happy idea of collecting and collating these various legends, and for the most part we are here once more in the realm of conjecture or of uncertain deductions.

Certain characteristics seem to be common to foundations of all periods. There seems always, for example, to have been an *οἰκιστής* to lead the colonists (for we may ignore the modern criticism which finds local deities or

⁴² Cf. Curtius, *Gr. Gesch.* i. cc. 3 and 4. His monograph, *Die Griechen als Meister der Colonisation* (1883), is more valuable and equally suggestive. It has been reprinted in his *Altertum und Gegenwart*, iii. (1889), pp. 76-89.

⁴³ Cf. especially Th. i. 27 (Epidamnus); iii.

92-3 (Heraclea); Diod. xii. 10, etc. (Thurii).

⁴⁴ Hicks and Hill, No. 41; cf. Dittenberger, *Sylloge* (ed. 2), 933 (Corcyra nigra); also in C. Michel, *Recueil* (1900), No. 72.

⁴⁵ The most important passage is iv. 150-160 (Cyrene).

aetiological fictions in the names of Phalanthus or Battus⁴⁶), and there must always have been some kind of division of land. The part which Delphi played in giving its sanction to the new foundations is not so certain. The earliest authentic witness to the custom of seeking an oracle at Delphi is to be found in a passage of Herodotus, where he tells that the Spartan Dorieus led forth a colony, towards the end of the sixth century B.C., 'without consulting the oracle as to his destination, or doing any of the accustomed acts.'⁴⁷ This proves that the custom of getting the Delphic sanction goes back well beyond the middle of the sixth century; but it is uncertain how soon Delphi rose to the position of prominence which we know it to have held in historical times,⁴⁸ and in general it is well not to insist too much on the action of Delphi in the early days of Greek history. Moreover, the oracles relating to the foundation of the early colonies, some of which have been preserved by Diodorus,⁴⁹ give little confidence in the tradition which they are supposed to represent. Their style is quite unlike the authentic documents preserved by Herodotus, and their subject-matter proves them to be late and valueless forgeries.⁵⁰

In the absence of detailed information we must have recourse once more to general deductions from the conditions of early Greek society and the subsequent development of the colonies themselves, making what use we can of the few facts that have been preserved to us. It is natural to divide our discussion into two parts, and to treat first of the steps taken before the actual foundation, and then of the manner in which the Greek settlers seem usually to have dealt with the problems which confronted them in their new homes.

The foundation of a Greek ἀποικία differed in one all-important respect from the normal growth of a modern colony. To-day European expansion is a gradual process. Men go out, sometimes alone, sometimes in small groups, to make a private settlement in a new country; and in proportion to the steadiness with which this stream of emigration can be supplied from the mother-country is the success of each state in its work of colonisation. Germany has developed a colonial policy under pressure of over-population at home. France has failed to assimilate her conquests because her population has failed her at home; and in the sixteenth century the American colonies were won for England because the English were able to 'crowd on, and crowd out the Dutch.'⁵¹ But Greek colonisation was conducted on

⁴⁶ For Battos as a mere eponym, cf. Beloch, *op. cit.* i. 2, p. 216. The existence of Phalanthus was first questioned by Prof. Studniczka in his brilliant monograph, *Kyrene* (1890), and later by Sir Arthur Evans in his *Horsemen of Tarentum*. The arguments are elaborate, but not convincing; and the present writer is a firm believer in the value of local tradition.

⁴⁷ Her. v. 42.

⁴⁸ Beloch, *op. cit.* i. 1, pp. 330-1.

⁴⁹ Diod. viii. 17, 21, 23; cf. Strabo, pp. 262, 269, 278.

⁵⁰ The oracle relating to Battus in Her. iv. 155 is also suspect. There is a longer alternative in Diod. viii. 29, and since Battus is a Libyan name, both versions carry their own condemnation. For legend of Battus, cf. Gercke, *Hermes*, 1906, p. 448.

⁵¹ Cf. *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. iv. p. 749.

different lines. The need of expansion was a gradual growth, the discovery of a new home was also, probably, a gradual process; but the actual foundation of a colony was a single enterprise, conducted by a single leader and shared in by a definite number of settlers. In the inscriptions of Brea and Corcyra nigra, which have come down to us, clear provisions are made for the allotment of land in the new territory,⁵² and these provisions presuppose that only those who were duly recognised as ἄποικοι, sharers in the colonial enterprise, had a right to put in a claim. We have no such clear evidence for the earlier foundations, and it is possible that the first colonies were established with less minute regulation; but the allotment of land was always a characteristic feature of Greek foundations, and the importance which, as we shall see, was later attached to the possession of 'original lots' suggests that on this point Greek methods of colonisation remained always much the same.⁵³ The consequences of this fact on the later history of the Greek colonies were, of course, immense. Greek colonies never expanded in the sense in which modern colonies expand. Each ἀποικία was from the first a πόλις; and, though later fresh colonists (ἔποικοι) might be invited under promise of receiving recognition by an allotment of land,⁵⁴ the control of local politics and local administration must always have remained mainly in the hands of those who could claim the title of original possessors.

As to the actual organisation of the early colonial expeditions we know very little. We have seen that they belong to a time when Greece was ceasing to be a feudal society, when towns were beginning to grow, and when, though the population was still mainly agricultural, power and influence were coming more and more into the hands of those who lived in the towns. In such a society, it is natural to suppose that the leader, round whom a band of emigrants would collect, even though they were mostly drawn from a discontented peasant-class, would be himself a member of the influential classes in the town; this would almost certainly be the case in the later stages of Greek colonisation, when, as may often have happened, the final impulse to emigration was due to the ambitions of enterprising small traders. What is certain is that a Greek colony was never a motley gathering of adventurers, grouping themselves together under no definite leadership. It was essentially a state-enterprise, organised for the public good and placed under the leadership of a competent οἰκιστής. Sometimes, apparently for local reasons which we shall discuss, more than one leader was appointed to the new colony. Thus Gela claimed as its 'oecists' Antiphemus of Rhodes and Entimus of Crete, and Himera had as many as three.⁵⁵ But we have no reason to think that a Greek colony was ever sent out from the mother-state without its duly appointed leader. Of the thirteen colonies mentioned by Thucydides in the opening chapters of his sixth book, ten are definitely

⁵² Cf. the quotations in Zimmern, *Greek Commonwealth*, p. 247.

⁵³ Cf. *Ar. Pol.* 1319 A.

⁵⁴ Cf. *Her.* iv. 159.

⁵⁵ Cf. *Th.* vi. 4, 5. Sometimes one man seems to have acted as 'oecist' to two colonies: e.g. Thucles to Naxos and Leontini (*Th.* vi. 3).

stated to have had 'oecists,' whose names are given. It is only fair to conclude that in all cases our information would be equally precise if it were complete.

Of greater importance is the question, how far the men who went out together under the leadership of an 'oecist' were members of one state. It has sometimes been urged that the settlements made in the early days of Greek colonisation were of a very mixed population.⁵⁶ But, on the other hand, no feature of Greek colonial history is more remarkable than the fact that each colony acquired from the first a distinctly individual character, and in particular that each colony felt itself bound by the strongest possible ties to foster its relations with the mother-state. These facts are hardly to be reconciled with the theory that the early settlements grew out of motley gatherings, and it is, therefore, well to examine the evidence on which the theory is based.

In the first place, we must insist once more on the necessity of distinguishing between the earlier and later Greek colonies. There is abundant evidence that in the fifth and fourth centuries the population of many of the chief colonies was of a very mixed character; but this evidence is of no value when we consider the differences which the lapse of three or four hundred years made in the Greek world. Alcibiades, for example, in a famous passage of Thucydides,⁵⁷ is made to encourage the Athenians in their plans for a Sicilian expedition by saying that the Sicilian states were lacking in patriotism owing to the mixed character of their populations: "ὄχλοις τε γὰρ ξυμμίκτοις πολυανδροσιν αἱ πόλεις, καὶ ῥαδίας ἔχουσι τῶν πολιτειῶν τὰς μεταβολὰς καὶ ἐπιδοχάς." History proves Alcibiades to have been wrong, and we must allow for the exaggeration of a partisan: but the fact to which he alludes can easily be explained by reference to the history of Sicily during the preceding century. Just seventy years earlier, Gelon had inaugurated his policy of transplanting to Syracuse large masses of the population of other Sicilian states,⁵⁸ and the troubled history of the next generation shows how fatal were the after-effects of the tyrant's high-handed policy. Alcibiades might well feel confident that Athenian arms would have little to fear in so distracted a country.⁵⁹ Again, it is certain that when the Athenians founded Thurii about ten years before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war, the new colony attracted all the restless elements of fifth-century Greece.⁶⁰ But the causes which gave rise to the foundation of Thurii were by no means so simple as those which occasioned the foundation of the earlier settlements. Thurii was essentially an imperial colony; it was founded, not to relieve an excessive population but for a purely political object, and the cautious Pericles seems to have been anxious to make the actual share of Athenians in the enterprise as small as he could. The later history of Thurii serves but to enforce the argument, for, in strong contrast with the loyalty of earlier settlements to

⁵⁶ Cf. Holm, *History of Greece* (Eng. tr.), i. c. 21, note 1.

⁵⁷ Th. vi. 17, 2.

⁵⁸ Her. vii. 156; cf. Diod. xi. 72.

⁵⁹ Cf. Freeman, *History of Sicily*, ii. p. 326.

⁶⁰ Cf. the list of tribes given in Diod. xii 11.

their *μητροπόλεις*, the citizens of Thurii severed their connexion with Athens within a few years of the foundation of their city.⁶¹ If we seek for a parallel to this effort at Imperial colonisation we shall find it, not in the history of early Greece but in the second foundation of Epidamnus attempted by Corinth in 435 B.C., or in the foundation of Heraclea in Trachis by Sparta during the early years of her war with Athens. Both of these settlements were intended for purely imperial purposes, and Thucydides tells us that both Sparta and Corinth invited volunteers from the whole Greek world to aid in each enterprise.⁶² The days were past when the states of Greece sent out colonists from the sheer necessity of finding some outlet for a growing populace. It had rather now become a difficulty to find men in sufficient numbers to enable them to develop their resources; and, like Australia and Rhodesia in similar circumstances to-day, Corinth and Sparta took refuge in a vigorous campaign of advertisement.

These later experiments in imperial policy do not throw any light on the origins of the earlier Greek settlements, but we have definite evidence that some of the earliest colonies arose from a mixture of different populations. Cyme, the first of all Greek settlements in the West, was claimed in later days (though the tradition has been obscured by popular error) as the joint foundation of Chalcis and Euboean Cyme.⁶³ Sanê in Thrace was founded by Eretria and Andros,⁶⁴ and in Sicily Gela was founded by Rhodes and Crete, and Himera by Chalcidians from Zancle together with some Dorian refugees from Syracuse.⁶⁵ These are only a few examples which have been preserved to us by the chance of time, and there is no reason to suppose that parallel instances were not to be found in every quarter of the Greek colonial world; but it is important to observe how much these foundations differ from the settlement of Thurii or Heraclea in the fifth century. These colonies were not formed from a medley of several states and races. In each instance the names of the states concerned are mentioned, and it is notable that they had obvious ties of neighbourhood and common interests, which might easily lead to a joint foundation. Chalcis and Cyme were both towns of Euboea, Rhodes and Crete were both Dorian islands in the same quarter of the Mediterranean and on the same lines of commerce. Andros and Eretria were both Ionian, and we know from Strabo that the former was at one time a dependency of the Euboean town;⁶⁶ very possibly the prominent part played by Andros in the colonisation of Chalcidice is to be explained by the fact that she was under the dominion of Eretria at the period during which Chalcidice was colonised, and that Eretria used her population to further her own schemes in establishing a sphere of interest on the Thracian peninsula.⁶⁷ The only

⁶¹ Cf. Th. vi. 44, 2; vii. 33, 5; Diod. xii. 35; Busolt, *ibid.* p. 537.

⁶² Th. i. 27, 1; iii. 92, 4.

⁶³ Strabo, p. 243, who names Aeolian Cyme: hence the impossible date given by Eusebius (cf. Beloch, *op. cit.* i. 2, p. 242, note 3).

⁶⁴ Plut. *Qu. Gr.* 57.

⁶⁵ Th. vi. 4, 3; 5, 1.

⁶⁶ Strabo, p. 448: ἐπήρχον δὲ καὶ Ἀνδρίων καὶ Τηνίων καὶ Κείων καὶ ἄλλων νήσων.

⁶⁷ I offer this as a possible explanation of a curious fact. The poverty of Andros was proverbial (Her. viii. 3), though it had some

one of the settlements mentioned by Thucydides, which does not conform to these general characteristics, is Himera, and the language in which he describes its foundation is worth noting. He classes it as a colony of Zancle, but adds that, owing to the added element of Syracusan exiles, the language of the settlers was a mixture of the Chalcidic and Dorian dialects, whilst the institutions of the town (τὰ νόμιμα) were purely Chalcidic.⁶⁸ This is the language of a writer who has to comment on a curious phenomenon, and it is evident that Thucydides considered the mingling in one state of Dorian and Ionian elements a notable fact. In the preceding chapter he describes what must have been a more common occurrence. Dorian settlers came out to Sicily from Megara, under the leadership of Lamis. After one unsuccessful attempt at colonisation, they agreed to form a common state with the Chalcidians of Leontini; but the partnership soon broke down, and the Dorians were expelled.⁶⁹ What must have been the normal procedure is well shown in the foundation of Epidamnus. The town was properly a colony of Corcyra, but help was given by Corcyra's own mother-state, Corinth, who sent an "oecist" and a band of colonists; a few other settlers came from other states, but they were all of Dorian extraction (τοῦ ἄλλου Δωρικοῦ γένους).⁷⁰

It is possible that, if we knew more of the history of the early Greek colonies, we might be able to add other examples no less singular than the story of Himera. Naucratis is an example that will occur to everyone, but the Greek settlement at Naucratis was in every way a peculiar one.⁷¹ A more difficult problem is presented by the history of Cyrene. When Demonax (c. 540 B.C.) carried through his democratic reforms in that state, we are told that he created three tribes: one for the Theraeans and their περίοικοι, one for the Peloponnesians and Cretans, and one for all the islanders.⁷² Now Cyrene was, properly speaking, a foundation of Thera. Why, then, do we hear of so many foreign elements? Obviously, the population of the colony was of a very mixed character within a century of its foundation; but we must remember that the history of Cyrene is full of difficult problems. Herodotus tells us that the original settlers remained in possession of their holdings for only two generations, and that in the third generation, under Battus the Fortunate, an offer being made of free distribution of land, Greeks from all parts flocked to the state; and further that, shortly before the reforms of Demonax, 7,000 hoplites had been killed in battle against the Libyans.⁷³ These facts help to explain the disintegration of the settlement, which seems to have taken place during the early part of the sixth century, though we cannot wholly understand the political and economic causes which lie behind them; and the question is further complicated by the doubt which

fertile land (cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v.* Andros). It is hard to see on any other hypothesis how it could afford to found four colonies. For the towns of Chalcidice, cf. E. Harrison in *C.Q.* 1912.

⁶⁸ Th. vi. 5, 2.

⁶⁹ Th. vi. 4, 1.

⁷⁰ Th. i. 24, 1.

⁷¹ Cf. P. Gardner, *New Chapters in Greek History*, ch. 7.

⁷² Her. iv. 161.

⁷³ Her. iv. 159, 160.

surrounds the earliest Greek settlements in this region.⁷⁴ But problems of this nature are in no way surprising when we consider how little we know of Greek colonial history. The broad facts of that history are plain enough. Greek tradition was unanimous in ascribing the foundation of each colony to one or two states, whom custom always honoured as *μητροπόλεις*; and the universal respect accorded to this custom is only made more striking by the single flagrant exception of Corcyra's relations with her mother-state.⁷⁵ Such evidence is decisive in showing that the Greek settlements were not the result of haphazard emigration, but had each distinct national and local traditions of their own.

We know practically nothing of the internal movements which led in each case to the emigration of fresh settlers from the mother-country; but what we have said in the preceding chapter as to the main causes of Greek colonisation only confirms our view that in the majority of these foundations the great bulk of the settlers in a new colony came almost entirely from one state. The relations of state with state were much less advanced in Greece in the eighth and seventh centuries than they were in later times, and Thucydides himself remarks on the absence of treaties and alliances in the history of early Greece.⁷⁶ When we remember that colonies were usually sent out owing to the pressure of a growing rural population, we find it difficult to admit that more than one state could easily have concerted a joint emigration, except under conditions which made inter-communication peculiarly easy; the joint colonies of Eretria and Andros have already been cited as typical examples. Once an expedition had been decided on, there is every reason to suppose that certain adventurous spirits would offer their services, and we may, perhaps, imagine that these would be among the foremost in enterprise and nautical experience. But the main body of the emigrants would be of one stock, most of them would belong to the party under the pressure of a common necessity; and as they sailed from their mother-country they would go forth to a new home, speaking one language and trained to the same traditional customs.

It would be interesting to know how the settlers of the home-country first came to know of a hopeful site for their new foundation. Greek tradition held that each band of emigrants went forth under the divine mandate of Apollo, and with its destination defined in a more or less cryptic oracle. The tradition contains at least this amount of truth, that the colonists never left their homes without some idea of their future choice. Sites such as those chosen by the Greeks in almost every quarter of the Mediterranean were not chosen by happy accident, and, in a recent description of the Greek colonies on the northern shore of the Euxine, von Stern is emphatic that the favourable position of even the most remote sites was evidently well known to the Greek settlers before they eventually made their home there.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ Gercke ('Die Myrmidonen in Kyrene,' in *Hermes*, 1906, p. 478) holds that the *περλοικοι* in the first tribe represent an older stock of Greek settlers than the colonists from Thera.

⁷⁵ Th. i. 25; Her. iii. 49.

⁷⁶ Th. i. 15, 3.

⁷⁷ E. von Stern, in *Hermes*, 1915, pp. 161-224.

The position of the Sicilian towns will occur to everyone as a striking proof of the eye which Greek colonists had for commanding sites, though it is worth noting that even they could afford to learn by experience. Naxos, the earliest Sicilian colony, is less favourably situated than Syracuse; and in the East the settlers who chose Chalcedon in preference to Byzantium became proverbial for their blindness.⁷⁸

A comparison of the different sites chosen by the Greeks for their settlements in both East and West would, if made from personal experience, be sure to lead to interesting results.⁷⁹ Sometimes the settlers seem to have brought with them from their home an inclination for a particular type of site. Massalia must have reminded many of its Phocæan inhabitants of their rocky home in Asia Minor, and both Syracuse and Potidaea suggest some of the characteristics of *bimaris Corinthi*. In general, it is important to notice that the Greek colonists looked on fertile land as no less essential to a favourable site than a good harbour. The Greek settler was always a farmer as well as a sailor, and, as we have seen in our former chapter, his interests by land were often greater than his interests by sea.⁸⁰ The particular direction which these interests might take varied naturally with the capacity of the land which they cultivated, and the Greek settlers were versatile. In Massalia they grew the vine and olive; ⁸¹ Sicily and Italy were famous for their vines and their flocks of sheep; in Cyrene we have seen that the *silphium* made the fortune of a kingdom; and in the northern regions of the Black Sea a corn-trade developed which was eventually to grow into a capitalist monopoly, supplying all Greece with its daily bread.⁸² On occasion the Greeks became miners, and the *περαία* of Thasos afforded for a time the principal gold-supply of the ancient world.⁸³ So, too, we find an enterprising member of the Bacchiad family becoming prince of an Epirot tribe in order to gain control of the silver mines in their territory.⁸⁴ Many of these interests were subsequent to the foundation of the colony, but they show how quick the Greek was to seize upon any opportunity offered him by the land in which he had set up his new home.

Once the settlers had chosen their site, the work which lay before them may be summed up in two lines of the *Odyssey*:—

Ἄμφι δὲ τείχος ἔλασσε πόλει καὶ ἐδείματο οἴκους,
καὶ νηὸς ποίησε θεῶν καὶ ἐδάσσατ' ἀρούρας.—*Od.* vi. 9–10.

Time has obliterated all traces of the early towns thus built, and the striking remains still to be seen on some of their sites belong to a later period in

⁷⁸ Her. iv. 144; Strabo, p. 320.

⁷⁹ By far the best and most suggestive is Freeman's account of the Sicilian sites in his *History of Sicily*, vol. i.; cf. also his interesting account of the way in which the Sikels learnt from the Greeks, in vol. iii.

⁸⁰ Cf. Beloch, *op. cit.* i. 1, p. 231, for the contrast with the Phœnician settlements.

⁸¹ Strabo, p. 179. Fishing was also of great

importance—as also, for example, at Taras (cf. Evans, *Horsemen of Tarentum*, on types of coins) and Byzantium (*Ar. Pol.* 1291 B).

⁸² Von Stern, *loc. cit.* p. 202; for further references, cf. T. R. Glover, *From Pericles to Philip*, pp. 304–306.

⁸³ Perdrizet, *Clio*, 1910.

⁸⁴ Strabo, p. 326.

their development. Only in Naucratis can we form a fairly complete picture of the earliest form of a Greek settlement; but the sites unveiled by the work of the Egyptian Exploration Fund are in no way typical of an ordinary Greek colony. Naucratis was not, indeed, a colony (*ἀποικία*) in the strict sense of the term. Herodotus speaks of it as an *ἐμπόριον*,⁸⁵ and we can nowhere better understand the distinction between the two terms. The essence of a Greek colony was that it was a fully developed city-state, with territory in possession of the citizens. Naucratis was not a regularly constituted *πόλις*; it had no territory, but had grown up, thanks to the patronage of the Egyptian kings, and, as Professor Percy Gardner well points out, the large building, partly storehouse, it would seem, and partly place of refuge, whose foundations have been unearthed in modern times, show plainly that to the end Greek traders were here strangers living in the midst of enemies, not citizens living in their own home.⁸⁶ It has sometimes been thought that many of the later Greek colonies had their origins in *ἐμπόρια* such as that of Naucratis.⁸⁷ We know so little about the early days of Greek colonisation that no definite answer can be given to the question. In the more remote regions of Greek colonisation it is quite probable that settlements were made of a less regular type. Only interests of trade were likely to bring colonists so far, and they would be less likely to wish to settle permanently in so distant a home. Herodotus, for example, speaks of the Milesian settlements on the northern shore of the Euxine as *ἐμπόρια*,⁸⁸ and one of the Massaliot settlements in Spain was known as Emporium even in the days of Strabo.⁸⁹ These settlements were made in the late seventh and early sixth centuries, when Greek colonisation had become almost entirely a policy of commercial interests, and it is probable that the trading-station was then as common as the regular colony along more distant trade-routes; but in the earlier period of colonisation it is more likely that the full type of *ἀποικία* prevailed. Naucratis is not, we must repeat, in any way characteristic of Greek methods of colonisation. Here alone did the Greek settler come in contact with a civilisation more advanced than his own, and it was natural that he should be unable to establish himself with full security on Egyptian soil.

In the foundation of an ordinary *ἀποικία* perhaps the most important act was the allotment of territory. Greek law prescribed that the settler who went out with a band of colonists lost his rights of citizenship at home⁹⁰; the possession of an allotment made him a citizen of the new state. Hence the "*γῆς ἀναδασμός*" became the charter of colonial citizenship, and Aristotle tells us that in many towns there was a law forbidding the citizens to sell their original allotments.⁹¹ It was for this reason, too, that

⁸⁵ Her. ii. 170.

⁸⁶ P. Gardner, *New Chapters in Greek History*, p. 209-211; the exact purpose of this building is not, however, clear. It was not the 'Pantheonion.'

⁸⁷ Cf., for example, Zimmern, *Greek Com-*

monwealth, p. 250.

⁸⁸ Her. iv. 24.

⁸⁹ Strabo, pp. 159-160.

⁹⁰ Cf. Szanto, *Das gr. Bürgerrecht*, pp. 62-64.

⁹¹ Ar. Pol. 1319A, cf. 1266 B.

when Arcesilaus wished to attract fresh settlers to Cyrene, he made an offer of a fresh division of land to any who cared to make themselves citizens of his kingdom.⁹² An interesting example of the importance attached to the possession of these lots is given by an incident in the history of Sybaris in the fifth century. An attempt was made by the survivors of the old city to make a second foundation with the aid of Greek settlers from all parts under Athenian protection. The new state was formally constituted, but was dissolved almost immediately. It was found that the original Sybarites claimed for themselves the leading magistracies, and thereby so controlled the allotment as to give themselves all the land in the immediate neighbourhood of the town, whilst the strangers were sent to the outlying districts.⁹³ The foundation of Thurii, which was a consequence of this failure, has been elaborately described by Diodorus, and is a good example of the way in which the democracy of Athens succeeded in imprinting its own character on the constitutions of its subject-states. The land was divided in equal allotments, and all relics of aristocratic tradition were destroyed, as in Cyrene after the reforms of Demonax, by basing the ten tribes of the new constitution on principles of local distribution, not of kindred.⁹⁴ What principle underlay the allotments of early Greek colonies we do not know; but in the next chapter we shall see that, where we can trace the political history of a colony, we find it to be largely dependent in early times on the possession of land. This fact alone shows how important was the distribution of allotments at the foundation of the new colony.

One fact connected with the foundation of a Greek colony remains to be discussed. How did the new-comers treat the natives whom they dislodged from their possession? Perhaps no lost chapter of Greek history is so much to be regretted as the narrative of the first efforts made by the Greek settlers to gain a footing in the land which they meant to occupy. A few facts, obscured by tradition, have been preserved in our authorities; others have been only recently revealed by the spade of the excavator, and the fragmentary story which we can thus obtain shows great variety in the fortunes of the Greek settlers in the different spheres of their activity.

As a rule, these settlers came into contact with native tribes of much ruder civilisation than their own. The Scythian tribes of the extreme north-east, the Thracians, the Epirots, the Bruttians and Campanians, the Sikels and Sicans, the Celtic tribes around Massalia, the Iberians of the Spanish coast, and the Libyans near Cyrene were of varied character and culture, but none were the equal of the Greeks. In consequence, a Greek settlement was soon able to maintain its existence, usually, we must imagine, by force of arms, but sometimes owing to the friendly attitude of some native tribe. At Massalia, for example, tradition taught that the first settlers were treated with great kindness by the native prince,⁹⁵ and Herodotus tells in a familiar

⁹² Her. iv. 163: *συνήγειρε πάντα ἄνδρα ἐπὶ γῆς ἀναδοσμῶ.*

⁹³ Diod. xii. 2; Ar. Pol. 1303 A; cf. Busolt, *op. cit.* iii. p. 529.

⁹⁴ Cf. Busolt, *op. cit.* iii. p. 533. Von Stern (*loc. cit.* pp. 175-7) discusses the allotment of land in the Pontic colony, Chersonesus.

⁹⁵ Cf. Jullian, *Hist. de la Gaule*, i. pp. 201-5.

story how the prince of the Tartessians, Arganthonius, befriended the Phocæan merchants who came to his shores during his long reign.⁹⁶ But, on the other hand, the arrival of a Greek colony must often have been a signal for war. The commanding sites so often chosen by the settlers appealed to them, we must presume, mainly for reasons of strategic defence, and the possession of a hill must often have given the settlers a comfortable feeling of security against native raids.⁹⁷ Sometimes the neighbourhood of a powerful tribe was a permanent menace to the existence of the colony. The Sikels were, for long, dangerous neighbours to the Greek towns in Sicily, and the towns of southern Italy finally succumbed to the attacks of the tribes of the interior.

Once fairly established, the Greeks rarely sought to extend their influence inland; for the most part, they were content to hold their own, or to plant a series of smaller settlements along an important coast-line. The 'land-empires' of Sybaris, Croton, Syracuse and Marseilles are notable exceptions to this rule, and we shall have more to say of these in the following chapter; but as a rule the Greek confined himself to the coast. This fact forms, perhaps, the most essential difference between Roman and Greek methods of expansion. The Roman *negotiator* was everywhere: he was to be found in Britain, beyond the Rhine, along the Danube, and in the countries of the East. The Greek trader never penetrated far into the interior. Where obvious commercial advantages lay within easy reach, he was too enterprising a speculator to let slip the occasion of profit. On the Adriatic and in Thrace we have seen him controlling the working of mines by native tribes; on the northern shores of the Euxine a whole nation tilled under the direction of the merchants of Olbia⁹⁸; in Cyrenaica the Greeks organised the gathering of the *silphium* by Libyan workers.⁹⁹ But all these activities were accidental, and the Greek settlers never cared to leave the coast and make their homes inland. Like the cities of the Asiatic coast, their settlements were nearly always at the head of some trade route by land, which enabled them to act as carriers to the Greek world of goods produced or made in the interior.

Occasionally we have evidence that the Greek settlers reduced the former occupiers of the soil to the level of serfs, in much the same way as the Israelites under Joshua made the Gabaonites their servants. The *Κυλλύριοι*, mentioned by Herodotus as the slaves of the Syracusan oligarchs, are the most familiar example of this type of serfdom; they seem to have been mainly conquered Sikels, truly 'hewers of wood and drawers of water.'¹⁰⁰ Another example is to be found in the Dorian colony of Heraclea on the south-western shore of the Euxine. Here we are told by Strabo¹⁰¹

⁹⁶ Her. i. 163; cf. for some admirable criticism Th. Reinach in *Revue des études grecques*, 1892, pp. 40-48.

⁹⁷ Cf. for an interesting discussion on this point a controversy between Mr. H. Weld-Blundell and Prof. Studniczka in the *Annual*

of B.S.A. 1895-6, pp. 9-16.

⁹⁸ Her. iv. 17, 18; cf. von Stern, *loc. cit.* pp. 165-172.

⁹⁹ Diod. iii. 49.

¹⁰⁰ Her. vii. 155; cf. Busolt, *op. cit.* i. p. 389.

¹⁰¹ Strabo, p. 542.

that the Greek settlers made serfs of the native tribe of the Mariandynoi, allowing them the right of barter, provided they did not exercise it outside the territory of the colony. We have, I think, no further evidence of similar systems of serfdom; but Greek colonisation rested primarily on conquest, and it is very natural to suppose that relations between land-lord and tiller of the soil may often have coincided with the relations of master and serf. There was certainly nothing in Greek notions of society to discourage the practice. Aristotle would have justified it as being entirely to the advantage of the serf.¹⁰²

Commercial enterprise must often have led the Greeks to enter into the closest relations of daily life with the neighbouring tribes of the interior; and it is important to remember how many advantages in favour of easy intercourse with the natives were granted to the Greek settlers, though they are now for the most part denied to modern colonists. In their relation to the work of assimilation carried out by the Roman Empire, these advantages have been emphasized by the late Lord Cromer in his suggestive essay on *Ancient and Modern Imperialism*¹⁰³; and the Romans had, in this respect, much the same advantages as the Greeks. There was neither religious question nor colour-question in the ancient world. We have already remarked on the difference made by the absence of the former to Greek colonisation. Undisturbed by the duty of preaching a gospel, the Greek was relieved of the many embarrassing questions to which the activities of modern missionaries often give rise. To understand how freely Greeks could intermarry with natives not separated from them by any distinction of colour, we have only to remember that Cimon was the son of a Thracian woman, Hegesipyle, daughter of Olorus, a Thracian prince.¹⁰⁴ If the Philaidæ did not think it beneath them to intermarry with native families, we can understand how many barriers were broken down by the absence of all reason for colour-prejudice; for in every sphere of their colonising activity, the Greeks met races which, though socially and intellectually their inferiors, were still, in feature and colour, of the same general type. Even the Libyan tribes, of which we have been speaking were, it is well to remind ourselves, not negroes, but Berbers.¹⁰⁵

But, though fusion with native peoples was much facilitated by the absence of prejudice arising from differences either of colour or of religion, it would be a great mistake to think that the Greeks had little regard for the preservation of their national existence. In the more remote regions of the Greek colonial world inter-marriage with natives seems to have been common, and we can well understand that, where intercourse with the rest of the Greek world was rare and difficult, the life of the Greek settlers must gradually have become merged in the life of the surrounding nations. In

¹⁰² Cf. especially *Pol.* 1330 A.

¹⁰³ Lord Cromer, *Ancient and Modern Imperialism*, pp. 91-97, 139-143.

¹⁰⁴ *Her.* vi. 40; *Plut. Cim.* 4.

¹⁰⁵ Prof. Percy Gardner has pointed out to me that there is in the British Museum a bronze head from Cyrene, which indicates a distinct mixture of Greek and Berber.

the article on the Pontic colonies to which we have so often referred, von Stern shows how the Greeks of the kingdom of the Thracian Bosphorus gradually took on many of the manners and customs of their Scythian neighbours, until in the fourth century B.C. there arose what he calls a *Mischkultur*, composed partly of Scythian, partly of old Ionian elements, and with many curious analogies to the culture displayed by the Mycenaean tombs.¹⁰⁶ But this was the exception. For the most part, Greeks were jealous of national tradition, and even in these remote regions it is noteworthy that the Dorian town, Chersonesus, a colony of the Pontic Heraclea, was far more tenacious of its national customs than the neighbouring Ionian settlements, and preserved until late in the Christian era its character of a purely Greek πόλις.¹⁰⁷ So, too, in the west, Tarentum and Syracuse preserved their Hellenic atmosphere long after the Achaean and Ionian towns, with the exception of Naples, had become merged in a common Italian culture. Even in Naples the Ionians were not able to preserve entirely their national integrity: for, on the occasion of some internal dissension, they called in settlers from Campania to take the place of those who had been expelled, and were thus forced, as Strabo puts it, 'having made enemies of their friends, to dwell in the most friendly relations with their most deadly enemies.'¹⁰⁸ It is all the more remarkable that, even in Strabo's time, Naples should still be the town where most traces of Greek life were to be found in Italy.

In conclusion, it will be of interest to quote from a very different source similar testimony as to the tenacious quality of the Greek character and genius. Some years ago a bust was discovered in the south of Spain, near the site of an ancient Phocaeon colony. After some discussion as to its *provenance*, it was assigned by a distinguished French critic to an unknown local sculptor of the fifth century B.C., seeking to imitate at a distance the work of his famous contemporaries on the Greek mainland. The words in which the critic sums up his judgment will be of interest in connexion with our subject, as showing how Greek art could still preserve its native genius in the midst of foreign influences: 'Il est espagnol par le modèle et les modes, phénicien peut-être par les bijoux; il est grec, purement grec, par le style.'¹⁰⁹

III.—*Political Development and Relations with the Mother-State.*

Thanks to the discovery in modern times of the Aristotelian Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία, we are beginning to understand how little we know of the constitutional history of Greece in the seventh and sixth centuries; and (a result of no less importance), we are also beginning to realise that the

¹⁰⁶ Cf. von Stern, *loc. cit.* pp. 190-204.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. *ibid.* pp. 175-7, 223.

¹⁰⁸ Strabo, p. 246. The whole chapter is of unusual interest.

¹⁰⁹ Th. Reinach, 'La tête d'Elche au musée du Louvre,' *Revue des études grecques*, 1898, p. 59.

constitutional history of Greece is not to be summed up in the history of the Athenian and Spartan constitutions. For the history of Greek colonisation Corinth, Megara, Eretria, Chalcis, Miletus, and Phocaea are of greater importance than either Athens or Sparta. Yet of these towns Corinth is the only one where we can trace, even in outline, a continuous history of constitutional development; and of the colonies founded in the eighth and seventh centuries, Syracuse and Cyrene are the only two of whose constitutional history we have any knowledge before the fifth century B.C. As to the history of other colonies, we have only stray statements, sometimes of doubtful historical value. At Massalia, for example, we know that a stringently narrow oligarchy was gradually altered to a more democratic type of government under a council of 600.¹¹⁰ At Taras a hereditary monarchy was continued until the end of the sixth century, and we can trace some points of resemblance between its aristocratic system and the constitution of its mother-city, Sparta.¹¹¹ At the Western Locri and at Catane we hear of the law-givers Zaleucus and Charondas,¹¹² and at Croton of the political influence of Pythagoras.¹¹³ But in none of these states have we material enough for even the skeleton of a constitutional history. Is it too much to hope that the papyri will yet give back to us some of the 150 odd *πολιτεῖαι* attributed in ancient times to Aristotle, and of which only such tantalizing fragments remain?

It is not only in matters relating directly to the constitutional history of the Greek colonies that the absence of evidence makes itself felt. Our ignorance as to the constitutional history of their *μητροπόλεις* in the seventh and sixth centuries is an almost equally grave loss; for the political development of the colonies was inevitably governed by two principles. On the one hand, there was the natural desire of the settlers to reproduce, as far as possible, in their new homes the familiar institutions of the mother-city. On the other hand, there was the reaction of a society where the exploitation of the resources of a new country counted for more than the traditions of the past and of family descent. Had we fuller knowledge of the early political history of the Greek states on the mainland and in Asia Minor, we should be in a position to control the working of at least one of these principles; but only in the history of Corinth and her colonies is it possible to do this in any detail. For the rest, we must confine ourselves to broad generalisations, prefaced by the frank admission that they are based on what must often be very insufficient evidence.

As far as our knowledge justifies a conclusion, it would seem that the great age of Greek colonisation belongs to a period when the Greek political world was almost entirely in the hands of feudal aristocracies.¹¹⁴ At Corinth we know that the Bacchiad clan held power during the great days of early

¹¹⁰ Strabo, p. 179; Ar. *Pol.* 1305 B; 1321 A; cf. Busolt, *op. cit.* i. p. 435.

¹¹¹ Cf. Busolt, *op. cit.* i. p. 410.

¹¹² Strabo, p. 260; Diod. xii. 12-22.

¹¹³ Bury, *History of Greece*, pp. 317-318;

of. Strabo, p. 384.

¹¹⁴ Holm, *History of Greece* (English translation), i. pp. 267-272, gives, to my mind, the best summary of the Greek political world in the days of colonisation.

Corinthian commerce,¹¹⁵ and we constantly hear of its members in connexion with the history of the early colonies. Archias, the 'oecist' of Syracuse, Chersicrates, 'oecist' of Coreyra, and Phalius, 'oecist' of Epidamnus, were all of this clan; we have already referred to yet a fourth Bacchiad who became prince of an Epirot tribe.¹¹⁶ So, too, in Megara it seems that the foundation of her colonies both in East and West goes back to the period of that oligarchy which was finally overthrown by Theagenes.¹¹⁷ For Eretria we have the authority of Aristotle¹¹⁸ that the period of her colonising activity coincides with the rule of the oligarchic Hippobotae, and we may presume that the colonies of her neighbour and rival Chalcis were due to the similar oligarchy which flourished there at the same period. Of the Achaean cities, to which Sybaris, Croton, and other cities of Southern Italy traced their origin, we know less. Strabo tells us¹¹⁹ that a hereditary monarchy lasted here for long after the Dorian invasion of the Peloponnese, and it is possible that, when Sybaris and Croton were founded, the Achaeans were still a united state under a feudal king; but this is not the place to enter into a discussion of the many problems connected with the Achaean colonies.¹²⁰ Later, when Pythagorean doctrines had caused trouble among the states of Magna Graecia, it was to the home-country that the colonists looked for reform, and they then found a democratic constitution established in Achaea.¹²¹ Most puzzling of all is the history of Miletus. Here we get glimpses into a confused sequence of political disturbances. The old hereditary monarchy seems to have been succeeded almost immediately by a tyranny which was in its turn followed by a period of *στάσις* between two parties, known to later history as *Πλουτίς* and *Χειρομάχα*.¹²² But here we have no means of tracing the historical connexion between these varying political changes at home and the great work of Milesian colonisation in the eighth, seventh, and sixth centuries. It is only worth noting that the political parties which we have just named obviously indicate a society in which commercial interests have become of vital importance; and we have already remarked that the foundation of the later colonies of Miletus on the northern and western shores of the Euxine was certainly due to the commercial instinct of merchants who wished to open up the trade in corn.

The evidence which we have thus briefly examined suggests that the Greek colonies were founded by states still in process of development from a purely feudal to a commercial and oligarchic stage of political government. It is, therefore, natural to find that the little evidence which we possess as to the earliest political history of the colonies themselves points to a similar transitional character. Hereditary monarchies were not unknown in the Greek settlements. We have mentioned that of Taras; the kings of Cyrene

¹¹⁵ Strabo, p. 378.

¹¹⁶ Strabo, p. 269; Th. i. 24, 2; Strabo, p. 326.

¹¹⁷ Plut. *Qu. gr.* 17.

¹¹⁸ *apud* Strabo, p. 447.

¹¹⁹ Strabo, p. 384.

¹²⁰ Cf. Beloch, *op. cit.* i. 1, pp. 233-6, for one view.

¹²¹ Strabo, *loc. cit.*

¹²² Nic. Dam. fr. 54 (*F.H.G.* iii.); Plut. *Qu. gr.* 32; cf. Her. v. 28-9.

are an even more conspicuous example.¹²³ In Syracuse, too, we hear of a tradition (which, though obscure, is apparently of good authority), that there was a king in the early days of the city's history.¹²⁴ But, in general, it seems safe to say that the characteristic form of government in a Greek colony of the seventh and sixth centuries was government by oligarchy. Even in those states where we know that a hereditary monarchy maintained itself for generations, we may suspect that the real government was in the hands of the wealthier classes. But it is important to note that the oligarchies usual in the colonies seem to have been formed on a different principle from the oligarchies which became powerful in Greece during the seventh century. In Corinth and Athens we hear of government by a ring of powerful families, belonging to γένη of high descent, and it is probable that similar oligarchies existed in many of the other Greek states. But in the colonies political power seems from the first to have been associated rather with wealth than with noble lineage. Our earliest precise information comes to us from Herodotus, who speaks of an early oligarchy at Syracuse, in the hands of landlords (γεώμοροι).¹²⁵ We can only conjecture that the same property-qualification underlay the oligarchic constitutions of Massalia and the Italian towns. At a later date we can trace more definitely the political influence of large commercial families, whose income was derived from their possession of land, in the colonies of the Tauric Chersonese.¹²⁶

↓ No general law can be laid down as to the history and decline of these land-owning oligarchies. In cities where commerce on a large scale was caused by the prosperity of the colony, the growth of a democracy must have followed inevitably, according to the universal rule of Greek history. The town-dwelling class thus formed, analogous in all respects to the ναυτικός ὄχλος which filled the Piræus in the fifth and fourth centuries, had other interests than either the class of land-owners or their peasant-serfs, and its growth was bound to be a disturbing influence in the politics of their country. The results can be most clearly traced in the political history of Syracuse, where a δῆμος owing its prosperity to commerce and industry grew to power during the sixth century, proved strong enough to overthrow the ascendancy of the γεώμοροι at the opening of the next century, and though they had to submit for a generation to the rule of Gelon and his successors, were finally able to expel their tyrants and to make Syracuse a democratic state. We have less information as to the political history of other colonies, but we may suspect that the same cause was at work in the democratic revolution which overthrew the Battid rule in Cyrene towards the middle of the sixth century,¹²⁷ in the political troubles associated with the name of Pythagoras in the cities of Magna Græcia, and in the gradual transformation of the Massaliot oligarchy to a constitution more nearly approaching the

¹²³ Cf. Beloch, *op. cit.* i. 2, pp. 210-217.

¹²⁴ Cf. Busolt, *op. cit.* i. p. 389. The authority is Hippias of Rhegium.

¹²⁵ Her. vii. 155.

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¹²⁶ Von Stern, *loc. cit.* p. 171.

¹²⁷ Cf. Her. iv. 161-2; cf. Beloch, *op. cit.* i. 1.

Aristotelian ideal.¹²⁸ In this stage of their political development, the Greek colonies follow closely the political history of the mainland during the sixth and fifth centuries, though it is noteworthy that, whilst in Corinth, Sicily, Megara and Athens the *τυραννίς* is associated politically with the rise of democracy, in Sicily Gelon and Theron appear as the opponents of the lower classes, ruling over both rich and poor, but with a marked preference for the rich.¹²⁹

The rise of the *τυραννίς* in Sicily during the crisis of the Persian wars and its revival almost a century later, during the crisis of the war with Carthage, are two of the most notable incidents in Greek history, suggesting the recognition in the West of a national ideal which was still undeveloped in the East.¹³⁰ But it is well to remember that the Sicilian "tyrannies" of the fifth and fourth centuries are not characteristic of Greek colonial history as a whole. Only in one other region of the Greek colonial world do we meet with a parallel phenomenon. Towards the close of the fifth century B.C. the Greek colonies on the Scythian coast-line fell under the rule of a capable and enterprising dynasty of soldier-princes. Its founder, Spartocus, seems to have been a Thracian soldier of fortune, and the kingdom which he established presents many interesting analogies to the kingdom of Dionysius. Like Dionysius, Spartocus founded his rule on a constitutional basis; like the Sicilian tyrant, he established his position by the prestige of his conquests; but, unlike him, he succeeded in founding a dynasty which was to last for many generations.¹³¹ The cause of such parallel achievements is not far to seek. Sicily and the Tauric Chersonese, despite the many contrasts which exist between the two countries, have this in common that they are regions geographically separate from the rest of the Greek world and constantly under the menace of grave peril from hostile neighbours. Under such conditions, the rule of a military despot becomes almost a necessity, and, once established, is easily consolidated. Had the Cyrenaica produced a general as capable as either Dionysius or Spartocus, it would have fallen a less easy prey to the conquering power of Persia.¹³²

Where the personal despotism of a tyrant cannot be traced, we sometimes have evidence that a single city established her empire over adjoining Greek towns in order to unite them in face of a common foe. This is most notable in the history of Sybaris and Croton, where the two rival cities established a regular *ἀρχή* by land, each with the object of controlling an important trade-route.¹³³ But other instances, less famous in history, are also to be found. Massalia, most remote of all the great Greek colonies, seems to have held sway over all the Greek towns around the opening of the Rhone Valley. For the most part they were her own colonies, founded, to use Strabo's expressive phrase,¹³⁴ as 'outworks' against the Iberians to the

¹²⁸ Ar. Pol. 1305 B.

¹²⁹ Her. vii. 157; cf. Bury, *History of Greece*, p. 300.

¹³⁰ Cf. the very interesting speech of Herocrates, in Th. iv. 59-64.

¹³¹ Von Stern, *loc. cit.* pp. 177-189.

¹³² Her. iv. 200-204.

¹³³ Cf. Busolt, *op. cit.* i. pp. 400-402.

¹³⁴ Strabo, p. 180; *ἐπιτειχίσματα*.

west and the Ligurians to the east and north; and it is evident from Strabo's description that they were mere dependencies of the great central town, possessing no independent policy of their own, but used by the Massaliots as outposts from which to hold in check the aggressions of her restless neighbours. So, too, we find that Rhegium, in the days of her strength, had several towns subject to her control,¹³⁵ and it is interesting to note that in the days of Xenophon both Cotyora and Trapezus paid tribute to Sinope.¹³⁶ Apparently here also the great emporium had established her empire over the Milesian settlements of the Pontic coast-line. Sometimes, too, where no city was strong enough to impose its rule on the neighbouring colonies all would group themselves together in a federal union under the presidency (nominal or otherwise) of a single town. The confederacy of the Chalcidic towns under the leadership of Olynthus is a familiar example of this policy.¹³⁷ During the fourth century a more durable federation was formed by the Corinthian colonies in Acarnania, under the presidency of Stratos.¹³⁸

The great political importance of some of these colonies naturally suggests the question whether the mother-states made any attempt to interfere in the policy of their imperial daughters. As a rule, the answer which modern scholars give to this question is in the negative. It is pointed out, very justly, that with ancient methods of navigation it was impossible for the mother-country to exercise any effective supremacy over colonies divided from it by a long tract of sea, and a comparison has been made in this connexion between the position of the Greek colonies in the ancient world and the relations of England and America in the eighteenth century.¹³⁹ But we can rarely trust to a generalisation concerning Greek history, and we have no reason to believe that every Greek colony stood to its *μητρόπολις* in exactly the same relation as its fellow-colonies. To give but one example, it is plain that those Massaliot settlements which Strabo describes as *ἐπιτειχίσματα* must have been far more closely dependent on the government of Massalia than more distant settlements, such as Hemeroscopeion or Emporion.¹⁴⁰ In general we know too little of Greek colonial history to be able to illustrate this conclusion in detail,¹⁴¹ but by a fortunate chance, a few statements of great interest have come down to us, relating to the history

¹³⁵ Strabo, p. 258: *περιοικίδας ἔσχε σύχνας*; cf. Beloch, *op. cit.* i. p. 398, n. 3.

¹³⁶ Xen. *Anab.* v. 5, 10.

¹³⁷ Cf. Bury, *History of Greece*, pp. 558-60; Freeman, *History of Federal Government*, pp. 190-197.

¹³⁸ Cf. a remarkable paper by Dr. Imhoof-Blumer, 'Die Münzen Akarnaniens,' in *Num. Zeit.* 1878, pp. 11-18.

¹³⁹ Sir George Cornewall Lewis, quoted by Crómer, *op. cit.* p. 8, n. 1.

¹⁴⁰ Strabo, p. 159. Th. Reinach (*loc. cit.* pp. 51-6) thinks that these were originally

settlements of Phocaea, drawn later into the sphere of Massaliot influence.

¹⁴¹ Prof. Myres (*loc. cit.* p. 63) says that Miletus 'alone among the great colonising states of the Greek world seems, until its fall, to have kept some kind of hand over its factories.' I am disposed to think that his view of the relations between Miletus and her colonies is correct, though I do not know of any precise evidence on the point; but I cannot allow that Miletus was alone in maintaining these relations.

of the Corinthian colonies, and these give us light as to the political relations of Corinth with her colonists.

Thucydides puts into the mouth of a Corinthian speaker the claim that they were better loved by their colonies than any other Greek state.¹⁴² This statement might seem to imply that Corinth was unusually liberal in her colonial policy; yet we have evidence that she insisted repeatedly and strongly on her imperial claims. Her standing feud with Corcyra, though probably due to the fact that Corcyra interfered with her Italian trade,¹⁴³ had its immediate cause in an act of dishonour done to her by the colony in the reign of Periander.¹⁴⁴ Under Cypselus her political relations with Corcyra seem to have been unusually close, for to his reign belongs the foundation of Anactorium in which Corcyraeans and Corinthians took an equal part¹⁴⁵; though at the same time we have evidence of a hostile faction in the island, for the Bacchiads, whom Cypselus expelled from Corinth, took refuge in Corcyra.¹⁴⁶ Epidamnus, too, as we have already seen, was a joint colony of the two states, and one of the proximate occasions of the Peloponnesian War was due to Corinthian interference in the domestic politics of this town.¹⁴⁷ So, too, in Potidaea we find that Corinth was watchful over her rights. In spite of the fact that the town was a subject of the Athenian empire, she continued to send her overseers from home as an assertion of her privilege as *μητρόπολις*.¹⁴⁸ But these incidental acts of policy are not the only points of interest in the colonial history of Corinth; here, more than anywhere else, we can trace the influence of home-politics on colonial policy. Of the colonies founded in the west by Corinth, Corcyra and Syracuse belong certainly to the early period of Bacchiad ascendancy; almost certainly, also Epidamnus, for its *οἰκιστής* was a member of the Bacchiad family.¹⁴⁹ To three minor settlements—Chalcis and Molycreia at the mouth of the Saronic gulf, and Sollium opposite Leucas.—no definite date is assignable. Anactorium, Leucas, Apollonia and Ambracia were all founded under the Cypselid rule¹⁵⁰; and to the same period belongs also the foundation of Potidaea in Chalcidice.¹⁵¹ If we consult the map, we shall see that this chronological difference is parallel to an obvious difference in policy. The early colonies were founded on sites sufficiently fair to attract settlers of themselves. The later colonies are grouped in one region, and, from what we know of the general policy of the Cypselids, we have every right to say that their foundation was deliberately intended to strengthen the Corinthian hold on the trade-route already formed by the establishment of the earlier settlements.

Bearing in mind this development in Corinth's colonial policy, it is interesting to see how active the Cypselid tyrants were in securing a firm

¹⁴² Th. i. 38, 3.

¹⁴³ Th. i. 37, 4.

¹⁴⁴ Her. iii. 48.

¹⁴⁵ Th. i. 55, 1; Strabo, p. 452.

¹⁴⁶ Nic. Dam. fr. 58.

¹⁴⁷ Th. i. 25-6.

¹⁴⁸ Th. i. 56, 2.

¹⁴⁹ Th. i. 24, 1; but Eusebius gives *Ol.* 38, 4 (= 625 B.C.).

¹⁵⁰ Strabo, p. 452; Nic. Dam. fr. 58.

¹⁵¹ Nic. Dam. fr. 60.

hold on their colonies. Not only did they make new settlements; they took care that the government of these settlements should be entrusted to members of their own family, and we find a whole series of viceroys of the various colonies all belonging to the royal house.¹⁵² Gorgos, son of Cypselus, was made 'oecist' of Ambracia, and the same tyrant's two illegitimate sons, Pylades and Echiades, were made 'oecists' of Leucas and Anaetorium.¹⁵³ At Corcyra we find in succession as viceroys three sons of Periander—Lycophon, Nicolaus, and Cypselus—as well as his nephew, Psammetichus;¹⁵⁴ and Potidaea, only founded during the reign of Periander, received as its 'oecist' yet another of his sons, Evagoras.¹⁵⁵ There is, therefore, plain evidence that Corinth, at least during the rule of the Cypselids, favoured a strongly imperial policy in her relations with her colonies; and in face of this evidence it is tempting to accept a conjecture recently made by Mr. Ernest Harrison in the *Classical Quarterly*.¹⁵⁶ He points out that, whereas the consecrated phrase in Thucydides to describe the origin of a colony is simply ἀποικία τινῶν, an exception is to be found in his method of describing some of the Corinthian settlements. Apollonia, Epidamnus, and Molycreia are described in the ordinary way;¹⁵⁷ but Chalcis is Κορινθίων πόλις, Sollium is Κορινθίων πόλισμα, and of Anaetorium it is simply said: ἦν δὲ κοινὸν Κερκυραίων καὶ ἐκείνων.¹⁵⁸ Having regard to the peculiar colonial policy of Corinth, this difference in terminology may well correspond with a difference in the relations of these settlements with the mother-city. In that case, we might perhaps add Chalcis and Sollium to the list of colonies planted by the Cypselids along the trade-route from Corinth to the west; but here we are in the realm of pure conjecture.

The colonial policy of the Cypselids, which we have discussed, inevitably suggests comparison with the policy of the Pisistratids at a slightly later date. Here, too, we find an imperial policy consistently pursued, and a system of viceroys, appointed to support the central government: Hegesistratus at Sigeion, and Miltiades in the Thracian Chersonese.¹⁵⁹ As it happens, the evidence of coins helps to throw light on the success attained in the pursuance of each policy. Of the Corinthian colonies, Corcyra issued no independent coinage until after the fall of the tyrants; she then marked her revolt from the control of Corinth by issuing staters on the Aeginetan, not the Corinthian, standard.¹⁶⁰ Ambracia, Anaetorium, and Leucas, all Cypselid foundations on the other hand, issue during the fifth century Corinthian staters;¹⁶¹ and the coinage of Leucas, in particular, conforms so closely to the Corinthian, not only in the large staters but also in its smaller denominations, that numismatists have concluded¹⁶² that 'it remained longer

¹⁵² The Cypselid family is discussed by Beloch, *op. cit.* i. 2, pp. 274, etc.

¹⁵³ Nic. Dam. fr. 58; Strabo, p. 325.

¹⁵⁴ Her. iii. 53; Nic. Dam. fr. 60.

¹⁵⁵ Nic. Dam. fr. 60.

¹⁵⁶ *C. Q.* 1912, p. 177, where the evidence is fully given.

¹⁵⁷ Th. i. 26, 2; 24, 2; iii. 102, 2.

¹⁵⁸ Th. i. 108, 4; ii. 30, 1; i. 55, 1.

¹⁵⁹ Her. v. 94; vi. 34–39, 103.

¹⁶⁰ Cf. Gardner, in *Brit. Mus. Catalogue* (Thessaly), pp. 47–49 (Introd.).

¹⁶¹ Imhoof-Blumer, *op. cit.* p. 11.

¹⁶² Cf. Head, in *B.M.C.* (Corinth), p. 63 (Introd.).

than any other Corinthian colony in intimate political relations with the mother-city.' So, too, Sigeion seems always to have maintained, amid the vicissitudes of the Athenian empire, a close connexion with Athens; in contrast with most of the subject-states it issued no independent coinage during the whole of the fifth century, and in the fourth century it remained faithful to the Athenian type of Athena and her owl.¹⁶³

The political relations which we can trace between Corinth and her colonies become all the more significant when we remember that only here has the veil of our ignorance been lifted; if light were let in on other points, we might well find that Greek colonisation has a more varied history than we know at present. But, at the same time, we must not lose sight of a fundamental principle in Greek politics, clearly stated by the Corcyraean ambassador at Athens: οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ δούλοι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ ὁμοίῳ τοῖς λειπομένοισιν εἶναι ἐκπέμπονται ἄποικοι.¹⁶⁴ Even where the policy of the μητρόπολις was most imperial, Greek sentiment always recognised that a colony had the right of a distinct political existence, under the suzerainty of the mother-city; for every Greek colony was also a πόλις in the fullest sense of the word, and, when the power of the μητρόπολις began to wane, it needed no internal reform to give the colony a self-contained existence in the eyes of the Greek political world. Leucas and Anactorium, for example, were as truly πόλεις when subject-colonies of Corinth in the sixth century, as when in the fourth century they assumed complete independence of the mother-state and became autonomous members of the Acarnanian League. Yet, even where political ties were weakened by distance or time, there always remained the bond caused by universal Greek religious sentiment. A colony, it was felt, owed duty to its μητρόπολις, and any act of hostility or contempt was looked on as an act of impiety.¹⁶⁵ This religious feeling was fostered by an annual ceremony. The οἰκιστῆς of each colony was by Greek custom a citizen of the mother-city; on his death he received worship as a hero, and games were sometimes instituted in his honour.¹⁶⁶ No greater act of revolt against the authority of the home-country could be accomplished than the discontinuance of these religious ceremonies. When the Amphipolitans wished to sever all connexion between their city and Athens, they cast down the shrine of their 'oecist' Hagnon, and paid honour instead to Brasidas as the deliverer of their city.¹⁶⁷ So, too, the men of Thurii symbolised their withdrawal from Athenian influence by requesting the Delphic god to act as their οἰκιστῆς;¹⁶⁸ they wished to emphasise the fact that they were now an international state.

Seeing that the ultimate bond of union between mother-city and colony was thus of a religious nature, it is not surprising to note that those colonies founded in the early centuries, when the Greek religion was still a potent

¹⁶³ *Hist. Num.* (ed. 2), p. 549; cf. P. Gardner, in *J.H.S.* 1913, pp. 147-188.

¹⁶⁴ Th. i. 34, 1; cf. the corresponding Corinthian claim (*ibid.* 38, 2): ἐπὶ τῷ ἡγεμόνευ τε εἶναι καὶ τὰ εἰκότα θανμάζεσθαι.

¹⁶⁵ Her. vii. 51: viii. 22; cf. Th. v. 106, 1.

¹⁶⁶ Her. vi. 38.

¹⁶⁷ Th. v. 11, 1.

¹⁶⁸ Diod. xii. 35; cf. Th. i. 25, 1 (Epidamnus).

force, remained to the end more loyal than any of the later settlements, founded for the most part on principles of imperial, not of national, policy. The shock given to Greek sentiment by the unfilial action of Coreyra is of itself sufficient to prove that the general attitude of the colonies in the early days of Greek history was one of dutiful respect, if not of actual submission.¹⁶⁹ Very different was the history of the colonies founded during the fifth century when religious feeling had been undermined by rationalistic propaganda. Amphipolis and Thuri were both lost to Athens within thirty years of their foundation, and Spartan influence at Heraclea in Trachis was from the first of doubtful quality.¹⁷⁰ The Corinthian ambassadors had, by contrast, good reason to boast of their friendly relations with their colonies. Syracuse was founded in the eighth century, yet, when four centuries later she fell on evil days, it was to Corinth that she looked for help, and it was in Corinth that she found a Timoleon.

Closely connected with the sentiment of loyalty to the mother-state was the more general feeling of loyalty to kindred of the same race. The division of the Greek race into Dorians, Ionians and Achaeans formed one of the most profound influences in the whole current of Greek history. In particular, the rivalry between Dorians and Ionians is of peculiar importance for the history of Greek colonisation. In our written authorities this rivalry is sometimes alluded to in most pointed terms, and we know that it was a powerful factor in Greek political history of the fifth century B.C. The Athenian ἀρχή was largely built up on the sentiment of Ionian kindred,¹⁷¹ and it was fear of a Dorian alliance between Syracuse and Sparta which was one of the chief motives in the Sicilian policy of Athens.¹⁷² But if we turn to the map and mark the different regions in which the two races established their colonies we shall at once be struck by an apparent unity in the methods of each. In almost every region of the Greek colonial world, the two races are to be found represented on our maps; but it seems everywhere plain from the grouping of their settlements that the sites were chosen in a spirit of conscious opposition. In Sicily, the north east was originally almost entirely in the hands of Ionians, whilst the east and south were settled by Dorians. In the Aegaeon, the Ionians went to the north, the Dorians to the south, and there is here little clashing of interests; but, on the shores of the Euxine, though Miletus succeeded in gaining almost a monopoly of the more distant coasts, Megara succeeded in encircling the entrance to the Propontis with a ring of her settlements. A glance at the geographical position of these and other Greek colonies will show at once that of the two races the Ionians were by far the more enterprising. On the Euxine, in the northern waters of the Aegaeon, beyond the straits of Messina to Gaul and Spain, and (if we may trust Herodotus and Plutarch),¹⁷³ up the coast line of the Adriatic, it was Ionian sailors who everywhere led the way; and though their earliest enter-

¹⁶⁹ Th. i. 25, 4.

¹⁷⁰ Th. iii. 93, 4.

¹⁷¹ Cf. Th. v. 96, 1.

¹⁷² Th. vi. 6, 2; cf. iv. 61, 2.

¹⁷³ Her. i. 163; Plut. *Qu. Gr.* 11. Beloch (*op. cit.* i. 1, p. 247, n. 4) rejects this tradition; but, if false, how are we to account for its acceptance?

prises date back well into the eighth century, even in the seventh century Samian and Phocæan adventurers still found new ports to explore.¹⁷⁴ There is, therefore, much point in a comparison, made by a distinguished French scholar, between the early Ionian settlers and the Portuguese adventurers of the fifteenth century,¹⁷⁵ though we must always bear in mind that it is not in any way a comparison of degree. But it would be a grievous mistake were we to give to the Ionians alone the whole credit of success in the history of Greek colonisation. It is true that only in the Cyrenaica do the Dorians appear in the character of explorers; but, though later in the field, and of a less enterprising spirit, their instinct for colonisation suggested to them a choice of sites even more remarkable than those occupied by the Ionians. Their insight in this respect amounted, indeed, to genius. Chalcedon and Byzantium, Potidaea, Taras and Syracuse—these are sites of which any people might well be proud. For the most part they belong to the later period of Greek colonisation, and it will be noticed how plainly the latest point to a deliberate policy of getting control of trade-routes. Chalcedon, Byzantium and Potidaea, no less than the Corinthian outposts along the shores of the Adriatic, commanded routes by which Ionians must inevitably pass on their voyages to and from their more distant colonies. Sites such as these were not chosen at random.

From the position of many of their colonies, it would seem that the Dorian states aimed deliberately, at least in their later foundations, at acquiring control of Ionian routes. That in certain regions they succeeded in doing so would seem to appear from the evidence of early Greek standards of coinage. If coinage was not itself an Ionian invention, the Ionians were, at all events, the first Greeks to make a regular use of money; yet it is curious to note that, in many important regions of the ancient Greek world, the Dorian standards of Aegina and Corinth prevailed over the Ionian standards of Euboea and the cities of the Asiatic coast. In Italy and Sicily, Chalcis was well ahead of Corinth in the foundation of her colonies, and we should naturally expect that the Euboic standard would thus have every chance of becoming the dominant currency of Magna Graecia; yet the earliest Italian coinage was struck on the Corinthian standard and in direct imitation of Corinthian fabric; and there is evidence that, before the existence of a local currency, Corinthian staters were in free circulation through the towns of Italy.¹⁷⁶ Only in Chalcidic Cyme and Rhegium, and Phocæan Elea do Ionian standards appear.¹⁷⁷ Again, in the Pontic colonies the influence of Miletus was supreme from the eighth century onwards; yet the earliest coins found in this area are of the Aeginetan standard,¹⁷⁸ pointing clearly to the fact that Aeginetan influence in the Euxine, for which Herodotus affords evidence in the time of Xerxes,¹⁷⁹ goes back to the earliest

¹⁷⁴ Her. iv. 152.

¹⁷⁵ Th. Reinach, *op. cit.* pp. 52-3.

¹⁷⁶ Hill, *Historical Greek Coins*, p. 22; *Handbook of Greek Coins*, p. 152.

¹⁷⁷ *Hist. Num.* p. 35; p. 88.

¹⁷⁸ Cf. Wroth, in *B.M.C.* (Pontus); but Prof. P. Gardner (*History of Ancient Coinage*, p. 171) suggests that at first the Pontic cities used the electrum coinage of Miletus.

¹⁷⁹ Her. vii. 147.

days of Greek commerce. But the most remarkable instance of Dorian commercial preponderance is to be found in the district of Chalcidice. Thanks to the acute criticism of Mr. Harrison,¹⁸⁰ we now know that this region was exclusively in the hands of Eretria and her dependencies until the foundation of Potidaea about 600 B.C. The cities of Chalcidice do not begin to issue coins until about 500 B.C. Their currency belongs to the Euboic-Attic standard; but, unlike Athens or Euboea, they divided their stater into three, not two, drachms, and this division is an obvious imitation of the Corinthian system.¹⁸¹ When we remember how comparatively late was the foundation of Potidaea, we shall find it all the more striking that a single town should, in the course of a century, have been able to influence the whole commercial system of Chalcidice to the extent of imposing on them the divisions of Corinthian currency; and we shall also admit that Periander was well advised in the choice of a site for his new colony. These instances of colonial policy suggest a continuous and successful effort on the part of the leading Dorian states to force themselves into the highways of Greek commerce. M. Reinach has compared the Ionian settlers with the Portuguese. Those who remember the rapidity with which the Portuguese, in the great days of European expansion, won and lost their hold on the trade with the East, will perhaps, in the light of these facts, find an added point in his suggestive comparison.

IV.—*General Summary.*

In conclusion, it will be well to summarise briefly the views that have been put forward, and to suggest again certain obvious points of comparison between Greek colonial history and the history of modern colonisation.

In the first place we have seen that the fundamental cause of Greek colonisation was not, as in more modern times, the sudden discovery of unexplored regions or the prospect of commercial gain. It was rather the constant pressure of a population outgrowing the productive capacity of land at home, and chafing, too, at the restraints of a social system wholly founded on the hereditary tenure of land. This pressure was a direct result of the increasing stability of Greek life, and the tendency to emigration was further encouraged by a second result of that increasing stability, the clearing of pirates from the home waters. But the Greeks, though essentially an agricultural people, were none the less born for maritime adventure, and the migratory movement soon resulted in a rapid extension of the limits of the Greek world. Parallel to this extension went, naturally, a great development of commerce, and commercial enterprise becomes more and more inextricably united with the growth of the colonies until the later phases of Greek colonial history are identical with the history of contemporary Greek commerce. Yet, if we are careful to distinguish the earlier from the

¹⁸⁰ *C. Q.* 1912, pp. 91-103, 164-178.

¹⁸¹ This fact has been recently established

by Prof. Gardner; cf. *History of Ancient Coinage*, p. 197.

succeeding stages of that history we see clearly, that the first Greek states founded over-seas were primarily communities of an agricultural people, only later centres of industrial or commercial activity.

This primary character of Greek colonisation explains much that would otherwise be puzzling in its later development. Greek society in the colonies no less than in the mother country, had its roots in the conception of a city-state. As long as a Greek colony survived as an independent unit, sometimes long after it had lost its independence, it retained its essential character of a πόλις. Hence, the development of social and political institutions among the Greek colonies is, as far as we can trace it, closely parallel to the development of society in Greece proper; only occasionally, where pressure from outside threatened the very existence of the Greek states do we find, as in Sicily under Dionysius, the sudden rise of a military despotism. And this continuity is reflected in the whole atmosphere of Greek colonial history. Tradition was a very living force in the Greek colonies, and there was nothing in their development, which can be compared to the characteristic features of modern colonial states. The relations of French Canada to France resemble, perhaps, more closely the relations of a Greek colony to its μητρόπολις than do the more progressive Anglo-Saxon colonies, where progress has often been achieved at the cost of respect for tradition, and of much else that is beautiful.

A detailed examination of the political relations between the Greek states of the mainland and their respective colonies is unfortunately no longer possible. How did each Greek state solve the problem of maintaining its hold on its distant colonies? That is a question which we can no longer answer; we can only draw attention to that general sense of religious reverence which was so strong a bond of union between the new and the old in all Greek society. The few details which chance has preserved for us as to the colonial policy of Corinth teach us little more than the extent of our ignorance. If we had even such slight knowledge of the colonies of Miletus, Megara, or the Achaean states, what new light might be thrown on the development of early Greek society!

One last question cannot fail to suggest itself to the student of Greek colonial history: since Greek colonisation achieved so much, why did it not achieve more? By the middle of the sixth century B.C. the Greek world had already been given those limits which were to remain almost unchanged until Alexander broke down, at a blow, all the barriers of the East: why was no effort made by the Greeks in the days of their independence to extend these limits? It is the old riddle of the greatness and the littleness of Greek history. Perhaps no other nation has shown such intense activity of expansion, and yet made no attempt to found a permanent empire. The Romans had not the Greek genius for colonisation, but the Roman negotiator penetrated everywhere, and opened up new regions for the Roman armies to conquer. The Greeks, on the other hand, were content with their isolated settlements, and never seem to have thought of establishing an empire in the interior of those countries whose sea-boards they held. Perhaps it was

the failure to convert the ideal of a city-state into the ideal of a nation ; perhaps it was some inherent quality of the Greek mind—content with what it had and not caring for more than was sufficient to supply its material needs. Imperialism and apostolate are two conceptions, very different in their origin and their motives, yet both equally unfamiliar to the Greeks. What they had, they made perfect ; and we must admit that the perfection of their civilisation was due in no small measure to the existence of their colonies. Exchange of goods and interchange of thought are two very necessary conditions of human progress ; and Greek colonisation ensured that, for two centuries at least, the Eastern Mediterranean should be the almost undisputed waterway of Greek merchants and travellers.

AUBREY GWYNN.

THE UTILISATION OF OLD EPIGRAPHIC COPIES.

INTRODUCTION.

SOME of the most important inscriptions in Central Anatolia, copied by old travellers with fair accuracy, are concealed in the great collections, such as *C.I.G.*, with false or defective transcription in which their value is lost. The object of this article is to illustrate by examples the importance and the right method of re-studying them. In order to show the facts, as the basis for a new restoration (which will in every case be found closer to the original copy than the published transcriptions), brevity is best served in several cases by quoting former transcriptions fully.

In using the copies of older travellers the chief principle is to emend as little as possible. Certain letters, however, are liable to be confused by any copyist in a difficult text, and correction in such cases is needed within limits. Also, there is a personal equation which can be established in respect of each. Copyists vary in excellence, some being much more trustworthy than others, and there are certain errors to which some are more prone than others. A great scholar, with brilliant imagination and poor or unpractised eyes, may make worse copies than the old travellers. F. Lenormant was a typical example. His ingenuity (sometimes undisciplined) and learning enabled him to distort his own poor copies to such a degree that a scholar of Berlin, Hermann Roehl, wrote two malignant articles branding him as *inscriptionum falsarius*, and Kirchhoff with others made the same accusation. Neither of them was intellectually able to appreciate the errors into which excessive ingenuity and quickness of intellect may betray a bad copyist rather lacking in judgment.¹ The editors of *Hermes*, 1882, p. 460, and 1883, p. 97, admitted Roehl's articles (with other insinuations by Mordtmann), and stamped with their authority this disgraceful attack which has overshadowed Lenormant's great services, and some even of his own friends shrink from championing his cause. His worst fault was not want of fidelity, but over-ingenuity. His inscriptions have often not been found,² but that was the

¹ Lenormant found in a tobacconist's shop in Athens a sheet of paper on which was written part of a list of city names and river names, apparently a schoolboy's exercise, which he and Karl Mueller accepted as a genuine ancient scrap of information.

² In my experience, very often inscriptions

are seen once, and disappear (pp. 129 etc.). Germans at home based on this a charge of forgery. Grothe in his *Vorderasiene Expedition* has a just remark about those who *am Schreibtisch* demand impossibilities in ignorance of facts.

period of reconstruction, when ancient stones quickly disappear. I have often said from experience in Turkey that, where reconstruction begins, more inscriptions are lost in four years than in the four centuries preceding, and stones appear and die in a day or a year.^{2a}

Lenormant's errors were due largely to the quickness of his thought and the badness of his sight for faint impressions: when great ingenuity is combined with great learning there is no "personal equation" except infinity. The copies of Hamilton, Lucas, etc., treated in the present article, were attempts to present facts without comprehension or theorising; but in Lenormant and some other scholars the tendency to theorise dominated the mind. Some examples are treated below in Nos. XXII. ff.; but I intentionally take my principal example from a deceased scholar. The way in which this tendency acts is illustrated in a supposititious example on the following page. It is true that this explanation leaves Lenormant's inscriptions in need of corroboration: they are influenced by a vivid creative imagination, but this uncertainty does not justify the malignant assertion that they were forged. Lenormant inaugurated a method of re-creating ancient ritual from scanty fragments of information, and although he carried his method to an extreme, he is always suggestive and instructive. He represents a stage in the epigraphic study of Greek religion; he is to be read but always also to be tested. The same class of spiteful critics have said about a great English discoverer that he always finds what he wants: they forget the motto to Goethe's *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, pt. i.

Another principle has to be constantly emphasised, that epigraphic copies reproduced in type are dangerous; and I have attempted to restore the probable state of the stone, so far as the evidence which can be gathered from type permits. Access to the notebooks of Hamilton, Stuart, etc., would give invaluable aid. The same lesson is emphasised in the forthcoming volume of *J.R.S.* vi., where I re-publish an unintelligible Latin fragment found at Pisidian Antioch by me in 1882, published by Sterrett in *E.J.* No. 128 from his own copy of 1885, and in *C.I.L.* iii. 6834 from Sterrett and me. Publication in *C.I.L.* is regarded naturally as the standard of knowledge; and it was only by chance, looking over my own ancient notebook, that I observed the meaning of a fragment which is unintelligible in those publications, and was left as hopeless by Mommsen (against some objection urged by me). The original copy is the only standard, and is frequently misrepresented in publication (sometimes even by the scholar who made it). Sterrett's copy in No. VI. disproves his own correction; in No. XXIX. my copy punishes my distrust of it. To avoid conjecture is the great lesson; and yet it is necessary sometimes to make conjectures, where corruption is certain.

Ligatures, which are often difficult where the surface is worn, are commonly misrepresented or ignored by the old travellers.

Also, there is far too much tendency to interpret Anatolia in terms of

^{2a} See the remarks on pp. 129, 130 etc.

Greece. Scholars come to Anatolian work saturated with Greek ideas, and they set about the interpretation of Anatolia on the theory that any Greek analogy, whether real or apparent, is most likely to give the true explanation.

I use the opportunity of interpreting more fully or correctly several of my own published inscriptions; and I have had many opportunities of comparing the copies made by old travellers and by myself with the actual stones, and thus gauging the tendency to error and to correctness in almost all of them. The tendency to be correct is frequently ignored by scholars working in a library with no experience of the real difficulties to which travellers are exposed from many causes that I might enumerate, and of which some will be mentioned in the course of this article. The old copyists tried to be correct, and this desire to represent faithfully what they did not understand is an important element in criticising them usefully. The worst copyist known to me is a Greek doctor Diamantides (who was assassinated in his own house at Konia in 1902): yet he did good service. Sterrett has published many inscriptions from him, and I transcribed all his inscriptions from his notebooks during his lifetime. Cronin in *J.R.S.* 1902, p. 119, republishes an inscription from my copy, which Sterrett, *E.J.* No. 241, published from Diamantides. The inscription, a complete dedication by a high priest of Tiberius for the second time, C. Julius Oarios, to Pluto, is in Diamantides quite unintelligible, and yet every letter of his copy is accounted for and the reason for mistake is evident. The copy of Diamantides suggests the reading \acute{o} δεινα ιερεινς του [η]ρω[ος] οσιο[υ]βιος [και Νυμ]φων. A highly ingenious scholar (as e.g. F. Lenormant) might start with this in his mind, and read the priest's name in l. 1 (instead of the Emperor's) and the hero's name as οσιου Τουατου 'Οάβιος (gen.), to which a learned and instructive commentary would be attached; the hero Oabis is Oebis in the list of Korykian priests; and many other analogies impose themselves.

The last four lines of *C.I.G.* 4000 (No. IX.) supply a gauge according to which one can determine the character and extent of the errors which Lucas makes at his worst. The lines are a common Phrygian Greek formula, in which he makes the following errors: Λ for Δ, ΤΗΠΠΥΛΗ³ false, Λ for Α, ΠΙ for Π, Γ for Τ, Ν omitted, Ν for Ρ (a strange error), Ε for C, Π for ΙΤ, Ο lost. Some of these errors are of the kind to which a rapid copy in Anatolian travel is exposed (as Λ and Α, Ε and C, are hard to distinguish); a few are more serious. Now, looking over this copy as a whole, having regard to the fact that Lucas was neither a trained epigraphist nor yet even a Greek scholar, and bearing in memory the difficulties which beset the best epigraphist in seeing the correct forms of very difficult letters, we conclude that, where round forms (the commonest) are employed, the following may be regarded as almost equivalent in Lucas (and likely to be confused by other copyists in difficult cases): C, O, E, perhaps Θ: Α, Λ, Δ: Γ, Π: ΤΙ, ΓΙ, Π, ΙΤ: Χ, Υ: X, Κ: lambda in the form λ is confused with X and Υ.

³ ΙΤΥΧΗ would be the easiest correction for ΠΥΛΗ, but the case is more serious (see No. IX.).

Where square forms are employed, C and E may be confused with each other, but not with O (unless it also is square); and the probable errors vary according to the type of alphabet; but this equivalence must not be used too freely, as human nature errs, but yet seeks after the truth and returns to it.

A good illustrative case, also, may be found in a metrical epitaph at Apameia-Kelainai, which has been published in *C.I.G.* 3964, and by Welcker, *N. Rh. Mus.* 1845, p. 265 from the copy of Hamilton, and again by Kaibel, *Ep. Graec. ex Lap. Conl.* 387 from the copy of G. Hirschfeld (given in his article on Apameia, *Abhandl. Berl. Acad.* 1875, p. 25: see also my *C. B. Phr.* No. 343). Both Hamilton and Hirschfeld make mistakes, but neither copy is so remote from the correct text as the transcriptions published in *C.I.G.* and by Welcker and Kaibel. The errors of those two travellers (of whom Hirschfeld was a trained archaeologist, placed for some time in charge of the excavations at Olympia) furnish the personal equation according to which we should estimate the copies made by them in other cases. This is especially valuable in the case of Hamilton, who is the sole authority for many Anatolian inscriptions. He is very accurate where the inscription is clear: he rarely omits a letter without indicating the loss (except at the end of lines, where the loss is obvious only to an epigraphist). There is some justification for every mark in his copy (as in Lucas, etc.); but the fact that sometimes he copied something different from the mark on the stone is due partly to deterioration of the surface, partly to a certain tendency of eye and mind, which is the personal equation. The same holds with G. Hirschfeld, and is to be explained in his case probably on the theory that he had not good eyesight: a great deal depends on the delicacy of the eye and its sensitiveness to faint impressions. Arundell, whose two works furnish the sole copies of several inscriptions, is a poorer copyist, and frequently omits a letter, giving no indication that a letter is omitted. He ranks on the same level with Lucas, or perhaps lower, and the character of their mistakes is similar.

The inscription at Apameia is exceptionally difficult. The stone is a large panel, lying flat on the ground; the raised edges detain the rain-water on the surface, and the impact of the rain also exercises a deteriorating effect: thus the incised letters are worn and broadened. In 1881 and 1882 I refrained from copying it, because it is conspicuous, and I devoted my time to others which were less likely to attract notice. On a later visit I had with me Hirschfeld's paper on Apameia, and compared his copy carefully with the original.

The experience of many years, copying thousands of such inscriptions, sometimes extremely faint and worn, sometimes obviously scratched on the stone by untrained cutters ignorant of the language, makes me sympathetic with, and infinitely far removed from desiring to criticise, errors made by older travellers. In first copies I have made every error that they have made, but it has been my rule never (except under compulsion) to leave an inscription until I had exhausted every means of completely interpreting it, and had satisfied myself either that certainty could not be attained at the

moment, or that my reading and understanding were trustworthy. I do not blame travellers' copies, but I do blame scholars who, in their libraries, 'correct' (!) with careless haste those copies in any degree that suits their caprice, and thus often retard progress by concealing the facts of Anatolian antiquities, which they themselves do not sufficiently study.

It may be thought that I exaggerate the difficulty of distinguishing between letters on stones which are faint and worn; but I give an example. In the great Korykian inscription (containing probably a list of priests), the best text of which is published by Heberdey and Wilhelm, *Reisen in Kilikien*, No. 155, they read in l. 30 NENAOPMIOΣ. Hogarth reads NENA, and I remember being of the same opinion:⁴ this seemed to us the safest text, and we could not trust to reading any cross-stroke in Λ. While H. W. print their own text without indicating any doubt, they put in their notes 'Hogarth richtig NENA.' There remains some doubt whether the true form of the name may not, perhaps, be NENΔOPMIOΣ, reading neither A nor Λ, but Δ: compare H. W. 190, where they print *Δορμίσπας*, but where the double name is probable, *Δόρμυς Πᾶς*, 'Dormis (called also) Pas, son of Kadadenis.' The name Pas occurs in the Korykian inscription, B 17: with it compare Mos, Tas, Bas, Zas, Dazas, Plos, Lous, Klous, Glous, etc.⁵ Again in the same inscription, l. 29, OPBIΣ is printed by Hicks, from the squeeze of Mr. Bent and from (as I think) Hogarth; but H. W. read OEBIΣ; and in 30 a name given is MOYPMIΣ (Hicks, Hogarth), *Μόνεμυς* (H. W.). This implies a tendency in H. W. to see E, where H. H. see P, and a difficulty in distinguishing N and Y (due to λ being taken for Y).

From the Korykian inscription many variants might be quoted, showing the extent to which scholars and professional epigraphists, copying from the stone or using impressions, may differ in a doubtful text. Where, with all the advantage of training and care, Hicks and Hogarth⁶ differ from Heberdey

⁴ The same name and the same difference of opinion in 32, 35, 76.

⁵ See No. XXII.

⁶ I say nothing about myself, because my notebook with the complete text was lost the same year in the post; and there were some divergences of opinion between Hogarth and myself in front of the stone. It should also be mentioned that the inscription was copied by us in a state of considerable physical weakness. We came down to the coast expecting to buy food, but every native had gone up to the high inner country, and we arrived late in the evening, to find nothing. Next morning early we sent a man to the nearest town (six hours distant) to bring food, but he did not return till 10 P.M. Moreover the mosquitoes, which had driven even the natives up to the high mountain pastures, prevented sleep. Our purpose in that nine days' excursion across Taurus from Laranda to Olba and Korykos

was mainly to recopy the great Korykian inscription for the benefit of Bent and (Bishop) Hicks in publishing; and we had nothing with us except what each carried on his own horse. These conditions are not suitable for making accurate copies of a difficult text. I was involved in an additional difficulty which at the time I did not appreciate. The inscription is engraved on the *anta* of a temple, and begins high up. It was necessary to build a platform of stones, gradually raising it as the copy progressed. The platform naturally was accommodated to the height of the taller; and Hogarth had the advantage of six inches or more. At that time I had not learned that it is difficult to see correctly when the eye is lower than the letters, and thus I was exposed to difficulties which in my later epigraphic life I would have avoided. Such are a few of the obstacles that occur in real life, even on a long excursion undertaken

and Wilhelm in regard to numberless symbols, we need not wonder that Lucas, and to a smaller degree Hamilton, vary from the truth. But the point is to determine the manner and degree of variation.

All restoration remains hypothetical until it is definitely proved by re-examination of the stone, and I have spent much time in searching for the inscriptions of former travellers. In many cases hypothesis has changed to certainty, and the hypothetical stage drops out of notice in republication, but frequently re-examination is impossible, as ancient stones have a short life above ground in Turkey (see p. 130, etc.). In exemplifying the method of using copies from former travellers I attempt also to illuminate the antiquities of Central Anatolia, selecting mainly those that throw light on the Anatolian religion, and especially on the god who is called (as I hope to prove) *Mânes* in the Anatolian speech and *Men* in the grecised form.^{6a} Almost all important inscriptions of Central Anatolia have a religious aspect; death and burial bore intimately on religion. Two show how advertisements were expressed as religious documents. Several are Christian of the fourth century and present exceptional interest, showing incidentally how much superior Christian education was to pagan in ordinary Anatolian society at that time.

To illustrate the importance of my subject I find, if my interpretations are correct; among inscriptions concealed in *C.I.G.*:—

1. Epitaph of the priest's son, who organised the last pagan ceremony 362 A.D. in Christian Iconium: *C.I.G.* 4000. I was forced gradually to refer it to the religious movement of Julian's time. The priests of an Iconian cult about the end of that movement buried their son, who along with them had taken an active part in the revivification of the local ritual. The spirit of the document is similar to the revival under Diocletian and Maximin Daza, but has its own individual character: it restored the obscure local rite, whereas the older revival restored the great sanctuary at Zizyma (No. I.).

2. Decree in honour of the priest who restored the old cult and reorganised the Imperial property, c. 300: *C.I.G.* 3988.

3. Advertisement of two marble-workers, c. 150: *C.I.G.* 3995 B.

4. The career of a forgotten Roman Governor, 16–18 A.D.: *C.I.G.* 3990.

Also 5. The reorganisation of the Phrygo-Pisidian frontier, 24 B.C.: Sterrett, *W.E.* 548.

My best thanks are due to three coadjutors,⁷ to whose cordial assistance

for the special purpose of copying afresh an important inscription. The life of an exploring archaeologist contains twenty disappointments to every success.

^{6a} I have expressed this opinion often: the proof is here given: see Roscher's *Lexicon*, ii. 2, pp. 2688, 2717.

⁷ Mr. Anderson, of Christ Church, Mr. Buckler, of the American Embassy, and Professor Calder, of Manchester, have co-operated with me in most of the inscriptions repub-

lished here, and have made many suggestions, a considerable number of which I accept. The copies have been circulated by me to some or all of them in the more difficult cases, and have been greatly improved through their criticisms. In many cases I state the name, but my debt is much greater than that: often a conjecture was made by one and modified successively by others, so that no name can be assigned.

and frank criticism much of this paper is due, but, of course, the responsibility lies finally with myself, and they do not all agree with all the views stated here.

I.—*C.I.G.* 3988: *I.G.R.R.* iii. 248 (Kadin-Khan). I quote the latter, adding in capitals some letters which it omits from Hamilton, also our restoration.

ἐπειδὴ ὁ ἱ[ερεὺς Διός		ἐπειδὴ Ὁ[ρέστης ἱερεὺς IOVIS
καὶ Βέστης ἔ-		καὶ Βέστης [καθιέρωσεν καὶ ἐπέ-
δωκεν ἐν		δωκεν ἐν[δόξως Μητρὶ Ζιζιμμη-
νῆ χρυσοῦ		νῆ χρυσοῦ [ἀσήμου λείτρας δύο
καὶ ἱερὰ ἀγ[εῖν .	5	καὶ ἱερὰ ἀγ[γεία τρία καὶ σηρι-
κωβλατία		κωβλάτια [δ' ? ἄλλα τε παντοῖα ὄν
ἀπογραφὴν		ἀπογραφὴν [τελείαν ἀπέθηκεν ἐν
τοῖς ἱεροῖς		τοῖς ἱεροῖς [ἀρχαίοις ἱερατεύσας
δὲ καὶ τὸ τρ[ίτον		δὲ καὶ τὸ τρ[ίτον ἀνεώσε τὸ βιά-
θρον Κ:ΘC	10	θρον κ[ἐ] θε[μέλια, καὶ τὰς σκευο-
θηκα καὶ φα		θήκα(ς), καὶ φά[τνας ἵπποις θείοις
ιςβ καὶ ΘΚ·N[. . . . τελ-		ισβ', καὶ [σ]κηγ[ὰς μδ'· δεδόχθαι τελ-
εῖν δεΚ·ΓΡ		εῖν δέκ[α ἱ]ερ[οποιούς κατὰ ἔτος
ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ /		ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ α[ἰωνίους τιμάς συν-
τελεῖν δ[ἐ	ὑπὲρ	15
αὐτοῦ ἐκ/	τοῦ μακαρ-	τελεῖν δ[ἐ καὶ τοὺς μύστας ? ὑπὲρ
ίτου ΜΑΙ		αὐτοῦ ἐκα[τόμβην ἱερὰν ἡμέρα
μ]ακαρίτο[υ		ί' τοῦ Μα[ρτίου πρὸς δόξαν ? τοῦ
καὶ κτ[ίσ]του		μ]ακαρίτο[υ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς κυρίων
		καὶ κτητ[όρων σωτηρίας

10 *I.G.R.R.* has *θρον α*, nothing more. 12 *I.G.R.R.* has *ιςβ καὶ θ*. . . . *τελ.*], but Hamilton gives *ICB* with a line above to show that it is a number (examples occur of this wrong order of numbers). 10–19 The exact wording is uncertain, but the general bearing is clear.

The inscription opens as an honorary decree *ἐπειδὴ* [ἔδοξε]; yet the latter part is evidently of the nature of an epitaph: *i.e.* the hieron of Zizyma or the State of Laodiceia passed a decree in honour of the deceased. Another Lycaonian inscription of the same character, at once a public honorary decree and an epitaph, found at Kara-Bunar, belongs probably to Hiera Hyde. Some of the restorations are printed *exempli gratia*.

The text depends solely on Hamilton. The letters were evidently in good condition when he visited Kadin-Khan, and his copy is trustworthy,⁸ though a skilled epigraphist would doubtless have elicited more at some places. The great Khan at the village, full of inscribed stones, is crumbling into ruins as the years pass, stones disappear one by one, and others are disclosed:

οἷη περ φύλλων γενεή, τοιήδε καὶ ἐπιγραφῶν.

⁸ The stone was cut in two, and thus letters were broken; *e.g.* from *P* there may remain

in the left-hand fragment only *l*. This has happened at least once in Hamilton's copy.

This one has never been seen again, although I have repeatedly examined the ruins from 1886 onwards.

In restoring such an inscription, the length of the lines, and the period to which the inscription belongs, must be determined. It is elsewhere pointed out that a good stone is often split by stonecutters into two approximately equal parts.⁹ Hamilton indicates traces of four letters lost at the right where the surface was injured by the cutter, and we infer that the lines in each half contained about twelve letters, and that the total length was about twenty-four letters. The restoration of 6-8 confirms this approximate length.

Further, the restoration has made no progress, because its period and character have not been observed. In 19 the copy has been corrected (?) to $\kappa\tau[\acute{\iota}\sigma]\tau[ου]$; but Hamilton is right and the word is $\kappa\tau\eta\tau[όρων]$. The *ktetores* were the possessors and cultivators of the land which became imperial property under Augustus (being thus *ιερά γῆ* or *χώρα*): the term became common in documents of the fourth century. The printed restorations also miss the evident allusion in 4 to a certain weight of gold: the inscription belongs to the late period when gold was counted by weight, probably c. 300 A.D. The mention of *sericoblattia* and the spirit and tone of the pagan feeling point to that period.

From these two assumptions we start, and the success of the restoration must be the test and proof.

1-2. In *C.I.G.* and *I.G.R.R.* the restoration is $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\delta\eta\ \acute{\omicron}\ \acute{\iota}[\epsilon\rho\epsilon\delta\varsigma\ \Delta\acute{\iota}\acute{\omicron}\varsigma]$, making the lines about seventeen letters in length. It is, however, inadmissible that a decree should be passed in honour of an individual without his name. Evidence which cannot be detailed here proves that Orestes was a characteristic name in the priestly family at Zizyma, and Strabo, pp. 535, 537, mentions that Orestes was a figure who played a part in the origin of the religious centres, Komana and Kastabala, though he professes no belief in this myth. In such cases my view is that Orestes is a greised form of a native name whose sound recalled this Greek word, as *e.g.* at Olba Tarku became Teukros.¹⁰ Buckler, without knowing that the name Orestes was connected with the cult of Zizyma, restored it here from Hamilton.

Cagnat-Lafaye take Vesta as the Roman goddess, and connect this with the supposed fact that Laodiceia was made a Roman colony in 235 A.D. The same false reasoning was stated previously by me in *Ath. Mitt.* 1888, p. 235; at that date Waddington's wrong reading of a coin of Pella was accepted and the coin in question was assigned to Laodiceia (which was supposed to

⁹ See *B.S.A.* 1912, p. 77. That the stone was a good one, and probably marble, is clear from the fact that the letters must have been in excellent condition when Hamilton saw it.

¹⁰ So Sachau pointed out, but he did not explain why Aias alternated with Teukros in the dynastic family. Evidently the sons of Yavan, the old Ionians, gave a name to the mythical dynast Aias. Telamon also occurs,

apparently as the Greek corresponding to Tbelemis (cp. Kutbelemis): other examples on p. 146. Orestes was Oaris or Oareis. This archaistic introduction of Greek mythological names must be distinguished from the real survival, E. and W. of the Aegean Sea, of names like Lykaon (Lukabant), hero-ancestor of the Lykaones and king in Arcadia. See pp. 146, 149, 169, 181.

have been made a Colonia by Maximin I.); but the error was pointed out many years ago,¹¹ though now through the influence of Cagnat-Lafaye's excellent book the error may find new life outside numismatic circles. Vesta is only a title of the native Anatolian goddess, for the inscription belongs to the pagan reaction, when the Empire was allying itself with the Anatolian religion and using the native gods as helpers in the final struggle against the increasing power of Christianity; and the gods of different countries were identified with one another and the names interchanged, with the purpose of presenting a unified pagan religion throughout the Empire banded together against the new faith.¹²

In Roman religion Jupiter and Vesta were not ordinarily recognised as a family pair; but this goddess, besides her more familiar aspect as the virgin goddess whose priestesses are the Vestal Virgins, had also another aspect as Mater Vesta with her own pontifex. There must have existed in some ancient Italian cult a conjunction of the divine father and the divine mother Vesta which belongs to a different stage in thought and ritual from the virgin Vesta, guardian of the ever-burning flame that formed the centre of the communal life in town or village. The Laodiceian composer, however, was not thinking of a rather obscure cult like that. He had in mind only the outstanding fact that Vesta, centre of the Roman State, was an expression of the same supreme goddess who ruled at Zizyma.

Vesta, as the Anatolian Mother, is associated with the divine Father. In *C.I.L.* iii. 13,638, found at Iconium, but also relating to the Zizimene religion, Jove and Minerva Zizimene are associated.^{12a} In the present text a still more distinctly Roman form of the goddess is named, and we should expect also that the god should be obviously true Roman. The intention clearly is to give strong expression to the alliance of Zizyma with the Roman policy by employing strictly Roman names for the two supreme deities. We look therefore for Iovis or some other Latin form rather than the purely Greek name. But how was the Latin form Iovis expressed in Greek? In the first century, when Hellenic feeling was more effective, the Greek name might be substituted for the Roman, but about 300 A.D. that is less probable. The representation of the name of the god was therefore probably coloured by the conditions of the time, but the Latin Iovis contains two non-Greek spirants and it is quite uncertain how these were represented in Greek characters.

Moreover, as the inscription belongs to the time of Diocletian Iovius,

¹¹ See Hill, *Br. Mus. Catal.* p. xxii.

¹² The word 'Bestes' occurs as a proper name in an unpublished inscription of Laodiceia, and the suggestion was made by a friend that this inscription should be restored in some such form as ἐπειδὴ Ὁ[ρεστιανός? δ] καὶ Βέστης, but this cannot be justified. The inscription in question has the accents marked, and is therefore of late date, and no argu-

ment can be drawn from names of the ninth or tenth century to prove the existence of a similar name about 300 A.D. I should regard that unpublished inscription as so late that Βέστης is to be treated as a greecised form of a name of the mediaeval type in -τζίης, making Vetzes rather than Bestes the real name.

^{12a} Given below as No. XIII.

the use of the Latin name is all the more probable.¹³ About A.D. 300 the name Zeus (which was commonly used for the chief god of Iconium and Zizyma during the first century) again came into use, no longer as a local god but as an envisagement of the supreme god who in the different countries was regarded by different races under varying forms and names.

In that late syncretism, half philosophic and half religious, the conceptions of the supreme god in different countries were regarded as attempts made by different races in different localities to give envisagement and name to the one Supreme Being. Among those racial envisagements the Jehovah of the Hebrews occupied a position of peculiar dignity and inspired special awe and fear, as being probably the most immediate and powerful impersonation of the ultimate power. Cumont has pointed out that the oblique cases Iovis and Iovi (especially the latter, which was the common one in dedications) approximated much more closely to the Hebrew name than the nominative form, and that especially under the form of identification with the Phrygian Sabazios the adoration paid to Iovi Sabazio was regarded as equivalent to the worship of Jehovah Sabaoth, and that again the worship of the Most High God Θεός (or Ζεύς) ὑψιστος, which was (as I think) older than, and in origin independent of, any Jewish influence,¹⁴ came to be looked upon as merely the expression in Greek words of Jewish religious ideas, so that θεός ὑψιστος was commonly used and recognised as indicating the Hebrew god.

2-4. Orestes presented certain articles which are enumerated. After ἔδωκεν (ἐπέδωκεν) there must be some word or words stating to what deity the gifts were presented; as in a case at Zizyma unpublished, this was [Mother Zizime]ne. There is also needed a word of commendation, e.g. ἐνδόξως.¹⁵

4. A statement of the amount of gold by weight uncoined. Then follows a list of other articles that were presented. The first must be either holy statues or holy vessels, and the latter is more probable, as new statues would hardly be called holy (for the holiness of statues depended generally on their antiquity).

6. *C.I.G.* and *I.G.R.R.* have the impossible word κωβλάτια. This is evidently the misrepresentation of a word ending in *blattea*, which has the character of many terms in Diocletian's Edict, and confirms the view that the inscription belongs to his time. I conjectured [οἰ]κωβλάτια, 'garments which were dyed purple in Laodiceia, not imported,' seeing here a reference to that home industry which lasted through the ages at Ladik and died out only in comparatively modern time (during the degeneration of the economic

¹³ Some forms may be quoted as showing the tendency of the time and the spelling that was used. The Pisidian Termessos was called Ἰόβια (in some MSS. Ζοβία) in the list of Hierocles (*H.G.A.M.* pp. 420, 18). The dative occurs in inscriptions in the form $\Upsilon\text{O}\text{H}|\text{O}\text{P}\text{O}\text{N}\Delta\text{I}$ and $\text{I}\Upsilon\text{W}|\Delta\text{I}\text{O}\text{N}\Upsilon\text{C}\text{W}$: in the Zizimene cult there seems to be a

certain mixing of Latin and Hebrew forms. The Greek representation of the Emperor Jovian was Ἰοβιανός.

¹⁴ *C.B.Phr.* i. p. 33.

¹⁵ The consecration before presentation of the articles is typical of the Anatolian feeling, as well as characteristic of the spirit that ruled in the pagan reaction.

condition of Anatolia produced by the centralisation of government at Constantinople from 1815 onwards). The carpets of Ladik are no longer made, and the dyeing has ceased with the manufacture; but in commerce the old Ladik carpets are occasionally sold, and are recognised by experts through the local mark of a jug which is worked into them all.¹⁶ Anderson saw the true text [σηρι]κωβλάτια, 'purple silk (garments).'

8-12. The third priesthood of Orestes causes difficulty. The great Anatolian priesthoods were held for life (*ιερείς δια βίου*), and strictly gave no opportunity for a second and third tenure; but in the third century there was much disorganisation and uncertainty, and Orestes may have been twice interrupted through change of imperial policy and alternation in the balance of religious power.^{16a} During his third priesthood he made donations on a large scale (the number 212 occurs in 12). Whereas the former gifts had been directed to re-equip the temple and ritual (which had been suffered to degenerate, as occurred also at other places in Anatolia), the gifts in the third priesthood are of a different kind, refitting the establishment externally. 11 affords the best foothold to start from. Orestes gave or established or constructed 212 articles whose name begins with *φα*. We dismiss such words as *φάλαρα*, *φαικάσια*, *φάρη*: Buckler, comparing *C.I.G.* 3847 m, well suggested *φα[τώματα ξύλινα]*, but 212 *lacunaria* seem too many. Perhaps *φά[τνας]* suits the circumstances best: for there was a special cult of Zeus Phatnios at the stables (Zizyma or Laodiceia), invoking the god as protector of the mangers at which the divine horses (*i.e.* employed in the imperial service, *θείοι*)¹⁷ were stalled. It was a duty of the priest¹⁸ to maintain the imperial property (comprising large estates and important mines), and horses were needed in large numbers also for the traffic on the great Central Trade route and the Syrian route (*via* Psebila, Savatra, Kybistra), both of which passed through Laodiceia. A large establishment of grooms, etc. (*ίππεῖς*)¹⁹ was required. The horses of the road would be kept on the high ground at Zizyma during part of the year for reasons of health, and others were needed there for transport and agriculture. It is in keeping with known facts that during the degeneration of the imperial administration in the third century the equipment of these estates had been neglected. Orestes refitted the mangers, and the dedication to Zeus Phatnios may belong to this very time.

¹⁶ See Miss Ramsay, *Studies in the Eastern Roman Provinces*, p. 5. Such mediaeval manufacture as this; which gave Ladik the distinctive title Yorgan-Ladik, were survivals of ancient arts. So it is with two Pessinuntine inscriptions in which the Emperor Trajan thanks a lady named Claudia . . . for her gift of two fibulatoria and four [trimita] (less complete, Körte, *Ath. Mitth.* 1897, p. 44; *I.G.R.R.* iii. 228). Articles sent to an emperor in such small number, and acknowledged from Antium, must have been specially beautiful and valued specimens of local industry.

^{16a} Perhaps there may have been some ir-

regularity in titulature during this late revival, so that the third year of office was falsely called 'priesthood for the third time.'

¹⁷ Cp. Sterrett, *W.E.* 1, a ζῶον belonging to the imperial stud.

¹⁸ At Antioch the imperial procurator was *ex officio* priest of the old hieron, using the divine authority to protect the interests of the imperial god, and owner of the Estates: this hypothesis (*Studies in the Eastern Roman Provinces*, pp. 309, 345) is accepted by Rostowzew, *Studien z. G. d. Kol.* 301.

¹⁹ See Calder in *Class. Rev.* 1910, p. 12; 1913, p. 12.

Moreover, fine carriage-horses were kept at manger to be used in processions (*φατνιζόμενοι εἰς πομπὰς καὶ πανηγύρεις* Heliod. vii. 29). In view of these facts the Laodicean dedication to Zeus Phatnios should be repeated here, as in 1886 I did not observe that the dedicator's name (almost wholly defaced) was engraved between the horns of the small altar which bears the inscription.

II.—*Ath. Mitt.* 1888, p. 237, n. 10; at Kadin-Khan (Ramsay).



Εὐ[δαίμων ?]
οἰκονόμος Διὶ
Φατνίῳ κατὰ
κέλευσιν

A rude bust of the god appears in relief on the shaft, bearing corn-ears and a bunch of grapes. This is the ancient Lycaonian god, the giver of corn and wine, who is represented on the monuments from the Hittite period till the end of paganism. Eu[daimon?] was the steward in charge of this department on the imperial estates at Zizyma. He was a slave of Caesar, indubitably.

About this time another *oikonomos*, Ca[ndidus?] the younger, made a dedication to Jove Dionysos²⁰ at Zizyma.

III. Unpublished: on a stele of native rock three miles south of Bakshish beside the road from the Phrygian monuments to Kara-Hissar, copied by me in 1883. This bears on the present subject.



ὄροι
γυμνα-
σί[ου]ν ἰπ-
π[ικου]

²⁰ The dedication is to *ΙΥΩ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΩ* (note 13), which halts between Jove and Jehovah. It was published by Miss Ramsay

in a Report to the Wilson Trustees more accurately than by me in *Class. Rev.* xix. 1904, p. 370.

It is the boundary stone of the grazing ground (?) for the imperial horses: date probably *c.* 400 A.D. This upland region was certainly a *saltus* belonging to the emperors. An inscription published in *J.H.S.* 1887, p. 498, refers to this great estate, which would offer excellent pasture land to be used in the breeding and summer pasturing of horses. They were doubtless allowed to run free in summer, as they are by the Circassian horse breeders in the Uzun-Yaila (the great plains between the upper Halys and the Euphrates) at the present day; there can be no thought of a racecourse as the stone is in a narrow glen opening north; this is the southern limit of the horse-run. The horses were *γυμνοί*, *i.e.* they were turned loose without saddle and shoes. In 1883 I had a horse treated thus after a hard journey. After two months of free running on grass his hoofs had grown, and his value was quadrupled (as the market proved).

The climate is much too severe on the high plateau for these horses to run free in winter. The Circassians used to take theirs down to Cilicia in the cold season. On the plateau they must in cold weather be kept in stables, and in modern times the horse dealers are very careful to keep the horses from chill. It may be assumed that a great establishment existed near Zizyma and that it was re-equipped on a large scale by Orestes. The horses here are *φατριζόμενοι* (which in Byzantine usage is expressed as *φατριστοί*).

We now return to the first inscription, I. line 9*f.* A restoration of the buildings is here described. An excellent example of *ἀνανέωσις* was found south of Konia by Radet (*B.C.H.* 1887, p. 63: better restored in my *Pauline and Other Studies*, p. 107). It tells how a priestess Ma, daughter of Pappas (where names of divine character are a feature of the Pagan reaction after 300 A.D.), restored and tiled the roof of the sanctuary for the Saints, and the Christian term *ἄγιοι* is adopted, a fact of Maximin's time. The pagan temples were decaying in a Christian land, and renovation was the fashion 300–312. The poetic word *μέλαθρον* was suggested here, another feature of the mode of 300–310 A.D. (on which see my paper in *B.S.A.* 1912, p. 64; also *J.H.S.* 1912, pp. 153, 163); but I prefer [*τὸ βάλ*]θρον. The platform and vaulted substructures (required on the hilly ground of Zizyma) were restored. The dots after *Κ* in Hamilton represent an illegible letter, probably *Ε* of *κέ*. It is common to find both *καί* and *κέ* in one inscription. *σκευοθήκας* would suit: cellars in the vaulted substructures of temples built on sloping ground might probably be used for storing sacred utensils; such cellars have been disclosed at Antioch. The rhythm and balance, however, suggest a certain grouping, (1) the platform and substructures of the temple, (2) the skeuothekai, (3) mangers for horses. Orestes was a member of one of those great and wealthy priestly families, whose history and influence in Asia Minor are now coming to be known: see p. 146, also an article to be published in the *Classical Review*, tracing the history of such a family during the fourth century.

The last donation is difficult. Anderson takes the last three letters as a ligature of *Κ-N*. *Θ* preceding *Κ* is certainly an error on Hamilton's part

The easiest supposition is that a blur or break on the stone made him read Θ when the letter really was ε or C. This would give the word σκη[ήν] or σκη[ὰς λδ' ?]: light booths (as still on the plateau) were required at Zizyma to accommodate worshippers at the great festivals. [Merchants attending those festivals (which were also fairs) are called σκηῖται (see Lebas, *Boeotia*, 588, l. 53; and Foucart on 326^a, § 20). J. G. C. A.] One feast near Zizyma is still celebrated annually by the Greeks (see my *Cities of St. Paul*, p. 378).

12-20. It was resolved, in view of the services rendered by Orestes, that temple officials should celebrate on his behalf annually a festival or games and should perform a sacrifice on his behalf on the 10th day of (March or) May in honour of the blessed dead and for the salvation of the Lords-Emperors and the *coloni* of the temple estates. On imperial estates it was usual in dedications on behalf of the salvation of the Lords-Emperors to add also the community of *coloni*.

In the last four lines (from a bold and suggestive conjecture of Anderson's, in which he unconsciously agreed with the evidence of an unpublished epitaph found at Iconium)²¹ the god-emperor is introduced into the new cult; in Lycaonia this introduction was made to an unusual extent. In both inscriptions a great sacrifice²² is made to the dead man, now identified with the god; the new ritual blends with that of the reigning emperor,²³ who also is the god, and the *coloni* share in the benefits of the cult, associated in the salvation of the emperors according to the common formula.

19. The *ktetores* are the possessors or *coloni* on the imperial estates at Zizyma. Allusions to *ktetores* occur frequently in inscriptions of the fourth century or later.²⁴ They naturally came into relation with the priest Orestes, as the whole country around the sanctuary belonged to the god, who was in old time the native deity (ὁ θεός, or Zeus, or Apollo, or Dionysos, etc.); then the imperial god took his place: at the time of this inscription the Roman national god Jupiter summed up the native and the imperial god. The *ktetores* were probably defined as of some special estate.

While there is much in the general thought and something even in the expression of this decree to indicate a certain parallelism to Christian ideas, there is, if the restoration is correct, no imitation of Christian expression such as is found in the remarkable inscription of Akmonia dated a few years later, 313 A.D., in which the language of the Fourth Gospel is imitated.

The priestly family to which Orestes belonged has evidently dropped all

²¹ This epitaph was intended for publication here, but my text is challenged with a rival text by a friend, and must await further consideration. That the emperor is there also introduced into the sepulchral ritual is certain. I find in that ritual also the gods Andisteis (plural as *C.I.G.* 3886 (cf. pp. 25, 1103 *add.*), *C.B.Phr.* i. p. 246, ii. p. 375, where Hamilton's text θεῶν Ἀνγδιστείων is correct), but my friend introduces the twelve gods.

²² Hekatombe: a possible restoration would be ἑκαστ-, but this idea is unnecessary, as annual ritual is expressed in 'the 10th day of (May or) March.'

²³ In this case perhaps emperors.

²⁴ An example dating about 480 A.D. is published by Mommsen from my copy in *Hermes*, 1897, p. 660 (*Gesamm. Schr. Histor.* i. p. 561).

expression of Roman citizenship and retains only the ancient hieratic name. The priest directs and officiates as Orestes and not as L. Calpurnius Orestes. This seems to have been the Roman *gens* into which several priestly families entered when they received the *civitas*, as may be gathered from two inscriptions of Pisidian Antioch,²⁵ and also from the Iconian inscription mentioning L. Calpurnius Orestes, princeps coloniae and curator at Iconium (*I.G.R.R.* iii. 264, which we have re-copied and confirmed). The study and practice of medicine appears from those Antiochian inscriptions to have been hereditary in the priestly family, and to have continued even after it became Christian. In the pagan revival there was a tendency to recur to Anatolian nomenclature and to forget the Roman citizenship. Most of the pagan inscriptions of the early fourth century show this characteristic, while the Christian inscriptions 320–370 A.D. rather emphasise the citizenship. On the name Orestes, often hieratic in Anatolia, see p. 131, and note 45.

IV. *C.I.G.* 3994 (from Lucas) should be read as follows: at least two lines lost at top:—

[ὁ δείνα ἱερεὺς Μητρὸς τῆς ἀπὸ Ζιζι-]^{25a}
 υμας καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος τὸν
 ναὸν ὄλον ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνα-
 λωμάτων κατεσκεύασε.

As I differ so frequently from the editors of *C.I.G.* (where many other Anatolian inscriptions urgently require correction), it is a pleasure to record that their acute suggestion here has been confirmed and completed by modern discovery. In the first four letters of this fragment they suspect that there is a reference to some epithet of the goddess Latona or Diana such as *Διδύμας*. In 1886 I found the first of a series of inscriptions which show that the protecting goddess of Iconium was called Mother Zizimene or Zizimmene. In publishing this (*Ath. Mitt.* 1889, p. 237) I suggested that the name was equivalent to Dindymene. The difference of vowel in the second syllable constituted a difficulty, and Mommsen in his comment on *C.I.L.* iii. 13638 doubted the identification, which is accepted by Anderson and Kretschmer, *Einkl.* p. 196. Since then it has been found that the epithet is local, derived from the mines of cinnabar and copper at Sizma (which is obviously the ancient Zizima or Zizyma). It is therefore evident that the form Zizymene was possible. It is unnecessary to refer once more to the proof that D and Z interchanged with each other freely in Anatolian names, and that nasalisation was also introduced freely. On double M see p. 148.

A feature in this inscription is that the Mother goddess is mentioned first and Apollo after her. Generally Apollo, or whatever name is applied to the god, is mentioned first in the public inscriptions, though in the Mysteries

²⁵ The analogy would imply a general act of Vespasian in prov. Galatia, giving the *civitas* to all the great priestly families that had not yet received it. This remains as yet

a hypothesis. The two inscriptions have been sent to the *Classical Review*.

^{25a} In this Anatolian word I keep the accent of the nominative.

which must have been celebrated at Zizyma the important position which belongs to the Mother goddess was undoubtedly emphasised.

It may now be regarded as practically certain that the Dindymos of Kybele and Didyma the seat of Apollo bore the same name as Zizyma the seat of the Mother-goddess.^{25b} At Didyma the goddess recedes into the background and is hardly ever mentioned, while the god alone under the name Apollo appears publicly; but the analogy of all other Asia Minor religious centres proves that, with more complete knowledge of the religious ritual practised at Didyma, we should find the goddess alongside of the god. At Zizyma the goddess is, even to public view, the more important figure, but the god under varying names, Apollo, Dionysos, Zeus, and so on, is frequently mentioned along with her, and the two constitute the divine pair. It is characteristic of Hellenic feeling to lay stress on the god, and to keep the goddess in the background.

V. *C.I.G.* 3995, at Iconium, from Paul Lucas:—

ΒΑΒCΔΙCΥΧΗΝΜΕΙΑ·ΑΘΗ κατεσκεύ[α[σε δι' [ε]ύχην με[τ]ὰ 'Αθη-
ΝΑΟΥΤΟΥΑΝΔΡΟΣ να[ί]ου τοῦ ἀνδρός²⁶

It would be hard to justify by any Lycaonian or Phrygian analogy this form of expressing a vow. The copy of Lucas requires no addition and hardly any correction; it is a complete dedicatory inscription of early Imperial period: read

ΒΑΒΩ·ΔΙ·ΕΥΧΗΝ ΜΕΤΑ·ΑΘΗΝΑΟΥ·ΤΟΥ·ΑΝΔΡΟΣ²⁷

The spelling 'Αθηναῶν ought to be treated as Iconian Greek: it is allowed in later Attic, and it is perhaps due to dialectic variation, not to Phrygian mispronunciation. This would be a sign of early date, which suits the simplicity of the dedication and the use of the name Zeus (see p. 133). The form Δί as dative is not rare in dedications. The name of the lady, Babo, is Anatolian: see my note in *J.H.S.* 1882, p. 126, where it is quoted from *C.I.G.* 4142 and is connected with the name Baubo in the legend of Demeter, through an older form Bambo, from which is derived the Syrian name Bambyke or Mabbog (the Greek Hierapolis, the chief seat of the Syrian goddess).

VI. Sterrett, *W.E.* No. 548: at Apollonia (Olu-Borlu). Recognising its exceptional importance, both Anderson and I have repeatedly attempted (from 1888 to 1912) to find it. It has occupied the attention of Professor G. Hirschfeld, *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1888, p. 590, and Professor A. Wilhelm in *A. E. Mitt. Oest.* 1897, p. 85. I give their text combined, as Hirschfeld did

^{25b} Sidyma in Lycia the same word?

²⁶ The editors would have found it nearer the copy to read κατεσκεύ[βα[σε, but there is no justification here for the verb.

²⁷ Of the changes Ω for C needs no apology: the others are made in *C.I.G.* with many needless alterations

little in 11-15, and Wilhelm, accepting Hirschfeld's restoration of 1-10,²⁸ confined himself to 11-15.

Sterrett's copy, though so incomplete that he did not give a transcription, is good, but the stone was evidently worn and the letters faint. Our text keeps closer to his copy than Hirschfeld-Wilhelm, and justifies it against his and their alteration in 4. My coadjutors differ from one another about the verbal restoration at one point, and I give both texts, which agree in meaning. As I differ widely from Hirschfeld's interpretation, dating the inscription nearly two centuries later than he does, I premise that he made distinct progress towards the elucidation of the text and that some of his suggestions were excellent; but his conception of the circumstances and period was mistaken, and therefore both he and Wilhelm, who accepted his views, were unable to attain a satisfactory reading.

<i>Sterrett.</i>	<i>Hirschfeld-Wilhelm.</i>
ΤΟΥΜΛ//////////	. . . . . κα-
ΤΑΤΗ////ΤΟΙΒΑΣΙΛΕ/	τὰ τή[ν] το[ῦ] βασιλέ-
ΟΣ////////ΤΑΣΙΝΠΡΟΣ	ω]s [διά]τα[ξί]w πρὸς
ΤΥΜΒΡΙΑΔΕΣΠΟ////	Τυμβριαδέ[α]s πο?
5 ΡΑΜΜΑΧΩΡΑΝΚΑΙΟ	ραμμα? χώραν καὶ ὀ-
ΦΕΩΣΚΕΦΑΛΗΝΑΕ	φews κεφαλὴν [λ]ε-
ΓΟΜΕΝΗΝΚΑΙΑΥΛΩ	γομένην καὶ αυλῶ-
////ΙΑΤΟΝΚΑΤΑΓΟΝ	ν]a τὸν κατάγον-
////ΑΕ'ΟΣΜΙΣΥΛΩΙ	τ]a [πρ]ὸς Μισύλῳι
10 ΚΑΙΠΡΟΣΝΕΙΜΑΝ	καὶ προσνείμ[α]ν-
////ΑΛΥΤ:ΟΙΣΚΑΙΘ	τ]a [α]ὐτοῖς καὶ [ὀ-
////COE:ΤΗΣΑΝΤΑ	ρ]ο[θ]ετήσαντα
III-ΤΕΩΣ////ΝΕ	π]ί[σ]τεως [έ]νε-
ΚΕΝΚΑΙΜΠΑΛΟ	κεν καὶ μ[εγ]αλο-
15 ΦΡΟΣΥΝΗΣ ²⁹	φροσύνης

The inadequacy of Hirschfeld-Wilhelm's text is evident. There is no construction; and we could make no progress, until Calder suggested that the restoration of 1-2 was false, and that the inscription commemorates, not the confirmation of the king's settlement, but the abrogation of it (*με[ταλ-λάξαν]τα* or similar word). As soon as this was suggested the whole situation was illuminated, and the text resulted:

²⁸ St. 548 erwähnt eine auf königlichen Befehl erfolgte Grenzberichtigung: auch nach Hirschfeld's Bemerkung sind die letzten Zeilen unergänzt geblieben.

²⁹ Owing to lack of proper type the printer used Σ in place of Σ in this and various other of Sterrett's inscriptions. (I have a

tracing of his copy.) This gives a look of earlier date; but the forms ΑΠ are later. Such errors as Π for ΙΤ, Ο for Θ, Ο for Ω, etc., are venial in a very difficult text, which has required thirty-three years to interpret.

Anderson.

τὸ[ν] με[ταστήσαν]-
 τα τῆ[ν] το[ῦ] βασιλέ-
 • ως [διά]τα[ξί]ν προσ-
 [ορίσασαν τοῖς]
 Τυμβριαδέσ[ιν] Ο[ὐ]-
 ραμμα χώραν καὶ Ὀ-
 φεως Κεφαλὴν [λ]ε-
 γομένην καὶ Αὐλώ-
 ν]α τὸν κατὰγον-
 τ]α [πρ]ὸς Μισυλωὶ κτλ

Buckler.

τὸν μεταστήσαν-
 τὰ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέ-
 ος διάταξιν πρὸς
 Τυμβριαδέσι τ' Ο[ὐ]-
 ραμμα χώραν καὶ Ὀ-
 φεως Κεφαλὴν λε-
 γομένην καὶ Αὐλώ-
 να τὸν κατὰγον-
 τα πρὸς Μισυλωὶ κτλ

The rest as H.-W.

We start from ΤΟΝ (Calder): Sterrett's Υ is a misrepresentation of the oblique central stroke of Ν.³⁰ Thus results a construction which is altogether suitable on the pedestal of a statue: cf. *C.I.G.* iii. 3993, and many more. The name of the municipality must have been mentioned, and is necessary in view of 11. Even the Iconian honorary inscription *C.I.G.* 3993 (which resembles this Apollonian inscription as beginning with the accusative of the person honoured and omitting the verb) mentions the donor, a magistrate acting for the State; yet it is of the late fourth century, when the feeling of municipal individuality and authority had grown weak. Still more, in an inscription c. 24 B.C., instinct with municipal triumph over a rival city, must it be assumed that the name of the people which dedicated the statue was expressed. Moreover, the name of the person to whom the statue was dedicated must also have been mentioned. Two suppositions are open: (1) The name of the people bestowing the honour and the name of the person honoured were engraved on the broad higher member of the pedestal, in large letters. This was probably the fact. (2) There may have been an inscription on another side of the stone which was concealed from Sterrett's view. Perhaps both suppositions are true.

Anderson's and Buckler's texts agree exactly in the meaning, though arriving at it in different ways. The former is expressed in strict epigraphic style, but involves the supposition that Sterrett omitted one line of the text. The other follows Sterrett closely, but makes the expression rather rhetorical, so that epigraphic taste rebels. It must, however, be remembered that the inscription below the statue of an important personage, as here, was not necessarily expressed in purely epigraphic style. For example, in the statue to the regionary officer Dionysios at Pisidian Antioch,³¹ there is an inscription on one side of the basis in ordinary epigraphic style, and on the other side an inscription of non-epigraphic style, semi-metrical, using language of a rhetorical type such as might commend itself to the taste of the third century A.D.

³⁰ So in the analogous case Hogarth and Hicks read ΜΟΥ: Heberdey and Wilhelm ΜΟΝ (Introd. p. 128).

³¹ Sterrett, *E.J.* 92, more completely Calder in *J.R.S.* 1912, p. 80.

The construction in Buckler's text is more difficult, which results from its rhetorical and allusive character. (1) The dative of a place-name after *πρός* is replaced by the ethnic: I cannot quote an exact parallel, but Greek as spoken at Apollonia was perhaps not careful of strict usage, and the phrase *πρός Τυμβριαδέσι* is regarded as equivalent to a single adjective "Tymbrias-ward (districts)." (2) The article might be expected with the ethnic, but there are sufficient examples of its omission. (3) We miss the statement that the three districts had formerly been assigned to Tymbrias; but this can be gathered from the situation and from the fact that the King's settlement was altered. Anderson attains perfect clearness by the ingenious suggestion of a missing line; his text is expressed in ordinary epigraphic style throughout, and positively states what the shorter version leaves us to gather, viz., that the three districts had previously belonged to Tymbrias. The choice remains between these two forms of text, and each has its advantages. The shorter text keeps close to the copy, and the strange pseudo-rhetorical and pseudo-grammatical construction may be pardoned to patriotic feeling at Apollonia. Anderson's text may rely on the analogy of *W.E.* No. 370, where Sterrett omits a line without notice³²; but a counter-argument lies in the fact that it requires *IN* in place of Sterrett's *Π*, a violent change (Buckler reads *IT* for *Π*, a change permissible on our principles).

The purport is: 'Him who altered the king's settlement (which assigned to Tymbrias the land of Ouramma, and what is called Snake's Head, and the Channel leading down to Misylos), and who assigned (those districts) to them (*i.e.* the Apolloniatai), and fixed boundaries: on account of his good faith and noble-mindedness': or, in the shorter text, 'him who remodelled the king's settlement and the Tymbrias-ward districts . . . and assigned' etc.

Our view is that the stone is complete. Sterrett in his two volumes was careful to state how much loss each inscription has suffered. Sometimes he gives the information in one way, sometimes in another; but there is hardly a case in which he leaves it uncertain whether the stone is complete or not. Our view is corroborated by the fact that the lines are very short,³³ and the pedestal would be too tall and slender for the basis of a statue (which it certainly was), if it contained at the top a preamble, necessarily rather long. Two names in large letters, the dedicator and the person honoured, stood at a higher place on the monument.

The situation evidently was that the power both of the king and of the person honoured extended over Apollonia and over Tymbrias (in the Pisidian mountains E. and S.E. from the Limnai, Egerdir Lake). Three districts lay as a 'Debatable Land' between the two cities. The king's *διάταξις* assigned those districts to Tymbrias; the person honoured here gives them to Apollonia. Evidently those border districts had formed a bone of contention

³² The corrected text in my *Studies in the Eastern Provinces*, p. 334. The eye readily passes over the broader obliterated space: I speak from eye-witness of No. 370, where the sense and the space show that a line has been

lost.

³³ The letters in each line vary from eleven to fourteen. I would have preferred [*καρδ*]ρασιω to [*δι*]ρα[ξ]ιω, following Sterrett's copy, but that gives sixteen letters, which is impossible.

between the two states for a long time; and the claims set up by each (doubtless based on former history) had been decided in different ways by a king and by a new authoritative power.

Hirschfeld supposes that the date of the inscription is immediately after 189 B.C., that the king was Eumenes II., further that Eumenes II. founded Apollonia, and that the person who is honoured in this monument at Apollonia confirmed the settlement made by the king. I can see no reasonable justification for this view at any point in Pergamenian history. It is highly improbable that such authority as is here attributed to the person honoured could belong to a representative of Eumenes. Moreover, Pergamenian authority never extended over Tymbrias.³⁴ Finally Apollonia was not a Pergamenian but a Seleucid colony founded in the earliest period by Nikator himself,³⁵ and Eumenes made no change except to increase the military strength of Apollonia by settling there a body of Thracian soldiers devoted to himself and his dynasty.³⁶

At first I thought that the king might be Mithradates VI., to whom Phrygia belonged for a time, and that a Roman governor of Asia (Sulla or Lucullus, who ruled Asia and Phrygia after the departure of Sulla, though only with the title *quaestor pro praetore*) altered the settlement of Mithradates.³⁷ This might justify Sterrett's copy of the third letter, if we could understand that some words were lost above containing an accusative and that the text begins with [*Μιθραδά*]του; but the theory had to be rejected. I need not detail the arguments, which become evident in the discussion.

The date of the inscription is immediately after the formation of the province of Galatia. The Roman governor had authority over both Apollonia and Tymbrias. The king whose constitution he altered was Amyntas, whose heritage was now being organised as the province Galatia. The governor held full power to transfer territory and to set up boundary stones. He is praised by the people for his noble-mindedness (*μεγαλοφροσύνη*), which is a quality far from suitable for a citizen of a republican city, but becoming a high Roman officer. The person who dealt in this way with lands and bounds must be either some special envoy exercising the full powers of the Roman State, or the governor of Galatia representing the emperor himself; but the record is that Gaius Lollius was sent to organise the new province of Galatia, and we may assume that he was the person honoured. He is praised for *πίστις*, which probably implies that there existed some promise, or recognition of the right of the Apolloniatai, on the part of some Roman general in previous time, and that the award was based on this plea; but the truth undoubtedly is that the Roman policy supported order and civilisa-

³⁴ The victorious Eumenes would not give his own territory to an unimportant foreign city like Tymbrias.

³⁵ The cult of Nikator (evidently as founder) lasted late: see Sterrett, *W.E.* 587.

³⁶ In this I assume the result of a study of

Apollonia, still unpublished.

³⁷ Mithradates Euergetes (d. 120 B.C.) also governed Phrygia for a few years, but ruled no part of Pisidia. The acts of Euergetes (see *O.G.I.S.* 436) were wholly confirmed by Rome.

tion, such as existed in every Greek city state, whereas on the contrary the Pisidians were regarded in the early province Galatia as hostile to the Roman order and system. Whatever might be the ostensible reason, this principle underlay the strengthening of Apollonia against Tymbrias: the whole policy of Rome in the East is involved in the decision.

The three districts lie on the frontier between the two cities; and this points without doubt to the land on the N.E. side of the double Limnai, viz., the strip of territory on the E. coast of Hoiran Lake and on the N.E. coast of Egerdir Lake. Here the physical conformation makes each district separately recognisable with certainty in itself. The Channel is the pass up which goes the great road to the E. (from Apameia by Apollonia to Antioch and Lycaonia and Syria) along the course of a stream that runs down from Sultan-Dagh and from Kara-Kush-Dagh on E. and N. (a stream whose old name is unknown) to the N.E. corner of Hoiran Lake. The pass through which it goes is called the Aulon, a word employed by Strabo³⁸ to indicate a kind of pass which, like a funnel or channel, has two open ends and a narrow passage between them. It leads down towards Misylos. The name Misylos was recognised by Hirschfeld among the list of places in this neighbourhood, villages or farms, which were given in a long inscription copied by me in 1882 and published in *J.H.S.* 1883, p. 1 ff.³⁹ (more correctly in *Studies in History of Eastern Roman Provinces*, p. 325). A great history attaches to this Channel, which cannot here be discussed.⁴⁰

Snake's Head impresses every traveller who looks from the W. coast of Hoiran Lake or Egerdir Lake. The S. side of the Channel is formed by a long ridge which extends from Sultan-Dagh far out into the lake, as if trying to divide the lake into two parts; the parts now bear separate names (Egerdir S. and Hoiran N.), though in ancient times both were called Limnai. I saw this long spit of land in 1886 when traversing the roadless western coast of the double lake (where no communication is maintained, though there is an easy way between the lake and the western mountains). The remarkable appearance of that long promontory impressed me at the time, and the memory is 'what is called Snake's Head.' This expression suggests that it is the translation of a native name, Phrygian or Pisidian. There is no reason to think that the name was imposed by the Greek-speaking settlers in Hellenistic time.

The idea appears sometimes in the Anatolian religious reliefs that the heaven above is an ensample for the earth, that the god above is engaged in performing the same ritual act which his priest is performing on earth, and

³⁸ On p. 569 the *αὐλῶνες* carry the river between Karalis and Trogitis and between Trogitis and the plain of Iconium.

³⁹ I conjectured at first M[a]sylos, but Hirschfeld correctly restored Misylos from Sterrett's inscription, and his conjecture was confirmed as the probable reading on the stone partially by myself in 1886 and more positively by Professor Callander in 1905, and

was finally proved by the occurrence of a name beginning *Μσ-* in another inscription (*J.H.S.* 1912, p. 164).

⁴⁰ It is the Pisidican Aulon, where Antigonus gained a victory in 319 (Polyaen. *Strat.* vi. 4, badly misplaced by modern historians). Here the Turks defeated Manuel Comnenus in 1176, and Barbarossa defeated the Turks in 1196.

that guidance for mankind in all circumstances is to be found by looking upwards. Now the heaven at night was covered over with a variety of symbols, seen in the grouping of the stars, the Lion, the Great Bear, the Twins, the Balance, and a host of others, human, semi-divine and animal. It follows that there must be the same on earth, and the surface of the plateau of Asia Minor was covered with a similar network of signs constituted by the mountains and lakes and streams. A striking mountain, four or five miles S.E. of Apameia-Kelainai, is called by the Turks the Rising Moon (Ai-Doghmush). This poetic name reveals an imaginative way of contemplating nature which is wholly foreign to the Turkish mind and geographical nomenclature, and I have often mentioned it as evidently a translation in Turkish of an old Anatolian name.^{40a} This mountain is not that on which the Ark rested;⁴¹ the latter is quite close to Kelainai; it is marked by a very ancient church, probably of the fourth century, of which only the ground plan and the lowest course of large blocks of stone remain; and it was the heart and the religious centre of Kelainai; out of its base flow the Marsyas at one point and the Laughing and Weeping Fountains at another, while 200 yards away to W. are the Therma, and the Maeander rises behind it on the S.E. The Rising Moon is a much loftier mountain, and its shape and height mark it out as a prominent feature of the landscape from a very great distance. I have seen it rising above the intervening hills from a point a few miles W.S.W. of Oushak on the road to Philadelphia. At Iconium again the twin mountains which constitute the Balance (Tekel or Takali) are the most striking feature in the landscape (see p. 163). The river Kapros was doubtless a real goat-genius to the Anatolian eye. Whether Lykos meant a wolf, or was merely assimilated to the Greek word, remains uncertain. Semitic examples suggest the latter opinion, and the names involving the stem LYK remain an unsolved riddle. [The Armenian Lykos is called in classical Armenian Gail, which has the same meaning as λύκος (Hübschmann, *Armen. Etymol.* p. 431). Kelkid = Gail-Kied, Lykos, applied to rivers liable to sudden fierce spates?—the wolf-genius. J. G. C. A.]

We know too little about old nomenclature in Anatolia to trace this subject in detail, but the Snake's Head in Pisidia is an example of the native custom. The Snake is closely connected with the god who has his seat on Olympus, and the close relation between the two was revealed in the Mysteries to the initiated. The god is embodied in one form as the Bull and in another form as the Serpent, 'the Bull is the father of the Serpent and the Serpent of the Bull' (according to the formula of the Mysteries). Around every seat of ancient Anatolian religion it is probable that the local topography showed numerous manifestations and epiphanies of the divine family.

^{40a} I quote from *The Near East* 'a well-known verse' of the Japanese poet Kamo: 'How sad to see the light of the moon sinking behind the edge of the western hills. How good it would be if the light seen should remain for ever.' Ai-Doghmush is hardly seen

from E. (the Plateau), only from W. and N.W.

⁴¹ The local legend of the Ark was adopted under Jewish influence, and is taken up in the Sibylline Books (*C. B. Phr.* ii. p. 670).

The third district of the debatable land lies on the E. coast of Egerdir Lake: it is a low coast land between the Pisidian mountains of Tymbrias S. and Snake's Head N., and the principal village in modern times is Gelendos (bearing evidently an ancient name in Turkish form, and containing some remains of antiquity);⁴² it is bounded E. by a ridge apparently alluvial,⁴³ which extends completely across the valley of the Anthios, the river of Antioch, except where this river has cut through it a narrow deep cañon. This coast-land is Ouramma and through it the Anthios flows to the lake. It has been very imperfectly examined by travellers. Arundell and Sterrett (also Calder and I) have been at Gelendos and along the road leading from Gelendos to Demir-Kapu, a difficult pass between the Pisidian mountains of Tymbrias and the S.E. coast of Egerdir Lake.

Carrying out Buckler's suggestion that Sterrett's copy implied in 4f *Τυμβριαδέσι τ' Ο-ραμμα*, Calder pointed out that the name was connected with the Pisidian and Lycian personal name Opramoas, and this forthwith recalled an enigmatic inscription which I copied in 1882 in the land of Anaboura (E. of Tymbrias and S.E. of Ouramma), and published in *Ath. Mitt.* 1883, p. 72. In the first century A.D. two brothers, Obrimianos and Mousaios, presented to their city certain property, describing themselves as 'descendants of Manes Ourammoas.' This strange expression remained for many years a problem. At the time when it was discovered it was almost unique, but one could gather that Manes Ourainmoas must have been some god, or king, or hero, who ranked in popular estimation as the founder of a great family of this Pisidian land, some historical or semi-divine figure, who stood in relation to heaven on the one hand and earth on the other, sufficiently human to be the ancestor of a great family, and yet sufficiently removed from humanity to be a creature of mythology, if not of religion. Nowadays, through many inscriptions, we gain a conception of the Anatolian social system which was undreamed of before. There lasted through the Roman imperial time many great families, usually representatives of old dynasties or hieratic families, tracing back their ancestry to semi-divine figures of remote mythology and boasting of this descent in public records. At Colophon the great personages connected with the temple and oracle of the Klarian Apollo called themselves 'Herakleidai, sprung from Ardys,'^{43a} the old Lydian historical or mythological king. At Pessinous the priest-dynasts took the name Atis, and constituted a great native family which in due time gained the *civitas*. At Olba, in Western Cilicia, the priest-kings called themselves in succession Ajax and Teucer,⁴⁴ connecting therewith some unrecorded mythological tale, worked up in the form that Teucer, son of Ajax, departed from among the Greeks at Troy and settled in Cyprus. At Komana (Capp.) and Kastabala the priest-kings were the representatives of Orestes (as Strabo tells).⁴⁵ At the priestly centre Zizyma, six hours N. of

⁴² *H.G.A.M.* p. 334, Ampelada at Gelendos? Austrian explorers found Amblada S. of Bey-Sheher: are the two identical?

⁴³ I speak without geological knowledge.

^{43a} See *Jahreshefte*, xv. 1912, pp. 46-7.

⁴⁴ Yavan and Tarku: see note 10.

⁴⁵ Orestes, native Oaris, p. 131: cp. Orkistos, Orkaorkoi, *H.G.A.M.* p. 229.

Iconium, Orestes was a frequent name in the great priestly family. Again, of many more examples one is very similar to the present case:⁴⁶ a certain gentleman in the Roman period describes himself as a descendant of Lykomedes, employing this name as so familiar to all readers that without any further title or information the whole picture of noble ancestry was recalled. M. Haussoullier, who edits the inscription, takes this Lykomedes to be the priest-king of Komana Pontica under Mark Antony;^{46a} but more probably Lykomedes was the mythical, half-historical and half-divine ancestor of the priestly family at Komana. In an inscription (*O.G.I.S.* 513, Fraenkel, No. 525, at Pergamos) occurs the expression *γένους τῶν Ἐπι(λ)αιδῶν*: the Epilidai were some royal or priestly family.⁴⁷ The descendants of the old Athenian and Ionian *βασιλεῖς* (or certain elected and representative officials in their place called *βασιλεῖς*) had religious duties in those cities. At Skepsis there were two royal families (Strabo, p. 607), descended from Hektor and Aeneas respectively. Compare the patronymics in Lydia Labrantides and Tuteides,⁴⁸ which point to old pre-Roman noble families; also Thynnaridai at Synnada in Phrygia with ΘΥΝΝΑΡΟΣ on coins. The Abbaeidae claimed descent from an ancestor Chromios (whom they styled *προπάτορα*, see Imhoof-Blumer in *Benndorf Festschrift*), and the kings of Bosphorus in Roman time from Eumolpus son of Poseidon and from Herakles (*Comptes Rendus*, 1862, p. 26).

Those great families are a feature of Anatolian history which can be traced through the centuries. They are known in the fourth century B.C. from the great inscription of the Temple at Sardis, and in the beginning of the fifth century from the case of Pythios the wealthy landowner and trader of Kelainai, who entertained Xerxes too hospitably for his own happiness; and they can be traced even earlier. In the wars among the would-be successors of Alexander the Great, they are seen in the owners of the Tetrapyrgia, the castellated residences in the form of quadrangles which gave employment to the military activity of Eumenes before 300 B.C.⁴⁹ While the great priestly families at the various religious centres were specially prominent, yet some of those landowners belonged to conquering tribes and nations who had successively occupied Asia Minor. They lived after the patriarchal fashion in those family mansions, with their sons and their sons' wives around them; and the word *nympha* was customarily applied to a married lady resident with her husband's family in the sense of daughter-in-law or sister-in-law indifferently. Such a lady was *nympha* of the whole household.^{49a} Further, to those great families belonged several

⁴⁶ *ὄντα ἀπόγονον Λυκομήδους* corresponds exactly to the Pisidian phrase *ὄντες ἀπόγονοι Μάνου Οὐραμμούου*. The phrase *γένος πρωτεῶν παρ' ἡμῖν* probably denotes an old priestly family.

^{46a} *R. de Phil.* xxiii. 1899, p. 149; see Wilhelm, *Neue Beitr.* 1911, p. 63. W.H.B.

⁴⁷ The only Epilaidai known to Roscher was

son of Neleus and Chloris; an unrecorded legend may have connected him with Pergamos.

⁴⁸ Buresch, p. 9; *B.C.H.* xi. 1887, p. 84; *Sm. Mous.* No. φνζ'.

⁴⁹ *C.B.Phr.* ii. pp. 419 ff. Rostowzew, *Stud. z. Gesch. d. r. Kolon.* pp. 253 f.

^{49a} *Stud. Hist. E. Prov.* p. 71, etc.

of the most important church leaders in early Christian history. Basil of Caesarea and Gregory of Nazianzos were both sprung from aristocratic families, and they participated in the highest Greek education of the time, studying at the University of Athens in the enjoyment of abundant leisure and every advantage. In the account which Gregory of Nyssa gives of the Arian heretic Eunomios there appears the contempt of a rather exclusive aristocrat for the man of the people, who had to make his living by various shifts and employments which Gregory was too ready to regard as contemptible. The Tetrarchy in which such families dwelt were developed into the great early Turkish buildings in Anatolia, the colleges (Medresse) and the castellated khans; and the typical form of the English College in Oxford or Cambridge is a reflexion of the old Tetrarchy.⁵⁰

It is evident that Manes Ourammaos is Manes who rules the land Ouramma, and consideration of the evidence accumulated in Nos. IV.—VIII. leaves no doubt that Manes is the native name of the local god, adopted by the Phrygians, but really an old Anatolian deity (just as Kybele was worshipped in Anatolia millennia before the Phrygians entered the country). Now the deity who was specially worshipped in all the country round was named by the Greeks Men (also Men Askaenos, uniting a grecized Anatolian name with a Phrygian mythological name equivalent to Askanios, at Eumenia, Apollonia and Antioch). In Antioch he was the impersonation of the divine power at one of the greatest sanctuaries and religious centres of all Anatolia. In what relation are we to understand that the Men of Greek inscriptions stands to Manes, the Anatolian god of Ouramma? Is the resemblance merely accidental, or is it not evident that the word Men is an attempt to impart meaning in Greek to a native name? I cannot hesitate as to the answer;⁵¹ the facts combine to make the proof irresistible. Manes of Ouramma is the Men of Antioch,⁵² but Ouramma was less Hellenised and more Phrygo-Pisidian than Antioch. The land, being a frontier district, was one in which Phrygian and Pisidian elements were mingled.⁵³

The spelling Ouramma is probably due to the attempt to represent either stress or accent in the original native word. We may compare the form Zizimene, which is sometimes spelled Zizimene. The shorter form is correct, because the place was Zizima or Zizyma; the double M was an attempt to represent the secondary accent falling on the antepenult. Similarly in VIII. the spelling Mannes, Mannis, indicates that stress or accent falls on the first syllable.⁵⁴

There would be much more to say about the land of Ouramma, if space permitted: Manes of Ouramma was the ancestral hero of the great family of

⁵⁰ See *Studies in the History of Eastern Provinces*, pp. 372 f.: *Pauline and other Studies*, p. 376: *Luke the Phys.* p. 187.

⁵¹ Manes or Mannis with long penult VII., VIII., and note 54.

⁵² Μην Ἀσκαίης μετέωρον in an Antiochian inscription of Roman time: I regard Askaia as

an invented form, late in character, for Askania.

⁵³ Strabo, p. 629, lays emphasis on this mixture.

⁵⁴ Wilamowitz in *Hermes*, xxxiv. 222, takes Μάνης for Μάωνης. Wilhelm (see No. VII.) regards Μάωνης as intermediate.

the district, and his descendants were important citizens of an adjoining Pisidian city, Anaboura, in the first century. The sanctuary of the district Ouramma was situated in the ridge that terminates in the promontory Snake's Head. In this we recognise the sacred snake into which the god transforms himself in the Mysteries; and that ridge seems to run down from Mount Olympus, the modern Sultan-Dagh, the sultan or king of all the lesser ridges of mountains around, which is prominent in the view as one looks from the lake or the Apollonian valley towards E.⁵⁵ There also lay the seat of the worship of Zeus Ourudamenos or Eurudamenos. In the *Classical Review*, 1904, pp. 416 f., I argued that Ourudamenos is probably closer to native pronunciation, while Eurudamenos is intended by popular etymology to suggest a Greek meaning, though incorrectly in every way; also that -mênos contains the name of the god Men. It seems now safe to infer that this epithet marks Zeus as a Hellenised form of the native god Men of Ouruda, and that Ouruda is Ourama. Manes Ourammoas, the native god, was Hellenised as Zeus Ouruda-men-os.

Ourammoas probably became a personal name, though I cannot quote exact proof; but it occurs in the dialectic variety Opramoas, and probably in the Anabouran family sprung from Manes the names (Obrimos and) Obrimianos were Grecised versions of Ourammoas-Opramoas.⁵⁶ The employment in Anatolia of Greek names which had a certain superficial resemblance to native names is a large one on which it is impossible here to enter: examples see p. 169, etc. (Tarku-Teukros, Yavan-Aiant-, compounds like Menemachos, Menelaos, Tlamoas-Telemachos, Iazarmas [or some other compound of Ia]-Iasôn, Oaris ?-Orestes, etc.). In Cappadocia Iazêmis is father of Iason, showing the Grecising process in operation (Grothe, *Vorderasien-exped.* i. p. lxxiv.).

The close connexion between local and personal names in Anatolia was a marked feature (see *H.G.A.M.* pp. 144, 189, 226, 439, etc.; Kretschmer, *Einleitung*, p. 183): the personal name was derived in some cases, and original in others: Kidramoas, Kidramouas, town Kidramos; Pappas, town Pappa; Saettas, town Saittai; Keraias, people Keracitai; Trokondas, people Trokondenoi; Midas, town Midaion; Kotys, town Kotyaion; Kadus (equivalent to

⁵⁵ In this I assume a topographical identification which cannot be fully discussed. The village Olympokome is known, and in A. D. 735 a hermit called St. George Limniota, evidently connected with the Limnai, had his hermitage in Mount Olympus. I take Mount Olympus here to include in rough Byzantine fashion the ridge which extends from the peak of Olympus to the lake (this ridge was the Snake), and the hermitage is still to the present day an object of pilgrimage among the Greeks of Apollonia and Sparta on August 15th, the Assumption of the Virgin (instituted as a festival early in the seventh century by the Emperor Maurice). This hermitage

was visited by Miss Bell in 1907 and by Anderson and myself in 1912. Close to it there is an ancient Phrygian tomb, doubtless regarded as the tomb of some early Phrygian leader, and also a great natural monument like a rock-door on the water's edge. Nature and popular belief combined to make this place a religious centre.

⁵⁶ Cp. Tourammas, Sterrett, *W.E.* 330 (revised by me 1886): Lamos-Tlamoas. Many forms point to OVRA or OWRA as closest to Anatolian pronunciation; but Oura is the modern name of Olba Trach., and Ptolemy has Ouranopolis.

Kotys ?), Kadouas, town Kadoi (Κάδοφοι); Akkilas, Akylas, Akheles, town Akkilaion;⁵⁷ Atreus, town Ἀτρωά; Otreus, town Otrous (Ὀτροφος), Otroia and Ὀτρυαί; Tatas or Tottes, village Tataion or Tottaion; etc.

The land or district Ouramma is called Ouranopolis by Ptolemy, who gives this as one of the nine towns in Pisidian Kabalia; all nine are wrongly assigned to this imaginary region, for Ptolemy is more inaccurate about the classification of Pisidian towns than about any other region in Anatolia.⁵⁸

VII. *C.I.G.* Add. 175*b*; Wilhelm, *Beiträge*, p. 36, on a small marble stele, 182 m. high, in letters *c.* 450–425 B.C., purports to be the epitaph of a Phrygian woodcutter 'who died in the War.'⁵⁹

Φρυγῶν ὃς ἄριστος ἐγένεατ' ἐν εὐ[ρ]υχόροισιν Ἀθήνα[ι]ς
 Μάν|νης Ὀρύμαιοι, ὃ μνήμα τόδ' ἐστὶ καλόν·
 καὶ μὰ Δι' οὐκ εἶδον | ἔμαντῶ ἀμείνω ὑλοτόμον·|
 ἐν τῶι πολέμ[ω]ι ἀπέθανεν.

Wilhelm considers that Mannes, son of Orumas, belonged to a Phrygian colony in Attica; Thucydides ii. 22, says that a cavalry skirmish occurred ἐν Φρυγίοις 431 B.C. I cannot believe that a colony of Phrygians existed in the heart of Attica. Slaves often bore the name of a king or god of their own land, *e.g.* Phrygians were Manes, Midas, Davos, etc. Mannes is 'noblest of the Phrygians in Athens,' a joke about his name as god and priest-king of his native land (No. VI). He is not called a slave, but the circumstances prove this. The humble and toilsome occupation of a woodchopper was suited for slaves:⁶⁰ in Turkey at the present day the woodcutters all belong to a despised and poverty-stricken sect, who have the outward appearance of Islam, but are regarded with horror by the Moslems as heretics. In the well-known inscription of Xanthos, the Lycian, at Sounion,⁶¹ no one would have thought that Xanthos was a slave if he had not referred to Gaius Trebius; but for this he would have been taken as an immigrant priest of a foreign worship, and the length and importance of the ritual document which he inscribed in two copies would have been regarded as complete proof that it did not originate from a slave. Similarly Mannes of Oruma claims to be an outstanding personality among the Phrygians in Athens. Wilhelm recognises in Orumaios a patronymic and at the same time he quotes Kretschmer, *Einleitung*, pp. 183 and 237, in respect of the correspondence between personal and place names. In truth it is a local epithet which becomes a personal name. Mannes of Oruma is Manes of Ouramma (as in No. VI.). On the spelling Mannes or Mannis see No. VIII. and note 54.

⁵⁷ See *Journ. R. Asiatic Soc.* 1884, p. 29; the river Akhelōios is identified with Akkilaios: the personal idea of divine 'genius' or protecting spirit is everywhere.

⁵⁸ *E.g.* he assigns Sagalassos to Lycia, district beside Masikyotos.

⁵⁹ A. Wilhelm, *Beitr. z. gr. Inschriftenk.*

(1909), p. 36–7. He remarks; 'In Ὀρύμαιοι wird ein Patronymikon zu erkennen sein: entsprechende Ortsnamen erwähnt Kretschmer, *Einleitung*, S. 183, 237.'

⁶⁰ The Achaean charcoal-burners certainly possessed slaves.

⁶¹ Foucart, *Assoc. Relig.* p. 219.

There are some features in the inscription which show the Anatolian type. The variation between the first and the third personal form is frequent in Phrygian epitaphs.⁶² Again, Mannes calls himself the best woodcutter he has ever seen. Similarly in an inscription of Balbours (as Wilhelm mentions) a dead man is described as the best of gardeners (*ἄριστος κηπουρῶν*, Heberdey-Kalinka, *Bericht in Denkschriften Akad. Wien*, XLV. Part I, p. 41, No. 59). Further, the epitaph of Mannes is expressed in a quaint approximation to metrical form, which is characteristic of Phrygian epitaphs. While some are formally expressed as hexameters, or occasionally iambs, with scansion of varying degrees of falsity, others can hardly be made into separate verses, and yet there is a distinct metrical tone in them.⁶³ This epitaph would serve as a quite fair specimen of the Phrygian semi-metrical type; after two pseudo-hexameters the rest trails off into prose.

The inscription is certainly jocular, and perhaps not really an epitaph. It is to be compared with the inscription of Isaura Nova published by Calder in *C.R.* 1909, p. 81, a joke inscribed on a scrap of stone by a wedding guest. The war in which Mannes died was perhaps a drinking-bout. *μὰ Δία* is quite out of place in an epitaph. *Ἀθήνας* is on the stone.

VIII.—*B.C.H.* vii. p. 315 (at Konia, Ramsay) now gathers fuller meaning:

Μωσῆς διά(κονος), υἱὸς Νησίου Πουπλίου πρεσβ. Ἰσαυρουπόλεως, ἐξάμενος ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ [κ]αὶ τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ, ἐκαρποφόρησεν τὸν κίονα εἰς τὸν Ἅγιον Μάννιν. Μ.

This was the fortieth column, M, in the church, dedicated according to a vow (which God had granted) to St. Mannis by Moses a deacon, doubtless of Iconium. His father Nesios was a presbyter of Isauropolis, *i.e.* Isaura Nova (Dorla), subject to Iconium metropolis from 372 onwards (see note 107).

The St. Mannis who is mentioned here was apparently the patron of a church from which the column bearing this inscription was brought in the construction of the Mosque of Ala-ed-din.⁶⁴ The date is probably comparatively early, *c.* 400 A.D., as the inscription has not the fully-formed Byzantine character.⁶⁵ The old Anatolian divine name Mannis is to be regarded as a byform (native) of Manes (*cp.* No. VII.), and both as the original from which the Greek name of the god Men was formed. The intention was to impart Greek form and meaning to an Anatolian name, and when the Greek-speaking church invented the Christianised form of the native god as Menas, the local belief in Lycaonia still clung to the Anatolian form Mannis (see

⁶² In the epitaph of St. Aberkios (Avircius Marcellus) the variation has provoked some strange speculations among commentators who did not know the Phrygian custom.

⁶³ This characteristic suggests a certain musical turn in the Phrygian mind, and mythology fully confirms that impression.

⁶⁴ The Greeks say that this Mosque was a Christian church originally, but this is not

true. It was built as a Mosque.

⁶⁵ The use of the Roman praenomen Publius by the father (whose nomen is not stated), and the disuse by the son of Latin nomenclature, point to the period towards 400: the son is presumably a mature man, and the father dead. The expression shows the fourth century stage of development towards definitely Byzantine forms.

No. VII.), and spoke of the saint by the familiar name, which the people had been accustomed to apply to the god. This saint is Menas, as described in Nos. VI.-IX.

That the first syllable of Manes is long was seen by Wilamowitz (*Hermes*, xxxiv. p. 222), who takes it as originating from Masnes (first Lydian king, son of Zeus and Ge: *Dionys. Hal.* i. 27: *Plutarch, Is. et Os.* 360 B, says that Manes or Masdes was an old Phrygian king; Masnes was also a river name). The length is confirmed by the spelling Mannis or Mannes here and in No. VII.

The legends of St. Menas, which are too long to relate, connect him with Cappadocia and Eastern Anatolia.⁶⁶ This connexion may throw doubt on his connexion with the pagan god in the estimation of those who follow Roscher's *Lexicon*. Drexler refuses there to admit that any cult of Men existed in Cappadocia. Now the worship of Men is proved in other parts of Anatolia almost exclusively from inscriptions and coins, but in Cappadocia inscriptions are rare,⁶⁷ and coins were struck only at Caesareia (with very few at Tyana and Kybistra); there were in the country only three cities, no education, and rarely any suitable stone for inscriptions. The literary evidence for the worship of Men in different parts of Anatolia is very slight, but it is quite as abundant for Eastern Anatolia as for Phrygia and Pisidia; yet it is set aside by Drexler as insufficient, because he is influenced by a false idea about the nature of Men. The sole indication that Men was worshipped in Lycia is found, not in literature, nor in any monument of that country, but in an inscription at Sounion in Attica, made by a Lycian slave who set up a cult of his native god Men and stated the regulations for it at great length.

IX. *C.I.G.* 4000: instead of the text there published I give on pp. 154 f. Kaibel's in *Ep. Gr. ex lapp. conl.* 406, and a photograph of Lucas's page (which I owe to Mr. Buckler). The inscription is highly important, if my interpretation, which rests largely on considerations connected with the geographical and religious surroundings of Iconium, is correct. The name Galateia, on which I build, is regarded by Kaibel as beyond doubt, and we all accept it. The festival of Men was read in 3 by Buckler before he heard of my interpretation, which stands even without it so long as Galateia remains. I accept his reading making an addition (which is unchanged Lucas), but some prefer at this point the simple alterations of Kaibel. This text exemplifies the extreme limit permissible in altering a copy, and is correspondingly uncertain; but *C.I.G.* and Kaibel change the copy more and attain results remote from each other and from us:

⁶⁶ Even an Italian St. Menas at Bari has some slight Anatolian relation. There are three forms of this saint.

⁶⁷ The number known in the Vienna *tituli Aes. Min.* was 550 (see Grothe, *Vorderasiens-*

exped. 1911, p. lxxii), a considerable increase from *C.I.G.* (nine) and *C.I.L.* (ninety-six); but there are far more in two towns of Lycia alone.

Lucas separates the words from one another by spaces, and his ill-success is a measure of his scanty knowledge of Greek. The first word he makes *ἀνδρείαν* instead of *ἀνδρειάνταν*. The spaces between the words may therefore be disregarded, as showing merely his personal fancy.

I quote from Kaibel's notes: 2 agitur de publicis Zotici muneribus et meritis, cum *Γαλατείας* mentio dubia non videatur. 3 aedificium aliquod dilapsum ruderibus egestis restituisse videtur. 4 Fortasse τὰ *νενευκότα*.

It is doubtless on account of the want of suitable type that Lucas employs the small forms ϵ and ω instead of ϵ and ω (see *C.I.G.*). I reconstruct hypothetically the epigraphic text, using common late forms of those letters. Further, it was characteristic of the inscriptions of the fourth century, to which this text belongs, that inconsistent forms of Greek letters were employed in the same inscription; generally the round epsilon, sometimes the square form, was used, and similarly varying forms of omega, sigma, etc. Examples may be found in the inscriptions of Antioch published by Anderson in *J.R.S.* 1913, p. 286f.

The copy is not excellent, but creditable in the circumstances. It is worst towards the end, when Lucas grew tired of copying this hard and long text. Besides the variation of form in the letters, some ligatures of unusual shape were employed, which puzzled Lucas and cause difficulty to the modern interpreter. We follow Lucas more closely than older editors do, and the explanation of his errors is often evident from my conjectural epigraphic copy, which should be compared with the epigram from Isaura Nova (see Miss Ramsay's article on Isaurian art).⁶⁸ The Iconian stone, however, had probably no ornament, but only a plain raised border (like *C.I.G.* 3964 and many others), for such ornament was an Isaurian feature. The longer verses in those epigrams often encroached on the raised border.

It is necessary first to explain the upright strokes by which Lucas generally marks the end of hexameters. (1) They may have been on the original stone and Lucas may have copied them, omitting to do so several times, and especially at the last. I have once or twice seen such upright marks at the end of hexameters, but the device is rare; and, when we look at the page of Lucas's book, it seems probable that the length of his lines was conditioned by the size of his notebook. In the numerous copies of inscriptions made by Dr. Diamantides (see *Introduction*) he often arranged his copy, not according to the stone, but according to the breadth of his notebook (especially when the lines were long). (2) Inscriptions of late date in hexameter are often arranged so that each verse gets a line on the stone.⁶⁹ If that were the case here, there would not be room in Lucas's notebook for such long lines; apparently he intended to mark with an upright stroke in his copy the ends of the lines on the stone. If it is objected that the

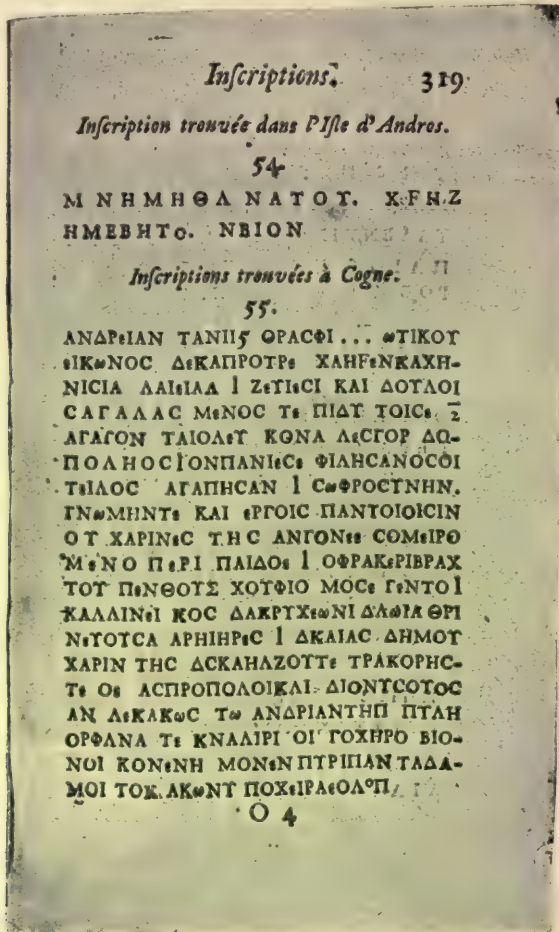
⁶⁸ *Studies in the Eastern Roman Provinces*, p. 47.

⁶⁹ Examples (besides many elsewhere): *C.I.G.* 3943, 3956 c, 3964 (iambi), 3973, 3982.

The stone disregards the metre in 3962. The epitaph of Avircius Marcellus (*C.B.Phr.* ii. p. 723) gives two lines on the stone to each hexameter: so Sterrett, *E.J.* 182.

explanation is unreasonable, because Lucas did not fully carry out his own plan, the answer is that Lucas was human⁷⁰ and that he was Lucas. Whatever theory be adopted, the fact remains that the intention of inserting the upright strokes is not completely carried out. In *C.I.G.* 3996 the editors remark that Lucas indicates the end of the lines by punctuation marks;

LUCAS'S PAGE ($\frac{5}{8}$ of original).



apparently the marks were placed by himself in his notebook to show the difference between his arrangement and that on the stone.⁷¹

⁷⁰ Personally, I always find it difficult to carry out completely any such plan: omissions and exceptions occur, and increase as one proceeds.

⁷¹ This inscription is published also in *Muratorii* iii. p. mcccix. 6. I have not seen it.

I doubt whether it is a feasible supposition in *C.I.G.* 4000 that Lucas, to show his learning, inserted marks in his copy indicating the ends of hexameters, for he had not sufficient knowledge of Greek to intend this.

Further, the reduced photograph of Lucas's page should be compared at every point with our conjectural epigraphic copy arranged as on the stone. In it the corrections that former editors have rightly made are dotted to show the true character of the original, and we add a few changes of the same simple type (according to the principles stated in the *Introduction*). Lucas's errors are also dotted.⁷² Many things become simpler when thus brought before the eye. The forms of letters are suited to the late date,⁷³ and they vary in some degree (as already explained); the forms, and the occasional ligatures, often explain Lucas's errors. It will be noticed that the stone was

ΚΑΙΒΕΛ.

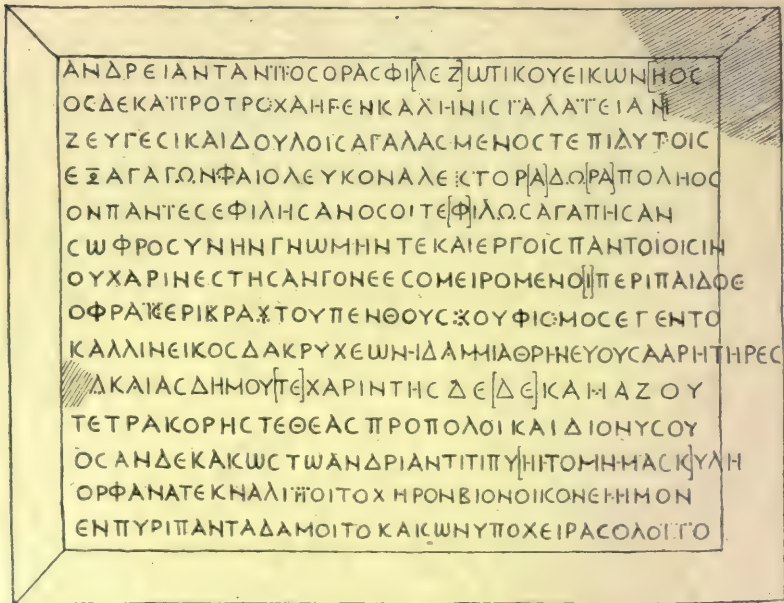
ἀνδριάντ' ἂν [εἰ]σορᾶς, φί[λε, Ζ]ωτικῶ εἰκῶν
 ὃς δεκάπρω[τ]ος ἀν[η]ρ[ρ] ἐν [π]α[τρ]ίδι γῆ Γ[α]λα[τ]εία<λ>
 ζεύ[γ]εσι καὶ δούλοις ἀγαλ[λό]μενος τ' ἐπὶ [α]ύτοῖς
 ἐξάγαγ[ε]ν πόλῃος
 5 ὃν πάν[τ]ες ἐφίλησαν, ὅσοι τ[ο]ί[ου]ς ἀγάπησαν
 σωφροσύνην γνώμην τε καὶ ἔργοις παντοίοισιν
 οὐ χάριν ἔστησαν γονέες ὁ[δ]υ[ρό]μενο[ι] περὶ παιδό[ς],
 ὄφρα κ' ἐρί[κλ]α[ύ]του πένθους [κ]ουφι[σ]μὸς ἔγεντο,
 Καλλίνεικος δακρυχέων ἰδ' [Ἄφφ]ία θρ[η]νεύουσα,
 10 ἀρη[τ]ήρες [Ἄχ]αίας δήμου χάριν τῆς δ[ε]κα[μά]ζου
 Τετρακόρης τε [θ]εᾶς πρόπολοι καὶ Διούσου
 ὃς ἂν δὲ κακῶς τῷ ἀνδριάντ[ι] π[υ]ρή
 ὄρφανα τέκνα λι[π]οῖτο, χῆρο[ν] βίον, οἶκον ἔ[ρ]ημον
 ἐν πυρὶ πάντα δάμοιτό, κακῶν ὑπὸ χεῖρας ὄλο[ι]το

injured at both right-hand corners,^{73a} and at several places there must have been slight injuries to the surface; such is almost always the case if the stone is large. Square brackets indicate those places in which letters are lost. In two cases, 1 and 4, loss is indicated by Lucas himself; in others the additions are conjectural. In 13 N was omitted either through haste or because the stone was injured.⁷⁴ I number the verses according to the true text of the stone.

⁷² The presence of dots, therefore, is a signal calling attention.
⁷³ In some cases late forms are probable; I follow the common shape of letters except where there was a clear reason.
^{73a} The break at the right lower corner is accidentally omitted in the zincotype.
⁷⁴ This omission is certain. Lucas became careless at the end, and errors are more numerous there (see *Introduction*).

The style of this epigram, with the use of strange and rather inconsistent epithets of the goddess, remote from the simpler language of the earlier and middle Empire, confirms the late dating. We notice also that, while the inscription mentions the religion of the city, it never refers to the worship of the Emperors. This omission relegates it either to a quite early period, when the worship of the Emperors had not yet fully established itself in Iconium, or to a very late date, when the Empire in its last struggle against the Christians was trusting to the revivification of the old pagan worship and allowing the Imperial religion to fall out of notice. During the long intermediate period the Imperial policy relied on the Imperial religion as a unifying and strengthening influence, and the cities paid the greatest attention to the maintenance of this worship and enthroned the reigning emperor (with or without his predecessors) alongside of the national or

HYPOTHETICAL RECONSTRUCTION.



municipal cult. It is, however, impossible to assign this inscription to a very early period before the worship of the Emperors was enthroned in Iconium. There was a high priest of Tiberius in Iconium (see p. 126), and already in the time of Augustus the Imperial religion was probably established there. The inscription has nothing to justify the theory of a date so early. Everything confirms the opinion that it belongs to the fourth century, when many similar inscriptions were engraved showing how various priestly families, in conjunction with the magistrates, attempted to restore the old religion in Lycaonia and Phrygia, which were already in large degree Christian. The history of one such priestly family belonging to the period 250-310 has been

traced in Central Phrygia.⁷⁵ The attempt was made to exhibit the old religion as the patron of literature and true morality in opposition to Christianity, and as able to do better than the new faith everything needed by religious feeling. The period, then, to which this inscription belongs is the age when imperial policy was encouraging and supporting the adherents of the old faith against the new, but not hunting down 'the Name' with soldiers.

For a time I thought of the period of Maximin, comparing such inscriptions as *C.B.Phr.* No. 467, dated 313-4 A.D.; but in preparing the conjectural epigraphic copy I found that Lucas's errors imply a later date, viz., the time of Julian. On this theory the epigram explains itself completely. It commemorates the revival of an old rite in a Christian city, and it is steeped in the ideas of the fourth century.

SUGGESTED TEXT.

Ἄνδρειάνταν π[ρο]σορᾶς,⁷⁶ φί[λε, Ζ]ωτικοῦ Εἰκων[ῆος]
 ὃς δὲ καὶ ἰρότροχα ἦγεν καλὴν εἰς Γαλατείαν
 ζεύγεσι καὶ δούλοις Ἀγαλας Μηνός τ' ἐπὶ λύτ[ρο]ις
 ἔξαγαγὼν φαιόλευκον ἀλέκτορ[α], δω[ρα] πόληος,
 5 ὃν πάντες ἐφίλησαν ὅσοι τε [φ]ιλῶς ἀγάπησαν
 σωφροσύνην γνῶμην τε καὶ ἔργοις παντοίοισιν
 οὐ χάριν ἔστησαν γονέες ὀμειρόμενο[ι] περὶ παιδός,
 ὄφρα περικραντο πένθους κουφισμὸς ἔγεντο
 Καλλίνεικος δακρυχέων ἠδ' Ἀμμία θρηνηύουσα,
 10 ἀρητῆρες Ἀχαίας δήμου χάριν, τῆς δεκαμάξου
 τετρακόρης τε θεᾶς πρόπολοι καὶ Διονύσου,
 ὃς ἂν δὲ κακῶς τῶ ἀνδριάντι τυ[ήση, ἢ τὸ μνῆμα σκ]ύλη, κτλ.

Kallinikos, the author of this epigram, had some Greek education, but his reading lay in religious hymns rather than epic poetry.⁷⁷ His work stands on a higher level than the ordinary sepulchral epigrams of Lycaonia. He had, however, no knowledge of metre, and none of his lines scan rightly.

⁷⁵ Ramsay, *C.B.Phr.* ii. p. 790; *Revue des Univ. du Midi*, 1901, p. 275; 1903, p. 269; *Pauline and other Studies in Hist.* pp. 109-112.

⁷⁶ O would be better in brackets on the conjectural copy: it was put by Lucas in the correction in his note-book and afterwards

misunderstood. A common late form of Ω is deceptively like O, and was mistaken by Lucas. In the zinc I have not made EN in 3 right: it should be I-N.

⁷⁷ One Homeric reminiscence is tralatitious, not original: see p. 155.

He was acquainted with the common Central Anatolian models for metrical funeral epigrams. 1 is a free variation of a common introduction to epitaphs. 2-4 are an individual and original touch illustrating the life of the deceased. 5-8 recur to the usual Lycaonian and Phrygian type, but alter it freely. 9 attempts in the most halting fashion to introduce the unhappy parents, but (as usual in such epigrams) the proper names wreck the metre. 10 and 11 are again an individual piece of work, attempting to describe the office of the parents and the character of the goddess with lamentable metrical results. The last three verses repeat a form of imprecation against the violator of the tomb, which is frequently used in Phrygia with varying protasis, but identical apodosis.⁷⁸ It is probably a rude rendering in Greek of an old Phrygian formula, but none of the Phrygian formulae which have been as yet found correspond exactly to it; the rendering was made, perhaps in the second century, by some person whose knowledge of Greek was defective, and it passed into general use. The metre would be improved by using the active *λίποι* instead of the incorrect middle form *λίποιτο*.⁷⁹ The translator of the supposed Phrygian original seems to have understood *δάμοιτο* as passive: all the property of the violator is to be destroyed in fire. At the end the dative *χερσίν* would be an improvement on the accusative *χείρας*. The Phrygian poet had a vague recollection of the Homeric *ὑπὸ χερσὶ δαμῆναι*, but uses it badly.

This epigram should be contrasted with the Akmonian document (*C. B. Phr.* ii. No. 467) as an expression of the pagan revival, engineered by priestly families in alliance with the Imperial administration; its tone differs, as it is exactly fifty years later.

1. Three symbols require correction, II followed by a complex symbol which does not occur elsewhere in the inscription. My view is that II represents a ligature of ΠΠ blurred on the stone. ΟϞΟ following was copied ϞΟ and corrected by Lucas in his notebook, but in preparing for publication he misunderstood his correction: I have known such happenings. The word was *προσορᾶς*, and the epitaph opens 'You look upon the statue of Zotikos an Iconian.'⁸⁰ It is of course easy to suggest *ἰσορᾶς* and to omit *ηος* at the end; but this does not explain the complex symbol, and supposes that Lucas wrote II where he should have written I: now Lucas sometimes omits a symbol, but he does not insert one without warrant. EI is scanned as the spirant Y. At first I thought of

ἀνδρείαντα [δ]ν [ε]ἰσορ[ά]ας, φί[λε, Ζ]ωτικῶν εἰκῶν

statuam quam vides Zotici imago est, on the analogy of urbem quam statuo vestra est; and other forms of the verse have been suggested; but

⁷⁸ Iconium was a Phrygian city: Xen. *Anab.* i. 2. See my *Bearing of Discovery on N. T.*, pp. 53-63.

⁷⁹ On the fondness of Phrygians for the middle aorist optat. in preference to the active, see my paper in *Philologus*, N.F. i. p. 755: *C. B. Phr.* ii. p. 652.

⁸⁰ Buckler compares the epitaph *Αισχύλου Εὐφορίωνος Ἀθηναίου τῶδε σῆμα. Εἰκονεὺς* and *Εἰκονεὺς* both occur, the latter being late. *Εἰκωνιῆος* with ω used for ο (as often) is not allowable, as a short ω is below the standard of this inscription.

Buckler's suggestion $\text{Εἰκων}[\eta\sigma]$ is convincing, and it is supported by προσορᾶς , explaining the corruption in the middle of the verse. The corner of the stone and the ends of 1 and 2 were broken.

2. I substitute Π for Lucas's Π , and (with *C.I.G.*) Ο for Lucas's Ε (where Kaibel substituted Ω too violently); also Γ for his F (where *C.I.G.* Kaibel read P), and we all accept Kaibel's $[\text{Γ}]αλά[\tau]εια[\nu]$, in which the right stroke of N has been broken off, leaving Λ in Lucas's copy.⁸¹ $\delta\varsigma$ δὲ καί , ' (who was an) Iconian, and who was . . . ' καί is often used with little or no force (as σύν καί for σύν) in Anatolian texts. No one likes $\delta\varsigma$ δέκα , and καί is an easier correction of the copy.

3. The first correction Γ is accepted by all. Lucas did not understand the ligature ΗΝ ,^{81a} and wrote ΕΝ . In the last word editors correct Δ to Α : I prefer Λ (Buckler), *i.e.* Λύτροις , supposing ligature of ΤΡ , which was misunderstood by Lucas. The dative ζεύγεσι κ.τ.λ. is loosely appended. Λύτρα was a rite in honour of Men (see below).

The rare adjective here employed is found in the Orphic Hymn *Rhea* 2, ιέρóτροχα ἄρματα . It is characteristic of the period, the style, and the literary knowledge of the author that he agrees with the *Orphica* in this word. The noun, which is expressed in *Orphica*, can readily be understood here.

While Kaibel's text (which suggests itself at first sight)⁸² involves only simple alterations of the copy, all of the permissible class, I print Buckler's conjecture, which keeps closer to the copy,⁸³ and to it add that Ἀγαλας is correctly read by Lucas. The festival is celebrated to Agala and Men; Agala is the local goddess, who appears in a grecised form as the Nymph Galateia.⁸⁴

4. The change of Ο to Ε is made by previous editors. The first letter of the second word in Lucas's copy is T , which Buckler corrects to Φ . In this inscription probably Φ had a shape which was easily confused with T . φαιόλευκος does not occur elsewhere, but this can hardly be regarded as an insuperable objection, because λευκόφαιος is found frequently. Professor Souter quotes it from a Hibeh papyrus 246 B.C.; Athenaeus, p. 78A; Pollux. vii. 129; also in Latin letters, Vitruv. viii. 3, 14, and Plin. *H.N.* xxxii. 10, 114; Martial i. 96, 5, has *leucophaeatus*. For C it is easy to substitute K . The confusion between K and IC is frequent in these late inscriptions, and I have seen many cases where we could attain certainty only by consideration of the context. The substitution of T for Γ is made in *C.I.G.*, as also the

⁸¹ Kaibel has Γαλατεῖαν : *C.I.G.* παλαιστᾶν .

^{81a} The ligature is badly drawn on the conjectural copy.

⁸² Those who prefer this tag will find that it causes no alteration in the interpretation stated below except that a little has to be omitted regarding Agala.

⁸³ Buckler's conjecture is really closer, though it has a superficial appearance of

being more remote from Lucas.

⁸⁴ The personal names Galates (masc.) and Galatis or Galateis (fem.) occur in the valley of Apollonia (see Sterrett, *W.E.* 500 and 580), but these may originate in the long connexion of Apollonia with the province Galatia. This point must be left doubtful. The personal name Tagalis (masc.) occurs at Meidan, six hours north of Konia.

insertion of A before Δ.⁸⁵ Lucas indicates a gap after O. δὲ[ρα] with O for *omega* (as is common in Lycaonian inscriptions) must be rejected: on the stone Ω was sometimes written, not ω, and miscopied as O by Lucas. Kaibel ventures on no restoration of this line.

5. Buckler restores ὄσοι τ' εἰ[δ]ος: Anderson's εἰ[δ]ο[ν] is also tempting, but makes a bolder alteration. My own belief, however, is that the letter φ is omitted, and that Lucas's copy needs the alteration of O to Ω. The repetition of φίλος after ἐφίλησαν was regarded by this poet as a beauty, not a fault: similarly he uses ἐξαγαγών after ἤγεν. In Buckler's text and my own, ὄσοι τε is understood in the ordinary usage as equivalent to ὄσοι simply.

6. Another example of the loose dative at the end (cp. 3): interpret, 'his moral and intellectual power (which were seen) in every kind of occupation': καὶ is almost devoid of force (as in 2).

7. The insertion of I before Π and the correction to C at the end are obvious. οὗ χάριν means 'of whom a beautiful memorial.' Probably Kallinikos was here imitating a line of a model, like παῖδες ὀμειρόμενοι πέρι πατρός, or even οὗ τε χάριν κάμε (Ζεῦξις?) ὀμειρόμενος πέρι πατρός, but in adapting it to his purpose he ruined the metre. πέρι goes with the verb, 'greatly desiring their son' (Anderson). It is remarkable that Franz and Kaibel have missed the most interesting verbal feature in this inscription, viz., the rare verb ὀμείρομαι, which is used in I. Thess. ii. 8 (the only example in the New Testament). Hesychios has the gloss ὀμείρονται ἐπιθυμοῦσιν.

8. Probably *beta* was of a form easily confused with *karra*. Perhaps read [π]ερί[κ]ρα[ύ]του, which Plutarch's expression περικλαίειν τὸ σῶμα (*Brut.* 44) may justify; the use of P in place of Λ is frequent in Phrygian Greek, especially in proper names, but occasionally even in ordinary Greek words. As Anderson remarks, ὄφρα . . . ἐγέντο proves that ὄφρα κε was not used. The parents mourned until alleviation of sorrow was produced, and he suggests [π]ερίβρ[υ]χ[ί]ου, 'engulfing,' a tempting conjecture.

9. The accepted correction of the mother's name is Aphia, but probably the true correction is Ἀμμία, with double M in ligature, and Lucas mistook this strange form as ω. Anderson independently restored Ἀμία. For the ligature MN Lucas reads IN, which can hardly be accepted, as the spelling of the inscription is good.

9-10. Reluctantly I differ from my coadjutors, and regard the mark at the end of 9 in Lucas's copy as correct. He might omit the mark of division, but he would not insert it wrongly, as the lines were clear before him on the stone. The meaning is 'Kallinikos and Ammia, priests.' Here, as always, proper names wreck the metre; and adjectives or participles are added, not to help the metre, but to emphasise the sorrow of the survivors. The line therefore mentions 'the sorrowful father and the mourning mother, priests.' In any case nothing can restore metrical character to 9 and 10;

⁸⁵ Anderson suggests ἀλέ[κτ]ορ[α] ἕ[μ]α idea; this author read the *Orphica*, not literary Greek, a poetic, rather than a religious, rare Greek.

Kallinikos could not be brought into the metre; probably the composer felt it as a dactyl, and added the stock epithet describing his weeping. Then follows the name of the mother, and the intention apparently was to end the line with the description of their position as official priests, but in the ardour of composition the poet interpolated a participle describing the mother's vehement Oriental mourning. The word in 9 indicating their priesthood is chosen to indicate their relation to the city: they pray on behalf of the Demos and a local Iconian genius whose name is concealed in the impossible form ΔΚΑΙΑΣ. To my view there is the objection that it makes 9 too long⁸⁶ and 10 too short, and my zincotype (p. 156) employs violent means in 10, supposing that Lucas omitted two words. I now regard δῆμου χάριν as epexegetic of οὐ χάριν in 9 (with *a* long, as in Ἄρες Ἄρες); then τε need not be inserted: the deceased is thus merged in the guardian genius of the Iconian demos (compare the Hero Pergamos in *J.H.S.* 1884, p. 262).

In the face of such a strong consensus of opinion against me, I abandon for the time my correction and interpretation of this name, until some corroborating evidence is discovered which will justify the most interesting part of the whole epigram, and illuminate further the local mythology of Iconium; and I shift (with all editors, but wrongly) ἀρη[τ]ῆρες⁸⁷ from 9 to 10. In 10 *C.I.G.* reads [Ἄχ]αίας: Wilamowitz (mentioned by Kaibel, who hesitates to follow him) Μαίας: Anderson Ἄμαίας. The correction in *C.I.G.* is possible according to the principles which we have laid down; but the second and third are excluded. [Ἄσ]καίας also is not allowable, for Askaia belongs to Antioch and cannot be transferred to Iconium. It is necessary not merely to find a correction of the copy which is possible on critical grounds, but also one which rests on reasonable connexion with the known or probable facts of Iconian antiquities and religion and history. In this respect Achaia fails,⁸⁸ and could be justified only through the known feature of the pagan revival that religious facts from various nations and cults were introduced into a sort of syncretistic religion gathered round the local worship in each city or province. The Attic Achaia would be adopted in Lycaonia rather than an antiquarian fact like the Troizenian Amaia. My own view is reserved.

12. The easiest alteration of Lucas's copy at the end is to change his H to IE, Π to IT, and Y to X, but κακῶς ἐπιτύχη (w. dat.) in the sense of injuring even by chance is hardly allowable. The error lies deeper. It is impossible that the curse should omit the idea of injury to the grave and mention only the statue. Either the end of the line was defaced, or Lucas (who certainly made worse errors here than in the early lines, being tired of

⁸⁶ I understand that 9 continued on the border of the engraved panel (see above).

⁸⁷ *C.I.G.* substitutes ἀρ[χ]ι[ε]ρ[ε]ι[ς] for ἀρη[τ]ῆρες.

⁸⁸ According to Hesychios the Laonians called ἀγαθά Ἄχαία: with Soudas and Schol.

on *Ar. Ach.* 709 he explains Ἄχαία as an Attic epithet of the mourning Demeter (derivation, probably false, from ἄχος or ἠχώ). So at Almassen, in the territory of Derbe, the Attic figure Daeira occurs (Sterrett, *W.E.* No. 40, revised).

this long and hard text) omitted part accidentally. I suppose the latter. *C.B.Phr.* 332 has in protasis *σκύλη*. On 13–14 see *Introduction*, p. 126.

The interpretation of this epigram is assured up to a certain point, being independent of the varying conjectures, and imposed by the general situation and purport. This was the epitaph engraved on the tomb of their son Zotikos by Kallinikos and Ammia, priest and priestess of a local cult closely connected with the fate of Iconium (*δήμου χάριν*). The son Zotikos, being hereditarily connected with the cult, fulfilled certain duties subordinate to those of his parents in the ritual; the great Anatolian priesthoods were hereditary (*ιερείς ἐξ ἱερέων* or *διὰ γένους*).⁸⁹ The generally recognised goddess of the Iconian municipal religion was the Zizimene Mother, who had her seat at Zizyma or Zizima (modern Sizma), five hours north of Iconium, but it is clear that the cult mentioned in this inscription lay near the city: a sacred place in the immediate neighbourhood of Iconium was the centre of the ritual here described. The names and the religious ritual are of the Anatolian type. Galateia is a local nymph, really a local variety of the (Orondian) Mountain-Mother, whose chief home was at Zizimā, but who was manifested in other places near Iconium. According to 'the permanent association of religious awe with definite sites in Anatolia,' I assume that the main centres of divine influence which are now recognised in the neighbourhood of Iconium were recognised in ancient times and are immemorial seats of religious ritual.⁹⁰ The most important of these are connected with the mountain which overhangs Iconium, or rather the pair of mountains, called by the Greeks after St. Philip and St. John.⁹¹ These twin peaks, strikingly like in shape and very similar in every respect, lie N.W. from Iconium, and are the extreme outlying peaks of the Orondian mountains. They are visible on the central plains from a great distance, a landmark to guide the traveller to Iconium; and St. Philip (Takali), the nearest of them, bears a great fortress which constitutes it the saviour and guardian of the city. On the outer flanks of this nearer peak there are three glens of impressive character. The most northern is that in which lies the village of Tsille, which is full of churches and sites of Christian and even Turkish sanctity; the continuity of religion at Tsille is indubitable. The village is partly Turkish, but mainly Greek. South of Tsille is a narrower glen in which is situated the monastery of St. Chariton (on which more will be said below). The third glen is further south and, as I believe, no religious foundation exists in it.

The name of the guardian mountain of Iconium, Takali,⁹² was caught from the mouths of the population by the Arabs in their invasions of Anatolia

⁸⁹ Aeschines was minister to his mother, the priestess of Cybele: the case is typical, as described by Demosthenes, *de Cor.* 129 f.

⁹⁰ No one will dispute the assumption (now a commonplace): see a paper on the subject in *Pauline and other Studies in Relig.*, pp. 163–190.

⁹¹ To primitive Anatolian religious imagination they were the divine Balance (tekel), in

which the Greek poet saw the fate of gods and heroes weighed, while the Anatolian belief regarded it as the symbol of the fair market in international trade. The Balance was seen also at Prymnessos.

⁹² It is not pronounced Taka-lí: there is no feeling that it is a Turkish word ending with the suffix lí.

and is preserved by Ibn Khordadbeh (who fought in the Anatolian wars), in his geographical work dating about 850, as Dakalias, which hardly differs from Takalias and may be even a mere difference of script, implying an original Takalia.⁹³ In the second century there grew up a legend among the Christians of Iconium which made a certain Tekla the first convert of St. Paul and a Saint of great power, who followed her master, lived in a tomb at Iconium for a time, and was received into the rock on the side of Mt. Takali as it opened to preserve her from the pursuit of her affianced lover.⁹⁴ The presbyter who first gave literary form to this legend was, as Tertullian relates, degraded from his office on the ground that he had composed a story which dishonoured the memory of the Apostle Paul. In order to suggest a meaning in Greek Tekla was modified into Thekla, so as to suggest a connexion with the element involved in *θεός*, and in the process of grecoisation her mother was called by the more completely Greek name Theokleia; we have here progressive adaptation of a native name to the Greek spoken by the Christians of Iconium.

The Byzantine name of this guardian mountain was Kabala, which is preserved to the present day in a district Gevele between the twin peaks of St. Philip and St. John. It may appear remarkable that there are several names, mostly preserved to the present day, for the sacred mountain and its neighbourhood; but it is full of varying features, with deep glens, cultivated lands and two lofty peaks.⁹⁵ That there should be a number of names, and that sanctity should attach to many spots, is only natural. Miss Bell has an illuminative remark in her book *The Desert and the Sown*: in the desert almost every stone that offers any feature on the surface has its own individual name. The abundance of ancient names for localities around Takali would be multiplied by ten, if we had fuller information. Kabala is probably akin (1) to *Κύβελα* (*ὄρη Φρ. καὶ ἄντρα καὶ θάλαμοι* Hesych.), (2) to the Semitic word *gebēl*, mountain. The Phrygian conquerors of Iconium found that St. Philip Mt. was called *gebēl* and *tekel*: the names have lasted through history.

The rite in which Zotikos took part is described in 2-3: 'the two-horsed cars and slaves' formed a procession⁹⁶ in the ritual of the goddess, perhaps the last ever performed in the dying cult. The son of the priestly pair officiated in this procession (*ἰρότροχα ἤγειν κ.τ.λ.*, he drove cars-with-sacred-wheels to fair Galateia), in which a cock, the sacred bird of Men, was carried. This gift on behalf of the city expressed the participation of the State in the ceremony (*δ[ώρα] πόλης*).

Zotikos led the procession to fair Galateia. At first one thinks of the country Galatia, but previous to A.D. 295, while Iconium was part of the province Galatia, it would be meaningless and absurd to say that a procession

⁹³ The personal name Tagalis (masc.) occurs at Meidan, six hours north of Iconium.

⁹⁴ The place is still shown above Tsille: no mark or cutting was pointed out.

⁹⁵ They are about 5,000 feet, Konia 3,370.

⁹⁶ The reading *ζεύ[γ]εσι* is accepted by all editors. I tried vainly the other possible interpretation that the word referred to working land by pairs of oxen yoked to ploughs and driven by slaves, conjecturing [*ε*]ροτρ[α] in 2.

went forth from Iconium to Galatia, and Kaibel, observing this indisputable fact, boldly corrects the text to ἐν [π]α[τρίδι γῆ Γ]αλα[τ]είᾳ, in which he himself professes no confidence and the violence of which sufficiently condemns it.⁹⁷ On the other hand, after A.D. 295, Galatia was far distant from Iconium, the nearest point being eighteen or twenty hours' journey, and a procession to a point so distant and into a different province unconnected by racial affinity is equally absurd.⁹⁸ Moreover, the name Galateia is never, so far as I am aware, applied to the country Galatia. This interpretation can hardly be maintained on serious thought.

The solution of the difficulty lies in a passage indicated to me by Rev. J. M. Prendergast, Oxford, and used many years ago in my article in *Studia Biblica*, iv. p. 32. 'St. Gregorius Magnus, *Dialog.* iv. 38, says, 'Est etiam nunc apud nos Athanasius Isauriae presbyter qui in diebus suis Iconii rem terribilem narrat evenire. Ibi namque ut ait quoddam monasterium τῶν Γαλατῶν dicitur, in quo quidam monachus magnae distinctionis habebatur.' ἔστι δὲ καὶ νυνὶ παρ' ἡμῖν πρεσβύτερός τις ὀνόματι Ἀθανάσιος ἐκ τῆς χώρας Λυκαονίας⁹⁹ γενόμενος πόλεως δὲ τοῦ Ἰκονίου, ὅστις πρᾶγμα φοβερόν ἐκέισε ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ γεγονέναι διηγείτο, οὕτω λέγων ὅτι μοναστήριον αὐτόθι ὑπήρχε τῶν Γαλατῶν λεγόμενον. The Greek (as Mr. Prendergast says on the authority of Dr. Bright) is a translation made about a century later from the Latin original. Athanasios is described in *Ep.* vi. 66, p. 842 (Migne, iii. 850) as 'presbytero monasterii Sancti Mile cui est vocabulum Tamnaco,¹⁰⁰ quod in Lycaonia est provincia constitutum.'

There was therefore a monastery called 'of the Galatai' at Iconium at an early period in monastic history. Gregory was writing about A.D. 600, and there is no reason to think that the monastery was new then. Formerly I was disposed to think that the ancient connexion between Iconium and the province Galatia had led to a settlement of Galatians in a monastery at Iconium, but on consideration this idea had to be abandoned. There could be no monastery older than 295. After that date all connexion between the city and Galatia ceased, and the connexion, having been previously only a political one and never founded on any religious feeling (except the cult of the Emperors), did not persist. The monastery 'of the Galatai' must therefore be explained differently, and the reference to Galateia in this inscription supplies the explanation. We possess only

⁹⁷ He possibly had in mind vaguely the well-known inscription of Apollonia (793 in his collection, *C.I.G.* 3973, Lebas 1192), where the allusion to the Trocmi and the Galatians implies that Apollonia was in their territory (though as a matter of fact Kaibel wrongly follows Waddington and *C.I.G.* in supposing that during famine the erector of the dedication fled from Apollonia to Celtic Galatia). Kaibel also neglects Λ at the end. Lucas did not add letters, though he sometimes does one.

⁹⁸ According to Imhoof, *Kleinasiat. Münzen*, p. 415, the connexion of Iconium with Galatia ceased before the middle of the second century, for he thinks it was a city of the Κοινὸν Λυκαόνων, in the triple province Cilicia-Lycaonia-Isauria. This, however, is not correct. Iconium was not in the Κοινόν, but remained in provincia Galatia till 295.

⁹⁹ The translator alters Isauriae of the Latin.

¹⁰⁰ These names are certainly corrupt. See later, p. 166.

Gregory's reference, which perhaps he had not caught quite correctly:¹⁰¹ Athanasios probably spoke of the monastery of Galateia, and Gregory calls it 'the monastery of the Galatai'; or the name 'of the Galatai' may have become popular for the monastery in some fashion which we need not attempt to speculate about. It is highly probable that this monastery close to Iconium still exists: the supposition that it was situated at Tsille may be set aside as less probable: there remains that deep glen in the outer edge of the Orondian mountains, close under the peak of St. Philip, about four or five miles W.N.W. from Iconium, in which a monastery of St. Chariton is regarded with veneration not merely by the Greeks of Iconium and Tsille, but also by the Turks. Although the monastery now has no monks, there is a lay guardian (Bekji) who is paid by the Greeks to live at the buildings and look after them. The church inside the monastery is cut out of the rock; and there are shrines of the Virgin and St. Saba and St. Amphilochios. There is also a small mosque; and the Tchelebi-Effendi, the head of the Mevlevi Order of Dervishes (whose seat is at Iconium), makes an annual donation of olive oil to the establishment. The place is holy to the Mohammedans as well as to the Christians: *i.e.* it is an ancient pre-Christian religious spot. Two festivals are celebrated by the Greeks at this monastery: one on 28th September, the day of St. Chariton; the other, by far the more important, on 15th May, lasts for three or four or even five days, during which time the worshippers live at the monastery.

This locality is the seat 'of the Galatai' at Iconium, and the local Nymph is the 'fair Galateia' of the epitaph. It is a place of immemorial sanctity, connected both with the city and with the sacred mountain that guards the city. A legend explains why the Turks respect this sanctuary. The son either of a Sultan of Iconium, or of an old Tchelebi, or even of the founder of the Order, Djelal-ed-Din, riding among the hills, fell over a perpendicular precipice on the N. side of the glen against which the monastery is built, but was preserved alive, being caught as he fell some say by the Virgin herself, and others say by St. Chariton.¹⁰² The idea is embodied in this legend that the son of the priest was under the special protection of the divine power localised here, and we need have no hesitation in assuming that the place in pre-Christian religion was associated with the fortune of the city.

At the monastery 'of the Galatai' there occurred, as Athanasios reported, a terrible portent. A monk, who bore a high character in the monastery, being at the point of death, summoned his brother monks, and they expected to hear some gladdening message from the dying man; but he confessed that, when he had been pretending to fast along with

¹⁰¹ It is clear from the various references in Gregory that Athanasios had gone to Rome to clear himself from the accusation of Manichaeism. Gregory heard him, conversed with him about things in Lycaonia, was con-

vinced of his innocence, and wrote to Constantinople on his behalf.

¹⁰² There can be no doubt that the old legend mentioned the Virgin Mother herself, and not the Saint, who is a later intrusion.

the others, he had been wont to eat secretly; and now he was given over to a dragon to be devoured, which had coiled its tail round his knees and feet and was putting its head into the monk's mouth and drawing the breath from his body. The story turns to Christian edification the old belief in the god-serpent, which the Mystai held close to their body with its head to the face of the worshipper.¹⁰³ This was an act performed in the Mysteries by each devotee, and the memory clung to the holy place.

Gregory gives the name of the saint, to whom the monastery where Athanasios was monk and presbyter was dedicated, as Mile, an evident corruption of Menae. St. Menas was widely worshipped in the eastern part of the plateau. The evidence for his life and historical existence is of the most dubious character. He bears all the marks of being a mere invention of the fourth or fifth century, giving Christian colour to a pagan cult which had a strong hold on the popular mind: in short, he is merely the god Men in a Christianised form.¹⁰⁴ Menas is not mentioned in the early Martyrologies.

We gather from Gregory that already about 600 A.D. the veneration of St. Menas was firmly established in the Lycaonian church. It is also a matter of interest that Athanasios was accused of being tainted with the Manichaean heresy, but he succeeded in defending himself against this accusation and was confirmed in his position. Later Byzantine historians speak of the prevalence of Manichaeism and other forms of heresy along with Judaic religion in Lycaonia and Phrygia.

St. Chariton was a real personage, but the biographical details which are preserved about him (*Acta Sanctorum*, 28th September, p. 575) are wholly legendary.¹⁰⁵ The only facts that can be trusted are that he was an Iconian and that he founded a famous monastery near Jerusalem.¹⁰⁶ His date is stated under Aurelian about 272 A.D. by most authorities, which is impossible; under Julian 363-5 A.D. by one, which is possible.

Athanasios was intimately acquainted with incidents that occurred in the Galateian monastery at Iconium; and he was apparently a native of the country Isauria, but presbyter at Iconium.^{106a} That a close and ancient

¹⁰³ Sabazios was ὁ διὰ κόλπου θεός, δράκων . . . διεκόμενος τοῦ κόλπου τῶν τελουμένων (Clem. Alex. *Protr.* ii. p. 76). Men is of the same character.

¹⁰⁴ In the *Acta Sanctorum* there are three saints called Menas, two connected with Anatolia, and all unhistorical. The surname Tamnacus is obscure, and probably corrupt. The monastery was in the province of Lycaonia (*quod in Lycaonia est provincia constitutum*, *Epist.* vi. 66, p. 842), but in the superscription Anastasios is addressed as 'presbytero de Isauria.' In another letter (*Epist.* vii. 5, p. 852) Gregory speaks of

Athanasios as a presbyter of Lycaonia. Yet in *Dialog.* iv. cap. 38, p. 441, Anastasios is a presbyter of Isauria, though the story which he narrates is specifically connected with Iconium.

¹⁰⁵ St. Chariton is not mentioned in the older Martyrologies on 28th September, but in the Hieronymian Martyrology there is a Chariton on 25th July.

¹⁰⁶ St. Saba, who has a shrine in the Church, was the chief figure in the early monastic system of Palestine. Amphilochios was made bishop of Iconium A.D. 371.

^{106a} See note 104.

connection between the country Isauria and the city Iconium existed is certain; evidence need not here be recapitulated.

While it is possible that two monasteries near Iconium (one at Tsille, and one 'of the Galatai' at St. Chariton) are mentioned, it seems more likely that only one is meant, popularly called 'of the Galatai,' but dedicated to St. Menas Tamnacus.¹⁰⁷

* The cock was the sacred bird of the god Men. In ordinary circumstances it was a white cock.¹⁰⁸ The colour grey-white was regarded as the hue of mourning, and there seems no difficulty in supposing that at a festival of purification a grey-white cock marked the period of mourning. I would connect this with the Turkish legend of the danger incurred by the son of the priest, who at the point of death is saved by the old pagan goddess or by the Virgin Mother of God.¹⁰⁹ A festival of this kind would naturally begin as a period of mourning and end as a time of rejoicing. The grey-white gift sent from the city by the hand of the son of the priest to the sacred home of the goddess is changed to the white cock, which was the permanent symbol of the god.

There is no proof that a festival called 'Atonement' existed in the ritual of Men, yet it is in accordance with abundant analogy that there should be every spring a purification of the city and a ransoming of it from guilt by a rite. It concerned the fortunes and fate of the city that this rite should be annually performed, and it was celebrated under Julian with all ceremonial, the procession, the holy cars, the train of worshippers.¹¹⁰ Yet the description rather suggests that the ceremony was confined chiefly to the priestly household, while the population (mainly Christian then) held aloof, though the State character was officially admitted. Perhaps this was the last occasion when the old ceremony was performed in Iconium, and the name Atonement suggests that it was worked up under the late pagan revival to compete with Christian ideas; but the pagan germ is preserved in the Turkish legend.

The 'four-maiden' goddess is the goddess with four personalities, *i.e.* she is the goddess of the crossroads, who looks along the four ways. The

¹⁰⁷ Even if it were allowable to alter Isauria in Gregory to Isaura, it would still be impossible to maintain that the monastery of St. Menas was at Isaura Nova in prov. Lycaonia, and the monastery 'of the Galatai' at Iconium. Under Justinian and earlier, it is true, Isaura Nova was subject to Iconium. Isaura Palaia was metropolis of the large Province Isauria from 295; but in 372 Isauria was shorn of its northern bishoprics, Seleuceia was made metropolis of the diminished province, Lycaonia was constituted a province from parts of Pisidia and of the old larger Isauria, and Iconium (previously a secondary capital of Pisidia, 295-372) became permanently the metropolis of the new province

Lycaonia (including Isaura Nova). But the reading Isauria, not Isaura, stands firm in Gregory's text; and the connexion of Athanasios with Iconium is clearly fixed in Gregory's mind. Isaura Palaia remained *autokephalos*.

¹⁰⁸ *πάλευκος* or *πάλλευκος* is a violent change.

¹⁰⁹ As the priestly pair represent the divine pair, Father and Mother, so Zotikos plays the part of the God-Son in the ritual.

¹¹⁰ In this case they are all household servants of the priest: others did not participate. Compare the description of a ritual procession in Ignatius, *Eph.* 9 (see *Letters to the Seven Churches*, pp. 159 f.): the appearance was similar in all such ceremonies.

thought here is similar to that which occurs in a late hymn to the Moon, published in *Hermes*, iv. p. 64:

τούνεκά σε κλήζουσ' Ἐκάταν, πολυώνυμε, Μήνην,
 τετραπρόσωπε θεά, τετραώνυμε, τετραοδίτι,
 Ἄρτεμι, Περσεφόνη, ἐλαφηβόλε, νυκτιφάνεια,
 τρίκτυπε, τρίφθογγε, τρικάρανε

where the goddess is saluted as Hekate, Mênê, Artemis, Persephone: she has four countenances, as goddess of the four ways which cross, and she has three heads in her character of Hekate, presiding at a point where the road forks and three ways meet. The idea of the four-faced goddess was familiar during the early fourth century in Lycaonia, and occurs in an inscription published by Anderson, *J.H.S.* 1899, No. 237. That the four-maiden goddess also represents the year in its four seasons is natural. She also is the goddess of winter and summer in a double nature, as shown on the Boston half of the Ludovisi 'Throne,' a most instructive monument of 'Ionian' religious thought.¹¹¹

X. *C.I.G.* 4008. The restoration is easy. The spelling *ιστήλην* with prothetic I is quite frequent, and the reference to the Chthonian Men is characteristic of Iconian sepulchral epigraphy. The father Manes bears the native Anatolian form of the name of the god Men, to whose protection he appeals; in dedications the name Men was customary. The order is unusual; it begins with the curse against violation of the tomb, and ends with a brief statement of the erection.

C.I.G. ἔάν τις ἀδικήσει τή-
 ν] στήλην Ἐρμίου
 [ἔσ]τω . . . χθο[ν]ιο[ις
 ἀνέστησεν δὲ Μαν-
 ῆς υἱῶ

ἔάν τις ἀδικήσει τή-
 ν] ἰστήλην Ἐρμίου [κεχολω-
 μένον ἐχ]έτω [Μ]ῆνα χθό[ν]ιο[ν].
 ἀνέστησεν δὲ Μάν-
 ῆς υἱῶ

The Chthonian (or Katachthonian) Men is contrasted with the Heavenly Men; the two forms are sometimes invoked in the same epitaph. Now in the inscription *C.B.Phr.* No. 467, during the resuscitation of an old Anatolian cult at Akmonia, a strange god Manes Daos Heliodromos Zeus is mentioned. In him we recognise the double Men: Heliodromos is the Sun-god sweeping rapidly through the heaven; Daos is the god who lives in the earth. It is here impossible to discuss the derivation of the word Daos, whose original form on the Phrygo-Pisidian frontier (beside Antioch, Ouramma and Apollonia) was Gdawos, or Gdabos (Latin Davus, a slave name given to slaves from this region of Anatolia): Gdawos or Daos was derived from the word Gdan or Gda, meaning earth, which corresponds to the two Greek forms *χθών* and *γη*. Thus, like Men elsewhere, Manes is described in the archaistic Akmonian inscription as the god Chthonian and Heavenly.

¹¹¹ That such a monument should be a forgery is impossible.

XI. Sterrett, *Ep. J.* No. 203: *J.H.S.* 1902. p. 351: at Konia. My copy is *Μηνᾶς καὶ Περσεὶς Ποσειδῶνι εὐχὴν*. Sterrett reads *Περσεὶς*: τ is blurred at the top, which caused error. Poseidon is the native god in his aspect as causer of earthquakes. The dedication is by a husband and wife whose names are taken from Iconian religion and legend. Menas and Persis belong probably to a priestly family, and most Lycaonian pagan dedications have a similar origin. Perseus is a local hero at Iconium (*Chron. Pasch.* p. 71) and at Tarsus. On Iconian coins the representations of Perseus are taken evidently from a statue in the city (which Furtwängler considers to be a copy of Myron's Perseus). The cult of Men at Iconium is attested by the frequent occurrence in the priestly families of derived names and also of such names as Menneas, Menedemos, Menemachos, etc., which substitute a Greek word of somewhat similar sound, cp. Teukros and Aias at Olba, Orestes, etc. (see pp. 131, 146, 149, 169, 173, 181).

The popular belief among the Greeks at Iconium is that the relief on this altar (representing Poseidon on horseback, bearing the trident and galloping to the left) is an ikon of St. Menas. Poseidon as a horseman is unusual in Greek art, but the Anatolian god is usually a horseman, often carrying a battle-axe on his shoulder.

XII. *J.H.S.* 1902, p. 119, No. 44 (Cronin, from my copy 1901), I recopied the stone, June, 1902: Heberdey's copy is used in *I.G.R.R.* iii. 262. All copies agree: I add that the form of letters is markedly post-Augustan. The stone is an excellent block used in construction, not disengaged, and is nearly perfect. At Konia.

Cronin restores accordingly with the addition of only a few letters; but, though this is according to Godfrey Hermann's canon (see *C.B.Phr.* ii., p. 607), and although his restoration was accepted by Mommsen, quite half of the inscription was on adjoining stones. Heberdey (followed by Cagnat-Lafaye) prefers a longer restoration, which violates the necessary conditions.

Inscriptions at Antioch often extend over several stones, showing that they were engraved on a wall already built, regardless of the extent of a single stone. Probably the wall of a *stoa* was used for this purpose;¹¹² it was a public resort, and inscriptions in this situation would be *ἐν τῷ ἐπιφανεστάτῳ τόπῳ* (according to the formula). This extension adds difficulty in restoration: e.g. Sterrett, *E.J.* No. 108, in honour of Caristianus and Sergia Paulla, extended over three stones, as is shown in the restoration (published in my *Bearing of Research on the New Testament*, pp. 154 f., approved in its general features by Mommsen and improved in one detail by him, when I submitted it to his judgment twenty-five years ago). Another example is the inscription in honour of P. Calvisius Ruso and his wife (*J.R.S.* 1913, p. 301). It may therefore happen that a stone is complete, and yet an inscription found on it is incomplete. That has happened in several cases: e.g. at Konia, in this case.

¹¹² *C.B.Phr.* ii., pp. 431 f.

The previous editors restore the Emperor Augustus with a governor Pupius; but the Emperor was Nero, and Pupius Praesens was procurator, and Petronius governor of Galatia, A.D. 55. Cronin remarks that the governor under Augustus and the procurator must be different persons; the other editors do not notice the difficulty. The form of letters is not Augustan, but suits the period 50–90 A.D., and is similar to No. XXVI. and the dedication to Caristianus and Sergia Paulla.¹¹³ The first word may be either Tib. or Neron; the titles of the former occur in this exact form *C.I.G.* 320, 1610, 2739, 2922, 3453, 3831a16 and a17, 4956, of the latter in 2942d, 3743, 4699. The latter suits the space. In recognition of this great building (aided by imperial money from the procurator) *C.I.G.* 3991 was erected in his honour as benefactor and *κτίστης* under Nero. The correct text of this inscription is:

Νέρων Κλαύδιος Κ]αῖσαρ Σεβαστὸς [Γερ-
μανικὸς αὐτοκρά]τωρ ἐποίησεν τ[ὴν σκην-
κηνὴν καὶ τὸ ὑποσ]κήμιον τῇ πόλει [διὰ
τοῦ ἐπιτρόπου Πο]υπίου, πρεσβε[ύον-
τος Πετρωνίου]

I.G.R.R. and Heberdey restore :

Αὐτοκράτωρ Κ]αῖσαρ Σεβαστὸς [θεοῦ
υἱὸς αὐτοκρά]τωρ ἐποίησεν τ[ὴν σκην-
κηνὴν καὶ τὸ ὑποσ]κήμιον τῇ πόλει [τῇ Ἰκου-
ρίῳ ἐπὶ Πο]υπίου πρεσβε[υτοῦ

XIII. *C.I.L.* iii. 13638: 'cippus magnus' at Konia (from Professor A. Körte = *I.G.R.R.* iii. 1471): it is taken by Mommsen as broken on right in 3, 4; but no information is given.

Iovi Optimo Ma[xi]m[o]
et Minervae Zizim[enae]
ἀπελευ[θ]ερος Φήλιξ . . .
Ζι]ζιμμηῆ καὶ Τύχη τ . . .

It is implied that nothing is lost between 1 and 2.¹¹⁴

Also *I.G.R.R.* iii. 260, from Heberdey (whose restoration disregards Körte's description of the stone as a stele).

Iovi optimo Ma[ximo]
Iunoni reginae e]t Minervae, Zizi[menae] deae Fortunae Aug
ἀπελεύθερος Φήλιξ [Διὶ Ὀλυμπίῳ καὶ Ἡρᾷ
καὶ Ἀθηνᾷ καὶ θεᾷ Ζι]ζιμμηῆ καὶ Τύχῃ Σε]βαστῇ

¹¹³ Cronin prints ΠΟΛΗ by a slip, as my first copy was his sole authority; both my copies have ΠΟΛΕ.

¹¹⁴ Mommsen prefers to accent Ζιζιμμηῆ

(presumably on the analogy of *Δινδυμήνη*, which had passed from the category of adjectives to that of personal names). In 2 he supposes a ligature of ET, perhaps rightly.

'Supplementa non satis certa sunt.' They are obviously impossible. The copies of the two distinguished scholars differ in three points, two being serious. 1. Körte sees part of M, which Heberdey misses: presumably this was due to varying delicacy of eye, or different conditions of light, 3. Körte has ἀπελέθερος, Heberdey ἀπελεύθ. *Praestat lectio doctior*: there always is a tendency to see the common and correct form, but the difficult reading is preferable: see my commentary. 4. Körte has T where Heberdey reads Σ. The latter is probably right, and the error might be easily made at the half-obliterated edge, where the mark - alone was clear. τ[οῦ κυρίου] is rather long, and κυρ. abbreviated is not very satisfactory.

The following commentary was written with *C.I.L.* alone before me. *I.G.R.R.* 260 is so diverse that I did not recognise it at first as the same text.

The interesting document elicited in *C.I.L.* is puzzling. It is a bilingual, and yet the Latin is remote from the Greek. The two halves do not correspond, and the name of the dedicator and the fact that he was a freedman are stated in the Greek, but are omitted from the Latin. The order 'freedman Felix' requires the name of the patron; but this is omitted. The Latin is dedicated to Jupiter and Minerva, whereas the Greek is dedicated to Athena and Good Fortune. The whole makes a document which is unparalleled among Graeco-Latin bilingual documents. The truth is that there was a second stone at the left containing about the same number of letters. Then the restoration emerges, which restores the document to the ordinary class of bilinguals with correspondence between Greek and Latin, exact except in one interesting point.

A (*lost*).

B (*copied by A. Körte*).

T · FLAVIVS · AVG · LIB · FELIX ·	IOVI · OPTIMO · M////////M[O · ET
GENIO · DOMINI · CAESARIS · N · E	T · MINERVAE · ZIZIM[MENAE ·
ΤΙΤΟC ΦΛΑΟΥΙΟC CΕΒΑCΤΟΥ	ΑΠΕΛΕ[ΘΕΡΟC ΦΗΛΙΞ ΔΙΙΑΡΙC
Τ Ω Μ Ε Γ Ι C Τ Ω Κ Α Ι Θ Ε Α Α Θ Η Ν	Α Ζ Ι] Ζ Ι Μ Μ Η Ν Η Κ Α Ι Τ Υ Χ Η Τ [Ο Υ Κ Υ Ρ ?

The size of the gap at the right-hand side of the lines is proved by the conclusion of the Greek, where it is necessary to restore τύχη τ[οῦ κυρ(ίου)],¹¹⁵ while the extent of the loss on the left is determined by the dedicant's name, which was given in complete form. The gaps must be of the same extent approximately in all four lines.

The Zizimene Mother in the Latin is Minerva, and must be Athena in the Greek.¹¹⁶ The inscription is earlier than the time when the native title of the goddess was reintroduced in the inscriptions, *i.e.* it belongs to the first century or the early years of the second century. The use of Latin shows that the author was a Roman; and the general character of the lettering

¹¹⁵ There is not room for κυρίου in full [probably Heberdey's σ[εβαστῆ] is right].

¹¹⁶ There was a tribe of Athena P[olias],

and Athena often occurs on coins and sometimes in inscriptions at Iconium.

(so far as this can be gathered from the type) points to the first century.¹¹⁷

The dedicator was Felix, a freedman [of the Emperor], and the Good Fortune which he invokes must be the Emperor's. With these conditions (which are obvious from the fragment that remains) the restoration is easy. Felix used Latin as his own familiar speech, but adds a Greek version, with the strange form ἀπελέθερος,¹¹⁸ in which the symbol υ disappears, as he pronounced the Greek word according to the modern fashion, giving to ευ the value EF, and this sound, having no Greek symbol to correspond to it, dropped out of the writing. Similarly in an epigram published by Miss Ramsay in *Studies in the Eastern Roman Provinces*, p. 47, the name Isaura is spelled Isāra, evidently because it was pronounced Isavra, and the V, having no Greek symbol to represent it, disappeared from the spelling.

Probably the date is under the Flavian dynasty, but the name of the Aelian or Julian family fits equally the required length. In one respect the Greek version differs from the Latin. The Greek enumerates the gods as Zeus, Athena and the Good Fortune of the Emperor, an order in agreement with Phrygo-Hellenic feeling; the supreme god and the goddess must not be separated. In the Latin the divine idea corresponding to the Good Fortune of the Emperor is lost. It came between Jupiter and Minerva. Now a freedman regarded the Genius of his master and patron as peculiarly sacred, and his most solemn oath was by his Genius, the impersonation of divine power most closely affecting himself. This imperial freedman therefore placed the Genius of the Emperor next to Jupiter O. M. In Greek Tyche Seb. seemed the best rendering of Genius Caes.

3. The name was (as usual in Greek) written in full, corresponding to the amount which has to be put into the gap at the beginning of the first Latin line. Felix undoubtedly was an official in charge of the Imperial interests on the estates (or some one of the estates) near Sizma, which extended probably to Egri-Baiyat (Kapo-Maia) or even Zazadin-Khan.

The restoration has been missed in *C.I.L.* solely because Mommsen gathered from the description of the stone as 'cippus' that the inscription must be almost complete; but 'cippus' is used in an elastic and hardly correct way. The stone was not free-standing, but part of a construction.

XIV. *C.I.G.* 3990 at Ladik, from Hamilton. This inscription has been treated frequently (*e.g.* Dessau, *Prosop.* iii. p. 499, No. 31, and *I.G.R.R.* iii. No. 249). These authorities assure the correct order of office, but miss the names of the dedicant and the governor, and need some improvements in spacing; also they do not observe the reason of Hamilton's few mistakes which are easily explained. I do not quote former texts.

In studying formerly the nomenclature of Lycaonia I was forced to the

¹¹⁷ Latin was used in municipal documents during the years immediately following the foundation of the colony c. A.D. 135; but

this is a dedication by an individual, not by the State.

¹¹⁸ I follow Körte, as stated.

conclusion that there was in the early first century a governor of Galatia named Calpurnius Piso Frugi.¹¹⁹ It was customary for provincials of high standing who were admitted to the Roman citizenship to take as their Roman name the *praenomen* and *nomen* either of the Emperor or of the provincial governor. In some cases they took both *nomina*, and the enfranchisement of the family can be traced in this way to an exact date.¹²⁰ Sometimes they took the *nomina* of two successive governors, perhaps implying that the enfranchisement took place in a year in which both governors were in office. The name of Frugi must be restored here. In the dedication he is not styled governor of the Province, but the government of Galatia naturally followed after the proconsulate of Macedonia, and there are various cases in which Anatolian inscriptions omit the present title, assuming that this was evident to all readers (e.g. in the province Asia, *O.G.I.S.* Nos. 465 and 466). In the province Galatia there was no official of senatorial rank except the governor.

If I am right in restoring the name of the new citizen, he was appointed high-priest in the imperial cult at Iconium under Tiberius by Calpurnius the governor, and he took two *nomina* from the reigning emperor and the governor, according to a common fashion.¹²⁰ He had a short second *cognomen*, his native name. Probably a high-priest in the imperial ritual was required to be a Roman citizen, and this special high-priest, a friend of the governor, was elevated to the *civitas* at the time of his appointment. A high-priest of the Emperor Tiberius at Iconium is mentioned, who, in his second year of duty, made a dedication to Pluto (published by Cronin from my copy in *J.H.S.* 1902, xxii. p. 119).¹²¹ He also was a Roman citizen, C. Julius Oarios, whose grecised name would probably have been Orestes, but who preferred to keep the old Lycaonian form (see pp. 131, 146, 169). I restore this name *exempli gratia* here in the form used at Korykos.

I.G.R.R. improves Dessau a little, but disregards the length of the lines. The number of letters which it shows in each line varies from seventeen to twenty-four,¹²² and in one case even twenty-eight. Such a restoration is impossible. In 14 the form appears certain and the number of letters is eighteen. 18, and probably 8, are also practically certain and contain eighteen letters. We therefore take eighteen as the normal number. In many cases the number is a matter of indifference as depending on abbreviation, but in several cases the exact length of the line determines the restoration, e.g. in 3 the article *τοῖς* must be omitted. The restoration

¹¹⁹ Calpurnius Asprenas, 68-72, is not sufficient to explain the facts. His full name was probably (L. ? Nonius) Asprenas Calpurnius (Torquatus): the last name often occurs in Galatia, but Serranus does not: see *Prosop. Imp. Rom.*

¹²⁰ The clearest example is M. Ulpius Pomponius, who gained the *civitas* when Pomponius Bassus was governor, c. 101 A.D., and whose son M. Ulpius Pomponius Superstes

was first duumvir of the new colonia Icon. c. 130.

¹²¹ There is an almost unrecognisable copy of the same inscription made by Diamantides and published from him by Sterrett, *E.J.* No. 241, without transcription. See p. 126.

¹²² The number 17 depends upon an inaccuracy in *I.G.R.R.* The number in this line should be 19.

of the personal names depends largely on the proper length of the line.

- λεύκιον? καλπούρνιον
 πείσωνα φροΥΓΕΙΔΕΚΑ
 ἀνδρῶν ἐπὶ ΠΡΑΓΜΑΣΙ
 δικασθησομένοιςΧΕΤ (!)
 5 λιαρχον πΛΑ[Τ]ΥΣΗΜΟΝ
 λεγ. δ' ? σκυθικῆ? ΣΤΑΜΙΑΝ
 ἀντιστράτηγΟΝΕΠΑΡΧΕ
 ιας ἀσίας? πρΕΣΒΚΑΙΑΝ
 τιστράτ. ἐπαρΧΕΙΜΑΚΕ
 10 δονίας δήμαρχΟΝΔΗΜΟΥ
 ῥωμαίων πρεΣΒΚΑΙΑΝΤΙ
 στράτ. ἐπαρΧΕΙΩΝΠΟΝΘ
 βιθυν. στρΑΤ-ΓΔΗΜΟΥΡΩ
 μαίων ἀνθύΠΑΤΟΝΜΑΚΕ
 15 δον. γ. ΙούλιοςΚΑΛΠΟΥΡ
 υιος ἄρισ? ΑΡΧΙΕΡΑΣΑΜ
 ενος ἐν πόλει ΕΙΚΟΝΙΩΕ
 τείμησε τὸν ΕΑΥΤΟΥΦΙ
 λον καὶ εὐεργέτηΝ

3. The limits of space do not admit either article. The genitive τῶν after ἀνδρῶν might be expected, but the dative after ἐπὶ would not make such good Greek. 4. The future participle is necessary both as a Greek rendering of the Latin gerundive and owing to the number of letters required. This is correctly put in *I.G.R.R.* and also by Magie¹²³: Dessau prefers the present participle. At the end, Τ is an error of Hamilton for Ι (see Introduction). 5. Hamilton omits Τ (a rare error on his part), misled by the resemblance to the following Υ. 12. The ligature ΝΤ was not observed by Hamilton (who would not omit a separate Τ between Ν and Ο). A small Υ, inside Ο, also escaped him. 13. Hamilton has ΑΤΤ. *I.G.R.R.* and Dessau restore the title. There was a ligature Τ-Γ which Hamilton misunderstood as ΤΤ.

The expressions *strategos* and *demarchos* δήμου Ῥωμαίων suit an early date, when Greek cities retained a sense of their own dignity and pointedly distinguished between their own *strategos* and the Roman. Frugi had not attained the consulship when he governed Galatia; this excludes the period c. 74–115 A.D. (unless he was merely a *legatus iuridicus*), but other considerations show the exact date. He served twice in Macedonia in offices which exclude the period 15 to 44 A.D. A fragment at Antioch, on which a

¹²³ *De iuris etc. vocab. in gr. serm. conversis*, p. 97.

brief commentary is published at the end of my article in the forthcoming number of *J.R.S.* 1916, mentions this same governor, and it is there shown that he governed Galatia under Tiberius. We conclude, therefore, that he quitted Macedonia and went to Galatia A.D. 12–15. Inasmuch as Tiberius was in the habit of leaving his provincial governors undisturbed for a long term of office, it may be supposed that Frugi remained long in Galatia, and on this account his name was used in a number of provincial families which attained the *civitas* at this time. There is no reason to think that the *civitas* was frequently bestowed under Tiberius, but there always were cases when families of high distinction were admitted to this honour.

This officer cannot be identical with I. Calpurnius Piso, proconsul of Asia in the early imperial time, who is mentioned at Pergamos (see Fraenkel, *Inschriften von Pergamon*, No. 425), at Mytilene (Paton, *Inscr. Mar. Aeg.* ii. 219) and at Stratonicea of Caria (*B.C.H.* 1881, p. 183). Two of the inscriptions omit the title, but the inscription of Mytilene mentions it.

XV. Heberdey-Wilhelm, *Reisen in Kilikien*, No. 183, furnishes welcome confirmation of a view which I have long entertained about old Anatolian religion. It is a dedication to Dionysos Archibachchos and the Mystai, and the epithet shows the god in the character of chief Bacchos (priest). The priests were Bacchoi, and the god is their leader and chief; in the ultimate view he is the first priest who revealed the whole ritual to his successors. He is also probably the mythical ancestor of the priestly family (No. VI.); but in this matter the only argument is analogy and probability. Similarly we may presume that at Pergamos Dionysos was the Archiboukolos, who originally practised the ritual, in which the management of oxen, the improvement of the breed, and all the useful practices in that occupation were set forth and enforced by religious sanction. The original meaning of the term Bacchos in Anatolia is uncertain, but it may be gathered from this dedication that the Mystai as they are initiated into the sacred rites become themselves Bacchoi and Galloi and Attabokaoi, etc. There was, of course, always a man as Archibachchos or Archiboukolos, just as there was a priest Archigallos; he represents on earth the god, who in heaven performs the same act which his priest is performing on earth. This ratification in heaven is shown fully in a relief at Koula in East Lydia (from Satala, published in my *Letters to the Seven Churches*, p. 63), and implied in a relief at Saghir, near Antioch, published in *Annual B.S.A.* 1911–12, p. 67 (see also pp. 144 f.).

XVI. *Ath. Mitt.* 1888, p. 233 (Ramsay). The first eighteen lines of this important inscription, giving a career of municipal office in the fourth century (a period when such records are very rare), were correctly published. 19–28 are an Appendix in smaller, shallower, wavering letters; the surface is in great part destroyed; and 22–26 were left unrestored.¹²⁴

¹²⁴ In the former publication the type did not show all the traces; and even in the zinc

I cannot imitate successfully the timid, sometimes slanting forms.

Calder and I recopied the stone in 1911, adding to the Appendix some parts of letters on the right.¹²⁵ The following rather bold restoration is proposed, following the natural drift of such an Appendix. First (1-18) Antonius and Frugi buried their father; later (19-28) Antonius alone buried in the same family tomb his wife Basilla, who left to him an only child aged five months.

ΕΤΙ ΔΕ ΕΓΩ Ο' ΑΝΤΩ.
 ΤΗ ΓΛΥΚΥΤΑΤΗ ΜΟ
 ΣΥΜΒΙΩΦΛ. ΒΑΣΙΛΛΗ
 ΔΑΜΙΑΝΟΥ Τ. Π. ΟΥ
 ΛΑΟΔ'. [προλε]ί[ψ]α-
 ΣΑΝ ΗΘΗΝ. [ι]πε
 ΤΑΜΗΝ. [ον, κληθείσα]ν
 ΕΣΠΕ. [ριπήσιον Κ]υρ(ίου)
 ΜΗ-ΜΗΣ [αίδίου και
 ΑΛΑΙ. [αυσεως

ἔτι δὲ ἐγὼ ὁ Ἄντῶ.
 20 τῇ γλυκυτάτῃ μὲν
 συμβίῳ Φλ. Βασίλλῃ
 Δαμιανοῦ [δ?] πολε(ίτου)?
 Λαοδ'. [προλε]ί[ψ]α-
 σαν μου[ογενῆ] πε-
 25 τάμην[ον, κληθείσα]ν
 ἐς πε[ριπήσιον Κ]υρ(ίου)
 μνήμης [αίδίου και
 ἀγα[παύσεως

23, 25. Difficulty is caused by the false sequence of cases. The participles are used in the accusative after the personal name in the dative. Similarly in 8 ff. participles in the nominative follow a noun in the dative. Syntax was neglected in epitaphs of the third and fourth centuries, e.g. the inscription in my *Bearing of Research on the New Testament*, pp. 358 f.¹²⁶

19. The mark of abbreviation which is regularly used elsewhere in the text is omitted here on the stone.

25, 26. The child's name might be restored here, but probably it is nameless, being only five months old. The traces would be fulfilled by, e.g., [Καλπόρν]ην followed by Ἐσπε[ράντιον] for Σπηράντιον, but this would not explain the letters at the end of 26, which are almost certainly part of [Κ]υρ(ίου), perhaps with free imitation of 2 Thess. ii. 14, ἐκάλεσεν . . . εἰς περιποίησιν δόξης Κυρ.; 'called to the obtaining of the everlasting memory and rest of the Lord.' The writer was cramped by space at the end of the stone, in which the letters are crowded up, and could not finish the name of the Lord. References to the words of the New Testament are rare in Lycaonian inscriptions. Some examples are given in my article on 'The Church of Lycaonia in the Fourth Century,' Nos. 41 f.¹²⁷; and others have been found. The frequent allusion to the reader of the epitaph, ὁ ἀναγιγνώσκων (also plural), recalls Rev. i. 3; and the common formula in the concluding anathema of epitaphs, τὸν μέλλοντα (once ἐρχόμενον) κρίνειν

¹²⁵ The printed text in *Ath. Mitt.* shows H in 24, but both copies (1886, 1911) agree that the symbol is M badly shaped.

¹²⁶ The reading προλεΐσασι [ἥπιον υἶδον]

πετάμηνον was tried, but does not suit the traces.

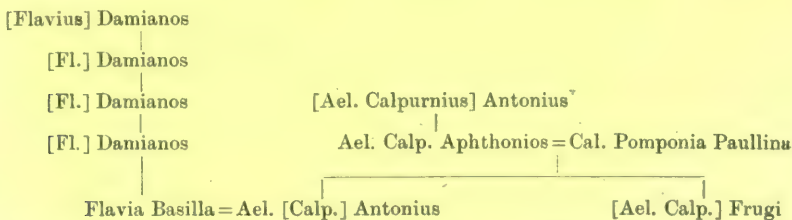
¹²⁷ *Luke the Phys. and other Stud. in Hist. Relig.*, p. 406 f.

ζώντας καὶ νεκρούς, goes back to 2 Tim. iv. 1, cp. Barnabas 7. The phrase about 'the hope of the future life'^{127a} recalls 'the hope of everlasting life' in Titus i. 2 and iii. 7; cp. Barnabas 1, also 2 Clem. v. 5; and see Schermann, *Texte u. Unters.* xxxvi. Heft. I b, pp. 23 and 27. Having CEB in mind at first in 26, we read certainly P followed by a mark (abbreviation?), and preceded by the corner of C or E or Y, probably Y.

The φυλαί of the Hellenised Laodiceia in the second century have disappeared, and pagi (the old Anatolian κῶμαι revived) take their place. The Latin term points to the continuing power of Roman organisation. The office of pagarch in 12 perhaps indicates not the headman of a village,¹²⁸ but a municipal officer charged with control of the pagi in the large territory of Laodiceia, where his duties would probably approximate in character to the eirenarchate of an earlier period. The pagarchia is mentioned after ἐξάκις πορεύσας (i.e. who six times acted as prosecutor *αινοναε*), and it would naturally facilitate the *prosecutio*. If pagarch in this career meant only 'headman of his village,' he is not annually elected, but permanent head of his pagus, which is an oriental and non-Hellenic feature. At any rate, the Hellenistic system is breaking up (as elsewhere in Anatolia), and a different system is taking its place, probably a revivification (with differences) of the ancient Anatolian village system.

The Roman names are still fairly well preserved in the inscription, so that it can hardly be later than the middle of the fourth century. We repeat in improved form the restoration proposed formerly for the last two lines, proving the Christian character apart from the conjecture in 23-6. The date is probably about 330 A.D.

The *stemma* of the family may be restored as follows, inserting in several cases the *nomina*, which, as being hereditary in the family, are not always stated. The cumulation of noble *nomina* indicates a family of long descent, uniting several Laodiceian houses, which obtained the *civitas* at various times.



22. The symbol after Δαμιανοῦ is either Δ (meaning as in pedigree)¹²⁹ or

^{127a} *Loc. cit.* and *Studies in the Eastern Roman Provinces*, p. 89; cp. 1 Pet. i. 13, iii. 17.

¹²⁸ The terms πρωτοκομητης and κῶμαρχος (κωμάρχης) are found in Lycaonian and Phrygian fourth century inscriptions. Read in 12, παγάρχη(s) or παγαρχή(σας). παγαρχία and πάγαρχος are known, but not παγάρχη nor

παγαρχία. The possibility must always be admitted that Pagarchia was placed last, as outside the municipal career, and implies only 'head of a village.'

¹²⁹ Δ is surpassed by E, *C.B.Phr.* No. 262. It can hardly stand for δ(εκουριῶνος), which is expressed by βου(λευτής) in 6 and often in

Α [(πρώτον) πόλε(ως) Λαοδ(ικείας): improbable], or Λ [unintelligible]: also ἀ(πὸ) πόλε. Λαοδ. is improbable: ΠΟΛΕ either πολε(ιτευσαμ. as in 9), or πολε(ίτου), or πόλε(ως).

XVII. Sterrett, *W.E.* 546. Olu-Borlu in the Kale. The rest of the letters are concealed from view.¹³⁰ No transcription has been published. The form of Σ was misrepresented in *W.E.*: see No. VI.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>ὁ δῆμος ὁ ἀπολλωνιατῶν
 Ετείμησεν ἀπολλώνιον δις ?
 Ολυμπιχου? τοῦ ἀρτέμωνος
 Τοῦ
 Τ ἀγωνοθετήσαντα ἀγῶ-
 5 ΝΑΣ σεβαστείουσ καὶ τοὺς λοι-
 ΠΟΥΣΤΡΕῖς ἐν τῇ πενταετηρίδι
 ΤΩΝΣΕΒΑΣτείων, ἀλείψαντα τὴν
 ΠΟΛΙΝΕΚΤῶν ἰδίων ἐξάμηνον ὁ-
 ΛΟΝΕΥΕργετήσαντα τὸν δῆμον</p> | <p>10 ΚΑΙΠΡΕΣβεύσαντα πρὸς γερμα-
 ΝΙΚΟΝΚαισαρα ἐν ἀνατολῇ, ἐκδι-
 ΚΗΣΑΝΤα δις, ἱερασάμενον θε-
 ΑΣΡΩΜΗΣ, ἐστιάσεις τε καὶ ἐπι-
 ΔΟΣΕΙΣΔόντα τῷ δήμῳ, ἐν πᾶσιν
 15 ΠΟΛΥΤΕΛῶσ καὶ φιλανθρώπως
 ΚΑΙΣΥΜφερόντως ἀναστρέφ-
 ΟΜΕΝΟΝ¹³¹</p> |
|--|--|

The first dignity mentioned after the personal name 1-3 must be some typical Greek honour: either it is an agonothesia, or a statement of victories in the great games by a distinguished athlete: restoration is possible on either supposition. In my first essay I preferred the latter form, but agonothesia is more probable (following Anderson). If my old restoration, [νικῆσαντα ἀγῶ]να[ς εἰσελαστικούς καὶ τοὺς λοι]ποὺς τρε[ιάκουτα ὀκτῶ ?, ἀρχιερέα] τῶν σεβασ[τῶν, κ.τ.λ., were adopted, it would separate the high-priesthood of the emperors from the priesthood of the goddess Rome. These two dignities were distinct foundations. The latter was probably instituted under the Republic to express the gratitude of the State for some Roman action by which the city had benefited, possibly the freeing of Apollonia from subjection to the Seleucid kings in 189 B.C., or the expulsion of the Mithridatic power. It was as much an act of prudence as of gratitude. Such as it was, this old priesthood lasted as late as the time of Tiberius. It is possible that a high-priesthood of Augustus, instituted when the statue to Lollius was erected (No. VI.), was transformed into an imperial priesthood after the idea of successive emperors was establishing itself in a public ritual under Tiberius.

8-13, which can be restored with confidence, establish the date and character: the person who was honoured had distributed oil (corn?) to the city at his own expense for a whole (year?), thereby being a benefactor of the people; he had gone as envoy to Germanicus Caesar (A.D. 19); he

Antioch in the fourth century, nor for δεκα-πρώτου).

¹³⁰ The stone should be found again: Sterrett thought it was complete.

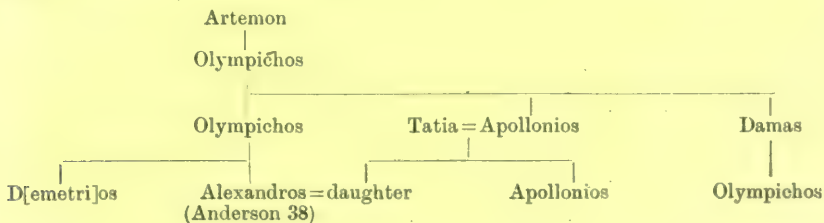
¹³¹ In 5 perhaps read ἱεροὺς μεγάλους; in 7

σ(ε)ιτεύσαντα?; 8 ἐνιαυτόν? or even τετράμηνον?; 11 ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ? δωρεάν is too short; 13 f. [δόντα ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος εἰς δ[ιανομὰς καὶ εὐωχίαν] πολυτελῶσ κ.τ.λ., or some such vague form, is possible.

had served as Ekdikos and as priest of the goddess Rome: the last duty probably ceased early under the Empire (Anderson, *J.H.S.* 1898, p. 97, who quotes *C.B.Phr.* Nos. 199, 302, 345, also p. 365 on this cultus at Eumeneia and Apameia).

If the restoration of 5 f. is correct, the reference must be to a period of four years in which there occurred some specially noteworthy and brilliant games called Augustan (Sebasteia). The name is common; but some special occasion is implied in the words 6-7, the Penteteris of the Sebasteia, viz., when games in honour of the deceased Augustus were celebrated. The event was probably connected with the erection in Apollonia of a monument containing the Greek version of *Res Gestae D. Aug.* This *Penteteris* would be about A.D. 15 to 20, when in four successive years four festivals with games were celebrated, one the funeral games of Augustus (*ἱεροὺς μεγάλους Σεβαστείου*).

This inscription should be compared with Anderson, *J.H.S.* 1898, p. 97, No. 37, where Demetrios, son of Olympichos, gymnasiarch and priest of Rome, went twice as ambassador to the Emperor, paying his own expenses, under the early Empire (as Anderson remarks). If the present inscription relates to the same person, Demetrios, son of Olympichos, it belongs to a later period of his life, when he had served the State much longer; but the identity is hardly possible, as the gymnasiarchia would hardly be omitted. Possibly Anderson's inscription relates to the cousin of the person mentioned here. Probably Demetrios went as envoy to Augustus twice; a member of the same family was envoy to Germanicus a generation later. The family was the most eminent and wealthy in Apollonia, and is mentioned also in L.W. 1195a (Sterrett, *W.E.* 518), and Anderson, *loc. cit.* No. 38; generations of a much later period also occur. The stemma may with liberal hypothesis be restored as



XVIII. *C.I.G.* 4007 (from Paul Lucas) is maltreated thus :

Ἔλιος Γάιος κατεσ[κ]ε-
 ύασε τὴν λάρνακα ἐαυτῷ κὲ γυ-
 νεκὶ αὐτοῦ Πιστῇ κὲ τέκνοις· ὃς
 δὲ ἂν ἕτερος [ἐπε]ισβιάσητε, ὑποκί-
 σετε τῇ πόλι δην . [. . . κὲ τῷ] φ[ίσκφ] ταῦτα.

In 1 the word omitted in *C.I.G.* is Λα[χ]ανᾶς, i.e. λαχανοπώλης; the name of the trade had become a personal cognomen. Sellers of green

vegetables would have a good business at Iconium on the dry plateau; the vegetables were grown in the gardens on the west side of the city.

In 2 the spelling *τήνγ λάρνακα* ought not to have been corrected (!) by the editors; it shows the Iconian pronunciation. In 5 the copy of Lucas is complete and correct, except that he has P for B; but it is badly handled in *C.I.G.* Read *δην. φ'. ό [β]λος ταῦτα*, with the common tag.

XIX. Heberdey-Wilhelm, *Reisen in Kilikien*, No. 179, a certain Tertios is commemorated in an epitaph by his mother and father and friends as 'a physician, a good interpreter of lovely knowledge,' *είητήρ αγαθός γνώμης καλής υποφήτης*. This expression has an appearance of Christian doctrine, and might be interpreted as referring not to the profession of medicine, but to that of religious instruction. In the third century Christianity had to be veiled in public documents. The poetic reference to the mansions of Hades in 4 is consistent with Christian origin,¹³² as is also the punishment invoked against violation of the tomb, which is purely legal and introduces no pagan religious power. The whole manner shows that the document belongs at latest to the third century, and it has the characteristic Anatolian variation between the first and the third person. The first six hexameters, very halting in their metrical character, speak of Tertios and his wife Ammas in the third person; the last four lines are expressed by 'me Tertios' practically in the form of a last will and testament.

Physicians are mentioned in various inscriptions of Anatolia, mostly late (cp. Sterrett, *W.E.* 407, 424). This and the next are doubtful.

XX. Sterrett, *W.E.* 253 (R. 1901).

	ANXA	[Πετρων]
	PHNAKOYIN	ία] Ἄνχα
	ΙΙΛΛΑΚ	ρηνα Κου ω
	ANXAPH	τ]ιλλα Κ.
5	ΝΩΠΕΤΡΩ	Ἄνχαρή
	ΝΙΩΤΩ ΚΑΙ	νφ Πετρ ω
	ANNIΩ	νίφ τφ και
	ΗΜΕΝ	Ἄν[η?]νίφ
	ΕΡΙΟΔΕ	Κλ]ήμεν [τι
10	ΙΕCΤΗ	π]εριοδε[ν
	ΚΑΙ	τ]ῆ ἔστη-
	ΙΟΙ/	σε] και
	ΥΕ///Ρ	

An expression of relationship, such as *ῆ θυγάτηρ*, is probably lost at the beginning. 7. There is a space between N and N, but no letter except,

¹³² *C.B.Phr.* ii. pp. 387, 518; Lebas, 2145; Leblant, *Insc. Chr. G.* ii. p. 406.

perhaps, a dot or hyphen, giving Anenius (Aninius). 7-8 *κεκλημένω* is not impossible. 11-13 were copied only by Sterrett; the stone suffered between 1885 and 1901. 13 *ε]νε[ργέτη]*?

Q. Petronius Ancharenus, otherwise called Aninius(?) Clemens,¹³³ was a practising physician at Lystra; *περιοδευτής* in this sense is mainly Christian,¹³⁴ and almost all the Lycaonian inscriptions that refer to physicians are Christian (see No. XIX.), but this epitaph has no appearance of Christian character or late date; the lost conclusion (which, perhaps, may be restored by some reader) might give further information. If *κεκλημένω* could be read, the meaning would be 'popularly called "the traveller."' ¹³⁵ The names indicate the aristocratic position of a leading colonial family at Lystra.

XXI. *Studies in the Eastern Roman Provinces*, p. 46, read *εὐμ(οί)ρ(ε)ι Παπία, καλὲ ὀπφικᾶλ[ι], οὐδ(ε)ῖς γὰρ ἀθάνατος*. Previously we imagined a feminine name Opphis. This rendering of the Latin *Officialis* is interesting: the title was pronounced by Isaurians in such a way that the second I became the spirant Y, for which Greek has no symbol. The very frequent use of the spirants W and Y in Anatolian speech caused great difficulty to Greek mouths and to Greek writers. The date can hardly be later than fourth century (as shown there).

XXII. *Studies*, etc., p. 41. The strange name *Κουζαπεας* or *Κουανζαφεας* recalls *Κοζαπίγραμς* in an inscription of Alexandria in Egypt, which contains only names from this region.¹³⁶ The first element is in its simplest form Koza, nasalised Konza and Kouanza (*i.e.* Kwanza). The second element, Pees or Phees, perhaps is a lengthening of Pas, one of a large group of monosyllabic names, such as Tas, Bas, Zas, Klous, Lous, Mos, Plous, Glous, Tous, and many others, sometimes reduplicated as Tottes, Tatas, Tetes, Dazas, Thouthous.

This class of names is sharply to be distinguished from the long compound names, involving names of gods like Tarku (Troko) or Ia, and unknown forms, possibly divine, such as Ros or Ro, Koza, Opra or Oura (which is local), Tarkundberras, Rondberras, Iazarmas, Trokozarmas, etc. The two classes of names belong to two strata of population. The compound names are the nobler in type, suited to a conquering people, while the simple names belong to the older population; but the two groups are mixed in a gradually unified population, and appear side by side in the great list of priests inscribed on the *anta* of the Korykian temple. The name Pigramis is involved also in Trokombigremis, Rombigremis. Many of the humbler

¹³³ The second Roman names may come from his mother.

¹³⁴ The word is quoted from Athanasius, of a doctor making his rounds (similarly the verb). It is also used of a spiritual visitor almost in the sense of *χωρεπισκοπος*: Canon 57 of *Synod. Laodic.* provides that in the villages and country districts not bishops but *περιο-*

δευταί should be appointed, in order to prevent the term bishop from falling into low esteem.

¹³⁵ See the *Thousand and One Churches*, No. 8, p. 518, and *C.B.Phr.* No. 420, *C.I.G.* 3920.

¹³⁶ Wilhelm, *Beiträge*, p. 224.

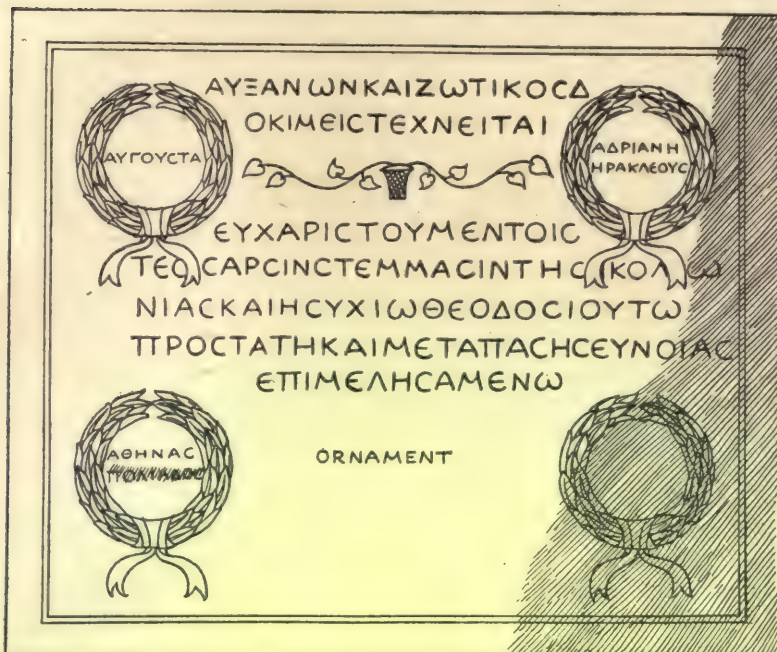
class of Anatolian names were taken over by the conquering Phryges, but not the aristocratic compounds: this seems to imply either that the humbler population lived on under the Phrygian domination, whereas the aristocratic families fled (or became thoroughly Phrygianised), or that the aristocracy of the south-east and the Taurus regions never conquered Phrygia proper, and probably came into Asia Minor only at or after the irruption of the Phryges. In the later period, when the word 'Phryx' meant slave, the old class of true Phrygian noble compound names, as found on the early royal tombs, disappears.

XXIII. *Studies*, p. 32. Keil and Premerstein (*Reise I. in Lydien*, p. 69) quote Savignoni in *Jahreshefte Oest.* vii. 1904, p. 79f, with regard to the meaning of the common ornament on Anatolian gravestones, two birds. They consider that these were not to be taken as pets of the deceased, but point to the continued life of the deceased in the Elysian fields, and they publish a good example on a tombstone at Philadelphia. That there is some mystical meaning in this ornament used so frequently in Isauria and Lycaonia on Christian tombstones may be taken as certain, as is proved by the familiar analogy of the fish (a common Isaurian and Lycaonian ornament on tombstones), which, as Origen says in his Commentary on Matthew xiii. 10, was *τροπικῶς λεγόμενος ἰχθύς*, caught upon the hook of Peter through its own kind intention. Usener, *Sintfluthsagen*, p. 227, and Bratke in *Texte u. Unt.* N.F. iv. p. 182, n. 3, also quote the expression that Mary 'hath a fish which is caught by the hook of divinity,' and the epitaph of Avireius about 192 A.D. speaks about the fish which a pure virgin caught.

XXIV. *C.I.G.* 3995 *b* (Iconium: from Hamilton).

ΑΥΞΑΝΩΝΚΑΙΖΩΤΙΚΟCΔ	Αὐξάνων καὶ Ζωτικὸς Δ-
ΟΚΙΜΕΙCΤΕΧΝΕΙΤΑΙ	οκιμῆς τεχνεῖται
ΕΥΧΑΡΙCΤΟΥΜΕΝΟΙC	εὐχαριστοῦμεν τοῖς
ΤΕCΑΡCΙΝCΤΕΜΜΑCΙΝΘΗΟΙΚΟC	τέσσαρσιν στέμμασιν τῆ[s] οἰκο[δο-
5 ΝΙΑCΚΑΙΗCΥΧΙΩΘΕΟΔΟCΙΟΥΤΩ	μ]ίας καὶ Ἡσυχίῳ Θεοδοσίου τῷ
ΠΡΟCΤΑΤΗΚΑΙΜΕΤΑΠΛΗCΕΥΝΟ	προστάτῃ καὶ μετὰ πλε[ίστ]ης εὐνο[ίας
ΕΠΙΜΕΛΗCΑΜΕΝΩ	ἐπιμελησαμένῳ

This text, as given in *C.I.G.*, is meaningless. I give a drawing of the stone as it was seen by Hamilton, necessarily conjectural; for all restorations are conjectural, until they are proved by rediscovering the stones. Some day this stone will be found in pulling down an old house at Konia; and perhaps there may be someone there to see and take note; but the only person in the city that interested himself in inscriptions, our practised Greek servant, either is killed or has succeeded in making his way to the British lines. The restoration and interpretation here proposed seem certain and self-evident:



'Auxanon and Zotikos, Dokimian artists,

we express our gratitude to the four stemmata that constitute the Colonia and to Hesyehios, (tribal) prostates and who has superintended¹³⁷ the work with all goodwill.'

The circumstances in which the dedication was erected are evident. Two artisans from Dokimion¹³⁸ were employed by colonia Aelia Hadriana to do certain skilled work. They, having the artist feeling, did not speak merely through words to the mind; they also appealed to the eye in artistic forms. When they mention four crowns, they presented them to the eye, as shown in the zinc, in the four corners of the monument: that position is deduced from the fact that the lines varied in length, being written partly in the free space in the middle, and partly in the narrower space between the pairs of crowns. The monument begins at the top in shorter lines between the two top crowns, and ends in one short line between the two lower crowns.¹³⁹ This monument was not merely an expression of gratitude

¹³⁷ On *καί* compare No. VIII. 1. 2.

¹³⁸ Stonecutters or artists, trained at Dokimion to do high-class work in any kind of marble, were widely employed. At Pisidian Antioch in the second century B.C., Menander, son of Diogenes, of Dokimion signed his name on the seat of a statue of Zeus rather larger than human size (the ordinary type of Zeus seated, as on coins of the Seleucid and other kings). Dokimian workmen were employed

at Laodiceia (*Ath. Mitth.* 1888, p. 237). References to the use of Dokimian marble occur at Apollonia (*C.I.G.* iii. 3973; *L.W.* 1192) and at Hierapolis (*C.I.G.* iii. 3922).

¹³⁹ Of course, the final line is often short, apart from any constructional reason. I have, however, placed it between the crowns symmetrically, as this was likely to suit the taste of the artists.

to some body of persons (misunderstood in *C.I.G.*) and to the overseer: it was also a trade advertisement, and as such it was put in an attractive and striking form, as a specimen of the high-class work done by the artists.

The meaning is clear, when the form of the advertisement is placed before the reader's eye. The monument stood in the quarter or district occupied by the tribe of which Hesyehios was prostates. The four garlands constitute the *colonia*, because there were four tribes in the city, and each occupies a garland.¹⁴⁰ This somewhat affected expression was evidently considered by the writers a proof of good style, and they wished to show that they were not ignorant of the refinements of Greek. The artisans had been employed in the construction or adornment of some public work; and, according to the regular custom, an overseer was appointed to superintend and be responsible for its proper execution. The superintendent (*ἐπιμελητής*, *ἐργεπιστάτης*) was Hesyehios, the headman of one of the tribes.¹⁴¹ Whether l. 5 was complete or some short word was lost at the end (as is suggested by the drawing) remains uncertain.

We gather from the inscription that the population of Iconium was divided into four tribes. This was the 'Old Ionian' (and Anatolian) classification, which, as applied to Athens, is described by Strabo in such a way as to prove its character: it is the ancient Asiatic classification into four occupations, priests, warriors, agriculturists and artisans.¹⁴² That it came from the Eastern side of the Aegean Sea with Ionian settlers into Attica is well known, and Strabo as an Anatolian is a good authority. Unfortunately, Hamilton has not the names of the tribes, because the garlands had been defaced before he saw the stone. They were of course in relief, and they were chiselled away to adapt the stone to some structural purpose by modern,¹⁴³ or possibly Byzantine, masons. The date of the monument is undoubtedly not very long after the foundation of the *colonia*, 130-135 A.D.

It is possible, but not probable, that the double use of *stemma*, in the sense of a garland and of pedigree, might be in the mind of the two artists when composing their quaint expression of gratitude. The word *stemma*¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁰ On many honorary monuments the name of a tribe was engraved within a garland.

¹⁴¹ The title Prostates was used both in Iconium and in Laodiceia.

¹⁴² Strabo, p. 383. Plutarch, *Solon* 23, has lost the essential character; but the German authorities prefer Solon, and accuse Strabo of error. Elsewhere, the history of the words *Geleontes* and *Aigikoreis* will be discussed. Plato, *Tim.* 24, *Crit.* 110, confirms Strabo. *Aigikoreis* are *Aigi-kaeis*, goat-priests, like *Attabokaoi* at Pessinous (*attáwo*, *ἄττηγος*, the goat, *Attes* the *archiattegos*: cp. No. XV.).

¹⁴³ In modern Turkey these masons are practically always Greeks: I know one exception alone, and his work was done without

mortar, though in this class of construction he was skilful. The ordinary Turkish mason can do only very rude rough work. The masons hack away projecting parts, if they pride themselves on their skill. The rude Turk leaves the stone as he finds it.

¹⁴⁴ How did *stemma* come to mean pedigree, as is usual in Latin? Examples occur even in Greek (*Eur. Andr.* 895; *Plut. Vit. Num., Init.*). The supposition that genealogical connexion was indicated by woollen threads, as repeated in and from German authorities, does not convince. Was it that, in a pedigree roll, the names (or the chief names) were put within garlands? *Stemmata quid faciunt etc.* in Juvenal acquires increased vividness on this supposition.

might be used on the popular theory that a tribe springs from a definite ancestor according to the common genealogical fiction. Certainly in various cases the tribes in a Hellenic city of Greece or Asia Minor had an ethnic character, and one nationality was often enrolled in a special tribe. This classification was often carried out in a very arbitrary fashion; e.g. Josephus mentions that all the Jews in Syrian Antioch were enrolled in the tribe Makedones, which was of course the most honourable of all in a Seleucid city. There is no improbability in the supposition that each of the four tribes in Iconium possessed theoretically a certain ethnic character, e.g. that all Roman citizens were assigned to one tribe, that all the old Phrygian population were assigned to a second tribe, and so on; but this principle would be a later innovation, for the old Asiatic and Anatolian division was by occupation.

While it is evident that the advertisement of the two artists was ornate and intended to strike the public eye and please the public taste, the ornament remains conjectural. All that we can say with confidence is: (1) the crowns occupied the four corners; (2) there was an elaborate border surrounding the whole panel, and also some ornament in the middle, of which we have suggested in the zincotype one probable feature. A common class of ornament on gravestones in Lycaonia and Isauria shows two vines or trailing plants growing out of a central vase. The natural place for this ornament would be between 2 and 3, separating the names of the artists from the rest of the advertisement, and thus giving prominence to them.

In 4 the restoration in *C.I.G.* is impossible. It gives no meaning, and alters Hamilton's copy in unlawful degree: he is not apt to omit letters, and he would not mistake N for M. In 6 *C.I.G.* restores $\pi\lambda\epsilon[\iota\sigma\tau]\eta\varsigma$, assuming that Hamilton missed out three letters without indicating the loss, an error to which he is not liable. To restore the usual formula needs only two slight and permissible corrections.

Two of the tribes of Iconium are mentioned in an imperfect inscription (of which only the concluding part remains) published by Wiegand in *Ath. Mitt.* 1905, p. 325 (copied also by me in 1905); and if, as is probable, all the four were mentioned, Athena Polias¹⁴⁵ and Augusta were last in the list. A third tribe is mentioned in another inscription, viz. Hadriane of Herakles. It is possible that the *prostates* of each tribe was required to be a Roman citizen. That of course was necessary after the city was made a colonia, but even earlier this important position was perhaps entrusted to a *civis*: offices like the headship of the four philosophic schools in the University of Athens, and the administration of the Museum at Alexandria, must be filled by *cives* (as was provided by a decree which probably dates from Augustus, though it was relaxed by Hadrian in respect of the chief of the Epicurean School

¹⁴⁵ The tribe of Athena is in genitive: Zeus is so frequently named on coins and compare $\phi\upsilon\lambda\eta\ \Delta\iota\acute{o}\varsigma$ at Amorion. The missing tribe at Iconium was perhaps ($\phi\upsilon\lambda\eta$) $\Delta\iota\acute{o}\varsigma$, as inscriptions.

in a decree which has been commented on by various scholars, *e.g.* Mommsen, *Gesammelte Schriften Jurist.* iii. p. 50).

A good example of the use of an inscription as the advertisement of an enterprising professional man occurs at the sanctuary of Men above Pisidian Antioch. The most conspicuous of many dedications to the god which are engraved at the outer wall of the sanctuary, within view of the processions or of single visitors, was placed by the physician Hygeinos. It is engraved in larger characters than any other, and is so placed on the side of a buttress that everyone who approaches the sanctuary from the city must see it. It was evidently designed to increase the medical practice of Hygeinos in the city, but it takes the form simply of an expression of his gratitude and devotion to the god. Again it is well known that certain of the general anathemas, consigning to the gods of the lower world anyone who fails to return a certain lost article to its owner, were really advertisements of lost property; and No. XXIX. gives a further illustration of the custom.

Such then was the real character of the gratitude expressed by the two artisans of Dokimion. It expresses a lively hope of future favours from the State or from individual citizens of the Colonia Iconiensium.

XXV. *C.I.G.* 3990b at Ladik: also *Ath. Mitt.* 1889, p. 239, No. 12 (Ramsay), is repeated here, because the errors in *C.I.G.* can be in part corrected, but still more in order to direct the attention of scholars to the problem of restoring l. 7, where a short word containing from two to four letters is required. I can think of no suitable word beginning with the letter Σ, the only one that survives in Hamilton's copy: I have seen only the right-hand part; Hamilton saw both fragments at a fountain. The most natural supposition is that the word which is lost specified the total number of the tribes, implying that the entire State, as consisting of a certain number of tribes, erected the honour to Επαγαθος. Possibly Hamilton erred in the first letter and Σ should be corrected either to Ε, implying *ἑπτά* or *ἕξ*, or to Δ, implying *δέκα*.

Α]ἴλιον [N]αίουι- ο]ν Ἐπ[άγ]αθον ἀ- γορα[νο]μήσαν- τα ἐνδ[όξ]ως υἱὸν 5 Αὐρ. Τρ[αία]νοῦ οἱ	προστ[άτ]αι φυ- λῶν Σ . . . τὸν ἐ- αυτῶν [πά]τρωνα 9 καὶ εὐε[ργ]έτην. ¹⁴⁶
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The nomen Naevius (Νέουιος) is given at Antioch (Sterrett, *E.J.* No. 150); but Calder in *J.R.S.* 1912, p. 89, Ramsay, *J.R.S.* 1916, *ad fin.*, read Νόουιος.

XXVI. As I have been obliged to differ from Professor Wilhelm in regard to the interpretation of No. VI., I add that his *Beiträge* has taught me much; but it is more instructive in respect of Greek than of Anatolian

¹⁴⁶ Formerly I suggested [Πότ]λιον instead of Αἴλιον. The space does not permit, and

Αἴλιον is assured from a newly found text.

inscriptions.¹⁴⁷ Where the Greek spirit rules, there his suggestions are extremely valuable, but the mixture of Greek and Anatolian thought does not appeal to him, and his corrections are sometimes deteriorations of the text, leading in a false direction. In this Graeco-Anatolian world he does not always fix on the right, or detect the point where error has crept in. I mention two cases.

J.H.S. 1902, p. 349, published by Cronin, is practically re-written in his *Beiträge*, p. 221, and the correct first half of the text is mangled.

ΥΑΛΕΡΙΟΥΣ ΦΡΟΝΩΝ
 ΦΙΛΗΤΗ ΜΑΡΣΟΥΛΛΗ
 ΕΙΘΙΜΕΝ ΖΩΦΡΟΝΩΝ
 ΤΟΥ ΤΑΦΟΥ ΑΤΟΝ ΕΡΙ
 ΒΟΛΟΝ ΕΧΕΙΝ
 ΔΕΞΕΟΥΣΙΑ
 ΝΤΙΝΑΔΟΥ
 ΛΟΜΑΙΔΕ
 ΠΡΟΣΟΔ
 ΟΜΕΤΑ
 ΕΚΝΩ

Cronin.

Ο]υαλέριος Φρόν[τ]ων
 Φιλ]ήτη Μαρσούλλη
 θ]ειώ μὲν ζῶν φρονῶν
 τὸν τάφον καὶ τὸν περι-
 βολον· ἔχειν
 δὲ ἐξουσία-
 ν ὄ]ντινα βού-
 λομαι δὲ
 πρόσσοδον [μ]ετὰ
 τ]έκν[ων

The meaning is 'I Valerius Fronto consecrate to Phileta Marsulla the grave and the surrounding precinct, etc.' Wilhelm substitutes [ύ]ειώ, and looks out for a son, whom he finds through the supposition of a false reading on Cronin's part. No progress can be expected in elucidating the inscriptions of Central Anatolia so long as scholars, instead of understanding the ancient formulae and local customs, resort to conjecture: 'when you do not understand the words, alter the text,' is not a safe method. It is admitted that the flood of conjectures which has been poured forth upon the Greek authors has been in large degree harmful, and that little progress can be made in this way. The same applies in respect of inscriptions: it is sometimes necessary to resort to conjecture, but the limits should be set as narrowly as possible, and the principles should be defined. By conjectural alteration of existing copies anything can be produced, and only error will be achieved. On the other hand, in the latter part of this inscription Wilhelm's suggestion is perhaps correct, because he accepts Cronin's copy and fills up the gaps in allowable fashion; and I would almost withdraw my own restoration in his favour.

¹⁴⁷ In respect of Anatolian antiquities and expression it stands in contrast to the admirable work of Keil and Premerstein, who have studied Anatolia carefully.

Still I give my highly conjectural text (agreeing in 1-4 with Cronin) and Wilhelm's side by side:—

	Ο]υαλέριος Φρόν[τ]ων	Ο]υαλέριος ¹⁴⁸
	Φι]λήτη Μαρσουλλη	Ούά]λητ[ι] Μαρσουλλη [ύ-
	θ]ειῶ μὲν ζῶν φρονῶν	ειῶ μὲν ζῶν φρονῶν
	τὸν τάφον καὶ τὸν περι-	τὸν τάφον καὶ τὸν περι-
5	βολον· ἔχειν [μηδέ-	βολον· ἔχειν
	να] δὲ ἐξουσίαν [πλήν	δὲ ἐξουσίαν
	ἐά]ν τινα βού[ληθῶ· ἐπαγ-	ῶ]ντινα βού-
	γέλ.]λομαι δὲ [μένει-	λομαι. (βούλομαι) δὲ
	ν ἄ]προσόδ[ευτον τὸν	Πρόσοδ-
10	τόπ]ον μετὰ τ[ελευτήν	ον μετὰ τ
	τῶν τ]έκνῳ[ν μου	έκν(ω)ν

I was inclined at first to prefer Wilhelm's restoration of 7-11 as shorter rather than my own, in accordance with the canon of Godfrey Hermann (quoted already on No. XII., p. 169); but his arrangement rouses suspicion, because it makes the lines very short at the end, and it ignores the probability that at least one letter is lost at the beginning of 10. It is, of course, possible that an inscription on a round cippus should trail off into short lines at the end, but such arrangement is unusual. It seems, therefore, permissible for me to suggest a possible reading on the supposition that the lines were of the same length throughout. On the other hand my restoration in 6 places δέ third, an unusual order.

Further, with regard to Wilhelm's text in the last lines there seems to be a distinct improbability that on the gravestone of his wife Phileta Marsulla he should express his desire that Prosodos also should be buried there with children, for Prosodos would have to be interpreted as a concubine. There is no possibility of regarding her as a second wife added in an appendix (cp. No. XVI.), for the whole is written by one hand. I remember no similar case, and the suggested reading seems incongruous with the feeling shown in epitaphs of this country. It would be in keeping with analogy that a separate tomb should be prepared for Prosodos. Of this I have met several examples.

Wilhelm is gently sarcastic about Cronin's text, wrongly taking *θειῶ* as equivalent to *θεῶ*! Cronin was surely justified in believing that any epigraphist would understand *θειῶ* as the ordinary form of *θειόω*, but this assumption was evidently mistaken. The marks at the end of l. 2 are not part of Y (as Wilhelm assumes). Incidentally it may be noted that the use of this verb implies some ceremony of purification and fumigation which was performed to consecrate the tomb. The tomb is the temple and residence of the new god and must be treated with every respect according to an established ritual.

Wilhelm finds fault with Cronin for saying that the letter T is perhaps on the stone, without indicating it in his epigraphic text. It is not easy to

¹⁴⁸ Wilhelm seems doubtful whether *φρονῶν* (repeated by error in 3) or *Φρόντων* should be read.

get type to indicate the mere possibility of a ligature; even in the zinc I find it difficult to attain this result. Wilhelm does not, however, explain how the feminine Marsulla can be a second name of Valens whom he conjures up in 2. I take it as a grecoised feminine from Marsus.

The last seven lines present great difficulty on account of their irregularity. The stone is a round rough cippus without ornament, and the surface is much injured. There was no trace of lost letters on the right, but I noted that certainly letters are lost on the left in 1, 2, 7-10, and, considering the state of the cippus, it seems possible that some letters have been lost on the right, although no appearance remains that they were there, except in 10 f.

The verb *προσδεύομαι*, 'gain an income from,' is quoted from Strabo, Philostratos, and Josephus, and the expression *προσδοεούμενα χρήματα*, with regard to money received as income, is also used. Josephus, *Ant.* xv. 5, 3, has the expression *γῆ προσδοεομένη*, 'land from which profit is gained.' In the present inscription there was a plot of land (*ὁ τόπος*) and a sepulchral building of some kind upon the land; such a *τόπος* is mentioned in many epitaphs. Sepulchral inscriptions are to be looked upon as testamentary regulations with regard to property. The *τόπος* might be turned to profit by growing *λάχανα* for sale in the city (see No. XVIII.), but this, according to my proposed restoration, was forbidden in the testament of Valerius Fronto even after the death of his children. It can well be imagined that the respect paid to a grave and its surroundings would diminish in the lapse of time, and that while there was little danger that the land should be used as a kitchen-garden during the lifetime of the children of Fronto, he was anxious to guard against profanation in a later generation. Even although the plot of land continued in the possession of his family, he dreaded that his later heirs should turn the land to profit; and in the neighbourhood of a great city there was a temptation to grow vegetables for sale.¹⁴⁹

The shape of the lettering leaves no doubt in my mind that the inscription belongs to about 90 A.D., and Valerius Fronto belongs to a family which took its name from officials of the province of Galatia. Hirrius Fronto Neratius Pansa governed Galatia-Cappadocia 78-80 A.D. His cognomen Fronto occurs very often, and both Neratius and Pansa are also used in South Galatia.

XXVII. Wilhelm, *Beiträge*, p. 222, No. 223, quotes an inscription from my *C.B.Phr.* p. 157, No. 67, *εἰ δέ τις τὴν στήλην καθελεί ἢ μανίσσει, ἔξει τοὺς θεοὺς ἐναντίους*: and says that he has shown (*A.E.Mitt.* xx. 86) the true reading to be [*ἀφ*]ανίσσει; but in that place he merely puts the question whether the one word should be substituted for the other. The question grew into a proof in the mind of the distinguished scholar as time passed.

The inscription is on a small marble tablet and is perfectly preserved. I never saw an inscription in more perfect condition. Seeing a word new to me, I naturally examined it with most scrupulous care and can guarantee the reading. It might be supposed that there was an error of the stonecutter;

¹⁴⁹ Flowers or vegetables in grave-plots at Akmonia, *Rev. Et Anc.* 1901, p. 275 (read *προ[ο]μείειν πρὸς*), *C.B.Phr.* ii. p. 563.

this is possible, but (as I think) improbable, because it reads two alternative verbs both meaning 'to destroy.' Now the common custom was to guard against destruction or injury. The first verb *καθαίρειν* sufficiently guards against destruction, and the second verb should be some word indicating slight injury, not a word implying total destruction.^{149a} It is true that *ἀφανίζειν* is used in the sense of 'to obliterate' or 'obscure,' but these cases, so far as I have examined them, seem hardly to justify in this place the translation 'to disfigure.' If, however, that translation could be justified, then the alternative would be good, as the prohibition would be against the destruction or disfiguring of the *stèle*. The question, however, is whether there results from Wilhelm's conjecture sufficient improvement to justify the hypothesis that the engraver made an error. Except on really serious grounds mere hypothesis ought to be avoided.

I therefore maintain that the reading as published is correct, and not an error of the stonemason. Although the verb does not occur elsewhere, the adjective from which it is derived in quite correct fashion is used in Attic prose. It is possible that the use of *μυρίζειω* in a Phrygian epitaph was encouraged by the use of a similar word in the Phrygian dialect. The Phrygian language was probably spoken in the district at the time, though Greek had established itself in all known written documents (often hardly intelligible Greek).

XXVIII. *J.H.S.* 1883, p. 424. I may be permitted to call attention once more to the epitaph of St. Aberkios (Avircius Marcellus), as it continues to be restored by some on the supposition that Sterrett and I misread it in one important detail: it is stated that, inasmuch as the Η (which we read in *Βασιλῆ[αν]* l. 2) comes at the edge of an old break in the stone and is non-existent now, therefore there can have been no Η on the stone in 1883. This argument is emphasised by Monseigneur Duchesne and by others; but, if they had more experience of the fate of marbles in Asia Minor, they would know that a heavy stone like this could not be carried by Turks nearly thirty miles across the mountains to the railway and then transported by rail and steamer to Rome without the edges suffering slightly. Now we read on the stone quite certainly in 1883 the left-hand half of the letter Η. It was not Ε, because there were no cross strokes at top and bottom, only the beginning of a cross stroke in the middle. As the Η was certain, and as the text had to be reproduced by type, I thought it best to give the letter complete in order to avoid uncertainty. This ought to have been stated in the text of my article, but it is not easy in writing a long article amid many impediments to remember everything, and I had only scanty opportunity of correcting proof sheets in those days. The article was merely a first sketch of a future book (now published in part as *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*). The most important thing at that time seemed to be to place before the public, even in a form far

^{149a} The alternative *ἀνορύξει ἢ ἀφανίσῃ* (τὸ *μνήμα*) is correct (*B.C.H.* 1888, p. 33), as stating two widely diverse ways of violating the grave.

from satisfactory to myself, the numerous discoveries that were made from day to day. This I explained at the time in private letters to various scholars interested, but the false opinion, having been established by such high authority as that of Monseigneur Duchesne, maintains itself in some circles. When Sterrett and I found this stone in 1883, directing our journey specially (see *J.H.S.* 1882, p. 351) to look for the hot springs produced by the Saint's prayer, and well aware of the exceptional importance of his epitaph, we were not inclined to neglect the reading. We arrived late and camped beside the hot springs, which the Saint is said in the legend to have produced by his prayers, and whose existence was the confirmation of my published argument. Sterrett, being first ready in the morning, looked into the bath-house, and reported that there was inside only one fragment of a 'written stone.' We took breakfast, happy to have discovered the hot springs and proved the historical character of the Saint. Soon we had a joyful surprise, for that stone was the altar that stood over the Saint's grave. Sterrett had never seen the inscription composed by the Saint and preserved in his legendary biography, whereas I had written about it, and knew it by heart, though I had never even ventured to hope that we should be so fortunate as to find it. At a glance I recognised the familiar words, and we devoted a long time and the utmost care to getting every scrap of information about the text that could be obtained. In these circumstances I have no hesitation in saying that the reading ΒΑΣΙΛΗ is certain, and all discussion must start from this.

XXIX. *J.H.S.* 1884, p. 253: at Kara-Hodja, 5 miles S.E. of the hot springs, now Merkez (Headquarters) of the Haimané: *Θερμά Μυρικιών*.¹⁵⁰ The surface is worn and part of the text obliterated. To the epitaph of Stabilia her husband engraved the following remarkable appendix. The text illustrates excellently the principles of this article; the copy by Sterrett and myself is right and my distrust of our accuracy concealed one remarkable feature of a unique inscription.

Στατειλία ζῶσα προνοῦσα παραθήκην ἔδωκε τινι ΕΡΕΑΝ π[ρά]σινον καὶ ψέλλια δύο ἀργυρᾶ· κα[ν] μὴ ἀποδιδῆ, "Οσιον Δίκεον, "Ηλιε Κύριε, ὑμεῖς ἐκ[δ]ικήσατε αὐτὴν νεκρὰν καὶ τὰ τέκνα ζῶντ[α].¹⁵¹

Stabilia died after pledging (as security for a loan, doubtless) an emerald and two silver armlets with 'a certain person,' whose name, as I fancied, was intentionally concealed, but on whom divine vengeance was invoked if the pledge were not returned. I conjectured that an adjective describing the emerald was misread. Buckler justifies the copy and makes the text vastly more important by reading ἔδωκε τὴν ἰέρεαν.¹⁵² The jewelry was pledged with

¹⁵⁰ *H.G.A.M.* pp. 226, 222. The form is doubtful: it was the seat of St. Agapios. The resemblance Merkez-Myrika seems accidental, as the Hammam was made Merkez of the Kaimmakamlık only about 1880.

¹⁵¹ I change the published spelling to follow exactly that on the stone. IM was a

ligature of NM, misread in the copy. Λ was misread instead of Δ.

¹⁵² I change his text in one detail, as stated later. Perhaps TIN should be 'corrected' to TFN, τ[η]ν; but it is safer to follow the copy. E for εἰ in ἰέρ(ε)αν.

'the priestess' of the local sanctuary at the hot springs, the seat of the Anatolian Mother. The priestess is not named because she acts in her official capacity, *i.e.* the loan was made by the temple on security, and a copy of the deed was kept by each party. When Statilia died, the transaction was recorded on her tomb, her new home, where she speaks to all. This form of appeal was to Anatolian feeling the most solemn adjuration, but usually it was written on lead and placed in the grave.

That temples engaged in finance on a large scale has long been known; this epitaph proves that they did not despise the humbler rôle of a Mont de Piété on the central plateau, the goddess's own land. Buckler prefers ἔδωκε ἰ τὴν ἱέραν, taking ἰ for ἰς (εἰς): he quoted four cases of suppression of final sigma (one in the case of εἰς) in *J.H.S.* 1917, p. 93. I cannot follow him in this one detail. (1) It is true that final sigma sometimes disappears, as he has shown, but εἰς does not drop σ before the article; on the contrary, the σ there had strong vitality (while the vowel often disappeared as in Stangia, Stambol, etc.); cp. εἰς τὰς εἴκοσι on the 20th day of the month, a common late expression. (2) The use of double accusative instead of accusative and dative is common in Central Anatolia from *c.* 200 or earlier. Examples are collected in my *Studies in the Eastern Roman Provinces*, p. 278: they could be much more than doubled now. This usage was a symptom of growing confusion of the cases. Whereas the force of the tenses was well observed in late Anatolian Greek inscriptions, the cases were jumbled; cp. No. XVI.

This Appendix in Buckler's text suggests so many interesting lines of thought that I cannot enter on them at the end of a long paper. I only confirm what was said in the previous publication and add that the divine power is appealed to impersonally as "Ὄσιον Δίκαιον."¹⁵³ This power is often mentioned personally in both singular and plural; it exemplifies and thereby teaches men the principles of right conduct towards the dead and the living. The all-seeing witness Sun is often appealed to as avenger of crimes, cp. *Domine Sol tu iudices eius mortem* quoted by Leblant *Inscr. Chrét. de la Gaule* i., p. 290, from Ficroni *la Bolla d'Oro*, p. 38: also *Studia Pontica* iii. No. 258, p. 229, and *C.B.Phr.* No. 187 (in the latter Buckler justifies my copy against my 'correction,' reading Γῆ Ἀλο(ί)που γυναικί).

W. M. RAMSAY.

¹⁵³ Acts xvii. 29: τὸ Θεῖον.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire : Papyrus grecs d'époque byzantine. Par M. JEAN MASPERO. Tome III. Pp. xxxvi+260, with 8 Plates and Portrait of the Editor. [Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte.] Le Caire : Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1916.

When the late Jean Maspero began the catalogue of which the present is the concluding volume, he intended to include in it all the papyri of the Byzantine age (an age which, contrary to the usual contemporary practice, he dates from A.D. 395) in the Cairo Museum ; but it appears from the introduction to the present volume that this intention was subsequently abandoned, perhaps in consequence of the editor's removal from Egypt to France. In any case the third volume would actually have been the last to be produced by him ; for while it was passing through the press the war broke over Europe, and seven months later, on February 17, 1915, the gifted editor, who had already done so much valuable work and gave such promise of yet more, fell, at the age of twenty-nine, in the French attack on Vauquois. In the three volumes of his catalogue are included, not all the papyri of the Byzantine period as defined by him, but only the sixth-century papyri from Kôm Ishgau (Aphrodito), the first, though by far the largest, of the three groups into which, in the Introduction to his first volume, he divided the Cairo Byzantine papyri. Jean Maspero did not live to see the publication of volume iii. It was issued under the supervision of his father, Sir Gaston Maspero, so soon to follow him to the grave, who has prefixed to it a most interesting memoir of his son, with extracts from his diary during the war and two specimens of his poems, besides a bibliography of his work.

It is a testimony to the wealth of the Kôm Ishgau find that this third bulky volume of texts drawn exclusively from it, in addition to the numerous papyri of the same provenance at Florence, London, and elsewhere, shows no falling off in interest as compared with the two earlier volumes. It contains several texts of quite unusual interest ; the most remarkable is 67295, previously published separately by the editor, the principal text in which is the *ἀντιρρητικοὶ λιβέλλοι* of Horapollon son of Asclepiades, a professor of philosophy at Alexandria, whom Maspero identifies, no doubt correctly, with the pagan philosopher mentioned by Suidas and others, the reputed author of an extant treatise on the hieroglyphic script. The document is not an original, but a copy probably made for, or bought by, the Aphrodito notary Dioscorus because of Horapollon's literary reputation ; but it is none the less valuable as bringing us for once into direct touch with an extant author, concerning whose life and fortunes it furnishes us with some interesting details. Another notable text is 67283, the petition of a large number of representative villagers of Aphrodito to the Empress Theodora, under whose *patrocinium* the village had placed itself.

In comparison with these outstanding texts the others are of less general interest ; but they contain much material of great value to the papyrologist and the student of Byzantine legal, social, economic, and administrative conditions. Special mention may be made of the original prefectal *προστάγματα*, a *communitorium* of the prefectal *officium* to a subordinate official, two documents of *emphyteusis*, a lease of a waggon with a

generous list of its appurtenances containing many unusual words, a curious apprenticeship contract of a hybrid kind, a marriage contract of an unusual type (the rough draft of a document preserved in its final form in a papyrus of the British Museum), an interesting will, two partitions of property, a series of contracts of surety (*ἐγγύαι*) for rural gendarmes (*ποιμένες καὶ ἀγροφύλακες*), addressed to a riparius, and the minutes of a legal process; all these in addition to numerous texts of more common types. There are besides some literary papyri, mainly poems by Dioscorus, yielding nothing in badness to his other efforts in this line.

The editorial work is, as usual, well done, though no doubt the volume has suffered to some extent from not having received the author's final revision; the last text in the volume, for instance, a register of the Arab period, included for the sake of completeness as it came from Aphrodito, is obviously capable of improvement. But an examination of the volume as a whole will only increase the regret papyrologists must feel for the untimely death of so brilliant a worker in their field.

The Oxyrhynchus Papyri. Part XII. By BERNARD P. GRENFELL and ARTHUR S. HUNT. Pp. xvi+352, with 2 Plates. London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1916. 25s.

This volume illustrates afresh the almost inexhaustible riches of the Oxyrhynchus finds. It has not indeed quite the *general* interest of some other volumes of the series, since it contains no literary texts (its predecessor consisted entirely of literary or quasi-literary papyri); but for the papyrologist it yields in importance to but few of its predecessors, and it goes without saying that it is edited with all the thoroughness, acuteness, and wealth of knowledge which we expect from its editors.

The texts which have attracted most attention are the series 1412-1419, which concern the senate of Oxyrhynchus, and particularly 1413-1415, which are actual reports of proceedings in that body. These documents are indeed of exceptional interest, as throwing light on the procedure not only at Oxyrhynchus but no doubt also in other cities; but there are many other texts in the volume which contain important evidence on other points or are made by the editors an occasion for valuable discussions on vexed problems of papyrology. The documents reporting the proceedings of the senate are unfortunately by no means complete, and though in many cases the editors have arrived at practically certain restorations, in others they have perforce to leave problems unsolved, while in some their solutions are open to question. On 1412, 1-3 the editors have an extremely important note on the municipal *cursus honorum*, tending to modify considerably the views on the subject hitherto held. It may be remarked that in 1413, 8 the editors' alternative reading *ἐξηγητῶν* is perhaps more likely than the *βουλευτῶν* adopted in the text, the exegetae trying to justify their own nomination of Serenus.

The first document in the volume, 1405, is of considerable importance owing to its bearing on the *cessio bonorum*. It is of quite special importance if the editors' view, that the cession in this case was of the whole property, not merely of two-thirds, be accepted; but this is by no means certain. It is, however, impossible, as the present writer satisfied himself on a recent visit to Oxford, in l. 6 to read τὸ πρ[οσῆκόν σου] τρίτον, which might be suggested. Another interesting document is 1408, which contains a circular of a dioecetes; and another is 1411, relating to the coinage. 1425-1427, referring to the requisitioning of workmen for service outside their own nome, are also of interest; reference might be made to the procedure in Arab times, seen in the fourth volume of the London Papyri. Several of the documents relating to taxation are of some importance; in 1444, 19, 21, 29 it may be suggested that ἡ αὐτή, despite the case, perhaps refers to the village (*Τανάεως*), not to a taxpayer. There are some good epicrisis documents and also several valuable notifications to archidicastae. The papyri which, after the texts referring to the senate, have attracted most attention are the horoscopes

(1476, 1563 sq.); the editors' introduction to 1476 is epoch-making for the chronology of the period referred to. Even among the 'minor documents' at the end there is a good deal of interesting material; it may be noted, by the way, that *ὀρνιθᾶς* (1568) is not really a new word; it occurs also in P. Cair. Masp. ii. 67166, 9, where Maspero, incorrectly, as it now appears, explains it as miswritten for *ὀρνιθίας*.

From Pericles to Philip. By T. R. GLOVER. Pp. xi + 405. London: Methuen, 1917.

Mr. Glover presents his learning, which is deep, with a geniality that makes this book more pleasant to read than any work on Greek history that has come into our hands for many years past. It is all the more pleasant because, without indulging in excessive hero-worship, he is able to see the good in most of the men whom he picks out to illustrate the period. In other words, he has the gift of sympathy, without which the writing of history is better left alone, unless it is desired to produce merely reference-books of the type of Busolt or Niese. His method—which is to make particular men or phases the subject of essays—of course makes it easier for him to avoid the monotony of completeness, though we fancy that he could hardly be dull even if he were writing an annalistic account of the period. And as his sole object appears to be to evoke the spirit of the time, and not to prove some theory of his own, the reader is not troubled with any suspicion that the facts may be consciously or unconsciously distorted for the benefit of some theory. Thus, as to the real cause of the Peloponnesian War, we are not quite sure whether Mr. Glover has made up his mind; but what he does seem to make us realise is that there were many views as to the cause even at the time, and that probably there was something in most of them. One cannot read any historical work at the present time without being struck by analogies between the past and the crisis through which the world is passing. Some of the analogies are trivial—one can hardly, for instance, fail to think of the phrase *τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπιτηδείως ἀπονομείσθαι* in connexion with the attitude of Germany to certain other nationalities. But there is a deeper analogy than this in the general resemblance between the experience of the Greeks in the Peloponnesian War and our own, which Mr. Glover, as his Preface shows, has been quick to grasp, though he never tries to press it in his text. In the time of the great struggle between Athens and Sparta there were many men who were sure that the Spartan constitution was the more 'efficient'; and later, Isocrates was sure that the salvation of the world was to come from the man against whom Demosthenes fought in vain. 'It is hard to imagine anyone who (in Longinus' phrase) would choose to be Isocrates rather than Demosthenes; but the course of events fulfilled the dreams of the smaller man, so far as the outward look of things went.' So, too, is there anyone who, in spite of the end of the Peloponnesian War, would choose to be a Spartan rather than an Athenian? The question may help to provide us with an answer to those who tell us, with a certain measure of truth, of the greater efficiency of the system of our enemies.

It is characteristic of Mr. Glover's catholic treatment that, although he is on the side of the angels all the time, Xenophon, whose sympathies as a soldier and a statesman were with the Spartans, is his favourite. We confess to a whole-hearted agreement with him in his admiration of Xenophon as a writer, and are sure that if the *Anabasis* and the *Cyropaedia* were not used as instruments to torture youth, they would be much more highly appreciated in after life than they are. In his chapter on Persia (with Greece playing the second part) Mr. Glover has attempted a difficult task; it is much more difficult than writing a history of the Crusades from Arabic sources, because we know practically nothing of Persian history at the time except what the Greeks tell us, and one of the chief authorities, at least, 'commonly useth to fitten, and to write devices of his own head.' But he has made a very interesting chapter out of his material, such as it is. We should much have liked a chapter on the Greeks in Sicily, the lack of which is the only fault in the proportions of an admirable and inspiring book.

A History of Ancient Coinage, 700-300 B.C. By PERCY GARDNER. Pp. xvi + 463. With 11 Plates. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1918. 18s.

Professor Gardner's recent articles on certain chapters in the history of Greek coinage, published in this *Journal* and in the *Proceedings* of the British Academy, known as they were to be of the nature of probouleumata for a fuller discussion of the whole subject, raised high expectations of the book which is now before us. From one—but not from a scientific—point of view, it may be a mistake to serve up the titbits of your feast in advance. You may disappoint readers who expect the whole to be equally succulent. The brilliant identification of the coinage of the Ionian Revolt set a standard which the author has naturally found it difficult to maintain. Nevertheless, even in those parts of the book which have the air of having been written rather in order to complete the survey than because the writer had any new discovery to impart, his characteristic qualities of shrewdness of observation and evenness of judgment are everywhere apparent.

It is impossible in a review to give even a summary idea of the main argument of a book which covers, in a series of closely reasoned chapters, the whole subject of Greek coinage as illustrating economic relations during the period concerned. It is probably, however, not unfair to the author to say that one of his main objects is, by tracing the distribution and modification of the various coin-standards, to show how these were affected by, or how they illustrate, not merely the course of trade, but also the political relations between the various states of the ancient world. The book is most concerned with such questions of coin-standards, though the valuable chapter on the Athenian Empire shows how the Athenians, not content with enforcing the use of their standard on the unfortunate 'Allies,' actually caused them, in most cases, to dispense with their local coinages altogether. As a general criticism we may hazard the remark that the author is sometimes too much inclined to connect identity of standard with political relations. Where the weights are not adjusted with the accuracy to which moderns are accustomed, standards may appear identical though they are quite different in origin. Another point to be remembered is that coins of a convenient weight travel much farther than commodities of any particular kind. The fact that Maria Theresa dollars are the staple silver currency of Arabia and Abyssinia does not prove direct commercial or economic, much less political, relations between Austria and those countries.

As regards method, the most important feature of the book is its treatment of the subject, so to speak, by horizontal instead of vertical sections. That is to say, instead of giving the history of the coinage of one state from beginning to end, it surveys the whole Greek world by periods. The method, though it has been employed before for a single country, is new on so large a scale. It has the defects of its qualities. It brings out many new facts; but owing to the discontinuity and inequality of distribution of the material, it produces a scrappy effect, and the gaps in the structure are too often not merely apparent (to which, scientifically, there can be no objection), but distracting. Unlike every other book by the same author, this is anything but easy reading.

An Introduction of sixty-six pages deals with a number of general questions, on some of which we wish more had been said. Thus the discussion of the primitive predecessors of coinage proper is rather slight. (On p. 27 the electrum dumps from Mycenaean Salamis are wrongly described as being of silver, like that from Cnossus.) We should have welcomed some criticism of the recent wholesale identification of various objects as primitive money, such as the gold disks from Mycenae, the copper ingots from various places (which are quite absurdly supposed to represent a primitive axe-currency). As it is, the only things of the kind which receive consideration are the iron obeliskoi from the Argive Heraeum, as to the identity of which with Pheidon's dedication Professor Gardner is sceptical. On the electrum and gold coinages there is much that is illuminating; the way in which the Croesean coinage superseded the electrum coinage about the middle of the sixth century, and in which the latter was revived during the Ionian Revolt, and then

continued by the Cyzicene and other electrum coinages of the fifth century, is very well brought out, and much that was before confused becomes clear. We doubt, however, whether any Persian darics were struck before the reign of Darius Hystaspis. The Persians were very conservative folk, and having done without coins so long would not have thought it necessary to continue the economic policy of Croesus after his fall. As to the beardless king on a rare variety of the daric, it is hardly possible, on stylistic grounds, to bring it down so late as the time of Alexander the Great. On the early Aeginetan coinage, a good point is made in showing how the origin of the silver standard seems to be due to adjustment to an earlier standard of bronze. (The *πέλανορ*, by the way, must have been a round 'cake'¹ of metal, not a spit, like the obeliskos, although its weight may have been the same.) The vexed question of the Athenian coinage is of course dealt with in detail. It is impossible to go into it here. But Professor Gardner entirely misrepresents Head's view in saying that he assigns the earliest coins with the head of Athena to the early years of the sixth century, and to the reform of Solon. They are distinctly classified (*Hist. Num.*² pp. 368-9) in the Post-Solonian and Peisistratid periods, circa 566-514 B.C.² In fact, I believe nearly all numismatists are agreed in accepting the Peisistratid origin of the 'owls.' In regard to the Attic coinage, Professor Gardner's emphasis on the distinction between the Euboic and Attic weights, here and elsewhere, is very valuable. We have already mentioned the important chapter on the coinage of the Athenian Empire. In reply to the question on p. 227, why Aristophanes introduces the *Ὀλοφύξιοι* in the decree about weights and measures (*Birds*, 1040), we may hazard the conjecture that it was a mild joke—Aristophanes used the first ridiculous name that came to mind. The 'gold tetradrachm' mentioned on p. 235, from the inventories of the Parthenon, can hardly have been a double stater of Cyzicus or Lampsacus (which would have been called a distater). It was nothing less than a reproduction in gold of an ordinary Attic silver tetradrachm.³ The statement on p. 263 that the drachms of Sinope ('seldom exceeding 94 grains') must have been reckoned as equivalent to Persian drachms, though they usually decidedly exceed them in weight, is hard to accept. There was no such excessive plenty of silver in the immediate neighbourhood that we know of to justify this reckoning on the same grounds as we explain the high weight of the gold staters of Panticapæum. The puzzling question of the coinages of New Sybaris and Thurii might have received fuller treatment. The date of the first Athenian foundation at New Sybaris was probably 445 (not 443, which was the year when Thurii was founded). In regard to certain gold pieces of small denomination Professor Gardner exhibits a good deal of scepticism. Thus, to him the little gold coins of Cumæ are suspect (though the helmet-type of one of them would be very apt if it were issued immediately after Hieron's victory in 474); so is the gold attributed to Corinth. And he ignores altogether the rare piece of Sicilian Messene, which, if genuine, belongs to the same period as the Cumæan coins.

The identification of the head on the gold staters of Philip as Ares seems to me to be fallacious. We cannot possibly argue from the head inscribed ΑΡΕΟΣ on coins issued more than fifty years later by the Mamertines, because that head is copied directly from

¹ Cp. the Hebrew *kikkar* (Gk. *κίχχαρ*, Joseph. *Ant. Jud.* iii. 6. 7; *Cl. Rev.* xix. p. 256), which means both a round cake and a weight of 3000 shekels.

² Head says the coins extend "from the earlier half of the sixth century," which is not the same thing as saying that they begin in the early years of that century. In my *Historical Greek Coins* (1906), which Professor Gardner does not cite, I have adopted a chronology much closer to that which finds favour with him than the one proposed in 1897 in my

article on Solon's Reform. But I confess it seems to me to be very arbitrary to assign to Athens only the owl and the amphora (Head takes only the owl) out of a series of 'Wappenmünzen' which are all of the same fabric. This question is still far from settled.

³ I have given the proof of this in *Hermes*, 1901, p. 317. The statement in Roberts and Gardner, *Intr. to Greek Epigraphy*, p. 260, that the weight is too high in proportion, is incorrect. The weight, by comparison of the sp. gr. of gold and silver, is exact.

the head called Zeus Hellanios on coins of Syracuse, which itself is copied from the coins of Philip. Since the god on the Philips is sometimes represented with long hair, we may continue to call him Apollo.

In conclusion, a few small points may be noted for correction or explanation in a second edition. P. 19 : Not eight, but six obols to the drachm. P. 37 : Where are the 'sacred coins' struck by the Jews for offerings in the Temple? Surely they used, except in times of revolt, the coinage of the Gentiles, possibly melting it down, but, so far as we know, not restriking it. P. 41 : The absence of small Attic silver in Sicilian or Asiatic hoards has nothing to do with the right of coinage of Sicilian or Asiatic cities; it is simply due to convenience of trade that only the larger denominations travelled so far. P. 133 : Wroth's article on Peparethus was published in this *Journal*, not in *Corolla Numismatica*. P. 172 : For *B.M. Cat. Cilicia* read *Cyprus*. P. 205 : The forgeries referred to as bronze 'washed' with silver are not washed, but thickly plated. P. 292 : The statement that the Persian darics were the only coins of pure gold in use in the world before the issue of Attic gold ignores the Croesean staters and earliest Cyrenaic gold. P. 308 : 'The Hirsch sale,' without indication of date or number, misleadingly suggests a sale of the famous Hirsch collection (which we trust was removed from Brussels to some safe place in 1914), instead of one of the periodical sales of stock conducted by a Munich dealer. P. 342 : 'Mel-Karth' (for Melkarth or, better, Melqarth) suggests a false etymology, connecting with Karthage. P. 345 : Gebal is stated to have been within the circle of Persian influence; but, as is shown on p. 342, it used the Phoenician standard, like Tyre and Sidon. P. 359 : The Boeotian Charopinos belonged to the second century B.C. The name XAPO on the fourth-century coins is more probably that of Charon.

G. F. H.

Traité entre Delphes et Pellana. By B. HAUSSOULLIER. [Bibliothèque des Hautes Études.] Pp. viii+189. Paris : H. Champion, 1917.

This is the first edition of fragments found at Delphi in 1893-6 of a treaty (*σύμβολον*) made about 250 B.C. between Delphi and Pellana for the judicial settlement of claims by citizens of either state against those of the other. The text is based on (1) a copy by Bourguet printed in uncials, (2) a revision by Haussoullier made from photographs, printed in minuscule, and in some lines (*e.g.* I B, 3 and 9) differing from Bourguet's copy. It seems possible that study of the originals may lead to further emendation. There is a good facsimile of fragment II A.

That the document is an important addition to the forty-seven similar treaties collected by Hitzig (*Altgr. Staatsverträge über Rechtshilfe*: 1907) will appear from this synopsis (the Greek terms within brackets are new): I A (15 l.): institution of action; number of judges and their oaths; order of pleadings; objection to evidence (*παρίσκεσις*); voting of judges; execution; sureties in event of retrial (*ἐπάμφορος δίκαι*). I B (17 l.): sale of objects seized or stolen; procedure against the thief (*φιλατίας*); his obligation to give security. II A (27 l.): procedure in demurrer; damages due for theft; warranty of movables alleged to be stolen; recovery of runaway slaves. II B (25 l.): appeal and execution; delays through suspension of tribunals.

Having been established in Part I. (pp. 7-54), the text is in Part II. (pp. 55-134) illustrated with a masterly array of literary and epigraphic material. In Part III. (pp. 135-172) are collected the *testimonia* which throw light on the history and institutions of Pellana.

There follow a Conclusion (pp. 173-182) and indices (pp. 183-189). But for Haussoullier's brilliant restoration and interpretation the scientific value of these mutilated fragments would have been almost negligible. His book is a model of how so difficult a task should be performed.

Ptolemy's Maps of Northern Europe. A Reconstruction of the Prototypes. By GUDMUND SCHÜTTE, Ph.D. Published by the Royal Danish Geographical Society. Pp. xvi+150+xxxiv (Illustrations). Copenhagen: H. Hagerup, 1917.

Within the past fifteen or twenty years an entirely new battle has developed in the field of Ptolemaic criticism. Up till about 1900 those scholars who busied themselves with the Γεωγραφικὴ Ὑφήγησις were practically unanimous as to the worthlessness of the maps that accompany a number of the codices. Professor Carl Müller, for instance, whose unfinished edition represents the last great recension of the text, openly regretted the time he had wasted on the collation of what he had come to regard as mediaeval compilations. Since Müller's death the discredited maps have found some doughty champions, the protagonist being Father Fischer of Feldkirch. Relying on proofs which are still for the most part unpublished, Fischer and those who think with him maintain that the view propounded by Brehmer a century ago was fundamentally sound, and that the maps as they have come down to us are genuine ancient documents, that they constitute in fact Ptolemy's veritable atlas.

Those of us who are not yet definitely committed to one side or other of the controversy will probably be content to suspend judgment until the new evidence is produced. Schütte feels no such need of hesitation. He has been in close communication with Fischer, and is a convinced believer in the authenticity of the maps. Taking their genuineness for granted, he finds it a factor of immense importance in the determination of Ptolemy's 'sources.' It is generally agreed that the great *Geography* is a patchwork; here and there its statements are absurd or misleading, while at the opposite extreme are sections conveying information that is positively amazing in its accuracy. It would obviously be interesting and instructive, if we could dissect it and ascertain the materials of which it is composed. Hitherto all that has seemed indubitable is that the account of some districts is based upon Roman official maps or at all events upon maps of Roman roads. Schütte now claims that it is possible to go much further, and to draw confident deductions as to the 'prototypes' out of which each of the originals of 'the Ptolemaic constructor,' as he calls him, was built up. He chooses the maps of Northern Europe as the *corpus vile* for a detailed example of the application of his method. His results are not always easy to follow; 'prototype' is heaped upon 'prototype' with almost bewildering profusion, each being assigned to its approximate date and its probable 'literary milieu.' The magic wand by which all this is achieved is the scientific classification of error.

The general effect of the whole is unconvincing. At the same time the book is one with which all students of Ptolemy would do well to make acquaintance. Apart from the fact that it is an interesting experiment, much of the detail deserves careful study. There is nothing quite so brilliant as Hermann Müller's discovery of the Ptolemaic town of Σιαροῦράδα in the 'ad sua tutanda digressis rebellibus' of Tacitus. But the suggested explanations of blundered names are almost always acute, and are very often sound. Curiously enough, Schütte does not seem to have realised that the weapon he employs has a double edge. In an article recently published in this *Journal*¹ Tudeer used it, with very considerable success, to throw doubts on the authenticity of the very maps whose genuineness Schütte takes as the foundation of his argument. The truth is that an immense amount of 'spade-work' has still to be done before we are within measurable distance of certainty. Incidentally it may be mentioned that Schütte gives 140 A.D. as the *floruit* of Marinus. This may be suitable enough for the particular maps which he selects for discussion, but it cannot be reconciled with Ptolemy's silence as to the Wall of Hadrian. That the book should be written in English is a great convenience for readers on this side of the North Sea. From this point of view it is an extremely creditable performance. But, in fairness to his own arguments, the author should have had it carefully revised by an English friend. Every now and again one is pulled up sharply by expressions that are intelligible only to those familiar with foreign idioms. M.

¹ 1917, pp. 62-77.

Plotinus: The Ethical Treatises. Volume I. Translated by STEPHEN MACKENNA. 11 x 8. Pp. viii + 158. London: P. Lee Warner, 1917. 16s. n.

This beautifully printed volume contains the First Ennead of Plotinus, preceded by Porphyry's Life of Plotinus, and followed by notes on bibliography and terminology and a rendering of the Plotinian extracts in Ritter and Preller. Mr. Mackenna has aimed at producing a translation 'literary rather than literal,' and he has attained his aim with conspicuous success. It is no easy task to achieve a smooth, graceful, and invariably lucid rendering of an author so crabbed and difficult as Plotinus often is. Those who estimate him mainly by the splendid passages in Caird's *Evolution of Theology* should be reminded of the story how the critic Longinus could not make head or tail of copies of Plotinus' works, which, Porphyry assures us, were faithful reproductions of the author's own manuscript, and begged to have 'correct copies' sent him. Porphyry, we know, edited the works of his master, who cared nothing about literary form and 'whose one concern was for the idea'; but they still retain traces of a hurried and careless method of composition. It is true that Plotinus' mystical vocabulary, full of light and colour, his reminiscences of Plato, and his outbursts of ecstatic eloquence at times afford good opportunity to a translator. But Mr. Mackenna has thrown a graceful literary form over *all* his material, however intractable, and the result is one of the pleasantest philosophical translations we have ever read. Well equipped philosophically and linguistically, he has followed with admirable skill the intricacies of Plotinian dialectics. We have never any doubt as to what he thinks that Plotinus means, and we nearly always feel that he has seized the meaning correctly. The luxurious paragraphing which Mr. Mackenna permits himself is a great assistance in following the argument.

To turn to details: Porphyry's interesting and well-written life of the philosopher who 'seemed ashamed of being in the body' is gracefully rendered, but in a few passages a marked desire for conciseness has led the translator into unnecessary compression or inadvertent omission, e.g. at the end of c. 14 and c. 23. In c. 2 'malign diphtheria' is an unsafe translation for τὴν τοῦ κινάγχου ἀγρυπτήρα; the medical details suggest a lingering malady. In c. 16 'Libya' should be read for 'Lydia,' and in c. 18 τὰ βελία τὰ Πλωτίνου ἐπιστεύθημ must mean, not 'I put faith in,' but 'I was entrusted with Plotinus' writings' (cf. the end of c. 7). Near the foot of p. 20 the words 'content with setting side by side the most generally adopted theories' reverse the meaning of the Greek, which says 'not even troubling to collect . . .' The passage is not really inconsistent with l. 9 of the same page.

We cannot help feeling that the translation of the First Ennead is sometimes unnecessarily free in passages where a more exact rendering would have resulted in equally good English. Mr. Mackenna's metaphors are sometimes more vivid than those of the original; cf. p. 84, 'a life smouldering dully under the crust of evil'; p. 87, 'spurning the world of sense from beneath his feet'; p. 95, 'by consecration to this Absolute'; p. 109, 'can no longer hold its guest' (where the Greek has ἐνδεῖν). κενῶι and πληρεῖς are somewhat wilfully turned by 'in times of stress' and 'when we are at peace,' p. 102, l. 18; and ὅσα χυμῶν εἶδη is not represented by 'all other conditions perceptible to sense,' p. 101, l. 14. Definite errors of translation are rare, but p. 91, l. 1 and p. 95, l. 7 we cannot reconcile with the original; and at p. 103, l. 1, 'Are we able to affirm vice by any vision we can have of it?' the translator seems to be taking the parenthetical τὴν κακίαν λέγω as though it were τὴν κακίαν λέγομεν. There are many passages in the original where sense and construction are obscure, and Mr. Mackenna is to be congratulated on his skill in dealing with them. We have noted a number of small omissions, as on pp. 41, 47, 62 (in each case near the foot), and p. 100, ll. 24 and 26. On p. 64, the printing ' . . . Zeus . . . ' at first sight suggests a lacuna, not an exclamation, and at p. 109, l. 11 it is not very clear that the second 'it' refers to suicide. Mr. Mackenna's c. 10 of Tractate 8 embraces four chapters according to the ordinary reckoning.

In an interesting note on the 'method of the present translation' Mr. Mackenna

lets us into the secrets of his own work. Pedants are anathema to him, and we have a suspicion that he has rendered Greek futures by English presents, where English futures would do just as well, for the express purpose of annoying them. A useful account of previous translations and commentaries is followed by eight pages on the terminology of Plotinus, which afford a brief popular introduction to the Plotinian system. Mr. Mackenna severely taxes M. Jules Simon for his 'most unphilosophical scorn where Plotinus' magnificent attempt to explain the Universe is found to involve the contradictions . . . perhaps inevitable to all such efforts.' Both M. Simon and Mr. Mackenna are deserving of sympathy. It all depends on the point of view. The world seems incomprehensible; so, certainly, is a philosophy which, undertaking to explain it, contains manifest contradictions. And are two incomprehensibles better than one incomprehensible? At the same time the system of Plotinus is the most impressive and, historically, the most important exposition of philosophical mysticism in the world's literature. It must always appeal to the mystical type of mind, and we look forward to the day when the whole of it will be accessible to English readers in Mr. Mackenna's delightful translation.

The last thirty pages of the volume are devoted to the Ritter-Preller extracts, which are translated 'in somewhat rough-and-ready fashion,' says Mr. Mackenna, for the benefit of the novice. He has added and omitted freely, and there are some instances of rather loose paraphrase. Still the translation is adapted to its purpose and rises to real eloquence in the famous passages on the 'Vision of the Supreme' and the 'flight of the Alone to the Alone.' Several references are incorrectly given, e.g. v. 3. 9 for v. I. 1, iii. 8. 9 for iii. 8. 10, iv. 8. 5 for iv. 8. 8, iv. 5. 9 for v. 5. 9, and misplaced inverted commas sometimes assign to Plotinus what is really comment by Ritter and Preller, e.g. p. 138, l. 7 and l. 12, p. 150, l. 12.

J. H. S.

The Communings with Himself of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, Emperor of Rome, together with his Speeches and Sayings. A revised text and a translation into English by C. R. HAINES, M.A., F.S.A. Pp. xxxii+414. [Loeb Library.] London: Heinemann, 1916. 5s.

This edition of Marcus Aurelius may be taken to mark a great advance in general usefulness over any yet issued in England. It was a good idea of Mr. Haines's to complete the picture of Marcus's personality by including in the volume not merely the Meditations themselves, but also a record, drawn from a variety of sources, of the Emperor's speeches and sayings, while the detailed index of matters, proper names, and Greek terms adds very considerably to the value of the work. The translation, if it marks no new departure, is at any rate quite up to standard from the point of view of readableness and has proved itself commendably close to the original wherever the present reviewer has tested it more exactly.

Theophrastus: Enquiry into Plants. With an English Translation by SIR ARTHUR HORT, Bart., M.A. 2 vols. 8vo. Pp. xxviii+475, 499, with Frontispiece. [Loeb Library.] London: Heinemann, 1916. Price 6s. per vol.

It may perhaps not be amiss to refer to the fact that botany has a literature. In view of the great advance which the science has made during the last half-century, and the many new points of view which have been established, the modern student is apt to overlook the work of the earlier botanists, or to pass it over as of little value. Linnaeus for him is archaic, and pre-Linnaean work non-existent. At the best his interest is satisfied by the perusal of Sachs' *History of Botany*, in the Clarendon Press English edition, a book which starts at the Continental herbalists of the sixteenth century. Those who would like to regulate the course of study for the present-day candidate may be asked to

bear in mind that botany has many sides and appeals to differing temperaments, also that there is a literary side which may attract to the service of the science a type of mind that might otherwise stand aloof.

For the first time the English student has the opportunity of reading in his own tongue the earliest systematic treatise on botany. Sir Arthur Hort has done good service in rendering into English the Greek text of the old philosopher; the two versions appear in parallel pages, and the reader is to be congratulated on the handy form in which the work has been issued, in two pocket-volumes, as one of the series of the Loeb Classical Library. In his preface the translator remarks that he is not a botanist; but he is known as a lover of plants, and has also had the help of the expert knowledge of Sir Wm. Thiselton-Dyer in the difficult task of identifying the plants mentioned by Theophrastus and expressing them by an English equivalent.

The text of the original is mainly that adopted by Fr. Wimmer, published about 1850. In the Introduction Sir Arthur gives a brief account of the various textual authorities, editions, and commentaries, and also a short notice of Theophrastus' life and work. According to Diogenes Laertius, who wrote 400 years after Theophrastus' death, this father of botany was born in 370 B.C. at Eresos in Lesbos. He went to Athens at an early age and became a pupil of Plato and subsequently of Aristotle; the latter at his death bequeathed to Theophrastus his books and his garden in the grounds of the Lyceum. Sir Arthur refers to this garden as the source of many of the observations which Theophrastus records in his botanical works. Our author also enjoyed the patronage of Alexander of Macedon, who took with him to the East scientifically trained observers whose results were at the disposal of Theophrastus, and to whom he owed his accounts of such exotic plants as cotton, banyan, pepper, cinnamon, and other spices. Sir Arthur also suggests that students of the Peripatetic school were employed in the collection of facts and observations—an assumption which will explain certain local touches in the text.

Theophrastus died about 285 B.C. He was a voluminous writer, and Diogenes gives a list of 227 treatises, comprising, besides the natural sciences, religion, politics, ethics, logic, education, mathematics, astronomy, and other branches. Those still extant include the nine books of the 'Enquiry into Plants,' and also six books on 'The Causes of Plants.' There are also fragments of treatises, two of which, on 'Odours' and 'Weather-signs' respectively, are included at the end of the second volume of Sir Arthur's translation.

The botanical student will be impressed with the great amount of first-hand information contained in the nine books of the 'Enquiry,' and with the remarkable observing powers of the author and his skill in systematizing the results. He will be fain to remark not only 'what a great number of plants Theophrastus knew,' but 'what a great deal he knew about them.' Right at the beginning the difficulty arises as to the comparison of plants with animals. 'We must not assume,' writes Theophrastus, 'that in all respects there is complete correspondence.' Book i., 'Of the parts of plants and their composition,' should interest the morphologist; the classification adopted is the familiar one, which still persisted in a modified form even in John Ray's great work, 2000 years later, into trees, shrubs, undershrubs, and herbs. The class undershrubs includes some plants which we should hesitate to classify as such—for instance, *ήμεροκαλλές*, translated mar-tagon lily, though Linnaeus' *Hemerocallis* represented the day-lily, of which one species is a native of South Central Europe and might have been known to Theophrastus. The need for an ecological view is insisted on. 'We must take into account the locality. . . . Such differences [of locality] would seem to give us a kind of division into classes—for instance, between that of aquatic plants and that of plants of the dry land. . . . For there are some plants which cannot live except in wet; and again these are distinguished from one another by their fondness for different kinds of wetness; so that some grow in marshes, others in lakes, others in rivers,' etc. A true morphological conception presents difficulties. 'It is not right to call all that which is underground root. . . . for we must base our definition on natural function and not on position.'

Obviously there is much that is quaint or erroneous in Theophrastus' conception of plant organs and functions, but on the other hand the careful student will find the germ of many comparatively modern ideas in plant life and in horticulture, agriculture, and forestry.

The treatise on weather-signs embodies a good deal of local lore and also much that is common property. 'When the kermes-oak fruits exceedingly well, it generally indicates a severe winter' is a maxim with a familiar sound.

A useful feature is the Index of Plants at the end of the second volume. Of this Sir Arthur remarks:—'A considerable number of the identifications may be accepted as certain, many are probable, some no more than possible.' The student who has the happy combination of a knowledge of Greek and of the flora of South-East Europe and the Near East may find an interesting task in further investigating the identity of the doubtful species.

A. B. RENDLE.

Rapport sur une Mission en Crète et en Égypte (1912-1913). Par M. L. FRANCHET. [Nouvelles Archives des Missions Scientifiques xxii. 1.] Pp. 131, 6 plates, 31 figures in text. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1917.

M. Franchet, author of a monograph on *Céramique primitive* (Paris: Geuthner, 1911), was commissioned in 1912, by the Minister of Public Instruction, to study the primitive pottery of Crete and Egypt; in this concise preliminary report he presents some of his observations and conclusions, promising to follow it with a fully illustrated treatise. On the question of interaction between these two seats of early civilisation his verdict is decidedly negative: 'ces deux peuples n'ont exercé l'un sur l'autre aucune influence appréciable dans le domaine des arts industriels' (p. 8). Elsewhere, however, he appears to admit direct influence in respect of decorative design.

The Cretan section, comprising nearly two-thirds of the pamphlet, is mainly devoted to justifying a new system of chronological classification, for the author has chosen to discard the familiar Minoan periods. He has made a systematic and intelligent study of the material exhibited in the Candia Museum, but seems to be imperfectly acquainted with the literature of the excavations; consequently he propounds conclusions which are true but not new, though he supposes them to be original discoveries, and others which are new but not true. As regards his predecessors the author's tone is curiously peevish. 'L'industrie de la Pierre n'a jamais été étudiée en Crète avant mon arrivée' (p. 15). As for the Bronze Age, excavators were 'uniquement préoccupés de la recherche des objets d'art' and did not record the circumstances under which bronzes were discovered; 'c'est pourquoi l'étude chronologique du Bronze est, pour la Crète, entièrement à faire' (p. 11). It is the same with the pottery of the Early Iron Age: 'sous prétexte qu'elle n'appartient plus à l'époque dite "Minoenne," ou plus exactement à l'âge de bronze, elle a été fort négligée.' It was necessary, therefore, for M. Franchet to begin at the very beginning and save what he could from the wreck. He finds that whole classes of objects have received too little attention, and oddly enough selects as an example the limestone concretions which give their name to the House of the Fetish Shrine at Knossos. He thinks the excavator would have thrown them away if they had not happened to be found *in situ*—'mais combien d'autres ont été rejetées, lors des fouilles, dans les divers édifices Crétois.' If he had read Sir Arthur Evans' account of this important find he would know that the first of the series was found not in the sanctuary at all, but outside it, and was instantly recognised as a fetish image (*B.S.A.* xi. 8). 'Il y a une autre catégorie d'offrandes qui a été plus négligée encore'—oddly shaped stones, coloured pebbles, shells, and so forth. He is puzzled by the rarity of 'les représentations sexuelles si communes en Égypte'; obviously, excavators must have overlooked them and thrown them away (p. 62). Italians, Americans, and British are equally guilty; 'there is none that doeth good, no, not one.'

The author is at his best in discussing the processes used by the Cretan potters. He gives some interesting pages to the discs of stone and earthenware, a foot or more in diameter and furnished with a central socket, which have been found at Gournia and other sites, and shows convincingly that they are potters' wheels, citing modern instances from India. A later section gives an excellent account of the turn-tables and kilns used by the itinerant potters who made the great jars which are found in every Cretan cottage; the diagrams may be compared with a set of photographs in our Society's collection, made some years ago to illustrate the same point, the probable survival of Bronze Age technique. He did other useful work outside the Museum by exploring the coast east of Candia, noting possible sources for some of the variegated limestones and breccias used in the manufacture of stone vases, and excavating some early house-foundations on the plateau adjoining the Tripiti caves. Bronze Age remains are certainly abundant there, but it is doubtful whether the extremely true and regular rock-cuttings of which M. Franchet gives plans were the work of neolithic man, as he believes. If they are of that age, the superstructure is more likely to have been of stone or sun-dried brick than mere 'huttes en pailles ou en branchages.' Mr. Dawkins' discoveries at Magasa prove that even on that remote upland stone huts were used in the neolithic age. Obsidian is abundant at Tripiti, as on many other coastal sites, but the specimens here figured as evidence of a microlithic industry may be of very different periods. Some resemble the neolithic finds of Magasa, others are Bronze Age types. The author is mistaken in thinking that secondary chipping does not occur on obsidian of the latter period. As regards the implements of limestone on which he relies for the 'Campignian' character of his settlement, we must await further publication of his actual finds. The regional and chronological range of the Campigny types is not so well determined, even in Northern France, as to justify the extension of the name to Cretan and Egyptian strata—for M. Franchet, who has made a special study of these forms at home, claims to have discovered them also at Karnak. On the Rousses plain, which lies about a mile east of Candia and south of the hamlet of Kassaba, he opened a number of low mounds containing rectangular stone enclosures (like the ossuaries of Palaikastro) or stones arranged in concentric circles. There was an abundance of broken pottery, belonging to the Middle Minoan I. period—M. Franchet would say 'Bronze I.'—but no trace of human remains; he asks doubtfully whether they were cenotaphs. In the same region he began the excavation of a kiln over 20 ft. in diameter, containing vitreous masses resembling the green glaze of the serpent goddesses and other objects found with them at Knossos. The completion of this piece of work and the analyses will be awaited with interest.

The latter part of the report deals with Egypt. An excavation at Karnak enabled him to study the pottery of successive strata, and the spot chosen happened to be rich in votive offerings of the Middle Empire. The discussion of the technical peculiarities and evolution of Egyptian ceramics is novel and suggestive. He thinks that the black glazed shoulder of pre-historic red-ware was obtained by placing the pot to be fired mouth downwards in a larger bowl and packing powdered charcoal round it, a procedure for which there is a modern analogy on the Congo. After tracing the survival of primitive methods through the Graeco-Roman period, he discusses the processes used by the modern potters of the Fayoum, who make the well-known tables of offerings surmounted by fixed bottles, cups, and decorative figures; some are illustrated in Plate VI., with part of an ancient prototype for comparison. At Nag-el-Fakhoura, near Karnak, there is a community of potters where the men have adopted the wheel, but the women mould the pot wholly by hand. Before being set to dry in the sun the wheel-made pots are strengthened by having a cord of palm-fibre twisted about them; without it they would be liable to crack, while in the case of the hand-made pots, made with a paste containing less water, the precaution is unnecessary. Evidence of this device, actual cord impressions and derivative ornaments, have often been noticed on early pottery, but the original motive has not always been understood.

Theophrastus and the Greek Physiological Psychology before Aristotle.

By GEORGE MALCOLM STRATTON. 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{4}$. Pp. 227. London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd.; New York: The Macmillan Company, 1917.

This volume contains the text of Theophrastus' *Περὶ αἰσθήσεων* with a translation and commentary, preceded by a detailed statement of Theophrastus' own views on sense perception and an account of his expository and critical methods. Prof. Stratton has produced a most scholarly and readable translation. By enclosing within brackets the numerous words necessary to complete the sense of the Greek, he shows at a glance how much the curt style affected by Peripatetic writers leaves to the imagination. The notes, which necessarily contain much that is highly technical and controversial, owe a great deal to Prof. A. E. Taylor, who wrote for Prof. Stratton a running criticism of his translation and commentary. The author's obligations to Prof. Beare's *Greek Theories of Elementary Cognition* are handsomely acknowledged.

Theophrastus starts his treatise with the remark that some investigators ascribe sense perception to similarity, others to contrast, and thus indicates at the outset the *a priori* character of Greek attempts to bridge the gulf between stimulus and sensation, a character inevitable in the absence of exact experimental methods. His procedure is first to give a statement of doctrine, and then to show that the doctrine fails to explain the facts or contains 'contradictions.' Thus, Democritus, the great apostle of subjectivity, after declaring that tastes are subjective effects, goes on to distinguish them by the varying figures of their objective stimuli; in other words, Democritus wants to have it both ways. Plato is censured for holding that a substance is hot 'because of the sharpness of its angles' and then adopting an entirely disparate explanation of cold. The most effective of Theophrastus' criticisms are perhaps those levelled against the theory of atom-pictures. The number of colours mentioned in cc. 76-78 as derived by Democritus from blends of his four primaries may come as something of a surprise to those who believe that the Greeks had little power of discriminating colours. Theophrastus' treatise is too technical to appeal to a wide circle of readers, but the historian of psychology may well feel grateful to Prof. Stratton for his valuable translation, notes, and essays.

J. H. S.

The Use of ΦΥΣΙΣ in Fifth-century Greek Literature. By JOHN WALTER

BEARDSLEE, JR. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 6 $\frac{1}{4}$. Pp. 126. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1918.

Dr. Beardslee has undertaken 'to trace the history of the Greek word φύσις as known from its actual occurrences in the extant literature.' With this object he has minutely examined and interpreted all the instances of the use of the word in non-philosophical as well as philosophical writings of the fifth century. His results are decidedly interesting and tend to upset several commonly accepted theories. Among his conclusions are the following: that the 'natural history' sense of φύσις as a general term including all the characteristics and qualities of an object deserves to be called original and fundamental; that the meaning 'origin' is rare, though indubitable, as in Empedocles' *φύσις οὐδενός ἐστιν ἀπάντων*; that there is no definite proof that any of the pre-Socratic philosophers, e.g. Heraclitus, prefixed the title *περὶ φύσεως* to his book, though they may have referred to their studies as *περὶ φύσεως*; that they did not use φύσις as a technical term for their primary substance, as Professor Burnet maintains (*E.G.P.*² p. 12). Dr. Beardslee, we think, proves that the evidence for Professor Burnet's view, which has become orthodox, is anything but strong. He shows too that φύσις almost always means the nature of some particular thing, and that the sense 'universal nature' is much less common than is supposed, the first occurrence of the word as equivalent to *ὁ κόσμος* or *τὸ ὄλον* being in Euripides, *Troades* 886. Dr. Beardslee's discussion of the Sophists in his chapter on νόμος and φύσις

is perhaps the most interesting part of his book. He shows conclusively that there is no real evidence as to who first opposed conventional and natural morality (an opposition generally supposed to have been invented by Hippias), and makes a slashing attack on the theory that the Sophists were divided into two schools, Naturalists (Hippias, Prodicus) and Humanists (Protagoras, Gorgias, Socrates, Thucydides). Dr. Beardslee has done a piece of work which was well worth doing, and has done it very skilfully and conscientiously. If he does not always convince, he at least chastens us with the thought how slight is the evidence on which some of our favourite theories rest. The book concludes with a valuable index of fifth-century occurrences of *φύσις*.

J. H. S.

Studies in Greek Tragedy. Founded on lectures given to six students of Newnham College. By LOUISE E. MATTHAEI. Pp. x + 220. Cambridge: University Press, 1918.

This book comprises studies of the *Prometheus Bound*, the *Ion*, the *Hippolytus*, and the *Hecuba*, with a concluding essay on Accident in ethics and literature. The lectures on which it is based were doubtless found stimulating and instructive by their original audience. The essays on the three plays of Euripides provide the reader with a sound and useful analysis in each instance; that on the *Prometheus Bound* is largely taken up with an attempt to extract the *Prometheus Unbound* out of a very close analysis of the surviving play, and though generally on the right lines, it has its full share of the hazards involved in putting such uniformly heavy pressure on the language of a dramatic poem. Incidentally, the author at one point relies on the authority of Probus (ad Verg. *Ecl.* 6, 43) for a certain development in the *Prometheus* story, but Probus's short abstract of the myth is surely very inconclusive evidence for its handling by Aeschylus. And is it really true that Prometheus's *ἑκὼν ἑκὼν ἤμαρ* (l. 268) is an acknowledgment of 'sin,' as the author, following Mr. J. T. Sheppard, assumes? Need *ἤμαρ* imply much more than simple disobedience to Zeus, involving risks which Prometheus says he took with his eyes open?

Aspects of Death and Correlated Aspects of Life in Art, Epigram, and Poetry. By F. PARKES WEBER. Third edition, revised and much enlarged. With 145 illustrations. Pp. xl + 784. London: T. Fisher Unwin and Bernard Quaritch, 1918.

Dr. Parkes Weber's third edition appears (with an expanded title) only four years after his second, which was noticed in this *Journal*, vol. xxxv, p. 152-3. In this period—and that the period which has meant death to so many adventures in publication—the number of pages has grown from 461 to 784, and that of the illustrations from 126 to 145. The bulk of the book, thanks to the use of thinner paper, remains almost exactly the same. It has reached us too late to admit of our doing little more than refer to our previous notice. Among the new illustrations from the antique may be mentioned the green-glaze cup from Pella in the Berlin Antiquarium, another green-glaze cantharus with dancing skeletons in the Louvre, the British Museum diptych with the Apotheosis of an Emperor, the Hellenistic or Roman stamped clay drinking vessel at Orleans with skeletons, and—to be quite up to date—a number of the most recent efforts of German humour in the way of macabre medals. The author would be interested in the stamp of Louis Demoulin de Rochefort, the sixteenth-century physician, now in the Historisches Museum at Basel, and recently published in the *Anzeiger für Schweizerische Altertumskunde*, on which the letter Θ (for *Θάνατος*?) is enclosed in a pentagram, around which is written the word ΥΓΙΕΙΑ.

Metropolitan Museum of Art. Handbook of the Classical Collection.

By GISELA M. RICHTER. Pp. xxxiv + 276. 159 illustrations. New York, 1917.

The reviewer who had undertaken to notice this volume having made default, we must be content at the last moment to do little more than call attention to its existence. It deserves a longer notice, for it is the best general introduction to Greek and Roman art that has come into our hands for some years. The New York Collection is small but, considering that it has been created in the last twelve years, very fairly representative, except of pre-historic art, and in this it shares its defect with most other museums outside of Greece. The special feature of the collection is its arrangement by periods, although this plan is not carried out, for obvious reasons, in respect of the large sculptures. The book is well written, with sound judgement, and produced with excellent taste; it ought to find a good public quite apart from visitors to the Metropolitan Museum.

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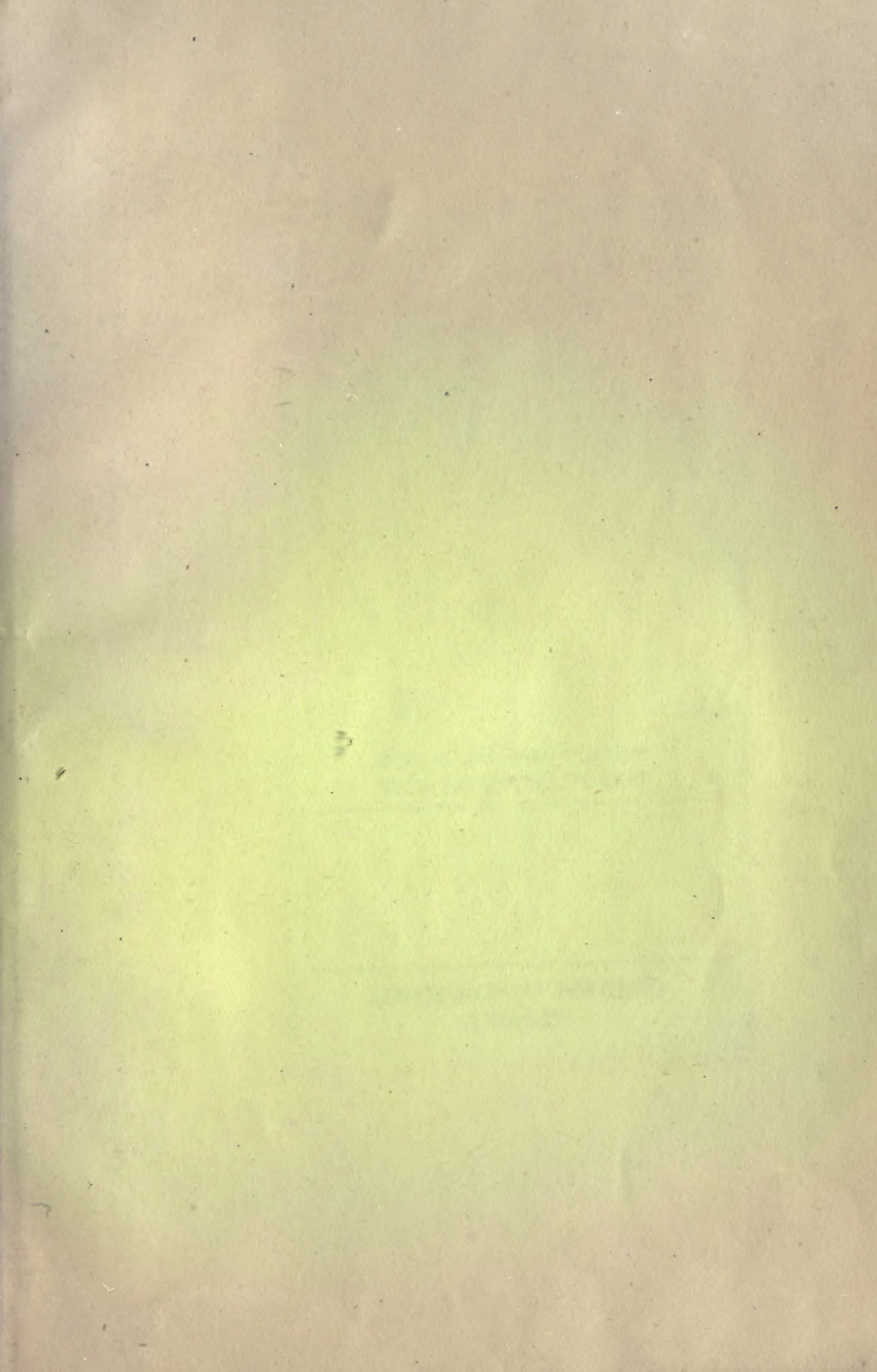


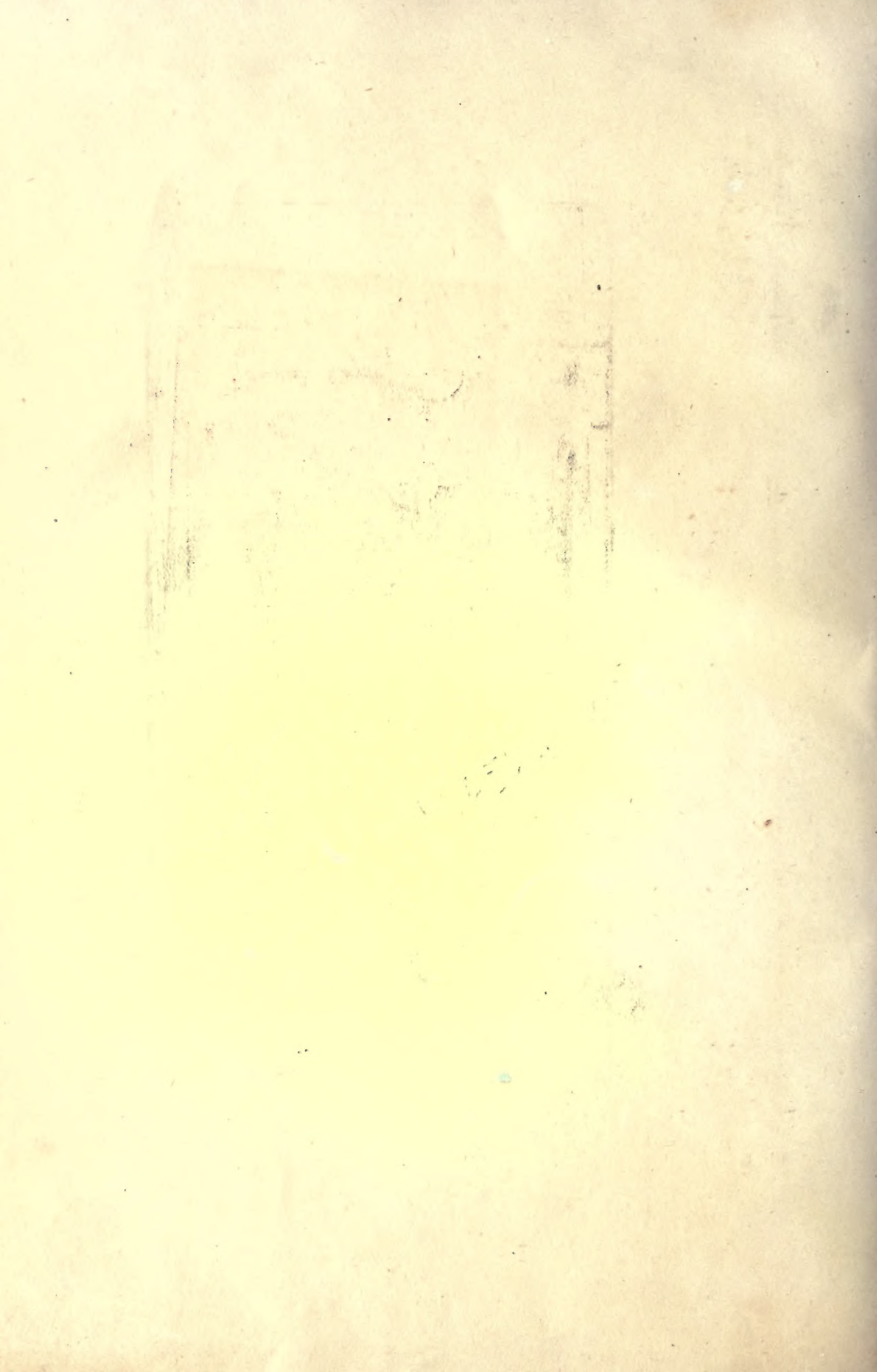
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