

AN INSCRIBED CONICAL CLAY OBJECT FROM HERMONASSA

(PLATE 50)

THE ANCIENT TOWN OF HERMONASSA on the Taman Peninsula is one of several sites on the Kimmerian Bosporos which have yielded important information about Greek colonization in the region of the Black Sea (Fig. 1).¹ In 1985, in a pit containing materials dating to the 6th and 5th centuries B.C., part of a wheelmade, conical clay object was discovered (Fig. 2, Pl. 50:a).² The fragment includes about one-third of a flat rim on which a graffito is scratched in Greek letters (Fig. 3, Pl. 50:a). Objects of this kind have been found throughout the Mediterranean and along the northern and western coasts of the Black Sea, but never before have graffiti been reported on them. They are usually called bellows nozzles or tuyères,³ although other identifications have been suggested for this curious shape: cult objects, rhyta for libations to chthonic gods,⁴ torch stands,⁵ and cooking

¹ The excavations of Hermonassa conducted by the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow, are directed by Dr. A. K. Korovina. See M. J. Treister, *ArchNews* 15, 1986, forthcoming.

Works frequently cited are abbreviated as follows:

- Boardman, "Crete" = J. Boardman, "Crete," in *CAH*², III, iii, *The Expansion of the Greek World, Eighth to Sixth Centuries B.C.*, Cambridge 1982, pp. 222–233
- BullÉpig* = *Bulletin épigraphique*
- Grandjean = Y. Grandjean, "Tuyères ou supports?" *BCH* 109, 1985, pp. 265–279
- Guarducci = M. Guarducci, *Epigrafia greca*, I, *Caratteri e storia della disciplina; la scrittura greca dalle origini all'età imperiale*, Rome 1967; III, *Epigrafi di carattere privato*, Rome 1974
- Hudjak = M. I. Hudjak, *From the History of Nymphaion VI–III Centuries B.C.*, Leningrad 1962 (in Russian)
- Jeffery = L. H. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*, Oxford 1961, repr. 1969
- Morris = S. P. Morris, "ΑΑΣΑΝΑ: A Contribution to the Ancient Greek Kitchen," *Hesperia* 54, 1985, pp. 393–409
- Thumb, *Handbuch*² = A. Thumb, *Handbuch der griechischen Dialekte*, 2nd ed., E. Kieckers and A. Scherer, rev., Heidelberg 1932–1959
- Voigtländer, 1986 = W. Voigtländer, "Zu archaischen Keramik in Milet," in *Milet 1899–1980. Ergebnisse, Probleme und Perspektiven einer Ausgrabung. Kolloquium Frankfurt am Main, 1980 (IstMitt-BH 31)*, Tübingen 1986, pp. 38–41

² Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow, ТМГс-85, pit no. 2, no. 126. Pres. H. 10.9, diam. rim 8.0, H. rim 1.6, W. rim 2.8, upper diam. of hollow core 2.5 cm. Wheelmade. Brown clay with particles of mica. The authors are grateful to Dr. A. K. Korovina for permission to publish the find. Figures 2–5 were drawn by Maria Lwowa. The photographs were taken by Alexander Bochkarev.

³ F. Benoit, "Soufflets de forge antiques," *REA* 50, 1948 (pp. 305–308), pp. 304–307; V. von Graeve, "Milet. Vorläufiger Bericht über die Grabung im Südschnitt an der hellenistischen Stadtmauer 1966," *IstMitt* 25, 1975 (pp. 35–59), p. 59, fig. 42; G. Buchner, "Pithekoussai, Oldest Greek Colony in the West," *Expedition* 8, fasc. 4, 1966 (pp. 4–12), p. 12; D. Ridgway, "The First Western Greeks: Campanian Coasts and Southern Etruria," in *Archaeology into History*, I, *Greeks, Celts and Romans. Studies in Venture and Resistance*, C. and S. Hawkes, ed., London 1973 (pp. 5–38), p. 17, fig. 4.

⁴ R. Eilmann, "Frühe griechische Keramik im samischen Heraion," *AM* 58, 1933 (pp. 47–143), p. 127, fig. 72; Hudjak, p. 39.

⁵ I. B. Zeest, "Archaic Layers of Hermonassa," *Kratkije Soobschenija Instituta Archeologii* 83, 1961

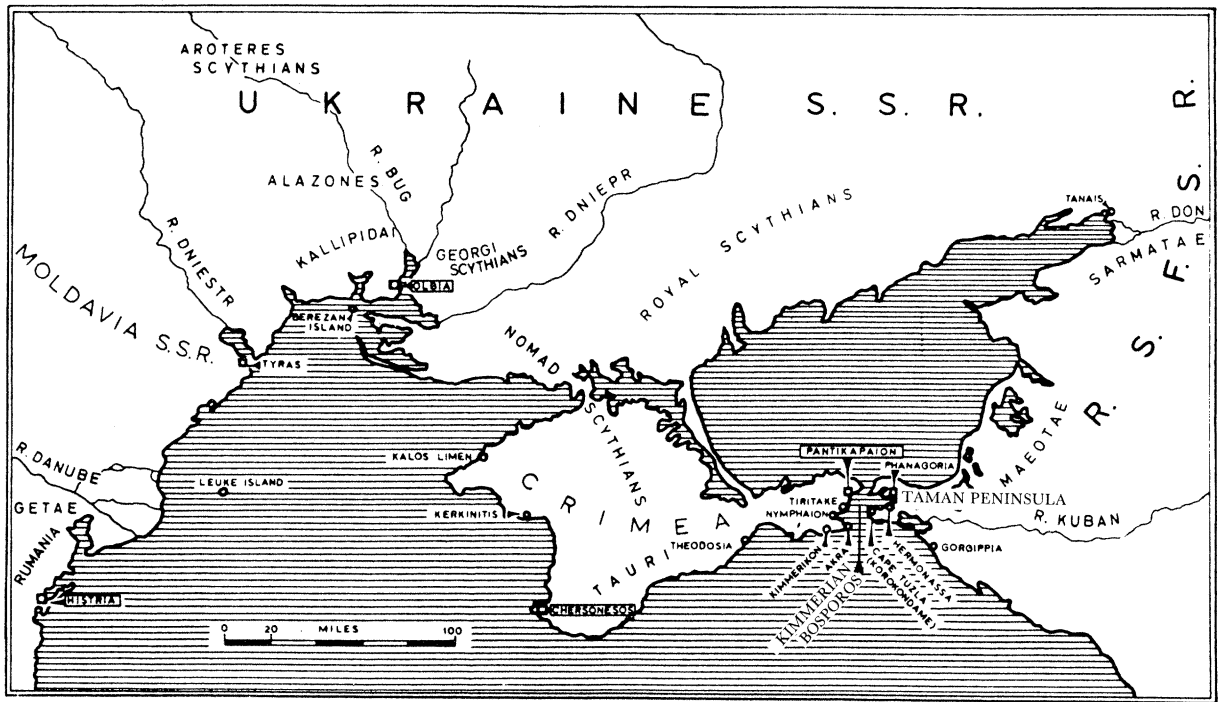


FIG. 1. South Russia and the north coast of the Black Sea. (After J. G. F. Hind, "Greek and Barbarian Peoples on the Shores of the Black Sea," *AR* 1983-84, p. 78, fig. 8)

stands.⁶ Two researchers, Yves Grandjean and Walter Voigtländer, have postulated that the group is not uniform but that depending on their construction and their context these objects may have served different functions, some being used in metalworking as bellows nozzles, others in cooking as stands or supports.⁷ The find from Hermonassa is one of a series of such artifacts from cities of the Bosporan Kingdom including Phanagoria, Pantikapaion, and Gorgippia⁸ (Pl. 50:b-i).

The new piece from Hermonassa, like another from the site (Fig. 4) and one from Pantikapaion (Fig. 5), belongs to the first of the three types established for these objects by Voigtländer.⁹ It is characterized by a hollow body with broad openings at top and bottom, round holes in the base under the handle, and vertical slits on the concave surface. The

(pp. 53-58), p. 57 (in Russian); I. B. Zeest and I. D. Martchenko, "Some Types of Ceramics from Pantikapaion," *Materialy i Issledovaniya po Archeologii SSSR* 103, 1962 (pp. 149-165), p. 165 (in Russian); B. A. Sparkes and L. Talcott, *The Athenian Agora*, XII, *Black and Plain Pottery of the 6th, 5th and 4th Centuries B.C.*, Princeton 1970, pp. 231-232, nos. 1014, 1015.

⁶ Morris; W. Voigtländer, "Funde aus der Insula westlich des Buleuterion in Milet," *IstMitt* 32, 1982, p. 109, fig. 61, nos. 427-433.

⁷ Grandjean; Voigtländer, 1986.

⁸ Gorgippia: *Зан*-85, pit 312, no. 154. Pl. 50:i is reproduced courtesy of E. M. Alexeeva, Institute of Archaeology of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Moscow.

⁹ Voigtländer, 1986.

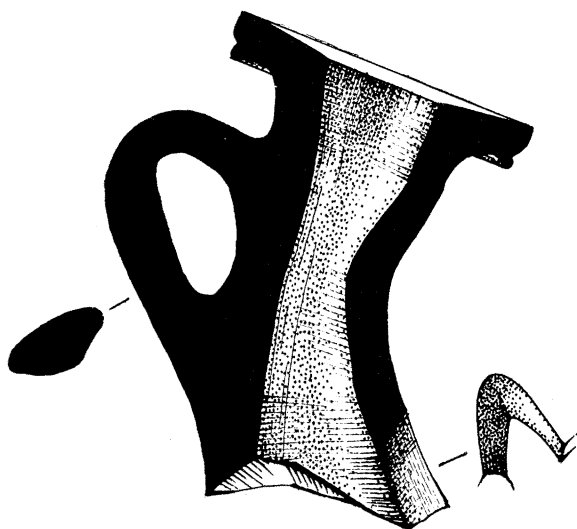


FIG. 2. Hermonassa. ТМГс-85, pit 2, no. 125 (Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow). Scale 1:2

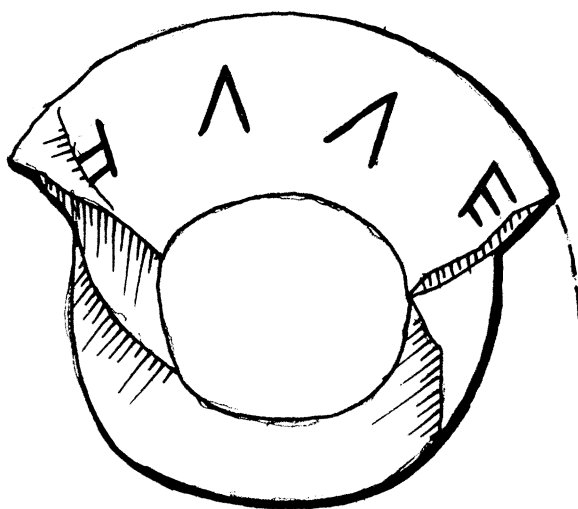


FIG. 3. Hermonassa. ТМГс-85, pit 2, no. 125 (Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow). Scale 1:1



FIG. 4. Hermonassa. ТМГс-85, pit 2, no. 120. Scale 1:2

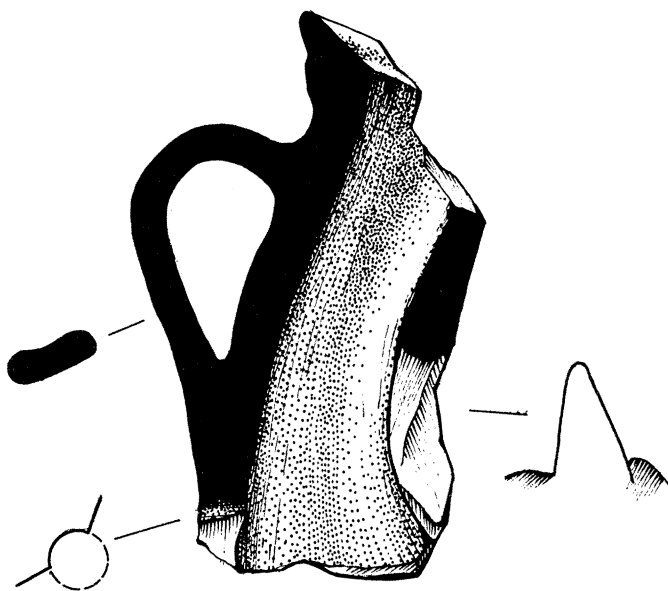


FIG. 5. Pantikapaion, М-80 Ц, 70, pit 2, no. 57. (Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow). Scale 1:2

shape of the lower part of the first type is close to that of objects from the sanctuary of Demeter at Nymphaion, which are not later than the end of the 6th century B.C.¹⁰ The two fragments from Hermonassa are of similar, rather fine clay and have similar rim profiles which are quite different from that of the object from Pantikapaion just mentioned. A rim profile closer to that of the new find appears on a fragment discovered on Thasos and dated to the second half of the 6th century B.C.¹¹ There are no exact parallels for the new find from Hermonassa among the published objects from Mediterranean sites; the piece from Miletos belonging to Voigtländer's second type, however, although its upper part differs from the Hermonassa type, does have a split on its concave surface.¹²

That these conical objects were employed as bellows nozzles and as supports for cooking pots is beyond question: depictions on black-figured vases confirm both uses.¹³ We would like to propose that these objects served still another function, one indicated by a significant feature of their archaeological context to which researchers, with the exception of Voigtländer, have paid insufficient attention. The conical objects in question have often been found in excavations of pottery kilns: at Hermonassa, Pantikapaion (Pl. 50:g, h), Phanagoria, Argamum, Histria, Miletos, and Massalia.¹⁴ At Nymphaion, just three meters from the sanctuary of Demeter where conical objects were found, a small pottery kiln was excavated.¹⁵ We believe that these discoveries are not coincidental but instead reflect the use of the conical objects in ceramic production. They might have supported pots during firing, as did the muff-shaped supports usually found in excavations of later pottery kilns; both are hollow and have round holes on one side.¹⁶ Such a function would explain the presence in the conical objects of both round holes and splits, which may have served to improve the circulation of hot air inside the kiln. We may assume, then, that it is a fragment from such a firing support that was found at Hermonassa.

Although only about one-third of the rim survives, preserving four from a possible twelve letters (Fig. 3, Pl. 50:a), the fragmentary graffito on the Hermonassa find enriches our knowledge of Greek colonization of the northeastern Black Sea. The script allows us to date the graffito not later than the third quarter of the 6th century B.C.; the epsilon is diagnostic.¹⁷ The epsilon also establishes the direction of script from left to right. It is therefore

¹⁰ Hudjak, pl. 32, middle of lower row.

¹¹ Grandjean, pp. 266–267, no. 1, figs. 1, 2.

¹² Voigtländer, 1986, pp. 40–41, no. 2040, fig. 13.

¹³ P. Hartwig, "Une gigantomachie sur un canthare de l'Acropole d'Athènes," *BCH* 20, 1896 (pp. 364–373), pp. 369–370, pl. VII, right; Morris, p. 397, note 15, pl. 104.

¹⁴ M. Coja and P. Dupont, *Histria, V, Ateliers céramiques*, Bucarest/Paris 1979, pp. 53–56; Voigtländer, 1986, pp. 39, 41, fig. 12A; Zeest (footnote 5 above), pp. 53–54, fig. 18; I. D. Martchenko, "Excavations of Pantikapaion in 1965–72," *Soobschenija Gosudarstvennogo Muzeja Izobrazitel'nykh Iskusstv imeni A. S. Pushkina* 7, 1984 (pp. 3–27), p. 14 (in Russian). Information about the finds from Phanagoria and Massalia was kindly furnished to us in correspondence by Dr. V. D. Kuznetsov (Moscow) and Professor Paul Bernard.

¹⁵ Hudjak, p. 39.

¹⁶ V. F. Gajdukevich, "Ancient Pottery Kilns," *Izvestija Gosudarstvennoj Akademii Istorii Material'noj Kul'tury* 80, Moscow/Leningrad 1934, pp. 89–98; *idem*, *Keramicheskoe proizvodstvo i antichnyje Keramicheskiye stroitel'nyje materialy*, Moscow 1966, p. 111, pl. 27:1–6 (both in Russian).

¹⁷ E.g., Jeffery, pp. 66, 79, 89, 96, 99, 104, 109, 138, 144, 151, 174, 183 (Taras, ca. middle of 5th century B.C.), 206, 230, 248 (Achaia and its colonies, before second quarter of 5th century B.C.), 262, 309, 325,

impossible to read the first preserved letter as a retrograde digamma.¹⁸ Nor can its second horizontal hasta be the result of a careless slip; like the other letters, the first is formed quite deliberately and accurately. It is in fact a shape that is rare even in the Archaic period: eta or the *spiritus asper*. The shape is known almost exclusively in the Cretan alphabets. It was used regularly in the Archaic script of Eleutherna and sporadically in other Cretan poleis.¹⁹ It appears also in Rhegion, but only occasionally, in inscriptions of the 5th century B.C. in which it signifies the *spiritus asper* exclusively.²⁰ The graffito from Hermonassa can therefore not be written in the alphabet of Rhegion, as the first letter is clearly followed by two consonants. Furthermore, the graphemes for gamma and lambda in the Rhegian script are quite different from these.²¹ The fragmentary text is therefore written in the alphabet of one of the Cretan poleis, most probably Eleutherna. Between eta and epsilon are two gammas of typically Archaic Cretan shape.²² The shape of the epsilon allows us to pinpoint when its writer left Crete. Around the middle of the 6th century in Eleutherna an abbreviated form of epsilon, without the bottom hasta, was introduced,²³ while the shape of eta remained unchanged. The writer of the graffito must therefore have learned to write before the middle of the 6th century and probably reached Hermonassa with the first wave of Greek colonists.

The inscription has been carefully and deeply cut into the fired clay with a triangular point. The letters are accurately shaped, their lines straight and true. The height of the letters (11–12 mm.; eta, 8 mm.), their width (8 mm.), the intervals between them (8 mm.; 13 mm. between eta and gamma), and their placement with respect to the rim are quite consistent. This accuracy seems to reflect considerable care on the part of the writer, who would appear, to judge from the letter forms, to be acquainted with the lapidary writing of the time. There is, in short, every reason to think that the inscription represents something more than a casual exercise.

Tools and implements, when inscribed, most often bear personal names, the name of the object, dedications, or wishes for prosperity.²⁴ We cannot rule out the possibility that the graffito was a dedication; the size of the letters and the fact that the fragment was found not far from a monumental Ionic capital of the late 6th century B.C. are suggestive. In that case, the text would have given the name of the deity in the genitive²⁵ or a short form of the

345, 359; cf. pp. 114, 132–133, 289, 313, 328, 335; Guarducci, I, pp. 91, 152–153, 181, 193–194, 209; cf. 204 (Olympia, beginning of 5th century B.C.).

¹⁸ See similar shapes of digamma: Jeffery, pp. 176 (Methana and Troizen), 230 (Kephallenia); Guarducci, I, pp. 172–173 (dipinto in black glaze on Corinthian krater, 7th century B.C.), 203–205 (Olympia, bronze tablet, beginning of 5th century B.C.).

¹⁹ Jeffery, pp. 28, 309; Guarducci, I, pp. 93, 183, 190.

²⁰ Jeffery, p. 79; Guarducci, I, p. 217.

²¹ Jeffery, p. 79.

²² Jeffery, pp. 30, 309; Guarducci, I, pp. 90, 95, 181.

²³ Jeffery, pp. 24, 309; Guarducci, I, p. 190.

²⁴ Guarducci, III, p. 330; cf. p. 556.

²⁵ See, e.g., L. H. Jeffery, "Comments on some Archaic Greek Inscriptions," *JHS* 69, 1949 (pp. 25–38), pp. 31–32, no. 6 (bronze from Megaris with the name of Herakles); cf. *BullÉpig* 1951, no. 54 (name of the god[?] Asklepios in nominative on a bronze fragment and on an astragal from the Peloponnese).

dedicant's name in the nominative and the deity's in the dative.²⁶ It is more likely, however, that the letters preserve part of the owner's name, often found on craftsmen's equipment, either in full or in abbreviated form. Such inscriptions are well known on weights.²⁷ An even more significant example is the appearance of potters' names, stamped or inscribed, on the muff-shaped supports from pottery kilns found in the western provinces of the Roman Empire and dated to the first centuries after Christ.²⁸ The parallel is a close one, and it permits us to conclude that the graffito from Hermonassa is part of a potter's inscription on an object used in a kiln to support vessels during firing.

We cannot be so sure about the name that was inscribed. It is equally possible that we have the ending of a name (-γέ[*ν*ης], -γέ[*τ*ης]),²⁹ its middle, or even its beginning. The difficulty is compounded by the orthography and phonology of the Cretan dialects: eta, for example, was also used for the contracted diphthong *αι*, which occurred in positions occupied by simple epsilon in other dialects, and sigma was regularly assimilated to a following gamma.³⁰ The number of possible restorations is accordingly too great to permit certainty. Another consideration is that whereas the regressive assimilation of *σ* > *γ* is common in the Cretan dialects, that of *ν* > *γ* is standard for the entire Greek language; thus nothing prevents us, in principle, from seeing the break coming between the gamma. We could then read the end of the owner's first name and the beginning of his patronymic. Masculine names in the nominative of four or five letters and ending in -*ης* or -*ην* are well known in Greek,³¹ as are those beginning with Γ*ε*-.

The special care with which the graffito was executed may be evidence that it was a dedication. Yet, even when we keep in mind all the phonetic peculiarities of the Cretan dialects, it is not easy to find the name of a deity which contains the combination -*ηγγε*-, or even one beginning with Γ*ε*-, if the first two letters preserve the end of the dedicant's name.³² It is impossible to read any of the epithets of Apollo, principal god of the Ionian colonists in the Euxine basin, such as Archegetos or Musegetos, because the reduplication of gamma (*γ* > *γγ*), the reverse of the well-known process of simplification (*γγ* > *γ*), is not attested in the Cretan dialects. A last possibility, that the right-facing letters are to be read

²⁶ See, e.g., *BullÉpig* 1951, no. 209 (dedication to Demeter on fragment of votive[?] pyramidal object of fired clay).

²⁷ Jeffery (footnote 25 above), pp. 32–33, no. 7 (middle of 6th century B.C.; cf. *BullÉpig* 1951, no. 254); O. Broneer, "Excavations at Isthmia, 1954," *Hesperia* 24, 1955 (pp. 110–141), p. 140, nos. 18, 19 (cf. *BullÉpig* 1944, no. 15; 1956, no. 20, etc.).

²⁸ G. Chenet, "Die Erforschung der gallorömischen Töpfereien in den Argonnen seit dem Anfang des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts," *Germania* 14, 1930 (pp. 64–73), p. 71, ill. 6; Gajdukevich (footnote 16 above), p. 95. Cf. R. Forrer, *Die römischen Terrasigillata-Töpfereien von Heiligenberg-Dinsheim und Ittenweiler in Elsass*, Stuttgart 1911, pp. 227–228, note 2.

²⁹ See, e.g., F. Dornseiff and B. Hansen, *A Reverse-Lexicon of Greek Proper Names*, repr. Chicago 1978, s.vv.

³⁰ Thumb, *Handbuch*², § 141, 6b, 24; § 142, 13; § 143, 18b.

³¹ Dornseiff and Hansen (footnote 29 above), s.v.

³² A possible reading is *πρεγγευτράς*, the early Cretan form of *πρεσβευτής* (LSJ, s.v.; C. D. Buck, *The Greek Dialects*, Chicago 1955, § 86, 3a, p. 73); it is discussed in our article "From the History and Culture of the Bosphorus," in *Reports of the Pushkin Museum* (forthcoming). We would like to thank the referee for the present article, who independently came to the same possible reading, for sharing the suggestion.

from right to left, is unlikely; examples of such pseudo-boustrophedon are rare and consist only on inscriptions in two or more lines.³³ In any event, such a reading would not affect our conclusions.

The utilitarian character of the find at Hermonassa excludes its being an import from Crete; such artifacts are almost always of local manufacture. In this case the supposition of local origin is confirmed by the clay from which the object is made. For a number of reasons, then, we may assume that the potter emigrated from Crete and settled in Hermonassa. The chronological indications provided by the graffito suggest a date soon after the town was founded; it may well be that the potter was among the first colonists.

There is evidence that Cretans took part in colonial expeditions organized by other states. According to Thucydides (vi.4.3), Cretans led by Entimos joined Rhodians to found Gela in Sicily in 688 B.C. Around 639 B.C., a Cretan murex-fisher, Korobios of Itanos, led the Therans to settle on the shores of Cyrenaica (Herodotos, iv.151–153). John Boardman believes that the story which names a Cretan princess of Axos as the mother of Battos, the first Theran king of Cyrene (Herodotos, iv.154–155), may indicate Cretan involvement in the colonization.³⁴ In Cyrene in the middle of the 6th century, one of the three new tribes created by the reformer Demonax was composed of Peloponnesians and Cretans (Herodotos, iv.161). The literary sources are supported by archaeological evidence. A Cretan sherd was found at Aziris, the first but short-lived Greek settlement on the African mainland.³⁵ At Tocra, Cretan pottery was discovered in a level dating *ca.* 590–565 B.C.³⁶ Pottery of Cretan style is also known at Gela.³⁷

It is well known that Greek craftsmen traveled from place to place searching for work.³⁸ For Cretan masters, the necessity to seek work beyond their native island was intensified by an economic crisis in the 6th century B.C. Boardman has correctly stated that the last generation of major artists in Archaic Crete sought work elsewhere.³⁹ Pausanias reported that the sculptors Dipoinos and Skyllis, “sons of Daidalos”, worked in the Argolid (ii.15.5; 2.25). Of more direct interest to us is Vitruvius’ statement (x.2.11–12) that the architects Chersiphron of Knossos and his son Metagenes worked at Ephesos, especially in view of Treister’s hypothesis about the participation of Ephesians in the emigration to the Kimmerian Bosphoros in the middle of the 6th century.⁴⁰

³³ See, e.g., Jeffery, no. 349, pl. 68, no. 23 (end of 6th century B.C.); J. G. Vinogradov, “L’anello del re Skyles. Storia politica e dinastica degli Sciti nella prima metà del V. sec. a.C.,” *Epigraphica* 43, 1981 (pp. 9–37), pp. 18–19, fig. 2:c (5th century B.C.).

³⁴ Boardman, “Crete,” pp. 223–225 for these accounts.

³⁵ J. Boardman, “Evidence for the Dating of Greek Settlements in Cyrenaica,” *BSA* 61, 1966 (pp. 149–156), p. 151; Boardman, “Crete,” p. 233.

³⁶ J. Boardman and J. Hayes, *Excavations at Tocra: The Archaic Deposits* I, London 1966, pp. 14, 78–79; *The Archaic Deposits* II, London 1973, pp. 36–37, 73; Boardman, “Crete,” p. 233.

³⁷ Boardman, “Crete,” p. 223.

³⁸ A. Burford, *Craftsmen in Greek and Roman Society*, Ithaca 1974, pp. 66–67.

³⁹ Boardman, “Crete,” p. 232.

⁴⁰ M. J. Treister, “The Earliest Object of Etruscan Production in the North Pontic Area and Some Problems of the Early History of Pantikapaion,” *Kratkiye Soobscheniya Instituta Archeologii* 197, 1989 (forthcoming; in Russian); *idem*, in *Die Welt der Etrusker: Archäologische Denkmäler aus Museen der sozialistischen Länder*, Berlin 1988, p. 390, 1–7; *idem*, “The Earliest Etruscan Object in the North Pontic Area from

The find from Hermonassa is one of the earliest confirmations from Russian soil of the widely held view that any group of Greek settlers would have included not simply the core of citizens from the metropolis but also a significant contingent of colonists from other Hellenic centers. In this connection we may repeat the old observation that the Cretan dialects show the clear influence of those of the pre-Dorian, central Greek substratum: Achaeian, possibly Aeolian, and perhaps that of the earliest Ionian tribes.⁴¹ These cosmopolitan features are especially typical of the dialects of the central Cretan poleis, that is to say, the region of Eleutherna.⁴²

Whatever its meaning and purpose, the graffito from Hermonassa remains a rarity by virtue not only of its association with a class of object on which no inscription had previously been reported but also of its excellent execution and its composition in a script otherwise unknown in that region at that time. It was an attempt at self-expression by a Cretan craftsman who found himself in an alien environment, surrounded by East Ionian Greek colonists in a remote outpost of the *oikoumene*.

ADDENDUM

The excavation seasons of 1987 and 1988 saw the discovery of conical clay objects at several North Pontic centers. Fragments from objects belonging to either the second or the third Voigtländer type were found at the following sites: Kepoi (late 6th-century pit); Berezan Island settlement (5th-century B.C. stratum); Pantikapaion, western plateau of the first step of Mount Mithridates (pit of the second half of the 4th century B.C.). Of particular interest is the discovery of a conical object of the first type at Pantikapaion during the excavation of the circular, perhaps cult-related building on the western plateau (Pl. 50:c, d). The destruction layer of this tholos, which dates to the first or second quarter of the 5th century B.C., is covered by a layer of metalworking debris 5 to 7 cm. thick in which the object was found. The remains of a kiln were excavated near by. The new object from Pantikapaion, although not wheelmade, is identical to those from Hermonassa. It leads us to believe that the objects of the first type were used in metalworking as well as in the manufacture of pottery and, consequently, that the Cretan craftsmen in Hermonassa may have been a metalworker as well as a potter.

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the Collection of the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts," in *Materials of the International Colloquium "Die Welt der Etrusker"*, Berlin, 23.-26. Oktober 1988 (in press).

⁴¹ Thumb, *Handbuch*², § 139.

⁴² Thumb, *Handbuch*², § 140.



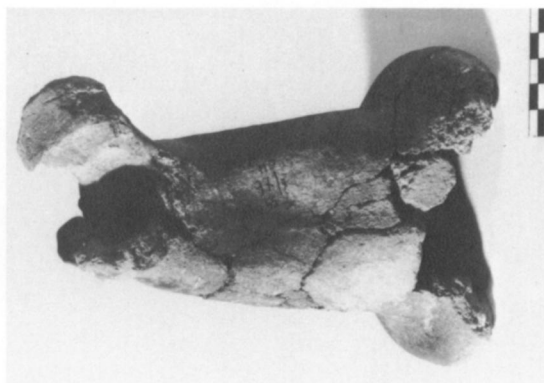
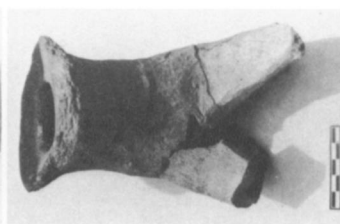
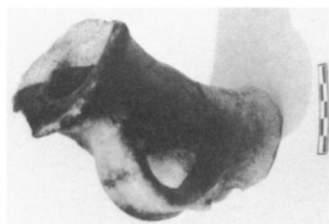
a. Hermonassa, ТМГ с-85, pit 2, no. 126



b. Conical clay objects

b-h. Pantikapaion; Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow

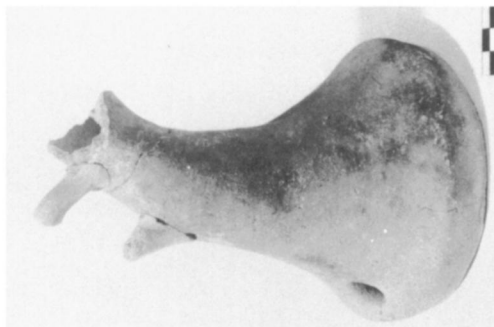
c, d. M-88 Л, 47/5, side and front views



e. M-64, H 3, 97-7, no. 1055



f. M-70, H 3, 130, no. 376



g. M-68, H 3, kiln 663, no. 483



h. M-68, H 3, kiln 663, no. 482



i. Gorgippia, 3an-85, pit 312, no. 154