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cissement de la panse est-il l'indice d'une fabrication plus tardive. Peut-être approchera-t-on de la date véritable en proposant le III<sup>e</sup> ou le II<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C.

**104. Amphore rhodienne. Inv. V. 86.** — Fig. 46 et 47. — J. PARIS, *BCH* 38 (1914), p. 324-325.

Intacte, à l'exception du fond, dont l'appendice est mutilé. — Ht. conservée : 73,5 ; diam. embouchure : 12/12,6 ; diam. max. panse : 35 ; ht. des anses : ca. 26 ; — capacité : 25,160 litres.

Argile beige rosé à rosée vers l'intérieur, recouverte en surface d'une pellicule d'argile beige clair localement très lustrée (anses).

La panse, piriforme, est relativement trapue. Les anses, de section circulaire dans leur partie verticale, ellipsoïdale dans leur partie horizontale, forment chacune un coude selon un angle aigu proche de l'angle droit. Toutes deux portent un timbre sur la face externe de leur partie horizontale ; dans le timbre de gauche on lit : ΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝΟΣ (fig. 47 a) ; dans celui de droite : ΕΠΙΔΟΡΚΥΛΙΔΑ ΠΑΝΑΜΟΥΔΕΥΤ (fig. 47 b)<sup>82</sup>.

A la fois d'après son argile et sa forme et d'après les timbres que portent les anses, cette amphore est caractéristique des ateliers rhodiens. Le timbre de gauche donne, au génitif, le nom du potier : Ἀριστίων ; celui de droite indique d'une part, au génitif précédé de la préposition ἐπί, le nom de l'éponyme, qui est à Rhodes le prêtre d'Hélios<sup>83</sup> : Δορκυλίδας, d'autre part, au génitif, le nom du mois — en l'occurrence le mois intercalaire du calendrier rhodien — : Πάναμος δεύτ(ερος). Le nom du potier comme celui de l'éponyme sont bien connus<sup>84</sup>, mais les témoignages de leur synchronisme restent, à notre connaissance, très rares, peut-être, il est vrai, pour la simple raison que la plupart des timbres connus se trouvent sur des fragments d'anses isolés. Les dates de l'éponyme Δορκυλίδας, dont le nom apparaît sur une anse trouvée à Pergame dans un contexte archéologique bien déterminé<sup>85</sup>, se situent entre environ 220 et 180 av.

(82) Pour des précisions sur les dimensions et la forme des lettres, voir J. PARIS, *loc. cit.*, p. 325.

(83) Voir par exemple M. P. NILSSON, *Expl. arch. de Rhodes, V : Timbres amphoriques de Lindos publiés avec une étude sur les timbres amphoriques rhodiens* (1909), p. 56.

(84) Sur les noms donnés par les timbres amphoriques rhodiens, on consultera principalement : F. BLECKMANN, *De inscriptionibus quae leguntur in vasculis Rhodiis* (1907), appendice II ; M. P. NILSSON, *op. cit.*, p. 349-529 ; V. R. GRACE, « Timbres amphoriques trouvés à Délos », *BCH* 76 (1952), p. 522-531 ; en dernier lieu (avec bibliographie complète), V. R. GRACE, *EADélos, XXVII* (1970), p. 287-317 ; pour la seule liste des prêtres éponymes, voir H. VON GAERTRINGEN, *RE*, Suppl. 5 (1931), s. v. « Rhodos », col. 834-840, et V. R. GRACE, « The Eponyms named on Rhodian amphora stamps », *Hesperia* 21 (1953), p. 122-127.

Le potier Aristion a signé des amphores retrouvées à Pergame (deux et peut-être trois), à Carthage (cinq), à Alexandrie (quatorze), à Tell Sandahannah (douze), en Russie méridionale (quatre), en Sicile et en Italie (sept), à Halicarnasse (une), dans l'île de Rhodes (au moins vingt-deux, dont six à Lindos), à Délos (sept), à Théra (une), à Athènes, etc... Le prêtre Dorkylidas sert d'éponyme (avec plusieurs fois, la précision ἐπ' ἱερέως Δορκυλίδας) sur des amphores rhodiennes provenant de Pergame (une), de Carthage (trois), d'Alexandrie (sept), de Russie méridionale (deux), de Sicile et d'Italie (deux), de Rhodes (douze), de Délos (une), etc...

(85) Pour les timbres amphoriques trouvés à Pergame, voir C. SCHUCHHART, *Pergamon, VIII, 2 : Die Inschriften von Pergamon*, II (1895), p. 423-499.

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Fig. 45. —  
Amphore 103 (1:10).



Fig. 46. —  
Amphore 104 (1:10).



Fig. 47 a et b. —  
Timbres de l'amphore 104  
(1:1).

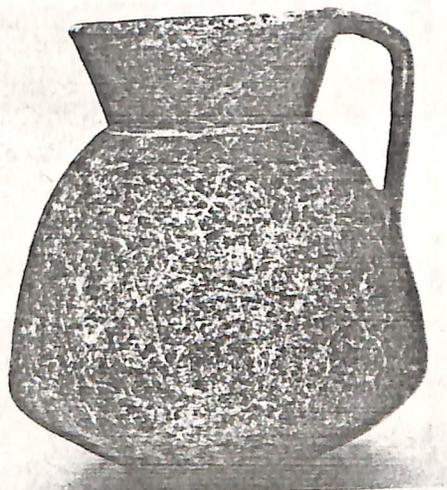


Fig. 48. — Cruche 106 (1:4).



Fig. 49. — Amphore 105 (1:10).

J.-C. selon la datation traditionnelle du dépôt de Pergame, plus précisément peut-être entre 210 et 175 selon une estimation récente de V. Grace<sup>86</sup>. C'est donc sans doute de la fin du III<sup>e</sup> ou, au plus tard, du début du II<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C. qu'il convient de dater notre amphore rhodienne.

**105. Amphore de Cos. Inv. V. 87. — Fig. 49. — Inédite.**

Panse intacte, mais partie supérieure du col et embouchure brisées ; trou sur l'épaule, à l'endroit de l'arrachement de l'une des anses, qui manque. — Ht. avec l'anse : 103 ; diam. embouchure (restitué) : ca. 9,5 ; diam. max. panse : 28,4 ; ht. de l'anse : 30.

Argile brun orangé vif à rougeâtre. En surface, mince pellicule d'argile de la même couleur, bien lissée. Localement, sur la panse, présence d'un badigeon bronze foncé à noirâtre. Sur tout le vase, en particulier à l'intérieur du col et sur la panse, stries de tournage très nettes.

La panse, très allongée, à la forme d'un cylindre qui se termine en ogive dans sa partie inférieure pour aboutir à un appendice en forme de mamelon pointu. Un ressaut très net, à arête vive, sépare d'une part la panse de l'épaule, en forme de tronc de cône, d'autre part l'épaule du col, cylindrique. L'anse, bifide, se dresse d'abord verticalement depuis son point d'attache situé au bas de l'épaule ; elle dépasse légèrement la hauteur de l'embouchure, puis forme un brusque coude pour redescendre en oblique s'attacher au sommet du col.

L'argile et, surtout, la forme de notre vase permettent de le rattacher à coup sûr à la série des amphores de Cos<sup>87</sup>. La datation de ces amphores, encore mal connues, n'est pas très précise. La ressemblance de notre exemplaire avec celui que présente V. Grace (cf. n. 87), ainsi qu'avec un autre trouvé à Chios lors des fouilles de la butte de Kofina<sup>88</sup>, invite à le dater aussi du I<sup>er</sup> siècle ap. J.-C.

**106. Cruche à fond convexe. Inv. V. 88. — Fig. 48. — Inédite.**

Bien conservée dans l'ensemble, mais quelques restaurations au plâtre vers le bas de la panse et à l'embouchure. De nombreuses concrétions blanchâtres très fines donnent l'illusion de traits blancs sur la surface du vase. — Ht. : 24 ; diam. embouchure : 13/13,5 ; diam. min. col : 10,7 ; diam. max. panse : 22,3 ; section de l'anse : ca 3 x 1,2.

Argile rouge orangé, très cuite, assez grossière. Couverte gris cendré sur l'extérieur du vase (y compris l'anse), excepté une calotte restée rouge sur la partie convexe du fond. L'intérieur du vase est brut ; de grosses stries de tournage apparaissent sur la face interne du col.

Le vase comprend trois parties très nettement différenciées : un fond convexe assez large, une panse elle aussi convexe dont le profil forme un angle légèrement obtus avec celui du fond, et un col droit qui va en s'évasant. Une anse plate, aux lignes anguleuses, relie l'embouchure au milieu de la panse.

L'origine du vase, en l'absence de renseignements sur sa provenance et, à notre connaissance, de parallèles précis, est impossible à déterminer. Sa datation fait problème. La finesse des parois, la forte cuisson de l'argile

(86) V. R. GRACE, *EADēlos*, XXVII (1970), p. 291.

(87) Sur les amphores fabriquées dans cette île, voir par exemple A. MAIURI, *Nuova silloge epigrafica di Rodi e Cos* (1925), p. 245-246 (avec dessin d'une amphore identique à celle de l'École française) ; V. R. GRACE, *Amphoras* (cf. n. 81), fig. 57 (amphore datée du I<sup>er</sup> siècle ap. J.-C.).

(88) J. K. ANDERSON, *BSA* 49 (1954), p. 163 et p. 181 fig. 19, n° 353 (amphore datée du I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C.).

CALLAGHAN

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## ON THE DATE OF THE GREAT ALTAR OF ZEUS AT PERGAMON

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The Great Altar of Zeus on the acropolis at Pergamon was the crowning architectural and sculptural achievement of the Attalid dynasty. A colossal frieze decorating its podium brought to maturity the baroque style in sculpture and provided an influential model for later artists. The monument was built at some point in the reign of Eumenes II (197–159 B.C.). Its major theme was provided by the larger frieze on the podium. Here was depicted a battle between gods and giants, a traditional allegory for the triumph of Greeks over barbarians. As such, the sculptures must refer to one or more of the successful campaigns waged by Eumenes in his attempts to expand and secure the frontiers of his ancestral dominions. Of the smaller frieze, which was placed on the screen wall within the colonnades of the altar court proper, we shall have more to say later in this paper.<sup>1</sup>

The monument was never completed. It is possible that Eumenes' successors carried out some of the work on the upper parts, though the extent and duration of this putative effort must remain unknown. Some students would attribute the Telephos frieze in the altar court to Attalos II (159–138 B.C.), but we can be certain on only one point: that work had reached the entablature at some stage before the end of the dynasty in 133 B.C.<sup>2</sup>

It is unfortunate that there is no secure date for the inception of this large-scale building project. Those dates which have been advanced are based on detailed examination of a large body of circumstantial evidence. They fluctuate between a high chronology, which would make the Altar a monument to the victory over Antiochus III at Magnesia in 190 B.C.,<sup>3</sup> and the more generally accepted range within the decade 180–170 B.C., immediately after a series of smaller conflicts with several of Eumenes' near neighbours in Asia Minor.<sup>4</sup> Robertson dismissed the problem of absolute dating as unimportant, being content to see the Altar as a glorification of the Pergamene state at its height.<sup>5</sup> It would be wrong, however, to regard the almost 40 years of Eumenes' reign as a monolithic whole: the Altar was a propagandist monument, and represents a political statement at a precise moment in the king's tenure of power. There was, in fact, one major watershed in the reign. Until the Third Macedonian War (171–168 B.C.), Eumenes had enjoyed the confidence and wholehearted support of the Roman Senate. However, his dilatory and equivocal behaviour in the course of hostilities caused that august body to entertain the gravest suspicions as to his motives and loyalty.<sup>6</sup> Despite vigorous denials and intense diplomatic activity, Eumenes was never able to retrieve his former position, and it is likely that only the enthusiastic support of his subjects and near kin saved him from losing his throne.<sup>7</sup> If the Altar should postdate the Macedonian War its symbolic structure might well illuminate one facet of the king's reaction to this novel and potentially dangerous situation.

There is some evidence that we should contemplate a dramatic down-dating for the inception of work on the Great Altar. Its podium was supported by a massive foundation, divided by criss-cross walls into a large number of small chambers. In 1961 a sondage was made within one such, placed close to the centre of the substructure.<sup>8</sup> The fill was made up of masses of stones and earth, together with a small amount of sherd material. These fragments have virtually been ignored in recent discussions of the Altar's date for the simple reason that, until recently, uncertainty concerning the chronology of Hellenistic

pottery did not allow them to affect the argument one way or the other. Recent developments in several fields have now endowed some of these sherds with a significance belied by their battered condition and uncertain artistic value. Two are rim fragments from Megarian Bowls, both having a wreath made up of disjointed trefoil clumps just below the blank rim zone.<sup>9</sup> I have discussed the history of this motif in some detail elsewhere,<sup>10</sup> and have dated its introduction to the second quarter of the second century B.C.<sup>11</sup> At that time, my only note of hesitation concerned the two sherds in question and the tomb of Lyson and Kallikles at Lefkadia in Macedonia, the decorative schema of which included trefoil patterns, and which had been dated on epigraphic grounds to the reign of Perseus (179–168 B.C.).<sup>12</sup> Given the accepted chronology for both monuments, I was reluctantly prepared to accept them as the sole evidence for the use of the motif before *ca.* 170 B.C.<sup>13</sup> During the past two years, however, various data have come to my notice which tend to confirm my original position, and to provide a more secure base for further research.

The tomb of Lyson and Kallikles has been dated on the basis of the inscriptions found within. I have elsewhere sought to reinforce the epigraphic evidence by an examination of the Macedonian shield painted on one of the tympana of the burial chamber.<sup>14</sup> I am now convinced that the shield's unusual decorative scheme makes its placement within the canonical series rather more problematic than I had at first supposed. Literary evidence suggests that different types of Macedonian shields were in use at one time, and both the coins and a marble trophy base on Delos (where the assorted types are actually piled together) seem to confirm this picture.<sup>15</sup> The position of the Lefkadia shield thus becomes ambiguous, and other aspects of the tomb's decoration should be given priority so far as dating is concerned. The walls of the burial chamber were decorated with thick garlands slung between pilasters. The greater mass of leaves was dark, though highlights were indicated by clumps of trefoils in a lighter colour. Round-ended ribbons of varying colours and with dark borders are intertwined among the foliate swathes.<sup>16</sup> Exactly the same style, down almost to the smallest detail, is to be found on the mosaic floor of the temple of Hera Basileia at Pergamon.<sup>17</sup> This is securely dated by a dedicatory inscription<sup>18</sup> to the reign of Attalos II (159–138 B.C.). The close similarities in treatment must indicate that the two buildings were constructed within a few years of each other, and would tend to rule out a date before *ca.* 160 B.C. for the Macedonian paintings. Conversely, the painted armour at Lefkadia should refer to a period when Macedonia still possessed standing armies. These survived Pydna in order to protect the puppet republics from barbarian incursions and played a part in the revolt of Andriskos in 150 B.C., but can hardly have been permitted after the conversion of Macedonia into a Roman province after his defeat.<sup>19</sup> Taken together, these data suggest that both the tomb and the temple of Hera should be placed in the decade 160–150 B.C.

With these two potential obstacles removed, we are now left with the question of the two sherds from the Altar foundations. Their date depends in great part on numismatic evidence, and recent research has done much to confirm accepted ideas. Bauslaugh has convincingly demonstrated that a unique tetradrachm of Eumenes II should commemorate his escape from assassination in 172 B.C.<sup>20</sup> The coin, the decoration of which includes a trefoil style wreath, thus becomes the earliest dated evidence for the inception of this motif. A very similar, though potentially lower, date for the earliest wreathed tetradrachms of Erythrai is implied by Mørkholm's discovery of die-links between them and an unwreathed issue found in the Latakia 1759 hoard (buried *ca.* 170 B.C.).<sup>21</sup>

It can be demonstrated that on at least one other occasion coroplasts copied numismatic motives after a time lapse long enough to be obvious even by our necessarily crude reckoning.<sup>22</sup> The introduction of wreathed coins being an official and propagandist measure, it would be difficult to believe that the initiative lay on this occasion with the potters. Granted, further, the obvious wear on one of the Altar fragments, and it would appear hazardous indeed to date the earliest phases of construction much before *ca.* 165 B.C.

Fortunately, we need not rely solely on the trefoil style sherds. No fewer than three other Megarian Bowl fragments from the foundations belong to "Long Petal Bowls".<sup>23</sup> The type has been fully discussed by Edwards, who set out detailed evidence for an introduction not long before the middle of the second century B.C.<sup>24</sup> All three fragments from the Altar belong to early stages of the series,<sup>25</sup> which both the Corinthian and Delian sequences suggest were becoming obsolete by *ca.* 150 B.C.<sup>26</sup> Seven more fragments belong to glazed bowls decorated with an incised "football" pattern.<sup>27</sup> Edwards was not able to provide a convincing chronology for the pattern and dated the Corinthian examples far too early. Other evidence indicates that his alternative proposition, that they were somehow connected with the "Net Pattern" bowls, was correct. These last were also introduced sometime in the second quarter of the second century B.C.<sup>28</sup>

Excavations elsewhere at Pergamon tend to confirm the general patterns of juxtaposition evident in the Altar group, suggesting that it has not been corrupted by later intrusions. At the Asclepieion, none of the types concerned appears before Phase 12 (*ca.* 157–125 B.C.).<sup>29</sup> In the area of the sanctuary's theatre, the whole range of Altar types seems to be present in the second building phase of Sondage C.<sup>30</sup> This is dated close to the middle of the second century, and it appears that only one sherd with a trefoil pattern belongs to the previous phase.<sup>31</sup> A deposit in Sondage D, dated 175–150 B.C., contains a trefoil style bowl, the leaves of which provide the closest parallel for those on one of the Altar sherds.<sup>32</sup> This massive evidence surely indicates that the accepted dates for the Altar are far too high.

Eumenes II fought two outstanding campaigns whose results had a great impact on the kingdom. The first was the Seleucid war, culminating in the battle of Magnesia in 190 B.C. The ensuing treaty saw the Pergamene state raised from a position of relative obscurity to the foremost place among the kingdoms of Asia Minor. Such a change in status called for a correspondingly dramatic victory monument. And it received one. The precinct of Athena Polias, whose humble form had mirrored the city's now outworn status, was converted into a grandiose tropeum.<sup>33</sup> The great North Stoa was built and, between the columns of the upper storey, provided with a series of relief plaques representing the spoils of the Magnesia campaign.<sup>34</sup> It has sometimes been assumed that the presence of Gallic among the Macedonian arms in these reliefs represents a conflation of the Magnesia battle with the later war against the Bithynians and Galatians, but this view is almost certainly incorrect.<sup>35</sup> The different arms are actually resting intermingled, and all the trophies depicted can easily be accommodated by the Magnesia battle: there are Greek helmets and standards, shields of various types, and the dragon trumpets of Gallic war bands. The Greek weapons need no explanation. Antiochus also had by his side in the battle the Anatolians whom he had been at pains to secure as allies before his campaign. These included Gallic cavalry in some numbers.<sup>36</sup> The ships' prows which also appear in this jumble of symbols should refer to Pergamon's valuable naval contributions during the war.<sup>37</sup>

Another, lost, monument might also belong to this complex. The early excavators at Pergamon unearthed a small bronze plaque decorated with a battle scene. This seems to have excited no comment, though it very probably represents an actual moment in the battle of Magnesia.<sup>38</sup> On the extreme left is a Macedonian standard which forms the rallying point for a pair of heavily-armed soldiers, obviously representing a phalanx. In the centre background a naked (Gallic?) cavalier rides in their support, though the field has already been won by the enemy, whose light-armed (Mysian?) troops occupy most of this zone. Pride of place is given to a pair of armed riders in the centre foreground. They trample a number of Macedonians, and their levelled spears seem set to pierce the spare ranks of the phalanx — apparently the last die-hards on a day already lost. The "Macedonians" need not be from Macedon itself, but could easily represent the elite troops of some other of the successor states.<sup>39</sup> The scene otherwise so nearly resembles Livy's description of Eumenes' victorious charge at Magnesia that we might identify this small strip as a depiction of that very event. It seems, too, that this cartoon was part of a larger whole, for the two diagonals cutting across the shaft of the standard probably represent the spears of additional figures which have been excised. A more monumental original is probably indicated, and one which was surely physically associated with the other mementoes of the same victory. I would suggest a battle painting, hung on the walls of the North Stoa in the Pergamene sanctuary of Athena.

Important as was the battle of Magnesia for the growth of the Attalid state, a second colossal monument to this one feat of arms (and the Pergamenes played no great part in the battle) would surely have been otiose. Were we, despite the clear ceramic evidence to the contrary, to associate the Great Altar with Magnesia it would also leave Eumenes' major military achievement without any known monument.

After the Third Macedonian War, Eumenes' disgrace at Rome encouraged the Galatians to attack western Asia Minor. The Romans refused all aid, and the Gauls ravaged far and wide until they were defeated by the unaided arms of Pergamon in 166 B.C.<sup>40</sup> So severe had been their depredations, so real the danger for Hellenism in Asia Minor, that the Greek states responded by heaping honours on Eumenes and his house. The king was proclaimed "common benefactor of the Greeks",<sup>41</sup> and the cities also thanked him formally for his many victories against the barbarians, victories which enabled them to "live in peace and security".<sup>42</sup> He was voted a golden wreath by the Ionians, as well as a gilt statue to be set up in any city he chose.<sup>43</sup> Games and cults were also instituted by several cities in honour of the royal family.<sup>44</sup> And all this was decreed by the Asian Greeks despite severe Roman disapproval and attempts to nullify the victory.<sup>45</sup>

Kleiner has suggested that this was also the very time when Eumenes converted his realm into a closed economic unit by the introduction of a new monetary standard in place of the Attic: the institution of the cistophoric coinage.<sup>46</sup> Mørkholm prefers a date almost ten years earlier than this,<sup>47</sup> but his main arguments have been refuted by Kleiner,<sup>48</sup> and the work of Bauslaugh<sup>49</sup> also implies that the older Attic tetradrachms were still being minted in ca. 171 B.C. It would seem, on the whole, that Kleiner's theory is the more likely. Significantly, the *cistophoroi* replace the portrait of the dynasty's founder with symbols celebrating the Attalids' pretensions to a divine ancestry. This is a hint, perhaps, of how things were moving at the time, and another feature of the new coinage which fits better with the mood of adulation in ca. 166 B.C. These events would provide the obvious background for the inception of the most grandiose, most bombastic, monument erected by the Pergamene kings, and the pottery from the 1961 sondage supports such an equation. With these points in mind it is perhaps best to examine in more detail the potential symbolism of this impressive structure.

The Great Altar stands upon a podium, the surface of which pulsates with a colossal battle between the gods and giants. The action is cruel and chaotic, the style of carving florid, with contorted figures and richly textured surfaces. The learning and sheer academic detail which went into this composition has often been the subject of comment.<sup>50</sup> Obviously the scheme was well thought out in advance, probably by the learned professors attached to the court. It would be strange indeed if the usual meaning — the victory of Hellenes over a barbarian foe — should have been suppressed in favour of an unprecedented allusion to the defeat of a fellow Greek monarch. Given the Attalid desire to make their city the Athens of their time, it is even more unlikely that they should depart radically from the symbolism of the Parthenon in the greatest building on their own acropolis.<sup>51</sup> It is better, perhaps, that we see here reflected the Greek vote of thanks to Eumenes for "his many victories over the barbarians".

The worshipper next mounted a broad stair to the enclosed altar court above the podium. He was now high above the titanic struggle which had first greeted him, and was able to contemplate the calm and peaceful scenes of the Telephos frieze, relating the history of the semi-divine ancestor of the royal house. Probably we are expected to see here not only the glorification of the ruling family, but also the results of the king's victory and the second part of the Greeks' reaction to it: "in order that the inhabitants (of the cities) should live always in peace and prosperity". Of course there is much more to it than that, and many scholars have attempted the arrangement and interpretation of the frieze's exceptionally complex iconography.<sup>52</sup> The frieze represents the legend of Telephos, son of Herakles and Auge. This *bona fide* Greek hero was the mythical founder of Pergamon and the adopted ancestor of its Hellenistic dynasty. His figure, therefore, provides one focus for those links with Greece which were so often stressed in the monuments of the Attalids.<sup>53</sup> He also underlines the legitimacy of the dynasty at a time when it was under severe external pressure. It is probably no coincidence that at the same time the Dionysiac and Heraklid origins of the royal house are explicitly stated for the first time on the coinage, the *cistophoroi*.

It may be objected that the last seven years of Eumenes' reign is too short a time to allow for so large and complex a monument. The pottery, however, seems to allow little room for earlier work on the project. We should also remember that a large number of artists was employed on the reliefs,<sup>54</sup> that the Altar remained unfinished, and that work appears to have been carried out on different parts of the monument simultaneously.<sup>55</sup>

It has been argued, on the grounds of its different style and *ambiance*, that the Telephos frieze represents a different phase of Pergamene art, and should be dated to the reign of Attalos II.<sup>56</sup> This seems unlikely. The complex symbolism implies a single mind behind the work and is reflected in the contemporary political situation, decrees issued at the time, and on the coinage. In addition, had Attalos planned his own contribution, he would surely have had time in his own long reign to bring it to completion. The actual date of work on the upper parts of the building, however, is less important than the realisation that the whole scheme was probably planned at the same time. The change in style would, in that case, not reflect a difference in authorship or period. It would rather hint at the degree of sophistication in Pergamene court circles, able to conceive the combination of opposing artistic principles to illustrate a single complex propagandist statement.

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NOTES

While writing this paper I was able to hold several fruitful discussions with Dr A.F. Stewart. These had a great bearing on the final form of this essay, though I must take responsibility for any mistakes in interpretation which might remain.

1. Major studies include: *AvP* III, 2; H. Kaehler, *Der Grosse Fries von Pergamon* (Berlin 1948); E. Schmidt, *The Great Altar of Pergamon* (London 1965).
2. Rejected blocks from the upper parts of the colonnade were found built into the walls of Palace IV on the Pergamene acropolis. The tiles from this building bore the stamp of the royal workshops, and so it must have been constructed before 133 B.C. *AvP* V, 1, 65-69.
3. Most recently espoused by A. Stewart, *Attika* (*JHS* Suppl. papers 14, 1979) 23. Kaehler (note 1) 144 ff. and n. 82.
4. H. Berve et al., *Greek Temples Theatres and Shrines* (New York 1962) 486; M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age* (New York 1961) 113.
5. C.M. Robertson, *A History of Greek Art* (Cambridge 1975) vol. 1 538.
6. Polybius 30, 1, 1-3; 19, 12.
7. *Ibid.*, and C.B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period* (Yale 1934) no. 52; F.S. Kleiner and S.P. Noe, *The Early Cistophoric Coinage* (New York 1977) 16 f. and n. 47.
8. — J. Schaefer, *Hellenistische Keramik aus Pergamon* (*Perg. Forsch.* 2, Berlin 1968) 26 and Pl. 1, 2.
9. *Ibid.*, Pl. 19 Z109 and 123.
10. *BSA* 75 (1980) 33-47.
11. *Ibid.*, 39 ff.
12. *Makedonika* 2 (1941-1952) 634-6.
13. *BSA* 75 (1980) 43 f.
14. *AAA* 11 (1978) 56.
15. J. Macarde, *Au Musée de Délos* (Paris 1969) 376 and Pl. III, and H. Gaebler, *Die Antiken Muenzen von Makedonia und Paionia* (Berlin 1935), note Pl. 12, 12-15; Pl. 34, 1, 3 and 18 with heads of Pan; Pl. 35, 14-15 with Gorgoneia; Pl. 36, 13-16 shallow bows with caduceus; Pl. 37, 15 with spear head. A coin of Gonatas Pl. 34, 12 resembles the Lefkadia shield in having thunderbolts between the groups of bows. Since there can be no question of a chronological link, this is further evidence for regimental or regional differences in details of the Macedonian shield schema.

16. *Archaeology* 27 (1974) 250, 252, 255 and details in the figure on 257.
17. *AM* 37 (1912) Pl. 27.
18. *Ibid*, 256–269, especially 264.
19. *CAH* VIII, 274. Despite demilitarisation, three of the four republics were allowed small forces to guard their borders. There is a slight difficulty here since Lefkadia lies in the third republic, the only one without troops according to the treaty. We must remember, however, that the Romans had difficulty in enforcing the terms of the peace.
20. *AJA* 85 (1981) 185 f.
21. *Ibid*. Full publication is forthcoming.
22. *BSA* 75 (1980) 42 and 45 f.
23. Schaefer (note 8) Pl. 19, Z108 and Z126–7.
24. *Corinth* VII, iii, 175 ff. and especially 176–8.
25. *Ibid*, 177 f.
26. *Ibid* and *Délos* xxxi *passim*. The workshops have been divided chronologically on stylistic grounds. This seems to work, see *BSA* 75 (1980) 42 f. The earliest workshops have the greatest concentration of bowls similar to those from the foundations of the Altar.
27. Schaefer (note 8) Pl. 20, top and third register.
28. *Corinth* VII, iii, 102. Note, however, the direct parallel for the Altar types: 90, no. 530 – dated 160–146 B.C. For the “Net Pattern Bowl” see pp. 179–181; *AAA* 11 (1978) 58 f.; *BSA* 75 (1980) 42.
29. *AvP* XI, i, Pl. 54 numbers 343–4. The presence of developed forms of the “Shield Bowl” in the previous two phases (Pl. 51, no. 290 and Pl. 49, no. 256) implies either that the chronology for these phases is too high, or that they have been contaminated.
30. *AvP* XI, 2, 64–77. The interpretation of this sondage is made difficult by the fact that the material from the two phases is not differentiated in the catalogue. I take it that the list of Megarian Bowls from Phase I on p. 66 is exhaustive, and that the other bowls belong to the second phase. At all events, the presence of many fragments of “Long Petal Bowls” indicates a date after 175 B.C.
31. *AvP* XI, 2, Pl. 46, 1.
32. *Ibid*, 77–81 and Pl. 47, 4 right. Together with a “Long Petal Bowl” fragment: Pl. 47, 1 left.
33. Berve et al. (note 4) 485 f.
34. *AvP* II.
35. C.M. Robertson (note 5) 546 f. where he would like the reliefs to commemorate the 166 B.C. defeat of the Gauls. Berve (note 4) implies a conflation, 485 f.; A.W. Lawrence, *Greek Architecture* (Penguin 1973) 208 is neutral.
36. Livy 37, 40; Appian *Syriaca* 32, 1 ff.
37. *CAH* VIII, 219–221.
38. *AvP* I, 250 f. and fig. For Livy’s description of Eumenes’ charge, see Livy 37, 43, 8.
39. The Seleucids used “Macedonian” troops to form the phalanx. That they were equipped with Macedonian shields is indicated not only by the traditional names of the regiments, see Livy 37, 40–43; Polybius 30, 25, 3 ff., but also by representations of such on Seleucid coins, see E.T. Newell, *The Coinage of the Western Seleucid Mints* (New York 1941) Pls. 6, 13, 18. Although these all bear dynastic emblems in the central tondo, this is a numismatic device, as a comparison with the Macedonian numismatic and other evidence shows. The sunburst was a royal Macedonian symbol and, as such, could be inherited by any of the successor dynasties.
40. For a general description and interpretation of these events see Welles (note 7) no. 52 and commentary.
41. *Ibid*.
42. *Ibid*.
43. *Ibid*, No. 52 is actually from a monumental statue base found at Miletus, presumably the statue mentioned in the inscription. These honours were bestowed in 167 B.C., that is to say, before the great victory the following summer. They will suffice, however, to indicate the mood at the time.

44. *Ibid.* Note also *BCH* 5 (1881) 385; *Rev. Phil.* (1934) 279–291; *SIG*<sup>3</sup> no. 1028.
45. Polybius 31, 6.
46. Kleiner and Noe (note 5).
47. *ANSMN* 24 (1979) 47–62.
48. *ANSMN* 25 (1980) 45–52.
49. *AJA* 85 (1981) 185 f.
50. Bieber (note 4) 114 f.
51. Note especially Stewart (note 3) 20. Stewart offers a detailed analysis of the subjects and placement of the Attalid monuments on the Acropolis at Athens. It is especially instructive to note that the Parthenon metopes depicting gigantomachies stood directly above the groups of Attalos, and that Persians and giants formed part of the sculptures dedicated as a thank offering for a victory over the Galatians. This would suggest that the triple equation of Gauls equals Persians equals giants was already an established Pergamene iconographic concept, thus making any allusion to other enemies of the Attalids even less likely.
52. *JDAI* 2 (1887) 244 f.; 3 (1888) 45–105; 15 (1900) 97–135; Bieber (note 4) 120.
53. See note 51. The Attalids were particularly keen to have their city seen as the Athens of their age. The Gallic victories were useful, since they could easily be made to fit the role of the Persian invaders of Attica in the early fifth century B.C.
54. Stewart (note 3) 24; Bieber (note 4) 114.
55. Both the Telephos frieze and the colonnades of the altar court were unfinished. Obviously work could be carried on simultaneously by the sculptors and builders. There is no reason to believe that early work on the upper parts of the Altar could not have progressed while the sculptors were finishing off the greater frieze.
56. Bieber (note 4) 120; Robertson (note 5) 544.

HARVARD EXCAVATIONS

AT SAMARIA

1908 — 1910

BY

GEORGE ANDREW REISNER

CLARENCE STANLEY FISHER

DAVID GORDON LYON

VOLUME I. TEXT

15. Reg. No. 3995, S5 street, July 7, 1910.

17. \*

Reg. No. 3000, S5 street, July 30, 1910.

16. **YOM** Reg. No. 4174, S8-801 S, Sept. 1, 1910.

18.

Reg. No. 3241, S5 c, July 1, 1910.

C. TWIN-HANDLES

The handles made of two adhering parallel strands of clay sometimes have two stamps, one on each strand. As no whole jars were found, it is not possible to say whether the opposite twin handle was also stamped or not. The left hand strand as you look towards the neck is A and the right B.

- 1. A.  $\Omega\Pi[A]\Gamma\rho\Upsilon\Upsilon$ , Reg. No. 4011, S7-357 sub, Aug. 20, 1910.  
B.  $\Lambda\Gamma$ -----
- 2. A.  $\Omega\Pi\text{ATP--}$ , with a club above, Reg. No. 3567, S6 e E, July 21, 1910.  
B. Blank.
- 3. A.  $\Sigma\text{ATY}$ , Reg. No. 3550, S6 h, July 19, 1910.  
B. A club in a rectangle.
- 4. A.  $\text{BABACEY}$ , with a club below, Reg. No. 4780, S11-1 S, Oct. 8, 1910.
- 5. A.  $\text{IKACOY}$ , with a club (?) below, Reg. No. 2244, S5 e, north of Greek Fort Wall, Sept. 28, 1910.
- 6. B.  $\text{PAR club } \Sigma$ , Reg. No. 3538, S5 e, July 18, 1910.
- 7. A. -- $\text{PATPOY}$ , and a second line, Reg. No. 2923, S2 III 67, June 21, 1910.

B. **A**

- 8. A.  $\text{EPMIAS}$ , Reg. No. 4093, S9, Aug. 24, 1910.  
B.  $\Sigma\text{P}\Gamma\text{E}\Sigma\text{A}$
- 9. A.  $\text{BOGPY}$ , Reg. No. 3134, S5a, June 29, 1910.
- 10. A.  $\text{ΘINEΩN|M}$ , Reg. No. 4854, S11-22 black dirt, Oct. 13, 1910.
- 11. A.  $\text{ΞENO}$ , Reg. No. 4591, S8-811, Sept. 20, 1910.
- 12. A.  $\text{-OΛIΦOΠ-}$  (reversed?) Reg. No. 3635, S6 c, July 26, 1910.
- 13. B.  $\text{K*IVI}$ , Reg. No. 2205, S3 e, Sept. 21, 1909.
- 14. A. Palm leaf. Reg. No. 3650, S6 b, July 27, 1910.
- 15. B. Figure of a man. Reg. No. 2445, S3 b between street walls, Oct. 6, 1909.

D. FLAT HANDLES, COARSE WARE

- 1.  $\text{EΠIΞEΝOKIO}$ , Reg. No. 4889, S11, N of middle, Oct. 17, 1910.  
 $\text{YCKΛEYΠOΛI}$ ,  
 $\text{OCKNIΔI}$ ---
- 2.  $\text{IΞT---YTOY}$ , Reg. No. 2208, S3 e, Sept. 23, 1909.  
vase  
 $\text{APTEMIAD}$ ,  
 $\text{MENΩ----Y}$ ,
- 3.  $\text{NYCIOY}$ , Reg. No. 2028, L. T. 3 a-39, Sept. 8, 1909. Inscription reversed.  
NI  
 $\text{ΦIΛAI}$ ,
- 4.  $\text{ΦIΛIΔIOC}$ , Reg. No. 4665, S8-880, Sept. 26, 1910.  
paddle  
 $\text{ΘACIΩN}$ ,
- 5.  $\text{Θ]AΞIΩN}$ , Reg. No. 3695, S4-327 sub, July 30, 1910.  
tripod  
 $\text{IΞOΛIKOΞ}$ ,
- 6.  $\text{Θ]ACIΩN}$ , Reg. No. 3457, S4-347 sub, July 13, 1910.  
leaf  
 $\text{A]ΓECTPATO}$ ,
- 7.  $\text{APIZTO}$ , Reg. No. 2242, S3 c, Sept. 28, 1909.  
 $\text{ΓENEYΞ}$ ,

- 8.  $\text{EYAN}$ , Reg. No. 2323, S3 d, Oct. 11, 1909.  
 $\text{ΘOY}$ ,  
leaf
- 9.  $\text{ΠYΘIOY}$ , Reg. No. 2177, S3 b NE low, Oct. 5, 1909. Inscription reversed.
- 10.  $\text{ΔIONOY}$ , Reg. No. 2344, S3 street E sub, Oct. 13, 1909. Inscription reversed.
- 11.  Reg. No. 3401, L. T. E. a, July 9, 1910.
- 12.  Reg. No. 3546, S6 a, July 19, 1910. Shaded part illegible.
- 13. Pomegranate in a circle, Reg. No. 3308, S5 d, July 4, 1910.
- 14.  Reg. No. 3630, S6 e, July 26, 1910.
- 15. Illegible. Reg. No. 2287, S3-310, Oct. 6, 1909.
- 16. **EY** Reg. No. 2720, Cl. T., Aug. 14, 1909.
- 17.  Reg. No. 2270, S3-311, Oct. 6, 1909.

E. ROUND HANDLES, COARSE WARE, LATIN AND GREEK INSCRIPTIONS

- 1. **AN** Reg. No. 4392, S9-906 sub, Sept. 6, 1910.
- 2. **ΓIM** Reg. No. 4902, S11-15 behind Herodian wall.
- 3. **PHORI** Reg. No. 4507, S8 d, Sept. 15, 1910.
- 4.  $\text{REPOL}$  Reg. No. 2719, Cl. T., Aug. 14, 1909.
- 5. **Q-ALLI** Reg. No. 4847, S10-1001, Oct. 12, 1910.

F. ARRETINE STAMPS (S. 11)

(see p. 85)

THE  
EXCAVATION OF GEZER

1902—1905 AND 1907—1909

BY R. A. STEWART MACALISTER

M.A., F.S.A.,

PROFESSOR OF CELTIC ARCHAEOLOGY, UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN

WITH NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS

IN TWO VOLUMES OF LETTERPRESS AND  
ONE VOLUME OF ILLUSTRATIONS

VOL. II

LONDON

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET, W.

1912

- ΔΑΜΙ<sup>1</sup> ΝΙΚΑ<sup>1</sup>Ι ΥΚΡΑ reversed. Not a Rhodian handle (fig. 467, no. 12).
- 165 ΕΠΙ ΔΑΜΟ<sup>1</sup>ΘΕΜΙΟΣ  
ΕΠΙ ΔΑΜΟΦΕΜΕΟΣ<sup>1</sup> ΠΑΝΑΜΟΥ (fig. 467, no. 13).  
ΕΠΙ ΙΕΡΕΩΣ<sup>1</sup> ΔΑ[ΜΟ]ΚΛΕΥΣ  
410 ΔΑΜΟΚΡΑΤΕΥΣ round rose (11). One of them with additional stamp [O] and another associated with the ΚΑΕΚΡΑΤΕΥΣ stamp.  
[ΔΑ]ΜΟΚΡΑ[ΤΕΥ]Σ round rose, reversed.
- 170 ΔΑΜΟΚΡΑΤΕΥΣ<sup>1</sup> ΤΑΤ reversed; anchor below. The letters ΤΑΤ are under the end of the name. They are very faint; no trace of other writing.  
]ΔΑΜΟΥ  
ΔΑΤΕ with anchor (fig. 467, no. 17).  
Δ[ΑΤ?]Ο\*\*\*\*  
ΘΑ<sup>1</sup>ΣΙΩΝ<sup>1</sup> ΔΙΑΡΟΥ (2). Fig. 467, no. 6.
- 175 ΔΙΦΟΙΝΥΣΙ<sup>1</sup> ΜΑΝΙΤΟΣ inside a rectangle with a line between the two lines of writing.  
ΕΠΙ [ΙΕΡΕΩΣ Δ]ΙΟ<sup>1</sup> ΚΛΕΥΣ ΔΑΛΙΟΥ  
ΔΙΟΝ\*\*\*\* reversed.  
ΔΙΟΝΥ<sup>1</sup>ΣΙΟΣ  
[ΔΙΟ]ΝΥΣΙΟΥ round rose.
- 180 ΔΙΟΝΥΣ reversed (not Rhodian). Fig. 467, no. 1.  
ΔΙΟΣΘΟΥ round rose.  
]ΔΙΟΣΘΟΥ round rose.  
ΔΙΟΥ (3)  
ΔΙΟΦΑΝΤΟΥ conventionalised Helios-head at both ends (17).
- 185 ΔΙΣΚΟΥ (3)  
ΔΙΣΚΟΥ Helios-head to right (2).  
ΔΙΩΝ Helios-head to left.  
Δ\*\*\*ΝΟΥ round rose.  
ΔΟ\*\*\*ΡΣΑ (?) [second line illegible].
- 190 ΔΡΑΚΟΝΤΙΔΑ anchor below (10).  
ΔΡΟΚΑΣΙΣ<sup>1</sup> ΥΑΚΙΝΘΙΟΥ  
Δ\*σ\*\*\*\*  
\*\*\*\*\*ΔΩΡΟ  
ΔΩΡΟΘΕΟΥ (3)
- 195 ΔΩΡΟΘΕΟ<sup>1</sup> ΤΟΥ ΜΩΓΗΤ (fig. 467, no. 10).  
\*\*\*\*] ΔΩΡΟΥ[\*\*\*\*\* a figure like a palm-tree (but possibly a Helios-head between the O and Y.  
ΕΠΙ Ε\*\*\*\* ΔΑΛ[λου να]<sup>1</sup>Κ[ιθιον] reversed.  
ΕΠΙ Ε\*\* ΔΗΤΟΥ<sup>1</sup>ΤΝ\*\*\* Υ  
ΕΠΙ \*\*ΕΙΟΣ\*\*ΚΛΕΟΥ\*\* round rose. Badly stamped.
- 200 \*ΕΛΛΑΝΟΣ  
ΕΝΔε\*\*\*ΟΣ round rose.  
]ΕΝΕ<sup>1</sup> [ ] (Υ?)ΥΣ not a Rhodian handle. Probably there is not more than one letter missing from the beginnings of the lines: they are lost not by fracture but by a failure of the stamp to impress them.  
ΕΠΙ ΙΕΡΕΩΣ \*\*\*\*ΕΝΟΣ round rose.  
ΕΠΙ \*\*\*\*\*ΕΞ[ round rose.

- ΘΕΣΜΟ\*\*ΡΙΤΟΣ  
 ΕΠΙ ΘΕΣΤΟΡΟΣΙ ΣΜΙΝΘΙΟΥ
- 250 ΘΕΥΔΑΜ[ου] ΑΡΤΑΜΙΤ[του]  
 ΘΕΥΔΩΡΟΥ ΠΑΝ[ΑΜΟΥ]  
 ΕΠΙ ΘΕΥΔΩΡΟΥ Helios-head to left.  
 ΘΕΥΣΤ\*\*\*\* ΥΑΚΙΝΘ round rose: the month-name in smaller letters.  
 ΘΕΩνυμ in panel.
- 255 Θ\*ΙΔΩΡΟΣ in a circle round a central boss (fig. 467, no. 24).  
 ΕΠΙ ΘΡΑΣΥΔΑΜΟΥ ΠΑΝΑΜΟΥ in very minute letters.  
 ΕΠΙ ΙΑΣΙΚΡΙΑΤΕΥΣ  
 [ ]Ι [ ]ΔΑ [ ]ΟΥ  
 ΙΕΡΟΤΕΛΕΥΣ in a circular stamp, boss in centre (fig. 467, no. 3).
- 260 ΙΕΡΩΝΟΣ with caduceus (2).  
 ΕΠΙ ΙΕΡΩΝΟΣ ΑΡΑΜΙΤΙΟΥ (*sic*) round rose.  
 ΕΠΙ ΙΕΡΩΝΟΣ ΠΑΝΑΜΟΥ  
 ΙΜΑ in large bold letters with caduceus.  
 ΕΠΙ μα λ\*\*\*Ι ΠΑΝαμου
- 265 [ΙΝ?]\*ΟΝΟΣ in a rectangular panel.  
 ΙΠΠΟΚΡΑΤΕΥΣ round rose: found along with a seal of Aristodamos.  
 ΙΣΙΟΣ stamped across the handle: not Rhodian.  
 ΕΠΙ Κ\*\*\*\*\* ΣΜΙΝΘΙΟΥ  
 ]ΙΣΤΡΟΥ
- 270 ΕΠΙ [ ] ΚΑ [ ] Helios-head to left.  
 ΚΑ\*\*\*\*\* ΚΑΡΝΕΙΟΣ round rose.  
 [Κ?]ΑΓΡΥΑ ΑΡΤΑΜΙΤΙΟΥ  
 ΕΠΙ ΚΑΕΚΡΑΤΕΥΣ (*sic*) ΑΓΡΙΑΝΙΟΥ round rose: in addition a small square stamp bearing a rose on the side of the handle.  
 ]ΚΑΙΝΟΥ
- 275 ΕΠΙ ΚΑΛΛΙΚΡΑΤΕΥΣΙ ΣΜΙ[νθίου]  
 ΕΠΙ ΚΑΛΛΙΚΡΑΤΙΔΑ round rose.  
 ΕΠΙ καλλ]ικρατιΔΑΙ \*\*\*\*\*ΟΥ  
 ΕΠΙ ΚΑΛΛΙΚΡΑΤΙΔΑ ΑΡΤΑΜΙΤΙΟΥ round rose.  
 ΕΠΙ ΚΑΛΛΙΚΡΑΤΙΔΑ ΑΓΡΙΑΝΙΟΥ round rose.
- 280 ΕΠΙ ΚΑΛΛΙΚΡΑΤΙΔΑ ΠΑΝΑΜΟΥ  
 ΕΠΙ ΚΑΛΛΙΚΡΑΤΙΔΑ ΠΑΝΑΜΟΥ round a circular stamp, with no device in the centre.  
 [επ]Ι ΚΑΛ[λι]ΚΡΑΤ  
 ΚΑΜΩΝΟΣ a sword below (3).  
 ΚΑΣΙΩΝΟΣ round rose.
- 285 ΚΕΡΙ in remarkable minuscular letters (fig. 467, no. 28).  
 ]ΚΙΝΟΥ] ]ΧΟΥ [ ]  
 ΚΛ\*\*\*\*\* round rose.  
 ΕΠΙ ΚΛΕ ΑΡΧΟΥ in rectangular panel, the second Ε outside.  
 ΕΠ ΙΕΡΕΩΣ ΚΛΕΑΡΧΟΥ
- 290 ΕΠΙ ΚΛΕΑΡΧΟΥ ΑΓΡΙΑΝΙΟΥ round rose.  
 \*\*\*\*Ι ΚΛΕΑ (for ]ΚΛΕΑ).

Schuchhardt

KÖNIGLICHE MUSEEN ZU BERLIN

DIE  
INSCHRIFTEN VON PERGAMON

UNTER MITWIRKUNG VON

ERNST FABRICIUS UND CARL SCHUCHHARDT

HERAUSGEGEBEN

VON

MAX FRÄNKEL



2. RÖMISCHE ZEIT. — INSCRIFTEN AUF THON

BERLIN

VERLAG VON W. SPEMANN

MDCCCXCV

PERGAMON

VIII 2

einzugravieren hatte, damit sie im Abdrucke rechtsläufig erschien, wobei er sich im ganzen oder im einzelnen leicht irren konnte, und 2. daraus, daß die Stempel flüchtig hergestellt wurden, denn die mit dem genauen Datum mußten alle Monat erneuert werden. Derartige Fehler werden uns um so weniger wundern, als wir noch heute in Firmenschildern und ähnlichen Aufschriften unzählige Male S und N verkehrt gestellt sehen und selbst auf drei Blättern von Dürers »kleiner Passion« das Monogramm des Meisters uns mit verdrehtem D entgegentritt  $\overline{\text{A}}$ .<sup>1</sup>

Die Linksläufigkeit der Inschriften hat Becker für ein Zeichen hohen Alters angesehen und diese Stempel in das 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr. versetzen wollen.<sup>2</sup> Da sie als leicht erklärlicher Fehler des Stempelschneiders auch in der pergamenischen Sammlung des öfteren auftritt,<sup>3</sup> die zeitliche Geschlossenheit dieses Materials aber einer so hohen Ansetzung entschieden widerspricht, so muß auch mit jener Becker'schen Ansicht heute gebrochen werden. Welcher Zeit aber gehört der pergamenische Fund an? Hr. Bohn erklärt, daß die Baulichkeiten, in welchen die Henkel gefunden wurden, »spätestens aus dem 2. Jahrhundert v. Chr.« stammen. Zu diesem Ansatz stimmt die Zusammenfassung des Fundes durchaus. In der Schrift herrschen die kleinen o und α, das π mit ungleichen Schenkeln, das κ mit kleinen Querhaken durchweg. Mehrfach findet sich auch noch das A mit gebogenem Querstrich, das in Pergamon für die Zeit Attalos' I. bezeichnend ist. Das schon vielfach erscheinende runde ε und c darf nicht irre machen; dasselbe ist in diesen für flüchtigen und unscheinbaren Zweck hergestellten, der Kursivechrift nahestehenden Stempeln sicher früher verwandt worden als in monumentalen Inschriften. Auch aus dem Zahlenverhältnis der Stempel verschiedener Herkunft ist ein gewisser Schluß auf die Zeit gestattet. In unserer pergamenischen Sammlung überwiegen die rhodischen Stempel so sehr, wie nir-

gend sonst zuvor. 809 rhodischen Stempeln stehen hier nur 15 thasische, 6 knidische, 2 smyrnäische und 1 parischer gegenüber. Unter Dumont's meist in Athen gesammelten Stempeln kommen auf 347 rhodische 1742 knidische und 124 thasische, wobei allerdings alle möglichen unbestimmbaren und auch viele rhodische zu den knidischen gerechnet sind. Da die Lage von Rhodos und Knidos für Pergamon dieselbe ist wie für Athen, nämlich Knidos noch ein Stück näher liegt, so erklärt sich der weit überwiegende Handel mit Rhodos jedenfalls aus dem engeren politischen Verhältnis, das diesen Staat mit Pergamon verband. Ständig sind diese beide Staaten mit Rom zusammengegangen in den großen Kriegen gegen Makedonien und gegen Antiochos zu den Zeiten Attalos' I. und Eumenes' II. Unter Eumenes beginnt eine Rivalität der beiden ersten Mächte Kleinasien, die nachher zum Abbruch der freundschaftlichen Beziehungen führt.

Ein lateinischer Name kommt in den aus dem Hausfundament stammenden Stempeln noch nicht vor. Die beiden einzigen lateinischen Gefäßstempel aus Pergamon sind an anderen Stellen, der Burg gefunden; sie stehen auch nicht auf Gefäßhenkeln, sondern der eine (Herms Nr. 1321) auf dem verdickten Halse einer Amphora, der andere (C. Satri f. Phoebus 1320) auf dem breiten Rande einer Schale. Lateinische Henkelstempel giebt es im Vergleich zu den griechischen sehr wenige, wie das C. I. L. ausweist. Dumont führt neben seinen mehreren tausend griechischen Stempeln 21 lateinische an (S. 389 ff.), welche aber nicht auf den Henkeln, sondern am Halse des Gefäßes angebracht waren. Die Stempelung der Henkel ist also offenbar nur in einer bestimmten Zeit üblich gewesen und dann, wohl im 1. Jahrhundert v. Chr., abgekommen.

Aus einigen wenigen Beispielen sehen wir, daß die rhodischen Amphoren zuweilen noch einen kleinen Stempel am Halse trugen. Da die dünnen Halsstücke sehr viel vergänglicher

<sup>1</sup> Bartsch 20, 22 und 46.

<sup>2</sup> Jahrh. f. klaff. Phil. Suppl. IV S. 462 Nr. 11; später hat er erkannt, daß die Linksläufigkeit nicht immer ein zuverlässiges Datum gebe (ebenda Suppl. V S. 519), setzt aber immer noch die ältesten Henkelstempel in das 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr. (ebenda Suppl. V S. 514).

KÖNIGLICHE MUSEEN ZU BERLIN

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UNTER MITWIRKUNG VON

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2. RÖMISCHE ZEIT. — INSCRIFTEN AUF THON

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VERLAG VON W. SPEMANN  
MDCCCXCV

## II. AMPHORENSTEMPEL.

Aus dem ganzen Verlaufe der Ausgrabungen waren erst 17 Amphorenstempel vorhanden, als im September 1886 sich plötzlich eine überaus reiche Fundgrube erschloß. In der südöstlichen Ecke der Hochburg (Gebäudegruppe VI), zwischen der alten ursprünglichen und der späteren weiter vorgertickten Burgmauer fand sich nämlich der ganze Innenraum zwischen den Grundmauern eines Gemaches vom Felsen her aufgefüllt mit Scherben von Amphoren<sup>1</sup>. Davon sind einige besser erhaltene Fufs- und Halsstücke und alle Henkel, welche Inschriften trugen, gesammelt worden. Binnen wenigen Tagen war die Zahl der Stempel auf nahe an tausend gestiegen. Ich habe sie gleich damals sämtlich abgeschrieben und nur etwa 30—40, welche so geringe Reste der Inschrift zeigten, daß ihre Abschrift und Aufbewahrung keinerlei Nutzen versprach, beiseite gethan. Bei den wiederholten Revisionen in Berlin sind dann noch weitere 17 Stück (Inv. Nr. 101, 105, 119, 121, 147, 164, 182, 184, 228, 249, 255, 278, 286, 287, 298, 538, 566) aus demselben Grunde von der Publikation ausgeschlossen worden.

Von den publizierten Nummern befindet sich durchweg ein Exemplar, oft mehrere, in Berlin; die weiteren Dubletten sind in Pergamon geblieben. Jedoch ist unter Dublette hier nicht immer eine aus demselben Stempel stammende Inschrift, sondern schon eine die-

selben Namen in derselben Anordnung bietende zu verstehen. Um z. B. unter den 58 Exemplaren von ΔΑΜΟΚΡΑΤΕΥΣ etwaige minutiöse Stempelabweichungen festzustellen, war in Pergamon nicht Zeit.

Bisher sind grössere Mengen von Amphorenhenkeln veröffentlicht worden von Stoddart aus Alexandria, von Stephani und Becker aus Südrussland, von Dumont zumeist aus Athen<sup>2</sup>. Mit dem im Druck befindlichen ersten Hefte der Inscr. Gr. Insularum werden die von Newton auf Rhodos gesammelten Amphorenstempel von F. v. Hiller herausgegeben werden. Die Sammlung Dumont's übertrifft die unsere an Masse bei weitem; aber die unsere hat vor allen bisher veröffentlichten voraus, daß sie einen geschlossenen Fund darstellt. Die Amphoren, deren Reste als Ausfüllung eines Hausfundamentes zusammengeschüttet wurden, müssen ziemlich zu gleicher Zeit in Pergamon in Gebrauch gewesen sein, und von den gefundenen Henkeln werden in der großen Mehrzahl der Fälle zwei von ein und demselben Gefäß stammen. Dadurch stellt sich manches klarer und manches anders als bisher.

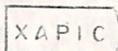
Die Unterschiede in Form und Thon zwischen rhodischen, thasischen und knidischen Henkeln sind wiederholt richtig festgestellt und von Dumont auf Farbendrucktafeln anschaulich dargestellt worden. Der rhodische Henkel hat

<sup>1</sup> Die Stelle ist auf dem diesem Bande beigegebenen Plane der Hochburg mit x bezeichnet.

<sup>2</sup> Die gesamten mir bekannten Veröffentlichungen sind: Thiersch, Abhandl. d. Kgl. Bayr. Akad., philol.-philol. Kl. 1837 Bd. II S. 779 f. — Stoddart, Transactions of the royal society of literature, 2 ser., vol. III S. 1 f. 1850 und vol. IV S. 1 f. 1853. — Franz, Philologus Bd. VI 1851 S. 278 f. = C. I. G. Bd. III praef. 1—XXI. — C. I. G. IV S. 252 f. — Stephani, Index schol. Dorpat. 1848; Mélanges Greco-romains II S. 7—26 = Bulletin historico-philol. de l'acad. imp. vol. XIII S. 150 f.; Mélanges Greco-romains II S. 206—216 = Bulletin de l'acad. imp. 1860, tome I S. 249 f.; Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien tome II S. 275 f. 325 f.; Compte-rendu de la comm. imp. arch. 1859—1869. — Becker, Mélanges Greco-romains I S. 416 f. = Bulletin historico-philol. vol. XI S. 305 f. und vol. XII S. 52 f.; Jahrb. f. klaff. Phil. Suppl. IV S. 453—502; Suppl. V S. 447—536; Suppl. X S. 1—117. 207—232. — Dumont, Inscriptions céramiques de Grèce, Paris 1872. — Ἀθήναιον 1873, S. 213—245. 441—462. — Schumacher, Rhein. Mus. 1886 Bd. 41 S. 238 f. — Grundmann, Jahrb. f. klaff. Phil. Suppl. XVII 1890 S. 277—350. — G. Bottri, Notice des monuments exposés au Musée greco-romain d'Alexandrie, Cairo 1893 S. 227—250. — Inscriptions graecae insularum maris Aegaei I (Hiller von Gärtringen) S. 175 ff. (im Druck und mir vom Verleger gülig zur Benutzung mitgeteilt).

## III. STEMPSEL VON VERSCHIEDENEN GEFÄSSEN.

1319. (Inv. 3A.)



Χάρις.

Unter dem Fußstück einer *terra sigillata*-Schale. (Inv. 3A) nach Zeichnung von Fabricius. Schrift erhaben. Ohne Fundangabe.

1320. (Inv. der Ziegelstempel 121.)



*C(ajus) Satrie(nus)*  
*Phoebus.*

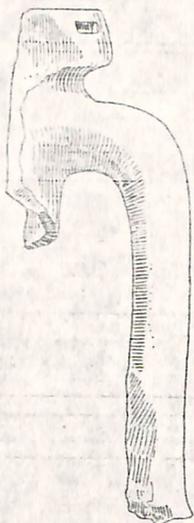
Querüber gestellt auf dem Bruchstücke des Randes einer Schale, wie Dreffel nachweist, von einer aus Pompeji bekannten, im C. I. L. X, S. 864 besprochenen und abgebildeten Form. Ohne Fundangabe. Schrift erhaben. Abbildung 2 : 3.

Der letzte Buchstabe in Zeile 2 ist deutlich ein E und nicht ein N. Vergl. C. I. L. X, 8045, 20. 8048, 32.

1321. (Inv. der Amphorenstempel 226.)



*Hermo(genes)* oder dergl.



Am obersten Rande eines Gefäßes aus hellem, dem rhodischen ähnlichen Thone; der Henkel, welcher anstehend erhalten ist, trägt keinen Stempel. Gefunden vor 1886, unbestimmt wo. Abbildung des Stempels 1 : 1, des Henkels 1 : 4.

1322. (Inv. der Ziegelstempel 21.)



Auf einem etwa 0,055 dicken etwas gewölbten Thonfragment, das wohl von einem Gefäß her stammt; der Thon ist sehr unrein, der Stempel plump und undeutlich. Ohne Fundangabe. Abbildung 1 : 2.

KÖNIGLICHE MUSEEN ZU BERLIN

# INSCHRIFTEN VON PRIENE

UNTER MITWIRKUNG

VON

C. FREDRICH, H. VON PROTT, H. SCHRADER,  
TH. WIEGAND UND H. WINNEFELD

HERAUSGEGEBEN

10

VON

F. FRHR. HILLER VON GAERTRINGEN

*Na für n G. F. A. E. X. 03 016w*



MIT 81 ABBILDUNGEN IM TEXT  
UND 3 BEILAGEN



BERLIN

DRUCK UND VERLAG VON GEORG REIMER

1906

Anteil der wenigen reichen Bürger stark in Anspruch genommen wurde, teils zu festen Leitturgen, teils zu Spenden und Leistungen, deren Höhe ganz im Belieben des einzelnen stand, zeigen die Urkunden der späteren Zeit.

Die erste Sorge der neuen Stadt mußte die Vollendung des Mauerringes sein, der durch seine Schönheit zu einem Hauptschmucke der Stadt wurde. Er hatte zwei Haupttore, eines im Westen und eines im Osten, und außerdem im Süden ein drittes Tor, von dem ein gewundener Pfad zu einer starken Quelle hinabführt. Der dieses Tor deckende Turm trägt eine Weihung an die Thesmophoren Demeter und Kore, deren Heiligtum höher am Bergabhange liegt, und an den Heros Naulochos. Als Stifter nennt sich Philios, Sohn des Ariston, aus dem kyprischen Salamis, vermutlich der Baumeister der ganzen Mauer oder dieses Teiles. Warum gerade Naulochos an dieser Stelle genannt wird, kann kaum zweifelhaft sein: durch dieses Tor sind die Priener aus ihrer zeitweiligen Hauptniederlassung, dem Hafenvorte Naulochon, in die neue Stadt eingezogen. Der Heros wanderte mit, um auch fernerhin seine alten Verehrer zu schützen. Wenn die Orthographie der Weihinschrift noch einige ionische Altertümlichkeiten bewahrt hat, so finden sich ganz dieselben in einem Briefe Alexanders an die Chier, so daß wir deshalb nicht nötig haben, mit der Zeit höher hinaufzugehen.

Zur Befestigung gehörte die Burg, auf der eine besondere Besatzung lag. Sie war eine besoldete Bürgerwehr, unter der sich auch einige Berittene befanden, wie die Leitturgen der Hippotrophie und das Amt der Hipparchen beweisen: von fremden Söldnern ist keine Spur. Der Kommandant wurde vom Volke gewählt; da die Gefahr vorhanden war, daß er seine Macht mißbrauchen konnte, legte man ihm allerlei Beschränkungen auf, befristete das Amt auf vier Monate, nach denen freilich Wiederwahl erlaubt war, schrieb vor, daß der Phrurarch die Burg nicht verlasse, und verbot wohl das Betreten der Stadt; denn „nichts ist für griechische Menschen höher als die Freiheit“; wie leicht aber konnte aus dem Beschützer ein Tyrann werden! Die Besatzung ihrerseits bildete eine eigene kleine Gemeinde, ein Koinon, wie man sagen könnte; sie durfte Ehrenbeschlüsse fassen, z. B. für ihren Befehlshaber, und besaß ein eigenes Heiligtum, das des Burgheros Telon, der gleich dem Zeus und den Phylenheroen auch die Stephanophorie bekleiden, d. h. die Kosten des Amtes auf seine Kasse nehmen konnte.

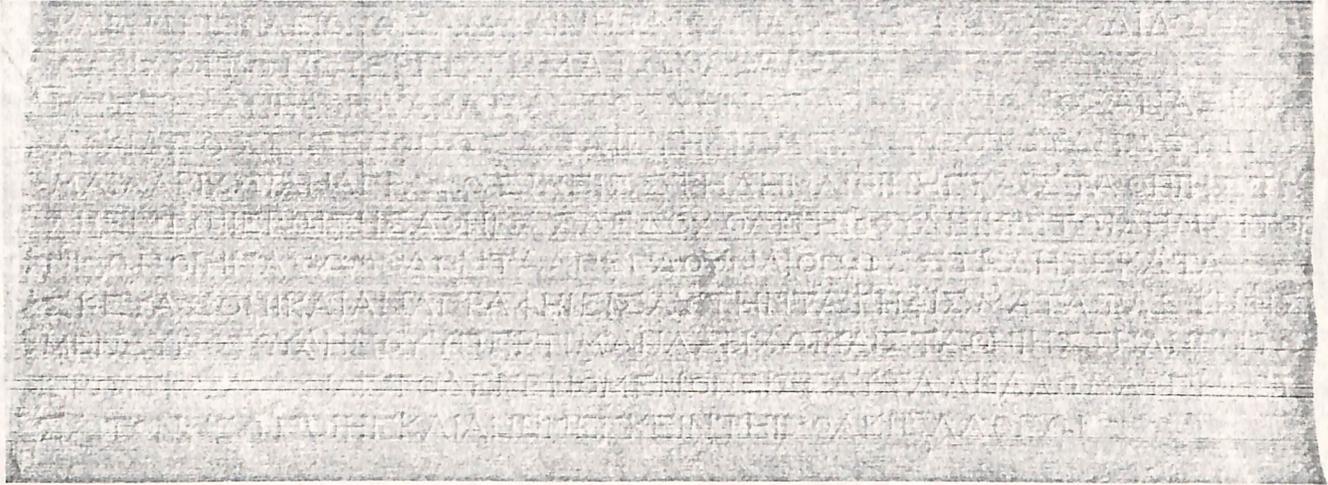
Eine besondere Laufbahn hatte Apellis, Sohn des Nikophon, der seit 351 oder 350 durch zwanzig oft recht stürmische Jahre alle Geschicke der Stadt mitdurchgemacht, als Staatsschreiber bei den auch von Alexander erwähnten Prozessen mitgewirkt hatte und 14 Jahre lang Schreiber der Strategen, daneben auch der Nomophylaken und [Timu?]chen gewesen war, einige Jahre später auch zum Phrurarchen der Teloneia gewählt wurde. So hat er unter Wahrung der demokratischen Formen tatsächlich eine geraume Zeit hindurch an allen wichtigen Verwaltungsgeschäften der Stadt teilgenommen.

Alexander erneuerte auch den ionischen Bund. Wenn Priene von jetzt ab bis in das erste Jahrhundert v. Chr. die Speisung im Panionion verleiht, liegt darin schon ausgedrückt, daß es die Vormacht des Bundesheiligtums war. Priene stellte auch den Priester des Poseidon Helikonios, der in jungen Jahren auf Lebenszeit gewählt wurde. Das Landgebiet von Priene grenzte damals an Ephesos, da Samos noch athenisch war und deshalb auf dem Festlande vermutlich nichts galt. Man mißtraute aber den ephesischen Nachbarn, wie jedermann; der Ephesier Megabyzos darf sich im prienischen Gebiet ansiedeln, aber nur zehn Stadien und weiter von der ephesischen Grenze. Auch fürchtete man die Pedieer, d. h. die zumeist barbarischen Bewohner der Mäanderebene und der eigenen Dörfer; auch von ihren Besitztümern darf Megabyzos keine erwerben. Das verfügte man nicht etwa aus nationalökonomischen Gesichtspunkten, um den Besitz der Bauern vor der Aufsaugung durch den Großgrundbesitz zu schützen, sondern aus Besorgnis, daß der Fremde die stets feindlich gesinnte Periökenbevölkerung für sich gewinnen und zum Aufruhr anreizen könnte.

Um so fester knüpfte man die Bande mit Athen. Es müssen schon besondere Verdienste gewesen sein, um derentwillen Philaios, Sohn des Philistides, von Athen, seinem Namen nach vielleicht aus dem alten Adelsgeschlechte der Philaiden, außer der Proxenie auch ein Grundstück von 100 Schoinen erhielt. Zur Feier der großen Panathenäen des Jahres 326 schickte Priene zwei Festgesandte mit einer vollen Waffenrüstung als Weihgeschenk nach Athen, wobei sie den Athenern das prienische Bürgerrecht und

dem ersten Beschluß (oder später) ist also noch nichts ge-  
 sehen. Daher beantragen die Strategen, deren Auftrag das  
 war (Z. 12), Erhöhung der Ehre: Reiterbild, woraus folgt, daß  
 Larichos Offizier war, und höhere Atehe, Freiheit von Vieh-  
 und Sklavensteuer (vgl. darüber Boeckh Staatshaush. 3 I 369ff.).  
 28 Im nächsten oder einem der folgenden Jahre war immer

noch nichts ausgeführt: also werden die Strategen im Volk  
 gemahnt haben: dieses aber hatte kein Geld und nahm daher  
 den Gegenantrag des [Buleuten] Anaxilas an, wonach man die  
 Statue stillschweigend fallen ließ und nur die Herstellung der  
 Stele auf die Tempelkasse übernahm (nach Wilamowitz).



Nr. 18. Zweiter und dritter Beschluß für Larichos, Z. 26—36.

19. Beschluß der Besatzung der Telonea für ihren Kommandanten Helikon  
 (zweite Hälfte des III. Jahrh. v. Chr.?).

Inv. 152. Zwei aufeinander passende Quadern einer Antae, die sich stark verjüngt. L. 0,49—0,44 und 0,44—0,40,  
 H. 1,85 (unten gebrochen) und 0,90, T. 0,50—0,42. Gefunden bei der Tür der Hauptkirche, nach Z. 45 f. Parastade  
 der Asklepieionhalle rechts vom Eintritt. Sorgfältige Schrift mit verstärkten, oft sehr auseinandergehenden Strichenden;  
 A N Γ und Γ Ξ mit mehr oder weniger divergierenden äußeren Schenkeln. BH, ZA 0.01. Vgl. Priene 137 (wo als Inventar-  
 nummer 331 angegeben ist) und 184. Ganz oben christliche Kritzelei Φιδ (Christusmonogramm ϙ) ιμου | ,αυε' ΙΗ ΚΤ(?)Η, also  
 aus dem Jahre 1460 n. Chr. In Berlin. Sch, P.

Οἱ φρουροὶ οἱ ἐν Τηλωνηαῖι

(Im Kranze:) Ἐλικῶντα  
 Λεωμέδοντος.

[A]πολλώνιος Ἀπολλοδώρου εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ (frei)  
 5 [Ἐ]λικῶν Λεωμέδοντος ἀποδειχθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ (frei)  
 [δή]μου φρούραρχος εἰς Τηλώνηαν καὶ φρουραρχή-  
 [σα]ς ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου Πρωτάρχου τὴν πρώτην  
 [τ]ετράμηνον τῆς τε φυλακῆς πᾶσαν ἐπιμέλει-  
 [α]ν καὶ σπουδὴν ἐποιήσατο, ὅπως ἂν εὐτακτῆ-  
 10 ται, ἐφοδεύων αὐτὸς καὶ πάλιν τοῦ υἱοῦ διαλα-  
 λαβόντος ἔνεκεν τῆς ἀσφαλείας τοῦ φρουρί-  
 [ου], καὶ τῶν φρουρῶν προενόησεν ἕν τε τοῖς ἄλ-  
 [λ]οις καὶ ὅπως ἂν τὸ ἴσον ἔχωσιν καὶ εὖ συν-  
 [α]λλακτῆται τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἄκραν πάντ[α],  
 15 καὶ ἐφέστη τὸν χρόνον πάντα καθαρῶ[ς]  
 [καὶ δικαίως] . . . . .

. . . . . ος παρακαλ[ῶ]ν αὐτοὺς [τηρεῖ]ν [τὴν]  
 [ἄκρ]αν ἐπιμελῶς, λογιζομένους ὡς οὐθέ[ν]  
 [με]ῖζόν ἐστιν ἀνθρώποις Ἑλλησιν τῆς ἐ-  
 20 [λε]υθερίας· πρότ[ε]ρόν τε ἀποδειχθεὶς ὑπὸ  
 [το]ῦ δήμου φρού[ρα]ρχος δις καὶ ἄρξας ἀξι-  
 [ως] ἑαυτοῦ τε κα[ὶ] τῶν ἀποδειξάντων  
 [ἐσ]τεφανώθη ὑπὸ τῶν φρουρῶν ἐπαιν[ε]-  
 [θε]ῖς χρυσεῖς στεφάνοις· ὁ δὲ τοὺς μέ[ν]  
 25 [φρο]υροὺς ἐνεκωμίασεν, ὅτι τοῖς ἀξίοις  
 [τῶν] ἀνδρῶν τὰς προσηκούσας τιμὰς ἀπο-  
 [νέ]μουσιν, τὸ μέντοι διάφορον τῶν στεφ[ά]-  
 [ν]ων οὐκ ἔλαβε[ν], λόγοις ΟΜΟΙΙΑΤΟΡΑΝ λαβό-  
 μενο[ς]  
 . . . . . Εἰ παντος διαφόρου, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις  
 30 [ἀ]νέγκλητος ὢν διατετέλεκεν πρὸς πάν-  
 [τας]· ἵνα οὖν οἱ φρουροὶ φαίνωνται τῶν καλιῶ[ν]

T. be phibedun  
for check (in folder)

Knackjuss 1924

H. Knackjuss, Milet I, 7, Der Sudmarkt  
und die benachbarten Bauanlagen, Berlin

note 77  
note 76  
note 81

1924, pp. 156-176 on the Magazinhalle.  
p. 176, 175 p. 158 include fig. 1 (plan)

Schuchhardt  
1895

C. Schuchhardt, in Altertümer von Pergamon,  
VIII, Inschriften, 2, Berlin 1895, pp. 423-499.  
- also no. 1290 also title page and p. 499 ✓

note 32  
note 84

Footnote 21  
+ 23

C. Blinkenberg, Lindos, Fouilles de l'Acropole  
1902-1914, II, Inscriptions I, Berlin &  
Copenhagen 1941, p. 536 no. 246 (Νιυαβαιορρ  
'Ιπποκλεῦρρ) also p. 125 also p. 121  
also pp. 488-490

note 30

F. Fahn Hill von Gaerting, alt., Inschriften  
von Pouénu, Berlin 1900, p. xiii / p. 28 ✓

note 65

F. Durubach, Choix d'inscriptions de Delos,  
Paris 1921 (title page)

?

F. Durubach - alt., Inscriptions de Delos  
Paris 1926 no. 1497 (also title page)

note 8

Strabo xii, 556

? note 87

Ancient India I? 1946, p. 78

To be photocopied (2)  
for checking in catalog

7.02

p. 85, top) Miscellanea, Seymour ✓, London 1912, ✓  
 p. 358, no 273 ✓  
 p. 356, no 168a ✓

p. 95) Reisner, Saurin ✓  
 p. 316 ?

Photocopies needed for ASCS library:

Title page needed

H. Knechtges, Milet II, 7 Berlin

1924 pp. 156-174

Includes fig. 1

(Plan)

✓  
76

✓ G. Kleiner, Die Ruinen von Milet Berlin

1968, Title page ✓, map p. 120 ✓

✓ = photocopies rec'd 29. VII. 83



8.01

8.02  
AJA 85, 1981, p. 331, note 2 and give  
"Bouton, Guest/80" ten cities pp. 332, 333

17.V.80

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"Middle Stn Data" note  
71.

# TREASURE TROVE

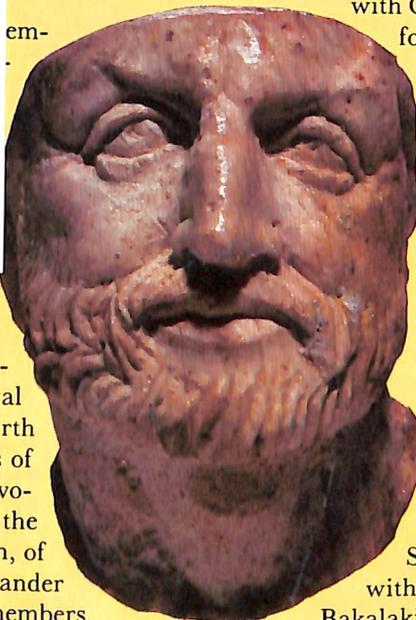
KATHERINE BOUTON

PHOTOGRAPHS BY MICHA BAR-AM

ander" opens at  
Gallery this  
city U.S. tour—  
lustrious objects  
eight or nine of  
they so often are  
Instead, at cen-  
overnight sensa-  
been playing to  
ear and a half in  
al Museum in

floor of the "new" university building, con-  
structed after World War II, the sounds of a  
desultory end-of-semester student political pro-  
test drifted up from the courtyard. It was the last  
day of classes, Andronikos said, but he wasn't  
teaching that day. "The students don't come any-  
way, so I just cancel the lecture."

Andronikos is tall and thin, with a trimmed  
gray goatee and heavy, dark-framed glasses. On  
this chilly spring day he was dressed in tweedy  
woolens, less in keeping with sunny breezes than



with Oxford, where, in fact, he studied  
for a number of years. His Oxford  
English is heavily accented and  
sometimes eccentrically  
phrased, but he chooses his  
words carefully.

that attended the opening of  
the tomb of Tutankhamen.  
Forty miles west of Salonika, in  
the village of Vergina, Androni-  
kos found an unlooted royal  
Macedonian tomb of the fourth  
century B.C. Inside were objects of  
gold and silver and bronze and ivory,  
some of them marked with the  
symbol of the house of Macedon, of  
which Philip II and his son Alexander  
the Great are the best-known members,  
and all displaying the exquisite workmanship  
and materials that one would expect to find in a  
royal tomb. Any one of these objects—even those  
of base materials and utilitarian function—  
would have occupied an honored place in a  
museum's collection. Together, they constituted a  
find of unprecedented significance.

Like most overnight sensa-  
tions, the discovery of the royal  
tomb at Vergina was preceded  
by years of diligent labor and  
persistence in the face of repeat-  
ed disappointments. Androni-  
kos has excavated at Vergina  
since 1937. It was there that he  
began his career in archaeology,  
as a 17-year-old assistant  
to Konstantinos Romaios, his  
professor at the University of  
Salonika. Later, after the war,  
with Romaios, and then with George  
Bakalakis, a colleague at Salonika, he  
excavated a large palace on a hill overlooking  
Vergina, together with more than 200 graves in  
an extensive cemetery that led east from the vil-  
lage. Some scholars felt that what Andronikos  
had found was the ancient Macedonian capital of  
Aigai, whose location had long been a mystery.  
Andronikos himself reserved his judgment, hop-  
ing for more evidence. The tombs were covered by  
small, uniform mounds of earth, but dominating  
the cemetery was one enormous mound, 12  
meters high and 110 meters in diameter. It was so  
KATHERINE BOUTON writes often about archaeology.

Andronikos, now 60, is a man of great charm  
and eloquence. Late in May I visited him at  
the University of Salonika, where he teaches. As  
we talked in his airy, modern office on the third

After 40 years of digging, archaeologist Manolis Andronikos  
uncovered the probable tomb of Philip II, father of Alexander the Great.

This month the tomb's priceless objects will  
highlight a spectacular U.S. exhibit rivaling the Tut show

17. IV. 86

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"middle Sta. Data" note  
71.

18. 20 81  
This article is cited AJA 85 1981, p. 331, note 2 and given  
a short title "Bouton, 'Quest/80'" then cited pp. 332, 333

8.02

# ROYAL TREASURE TROVE

KATHERINE BOUTON

PHOTOGRAPHS BY MICHA BAR-AM

When "The Search for Alexander" opens at Washington's National Gallery this month—the first stop of a four-city U.S. tour—the stars of the show will not be illustrious objects culled from the collections of eight or nine of Europe's venerable museums, as they so often are for these imported extravaganzas. Instead, at center stage will be a troupe of overnight sensations—a small company that has been playing to admiring spectators for the past year and a half in the tiny, modern Archaeological Museum in Salonika, Greece.

Just three years ago, on November 8, 1977, Manolis Andronikos, a Greek archaeologist of impeccable repute, made a discovery that some experts have called the greatest of the decade and that has received publicity similar to the furor that attended the opening of the tomb of Tutankhamen. Forty miles west of Salonika, in the village of Vergina, Andronikos found an unlooted royal Macedonian tomb of the fourth century B.C. Inside were objects of gold and silver and bronze and ivory, some of them marked with the symbol of the house of Macedon, of which Philip II and his son Alexander the Great are the best-known members, and all displaying the exquisite workmanship and materials that one would expect to find in a royal tomb. Any one of these objects—even those of base materials and utilitarian function—would have occupied an honored place in a museum's collection. Together, they constituted a find of unprecedented significance.

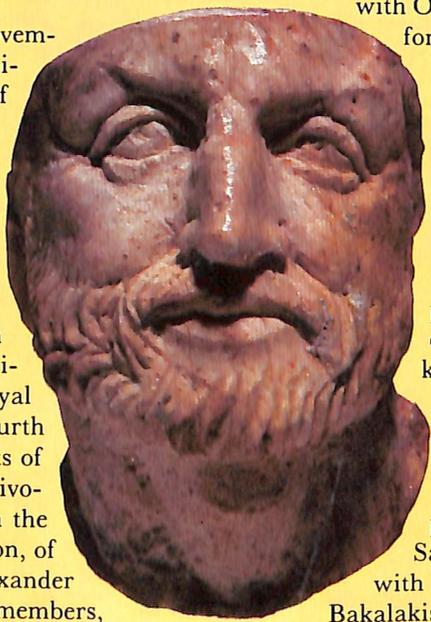
Andronikos, now 60, is a man of great charm and eloquence. Late in May I visited him at the University of Salonika, where he teaches. As we talked in his airy, modern office on the third

floor of the "new" university building, constructed after World War II, the sounds of a desultory end-of-semester student political protest drifted up from the courtyard. It was the last day of classes, Andronikos said, but he wasn't teaching that day. "The students don't come anyway, so I just cancel the lecture."

Andronikos is tall and thin, with a trimmed gray goatee and heavy, dark-framed glasses. On this chilly spring day he was dressed in tweedy woolens, less in keeping with sunny breezes than with Oxford, where, in fact, he studied for a number of years. His Oxford English is heavily accented and sometimes eccentrically phrased, but he chooses his words carefully.

Like most overnight sensations, the discovery of the royal tomb at Vergina was preceded by years of diligent labor and persistence in the face of repeated disappointments. Andronikos has excavated at Vergina since 1937. It was there that he began his career in archaeology, as a 17-year-old assistant to Konstantinos Romaios, his professor at the University of Salonika. Later, after the war, with Romaios, and then with George Bakalakis, a colleague at Salonika, he excavated a large palace on a hill overlooking Vergina, together with more than 200 graves in an extensive cemetery that led east from the village. Some scholars felt that what Andronikos had found was the ancient Macedonian capital of Aigai, whose location had long been a mystery. Andronikos himself reserved his judgment, hoping for more evidence. The tombs were covered by small, uniform mounds of earth, but dominating the cemetery was one enormous mound, 12 meters high and 110 meters in diameter. It was so

KATHERINE BOUTON writes often about archaeology.

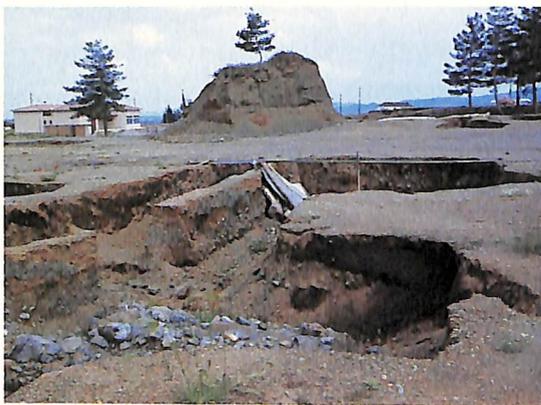


After 40 years of digging, archaeologist Manolis Andronikos uncovered the probable tomb of Philip II, father of Alexander the Great. This month the tomb's priceless objects will highlight a spectacular U.S. exhibit rivaling the Tut show



distinctive that it had its own name among the villagers—the Megali Toumba. From the beginning Andronikos felt certain that the huge mound must have been built to cover the grave of someone very important, but in excavations during the summers of 1952, 1962, and 1963 he found only rocky earth, laced with third-century B.C. rubble.

He came back to the big tumulus for a fourth time in 1976. Colleagues at the university mocked his stubbornness: “Tell us when you find your tomb,” Andronikos quotes them as saying. “‘I’ll try,’ I answered. It was not an easy time.” That summer he uncovered in the fill a number of



broken marble gravestones. This led him to speculate that the tomb he expected to find underneath might be that of the third-century B.C. Macedonian king Antigonos Gonatas, and that the city might after all be Aigai. He knew that during Antigonos’s reign the cemetery at Aigai was destroyed by vandals, and he felt that Antigonos might have used the ravaged tombstones when he built the mound for his own tomb. This theory gained the support of the director of the university, who in 1977 gave Andronikos a million drachmas (\$28,000) to continue the excavation.

The 1977 excavations started uneventfully. Andronikos was by now sure

• After removing a huge mound at the site (above), Andronikos dug nine more feet below ground level to find a royal tomb. Among the objects inside was a solid gold casket (right) containing charred bones, perhaps of Philip II. The sunburst embossed on the casket lid is the emblem of Macedonia’s royal house.

**Inside the tomb were objects of gold and silver and bronze and ivory, all displaying the exquisite workmanship that one would expect to find in a royal tomb. Together, they constituted a find of unprecedented significance.**

that the tomb must lie underground—somewhere below the fill. He began removing the tons of dirt on top by mechanical means—a controversial move that he vigorously defends: “I dug the trenches very deep,” he says. “I saw that the soil was absolutely virgin. I saw that it won’t make any damage at all. If we had used only spade and ax, we would have had to work more than a hundred years to take off all this filling. There is a Greek proverb: ‘Outside the dance, many songs.’ That means that if you don’t dance yourself, you can sing many songs. If you are not in the job, you can say every criticism.”

Late that October, at the very end of the season, Andronikos made the first of the discoveries that were to change his life and the history of archaeology in Greece. At a depth of nine feet below ground level he uncovered the foundations of a small, rectangular chamber. “It was a *heroön*, a kind of shrine for the dead,” he explains. “A *heroön* is a temple not for gods but for heroes. That means that the dead was a very important person.” Below and to one side of the *heroön* the fill was red. To Andronikos it seemed to be part of a smaller, older mound, which the Megali Toumba had been built to cover.



8.05



• Andronikos shows visitors a model of the tomb at Vergina. His controversial claim that it belonged to Philip II is buttressed by an ivory likeness of the Greek warrior-king (left) found at the site.

It was under this older mound that Andronikos at last found a tomb. Although the tomb had been thoroughly looted, it clearly had been an important one and was still of great archaeological interest, for the walls were covered with magnificent frescoes, the most impressive of which depicts the rape of Persephone by Pluto. The painting is certainly the work of a very great artist—perhaps the highly regarded Nikomachos, who is known to have painted this rare scene. But whoever the artist was, the fresco is unique—the very first complete original from this period of Greek art ever found. “At last we are face to face with a masterpiece of the fourth century B.C.,” Andronikos wrote shortly afterward, “and for the first time we are able to appreciate its power at first hand.”

Rich as this tomb must have been—the robbers had taken every loose object, indicating that there was nothing not worth carrying off—Andronikos still had hopes of finding another, unlooted grave. “I thought that it was impossible for robbers to make a well of 12 meters in one night—it was impossible. My hopes were always that I would find one Macedonian tomb unopened—

**The keystone was still in place.**  
**“We uncovered the hole. We opened**  
**the tomb exactly the way**  
**robbers would have,” Andronikos says.**  
**And there below was a panoply of**  
**riches such as he had never dreamed of.**

but not two royal ones!” And that, of course, is what he did find.

A few days later, and a few meters to the northwest of the small tomb, he uncovered the facade of a stuccoed Doric structure contemporaneous with the first tomb. When the facade was cleaned, a second magnificent fresco was revealed, this one an elaborate depiction of a lion-and-boar hunt. In its drawing, composition, motifs, and range of colors this frieze recalls the famous mosaic of Alexander now in the Naples Museum. Andronikos thinks that it may have been done by the same artist who executed the painting on which that mosaic was modeled.

Below the frieze Andronikos found the door to the tomb, still intact. This was surprising, but no guarantee that robbers had not got there first.



• Andronikos entered the tomb (above) by removing the keystone at the back of the roof. Inside he discovered magnificent artifacts and “Philip’s” casket. In the adjoining antechamber he found a second gold casket, the greaves of “Philip,” and a gold quiver. Painted on the tomb’s facade is an exquisite fourth-century B.C. fresco.

LASZLO KUBINYI

STEVE SHAMES/GAMMA-LIAISON



• A golden wreath of leaves and acorns (left) modeled on Zeus's sacred oak tree, was found lying on top of the bones in what is thought to be Philip's casket. Andronikos believes the ceremonial wreath was placed on the king's remains just before and after cremation. It is one of three exquisite wreaths found in the tomb.



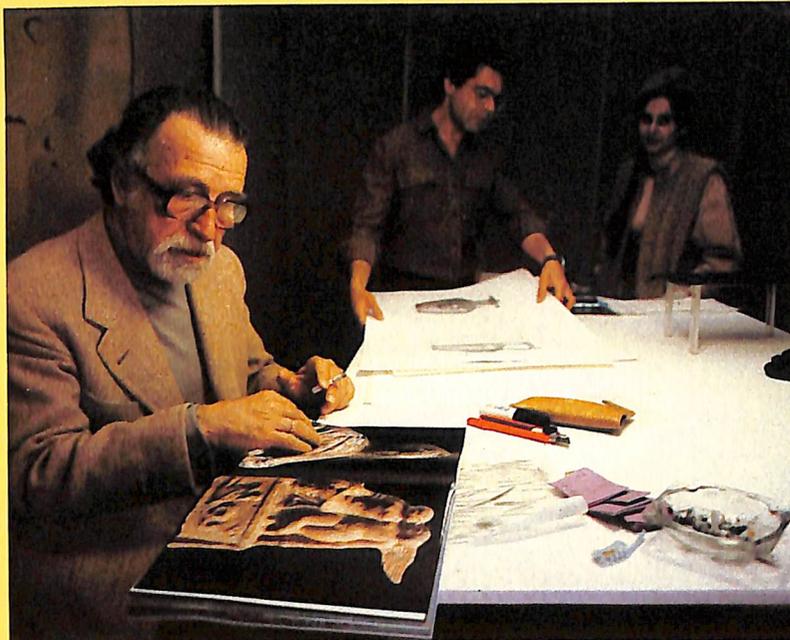
• Even critics who doubt the authenticity of "Philip's" tomb agree that the uneven leg armor (above) belonged to Philip. "Can it be accidental that the difference in leg length reminds us that Philip was lame?" asks Andronikos. The opulence of a complete set of armor discovered in the tomb also suggests that the owner was a royal Macedonian.



• "Who else but a king would own this?" exclaimed Andronikos upon discovering the gold quiver (above). The arrow case depicts, in relief, the sack of a town, probably Troy. Even the wooden shafts of the bronze-tipped arrows were well preserved.



• The ivory portrait (left) resembles Alexander the Great, who vastly expanded his father's conquests across the Middle East and central Asia. Less than an inch high, it is one of five miniature sculptures that adorned a wooden bed found on the floor of the vaulted tomb. Andronikos calls it "the most beautiful sculpture of Alexander the Great that I have ever seen."



• *"The evidence seems to point to the Macedonian king Philip," says Andronikos, shown here analyzing drawings of the artifacts. "If our research should bring forth facts reversing this conclusion, I will announce them immediately—and with great relief that the truth, the goal of all scientific research, has come to light."*

"There was a 90 percent chance that the tomb had been plundered, that the robbers had entered from the back, at the keystone of the arch," he says, pointing to a plan of the site. He and two assistants began to uncover the roof of the vaulted tomb, front to back. Toward the rear they found some square mud bricks, the remains of a structure erected on top of the vault, and among the bricks they found bits of armor and the iron pieces from horse trappings. "I remembered the words of Homer in the *Iliad*, describing how, after the death of Patroclus, Achilles killed four white horses and placed their bodies on his friend's funeral pyre," Andronikos recalled. "And I thought to myself, 'This is no ordinary man inside, for he was given the funeral of Homeric heroes.'"

The keystone, miraculously, was still in place. "We uncovered the hole. We opened the tomb exactly the way robbers would have," Andronikos says. And there below was a panoply of riches such as Andronikos had never dreamed of. Placed in the center of the deep, spacious chamber was

**Like most overnight sensations, the discovery of the royal tomb at Vergina was preceded by years of diligent labor and persistence in the face of repeated disappointments.**

a rectangular marble sarcophagus. All around it, leaning against the walls and lying on the floor, were silver and bronze vessels and weapons; a pair of bronze greaves and a magnificent iron cuirass, decorated with gold lion heads and rings for strapping the armor closed and with a fringe of 50 gold lappets; a Macedonian helmet with a high iron crest, the first ever found; a diadem of gold and silver, adjustable in size and closely resembling those worn by Macedonian kings, including Alexander; a huge bronze shield cover that protected a spectacular ceremonial shield decorated with ivory and gold and inset glass, which museum experts are now restoring; and a curious cylindrical object that An-

dronikos believes was a scepter. But a great surprise was still to come: "When we lifted up the lid of the sarcophagus," Andronikos has written, "we were confronted by something that surpassed our wildest dreams, something which we could not have imagined, because there was no precedent."

Inside the marble sarcophagus was a solid gold box that weighed more than 24 pounds. It was adorned with a design of lotus and palmette and with rosettes of inlaid blue glass paste. In the center of the lid was a sunburst emblem of the royal house of Macedonia. And inside the box were the dead man's bones—burned and then cleaned, and still tinged with purple from a cloth that had once been wrapped around them. On top of the bones was a gold wreath of acorns and oak leaves.

Among the last discoveries in this chamber were five miniature ivory heads, found lying on the floor where they had fallen after the collapse of the wooden table or bed they had once adorned. One was a bearded man "whose features were not unfamiliar. I was sure that it was a portrait," Andronikos wrote. "Philip II came to mind, his portrait as we know it from the famous Tarsus medallion. The powerful but somewhat weary face with the almost imperceptibly damaged right eye . . ." When he picked up the second head,

*(Continued on page 90)*

Were this not a classical music concert, the audience might try flying. The frenetic, urgently rhythmic rush of notes from the Philip Glass Ensemble's two electric keyboards and three miked woodwinds coalesces as if hymning energy itself. The sound stream promises to lift off through the ceiling at any moment. Brief musical figures, repeating with a needle-stuck-in-groove insistency, gradually shift and unfold to reveal the quicksilver call-and-response of instrumental voices within the dense texture. An electronically amplified soprano floats a wordless lyric, like a chant's refrain, above the organ-and-reed cascade. Here is the spirituality, the music seems to say, that yearns to rise from a secular, technological age.

The piece is *Dance*, Philip Glass's collaboration with choreographer Lucinda Childs and artist Sol LeWitt. Its impact, especially in tonight's close quarters at Manhattan's Whitney Museum, where the score is being performed, is as visceral as one of Bach's choral preludes, or a medieval organum, Gregorian chant, or other ceremonial music that aims to uplift through trance. The room is packed with concertgoers from all walks of life. Some close their eyes in the music's mesmeric flow; others cannot resist the impulse to mark the rhythm by motion.

Much new classical music seems overly cerebral, but Glass reaches beyond the mind to move the body and spirit as well. The composer, looking inadvertently clerical in black jeans and dark gray shirt, calmly presides at one keyboard. The whole Ensemble, with neither time nor inclination for stage flamboyance, is a captive of the piece, which hurtles past as fast as film through a projector and ends as abruptly as if the film were severed. A final silence substitutes for climax or diminution. Then the exhilarated applause swells to fill the gap, and the performers take an awkward bow.

Later, at a downstairs reception, two matrons from Boston ask the dark, intense Glass to explain what they have heard. "My music's a cross between Nadia Boulanger and Ravi Shankar," he courteously replies, citing his French and Indian mentors. "Along with a measure of myself and, I suppose, yourselves as well." The women smile, disbelieving. "I'm more of a classicist than you might think!"

The composer finds an analogy in the gallery surroundings. "The difference between painting and sculpture is that sculp-

**Philip Glass's intricate, rhythmic scores are startling audiences, influencing composers, and opening up a new era of American music. Even David Bowie, the Who, and other rockers are unashamedly copping riffs from him**





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## ROYAL TREASURE TROVE Continued from page 31

Andronikos said, "I was greatly astonished—almost in a state of shock. It was Alexander." The three other heads may represent Olympias, Philip's first wife and Alexander's mother, and perhaps Philip's parents.

And still there was more. In the antechamber of the tomb sat another marble sarcophagus. Items belonging to the dead person, a woman, lay about—gold ornaments and an exquisite gold wreath of myrtle leaves and flowers, bits of carved wood and ivory—and mingled with them were some family heirlooms: a pair of gilded greaves and a gold arrow case depicting in relief the sack of Troy. But, Andronikos says, "the greatest surprise of all and the greatest reward for our labors" was opening the second sarcophagus. Inside was a gold ossuary, smaller than the first but with the same palmette design and the same sun. And inside that, shrouding the burned bones, was a superb purple-and-gold cloth, well preserved—"something truly marvelous," Andronikos said, "one of the finest pieces of ancient Greek cloth discovered anywhere in the world." On top of that was a third gold wreath—this one a woman's diadem.

The conventional way to announce an archaeological discovery is in a scholarly journal, after all the artifacts have been studied and all the records polished. That process may take years. Andronikos chose to announce his find at a press conference at the University of Salonika on November 24, 1977, less than a month after he opened the tomb. "I believed that I had the obligation, to my colleagues and to the people," he says. "It was very important. I had not the right to withhold it."

At the end of this press conference he made one last statement. Taking into account the evidence of the two gold ossuaries bearing the royal symbol, the gold diadem, and the ivory heads of Philip and Alexander, he concluded, "On the basis of the archaeological evidence found so far, I believe I have the right to say that this is the tomb of Philip." The audience reportedly gave him a standing ovation. The next day the story appeared on front pages all over the world.

Andronikos's scholarly qualification was lost in the headline writers' enthusiasm: "Tomb of Philip of Macedonia Found in Greece," the *New York Times* flatly declared.

Andronikos was born in Bursa, a town in Asia Minor that is now part of Turkey. His family moved to Salonika when he was two years old, and he returned to Asia Minor only during World War II, when he fought with the free Greek forces. After the war he married; his wife, Olympias, is a teacher of classics. They met while teaching at the same high school. Later Andronikos did graduate and postgraduate work in archaeology at Oxford. But his decision to be an archaeologist had been made when as a teenager he had worked with Romaios at Vergina.

It was Philip II who first tried to bring the coast of Asia Minor (including Andronikos's native Bursa) under Macedonian domination, but Andronikos says he has never felt any special affinity with Philip. On the contrary. "I must confess I never liked Philip," he says. "Well, you see, you never know what will happen in your life." His discovery has entailed other compromises as well: "I never liked to have photographs of myself. Now I have thousands. I don't like travels. Now I go every two months abroad."

Andronikos's work at the royal tomb continues. There are many unanswered questions. Whose bones are in the smaller casket? At first Andronikos thought they might be those of Philip's last wife, Cleopatra, who was murdered by his first wife, Olympias. (She feared that Cleopatra's newborn son would be used to seize the throne from her son, Alexander.) The British historian Nicholas Hammond, who has recently published a biography of Philip, suggested to Andronikos that it may have been one of Philip's other wives, killed and placed on the funeral pyre with him, in the Thracian custom. A second problem concerns the big tumulus. Who built it, and why? Again, Andronikos has a possible explanation: "We know that when Alexander died, he left a letter with a list of the projects he was unable to fulfill. They were fantastic projects! One was to make a road from

**“You have to be a contrary thinker, since the market tends to do the opposite of what most people expect. When everyone says the market *can't* go down, WAIT!”**

the next 15 or 20 years. The fee pays for the advice of staff experts on taxes, pensions, insurance, securities, and so on. If significant changes in a family's circumstances or in external factors, such as the tax laws, require updating the plan, the consultations can be arranged on an hourly basis. A few other large firms also have financial planning units, among them E. F. Hutton, the Bank of America, U.S. Trust, and Continental Illinois.

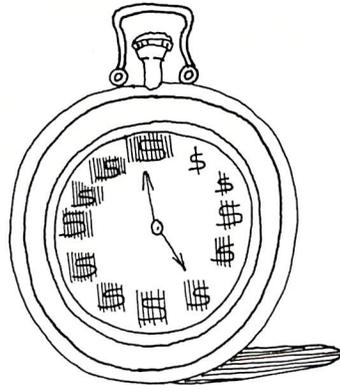
Many planners operate on a commission-only basis—they do the plan without charge, hoping to make a profit on any subsequent investments you make through them. Since they may also be brokers, insurance salesmen, or real estate agents, beware of conflicts of interest.

“Ask a planner what he sells the most of,” advises Vernon Gwynne, executive director of the IAFP. “If he falls into the pit and says insurance, or bonds, look elsewhere. He should answer that the best investments will depend on your individual situation and on how much risk you are willing to take.”

Gwynne also advises finding out if you'll be given a written plan or just a sales talk. If the planner works on a commission-only basis, check to see that he is licensed to sell securities, variable annuities (such as Keogh Plans), disability and life insurance. The IAFP (2150 Park Lake Dr. NE, Atlanta, Ga. 30345) will send you a list of three reputable planners in your area; you take it from there.

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Safe as banks are, many people feel it is risky to tie up their money at a fixed rate of return when the economy is so volatile. In the past year many depositors shifted their spare dollars into money-market funds (also called liquid- or ready-assets funds), which allow the small investor to benefit from the high interest rates offered by short-term



securities. (The funds pool investors' money to buy Treasury bills and commercial paper issued by major corporations and banks.) Although money-market funds are not insured, they are invested conservatively and are widely considered safe. Even when short-term interest rates are low, money-market funds provide the convenience of instant, penalty-free withdrawal, plus checking privileges for large amounts (\$500 or over).

**Sound Advice**

All the experts we interviewed agreed on two points. The first was that although adequate life insurance is a must, “whole life insurance” can often be the wrong choice.

“Term insurance” (on which your dependents collect *only* if you die) is much cheaper, so you can afford far more generous coverage.

The second point of agreement was the importance of diversifying your holdings. For example: many employees build up substantial assets in their own corporation through profit sharing, only to find at retirement age that the company stock is worth one-third what it was three years before. Especially in a

recession, this danger is very real. “A planner might suggest selling the stock as soon as you acquire it,” says Peter Zimmerman of the Personal Capital Planning Group. “If you get it at \$85 and the current market value is \$100, at least you'll lock in a pre-tax profit of \$15.”

What about the stock market? “Attend to basics first,” says financial writer Andrew Tobias. “If the economy is sound, younger people who own their own home and have a \$5,000 cushion in savings probably should have some portion of their net worth in stocks. But you have to be a contrary thinker, since the market tends to do the opposite of what most people expect. When everyone is saying that our problems are behind us and the market *can't* go down, WAIT! When they're all expecting bad news and have already sold their stocks, that's the time to buy.” Naturally, this is only one investment theory among many, and you may find others equally persuasive.

“If you're smart enough to be making a good salary—or to choose the right financial adviser—you're smart enough to be making most of these decisions yourself,” adds Tobias. “Remember, nobody knows all the answers and no one else cares as much about your money as you do.” ●

**TO BROADEN YOUR OPTIONS . . .**

**Sylvia Porter's New Money Book for the 80's** (Doubleday, \$24.95; Avon, \$9.95). Basic and encyclopedic.

**The Only Investment Guide You'll Ever Need**, by Andrew Tobias (Bantam, \$2.50). Some of the numbers are out of date, but the advice is timeless. And funny, too.

**Money Dynamics for the 1980s**, by Venita Van Caspel (Reston, \$15). Strategies of a financial planner.

**The College Cost Book** (College Board Publications, Box 2815, Princeton, N.J. 08541, \$7.50). A survey of costs at 2,900 colleges and advice on how to cope with spiraling fees.

**The Consumers Union Report on Life Insurance** (Consumers Union, Mt. Vernon, N.Y. 10550, \$5.50 postpaid). Brief and informative.

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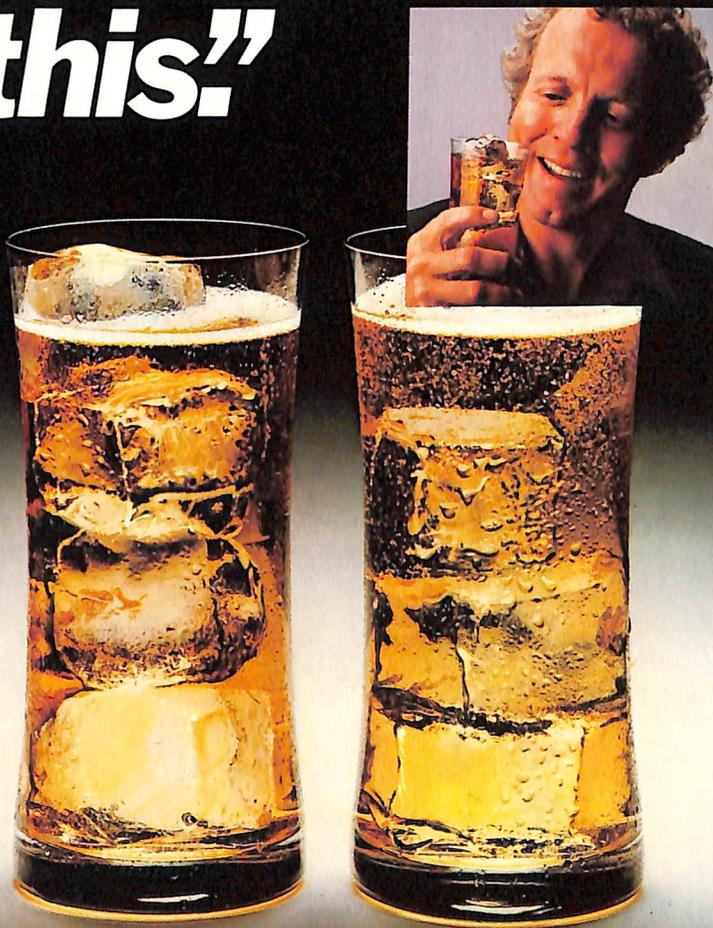
Alexandria to Gibraltar. And one was to build a pyramid on top of the tomb of his father. This huge tumulus is a kind of Macedonian pyramid."

The biggest question is whether or not the tomb is Philip's. No one doubts that the grave Andronikos has found is a royal one, but even Andronikos, when pressed, qualifies his opinion that it is that of Philip of Macedon: "Could be, might be, may be—these are nuances." American scholars are quick to praise Andronikos and his wonderful discovery but hesitant to give a dissenting opinion about the identity of the buried man. Dietrich von Bothmer, chairman of Greek and Roman art at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, explained that his reticence was a matter of professional courtesy: "If it were a round-table discussion, I'd be perfectly willing to give my opinion, but here he has no chance to reply." Von Bothmer's restraint, like that of others, seems to be strengthened by a feeling of affection for Andronikos: "He is a brilliant teacher. At all times he has shown extraordinarily good judgment. And he is, as they say in Italian, *'molto simpatico'*—a very nice, generous man."

Cornelius Vermeule, curator of classical art at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, also praised the "spectacular" artifacts—"piece by piece, they are comparable to those found in the tomb of Tutankhamen"—but doubts that the tomb is Philip's. "I would say that the best analogy is . . . well, I have on the back of my door a picture of the British royal family. Have you ever seen a picture of the whole family assembled? The story of the Macedonian tomb may be something like that. How many wives did Philip have? We're not sure. Possibly six or seven. I think he probably had children by all of them. If 2,000 years from now you were to find the tomb of, say, some little Duke of Kent, and if we were in the habit of putting grave goods in with our dead, I bet you would find maybe a uniform of Edward VII, a coronation ring of George V—family heirlooms. Something like the graves [noticeably different in size and shape, reflecting Philip's lameness] may be an heirloom."

In defense of his contention that he has found Philip's tomb—and a number of experts support his claim—

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# QUESTERS

**Bountiful Beads.** Independent researcher working full-time to unravel 5,000-year-old history of Indian agate beads seeks to widen bead consciousness and support Ph.D. excavation near Cambay, India. If you are interested or can help in this project, please write: Pete Francis, 30 Burr Rd., Poona, India 411 003

**Comes the Renaissance.** Are you retired but still believe life is a great adventure? Retired woman wants to get in touch with retirees, male and female, to compare notes on maintaining a stout heart in this confusing world our children will soon inherit. Ruth Gibson, 20800 Homestead Rd., #4-G, Cupertino, CA 95014

**Trans-Canada Trek.** Two women planning pack trip in spring of 1981 from British Columbia to Nova Scotia using burros would like to hear suggestions from the voice of experience. Juli R. King, Box 1227, Carmel, CA 93921

**Travel & Tell.** International tour director and professional travel writer has been commissioned to write instructional and informative textbook on travel. Needs memorable comic or dramatic travel experiences to enliven book, tentatively entitled *From Here to Chaos*. Recognition will be given unless "no names" preferred. Robert L. Wolfe, 109 N. West St., Mason, OH 45040

**Antarctica Bound?** In the great tradition of Herbert Ponting (Scott expedition) and Frank Hurley (Shackleton expedition), professional photographer with 10 years' photographic experience seeks inclusion on an Antarctic expedition. I am in excellent physical condition, have military experience, and get along well with people. Mel Edelman, 1420 N. Seward St., Los Angeles, CA 90028

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**All About Sharp.** I am preparing a catalogue raisonné on American artist Joseph Henry Sharp (1859-1953), known for his portraits of American Indians. Any information related to the man and his works would be greatly appreciated. Forrest Fenn, 1075 Paseo de Peralta, Santa Fe, NM 87501

**Card Mania.** Cliché collector seeks awful Christmas cards—banal, garish, trite, cutesy, offensive, sentimental—for bemused book on subject. All contributions welcomed, none used without permission. Privacy guaranteed. Write: Card Crusade, c/o *Quest/80*, 1133 Ave. of the Americas, New York, NY 10036

**The Great Beyond.** Interested in UFO's, ESP, parapsychology? I'd like to initiate an idea exchange in the form of a newsletter including other related subjects: astrology, the Tarot, graphotherapeutics. Audri-Ann Estes, Box 319, Freeport, IL 61032

**A New Generation.** Aerospace engineering student would like to design and build a wind turbine-electric generator for a homeowner in exchange for cost of materials. Danny G. Syto, 608 Delrosa Pl., Pomona, CA 91768

**Primate Study: Assistants Wanted.** Professor of ethology seeks assistants for two-year study of endangered Lemuroidea in forested uplands of Mangoky Reserve, Madagascar Republic. All expenses will be paid but no salary. Must love animals and tent living, be willing to work at night and learn use of infrared equipment. J. Ignacio, Box 663, La Madera, NM 87539

**Spring Cleaning.** Our city, population 17,000, has a dedicated community development committee working to better our schools and our community. Current plan is to organize a "beautification week" next spring involving the entire city. Our ideas include general cleanup, planting, and community gardens, but we need organizational ideas from other cities and towns. Mrs. C. F. Aten, 99 Slosson Ln., Geneva, NY 14456

**You Write the Song.** Serious guitarist has over 100 melodic tunes that need solid, sincere, folksy lyrics about positive life experiences. Please send query and/or sample lyric along with SASE to: A. Scott Bourne, 16826 Box 14, Boise, ID 83707

**Happy Halloween.** Last October I told my daughter a creative Halloween story and am now making it into a book. I would appreciate Halloween recipes, stories, and ideas that might enhance my book. Mel Imas, 7 Fieldstone Dr., Hartsdale, NY 10530

**Beethoven or Bust.** Avid Beethoven fan interested in amassing complete collection of Beethoven busts in all sizes plus other paraphernalia to include in unique museum. If you have suggestions, ideas, leads, please write: Beethoven Busts, 17070 Collins Ave., Suite 226, N. Miami Beach, FL 33160

**Efficiency Living.** I teach a course and am writing a book to share with other city dwellers the best ideas for living gracefully and competently in very small apartments. What noble styles and solutions have you achieved to space problems? Have you developed a storage system for snow tires, bicycles, books? Credit given and photos returned. Mary Gallagher, 2121 Virginia Ave., N.W., Washington, DC 20037

Andronikos cites shards of pottery found in the stucco and above the tomb, which he feels date from between 350 and 325 B.C. Because no other Macedonian king died during this period, he concludes that this grave must be Philip's. (Philip was assassinated in 336 B.C. Among the suspected conspirators was Olympias.) "Such clues can be misleading," Vermeule said when asked about the pottery. "Take your own kitchen. I'm sure you have a piece of Wedgwood or willowware that belonged to your great-grandparents. It doesn't help in dating your kitchen."

Several scholars have expressed opinions about whose grave it is. Mary Renault, the English novelist on classical themes who lives in South Africa, wrote to Andronikos that she thought it might be the grave of Antipater, who served as regent under Alexander. "Well, I thought about it," Andronikos says. "But first, Antipater was not a king. Also, the anthropologists told me that the bones belonged to a man who was between 40 and 50. Antipater was almost 80." Philip was 46. Recently art historian Phyllis Lehmann suggested that the tomb is that of Philip III, an older half brother of Alexander's, who succeeded to the throne after Alexander's death in 323 B.C. Philip III, or Arrhidaeus, as he was called, was, according to Plutarch, mentally retarded and epileptic, probably as a result of poison administered to him in childhood by the evil and busy Olympias. She murdered him six years after he acceded to the throne.

Lehmann has been excavating in Greece, on the island of Samothrace, almost as long as Andronikos. She'll formally present her Arrhidaeus theory in the current issue of the *American Journal of Archaeology*, and this month she and Andronikos, and others, will meet to discuss the matter at a symposium sponsored by the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C.

Meanwhile, work at Vergina goes on. One morning shortly after my talk with Andronikos I drove out to Vergina with a friend. The road led through miles of flat farmland, green and lush in the late spring, the fields red with poppies and treeless except

for peach orchards and an occasional isolated plane tree.

We had come armed with a letter of permission to the site's "guardians," as Andronikos calls them—a charming lapse that conjures up images of hovering angels. The place was indeed dauntingly protected. Not only were the tombs covered with corrugated roofs and enclosed by Styrofoam-block walls, but a chain-link fence with signs proclaiming "No Entry, No Photograph" surrounded the entire area of the tumulus. We were escorted about the tombs by two of the guardians—Costas Zissopoulos, who had on slacks and a snappy sport shirt, and Costas Pavlides, whose seniority was indicated by his suit. They never let either of us out of their sight.

The tombs are kept closed and dark to protect the frescoes, which for the first 2,300 years of their existence were sealed in a place where the humidity measured 100 percent. The lion-and-boar fresco is further protected by a heavy black velvet curtain. Costas Pavlides pulled on some ropes and the curtain drew apart, with all the theatricality of opening night at the opera, to reveal the faded but priceless composition. At the rear of the big tomb we peered down through

the hole where the keystone had been, into the spacious chamber. A ladder leaned against the opening, but we knew it would be useless to ask.

Andronikos was due to arrive June 1 for another summer's digging. He has found a third tomb under the big mound, a few meters from the tomb of "Philip." This new grave only increases the mystery of the site. Andronikos had seemed torn between the desire to talk about the new find and a sense of propriety about making an announcement too soon, but what he did say was tantalizing: "The anthropologist who examined the bones, which were cremated and put in a silver hydria, told me they belong to a young boy between 12 and 14. This is something very unusual. We found in the tomb two greaves, gilded ones. And we found a gilded spear—a gold spear—something absolutely unique. So these objects would belong to someone important, a prince. To make a tomb for just one person, for a boy of 14, it's rather..." He shrugged. "It's unbelievable."

This tomb is contemporaneous with the other two. "Now I hope to find a fourth, a fifth in the next years," Andronikos says. Clearly he will not be resting on his laurels.

### Alexander's Treasures on Tour

• Perhaps no leader in history has generated more fame, legend, and speculation than Alexander III of Macedon (356-323 B.C.), who at 33 ruled an empire that embraced most of the known world. This month the extraordinary artistic fruits of his era will be on view in this country for the first time in a traveling exhibit entitled "The Search for Alexander." Of the 150 pieces of metalwork and sculpture gathered for the show from various museums, the highlights will be the magnificent gold, silver, and gilded objects from the royal tomb of "Philip," discovered in 1977 in Vergina by archaeologist Manolis Andronikos.

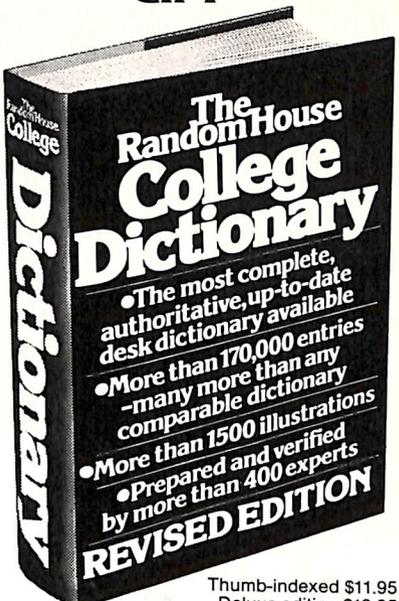
After its premiere at the National Gallery of Art in Washington (November 16, 1980 to April 5, 1981), the exhibit will travel to the Art Institute of Chicago (May 14 to September 7, 1981), the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston (October 23, 1981 to January 10, 1982), and finally to the Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco (February 19 to May 16, 1982).



STEVE SHAMES/GAMMA-LIAISON

• "Philip's" casket and the ceremonial wreath are two of the many regal Macedonian treasures now on tour.

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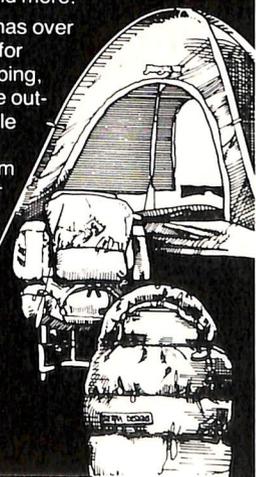
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darkness, I was taken into an interrogation room. Three secret policemen with a translator began an aggressive interrogation.

First I was ordered to empty my pockets. I refused. Handcuffs were slammed down onto the table, and I was told: "The time has come for you to do what we say!" I demanded to be allowed to call the Canadian embassy. They refused. After several minutes of this mutual refusing, the questioning began. They would not believe that I had been merely discussing philosophy with Julius and the students. They kept trying to make me "admit" that I had come on some subversive political mission. I had come, I repeated, to see the city and discuss philosophy with colleagues. Why, they asked, did I think I could come on a tourist visa and meet with Julius, "an enemy of the state"? They declined to say what law, if any, his meetings contravened.

Would Julius go to Oxford, they asked. This was not a question for me to answer, I said. Then they revealed that they knew the contents of a letter inviting Julius to lecture at Balliol College, a letter he never received. One of them said emphatically: "He will go." Obviously, I thought, they intended to increase the pressure on him to the point where he would have to agree to go to the West.

After two and a half hours of this, a senior officer was finally sent for. His style was not to question, but to give advice. He advised me to tell academics in the West that they were free to come to Prague as tourists. However, they were not to see Julius or his students. Anyone who wished to give lectures had to request an invitation to address the Academy of Sciences. As for myself, if I were to telephone or write to Julius, there would be trouble for him. I was invited to return with my family to see Prague, "the world's most beautiful city." However, he said, gesturing at the photographer who was busily engaged in capturing my face from every possible angle, my photograph would be at all border-crossing points. And if I returned, I would be under continuous surveillance. Visiting Julius would mean trouble for both of us.

Just before midnight I was charged with giving a lecture without the permission of the authorities. Under what section of the criminal code, I still do not know. Three suggestions have since been made by the authorities: laws against "organized hooliganism," "bringing the state into disrepute abroad," and holding meetings of more than 10 people. This last law does not exist, says the British embassy in Prague. And I cannot enlighten them further. My request for a written copy of the charge was rejected with the retort: "I suppose you want a copy for the Canadian government too!"

Once I had been charged, the senior officer then served a deportation notice and ordered that I be taken by car to the border. My notebook and a copy of my lecture were to be retained. I objected. And they were pushed across the table to me very reluctantly. "Please may we keep them?" they said. At first I refused. But on second thought I decided that the secret police should not be deprived of my views on the controversy between Popper and Kuhn, so I handed over the papers. As I was taken away, my lecture began again, for the second time that night, this time being read aloud by a translator to an uncomprehending audience of secret police interrogators.

With a woman translator and three young members of the secret police, dressed as if for a night on the town, we drove in an unmarked car to my hotel. I packed and paid the bill. Then began a comic progress to the border. As we drove, I asked to be taken to the crossing point on the road to Vienna. Rejecting this, the officer in charge added: "I suppose you would like us to call Reuters for you too!" We drove into a blizzard, with me flanked by two of the secret police. Then we stopped at a village outside Prague to drop the translator off at her home. We drove on. Soon there was an animated conversation in Czech, after which we turned round and drove back to the translator's house—they needed to borrow her map. And then we broke down, immediately after a long, boastful speech in German about the superiority of their Russian car. The car had sophisticated radio

equipment but no tools. I offered them my pocketknife, and with it they were able to remove the dashboard to repair the electrical system. This took half an hour, during which they became irritated with each other's incompetence and required the consumption of my duty-free whiskey to restore their equilibrium.

Even with the map, my escorts managed to get lost three times in their search for the remotest possible border-crossing point. And somewhere in the middle of our maunderings across the countryside, I complained that by refusing to let me fly out, they had made me waste my excursion ticket back to Amsterdam. They replied that I shouldn't complain, as I was getting a free trip to the border. "Yes," I said, "but I'll have to pay to get back from Germany to Holland." "Okay," one of them responded. "When you get back home, if there is ever anything you want, just write me." I asked his name. "I have many names," he said.

When we finally reached the border, we were met by a contingent of 15 uniformed police. And together we waited for confirmation from Prague that I was to be released. Then my passport and luggage were returned and I was taken out into a *le Carré* scene. The single-lane road from the Czech crossing point ran down a hill through a forest of tall fir trees. I made my way past a final group of guards with machine guns to a barrier set on a small bridge over a stream. Climbing the barrier, I walked up the hill on the other side to the German post. The sole guard on duty woke a cab driver in the nearest village, 30 kilometers away, who took me to the Nuremberg airport.

After my departure the students of Tomin's group were more determined than ever to continue their seminars. And on the Wednesday following, 24 of them attended a lecture on the phenomenology of meaning given by Radim Palous, who had lost his professorship at Charles University for signing the Charter. Fourteen of the secret police also came on time and broke up the meeting after 45 minutes. The following week they returned, and arrested and held for 48 hours eight of the 27 people present, among them Tomin, Palous, Dejmal,

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