

PREFACE

FRIENDS and colleagues of Theodore Leslie Shear have contributed the articles gathered into this volume as a tribute to his memory. Still others have expressed the wish to participate, but have, for one reason or another, been unable to submit the necessary manuscripts in time. The Committee on Publications regrets such disappointments, but feels that the present memorial, begun in 1945 soon after Shear's death, must be no longer delayed.

But this book, which is an expression of our desire to honor the man whose name it bears, is only part of the tribute daily paid to his memory. Shear left at his untimely death a far greater living memorial, personified in the scholarly devotion of those who worked with him and who knew him as teacher and friend, and in the esteem and gratitude with which his colleagues everywhere welcomed his achievements. His knowledge of Classical Archaeology was buttressed by a genius for practical administration which made every excavation under his direction a success, and indeed, particularly in the case of the Agora of Ancient Athens, an international example of skilful exploration followed by prompt and careful publication. This was Shear's greatest effort, more complex than Cnidus, or Sardis, or Corinth; it was also the most exacting, and undoubtedly the exhausting burden of its infinite detail cost him many years of his life. His supreme reward was that a young and able generation of archaeologists found inspiration under his direction, and inherited his exacting standards. Through them his work will live on.

Shear died quite suddenly at Lake Sunapee, New Hampshire, on July 3, 1945, in the sixty-fifth year of his age, and is buried in the old cemetery at Princeton, New Jersey.

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T. Leslie Shear



Bibliography of Theodore Leslie Shear

Author(s): Josephine Shear

Reviewed work(s):

Source: *Hesperia Supplements*, Vol. 8, Commemorative Studies in Honor of Theodore Leslie Shear (1949), pp. vii-xi

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JOSEPHINE SHEAR

PRINCETON



Some Panaitian Fragments

Author(s): J. D. Beazley

Reviewed work(s):

Source: *Hesperia Supplements*, Vol. 8, Commemorative Studies in Honor of Theodore Leslie Shear (1949), pp. 3-5+437-438

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SOME PANAITIAN FRAGMENTS

(PLATES 1-2)

THESE FRAGMENTS are all mentioned in *A[ttic] R[ed-figure] V[ase-painters]*, 209-24, but have never been published. My thanks are due to the late Raniero Mengarelli, to Mr. Jean Babelon, Mr. Alfred Merlin and Dr. Antonio Minto for permission to publish them, and to my wife for the photographs.

I. PROTO-PANAITIAN GROUP

1. Louvre fr. Cp. 91 (Plate 1, 1) is *A. R. V.* 211 no. 6. I have no photograph of the interior, where a stretch of the line-border remains, and part of the garment of a figure on the left of the picture: between this and the border, . . . K]ALON retr., downwards. Outside, a bearded figure, probably Dionysos, reclines on the ground to left, looking back, the left elbow resting on a cushion, a drinking-horn held up in the right hand. A satyr staggers towards him, looking round with an intense expression, open-mouthed, holding a wineskin in his left hand and extending his right arm with the palm upwards. Inscription . . . NAI+I. Then came the handle. For the style compare especially the cup in Baltimore with a satyr riding a wineskin (Hartwig pl. 44, 1; *C. V.* Robinson ii pl. 7: *A. R. V.* 211 no. 7).

II. THE PANAITIOS PAINTER

2. The Theseus cup with the signature of the potter Euphronios in the Louvre (G 104: *A. R. V.* 214 no. 10). To glance at Reichhold's drawing of the exterior (F. R. pl. 141) one might fancy that there was nothing missing: but the older and in some ways more conscientious drawing in *Mon. ét. grecques* (1872 pl. 2, whence Hoppin i, 399) tells a different story. The fragment Florence PD 321 (Plate 1, 2), given to the museum by Mr. J. A. Spranger, has, inside, a piece of the palmette-border, and, outside, part of the petasos of Theseus in the Procrustes group. The new fragment, some may judge, is less important in itself than for the hope it affords that other of the missing fragments may yet be recovered.

3. Louvre S 1339 (Plate 1, 3: *A. R. V.* 214 no. 14). Outside the cup, a satyr steals up towards a sleeping maenad who is naked except for a fawnskin tied round her shoulders. Her right arm is raised with the hand behind the head, as in other sleeping figures. Inscription ΗΟΓΑΙ[ΣΚΑΛΟΣ]. Inside, part of the line-border, and what seems to be a bit of a satyr's tail. This is what remains of the Panaitios Painter's third cup with this congenial subject, the other two being in Florence and Baltimore (*A. R. V.* 214 nos. 13 and 12).

4. The Dolon cup with the signature of the potter Euphronios in the Cabinet des Médailles: see *J. H. S.* 54, 85, and *A. R. V.* 215 no. 27. Pending a proper publication, I figure one of the fragments I have added (Plate 1, 4). It gives the upper part of Odysseus in the Dolon scene (the curve of the nose is impaired by a small flake).

5. Florence PD 316 (Plate 2, 1), the gift of Mr. J. A. Spranger, is all that remains, so far as I know, of a magnificent cup by the Panaitios Painter (*A. R. V.* 214 no. 15). Inside, two archers. One squats, drawing his bow, with his right leg drawn up and seen from the front, while the other stands with both legs frontal. A flake has removed part of the standing archer's left thigh and a little of his companion's right shoulder.

6. Plate 2, 2 is from the inside of a fragmentary cup, found at Falerii, in the Villa Giulia (18558: *A. R. V.* 215 no. 30). Outside (not figured), symposium, with a line below. Inside, one of those vomiting-scenes which were popular in the late archaic period. The man has put his finger down his throat. He kneels, or rather squats, supporting himself on his stick. Inscription . . . ΚΑΛΟC. The cup must be nearly contemporary with the komoi in Boston and Leningrad (*A. R. V.* 215-6 nos. 31 and 32).

III

7. We end with a puzzle. The cup-fragment Plate 2, 3, from the excavations of Raniero Mengarelli at Cervetri, a loose find if I remember what he told me, is mentioned in *A. R. V.* 223 no. 3, as in the manner of Onesimos, and may well be by the painter himself: like all the work of Onesimos it is closely akin to the later cups of the Panaitios Painter: indeed it has always seemed to me likely that the Panaitios Painter and Onesimos are one and the same. Parts of two figures, or rather three, remain. On the right, right hand and forearm of a figure that makes one think of Dolon: but the pelt is of a lion or panther rather than a wolf, and what is more important the hand holds a wineskin with its cord. The spear on the right of the fragment may either have been held by this figure or by another to right of him. The figure with the wineskin is gripped by a young man who wears a chlamys and a fur cap and holds a drawn sword in his right hand. To right of him, the inscription ΛVKI . . . with the beginning of an indeterminate fifth letter. In *A. R. V.* I hazarded that the subject might be the Capture of Silenos. A panther-skin would be a suitable garment. Lyki[skos], Lyki[s], or Lyki[os] would be one of the hunters who caught him, the left-hand one: their names are not recorded elsewhere: on the Ergotimos cup in Berlin (*W. V.* 1888 pl. 4, 2, whence Hoppin *Bf.* 83; Lücken pll. 66 and 68) they are simply ΘΕΡ(Ε)VΤΑΙ. There is a wineskin on that cup, but it is held by one

of the hunters, not by their captive. According to the legend as it is known from literature King Midas mixed wine with the fountain water, so that when Silenos came and drank he was easily overcome. The adulteration of the fountain is not essential in the story, and it would be easy to imagine a variant in which a wineskin was left beside the fountain, full of celestial liquor. If of course the spear on the Cervetri fragment was held by the captured and not by one of his captors, the explanation falls to the ground; it should be added that while the inscription may very well apply to the youth with the sword the alternative that it applies to the captured cannot be absolutely excluded. I am treating the certain representations of the Capture of Silenus elsewhere, in a study of Kleitias and Ergotimos: I think I have stated the evidence for the Cervetri fragment fairly, and I retain the question-mark.

J. D. BEAZLEY

OXFORD



1
Louvre fr. Cp. 91



2
Florence PD 321



4
Cab. Méd. 553



3
Louvre S 1339

J. D. BEAZLEY: SOME PANAITIAN FRAGMENTS

PLATE 2



1
Florence PD 316



3
Cervetri



2
Villa Giulia 18558



The Chronology of the Attic New Style Tetradrachms

Author(s): Alfred R. Bellinger

Reviewed work(s):

Source: *Hesperia Supplements*, Vol. 8, Commemorative Studies in Honor of Theodore Leslie Shear (1949), pp. 6-30+439

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THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE ATTIC NEW STYLE TETRADRACHMS*

(PLATE 3)

AT SOME time in the Hellenistic period, the mint of Athens began the issue of coins universally known as the New Style, for while they continued to bear on the obverse the helmeted head of Athena and, on the reverse, her sacred owl, both fabric and style distinguish them unmistakably from the late degenerate issues which continued to copy the great fifth-century coins with ever increasing ineptitude. The head is now that of Athena Parthenos, and must have been modelled on the Phidian statue; the owl stands on an amphora lying on its side, and the whole is enclosed in a laurel wreath. Moreover, the reverse bears distinguishing marks unknown to the Old Style: in the field are the monograms or the names of the mint magistrates and generally a symbol as well; a majority have two or more letters beneath the amphora and, on the amphora, serial letters from A to N. These marks hold out the hope of fixing the sequence of issues, and the attempt has exercised the ingenuity of some of the greatest numismatists. It would be idle to review the whole course of the enterprise. As in all such cases, there have been many false assumptions and much acumen misdirected, but our present state of knowledge is an accumulation from many sources, and no one scholar is alone responsible for such certainty as we now possess.

The first fundamental work is that of E. Beulé, *Les monnaies d'Athènes*, published in Paris in 1858, wherein all the issues known to him were described and illustrated by excellent engravings. He searched the public collections with commendable thoroughness and produced a compilation to which surprisingly few capital additions have been made, though additions and rectifications of detail have been numerous. The book includes much valuable discussion not germane to the purpose of the present paper, but Beulé's only attempt at arrangement was to separate the issues with monograms from those on which the magistrates' names were written out, and his belief that the New Style began in 323 B.C. has been abandoned by everyone.

The most obvious criteria for arrangement are the changing means of indicating the magistrates and the change in style. The former has produced a grouping which is now generally accepted as the fundamental chronology.

Class I. Two monograms, or one monogram and one abbreviated name.

Class II. Two names abbreviated.

Class III. Three names.

Class IV. Two names.

*Dr. W. K. Pritchett has been kind enough to read the first draft of this MS. and make valuable suggestions which are here incorporated into the text.

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In the second edition of the *Historia Numorum* (Oxford, 1911) Barclay V. Head has further subdivided these on the basis of style, and a still more elaborate sequence of style was worked out by Jean Svoronos. He died before the completion of his great work, *Les monnaies d'Athènes*, but the illustrations which he had gathered were published in a folio of plates with that title by Behrendt Pick (Munich, 1923-1926). Much as we must regret the absence of the text which would have produced his reasons, the plates themselves show his conclusions, and since they are the result of the long labor of a brilliant mind intimately acquainted with a huge body of material, they constitute a scheme which must be used with profound respect.

It was inevitable that the assembly of so many Athenian names, many of them familiar in other contexts, should lead to an investigation of the prosopography of the coinage, and the most elaborate study of this kind has been Sundwall's *Untersuchungen über die attischen Münzen des neueren Stiles* (Helsingfors, 1908). This involved consideration of the position and function of the officials as well as their identification. Such work is, of course, fundamental and, with the great increase of individuals known from the excavation of the Agora, important additions are sure to be made to the data at Sundwall's command. The present article, however, will be little concerned with the prosopographical evidence, not from any unwillingness to recognize its importance, but because it demands a thorough-going study for which the author is not equipped. It is his belief, moreover, that, with the one exception of King Mithradates, there is no one appearing on the coins who provides an absolutely fixed date, and that it is therefore more serviceable to construct a list so far as possible on the grounds of objective data and then allow the prosopographers to modify that list with the aid of their evidence, assuming the general principle that an explanation ought not to raise more new problems than it settles. Questions will be discussed in regard to certain special names, but no complete treatment of the persons will be attempted.

It is agreed by all that the letters under the amphora stand for mines from which the metal came or, more likely, workshops in which they were made. Careful collection of all such evidence might lead to interesting results; it has already been adduced to show how much restricted was the coinage after Sulla compared with that before Mithradates. But such evidence should be reasonably complete if it is to be relied on, and the present paper does not enter into the question.

The letters on the amphora, which run from A to M and sometimes to N, certainly signify months, and Dr. W. K. Pritchett assures me that they may be interpreted as months of the ordinary civil calendar. George Macdonald dealt with them in an article entitled "The Amphora Letters on Coins of Athens" (*Numismatic Chronicle*, Third Series, XIX, 1899, pp. 288-321), and showed that on the earlier series of Class III the term of the third official tended to coincide with the calendar month, while on the later series irregularities become increasingly serious. He was mistaken in

supposing that the magistrate's term had any connection with the prytany year which he considered to be a solar year.

A new guide to arrangement—and by far the most reliable—was presented by M. L. Kambanis in a series of "Notes sur le classement chronologique des monnaies d'Athènes" (*Arethuse*, fasc. 21, October, 1928, pp. 121-135; *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, LVI, 1932, pp. 37-59; LVIII, 1934, pp. 101-137; LIX, 1935, pp. 101-120; LX, 1936, pp. 101-117; LXII, 1938, pp. 60-96) in which he demonstrated the necessary sequence of some issues by the use of identical obverse dies with different reverses. The system allowed the relative position of some of the magistrates to be fixed with certainty for the first time, and it is to be hoped that further search will extend the certain areas. Kambanis also made systematic use of the hoards, of which a large number have been found, and working with the abundant material from the French excavations of Delos, laid down the principle that issues found on that island must be earlier than 88/7 B.C., in which year it was captured, sacked and ruined by the forces of Mithradates Eupator. His investigations are concerned with various groups within Class III and Class IV, but combining his evidence with the arrangement of Svoronos based on style, we may present a list of all known issues which is not, of course, intended as definitive, but which will provide future investigators with a view of the present state of the question and will show what remains still to be determined.

The issues are numbered for convenience of reference. The brackets before the names enclose the sequences established by Kambanis; the square brackets enclose pairs of magistrates proved to belong to the same year; the brackets behind the names enclose groups within which the order is uncertain. Since the third magistrate of Class III changes from month to month, only the names of the first two are given; the numbers in parentheses are those of the groups into which Svoronos divides that class.

1.	Ν	Α	No symbol	180/79	
2.	Π	Μ	Kerchnos	179/8	
3.	Α	Μ	Kerchnos	178/7	
4.	Χ	Α	or ΦΑΝΙ	No symbol	177/6
5.	Ε	Ν	No symbol or cornucopia	176/5	
6.	Κ	Ξ	Two palms	} 175/4-170/69	
7.	Σ	Ρ	Club		
8.	Ω	Α	Rudder		
9.	Θ	Ε	Trophy		
10.	Ζ	Ν	Nike		
11.	Β	Φ	Bonnets of the Dioscuri	} 169/8-166/5	
12.	Α	Η	Hermes		
13.	Α	Μ	Serpents		
14.	Κ	Ν	Cicada		
15.	Π	Α	Palm		

16.	☞ ☞	Ear of wheat	}	165/4-161/0
17.	☞ ☞	Eagle		
18.	☞ ☞	Aphlaston		
19.	☞ ☞	Thyrus		
20.	☞ ΛΥΣΙΑ	Forepart of horse		
21.	ΑΔΕΙ-ΗΛΙΟ	Trident	}	160/59-156/5
22.	ΑΜΜΩ-ΔΙΟ	Kerchnos or cornucopia		
23.	ΔΙΟΦΑ-ΔΙΟΔΟ	Figure with spear l., or figure seated r.		
24.	ΧΑΡΙ-ΗΡΑ	Eagle		
25.	ΔΗΜΗ-ΙΕΡΩ	Helmet with star		
26.	ΚΤΗΣΙ-ΕΥΜΑ	Nike		155/4
27.	ΓΛΑΥ-ΕΧΕ	Helios' head		154/3
28.	ΜΙΚΙ-ΘΕΟ	Helios' head or quadriga		153/2
29.	ΑΡΙΣΤΟ-ΗΡΑ (1)	}	152/1-150/49	
30.	ΜΕΝΕΔ-ΕΠΙΓΕΝΟ (1)			
31.	ΤΙΜΑΡΧ-ΝΙΚΑΓΟ (1)			
32.	ΠΟΛΥΧΑΡΜ-ΝΙΚΟΓ (1)			
33.	ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΣ-ΝΙΚΟΓ (1)		149/8	
34.	ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΣ-ΚΑΡΑΙΧΟΣ (1)		148/7	
35.	ΑΧΑΙΟΣ-ΗΛΙ (1)	}	147/6-141/0	
36.	ΔΙΟΓΕ-ΠΟΣΕΙ (1)			
37.	ΔΩΡΟΘΕ-ΔΙΟΦΡΑ (1)			
38.	ΕΠΙΓΕΝΗΣ-ΣΩΣΑΝΔΡΟΣ (1)			
39.	ΘΕΟΦΡΑ-ΣΩΤΑΣ (1)			
40.	ΛΥΣΑΝΔΡΟΣ-ΓΛΑΥΚΟΣ (1)			
41.	ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ-ΑΛΚΕΤΑΣ (1)			
42.	ΑΦΡΟΔΙΣΙ-ΑΠΟΛΛΗΪ (2)			
43.	ΕΥΡΥΚΛΕΙ-ΑΡΙΑΡΑ (2)			
44.	ΑΦΡΟΔΙΣΙ-ΔΙΟΓΕ (2)			
45.	ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙ-ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙ (2)	}	140/39-133/2	
46.	ΔΙΟΤΙΜΟΣ-ΜΑΓΑΣ (2)			
47.	ΚΑΡΑΙΧΟΣ-ΕΡΓΟΚΛΗΣ (2)			
48.	ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΣ-ΜΙΛΤΙΑΔΗΣ (2)			
49.	ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΣ-ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝ (2)			
50.	ΜΙΚΙΩΝ-ΕΥΡΥΚΛΕΙ (2)			
51.	ΘΕΜΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΣ-ΘΕΟΠΟΜΠΟΣ (2)			132/1
52.	ΑΜΜΟΝΙΟΣ-ΚΑΛΛΙΑΣ (3)			131/0
53.	ΕΥΜΑΡΕΙΔΗΣ-ΑΛΚΙΔΑΜΑΣ (2)			130/29
54.	ΕΥΜΑΡΕΙΔΗΣ-ΚΛΕΟΜΕΝΗΣ (2)			
55.	ΣΩΚΡΑΤΗΣ-ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΔΩ (2)			129/8
56.	ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ-ΑΓΑΘΙΠΠΟΣ (3)			128/7

57.	{	ΧΑΡΙΝΑΥΤΗΣ-ΑΡΙΣΤΕΑΣ (3)		127/6
58.	{	ΦΑΝΟΚΛΗΣ-ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ (3)		126/5
59.	{	ΕΥΒΟΥΛΙΔΗΣ-ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΗΣ (3)		125/4
60.	{	ΖΩΙΛΟΣ-ΕΥΑΝΔΡΟΣ (3)		
61.	{	ΔΑΜΩΝ-ΣΩΣΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ (3)		124/3
62.	{	ΕΥΜΗΛΟΣ-ΚΑΛΛΙΦΩΝ (3)		123/2
63.	{	ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΗΣ-ΕΥΚΛΗΣ (4)		122/1, 121/0
64.	{	ΑΝΔΡΕΑΣ-ΧΑΡΙΝΑΥΤΗΣ (4)		120/19
65.	{	ΙΚΕΣΙΟΣ-ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΑΔΗΣ (4)		119/8
66.	{	ΤΙΜΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ-ΠΟΣΗΣ (4)		118/7
67.	{	ΑΜΦΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ-ΕΠΙΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ (4)		117/6
68.	{	ΔΩΣΙΘΕΟΣ-ΧΑΡΙΑΣ (4)		116/5
69.	{	ΘΕΟΔΩΤΟΣ-ΚΛΕΟΦΑΝΗΣ (4)		115/4
70.	{	ΝΙΚΗΤΗΣ-ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ (4)		114/3
71.	{	ΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝ-ΦΙΛΩΝ (5)		113/2
72.	{	ΑΡΟΠΟΣ-ΜΝΑΣΑΓΟ (5)		112/1
73.	{	ΑΠΕΛΛΙΚΩΝ-ΓΟΡΓΙΑΣ (5)		
74.	{	ΚΟΙΝΤΟΣ-ΚΛΕΑΣ (5)		
75.	{	ΝΙΚΟΓΕΝΗΣ-ΚΑΛΛΙΜΑΡΧΟΣ (5)		111/0-109/8
76.	{	ΔΗΜΕΑΣ-ΕΡΜΟΚΛΗΣ (5)		108/7
77.	{	ΞΕΝΟΚΛΗΣ-ΑΡΜΟΞΕΝΟΣ	Dolphin	107/6
78.	{	" "	Serpent	106/5
79.	{	" "	Rome	105/4
80.		☉ ☿		104/3
81.		Ο ΔΕΜΟΣ		103/2
82.	{	ΝΕΣΤΩΡ-ΜΝΑΣΕΑΣ * †		102/1
83.	{	ΕΥΜΗΛΟΣ-ΘΕΟΞΕΝΙΔΗΣ †		101/0
84.	{	ΑΡΧΙΤΙΜΟΣ-ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ *		
85.	{	ΜΕΝΤΩΡ-ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ †		100/99-99/8
86.	{	ΣΩΤΑΔΗΣ-ΘΕΜΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΣ *		98/7
87.	{	ΛΥΣΑΝΔΡΟΣ-ΟΙΝΟΦΙΛΟΣ †		
88.	{	ΚΛΕΟΦΑΝΗΣ-ΕΠΙΘΕΤΗΣ *		
89.	{	ΑΜΦΙΑΣ-ΟΙΝΟΦΙΛΟΣ * †		97/6-93/2
90.	{	ΜΝΑΣΕΑΣ-ΝΕΣΤΩΡ †		
91.	{	ΑΠΕΛΛΙΚΩΝ-ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΗΣ †		
92.	{	ΑΡΧΙΤΙΜΟΣ-ΠΑΜΜΕΝΗΣ †		92/1
93.	{	ΔΗΜΕΑΣ-ΚΑΛΛΙΚΡΑΤΙΔΗΣ		
94.	{	ΔΙΟΦΑΝΤΟΣ-ΑΙΣΧΙΝΗΣ †		
95.	{	ΕΠΙΓΕΝΗΣ-ΞΕΝΩΝ †		91/0-88/7
96.	{	ΜΕΝΕΔΗΜΟΣ-ΤΙΜΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ †		
97.		ΒΑΣΙΛΕ ΜΙΘΡΑΔΑΤΗΣ-ΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝ		87/6
(98.		Two trophies. Struck by Lucullus in the Peloponnese		87)

* Marks issues found at Delos.

† Marks issues found in the Hierapytna Hoard.

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| <p>99. ΑΛΚΕΤΗΣ-ΕΥΑΓΓΙΩΝ
 100. ΑΠΟΛΗΞΙΣ-ΛΥΣΑΝΔΡΟΣ
 101. ΔΗΜΟΧΑΡΗΣ-ΠΑΜΜΕΝΗΣ
 102. ΔΙΟΚΛΗΣ-ΛΕΩΝΙΔΗΣ
 103. ΔΙΟΚΛΗΣ ΤΟ ΔΕΥΤΕ-ΜΗΔΕΙΟΣ
 104. ΔΙΟΚΛΗΣ ΤΟ ΤΡΙ-ΔΙΟΔΩΡΟΣ
 105. ΔΙΟΚΛΗΣ ΜΕΛΙ-ΜΗΔΕΙΟΣ
 106. ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ-ΔΗΜΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ
 107. ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ-ΜΝΑΣΑΓΟΡΑΣ
 108. ΗΡΑΚΛΕΩΝ-ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΗΣ
 109. ΘΕΟΦΡΑΣΤΟΣ-ΘΕΜΙΣΤΟ
 110. ΚΑΛΛΙΜΑΡΧΟΣ-ΕΠΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ
 111. ΚΟΙΝΤΟΣ-ΧΑΡΜΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ
 112. ΛΕΥΚΙΟΣ-ΑΝΤΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ
 113. ΜΕΝΝΕΑΣ-ΗΡΩΔΗΣ
 114. ΠΑΝΤΑΚΛΗΣ-ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ
 115. ΤΡΥΦΩΝ-ΠΟΛΥΧΑΡΜΟΣ
 116. ΦΙΛΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ-ΗΡΩΔΗΣ
 117. ΦΙΛΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ-ΚΑΛΛΙΦΩΝ</p> | <p>} After 84</p> |
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Before dealing with individual issues and their grouping, it is necessary to discuss the basic question of dating the whole series from the beginning to Mithradates. The dating here given rests on one fact and a number of assumptions.

The fact is that No. 97, ΒΑΣΙΛΕ ΜΙΘΡΑΔΑΤΗΣ-ΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝ, must have been issued between 88 and 86. The king can only be Mithradates VI Eupator of Pontus, and there is no other time when his position would have allowed him to display his royal title on coins of Athens. All authorities are in agreement on this point.

The assumptions are as follows:

- 1) That all New Style silver found on Delos was issued before the destruction of that island by Mithradates. I know of no disagreement with this principle.
- 2) That two classes of silver not recorded as from Delos are nevertheless anterior to Mithradates:
 - a) Issues of the three-magistrate series whose dating after Mithradates would separate them widely from the rest of that series.
 - b) Issues of the two-magistrate series found in the Hierapytna Hoard associated with issues that are found on Delos.

The former category must be accepted in default of very specific evidence to the contrary. To reject it would be to prefer the *argumentum ex silentio* to the positive testimony of style and organization. The latter category is defended by the reasonable evidence of a hoard, which will be discussed below (pp. 25 f.), but, as only a single hoard is involved, the proof cannot be regarded as conclusive.

3) That all other issues of the two-magistrate series are subsequent to Sulla. This rests on the *argumentum ex silentio*, though supported by some other considerations which will be dealt with later (p. 26). The division was proposed by Kambanis, and there has been no attempt at refutation nor any evidence appearing since his articles which would tend to contradict him, but such evidence may appear hereafter.

4) That the issues are annual and continuous unless there is definite evidence of a gap (cf. Nos. 80, 81, 98). This principle is certain for those issues which Kambanis found joined by the use of the same obverse die in month M of the first and month A of the second. It is extremely probable for all issues where the month is indicated. It is a natural assumption for all periods of Athenian silver and, except for the issues subsequent to Mithradates, there is no reason to doubt its application.

5) That we possess specimens of all the original issues, so that we shall not later have coins now unknown to insert in our list. This is not as rash as it might sound. Kambanis pointed out that Beulé's work was based on somewhat less than 2000 specimens while in his own time there were over 10,000 known, three-quarters of which he had himself worked with. In spite of this enormous increase, he was able to add only one (No. 1) to Beulé's list of issues; since that time, one more (No. 6) has been found; Kambanis added eight later than Mithradates to those known to Beulé. We may allow, therefore, that future additions at the beginning and the end are possible, but we have no reason to expect any except at the extremes.

If these assumptions are sound, it follows that the beginning of the New Style must be placed in 180/79 or very shortly before. This is in sharp contrast to the date 229 proposed by Head (*Historia Numorum*, p. 378) and now generally accepted. His argument is ultimately based on his date of 176 for Nos. 33, 34, which is discussed in connection with those issues below. Of course, this revision of the beginning of the New Style involves reconsideration of the end of the Old Style but helps no further in settling the question whether they were contiguous or separated by a short gap or a long one. That matter must be settled by a study of the Old Style direct, and will not be treated here.

With this much of preliminary general considerations, we may turn to examination of the individual issue.

No. 1. This is the earliest type. There is no circle of dots on the obverse, which is invariable after No. 2, and there is no symbol. Three specimens are known: one in the Newell Collection (Plate 3, 1); one in the Kambanis collection (*B.C.H.*, LXII, 1938, p. 82, pl. XVIII, no. 5); one in the collection of Philip Lederer (*ibid.*, pl. XVIII, no. 6). On the first, the right monogram has the shape , on the other two ; on the first two there is a biga on the neck of Athena's helmet which never reappears. These correspondences and differences show the order of issues of the three varieties within this first type.

No. 2. A unique specimen in Athens is published by Svoronos (pl. 33, no. 7) and Kambanis (*B.C.H.*, LXII, 1938, pl. 83, pl. XVIII, no. 7). The obverse is still without the circle of dots, but a symbol now appears on the reverse. Kambanis inadvertently speaks of the issue as "sans symbole," but the Kerchnos is perfectly clear on both illustrations.

No. 3. Svoronos pl. 33, nos. 8-11. Here the circle of dots appears for the first time. The symbol is the same, as also the right monogram; the left monogram is new. It is very likely that Nos. 2 and 3 belong to the same year, that the first magistrate died or resigned, and that the innovation of the circle of dots was introduced by his successor. The phenomenon would be like that of Nos. 33, 34 below, but the matter cannot be proved in this case. Newell has a piece with a third monogram Σ (Plate 3, 2). This unique mark may be that of a third magistrate, for it is possible that even in the beginning of the series there was a third official, a subordinate whose name never appeared except in this case. The three-magistrate series, then, would not show a change of organization, but would merely recognize the presence of an assistant.

No. 4. The absence of symbol led Kambanis (*B.C.H.*, LXII, 1938, p. 83) to believe that the piece in the British Museum (*B.M.C.*, pl. IX, no. 7; Svoronos, pl. 33, no. 22; *B.C.H.*, LXII, 1938, pl. XVIII, no. 8), which has two monograms, came immediately after No. 2. But No. 2 and No. 3 cannot be separated since they share one monogram and a symbol. No. 4 cannot precede No. 2 since the obverse has the circle of dots which No. 2 lacks. As for the absence of symbol, its omission might have occurred at any time after its first appearance, but it is reasonable to suppose that the Kerchnos of Nos. 2 and 3 was an experiment not followed by their immediate successor or by the first pieces of No. 5. As both Beulé and Svoronos saw, Φ ANI (as on Svoronos, pl. 33, nos. 23, 24) is an expansion of Λ and belongs to the same issue.

No. 5. Some of the specimens of this issue have no symbol (Plate 3, 3, Newell); others (Svoronos, pl. 33, nos. 17, 18) have a cornucopia. It is appropriate, therefore, though not necessary, to consider this the transition after which the use of a symbol is invariable.

No. 6. A type previously unpublished from the Newell Collection (Plate 3, 4). This is the only issue to be added since Kambanis' latest article in 1938.

Nos. 7-11. These are listed in the order in which they appear on Svoronos' plates 33 to 38, though he puts No. 16 between Nos. 8 and 9, and Nos. 12, 13, 17 and 18 between Nos. 10 and 11. I have departed from his grouping because none of the present issues have letters on the amphora or beneath the amphora, and it seems to me probable that those systems of marking, once introduced, were continued.

Nos. 12-15. Svoronos separates these issues rather widely: No. 12, pl. 36, nos. 1-5; No. 13, pl. 35, nos. 12-21; No. 14, pl. 37, nos. 6-15; No. 15, pl. 38, nos. 11-20. But they are all alike in having letters on the amphora but no letters beneath. The letters on the amphora, indicating months, are evidence of increased production, and if at

this time there was a subordinate official in charge of the actual striking who changed from month to month, as there was later, the letters would be a means of fixing responsibility. On No. 13 the monograms were first in the order given (A, Γ, Η, Svoronos, pl. 35, nos. 12, 14, 15, 16) and then interchanged (I, Svoronos, pl. 35, no. 21; N, *B.M.C.*, p. 30, no. 297). Since the N proves that the year was intercalary, no. 13 falls in 168/7 and is therefore second in this group, for Pritchett and Meritt (*The Chronology of Hellenistic Athens* [Cambridge, 1940]) show that year to have been intercalary, while 169/8 and 166/5 were certainly, and 167/6 was probably ordinary. The sequence of Nos. 12, 14 and 15, however, is indicated only by Svoronos' arrangement, and the whole group is therefore bracketed as uncertain. No. 15 is presumably the latest, for three letters sometimes appear on the amphora, which would seem to be indications of workshop. At least they cannot all be interpreted as months (Beulé, pp. 180 f.).

Nos. 16-20. Letters beneath the amphora, showing the workshop or the mine, are now added.

Nos. 21-24. These are put at the head of the two-magistrate series only because each is found only once in hoards of later issues. Nos. 22 and 23 appear with two different symbols each. This might mean that each pair of magistrates held office for two years or that, for some unknown reason, the symbol was changed in the middle of the year. The letters on the amphora may eventually settle the point; at present the evidence is insufficient. Beulé gives A for ΑΜΜΩ-ΔΙΟ with the Kerchnos but I can find no letters associated with the cornucopia. Similarly, Beulé gives Z and Θ for ΔΙΟΦΑ-ΔΙΟΔΟ with the figure l., but no letters for the figure seated r. It is best, for the present, to assign only one year to each.

An interesting specimen of No. 23 from the Newell Collection (Plate 3, 5) is countermarked ΤΡΑΛΛΩΝ with the forepart of a humped bull l. Tralles was one of the cities which issued cistophori after 189 B.C., and it has long been recognized that tetradrachms of the Attic standard were countermarked in such cities to give them the value of the lighter cistophori. So far as I know, all the published instances of this practice concern posthumous Alexander tetradrachms and tetradrachms of Side in Pamphylia (M. Pinder, *Ueber die Cistophoren* [Berlin, 1856], p. 552, notes 1 and 3, pl. I, 31; F. Lenormant, *La monnaie dans l'Antiquité*, II [Paris, 1878], p. 111; Hill, *B.M.C. Lycia, Pamphylia and Pisidia*, pp. lxxxiii f.; Rostovtzeff, "Some Remarks on the Monetary and Commercial Policy of the Seleucids and Attalids," *Anatolian Studies Presented to William Hepburn Buckler* [Manchester, 1939], p. 294, pl. XI: his reference to tetradrachms of Temnus must be a slip for Alexandrine tetradrachms struck at Temnus). The countermark cannot have been applied before 189, though of course this does not necessarily date the coin, nor after 126, when Tralles ceased to strike silver (Head, *B.M.C. Lydia*, pp. cxxxv f.).

No. 25. This occurs twice in hoards of later tetradrachms, which is the only reason for listing it later than Nos. 21-24. The difference is so very slight that No. 25 is bracketed with its predecessors.

No. 26. This issue also has an N on the amphora, and since 155/4 is an intercalary year as given by Pritchett and Meritt, that is an appropriate date. Doubtless one of the preceding years is also intercalary, though we have no evidence for it, but, since No. 26 occurs three times in hoards of later coins, it is reasonable to put it after those which occur only once or twice.

Nos. 27, 28. A hoard from Salonica (S. P. Noe, *A Bibliography of Greek Coin Hoards* [2nd edition, New York, 1937], no. 899) of some 300 pieces was composed of these two issues together with four issues of the three-magistrate series. If so considerable a hoard contained only six types, they certainly ought to belong together, and would therefore be the end of one series and the beginning of the other. That ΓΑΑΤ-EXE comes before ΜΙΚΙ-ΘΕΟ is shown by the specimen of the latter (Svoronos, pl. 43, no. 7) where the Helios' head symbol of the former is accidentally retained.

Nos. 29-31. Here begins the series on which the names of three magistrates appear. Economy of space requires the omission of the third from the printed list, but it is not to be supposed that the third magistrate is without importance for the arrangement of the issues. In the article already referred to (*N.C.*, Third Series, XIX, 1899, pp. 288-321) Macdonald held that the letters stand for calendar months of the lunar year, while the terms of the third officials coincided with the prytanies and, therefore, the months of a solar year. Moreover, he showed that on the later issues of the series the original system of having the third magistrate hold office for not more nor less than one month breaks down, and he dates this lapse, which ends his Class A, in 128 B.C., which he took to be the abandonment of double dating, following Unger, *Hermes*, XIV, 1879, pp. 593-620. Dr. Pritchett comments on this, "Such a theory for the third mint magistrate was really not tenable when Macdonald and Unger assumed a solar calendar at Athens. But even if they were correct in their theory, we now have the evidence that *κατ' ἄρχοντα-κατὰ θεόν* dates occur after 128/7 (they occur at least as early as 196/5)." We must therefore abandon the theory and confess ignorance of the system which governed the terms of the third magistrates. Nevertheless, Macdonald's observations have some basis. If we follow the arrangement of Svoronos, it is true that in general there is correspondence between the third magistrates and the months at the beginning, and that, at the end, this correspondence is abandoned. Even at the beginning, however, there are cases of overlapping which cannot be accounted for, as he supposed, by the difference between the solar and lunar years. Furthermore, his data were by no means complete, and more issues belong to his Class B than he knew. It would be premature to record the available evidence here, since much of it depends on published readings which need to be verified before they are accepted, but it may ultimately appear that serviceable guidance can be obtained

from the third magistrates for chronological arrangement. The data recorded in this study are not to be taken as conclusive in the matter.

Svoronos divides the three-magistrate series into five groups on the basis of style, and his arrangement is followed in default of specific conflicting evidence. But within the group he lists the issues alphabetically, so that there is no proof of the sequence of Nos. 29-31.

No. 32. The second official, ΝΙΚΟΓ, appears also on the earliest coins of Antiochus. As we know nothing of the regulations as to a second term of office, this would hardly be good evidence except for the unusual circumstances. If the appointment of Antiochus was merely honorary, it may well have seemed advisable to give him a colleague who understood the office. Since in the fourth month of Antiochus Karaichos appears as the second magistrate, this may have been regarded as a temporary expedient. It is worth mentioning that the third official on No. 32 in the month K is ΚΑΡΑΙΧΟΤ (Svoronos, pl. 49, nos. 23, 29).

Nos. 33, 34. These issues are abnormal in two ways. There is the change in the second magistrate, ΝΙΚΟΓ being attested for A and one other month, probably B (Plate 3, 6, Newell), ΚΑΡΑΙΧΟΣ for Δ, Ε, Ζ, Θ, Ι, Κ and Λ, with one more name of the third official, ΑΒΡΩΝ, for either Η or Μ. Also there is irregularity in the term of the third magistrate, for ΕΤΜΑΧΟΣ (Svoronos, pl. 44, no. 16) and ΣΚΥΜΝΟΣ (*Journal international d'archéologie numismatique*, IX, 1906, p. 256, *Greek Coins in the Hunterian Collection*, II, p. 61, no. 96) both come in Ε, and ΜΕΝΑΝ (*B.M.C.*, p. 36, no. 324) and ΕΤΝΟΜ (Svoronos, pl. 44, no. 21) in Ι though none of them occur in the adjacent months. Evidently the year was exceptional, a fact presumably accounted for by the complimentary presence of a foreign prince in the place of the first magistrate.

The issues have been regarded hitherto as furnishing one of the fixed points for the whole New Style coinage. As long ago as 1838, Rathgeber identified this Antiochus with Antiochus Epiphanes and dated the issue in 176 during his sojourn in Athens before coming to the throne, when he undertook the completion of the temple of Zeus Olympios (*Annali dell' Istituto di corrispondenza archeologica*, X [Rome, 1838], pp. 32-35, cited by Beulé). It is a very reasonable conjecture, particularly as the symbol of both issues is an elephant, whose connection with Epiphanes is well known. Beulé accepted the identification and both Head and Macdonald regarded it as certain. But if this Antiochus is to be put in 176, we must adopt one of two alternatives, both of which seem impossible. Either we must add the nineteen issues which are here considered to come after Sulla to those struck before Mithradates, making No. 97, ΒΑΣΙΛΕ ΜΙΘΡΑΔΑΤΗΣ-ΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝ, the latest of all New Style silver, or we must assume a gap or gaps amounting to eighteen or nineteen issues between this time and Mithradates. The difficulties of the former will be dealt with below; considering the very large number of coins known, the latter alternative cannot be

based on the presumption that so many issues have disappeared, and the proved relations within the series from here to Mithradates would force us to conclude that there must have been a gap of a year in almost every instance where direct continuity cannot be proved, or that longer gaps, supported neither by reason nor evidence, must have occurred at one or more places. This seems to be quite untenable and I therefore maintain the present dating in spite of the obvious attractions of the usual theory.

Beulé pointed out that the appearance of the name Antiochus alone signified nothing, since it is common enough in Athens, but that its combination with an elephant raised a strong presumption that the name was that of a Seleucid prince. In spite of having rejected the most appropriate of the Seleucid princes, I am reluctant to discard the presumption altogether, and I would point out that there is another possibility if our date is correct: to wit, Antiochus VII, who was in exile at this period. It was in just this year that his brother Demetrius II invaded Syria from Crete, conquered the usurper Alexander Balas, and won back his paternal throne. Antiochus did not join in the venture, and the later history of the house suggests that he may have been actually hostile. There is nothing surprising in the appearance at Athens of one brother without the other. We know of no connection of Antiochus with Athens, but considering what scanty information we have about him at this period, that matters very little. We do know that a bronze coin was struck in 151/0, presumably by this Antiochus (*Hesperia*, XIV, 1945, pp. 58 f.), but as it was certainly not struck in Athens, the fact is significant only as showing something of his activity about this time.

Though the evidence is neither so clear nor so weighty as one could wish, the abnormalities of the issues, already referred to, call for some explanation, and until a better is forthcoming, Antiochus VII is the likeliest person for the first magistrate.

Nos. 35-41. These are listed alphabetically since the only indication of date is the fact that Nos. 39 and 41 have N. As 147/6 is an intercalary year, either of these might have come there, but we have no basis for choosing.

Nos. 42-50. Svoronos' Group 2 begins here. The issues are listed alphabetically except for the coupling of Nos. 42 and 43, 44 and 45, proven by the identical dies. In the cases of Nos. 43, 44 and 46, there are recorded readings which seem to destroy the correspondence between magistrates and months, but in each case there is enough doubt so that the issues may be left in Macdonald's Class A until better testimony is available. In Nos. 42, 45, 47-50, it seems clear that there were no exceptions to the rule of correspondence.

Nos. 51-54. The sequence is certain, as shown by identical obverse dies. It will be observed that No. 52 is placed by Svoronos in Group 3, but the unavoidable departure from his arrangement might be reduced to a minimum by separating it from the rest of that group by the single year occupied by Nos. 53 and 54. However, the irregularities in the third magistrate on No. 55 suggest that it comes at the beginning

of the abandonment of correspondence between magistrate and month, and hence later than Nos. 51-54.

No. 55. Macdonald included this issue in his Class A, in which correspondence was still maintained, but later readings show that the discrepancies are more serious than he was aware. The list of recorded third magistrates is as follows:

A ΑΠΟΛΛΟΦΑ (<i>B.C.H.</i> , LVIII, 1934, p. 105)	Η ΠΡΩΤΟ (<i>B.C.H.</i> , LVIII, 1934, p. 105), ΑΘΗΝΙ (Beulé, p. 365)
B ΖΩΙΑΟΣ (<i>ibid.</i>)	Θ ΑΣΚΛΑΠΙΩΝ (<i>N.C.</i> , Third Series, XIX, 1899, p. 307)
Γ ΖΩΙΑΟΣ (<i>ibid.</i>), ΜΟΥΣΑΙ (<i>ibid.</i>), ΑΧΑΙΟΣ (<i>N.C.</i> , Third Series, XIX, 1899, p. 307)	Ι ΑΧΑΙΟΣ (<i>B.C.H.</i> , LVIII, 1934, p. 105)
Δ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΣ (<i>B.C.H.</i> , LVIII, 1934, p. 105), ΑΘΗΝ (<i>J.I.A.N.</i> , III, 1900, p. 177)	Κ ΑΡΤΕΜΩΝ (<i>ibid.</i>), ΕΡΜΟ (Svoronos, pl. 56, 16)
Ε ΑΘΗΝΙ (<i>B.C.H.</i> , LVIII, 1934, p. 105), ΖΩΙΑΟΣ (<i>N.C.</i> , Third Series, XIX, 1899, p. 307)	Λ ΑΘΗΝΑΙ (<i>B.C.H.</i> , LVIII, 1934, p. 105)
Ζ ΑΠΟΛΛΟ (<i>J.I.A.N.</i> , III, 1900, p. 177)	Μ ΕΡΜΟΚΡΑ (<i>ibid.</i>)

Some of these readings may be erroneous, but, until that can be proved, we must believe that for some reason the original system was being abandoned. It is not as yet, however, the thorough-going abandonment of No. 56, and I therefore place the issue here.

No. 56. In *B.C.H.*, LVIII, 1934, p. 106, the third magistrates of this issue are recorded as follows:

A ΑΠ, ΦΙ, ΟΛΤ	Z ΑΠ, ΦΙ, ΟΛΤ	K ΑΠ
B ΑΠ, ΦΙ	Η ΑΠ, ΟΛΤ	Λ ΑΠ
Γ ΑΠ, ΦΙ, ΟΛΤ	Θ ΑΠ	Μ ΑΠ
Δ ΑΠ, ΟΛΤ	Ι ΑΠ, ΦΙ	N ?
Ε ΑΠ, ΦΙ, ΟΛΤ		

Further discoveries may add other months for ΦΙ and ΟΛΤ, but they cannot possibly modify the fact that the system of a different magistrate for each month is entirely rejected. This is the most violent departure found on any series; subsequent ones return to a variation of officials, though it is no longer possible to assign one to a month with any regularity. This extraordinary departure from the rule may have been the reason why Kambanis placed the issue after No. 68, ΔΩΣΙΘΕΟΣ-ΧΑΡΙΑΣ, though he does not comment on the fact. But to his procedure there are a number of objections. In the first place, it would put No. 56 almost at the end of Svoronos' Group 4 instead of in Group 3.

On the other hand, Dr. Pritchett has rightly called my attention to a circumstance which supports Kambanis. On p. 107 of *B.C.H.*, LVIII, 1934, the month N is recorded for No. 56 with an illegible magistrate. If this is correct, of course the year

is intercalary. Now 128/7 is given as an ordinary year. The nearest presumed intercalary years are 130/29 and 126/5. Since both of these fall within fixed groups, there seems no way of putting No. 56 in either place. But 116/5 is given as a certain intercalary year, and that is just where No. 56 would come if we followed Kambanis, moving up the long fixed group from No. 57 to No. 68 and putting ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ-ΑΓΑΘΙΣΜΙΟΣ after it. There are two things that make me reluctant to accept this easy solution. The first is the uncertainty of Kambanis' reading. On a worn coin M and N are very easy to confuse, and he evidently did not have in mind the consequences of the difference. Of course this matter may be very simple to clear up when someone can find and reexamine Kambanis' coin—or, unfortunately, it may not, if the condition of the coin is bad enough. The other ground of my hesitation is the question of style. My respect for Svoronos' judgment in this matter would not, of course, push me to the recklessness of considering him infallible, but his plates certainly seem to bear him out. If one compares pl. 58 (No. 56) with pl. 61 (Nos. 57 and 58) on the one hand, and with pls. 62 and 63 (Nos. 67 and 68) on the other, the stylistic undesirability of Kambanis' arrangement will be apparent.

In spite of the difficulty of the calendar therefore, and in spite of my inability to account for this sudden extreme departure from the general fashion of tenure of office for the third magistrates, I prefer to keep No. 56 in its present position.

Nos. 57-68. The sequence of this series from No. 59 to No. 68 is demonstrated by Kambanis in *B.C.H.*, LVI, 1932, pp. 37-59, with plates showing the identical obverse dies that link the issues. In *B.C.H.*, LVIII, 1934, p. 133, he added Nos. 57 and 58, without illustration but presumably on as good grounds. But on p. 132 his list gives the order Nos. 66, 65, 64, and this transfer of the positions of ΑΝΔΡΕΑΣ-ΧΑΡΙΝΑΤΤΗΣ and ΤΙΜΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ-ΠΟΣΗΣ is reprinted on pp. 106 and 117 of *B.C.H.*, LIX, 1935. This certainly is a mistake. On p. 57 of *B.C.H.*, LVI, 1932, he writes of No. 65, "cette série se lie nécessairement à celle de Timostratos-Posès, mais jusque'à ce moment, nous n'avons pu trouver de rapprochement positif." But the connection of Nos. 63 and 64 is shown on his pl. II, 1 and 2, that of Nos. 64 and 65 on pl. II, 3 and 4, that of Nos. 66 and 67 on pl. II, 5 and 6, and though the photographs are not of the most brilliant, they leave no room for doubt. This means that another issue might have come between Nos. 65 and 66, but that Nos. 64 and 66 cannot possibly be interchanged. No. 69 is available for interpolation between Nos. 65 and 66, but as Kambanis never suggests its possible relation to the group and, indeed, places it before No. 57, there is no excuse for inserting it, and I conclude that his "nécessairement" represents sound reasons for the arrangement here given.

No. 63. Proof that ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΗΣ-ΕΥΚΛΗΣ held office for two years is given *in extenso* in *B.C.H.*, LVI, 1932, pp. 49-55, and 1936, pp. 101-117. As the second

year has the month N it must be an intercalary year, and Pritchett and Meritt give 121/0 as presumably intercalary.

No. 66. This issue raises a difficulty which I cannot resolve. ΤΙΜΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ-ΠΙΟΣΗΣ struck in the month N. Now Pritchett and Meritt give 118/7 certainly as an ordinary year, while 119/8 appears to be intercalary (from the evidence of the calendar equation in the inscription published by Peek as *Kerameikos*, III, no. 3) and 116/5 certainly so. I cannot control their conclusions, nor do I see how they can be brought into conformity with the coins. The only way to bring No. 66 to 119/8 is to move back the whole group from No. 57 on, presumably by displacing No. 56, but this would be a doubtful advantage, for the correspondence gained for No. 66 would be compensated by sacrificing the correspondence of the second year of No. 63. On the other hand, the only way to bring No. 66 down to 116/5 would be to insert two issues between Nos. 65 and 66. These would have to be Nos. 56 and 69, neither of which shows any connection with the group. I do not think that No. 55 of Svoronos' Group 2 can be considered, nor any earlier member of Group 2. It may later turn out that No. 73, 74, or 75 belongs here, but these are all in Group 5 and there is at present no evidence for connecting any of them with this series. For the time, the question must be left unsolved.

No. 69. Kambanis places this issue between Nos. 55 and 57 but, as he gives no reasons, I prefer to keep it in Group 4. If it does not come between Nos. 65 and 66, for which there is at present no evidence, it must be placed here between two fixed groups.

No. 70. This is evidently the last of Group 4 since it is the necessary predecessor of an issue of Group 5. The month N appears, but as Pritchett and Meritt give no indication of the nature of 114/3, the date is not affected by present evidence on the calendar.

No. 71. In the *Archäologische Zeitung*, XXXIII, 1876, pp. 163-166, R. Weil published the Dipylon Hoard and later discussed its historical implications in an article entitled "Das Bündniss der Athener mit Mithradates" (*Mittheilungen des deutschen archäologischen Institutes in Athen*, VI, 1881, pp. 315-317), in which he dated our No. 73, ΑΠΕΛΛΙΚΩΝ-ΓΟΡΓΙΑΣ, 90/89; No. 43, ΕΥΡΥΚΛΕΙ-ΑΡΙΑΡΑ, 89/8; and No. 71, ΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝ-ΦΙΛΩΝ, 88/7, partly on historical grounds, partly considering the condition of the coins, which are described as "Stempelfrisch." This would bring them down to No. 97, ΒΑΣΙΛΕ ΜΙΘΡΑΔΑΤΗΣ-ΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝ. It is certainly tempting to put together the two issues with Aristion, and Weil's reconstruction of Mithradates' activities is certainly persuasive. We must not minimize the difficulty caused by a hoard containing coins of Mithradates and Aristion with none of the two-magistrate series except No. 77, ΞΕΝΟΚΛΗΣ-ΑΡΜΟΞΕΝΟΣ. The same phenomenon occurs in the Piraeus Hoard published by W. Schwabacher (*N.C.*, Fifth Series, XIX, 1939, pp. 162-166) whose contents, in order of wear, is given as follows:

No. 25. ΔΗΜΗ-ΙΕΡΩ	No. 76. ΔΗΜΕΑΣ-ΕΡΜΟΚΛΗΣ
No. 38. ΕΠΙΓΕΝΗΣ-ΣΩΣΑΝΔΡΟΣ	No. 77. ΞΕΝΟΚΛΗΣ-ΑΡΜΟΞΕΝΟΣ Dolphin
No. 54. ΕΤΜΑΡΕΙΔΗΣ-ΚΛΕΟΜΕΝΗΣ	No. 78. ΞΕΝΟΚΛΗΣ-ΑΡΜΟΞΕΝΟΣ Serpent
No. 55. ΣΩΚΡΑΤΗΣ-ΔΙΟΝΤΣΟΔΩ	No. 79. ΞΕΝΟΚΛΗΣ-ΑΡΜΟΞΕΝΟΣ Rome (2 specimens)
No. 69. ΘΕΟΔΩΤΟΣ-ΚΛΕΟΦΑΝΗΣ	Pontic tetradrachms of Mithradates (2 specimens)
No. 71. ΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝ-ΦΙΛΩΝ	
No. 73. ΑΠΕΛΛΙΚΩΝ-ΓΟΡΓΙΑΣ (2 specimens)	

The only case known to me of a hoard (other than that from Hierapytna) containing two-magistrate issues later than No. 79 is Delos Hoard A (*J.I.A.N.*, IX, 1906, pp. 254 f.), where No. 89 ΑΜΦΙΑΣ-ΟΙΝΟΦΙΛΟΣ, No. 88 ΚΛΕΟΦΑΝΗΣ-ΕΠΙΘΕΤΗΣ, No. 82 ΝΕΣΤΩΡ-ΜΝΑΣΕΑΣ, and No. 86 ΣΩΤΑΔΗΣ-ΘΕΜΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΣ, occur.

The arrangement of Svoronos separated widely the two issues with the name of Aristion, and though he never commented on that arrangement, it is defended at length by Kambanis (*B.C.H.*, LVIII, 1934, pp. 128-131, 133-137).

Recently Miss Margaret Thompson came to the defense of Weil's thesis in the course of an article on New Style bronze which deserves careful consideration. She protests (*Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 216, note 49 and p. 230, note 96) against the rigid division between the three-magistrate and the two-magistrate series, holding it insufficient cause for such violence to historical probability as the separation of the two issues of Aristion by twenty-six years. She calls attention to a number of abnormalities and concludes: "It requires less twisting of the evidence simply to note that the period between 103 and 86 B.C. was not guided by logic and that at a time when archons were breaking precedents by second and third terms, one could scarcely be surprised at a fluctuating system of monetary control"; and: "It does not seem impossible to suppose that the change from three to two magistrates involved a transitional period during which, although in general a third magistrate functioned, the strict check was sometimes abandoned." Her instances of abnormality, with one exception, are cases of magistrates holding office for less than a year or more than a year, which may testify to a general relaxation of the rules, but do not specifically affect the change from three magistrates to two. But she also very properly calls attention to the fact that No. 75, ΝΙΚΟΓΕΝΗΣ-ΚΑΛΛΙΜΑΡΧΟΣ, sometimes has three magistrates and sometimes two (Svoronos, pl. 69). It is perhaps worth remarking that it is in the first months, A-Z, that the third magistrate is omitted; he is present from I to M. It is not, therefore, strictly speaking, a case of transition from three magistrates to two. Nevertheless, the case is certainly an instance of unorthodox treatment, which raises the presumption that the phenomenon might occur again.

But I think her willingness to abandon system for probability from 103 to 86 B.C. is ill advised. Let us consider the Piraeus Hoard and the Dipylon Hoard. The former contains fifteen coins which stretch from the earlier two-magistrate series to Mithradates. Now even if one considers only those nine members of the later two-magistrate series actually found at Delos, instead of the eighteen presumed by Kambanis, there are fifty-four years to be provided for between Mithradates and the latest possible issue of the earlier two-magistrate group. Clearly fifteen coins representing twelve years are so few to fill this period that nothing can here be argued from silence. The situation is similar with the Dipylon Hoard, for while that consists of fifty-eight coins, representing thirty-one issues, it begins with the series with two monograms, and seven of its thirty-one issues come before the earliest appearance of three magistrates. Here again the argument from silence is inadmissible.

But there is a more serious difficulty than this in the Dipylon Hoard. Weil's evidence for putting No. 73 ΑΠΕΛΛΙΚΩΝ-ΓΟΡΓΙΑΣ in 90/89 and No. 43 ΕΥΡΥΚΛΕΙ-ΑΡΙΑΡΑ in 89/8 is exactly the same as his evidence for putting No. 71 ΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝ-ΦΙΛΩΝ in 88/7. But we know this is impossible. No. 70, ΝΙΚΗΤΗΣ-ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ must precede No. 71 ΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝ-ΦΙΛΩΝ, even if we disallow Kambanis' belief that No. 72 ΑΡΟΠΟΣ-ΜΝΑΣΑΓΟΡΑΣ followed them, and No. 42 ΑΦΡΟΔΙΣΙ-ΑΠΟΛΗΞΙ must precede No. 43 ΕΥΡΥΚΛΕΙ-ΑΡΙΑΡΑ. Our greatest possible concession to Weil, therefore, would be as follows:

No. 73. ΑΠΕΛΛΙΚΩΝ-ΓΟΡΓΙΑΣ	92/1	No. 70. ΝΙΚΗΤΗΣ-ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ	89/8
No. 42. ΑΦΡΟΔΙΣΙ-ΑΠΟΛΗΞΙ	91/0	No. 71. ΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝ-ΦΙΛΩΝ	88/7
No. 43. ΕΥΡΥΚΛΕΙ-ΑΡΙΑΡΑ	90/89	No. 97. ΒΑΣΙΛΕ ΜΙΘΡΑΔΑΤΗΣ- ΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝ	87/6

This is not the succession that Weil constructed, though I dare say his theory could be modified to fit it, but at what a cost is it produced! Not only Svoronos' fourth and fifth groups but his second as well are brought down into the two-magistrate series. This is to throw over his arrangement with a vengeance and to assert that the confusion between three magistrates and two lasted for some forty years. Miss Thompson herself does not propose so sweeping a reform. Yet if Weil be denied his date for No. 43 ΕΥΡΥΚΛΕΙ-ΑΡΙΑΡΑ, on what grounds is he to be allowed that for No. 71 ΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝ-ΦΙΛΩΝ? Both issues were "stempelfrisch"; both belong in his historical reconstruction.

Miss Thompson's conviction that Aristion belongs in 88/7 leads her logically to revise the date of the burial of the Halmyros and Langada Hoards (*B.C.H.*, LVIII, 1934, pp. 103-113, 132; 1935, pp. 103-105, 109-115, 117 f.) and to assume that they and all the hoards from Delos were buried in the time of Mithradates. But actually the latest coin in Delos B (*J.I.A.N.*, IX, 1906, pp. 255-260) is No. 70, ΝΙΚΗΤΗΣ-ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ; in Delos Γ (*ibid.*, pp. 260-267) No. 63, ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΗΣ-ΕΥΚΛΗΣ; in Delos, May 1906 (*J.I.A.N.*, X, 1907, pp. 192 f.) No. 69, ΘΕΟΔΩΤΟΣ-

ΚΛΕΟΦΑΝΗΣ. It is true that New Style coins found in Delos must antedate Mithradates, but that is not the same as saying that none of the hoards was buried until his time. And the theory applied to the Halmyros and Langada Hoards raises at once the difficulty that neither contains any of the two-magistrate issues except the first two of ΞΕΝΟΚΛΗΣ-ΑΡΜΟΞΕΝΟΣ Nos. 76 and 77. That means a maximum of sixteen and a minimum of seven issues which must be supposed to have been omitted by accident from both hoards, whereas, of the three-magistrate issues only one, No. 73, ΑΠΕΛΛΙΚΩΝ-ΓΟΡΓΙΑΣ, is not represented in one or the other. If we accept Kambanis' dating, there is an all but unbroken representation extending to and including the second issue of ΞΕΝΟΚΛΗΣ-ΑΡΜΟΞΕΝΟΣ but not the third, which makes a perfectly logical composition on numismatic grounds.

The earlier issue of Aristion bears, as symbol, Pagasus drinking, and this is so clear an allusion to Mithradates, who later used the same device on his silver, that Kambanis has no doubt that it is the same person who was the Pontic king's agent at Athens, was elected strategos in 88 and put his name, with that of his lord, on the tetradrachms of 87/6. This means that there was a twenty-six year interval between his two official appearances. We shall find a similar interval in the career of Apellikon. These gaps would certainly never have been assumed on historical grounds, but there is no impossibility in the unexpected fact. Apellikon was born in 142, and if Aristion was of about the same age, as Kambanis assumes (*B.C.H.*, LXII, 1938, p. 72), he would have been in his thirties at the time of his first issue, in his fifties at the time of his second. We must conclude that Aristion as a young man was already devoted to the interests of Pontus and that after a period of political eclipse he emerged again in his later years as the agent of Mithradates' brief triumph in Athens.

No. 72. Kambanis twice brackets the issue with its two predecessors (*B.C.H.*, LIX, 1935, pp. 106, 118), which is his regular means of showing proven connection, and he says (*B.C.H.*, LVIII, 1934, p. 134): "celle de ΑΡΡΟΙΟΣ-ΜΝΑΣΑΓΟ se rapproche, sans le moindre doute, de celle d'ΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝ-ΦΙΛΩΝ." But he neither illustrates nor cites cases of identical dies, so that in placing it within the brackets I have followed rather his conviction than his proof.

No. 73. Apellikon, like Aristion, is known as a partisan of Mithradates; he was strategos in 88/7. Also like Aristion he had an earlier period of activity at Athens of which these coins are the evidence. He was a native of Teos, born in 142, and used the winged griffin of that city as his symbol, which raises the question of when and how he acquired Athenian citizenship, or whether citizenship was a regular requirement for these officials.

There is one remarkable circumstance about the issue; it is represented neither in the great Halmyros and Langada Hoards, nor in any from Delos; its only appearances are in the Dipylon Hoard and the Piraeus Hoard. Kambanis comments on the fact but has no solution to suggest, nor have I. The coins are not scarce, and

any personal prejudice which might have led to their being rejected is mere imagination. Of course, these conditions are an invitation to go back to Weil's theory and put the issue much later, but the objections already recited against displacing Aristion apply to Apellikon as well, and for the present we must leave him where Kambanis and Svoronos put him.

No. 74. This is abnormal in that it continued for four months only. Kambanis several times notes the fact, and once (*B.C.H.*, LXII, 1938, p. 77) promised to discuss the matter, but never did so. There must have been extraordinary circumstances to break off the minting for the year so abruptly and the explanation may be found in the identification of KOINTOΣ. As the symbol is a seated figure with sword and spear being crowned by Nike, there is abundant scope for speculation, but the obvious suggestion of Quintus Caecilius Metellus offered by Head (*B.M.C.*, p. 61, no. 434, accepted by me, *Two Hoards of Attic Bronze Coins*, 1930, p. 8) is certainly wrong, for that would date the issue in 146, which is altogether impossible. Though we have no evidence for the order of Nos. 73-75, they must come in this position unless one or all of them be placed between Nos. 69 and 70 in Group 4. As there is no known reason for this, they are to be left in the group where Svoronos put them.

No. 76. Since this issue with three magistrates shares an obverse die with the following which has only two magistrates (*B.C.H.*, LVIII, 1934, p. 118, pl. I, 1, 2) we must have here the end of one class and the beginning of the other. The date 108/7 for No. 76 is supported by the fact that the month N appears and Pritchett and Meritt give 108/7 as an intercalary year.

Nos. 77-79. It is universally admitted that the three different symbols prove that these magistrates held office for three years. I know of no identical dies connecting the issues, but their order is proved by the following considerations:

- 1) The relation of No. 77 with No. 76 shows that it must have been the first year of Xenokles and Harmoxenus.
- 2) No. 79 with the symbol Rome has only the months A-H. This interruption may be accounted for by the Slaves' Revolt which followed their third year, but would be without explanation if it came between their second year and their third.
- 3) Among the 828 coins of the Halmyros Hoard there are 18 of No. 77, 1 of No. 78 of the month Γ, none of No. 79. From the 550 + of the Langada Hoard, none of No. 77 are recorded, 2 of No. 78 of the months B and Γ, none of No. 79.

No. 80. This abnormal issue with monograms instead of names (Plate 3, 7, Yale) has given rise to much discussion whose earlier course it is not necessary to repeat. Everyone is now agreed that it can have no connection with the early two-monogram class. The evidence of the hoards is conclusive that it must come after the end of the three-magistrate series and before Mithradates. The coins are very common and are all alike except that some have A on the amphora, and one has a labyrinth for symbol (Svoronos, "Monnaies de la Révolution des Esclaves des Mines de Laurion,"

J.I.A.N., XVII, 1915—published 1922, pp. 60-70, fig. 6. One must take Svoronos' word for it; the illustration shows nothing). Not only are the magistrates omitted but also the familiar AΘE, which would raise doubts as to whether the coins belonged to Athens at all were it not that their provenance is regularly Attica and southern Euboea.

Svoronos identifies this issue as the product of the slaves who rose, at the time of the second servile revolt in Sicily, slew the mine guards, seized the acropolis at Sunium and ravaged Attica for a long time (Poseidonius, quoted by Athenaeus, VI, 272, e-f). The monograms Ϡ Ϡ he ingeniously interprets as *Δαύρια μέταλλα*. Kambanis (*B.C.H.*, LXII, 1938, p. 77) points out that the revolt would furnish an explanation for the breaking off of the third issue of $\text{ΞΕΝΟΚΛΗΣ-ΑΡΜΟΞΕΝΟΣ}$, No. 79. Both authors assume that the outbreak was coterminous with that in Sicily and lasted from 104 to 102. The A on the amphora shows that the slaves began with the intention of recording the months in the traditional style, but abandoned the idea for most of their output. Svoronos suggests that the labyrinth was selected by the slaves as a symbol of the mines themselves.

No. 81. To the abundant issue foregoing Svoronos would join a very rare one which bears not only AΘE but O ΔΕΜΟΣ, with the symbol of a nude warrior with raised sword, but with no magistrates' names (Plate 3, 8, Newell). This, he suggests, is the first official issue after the revolt, somewhat fancifully identifying the warrior as Theseus, intended as a reply to the slaves' labyrinth. The style of the obverse is so very bad that one hesitates to call it official Athenian workmanship, and that hesitation Kambanis expressed without offering an alternative (*B.C.H.*, LVIII, 1934, p. 119, note 1). Yet the evidence of the one hoard in which they have been found, at Karystos in 1883 (*Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, XII, 1885, pp. 103-106) shows that they belong to this period, and Svoronos has found one at Laurium where he located the Attic mint ("L'atelier monétaire des Athéniens dit du Stephanéphoros," *J.I.A.N.*, XVII, 1915-1922, pp. 53-60). We should not, I think, exclude the possibility that this was the first attempt at coinage of the slaves themselves, later replaced by the larger issue No. 80, but I agree that all the available evidence connects both with the same episode.

Nos. 82-96. Except for Nos. 82, 83, we have no die sequences to rely on, and the arrangement here suggested is less reliable than for the earlier series. The first problem is to place No. 97, whose date is fixed, in its proper place in the two-magistrate series. This is done by Kambanis in *B.C.H.*, LXII, 1938, pp. 73-78. His evidence is this: issues which have been found at Delos, here marked with an asterisk, must have been struck before the destruction of the island by Mithradates. Two of these, Nos. 82 and 89, and 9 more, here marked with a dagger, were found in a hoard at Hierapytna in Crete (published by E. J. P. Raven, *N.C.*, Fifth Series, XVIII, 1938, pp. 132-158). It included a cistophorus of Appius Claudius Pulcher from Phrygian Apameia (53-51) and therefore might obviously have included also tetradrachms of later date than 87/6. But No. 97 of Mithradates and Aristion was lacking as well as

the Pontic tetradrachms of Mithradates; the condition of the Attic tetradrachms was similar and in cases brilliant in spite of the later issues represented, and Kambanis concluded, with due reserve, that all its tetradrachms might be considered as belonging to the same group. The truth of this regarding No. 83 from Hierapytna is clear from its connection with No. 82 and a confirmatory item in regard to Nos. 86 and 92 is furnished by bronze probably belonging to those issues in a hoard, presently to be discussed, buried before the time of Mithradates. No. 93, which does not occur either at Delos or at Hierapytna, is nevertheless certainly a member of this group because a specimen has been used as a flan for a Macedonian tetradrachm issued by Aesillas, questor from 93 to 88 (*B.C.H.*, LVIII, 1934, pp. 124-127). It must, therefore, have preceded the issue of Mithradates.

I am ready to admit the probability that all the issues from No. 82 to No. 96 were struck before Mithradates. A harder question to answer is whether there are or were also others that belong there. The latter phase of the question is answered by Kambanis by pointing out that although Beulé had had some 1,900 coins available, whereas he himself had inspected some 7,500, nothing had been added to Beulé's list except at the very beginning and at the very end. But the assignment of the recent discoveries to the very end, that is, to the period after Mithradates, rests on the assumption that the division of the two-magistrate series by No. 97 is correct. Kambanis' case (*B.C.H.*, LXII, 1938, pp. 79-82) is based essentially on three points: (1) none of the issues which he puts after Mithradates is found at Delos or in the Hierapytna Hoard; (2) the later issues are much scarcer, five being known from a single specimen only, and two more being represented only by drachms; (3) the later issues are of worse style. His first point is sure, his second is confirmed in general by reference to Svoronos' plates; whether the illustrations confirm him in the third or not will be largely a subjective matter, but no one with only the illustrations at hand is in a position to contradict a scholar whose conclusions are based on the actual material. I therefore accept his division and agree that, so far as evidence and probability go, the time between the Slaves' Revolt and Mithradates is filled by Nos. 82-96.

Kambanis lists the issues alphabetically, with no attempt to indicate order except for recording the common obverse die of Nos. 82, 83. My own attempt has been based on an observation which is certainly fallible, but which ought not to be entirely overlooked. A number of different workshops were employed in striking the coins; letters identifying them were placed under the amphora. (Some authorities prefer to regard the letters as indicating the mines from which the silver came. Our conclusions would be the same in either case.) As early as Nos. 17 and 18 of the two-monogram class there were five such workshops in operation (Beulé, pp. 173, 177 f.) and, though no corpus has been made, that seems to have been a normal number. But after Mithradates only one workshop is recorded, with one exception, No. 102, when there are two. It is evident that with the subsiding of activity of the mint fewer places were used to strike the coins, and evidence of that shrinkage is apparent in the period

under discussion, as shown on Kambanis' table (*B.C.H.*, LXII, 1938, p. 76). I have therefore used the number of recorded workshops as an indication of chronological order. No. 82 has five; Nos. 83-85 have four; Nos. 86, 87, three; Nos. 88-92, two; Nos. 93-96, one; No. 97 has two or three (depending on whether EII and EIII are the same or different). This gives the general framework.

In discussing No. 93, of which a specimen was overstruck by Aesillas in Macedonia, Kambanis remarks (*B.C.H.*, LVIII, 1934, p. 126), "la série . . . était en circulation avant 93 av. J.-C. et on ne saurait jamais descendre jusqu'après 89, car en toute justice, nous sommes obligés de reconnaître à ce tétradrachme athénien une date antérieure de quelque années à 93-89 afin d'obtenir le laps de temps strictement nécessaire pour qu'après son émission il pénètre dans la circulation du monde Hellenique, avant d'être ainsi maltraité par les officines des Romains en Macédoine." This makes it probable that the issue should be put where I place it, at the head of the group with one officina, though it is not impossible that it should be in one of the two succeeding positions.

Nos. 86 and 92 are so placed because they are accompanied by bronze issues, as are Nos. 78 and 97, and it is likely that bronze issues, which were not annual, came at some distance from one another.

No. 97 (Pl. 3, 9, London). The presence of the forces of Mithradates Eupator in Athens, on which the dating of all previous issues ultimately depends, is fixed by general consent in 87/6. It is most fully treated by Theodore Reinach, *Mithridate Eupator* (Paris, 1890), pp. 138-143. Reinach's dating of the coins follows Weil and therefore adopts the juxtaposition of the two issues of Aristion, which I reject, but he has assembled all the literary evidence on Aristion and Apellikon, and has important discussions of personalities which I have had to exclude from this more strictly numismatic treatment. It should be remarked that, in spite of the unanimous agreement on 87/6 as the date for No. 97, it seems to be historically possible that it should have been struck at some time during the previous year, and that is an item which should be borne in mind by future investigators. Earlier than 88 or later than 86 it clearly cannot be.

No. 98 (Plate 3, 10, London). Tétradrachms with no inscription, but with trophies to right and left of the owl are attributed by Svoronos (pl. 78, nos. 20-24) to Sulla. Daux, however, has identified them as coins struck by Lucullus in the Peloponnese in 87 (*Revue numismatique, Quatrième Série*, XXXVIII, 1935, pp. 1-9; cf. Raven, *N.C.*, Fifth Series, XVIII, 1938, pp. 155-158). Not being from the Attic mint, it is not strictly a member of our series, but a competitive issue of the same standard.

Nos. 99-117. Kambanis lists these last issues in alphabetical order with no attempt at chronological arrangement (*B.C.H.*, LXII, 1938, pp. 79-84). He supposes them to have begun soon after Sulla's return from Asia in 84/3 and believes that they do not extend later than the first half of the first century B.C. Mrs. Shear, however, in

comments on the bronze associated with individual issues (*Hesperia*, II, 1933, pl. VII) dates No. 99 shortly after 86, and No. 106 after 30. Miss Thompson also believes that the New Style extends into the Augustan period, which had been the conviction of Beulé. Kambanis admits that for this period we may not have recovered all the issues. The fact the eight have been discovered since the time of Beulé, and that many are known by a single specimen, makes it impossible to have any such confidence in the completeness of this group as we had for that of the issues before Mithradates. He quotes with approval Beulé's prophecy that ultimately we should find the tetradrachms corresponding to all the late issues of bronze, in which case Kambanis could hardly defend the middle of the first century as the terminus for the silver. But I am by no means sure that we can be confident that the issues of silver were now annual as they had been before Mithradates. The exhaustion of the mines, and the competition of the denarii on which he comments, may well have resulted not merely in a decreased production, but in an intermittent production of silver, leaving the intervening years to be represented by bronze alone. On several grounds, therefore, we are justified in believing that this final group extended considerably beyond the nineteen years now recorded.

The criteria for arrangement on which we have hitherto chiefly relied desert us at this point. Svoronos makes no effort to group the two-magistrate series on grounds of style, and though Kambanis distinguished between his pre-Mithradatic and his post-Mithradatic lists, he neither illustrates nor explains any stylistic progress of degeneration. There are no identical dies to guide us, and so far none of this late silver has been recorded from hoards. We are thrown back, therefore, on prosopographical argument and the evidence of the bronze. The former, as I have intimated, suffers from having been presented piecemeal and needs to be restudied with the entire New Style output in view.

Our most fruitful source of new information is the bronze, but systematic work in that field is still in its infancy. Svoronos' plates do illustrate, with the silver, specimens of the bronze with similar symbols, but these suggested connections entirely ignore the style of the bronze, though the style of the silver is the basis of the whole structure. Mrs. Shear's table on plate VII of *Hesperia*, II, 1933, in connection with her article "The Coins of Athens," for the first time gathered together all the available evidence on the New Style bronze, but since that was published when Kambanis was just beginning his work, she accepted some identifications which his later articles would certainly have led her to reject. Miss Margaret Thompson has produced two studies of great importance which have added issues to the Athenian bronze previously assigned to other mints: "Some Athenian 'Cleruchy' Money," *Hesperia*, X, 1941, pp. 199-235, and "Coins for the Eleusinia," *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pp. 213-229. I will not here comment on the suggestions for individual datings because I am sure that safe conclusions must await a study of the whole corpus of New Style bronze, to which the most profitable introduction will be a careful working over of

the neglected hoards in that metal. The possibilities and difficulties of that procedure may be illustrated by a tentative adventure of my own.

In 1930 I published two hoards of Attic bronze coins (*Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, No. 42 [New York]), of which the first was buried before Mithradates since it did not contain the common issue with a star between two crescents which is universally regarded as his. The attempt was made to arrange the types in inverse order of preservation, but that evidence was, as I said, "largely conjectural, but it may be taken as certain that the type with the eagle at the feet of Zeus (I-V) is the earliest here represented, and that, of that type, varieties I and II are earlier than varieties III and IV." On the basis of similar symbols, I connected Types VII, VIII (Svoronos, pl. 22, no. 55) with No. 78, Xenokles-Harmoxenos with the serpent; IX (Svoronos, pl. 81, nos. 31-39) with No. 56, Demetrios-Agathippos; X (Svoronos, pl. 77, nos. 26 f.) with No. 86, Sotades-Themistokles; and XI (Svoronos, pl. 70, no. 26) with No. 92, Architimios-Pammenes. The dates suggested, on the basis of Svoronos' and Sundwall's works, are certainly wrong; it was before Kambanis' articles began to appear. But with the new dating, the hoard makes perfectly good sense. Type IX would have to be put before VII, VIII, and we should then have:

Types I-VI	First two-magistrate series and three-magistrate series
Type IX	No. 56, Demetrios-Agathippos
Types VII, VIII	No. 78, Xenokles-Harmoxenos, serpent
Type X	No. 86, Sotades-Themistokles
Type XI	No. 92, Architimios-Pammenes.

This suggests, though it does not prove, that Sotades-Themistokles is earlier than Architimios-Pammenes. It further suggests that the former is a few years later than Xenokles-Harmoxenos and the latter a few years earlier than No. 97, Mithradates-Aristion, since bronze was certainly not struck every year and it is not likely that it would be struck in two years too close together, with a long interval before the next issue.

As to Type III, which has as symbols plemochoë (Kerchnos) and cornucopia, Mrs. Shear acutely remarks (*Hesperia*, II, 1933, plate VII, no. II δ) that both these symbols occur singly on the issue of No. 22, AMMQ-ΔIO. This arrangement would be perfectly possible. Its only awkwardness is that it would leave only Type IV (amphora—on Type V the symbol is illegible), Type VI (horse's head) and Type IX for the long three-magistrate series. But of course it is by no means certain that this single hoard contained representations of all the issues between its limits.

A different suggestion has recently been made by Erik J. Holmberg. In publishing a specimen of Type III from Asea he remarks (*The Swedish Excavations at Asea in Arcadia* [Lund, 1944], pp. 167 f., note 2), "this type with a Kerchnos as symbol belongs in all probability to (No. 90) the Mnaseas-Nestor issue (Svoronos, pl. 75, nos. 12, 13, against Bellinger and Shear). This issue must, however, be dated

not after Sulla's conquest but a little before, as is proved, in addition to other evidence, by many hoards of Athenian bronze coins, recently acquired by the Numismatic Museum of Athens." It is obviously of the greatest importance to study these hoards whose combined testimony may quite upset that of the one published by me. That one, however, is decidedly against Holmberg's suggestion, for while the degree of wear is only one criterion, so far as it goes it is all against attributing Type III to the second two-magistrate series and so making it later than Types VII, VIII.

But against the comparative success of this hoard is to be put the unmistakable failure of the second. I could make nothing of it at the time, and on studying it now in the light of new information I can still make nothing of it. Newell was as convinced as I that it was later than the first. No. 97 of Mithradates and Aristion was again absent, but this time apparently because it was too early instead of too late. But, on the evidence of the symbols, my C and E (p. 10) ought to belong respectively to Nos. 87 and 86. The former, to be sure, is put before Mithradates only on the evidence of the Hierapytna Hoard, but the latter is found at Delos. I cite this, therefore, to emphasize the necessity of having a great deal more material before we commit ourselves to placing the bronze.

There are other numismatic lines along which it seems likely that advance can be made. There is no reason to believe that Kambanis has found all the identical dies, and the search should be continued. The task, though large, is not overwhelming. First, only the months A and M or N need be considered; further, the correspondence must be between coins from the same workshop; finally, of course, all the issues already connected may be ignored. In the second place, the weights would repay attention; it is not impossible that there was, as in so many ancient series, a gradual subsidence of weight, and this might prove a useful chronological criterion. Thirdly, there should be a complete list made of the workshops to see whether there is any system in their activity and idleness. Again, there should be a corpus of all the third magistrates' names with their months. Lastly, search should be made for unpublished hoards that might shed light on sections of the coinage not included in the hoards known to us now. This, and much of the foregoing, depends on direct study of the coins themselves; published material will give a useful start, but what is most needed is perfectly reliable records by scholars who know what they are looking for.

It is surely unnecessary to say that my list makes no claim to finality. I hope that the future may produce some confirmation, but I am sure that the future will produce the necessity of revision in details and perhaps in fundamentals. But it seemed to me that effectual revision required an ordered body of material to revise. If this body be incontinently torn asunder by the prosopographers, I shall be perfectly content if they will only put *all* the pieces together again in their own fashion.

ALFRED R. BELLINGER

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Eros and Dionysos on Kerch Vases

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Reviewed work(s):

Source: *Hesperia Supplements*, Vol. 8, Commemorative Studies in Honor of Theodore Leslie Shear (1949), pp. 31-38+440-441

Published by: [The American School of Classical Studies at Athens](#)

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EROS AND DIONYSOS ON KERCH VASES

(PLATES 4-5)

THREE Attic vases of the middle of the fourth century B.C. in the Metropolitan Museum of Art have an unusual combination of a woman dressed only in a himation in the center, with Eros on the one side, and Dionysos or his followers on the other side. All three vases have been published, but their interpretation has not yet been absolutely certain and convincing.

Perhaps the finest and one of the best known of the so-called Kerch Vases is the Pompe Vase, an oinochoe (Plate 4, 1).¹ It gets its name from that written beside the graceful woman standing in the center, crowned with a wreath which seems to be of myrtle, and holding in both hands two twigs of the same plant joined at the tip by a round object, probably a jewel. Gisela Richter rightly explains that the presence of Dionysos indicates that the occasion is a Dionysiac festival. The golden basket next to the woman has been explained by Deubner as indicating a procession with the *carrus navalis* at the Anthesteria, while the Eros tying his sandal "soll die Anmut der Frauengestalt zum Ausdruck bringen."² The seated Dionysos is supposed to be the one who will ride in the ship-car, the *carrus navalis*, in the pompe given in his honor at the Anthesteria. Schefold explains the Pompe as a personification of a festival procession, which has come with gifts to the temple of Dionysos, while Brendel sees personified the procession which will accompany Dionysos from the Limnaion to the Bukoleion for his symbolic wedding ceremony.³

The skyphos (Plate 4, 3A-B) in the Metropolitan Museum⁴ has in the center of each side a seated woman. The one on A holds in her lap a sacrificial basket of the same form as the one represented on the oinochoe. The one on B is seated on a chest. On each side is an Eros behind the seated woman; the one on A is leaning against her, the one on B is bringing a chest and a sash or large fillet. On A, before the seated woman, is a satyr, and nearer to the woman a standing woman, while another is behind

¹ Met. Mus. No. 25.190. Gisela Richter, *A.J.A.*, XXX, 1926, pp. 422 ff., fig. 1, and *Red-Figured Athenian Vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, pp. 215 f., no. 169, pls. 164 and 177; L. Deubner, *Jahrbuch*, XLII, 1927, p. 173, fig. 3, and *Attische Feste*, pp. 97 ff., 103, pl. 9, 4. K. Schefold, *Kertscher Vasen*, in Beazley-Jacobsthal, *Bilder griechischer Vasen*, III, 1930, pp. 5 f., 14, pl. 10, and *Untersuchungen zu den Kertscher Vasen*, p. 37, no. 327 (cf. pp. 66, 104 f., 151, 154). G. Richter and M. Milne, *Shapes and Names*, fig. 121. O. Brendel, *A.J.A.*, XLIX, 1945, pp. 519 ff., fig. 1.

² L. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, pp. 102 f.

³ K. Schefold, *Kertscher Vasen*, p. 14. O. Brendel, *loc. cit.*, p. 524.

⁴ Met. Mus. No. 06.1021.181. G. Richter in *A.J.A.*, XI, 1907, pp. 417 ff., figs. 5 and 7, and *Red-Figured Athenian Vases*, p. 217, no. 170, pls. 165 and 178. L. Deubner, *Jahrbuch*, XL, 1925, pp. 217 ff. K. Schefold, *Kertscher Vasen*, p. 13, pl. 9, and *Untersuchungen*, p. 61, no. 593 (cf. pp. 104 f.). Richter-Milne, *op. cit.*, fig. 177.

her on the same side as Eros. On B a standing woman in a Dionysiac sleeved chiton and a seated satyr are in front of the seated woman. Gisela Richter again explains the subject rightly as the preparation for a Dionysiac festival, but she does not explain the Eros. Schefold⁵ says that Attic virgins have come in procession to the sanctuary of Dionysos and are staying there surrounded by his followers. He adds that "this picture is not yet interpreted with certainty." The explanation "Kanephoria of the girls at the great city Dionysia" he gives, rightly, with a question mark.⁶

The hydria (Plate 4, 2)⁷ has again a seated woman in the center. She has taken incense from a box in her left hand and is putting it on a stand over an altar. Eros is crowning her. Behind her a woman seems to be holding either a garland or a string with an *ἰσυχῆ*, the magic wheel, a love charm.⁸ On the other side of the altar a Menad is beating the tympanon and a seated satyr is playing the flute.

The oinochoe has been connected by all authors with the Anthesteria and particularly the Choes festival, when, indeed, such wine jugs were used on the second day of the feast celebrated on the 12th day of the month Anthesterion.⁹ The skyphos, on the other hand, belongs to the Lenaia festival in the month Gamelion, or Lenaion, as testified by the vases collected by Frickenhaus and rightly connected with this feast. On these vases there are many examples of the skyphos in the hands of the Lenai from whom the festival and even the whole month has been named.¹⁰ The hydria can belong to both festivals, as the Attic people did not drink the wine pure but always mixed with water. But why are all three kinds decorated with the unusual combination of love-god and wine-god?

The answer is that all three vases—and indeed many of the Kerch vases—are wedding presents, and that the real nuptials or wedding night, the Synaulia, took place at the time of the new moon, which separates all Greek months from each other and thus also Gamelion or Lenaion from the following Anthesterion. The marriage ceremonies, however, were not confined to one day but extended over a period of time covering the last days of the Gamelion and the first days of Anthesterion, ending on the twelfth day with the Choes, the feast of children.

The Greek wedding was not an individual festival, but a community feast which, like peasant and Chinese weddings, extended over a number of days. When the Greek

⁵ K. Schefold, *Kertscher Vasen*, p. 13.

⁶ K. Schefold, *Untersuchungen*, p. 61.

⁷ Met. Mus. No. 26.60.75. K. Schefold, *Untersuchungen*, p. 24, no. 191, fig. 3, pl. 11, 1; cf. pp. 92, 96 f.

⁸ See Theocritus, *Idyll* 2.

⁹ August Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen*, 1898, pp. 384 ff. L. Deubner, *Festschrift für Paul Clemen*, pp. 119 f., and *Attische Feste*, p. 101.

¹⁰ August Frickenhaus, "Lenäenvasen," 72. *Programm zum Winckelmannsfeste*, Berlin, 1912. L. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, pp. 127 ff., agrees with Frickenhaus, while M. Nilsson, in *Sitzungsber. München Akad.*, 1930, no. 4, pp. 3 ff., relates the vases to the Choes.

girl of good family was mature, she was promised by her father to a youth of a family of equal social standing and wealth. In the following Gamelion, the wedding month, all the families whose children were going to marry, offered solemn sacrifices, particularly to the highest gods, Zeus Teleios and Hera Teleia, the protectress of marriage, whose Theogamia or sacred wedding with Zeus was celebrated also in Gamelion.¹¹ Other sacrifices were offered to the gods of the phratries, which the girl was going to leave; to Artemis, to whom she dedicated her toys and a strand of hair; and finally to the nymphs of the Kallirhoe, the water of which was carried in a special form of vase, the loutrophoros, in a procession to the house of the bride for her bridal bath on the last evening before the wedding, called Proaulia.¹² This was on the evening before the last day of the month Gamelion. The wedding meal took place on the last day of Gamelion in the house of the father of the bride. There followed in the evening of the same day the wedding Pompe, when the bride was led on a chariot by the bridegroom and a friend, the parochos or paranymphos, in solemn procession to the house of the father of the bridegroom.¹³ The procession (Pompe) led by a flute player, went through the dark night of the new moon accompanied by the light of torches in the hand of the mother of the bride and by friends, singing the Hymenaios, the marriage song. In the new home the bride was led around the altar and then by the bridesmaid, the nympheutria, to the marriage chamber, where in the night, when sun and moon met, the marriage was consummated. This was the night when winter ended, that is the night between Gamelion, the last winter month, and the Anthesterion, the first spring month. Thus a new life began with the growing moon.¹⁴

¹¹ For the months, see Bishoff, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, X, s. v. Kalender, pp. 1568 ff., p. 1591, no. 54. Ch. Em. Ruelle, in Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités*, s. v. calendarium (calendrier), pp. 822 ff. Martin P. Nilsson, "Die Entstehung und religiöse Bedeutung des griechischen Kalenders," in *Lunds Universitets Årsskrift*, N. F. XIV, 2 Avd. I, Vol. 19, no. 21, 1918, pp. 5 f., 25 ff. For the sacred wedding of Zeus and Hera in Gamelion, see Hesych., p. 334, s. v. Γαμηλιών· ὁ ξ' τῶν μηνῶν τῆς Ἥρας; and Phot., ἱερὸν γάμον Ἀθηναῖοι ἐορτὴν Διὸς ἄγονσιν καὶ Ἥρας, ἱερὸν γάμον καλοῦντες. A. Mommsen, *op. cit.*, pp. 382 f. L. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, pp. 117, 177 f.

¹² P. Wolters, in *Ath. Mitt.*, XVI, 1891, pp. 371 ff. *Id.*, in *Jahrbuch*, XIV, 1899, pp. 128 ff. Hans Nachod, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Enc.*, XIII, pp. 2098-2101. Max Collignon, in Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Ant.*, III, 2, pp. 1648 f. P. Sticotti, in *Festschrift für Benndorf*, pp. 185 ff. E. Pernice, "Griech. Privatleben," in Gercke-Norden, *Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft* 3, 1922, pp. 51 f.

¹³ A. Brueckner, "Athenische Hochzeitsgeschenke," in *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXII, 1907, pp. 80 ff. Perdrizet, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1905, pp. 209 ff., pls. 6-7. P. Sticotti, *loc. cit.*, pp. 181 ff. E. Samter, "Hochzeitsgebräuche," in *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum*, XIX, 1907, pp. 131 ff., pl. I, and *Geburt, Hochzeit, Tod*, pp. 196 f., pl. 11. Couve-Collignon, *Vases peints du Musée d'Athènes*, no. 1341, pl. XLV. W. Hahland, *Vasen um Meidias*, pl. 4. K. Schefold, *Untersuchungen*, no. 284, pp. 30, 103, 133, pl. 50. Here a girl leads the wedding procession with a sacrificial basket on her head.

¹⁴ Scholion to Hesiod, *Erga*, 784: Ἀθηναῖοι τὰς πρὸς σύνοδον ἡμέρας ἐξελέγοντο πρὸς γάμους καὶ τὰ θεογάμια ἐτέλουν, τότε φυσικῶς εἶναι πρῶτον οἰόμενοι γάμον, τῆς σελήνης οὐσης πρὸς ἡλίου σύνοδον. Aristotle,

In the period between this new beginning and the next full moon in the middle of Anthesterion, other ceremonies took place. In the morning after the wedding night the bridegroom went to the house of his father-in-law, while the bride received the visit and presents from her female relatives and friends in the ceremony known as Epaulia.¹⁵ In one of the following days the priestess of Athena brought the sacred aegis of Athena from the Acropolis to the houses of the new brides in order to bring them the blessing of the city goddess.¹⁶ Probably on the fourth day of the Anthesterion month the young women brought sacrifices to Aphrodite.¹⁷ Finally, at the Anthesteria festival, at the occasion of the Choes on the twelfth of the month, the sacred marriage of the wife of the Archon Basileus with Dionysos took place in the Boukoleion, the place of office of this highest priest.¹⁸ There can be no doubt that this marriage ceremony was acted by the archon basileus himself who represented his god, as the priest often does. The bodily epiphany of the god was characteristic of the Dionysiac cult, and the priest, through divine possession, was temporarily identified with his god.¹⁹ The archon basileus was the leader of both the Lenaia and the Anthesteria festivals. The wife of the archon had to be a virgin when she married him, and she was not allowed to marry more than once.²⁰ This means that when an Athenian was lifted to this high office, his wife too had to be acceptable to the voters. Thus their marriage in the guise of Dionysos and Ariadne was an exemplification of the consummation of a happy marriage. It was meant to be a blessing for the newly sown land and the marriages consummated at the preceding new moon.

At the same time there was not only general feasting and drinking from the Choes, but also a children's festival, and the children also received little oinochoes with pictures on them as presents. On one of these little toy jugs the ceremonial wedding procession of Dionysos and the wife of the archon is represented with children imi-

Politics, VII, 16, p. 1335 a: ὀρίσαντες χειμῶνος τὴν συναυλίαν ποιέισθαι ταύτην. They determined the winter as limit for the nuptials. See A. Mommsen, *op. cit.*, p. 382 f.

¹⁵ L. Deubner, in *Jahrbuch*, XV, 1900, pp. 144 ff., pl. 11. A. Brueckner, *op. cit.*, pp. 91 ff. Many examples on Kerch Vases. See K. Schefold, *Kertscher Vasen*, pls. 3, 1 and 19-20, and *Untersuchungen*, pls. 15, 2; 16; 17, 2; 33-34.

¹⁶ Zonaras, *Lexikon*, s. v. aigis, p. 77. A. Brueckner, *op. cit.*, pp. 114 f.

¹⁷ A. Brueckner, *op. cit.*, pp. 112 ff. Another example is the vase in the Metropolitan Museum, G. Richter, *Red-Figured Athenian Vases*, p. 201 f., no. 160, pl. 159.

¹⁸ Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, III, 5, and LVII, 1. A. Mommsen, *op. cit.*, pp. 391 ff. L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, V, p. 217 f. G. Elderkin, *Kantharos*, 1924, pp. 118 ff. L. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, pp. 101, 106 ff., 116 f., pl. 10, and in *Jahrbuch*, XLII, 1927, p. 174 f., figs. 4-5, and in *Festschrift für Paul Clemen*, 1926, pp. 118 ff., figs. 4-5. On the vase in Palermo, Furtwängler-Reichhold, pl. 59, with the wedding of Dionysos and Ariadne, Eros binds his sandals as on the vase in Pl. 4, 1. Such shoes are rightly explained as nymphides or bridal shoes by G. Richter, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

¹⁹ See M. Nilsson, in *Jahrbuch*, XXXI, 1916, pp. 315 f., 323 ff.

²⁰ L. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, p. 100 f. The name Basilinna, often given to the wife of the Archon Basileus, is modern. See Grace Macurdy, in *Am. Jour. of Philol.*, 49, 1928, pp. 276 ff.

tating the ceremony (Plate 5, 1A-B).²¹ The archon basileus as Dionysos with thyrsos and kantharos is already seated on the wedding car, the parochos prepares to help the bride step up. Behind her three children carry an object which has been wrongly interpreted by Deubner as the stylis from a ship and with its help he has wrongly assigned the ship float, *carrus navalis*, to the Anthesteria.²² My interpretation of the object as a ploughshare has been accepted by M. Nilsson.²³ The boys carry not a light stylis, but a heavy yoke, as do the oxen when ploughing, a symbol of the yoke of marriage which unites man and woman. The pole with the ploughshare at the end is erected vertically, so that the iron cannot hurt anybody, and the handle for the ploughman is indicated.²⁴ It is decorated with fillets, which appear so often in the hands of friends or Eros on wedding vases (see Plate 4, 3B).

The plough is a symbol of fertility. ἀρώ means to plough and to marry and generate.²⁵ In the refined atmosphere of fourth-century Athens the plough takes the place of the phallos, the crude symbol of productive power and seed of life used in the rural Dionysia. The consummation of the marriage as represented in the ceremonial wedding of the priest and his chaste wife, in the guise of Dionysos and Ariadne, has as a goal the creation of legitimate children. That is why the last part of the marriage ceremonies lays the emphasis on the children. The fertility of the marriage is compared to the fertility of the fields. The chief purpose of a Greek marriage was the procreation of legitimate children, particularly sons, for the good of the gods, the state, and the family itself. Immortality through the life of the children on earth, on the one hand, and on the other, individual immortality through reunion with the godhead is the wish of many. Both could be attained by initiation into the Bacchic

²¹ Met. Mus. no. 24.97.34. L. Deubner, in *Jahrbuch*, XLII, 1927, pp. 177 ff., figs. 7-9, and *Attische Feste*, pp. 104 ff., pl. 11, 2-4. Anita Klein, *Child Life in Greek Art*, p. 26, pl. XXVI. M. Nilsson, in *Sitzungsberichte Akademie München*, 1930, no. 4, pp. 8 ff.

²² L. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, p. 105 f., pl. 12. The fillets with the pearls at their ends are not the flag (ράκος) used for the stylis even though it is called *ραυία* by Pollux, I, 90. None of the stylides from Alexander coins collected by Deubner, pl. 12, 2, has such a fillet. It can, on the other hand, very well decorate the phallos as well as the symbolic plough in the pompe. See the black-figured vase in Florence (Dieterich, *Mutter Erde*⁸, pp. 107 f.; Deubner, *Attische Feste*, p. 136, pl. 22), which is a transition from the phallos to the plough.

²³ M. Bieber, in *Jahrbuch*, XLIII, 1922, p. 306, note 1. M. Nilsson, *loc. cit.*, p. 11. H. R. W. Smith, *C.V.A.*, USA 10, San Francisco Coll., 1943, p. 47 f. accepts Deubner's "Schiffskarren" and even explains a dolphin on a miniature chous as an allusion to it.

²⁴ See the form of the plough on the cup by Nikosthenes in Berlin, 1806: O. Jahn, in *Berichte d. Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wiss.*, 1867, p. 76 f., pl. 1, 1. J. C. Hoppins, *Black-Figured Vases*, p. 184 f., no. 6; and the plough in Florence, Walters, *British Museum Guide to the Exhibition illustrating Greek and Roman Life*, 3, 1929, p. 167, fig. 184.

²⁵ The Athenian marriage contract contained the phrase: for the plowing of legitimate children (ἐν παιδῶν γνησίῳ ἀρώῳ). Clemens Alex., *Strom.*, II, 23. The oracle given to the Troizenians: "plough not the young field," is explained by Aristotle, *Politics*, VII, 16, p. 1335 a "that many died because they married too young." See translation by B. Jowett, p. 314. A. Dieterich, *Mutter Erde*⁸, 1925, pp. 46 f., 109.

mysteries. Jocelyn Toynbee and the author have independently and about the same time proved that the celebrated frescoes in the Villa Iam at Pompeii are only to be understood as the representation of initiation of brides into the Dionysiac mysteries, and Maiuri in his model publication has accepted this explanation.²⁶

The Kerch vases (Plate 4) can be explained satisfactorily in the same way; and they become the oldest testimonials for the combination of wedding and initiation in a pre-nuptial rite. The sacrificial baskets on Plate 4, 1 and 3A have been explained by Gisela Richter as a Dionysiac implement, while Deubner has shown that they belong to the wedding ceremony.²⁷ Both views have to be combined. The baskets contain objects which symbolize the mysteries of love, marriage, and fertility. When the girls came in procession (Pompe)²⁸ to the sanctuary of Dionysos, they were told the facts of life and marriage with the help of symbols and teaching by older matrons. The love is represented by Eros, the initiation by Dionysos and his thiasos. It was probably only a small group of well-born girls that was initiated into the Dionysiac thiasos before their wedding. Gisela Richter has shown that only such girls are handling the sacrificial basket, represented on the oinochoe and skyphos (Plate 4, 1 and 3).

The question of whether these vases with Eros and Dionysos alluding to the initiation into the Dionysiac mysteries belong to the Lenaion or the Anthesterion festival cannot be solved by their shapes, for the skyphos is characteristic of the first, the oinochoe of the second. But the oinochoe is used, in addition to the skyphos, on the Lenaia vases; and the hydria (Plates 4, 2 and 5, 2) could always be used at Dionysiac festivals. Walter Otto²⁹ has shown that water is as much the gift of Dionysos as wine. It is the moist element which preserves life and furthers creative power in plants, animals, and man. This enables us to offer a better interpretation of another Kerch Hydria in Athens (Plate 5, 2)³⁰ than has hitherto been possible. It shows Eros watering plants in the presence of Dionysos (left) and two women, one with a tympanon (right). We thus again have the same combination as on the three New York vases (Plate 4). Eros pours the fertilizing moisture on the flowers as a symbol of the brides who are initiated into the Dionysiac mysteries and at the same time into the secrets of married life, the purpose of which is the procreation of children. The

²⁶ M. Bieber, "Mysteriensaal der Villa Iam," in *Jahrbuch*, XLIII, 1928, pp. 298 ff., pls. 5-9. *Eadem*, in *Review of Religion*, II, 1937, pp. 3 ff. Jocelyn Toynbee, "The Villa Iam and a Bride's Ordeal," in *Journal of Roman Studies*, XIX, 1929, pp. 67 ff. A. Maiuri, *La Villa dei Misteri*, pp. 121 ff.

²⁷ G. Richter, in *A.J.A.*, XI, 1907, pp. 423 ff., and *A.J.A.*, XXX, 1926, pp. 422 ff. L. Deubner, "Hochzeit und Opferkorb," in *Jahrbuch*, XL, 1925, pp. 210 ff.; XLII, 1927, pp. 176 f. G. Richter, *Red-Figured Athenian Vases*, p. 216, note 5. K. Schefold, *Untersuchungen*, pl. 50.

²⁸ Demosthenes, *Meidias*, 10: καὶ ἐπὶ Δηναίων ἡ πομπή.

²⁹ Walter F. Otto, *Dionysos, Mythos und Kultus*, 1933, pp. 149 ff.

³⁰ Athens, Nat. Mus. no. 1424. K. Schefold, *Untersuchungen zu den Kertscher Vasen*, p. 17, no. 139, pl. 11, 2. Couve-Collignon, *Vases peints du Musée d'Athènes*, no. 1852, fig. 5 from Phot. German arch. Inst. Athens no. 939.

fertility of the earth is being paralleled with the human fertility, the importance of having and leaving children for immortality on earth.³¹

It seems to me a significant fact that the special Lenaia vases disappear after the end of the fifth century. I believe that the Kerch vases have taken their place after the connection of this women's feast with the wedding feast was attained. Probably the usage of enlightening well-born Attic girls in this religious way did not become the fashion before the fourth century. The soft and graceful spirit is a continuation and further refinement of what has already taken place in the fifth century. The originally wild orgiastic frenzy of Bacchic dances, which continued in northern Greece, as described in Euripides' *Bacchai*, appears already much softened, sobered, and disciplined on the Lenaia vases. On the Kerch vases they are still more tamed and refined.

I believe that the initiation took place in Gamelion and exactly at the Lenaion festival named from the Lenai, the Menads, and in the Lenaion sanctuary, the old dancing place of the Lenai. Dionysiac mysteries are mentioned for the Lenaion in 334/3 B.C.³² The old name of the month, Lenaion, was replaced by the name Gamelion, because the wedding ceremonies took place during this month. The initiation belongs to the proteleia and proaulia, just as the first sacrifice is brought to Zeus Teleios and Hera Teleia. All preparatory ceremonies were performed in the latter part of Gamelion, the last winter days with the waning moon, while all allusion to blessings of the consummated marriage by Aphrodite, Athena, and last but not least, by the priest king and his wife in the guise of Dionysos and Ariadne, were performed in the first days of spring and during the growing moon, when, it was believed, all that had to grow and prosper belongs. The wedding presents, including the Kerch vases, brought at the occasion of the Epaulia on the morning after the new moon could allude to both.

The prevalence of Eros in the center of the picture has not only the artistic purpose of giving a white, flashy and showy spot in the middle of the red figures and he not only "parallels and underlines the main action" (Brendel) but he gives to the Kerch vases a deeper meaning than has been accredited to them up to now. It must be remembered that Eros is the son of Aphrodite, and that sons are the purpose of marriage. In them the father lives on even after death. Thus not only artistic but also symbolic and psychological reasons have multiplied the figures of Eros on the Kerch vases. The soft, sentimental, and delicate spirit of the period is reflected as much on these vases as it is in the great art of Praxiteles and Skopas, who created,

³¹ See Olympiodorus, *Commentaria in Aristotelem*, Vol. XII, Pars II (ed. G. Stüve), p. 57, lines 6-8, on Aristotle, *Meteorologica*, p. 343 b 4: γαμήλιος δὲ μὴν ἐλέγετο παρ' Ἀθηναίους διὰ τὸ κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν καιρὸν τοὺς γάμους ἐπιτελεῖσθαι· εἰλογον γὰρ ᾤοντο τότε σπείρειν ὅτε καὶ ἡ γῆ ἀρδεύεται· ἐπιτήδειος γὰρ ὁ καιρὸς πρὸς καρπῶν γένεσιν.

³² *I.G.*, II², 1496, lines 74 f.: ἐγ] Διονυσίων τῶν [ἐπὶ Δ]ηναίῳ [π]αρὰ μυστηρίων [ἐπιμ.]ελητῶν. Fragment a, dated 334/3 B.C.

beside Eros, the personifications of Himeros, Longing, and Pothos, Passion of love.³³ It is quite possible that some of the cupids on the Kerch vases represent these brothers of Eros. I also wonder whether some of them might not represent Hymenaios, the marriage god.³⁴

Hymenaios is sometimes called the son of Dionysos, and Dionysos himself is called Hymenaios in an epigram;³⁵ and it is in this character as a wedding god that he is shown on the vases in Plate 4, 1 and 5, 2. Thus the women in this presence or in the midst of his followers (Plate 4, 1-3) are brides-to-be preparing for their wedding procession (pompe) which took place between their initiation into the mysteries of Dionysos and into the mysteries of Eros. They belong neither to the Lenaia nor to the Choes festival, but to the whole wedding proceedings which extend between the two.

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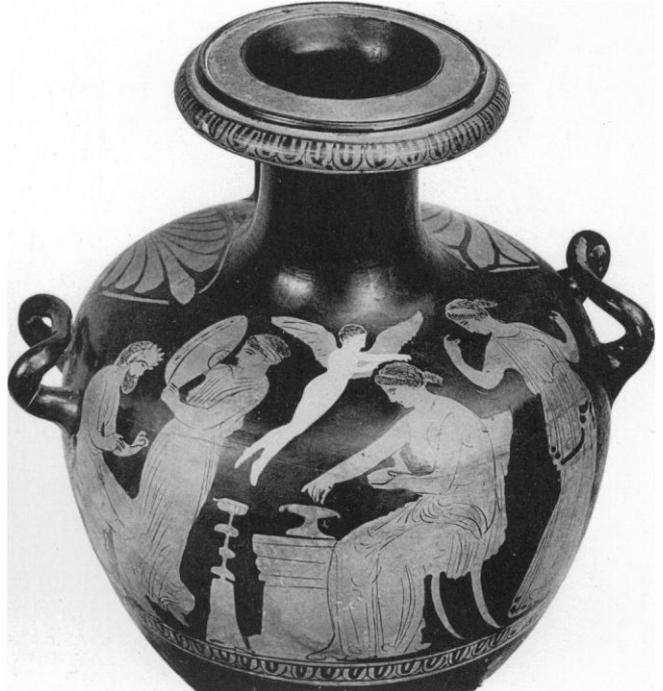
³³ Eros, Himeros, and Pothos by Skopas in Megara: Pausanias, I, 43, 6. Himeros and Pothos on vase in Berlin, no. 2633. Himeros also on epinetron of the Eretria master, and on the hydria of the Meidias painter, E. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, III, p. 220 and 240, figs. 561 and 594.

³⁴ Cf. for Hymenaios B. Sauer, in Roscher, *Lexikon der Mythologie*, 1, 2, pp. 2800 ff. That he was represented in Greek art of the fourth century is testified by the description of the painting of Alexander the Great by Aetion (Lucian, *Her.*, 5). Being the son of Dionysos at least in one version, he may well be meant in some of the vases which show a rather grown-up winged boy in the company of this god. Unfortunately no inscription of his name has up to now been found on a vase.

³⁵ Dionysos is called Hymenaios—(ἡμενήϊον)—in the hymn *Anthologia Graeca Pal.*, IX, no. 524, line 21, which enumerates his characteristics in alphabetical order from ἀβροκόμη to ὤρεσίλοιπον.



1



2

Kerch Vases in the Metropolitan Museum, New York

(Courtesy of the Trustees of the Metropolitan Museum)



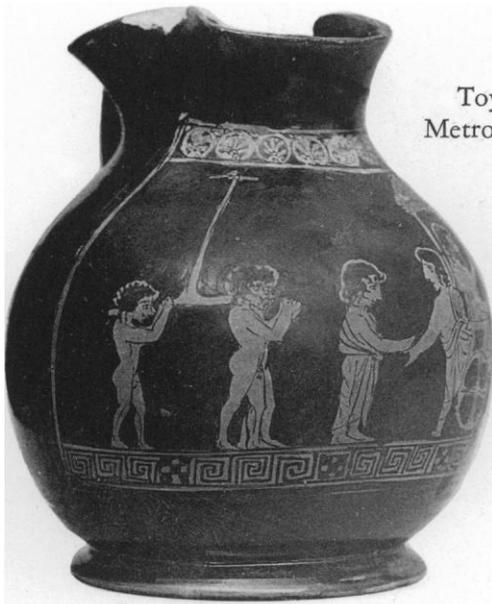
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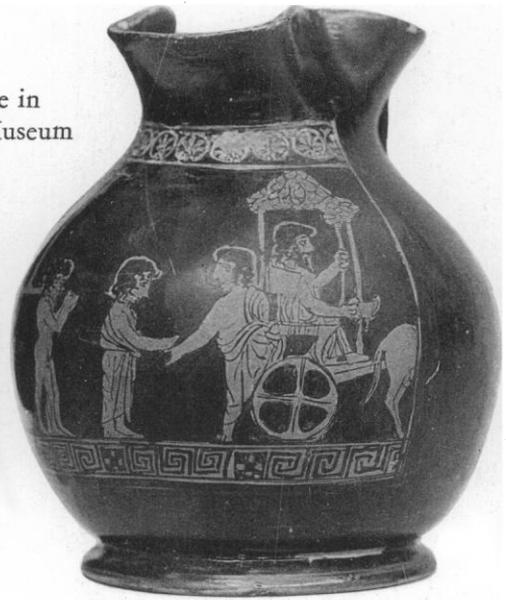
3B

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Toy Oinochoe in
Metropolitan Museum



1A



1B



2. Kerch Hydria in Athens



Hyria

Author(s): Carl W. Blegen

Reviewed work(s):

Source: *Hesperia Supplements*, Vol. 8, Commemorative Studies in Honor of Theodore Leslie Shear (1949), pp. 39-42+442-443

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HYRIA¹

(PLATES 6-7)

IN THE Homeric Catalogue of Ships, which gives precedence to the Boeotian contingent, the town of Hyria stands first in the list of participants (*Iliad* II, 496), in close association with Aulis, where tradition says the great invasion fleet assembled. Hyria is otherwise almost unknown. Strabo (IX, 404) assigns it to the territory of Tanagra, but fails to make clear its exact situation, noting merely that it was near Aulis; this passage, however, is generally regarded as borrowed *in toto* from Apollodorus' Commentary on the Catalogue of Ships, and consequently it cannot be taken as representing conditions prevailing in Strabo's own time. Stephanus of Byzantium (*s. v.* Ἦρία) fixes the site on the Euripus. Pausanias makes no mention of the town, which in his day, and indeed in that of Strabo, was surely no longer in existence.

In view of such a paucity of evidence, the identification of the actual site of Hyria has not been satisfactorily established. Fraser (*Pausanias's Description of Greece*, Vol. V, p. 66) believed he had found it in a wall-enclosed acropolis occupying the summit of Megalo Vouno, a rugged hill which rises steeply toward the northwest above the harbor of "Mikro Vathy," about one mile north of the larger "Great Vathy," or Bay of Aulis. The site on Megalo Vouno was thought by Colonel Leake to be that of Mykalessos; but Fraser, agreeing with H. N. Ulrichs and Bursian, would identify Mykalessos with ancient ruins lying farther inland near Rhitzona.

As for the town of Aulis itself, Fraser, relying on a remark of Strabo (IX, 403) and a passage in Statius (*Achill.* I, 447 ff.), suggested that it occupied the low-lying neck of the rocky peninsula which separates the Bay of Aulis from Mikro Vathy. Fraser states that he was unable to find the ruins of walls noted by Ulrichs; but some traces of those walls are visible today, and the foundations of a large building have been exposed alongside the modern road to Chalkis, not far from the Chalkis Cement Factory which has grown up around the shore of Mikro Vathy.

Fraser's view which is accepted by Bölte in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, Supplement to Vol. IX, p. 1168, would put Aulis within a mile of Hyria, and just below it, and the latter less than two miles distant from Chalkis across the strait. Such a geographic congestion of ancient Greek towns would surely be unusual, to say the least.

In reopening the question of identification, one must give some weight to certain considerations arising from the literary evidence. It is clear that Aulis was still inhabited in Roman times when visited by Pausanias, and its site should certainly bear some late classical remains; Hyria, on the other hand, for the post-Homeric

¹ I am deeply indebted to Mr. John Threpsiades, Ephor of Boeotia, for many items of information and for generous permission to publish the pottery and other objects recovered at Drámesi. The photographs illustrating this article were made by Miss M. Alison Frantz to whom I am also grateful for assistance in exploring the citadel on Megalo Vouno.

(or post-Catalogue) existence of which there is no convincing testimony, should just as surely be expected to show Mycenaean remains.

It seems to me likely therefore that the citadel on Megalo Vouno was that of late-classical Aulis, established for security on its high hill in reasonably close proximity to the two bays. The ruins on the flat neck of the promontory between Mikro and Megalo Vathy must then indicate the position of the lower town and the harbor quarter. It is surely unthinkable that the seaside town lying between the two harbors could ever have been independent of the acropolis which completely dominated it from the height above. The citadel was large enough to provide ample room for refuge when the lower town was threatened, and it was doubtless built for that specific purpose.

Fraser gives a good description of the fortress near the summit, with its rough wall and three gateways built in a style of masonry approaching the ashlar (Plate 6, 1). What Fraser called a projecting spur wall extending far down the hill toward the southeast does not actually terminate there, as he thought; but turns at an angle and continues on around (as noted in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, Supplement to Vol. IX, p. 1167) to form a complete outer ring. This outer wall, built of somewhat smaller stones than the inner fortress, and now for the most part demolished (Plate 6, 2), is possibly, though not necessarily, of later date. A good many Hellenistic and Roman potsherds may be seen on the surface of the ground inside the citadel. Far more numerous are fragments of tiles of Hellenistic types. No pottery of more ancient date was observed during a visit to the spot on September 6, 1946. It is obvious in any case that the lofty situation on Megalo Vouno is not of the kind that usually attracted Mycenaean settlements.

If the ruins of Megalo Vouno and below it are those of Aulis, the site of Hyria remains unidentified and must be looked for somewhere else in the general neighborhood. Indeed it is not far to seek. Some four miles farther down the coast toward the southeast a great mound rises from the plain at the northern edge of the modern village of Drámesi, or Paralía; and it is here that I would place the Homeric Hyria.

The mound (Plate 6, 3) is a large one, not far short of three hundred meters in length from east to west, and from seventy-five to one hundred meters wide; and its summit attains an elevation, judged by the eye, of fifteen meters or more above the level of the plain. The greater part of the hill seems to be composed of the accumulated ruins and debris of successive pre-classical settlements. The surface is everywhere strewn with fragments of pottery among which the Early, Middle, and Late Helladic periods of the Bronze Age are abundantly represented. Several extensive cuttings on the northern and western slopes, which have exposed early house-walls and stratified deposits of debris, betray the activity of modern seekers after building stones and clay.

The mound of Drámesi has long been known. Already in 1911 Papadakis conducted a small exploration concerning which only a brief mention was published (*Πρακτικά*, 1911, p. 142; *Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον*, 1, 1915, *Παράρτημα*, p. 55).

In the summer of 1945 some enterprising residents of Drámesi removed considerable quantities of stone from the western and northern edges of the hill. In the course of their operations on the western slope they came upon a large structure built of great stone blocks, with two massive lintel slabs still lying in position over what looks like a doorway about 1.80 m. wide (Plate 6, 4). Mycenaean pottery and human bones uncovered to the south of the "doorway" seem to indicate a tomb-deposit. Several complete pots and some bits of bronze weapons were removed in the course of this illicit excavation before the undertaking was brought to the attention of the authorities. Mr. Threpsiades, Ephor of the district, then intervened: digging was stopped, the objects already carried off were confiscated, and the plunderers were arrested, tried, and convicted. Since that time the site has been under police protection and there have been no further serious depredations.

Some of the pots recovered—now deposited in the museum at Schimatari—are shown in the accompanying illustrations. Two of these vessels (Plate 7, 1-2) are of Middle Helladic types, others (Plate 7, 3-4) may be assigned to the earliest Late Helladic phase. One of the bits of bronze is from a javelin point, or spearhead, with a socket on each face for the fastening of a split shaft (Plate 7, 5) This type of spearhead, which is characteristic of the mainland and has not yet been found in Crete, is well known from three examples coming respectively from the fourth shaft grave at Mycenae, the island of Levkas, and Sesklo in Thessaly (Karo, *Schachtgräber*, p. 207, figs. 91, 92, pl. CII, no. 463).

The character of these objects, pottery and bronzes, if they are indeed actually all from one deposit, would indicate that the presumed tomb was in use at the turn of Middle Helladic to the Late Helladic era. The surviving doorway with its heavy lintels suggests that the structure was a tholos tomb. Was this perhaps the "treasury" which, Pausanias records, was built for king Hyrieus by the famed craftsmen Trophonios and Agamedes, to whom tradition also attributes the construction of an early stone temple of Apollo at Delphi?

Among the stones assembled for removal by the unauthorized excavators at Drámesi, and saved by the vigilance of the Ephor Threpsiades, is one of particular interest. It was broken into two pieces by the plunderers evidently to facilitate transportation; originally it seems to have been a rectangular pillar, or anta, about 1.46 m. high, 0.43 m. wide, and 0.54 m. thick. One face is badly damaged; the other three bear remains of shallow incisions or carvings worthy of some attention.

Sketched in broad and sometimes not too certain outlines on what I take to be the front of the block (Plate 7, 6) are representations of ships, three near the bottom of the stone, one above the other, and a similar group of three near the top. They are of different sizes and shapes, but, although it is somewhat difficult to determine, all seem to be proceeding from right to left.

The lowest vessel is pointed at each end, somewhat in the manner of a modern caïque. It has a deckhouse (or a square sail) fore and aft, a bowsprit, two sweeps, or oars, forward and one near the stern. The body of the vessel bears a number of

transversely incised parallel lines, and similar but more closely spaced lines appear on the deckhouses.

The next higher ship, largest of the three in the group, is square cut at each end. It seems to have a small deckhouse at the stern, three masts, and a bowsprit; and the side of the hull is marked by transverse lines.

The third and uppermost vessel in the group is only roughly outlined with rounded ends. It has what looks like a small deckhouse at the stern; but neither this nor the hull is decorated by incised parallel lines. The sketch may not have been completed.

The vessels represented in the upper group of three correspond approximately in relative size and arrangement with those of the lower group, the middle one being the largest. All are filled in with transverse parallel lines. The ship in the lowest position has a fairly big deckhouse at the stern and a vertical stroke must represent a mast amidships. The vessel in the middle register has one deckhouse at the left; and that there was probably another at the right, now broken away, is indicated by an upright incised line at the fracture. No trace of a mast can be made out. The uppermost ship is a small one, apparently not provided with a deckhouse.

The left side of the anta is not so well preserved, but at approximately mid-height it still retains traces of at least two similar ships. There was also some kind of incised work on the right anta-face, perhaps likewise a representation of ships, though the outlines are no longer clearly recognizable.

So far as I know, nothing analogous to this stone anta with its naive carvings has yet been found at other sites. Pending further excavation and study there can be no absolute certainty even in dating, although it seems likely enough that the block originally had its place in the underground structure to which the surviving lintelled doorway belonged.

The representation of a ship painted on a small Mycenaean pot found by Dr. Kourouniotis near Pylos (*Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1914, pp. 107-109, figs, 14, 15) offers some rather striking similarities, though the vessel itself is of a more advanced design than those carved on the stone pillar at Drámesi. The ram at the bow, the fish emblem, and the somewhat complicated rigging of the painted ship are features not seen on the pillar carvings; but the deckhouses at either end and the use of parallel transverse lines to decorate the hull are common to the Pylos and Drámesi artistic technique. There seems no reason to doubt that the Drámesi ships were carved in the Mycenaean period.

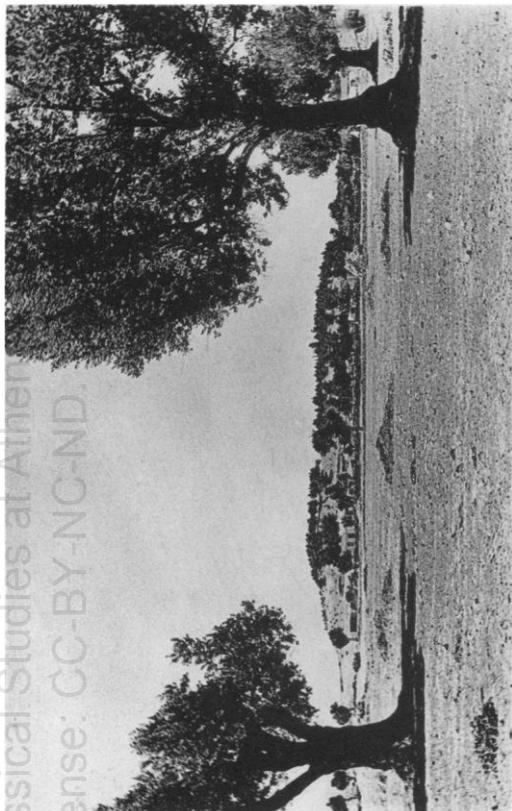
Is it too fanciful to suggest that these representations of ships at Drámesi were intended to decorate some special monument set up in a tomb built for the leader of a Hyrian contingent that participated in some expedition like that against Troy?

CARL W. BLEGEN

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1. Gateway of Inner Citadel on Megalo Vouno



3. Mound of Drámesi



2. Outer Ring of Fortifications on Megalo Vouno



4. Doorway Uncovered at Drámesi

C. W. BLEGEN: HYRIA



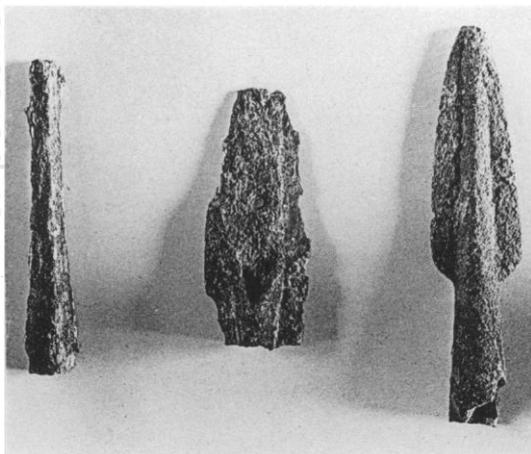
1. Middle Helladic Pot



3. Late Helladic I Pot



4. Late Helladic I Pot



5. Fragments of Three Spearheads



2. Middle Helladic Pot



6. Anta, in Two Pieces, with Incised Representations of Ships

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An Amulet of the Ophite Gnostics

Author(s): Campbell Bonner

Reviewed work(s):

Source: *Hesperia Supplements*, Vol. 8, Commemorative Studies in Honor of Theodore Leslie Shear (1949), pp. 43-46+444

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AN AMULET OF THE OPHITE Gnostics

(PLATE 8)

LESLIE Shear's concern in archaeology was of a broader and more practical kind than the specialized observation which produces this small contribution to the memorial of his work. But he was keenly aware of the potential importance of small objects. I recall with pleasure his letter of 1932 telling about the discovery of a magical amulet "in an unstratified fill" of the Agora area, and asking for an opinion about the object. The stone was published by Elderkin, with a good illustration, in an early issue of *Hesperia*.¹ I thought then, as I do now, that he accepted too credulously the notion that the obverse design had Mithraic affiliations, though its solar character is not to be doubted. In fact—a point not emphasized by Elderkin—the presence on the reverse of Harpocrates, the young Egyptian sun-god, is especially appropriate with an obverse representing a solar figure.² One belated contribution to the explanation of the Agora amulet may be offered here. The apparently meaningless congeries of letters on the back may be, in part, an anagram of the very common amuletic prayer *δὸς χάριν τῷ φοροῦντι*, "grant favor to the wearer"; for, in addition to various groupings of the vowels, all the letters of that sentence are present, and such naive devices for concealment are known elsewhere. For example, an amulet in the Lewis Collection is inscribed with a group of letters, at first sight meaningless; but by using all the letters, and repeating them at will, one may read *Ιαω Σαβαωθ ὁ ὦν θεός αηριωω*.³

That incident of 1932 may serve as a reason for presenting, among very different subjects, a note discussing another amulet, which is of a rare and important kind, since it seems to be truly Gnostic. Contrary to an opinion which was once widely held, few of the amulets commonly called Gnostic have anything to do with the various speculative religious systems to which that word is properly applied. Even when those stones bear the images of Egyptian or Greek divinities, or syncretistic monsters of mysterious origin, their purpose is usually practical, to protect and benefit the wearer or gratify some desire of his. Adapting some words of Bion the Borysthenite, Plutarch says of his Superstitious Man "Old women hang round him and fasten on him anything they please, as if he were a peg."⁴ That man, with his paltry dangling amulets, had as good a claim to be called a Gnostic as most of the wearers of the so-called Gnostic stones. But in view of this skeptical attitude toward the older opinion, it is all the more important that a genuine relic of Gnostic belief should be faithfully recorded.

Such a relic may be recognized in a stone that belonged to the late Joseph Brummer, one of an interesting group that he generously allowed me to study and

¹ *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 475-479.

² The same combination may be seen on a stone illustrated by King, *Gnostics*, pl. B 4; also on one in de Ridder, *Collection De Clercq*, VII, 2 (Pierres gravées), No. 3441, pl. 38.

³ Middleton, *Lewis Collection*, Class C 20, p. 80.

⁴ *De superstitione*, 7 ad fin. (168 E).

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publish (Plate 8, 1). It is a well-preserved oval pendant of green jasper clouded with dark red, measuring mm. $27 \times 20 \times 5$. On the obverse a lion-headed god or demon, clothed only in the Egyptian apron, stands to left, his right hand holding a tall staff, his left a *situla*, the small pail with hemispherical bowl, which is a common attribute of certain Egyptian deities, comparable to the *phiale* held by Greek gods and goddesses. At the right edge, reading downward, is the name $\text{I}\alpha\lambda\delta\alpha\beta\alpha\omega\theta$, at the left $\text{A}\alpha\rho\iota\eta\lambda$. The first alpha is in close contact with the top of the tall staff, and at first glance might be taken for an ornament belonging to it, but it is really a letter.

The reverse is fully occupied by an inscription in eight lines, $\text{I}\alpha\ \text{I}\alpha\omega\ \Sigma\alpha\beta\alpha\omega\theta\ \text{A}\delta\omega\alpha\iota\ \text{E}\lambda\omega\alpha\iota\ \Omega\rho\epsilon\omicron\varsigma\ \text{A}\sigma\tau\alpha\phi\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$, a line to each unit except the last which is divided between two. The last two names should be read $\text{'}\Omega\rho\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma\text{'A}\sigma\tau\alpha\phi\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$, ϵ and $\alpha\iota$ being pronounced alike and often interchanged in papyri and the less literate inscriptions. In this series of names, four, Iao, Sabaoth, Adonai, Eloai will be recognized at once as belonging to the God of the Hebrews. Iao Sabaoth represents "JHVH (Jahveh, Jehovah) of hosts"; but in Gnostic and magical texts Sabaoth is often treated, not as a modifier of Jahveh, but as the name of an independent being. Adonai is the Hebrew for "Lord," and Eloai represents Elohim, "God." Iao and Sabaoth occur both separately and together on many scores of magical amulets. To them Adonai is often added, but stones with all four of these names are not numerous. However, the presence of any or all of these four names would indicate only a background of Jewish influence, not necessarily a Gnostic origin.

The situation becomes different when we proceed to the next two names, Horaios and Astaphaios. If we count the name Ialdabaoth, from the obverse, in with the reverse inscription, temporarily disregarding Ia, the first unit on the reverse side, we have the complete series of the seven demon archons ($\alpha\rho\chi\omicron\nu\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma\ \delta\alpha\iota\mu\omicron\nu\epsilon\varsigma$) to whom the accounts of Irenaeus and Origen assign an important place in the mythology of the Ophite Gnostics—Ialdabaoth, Iao, Sabaoth, Adonai, Eloai, Horaios (Oreus in Irenaeus), Astaphaios.⁵

Some explanations are in order here, since *Hesperia* provides for the interests of classical archaeologists rather than for those of religionists and theologians. The name Ophite seems to embrace several overlapping and somewhat entangled systems which agree in their anonymous status—that is, their doctrines are not recorded as taught by any known teacher, such as Valentinus, Basilides, or Saturninus. For this reason good authorities think that they represent the more primitive forms of Gnosticism. In the strain of Ophite doctrine described by Irenaeus, the early steps in the cosmogony are as follows.

The Highest God, whom they call the First Man, had as his first emanation *Ennoia* (conceived as masculine), the Son or Second Man. With them existed as third person the Holy Spirit, represented as feminine, the First Woman. From her,

⁵ Iren., *adv. haer.*, 1, 28, 1-8 (Harvey); the seven archons in § 2 *ad fin.*, 3; Origen, *contra Celsum*, 6, 24-38, the seven archons, 30-32.

by illumination from the First and the Second Man, was generated the Third Man, the Light, Christ, who with his mother, now considered as the True Church, was exalted to the state of incorruptible Aeons and united with the first principles. But at the generation of Christ the Mother could not contain the whole body of light, part of which therefore descended into the world of matter and there took unto itself a body, being then known as Prounikos, Sinistra, or Sophia. This female being desired to return to the primal Light, but could not, because of the incumbrance of the body. Yet she was able to raise herself to a region between Matter and the world of Light, there made her body into the visible heaven, and thus ridding herself of it, was enabled finally to ascend to the upper Light. She had produced a son, who now became the creative principle of the world. This was Ialdabaoth, who now gave rise, in successive generations, to the other six archons, each of whom created a heaven wherein he dwelt.

For our present purpose it is unnecessary to proceed further with the details of the Ophite system,⁶ and we may return to the stone. The Ia at the top of the reverse may perhaps best be regarded simply as another form of Iao, related to it as *Jah*, in Psalm 68: 4, is to Jahveh. It may be added, however, that in magical papyri and inscriptions Iao is often imbedded among other vowel-groups, Ia, Iae, Eai, etc. But it is also possible that the Ia on the Brummer amulet is merely a mnemonic abbreviation for Ialdabaoth, made necessary by the narrowness of the space available at the top of the oval. As to the design on the obverse, it is to be noted that Origen, whose account of the seven archons agrees with that of Irenaeus, except that he gives Astaphaios the fifth instead of the seventh place,⁷ describes Ialdabaoth as *λεοντοειδής*;⁸ and the context in which that word occurs makes it plain that the author means *λέοντος πρόσωπον ἔχων*, "with the face of a lion."⁹

The lion-headed demon may therefore be accepted as Ialdabaoth. Yet without that name there would be nothing to mark the figure as Gnostic. Lion-headed gods or demons are very common on magical amulets which reveal no Gnostic connections, and most of which are certainly not Gnostic.¹⁰ One finds lion-headed gods in the apron, holding whip and orb, certainly solar figures, probably aspects of the sun-god Horus.

⁶ For succinct accounts of the Ophite heresies, see Liechtenhan, "Ophiten" in Herzog-Hauck, *Protest. Realencyclopädie*; and Bornkamm, "Ophiten," Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, 18, 1. The previous paragraph in the text is based on the latter article.

⁷ *C. Cels.*, 6, 31 (p. 101, 22 Koetschau). The name Adonaios seems to have been omitted accidentally from the list in 31, but it appears in 32 between Sabaoth and Eloaios; see Koetschau's note on p. 101, 21.

⁸ *C. Cels.*, 6, 30 (p. 100, 5, 8); 31 (p. 101, 11). Those who take the trouble to turn to these passages will note that in ch. 30 Origen's authority assigns to each archon an angel-name, different from that listed in ch. 31 and on the Brummer gem. The circumstance is irrelevant, for the purpose of this paper, and I have therefore refrained from discussing it. See Hopfner, "Das Diagramm der Ophiten," in *Charisteria* (Alois Rzach), pp. 87-89.

⁹ *C. Cels.*, 6, 30 (p. 100, 16-17, 20-22).

¹⁰ Among the specimens in prominent American collections are: Boston, Mus. F. A., 01. 7556; Metrop. Mus., 10.130.1392; 81.6.305; Walters Art Gallery, 42.866. For published examples, King, *Gnostics*, pl. L 2; *Cat. Southesk Coll.*, I, N 52, pl. 14; de Ridder, *Coll. De Clercq*, VII, 2, 3455-6.

There are lion-headed figures in long garments, with the hand raised toward the lips as in proskynesis, perhaps solar demons worshipping their lord, the Sun. These solar lions usually have radiate heads; sometimes the solar disk also is placed over their heads. Among the attributes held in their hands are sceptres of various forms, the caduceus, the situla, swords, occasionally a snake, and the previously mentioned whip and orb. It is clear that the Ophite Gnostics did not invent the type of this amulet, but simply took it over from Egyptian paganism.

There remains only the name *Ααρηλ* to be explained. The doubling of the alpha may have been due to carelessness, or the lapidary may have repeated it on purpose because he saw that he had placed the first alpha too near the tip of the staff carried by Ialdabaoth. There is no other instance of a doubled alpha in the Greek and Coptic passages where the name occurs, nor is there in the Hebrew original an internal guttural which would account for two alphas with intervening hiatus, as in Aaron. The name Ariel does not occur in the Ophite tradition reported by Irenaeus and Origen. In Hippolytus' account of the Peratai, another branch of anonymous Gnosticism, Ariel is "the third archon of the winds,"¹¹ and in the Coptic Gnostic work *Pistis Sophia* the name is given to a demon of punishment in Amente, the Egyptian Hades.¹² To Ialdabaoth also Coptic writings assign a different rôle from that given him in the Ophite system. In one passage of *Pistis Sophia*, he is a lion-faced archon of Chaos,¹³ in several others he is an avenging demon like Ariel.¹⁴ In the Second Book of Jeu, he is an archon of the third Aeon, one of a series before all of whom the soul must pass in its way to salvation.¹⁵

Despite these different uses of the names Ialdabaoth and Ariel, there is no reason to assume that the amulet indicates a confusion of two different systems. The presence of the name Ariel in conjunction with Ialdabaoth can be best explained by its Hebrew meaning, which, according to some authorities, is "Lion of God."¹⁶ It seems most likely, therefore, that Ariel is here only a secondary name or epithet of the lion-headed Ialdabaoth.¹⁷

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¹¹ Hippol., *Elench.*, 5, 14, 5 (p. 109, 15 Wendland).

¹² *Pistis Sophia*, trans. by C. Schmidt, p. 165, 7, 16, 32; p. 247, 25.

¹³ P. 28, 17-19.

¹⁴ E. g., p. 166, 15, 21.

¹⁵ Transl. by C. Schmidt (in same volume with *Pistis Sophia*), p. 322, 32-40.

¹⁶ See Gesenius, *Hebr. Handwörterbuch zum A. T.*,¹⁶ *sub voce*. There are, however, other interpretations noted by Gesenius. In Ezek. 43: 15, it is "altar hearth," and Jastrow, *Dict. of Targumim and Talmud*, renders it "Divine Light," apparently with special reference to Is. 29: 1.

¹⁷ In addition to my debt to the owner of this amulet, which is mentioned in the body of the article, I am under particular obligations to Dr. Louise A. Shier, Associate Curator of our Museum of Archaeology, who made the casts of the stone, at the cost of no slight inconvenience, in view of her other duties; and also to the late George R. Swain, who photographed the casts.

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Plato's Description of Early Athens, and the Origin of Metageitnia

Author(s): Oscar Broneer

Reviewed work(s):

Source: *Hesperia Supplements*, Vol. 8, Commemorative Studies in Honor of Theodore Leslie Shear (1949), pp. 47-59

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PLATO'S DESCRIPTION OF EARLY ATHENS, AND THE ORIGIN OF METAGEITNIA¹

Τὰ μὲν οὐράνια καὶ θεῖα ἀγαπῶμεν καὶ σμικρῶς εἰκότα
λεγόμενα, τὰ δὲ θνητὰ καὶ ἀνθρώπινα ἀκριβῶς ἐξετάζομεν.

Plato, *Kritias* 107 D

ONE OF the chief problems confronting the student of Athenian topography is to reconcile the testimonies of ancient writers with the remains brought to light in the excavations. Too often the evidence at his command is insufficient to give a clear picture of a particular section of the city and yet too substantial to be ignored. Any new light, however dim, is welcome, even if in some cases it merely accentuates the obscurity created by the paucity and irreconcilability of the evidence.

A tantalizing source of information, rarely referred to in discussions of primitive Athens,² is the account given by Plato in the *Kritias*. Since it purports to be a description of the city as it was nine thousand years before Plato's own time, it would seem to fall outside the limits of archaeological investigation. Like his description of Atlantis it has generally been regarded as pure fiction and has too readily been set aside as being of no archaeological value. Wilamowitz expressed the common attitude of the classicist: "Man soll sich für ein Werk der Phantasie kein Modell suchen."³ Yet before the passage is rejected as source material on Athenian topography it should be subjected to a serious analysis.

It is necessary at the outset to bear in mind the tenor of the whole passage. It was not intended as a factual description of primitive Athens such as Thucydides gives in his account of the early city.⁴ Plato presents an imaginative picture of the city, corresponding to his ideal state in the *Republic*, for the purpose of showing how it behaved in its imaginary contest with the island of Atlantis. It would be a mistake to look for an accurate or even consistent description of his early city. On the other hand, Plato being an Athenian, well acquainted with the city of his own time and writing primarily for a well-informed Athenian public, is not likely to have introduced into his picture elements at variance with known facts and accepted tradition.

¹ Part of the material of this article was presented at the meeting of the Archaeological Institute in Baltimore in 1940, and a brief summary appeared in *A.J.A.*, XLV, 1941, p. 92.

² See, however, M. Beulé, *L'Acropole d'Athènes*, nouv. ed., 1862, p. 7; Harrison and Verrall, *Myth. and Mon. of Anc. Athens*, p. 120.

³ *Platon*, I, p. 546, note 1; cf. B. Jowett, *The Dialogues of Plato*, vol. III, p. 519: "Hence we may safely conclude that the entire narrative is due to the imagination of Plato, who has used the name Solon and introduced the Egyptian priests to give verisimilitude to his story." Barker, *Political Thought of Plato and Aristotle*, p. 68, calls the *Kritias* an unfinished "political novel describing the state and the *Republic* in action."

⁴ Thucydides, II, 15.

How careful Plato was to present his imaginative account in conformity with factual reality is evident from his introduction of the Egyptian priest into the story. It is generally agreed that the conversation between Solon and the priest is fictitious, but Plato intended that his fiction should seem plausible. He might have introduced a Babylonian or Assyrian priest but for the fact that, as every well-informed Athenian knew, Solon had made a journey to Egypt and spent enough time there to become acquainted with the language and traditions of the country.⁵ To go beyond this in trying to account for minute details in the story is going too far in the right direction.⁶

With these limitations in mind let us examine his description to gain what information we can concerning the city and its traditional past. The passage reads in translation as follows:

The city [of Athens] was settled in the following manner at that time. In the first place the condition of the Acropolis was not the same then as now. Its present state has resulted from the action of a single night of excessive rain which stripped the Acropolis bare of earth, and from the effects of earthquakes occurring simultaneously. This flood, which was exceptionally violent, was the third before the destruction in the time of Deukalion. But formerly, at the time of which we are speaking, the Acropolis was different, first of all in size: for it extended as far as the Eridanos and the Ilissos, and included the Pnyx within its compass; and in the other direction, opposite the Pnyx, the Lykabettos formed its boundary. Secondly, it was then entirely covered with soil, and all but a small area was level on top. The outlying parts, below its immediate slopes, were inhabited by the craftsmen and by the farmers who cultivated the near-by fields. In the upper area none but the warrior class had settled, and there they lived secluded from the rest, round about the sanctuary of Athena and Hephaistos which they had provided with a single enclosure in the manner of a garden surrounding a private house. They lived in the northern section of the Acropolis, where they had constructed public dwellings and common messhalls for use in the winter and whatever else forms a necessary part of community life in the way of buildings for their own use and for religious purposes. They made no use of silver and gold for any purpose, but pursuing an intermediate course between arrogant display and illiberality they constructed moderate houses, in which they and their children's children grew old, and handed down the same dwellings to succeeding generations who were like themselves. But the southern section they set aside to be used as gardens and gymnastic training grounds and for refectories of the kind used in summer and occupied it for such purposes. There was one fountain in the region of the present Acropolis, and when its source gave out as a result of earthquakes, the present small trickles were left round about. But to the inhabitants of those times it furnished a copious flow sufficient for all, and was well tempered both for winter and summer. In this manner they lived as guardians of their own citizens, and as leaders of the rest of the Greeks who willingly accepted their hegemony. They took care to keep, so far as possible, for all future time their own class of both sexes at a constant number, which is the same as that of the citizens now able to bear arms, or approximately twenty thousand.

Kritias, 111 E–112 E

⁵ If, as some scholars believe, the ancient tradition that Plato visited Egypt is based on fact, this would offer a further explanation for his introduction of the Egyptian priest into the story. See Leo Weber, *Klio*, XXI, 1927, p. 273.

⁶ Cf. Leo Weber, *loc. cit.*, pp. 286–287, who assumed a definite *Überlieferung* regarding the Atlantis story upon which Plato drew what he needed. The contest between Atlantis and early Athens Weber thought based on the war with Eleusis in the time of Eumolpos.

Plato's account of early Attica is chiefly an exaggerated picture of conditions prevailing in his own day. Its boundaries on the landward side extended as far as the Isthmus and Kithairon, and on the seaward side it reached farther out to sea, for much of the land then existing had since washed away. Likewise the quality of the land was raised in Plato's imagination to an exaggerated perfection: Ἄρετή δὲ πάσαν γῆν ὑπὸ τῆς ἐνθάδε ὑπερβάλλεσθαι. And he treats the city the same way. The Acropolis of that period extended from the Ilissos on the south to the Eridanos on the north, and in the other direction from Lykabettos as far as and including Pnyx Hill, the whole area with a slight exception being covered with earth and capable of cultivation.

This picture of superlative greatness and unsurpassed excellence is Plato's own creation,⁷ and it is called into being by an artistic device which is characteristic of his approach to problems of archaeology. He presents his picture as the result of logical deductions based on conditions prevalent in his own day: μέγα δὲ τεκμήριον ἀρετῆς· τὸ γὰρ νῦν αὐτῆς λείψανον ἐνάμιλλον ἐστὶ . . . καὶ πολλὴν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι ὕλην εἶχεν, ἧς καὶ νῦν ἔτι φανερὰ τεκμήρια. The rainfall was greater and the moisture was retained because the hills were more wooded; springs were accordingly more numerous and their flow of water more abundant. This he concludes from numerous sacred monuments erected at once-existing springs whose flow had since dried up.

All this grandeur was a thing of the past, and even its destruction was not to be ascribed to any of the physical catastrophes known by tradition to have overwhelmed the country. To be in keeping with the rest of the tale Plato had to postulate a deluge far greater and more ancient than the mythological flood of Deukalion, and two others were added to make the number still more impressive.

In this whole account he brings very little that is actually new into the picture. His references to religion and mythology are replete with familiar names and mythological lore. The alliterative triplets Erechtheus, Erichthonius and Erysichthon, as well as Kekrops and other figures of the period before Theseus are called in for the purpose of adding historical semblance to the account. The deities, too, are introduced in their familiar milieu. He speaks of the temple of Athena and Hephaistos whose cult, housed with the cults of other divinities in the ἀρχαῖος ναός on the Acropolis, was known to go back to an early stage in the evolution of religion.⁸ But Plato adds a note of correction to a well-known story. Their possession of the fair land of Attica was not the outcome of strife among the gods, as popular mythology would have it,⁹ but due to an equitable apportionment decided by lot.

⁷ *Timaios*, 23 B-C. Cf. Paul Shorey, *What Plato Said*, pp. 331 f.

⁸ The cult of Hephaistos, outside of Athens and Lemnos, seems to have been of slight importance in the religion of the Greeks. In Athens Hephaistos was worshipped in three places in each case conjunctly with Athena: on the Acropolis (Pausanias I, 26, 5), on the Kolonos Agoraios (Pausanias I, 14, 6) and in the Academy (Schol. Soph. *Oid. Kol.*, 56). He also shared with Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratria in the festival of the Apaturia. See Harpokr. *s. v.* λαμπάς.

⁹ *Kritias*, 109 B. In another less imaginative passage (*Menex.*, 237 C) Plato adheres to the traditional account of the strife between Athena and Poseidon for the possession of the land.



Fig. 1. Primitive Athens

1. ΑΡΧΑΙΟΣ ΝΑΟΣ
2. Mycenaean Fountain
3. Sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite
4. Temple of Hephaistos and Athena
5. Enneakrounos—Kallirrhöe (I)
6. Enneakrounos—Kallirrhöe (II)

These facts were familiar to the Athenians of Plato's day, but he presents them as if seen through a magic lens which renders every object and every stage in the city's history grander and more perfect than actual reality. It should be possible, then, to apply the reverse process by turning the other side of the lens toward the objects as presented by him so as to reduce his exaggerated image to normal dimensions. In employing this method we must beware of the danger of expecting greater accuracy and clarity than the process will allow. The result will not be a faithful or altogether coherent description of primitive Athens. What we may expect is a succession of flashes cast upon certain sections of the city, in the light of which will appear not the city itself but Plato's conception of early Athens based upon his knowledge of contemporary conditions and upon his interpretation of mythology and tradition. If the picture thus obtained corresponds to the general aspect of early Athens as known from less imaginative ancient writers and from archaeological discoveries, we may conclude that our method of interpretation is correct. We shall then be justified in accepting with due caution and reserve, Plato's description as a legitimate source of information on the topography of primitive Athens.

We may at once discount the effects of the physical upheavals purported to have taken place in the area occupied by the ancient city. Although based on sound observations of geological phenomena, they belong to a period too remote to have any bearing on the subject. In this instance it is the element of time that has been affected by Plato's deliberate exaggeration of the picture. Such changes as had taken place since the first settlers arrived were hardly significant enough seriously to affect the features of the ancient city. The Acropolis of Plato's description is approximately co-extensive with the classical city and its nearest suburbs. Consequently when Plato speaks of the outer slopes—*τὰ μὲν ἔξωθεν ὑπ' αὐτὰ τὰ πλάγια αὐτῆς*—which were occupied by craftsmen and farmers, he probably had in mind the industrial quarters in the northern section of the city in what was known in his day as Kerameikos, as well as the groups of farm houses that must have existed in the plain just outside the walls of the city.

Having disposed of the humbler social orders along the outskirts, Plato proceeds to describe in greater detail the sections occupied by the most important class of citizens, the guardians of the country. They had their quarters on the upper plateau of the Acropolis around the most ancient shrine of Athena and Hephaistos which they had surrounded with a fence as if it were a private garden.

Although he names only this as being the oldest and most important of the early sanctuaries he refers in general terms (*οἰκοδομήσεων . . . αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν*) to other buildings devoted to the use of religion. Regarding the temple of Athena and Hephaistos, centrally situated on the very top of the Acropolis, he adds the specific information that it was surrounded with an enclosure like the garden of a private house. His topographical indications show that he had in mind the *ἀρχαῖος ναός* on the Acropolis, where in Plato's day the cult of Hephaistos was joined to that of the

goddess.¹⁰ That a garden had once surrounded the shrine he might have inferred from the association of the cult with that of Pandrosos in whose open air precinct stood the olive tree of Athena.¹¹ There, too, was the altar of Zeus Herkeios, god of the enclosure, pointing to the origin of the cult in the setting of the private dwelling.

But in the time of Plato the important temple that housed the joint cult of Athena and Hephaistos was not on the Acropolis but on Kolonos Agoraios. It is reasonable to suppose that Plato thought of the fifth-century temple, the Hephaisteion, as reflecting the more primitive conditions on the Acropolis, before the various early cults had been brought together under a single roof by the erection of the Erechtheion. For here we find, surrounding the temple of Hephaistos and Athena on the Market Hill, a formal garden within a precinct wall which might appropriately be described as the enclosure of a private house.

I am fully aware of the chronological difficulty involved in this statement. The contents of the square rock cuttings, in which the trees or vines were planted, point to a comparatively late date for the garden. The flower pots found at the bottom of the holes are apparently of Roman date, and the earliest evidence for the planting does not go back beyond the period of Augustus. But the discrepancy is more apparent than real. The flower pots date from the last planting of the garden, and we must suppose that replanting had to be done at intervals throughout the centuries. The vines—or whatever plants grew in the cuttings—were probably an essential feature in the cult apparatus of the two deities.

Dorothy Thompson,¹² who discovered and published the garden, suggested that it may have originated in the early third century B.C., when the precinct was surrounded by a new temenos wall. There are, moreover, traces of an earlier enclosure which probably goes back to the time of construction of the temple itself. We need not assume that the flower pots or even the rock cuttings represent the earliest period, for neither of them formed an essential feature of a garden. It was only on the south side that it was necessary to cut holes in the rock, and it is conceivable that at the first planting the condition of the ground was taken into consideration when the plan of the garden was determined. The ambitious undertaking which can hardly have been too successful, of growing trees in shallow rock-cut holes may well be credited to Roman taste with its preference for straight lines and unyielding symmetry.¹³

¹⁰ The cult of Hephaistos was represented by an altar which stood in the cella of Athena. Of the other two deities whose altars Pausanias (I, 26, 5) mentions in the same connection Plato says nothing.

¹¹ For a restoration of this section of the Acropolis see the recent article by Gorham P. Stevens, *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, pp. 93 ff. The suggestion has been made that five deep cuttings north of the Parthenon, usually regarded as cisterns (see Stevens, *Hesperia*, Suppl. III, p. 42) may have been made for the planting of trees (Holland, *Class. Weekly*, XXXIV, 1940, p. 28).

¹² *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 396 ff.

¹³ I believe we should look to Egypt for the origin of the temple garden. In the time of the eighteenth dynasty a formal garden surrounding a lake formed a necessary adjunct to an Egyptian temple (Margaret A. Murray, *Egyptian Temples*, p. 155). In Deir-el-Bahri an ancient plan of the

Before discussing the quarters of the guardians on the north and south sides of the Acropolis let us turn to one of the monuments mentioned on the Acropolis which can now be identified with fair certainty. The guardians, he says, used a single fountain "in the region of the present Acropolis," its original copious flow having since been cut off as a result of earthquakes leaving small trickles still flowing on the sides. That such a fountain existed in Mycenaean times has been shown by the American excavations of 1936-1938.¹⁴ The water was reached on an elaborately constructed stairway, descending by eight flights and about 120 steps to a depth of 34 meters below the Acropolis level. The stairway collapsed early in the twelfth century B.C. after the wooden reinforcement had decayed. It is not unlikely that an earthquake was the immediate cause of the collapse. The memory of such a disaster, especially if accompanied by the loss of human life, would have been kept alive for generations, and a fabric of myths and legends woven around the incident.¹⁵ Thus it is not surprising that Plato should be aware of the early waterworks on the Acropolis antedating the construction of fountains on the north and south sides which were in use in his own time.

The dwellings of the guardians, which they occupied in common, and their permanent refectories intended for use during the cold season were all on the north side of the Acropolis. By his term "the northern section" (*τὰ γὰρ πρόσβορρα*) Plato obviously means the area to the north of the present Acropolis extending as far as the Eridanos which formed the northern limit of his early Acropolis. In accordance with our process of reduction we should apply this statement to a more restricted area on the actual slope of the existing Acropolis, extending northward from the precinct of Athena, that is to say, from the Acropolis wall to the classical Agora. The secular buildings referred to as being in this part of the early city, are community houses and common messhalls of permanent construction suitable for use in the winter.

The characteristic features of these buildings are, in the first place that they were publicly owned and operated for the use of their occupants in return for services rendered to the State; and secondly, that they were simple dwellings in which luxury

garden of Neb-hepet-Re's temple (eleventh dynasty) was found and the garden itself was so well preserved that the roots of the sycamore fig trees could be photographed by the excavators (H. E. Winlock, *Excavations at Deir-el-Bahri*, 1911-1931, pp. 48-49, 84, 90, pls. 5 and 44). One of two garden models found intact in the tomb of Meket-Re (*ca.* 2000 B.C.) in the same excavation is now in the Metropolitan Museum. The sycamore trees are arranged in formal rows around a pool in front of a columned porch and the whole complex enclosed within a wall (H. E. Winlock, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-27, pl. 27). Such formal gardens with a pool in the center are depicted on tombs at Thebes, in some cases showing a temple or tomb in the rear of the garden (Norman de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Nefer-hotep*, p. 28, pl. XLII; and *The Tomb of Ken-Amun*, pp. 46-47, pl. XLVII). These striking prototypes for the Garden of Hephaistos are not mentioned in Mrs. Thompson's study of ancient gardens (*loc. cit.*) where the eighth century B.C. garden at Assur is said to be "the earliest garden so far excavated."

¹⁴ Broneer, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 317-429.

¹⁵ This is further discussed in my publication of the fountain, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 428.

played no part.¹⁶ These two conditions apply to a series of early buildings known to have existed on the north and northwest slopes of the Acropolis. Most important is the Prytaneion, in which were the hearth and the altar of Hestia.¹⁷ Before the time of Solon, Aristotle informs us,¹⁸ the Prytaneion was the official seat of the eponymous archon and served also as a courtroom for trials involving specific cases of murder, and as the state dining-room in which foreign representatives and honored guests were entertained at public expense. Its name connects it with the prytaneis, who at a later date had their meals in the Prytanikon or Tholos in the civic section of the Agora. We are justified in assuming that the Prytaneion earlier served the same function.¹⁹ The Boukoleion, at one time the official quarters of the king, was not far from the Prytaneion; and the Thesmotheteion, in which the archons had their offices and sat at common meals, and probably also the Epilykeion, office of the polemarch, are to be placed in the same vicinity. Here, too, some hundred fifty meters northwest of the entrance to the Acropolis was the conspicuous Hill of Ares, where the Council of Areopagites had since time immemorial held its sessions under the open sky. All these buildings, still existing in Plato's day, retained enough of their pristine character to reveal their important role in the civic life of the early city, although many of their purely secular functions had been transferred to the later buildings in the Agora.

Furthermore, the sanctuaries known to have existed in the same region were all of a nature that can only be associated with an early stage of religious conception. To this category belong the joint precinct of Kourotropos, Demeter Chloe and Aphrodite Pandemos,²⁰ just below the entrance to the Acropolis; the rocky chasm near the Areopagos, dedicated to the worship of the Erinyes and of other chthonic deities, like Pluto, Ge, and Hermes;²¹ the Eleusinion²² with its many associated cult places that must have extended over a considerable area; the numerous caves along the upper slope accommodating the primitive cults of Apollo Pythios,²³ Zeus Olympios,²⁴ Aphrodite and Eros;²⁵ the shrine of the two daughters of Kekrops, Aglauros and Herse,²⁶ whose cult was closely associated with the worship of Athena.

¹⁶ The passage in the *Kritias* is a summarized account of a more detailed description of these quarters at the end of Book III of the *Republic*.

¹⁷ See *I.G.*, II², 1042, 3; 1283, 7.

¹⁸ *Constitution of Athens*, III, 25-27.

¹⁹ See Eugene Vanderpool, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 470 ff., and Homer Thompson, *Hesperia*, Suppl. IV, pp. 44, 147 ff.

²⁰ See Jane Harrison, *Primitive Athens*, pp. 105-110; and A. Keramopoulos, *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.*, XII, 1929, pp. 73 ff.

²¹ Pausanias, I, 28, 6.

²² See Broneer, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pp. 251 ff.

²³ Keramopoulos, *loc. cit.*, pp. 86-98; A. Parsons, *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, pp. 233 ff.

²⁴ Keramopoulos, *ibid.*

²⁵ See Broneer, *Hesperia*, I, 1932, pp. 31 ff.; IV, 1935, pp. 109 ff.

²⁶ William S. Ferguson, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 20 ff.; Broneer, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 428; XI, 1942, p. 260.

Plato's somewhat detailed description of the north side of the Acropolis is followed by a much briefer statement concerning the southern section. The construction of this passage is difficult, and two divergent interpretations are possible. For the purpose of the present inquiry, however, it is immaterial which of the two interpretations we accept; in either case the general implication is the same.²⁷ The idea conveyed by the discussion is that the permanent quarters of the guardians were situated north of the Acropolis, whereas the southern section was occupied by less stable structures serving the same functions in the summer. This information is surprising. If there were any difference in the use of the two regions it would be reasonable to suppose that the north slope, less exposed to the heat of the sun, would have been preferred for occupation in the summer and the south slope in the winter. This very difficulty, on the principle of the *lectio difficilior*, constitutes an argument in support of the view that Plato based his conclusions upon observations of fact. Whether or not he knew the original reason for the change of residence from one part of the city to the other, we must assume that there was something in the character of the two regions that led him to this supposition.

The southern section of ancient Athens, between the Acropolis and the Ilissos, is for the most part unknown territory, so far as our information is based on archaeological excavations. Yet we know from literary sources the names and the general location of a large number of sanctuaries and public buildings in that part of the city and on the left bank of the river. Many of these sanctuaries are dedicated to deities bearing the same cult names as those worshipped in the early shrines on the slopes, particularly the north slope, of the Acropolis.

The question how these duplicate cult places originated and how they were related to the sanctuaries in the city constitutes one of the knottiest problems of Athenian topography and cult history. The most likely solution offered thus far is that of Jane Harrison,²⁸ who explains the duplication of cults and shrines on the basis of a shift in the population from the deme Melite to that of Diomeia. That such a migration did take place is definitely stated by Plutarch,²⁹ but neither the reasons for the change nor the time of its occurrence is given by him. Because of the foreign elements in most of the cults on the left bank of the Ilissos Harrison concluded that the migrants from Melite were at one time compelled by law to leave their former abodes in the city because they were not true citizens.

Such legislation, designed to restrict the rights of certain minority groups, is not foreign to Athenian political thinking.³⁰ But Plutarch, who is our only authority for

²⁷ In the translation given above the accusatives *κήπους καὶ γυμνάσια σουσιτία τε* are understood as referring to τὰ πρὸς νότον. Jowett and others take them to refer to the buildings already mentioned on the north side of the Acropolis.

²⁸ *Primitive Athens*, pp. 143 ff.

²⁹ *De exil.*, vi.

³⁰ Consider in this light Plato's statement in *Menex.*, 245 D: αὐτοὶ (Ἀθηναῖοι) Ἕλληνες, οὐ μὲν βάρβαροι οἰκοῦμεν, ὅθεν καθαρὸν τὸ μῖσος ἐνέτηκε τῇ πόλει τῆς ἀλλοτρίας φύσεως.

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the shift in population, states that those who moved not only did so willingly and cheerfully, but he implies that they enjoyed all the rights of full-fledged citizens. The passage reads in translation as follows :

Would you then call those Athenians foreigners and outlaws who migrated from Melite to Diomeia and who thence named the month Metageitnion and continue to offer sacrifice, appropriately called the Metageitnia, in commemoration of their migration and who, furthermore, accepted both willingly and cheerfully their new neighborhood and still cherish it? Surely not.

This passage offers no support to the theory that the migrants were non-citizens or metics or *nothoi* ousted by force from their former abodes, but quite the contrary.

Moreover, Plutarch's explanation for the origin of the festival Metageitnia and for the name of the month can hardly be correct. The names of the Attic months and the festivals on which they depend go back to a very early period, certainly prior to the Kleisthenian division into demes and tribes. If Metageitnia means "change of neighborhood" (*μετὰ + γειτονία*) as it obviously does, it must refer to some other event than that mentioned by Plutarch, which would seem to be too recent and certainly too unimportant to the city as a whole to be commemorated by a festival and the name of a month. That some historical event provided the basis for Plutarch's statement is altogether probable, but the migration referred to there need not be any more than the incidental result of some adjustment of the citizenry such as took place from time to time.

It would be more in keeping with the normal evolution of religious ideas if we could point to some recurrent event as the basis for the name Metageitnia. Annual festivals were sometimes instituted in commemoration of important historical events, such as the annual celebrations on the days of important battles, but these are as a rule of late origin and not related to the names of the months.³¹ In some cases such celebrations took place on other important holidays, and then the historical date was arbitrarily changed to fit the already existing calendar. The Battle of Salamis, for example, which took place at the end of September, was celebrated in the spring at the Munychia on the sixteenth of the month Munychion.³² It is possible that the shift in population referred to by Plutarch was somehow commemorated at the festival of

³¹ Harpokration, *s.v.* Βοηδρομία (cf. *Etym. Mag.*, *s.v.* Βοηδρομίον) records a statement of Philochoros to the effect that the Boedromia was instituted in commemoration of the aid brought by Ion to the Athenians in their war with Eleusis. This is obviously an aetiological explanation. The very ancient origin of the Attic calendar is attested by the fact that several of the months during which important festivals occur are named after festivals which in the fifth century were of only slight significance. Such are Hekatombaion (Panathenaia), Boedromion (Great Eleusinian Mysteries), Gamelion (Lenaia), Elaphebolion (Great Dionysia). See Martin P. Nilsson, "Die Entstehung und religiöse Bedeutung des griechischen Kalenders," *Acta Universitatis Lundensis, nova series*, XIV, 2, 1918, pp. 1-63.

³² Ludwig Deubner, *Attische Feste*, p. 204.

Metageitnia by those directly affected by the change, but it is unthinkable that an incident of only local importance and probably of comparatively late date should be the origin of an important festival from which one of the months derived its name.

If we are justified in assuming that Plato's description of early Athens is based on tradition and on institutions and conditions existing in his time, an explanation for the origin of the festival Metageitnia may be obtained from his account. An annual migration of Athenians from their crowded city quarters to the open spaces in the river valley is just the kind of regularly recurring event that might have given rise to the festival.

The reason for such migration is not to be sought in the life of the city-dwellers but in conditions imposed by agricultural necessities, and the origin of the festival probably goes back to a time before Athens had lost its character of rural center to become the capital of all Attica.³⁸ In many country districts of Greece today part of the population moves out into the fields in the summer and lives in temporary shelters of reeds and pine branches. In some localities these summer houses are constructed of more durable material, and often they are grouped together at the edge of the fields and form regular villages. Where this is the case the inhabitants of the whole community move away from the winter quarters, bringing their cattle and household animals with them. Commercial people set up transient booths and outdoor eating places for the convenience of those working in the fields, and small chapels are erected to serve their religious needs. Throughout the summer the real village with its schools and public buildings becomes a ghost town, visited only occasionally by those whose duty it is to look after the lights burning in the churches.

The time of summer when this migration takes place varies according to the crops raised in each locality. Where these consist chiefly of grain the exodus to the country begins early as soon as the barley and wheat is ripe, usually late in May or in June. In other districts, where grapes and olives and garden produce form the principal staples, the late summer and early fall is the time spent in the temporary quarters.

The passage in Plutarch's essay on exile connects the festival of Metageitnia with the deme Diomeia. This was located on the banks of the Ilissos not far downstream from the bridge which in later times afforded access from the city to the Panathenaic Stadium. In this vicinity, close to or within the boundaries of Diomeia, was a suburb, called Agrai, in which were situated some of the duplicate sanctuaries

³⁸ Certain peculiarities in the administrative structure of classical Athens originated at a time before its formation as a city. There are references to a division of the city into villages (*κῶμαι*) antedating the division into demes (Isokrates, VII, 46, and see Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, II, p. 271). The term *κῶμη* originally seems to have had the meaning of unfortified village, but was later applied to the divisions in the city and to the streets (*στενωποί*) separating these divisions. In this sense there seems to be little if any distinction between *κῶμη* and *δῆμος*.

which apparently came into being as subsidiaries to the more ancient shrines in the heart of the city. The name Ἄγρα or Ἄγραι meaning hunt or game, is formed from the same stem as ἀγρός and ἄγριος and the sanctuaries located there were distinguished by the phrase ἐν Ἄγραις from those in the city ἐν ἄστει. Artemis, whose cult was especially appropriate in this locality, bore the epithet Agrotera.

Agrai would thus be a fitting name for the seasonal village at the outskirts of the town, whither the inhabitants in early times betook themselves during the summer season to tend their fields and gardens. This same locality would develop into a favorite suburb at a later time when Athens changed from an agricultural community to an industrial and commercial center. Here the Athenians would erect their summer buildings such as open-air gymnasia and outdoor eating places (κῆπους καὶ γυμνάσια σποσίτιά τε . . . οἶα θέρους). In this general vicinity were located the Κῆποι or Gardens, the name of which was derived from an earlier shrine of Aphrodite on the slope of the Acropolis; here were athletic training grounds (γυμνάσια), such as the Lykeion with space enough to serve as training field for the cavalry, and the gymnasium in the sanctuary of Herakles Kynosarges; here the unspoiled beauty described by Plato in the *Phaidros* made the river valley with its cool springs and shady groves a favorite refuge of the city dwellers from the relentless sun of the hot season.

If such be the origin of the Metageitnia and the name Agrai, it becomes clear why so many of the cult places in the city, nearly all situated on the north and north-west slopes of the Acropolis, should be duplicated in the Ilissos region. For when the population moved the gods went with them. Among the known duplicate cults are those of Zeus Olympios, Apollo Pythios, Demeter and Kore, Herakles, Pan, Artemis, Eileithyia, Aphrodite in the Gardens. The myth of Boreas, who carried off Oreithyia when she was playing in the waters of Ilissos, near Agrai, was likewise connected with the region of the Areopagos. But most remarkable is the twofold reduplication in the names of the fountains. Two names, Kallirrhoe and Enneakrounos, both cling to two fountains, a very ancient one near the Acropolis at the south edge of the classical Agora, the other in the river bed not far from the suburb of Agrai.

The objection will be raised that the short distance from the Acropolis to the Ilissos region required no such seasonal change of dwellings as is here assumed. Originally, however, the area may have been considerably larger. The whole section extending from the river to the slopes of Hymettos may have been agrarian land occupied by the Athenians, whereas the name Agrai in classical times adhered only to a restricted section occupied by the suburb. Furthermore, urban conditions probably prevented the performance within the city of agricultural functions such as threshing, winemaking and oil pressing, which require constant care and supervision and occupy the time of all the members of the family for several weeks in succession. In rural sections of Greece today temporary and semipermanent summer houses are frequently built at the edge of the fields well within sight of the village.

The time of the year at which the festival was celebrated gives rise to another apparent difficulty. The exact date is unknown, but the month Metageitnion, which in a normal year corresponds to August and early September of our calendar, comes toward the end of the summer heat. If the festival marked the exodus from the town to the country, we would expect its celebration to fall at least a month earlier. It is conceivable, however, that it was intended as a celebration of the return to the city quarters, and it is also possible that the multitudinous changes and corrections of the calendar resulted in a shifting of the festival from the early part of the summer to the end of the hot season. The name Metageitnia, moreover, like Metoikia, may denote not only the actual moving, but also the resulting condition of having transferred residence from one section to another.³⁴ If the name of the festival is understood in that sense, the celebration might have been held at any time during the absence of the farmers from their houses in the town. And if it came at the beginning of Metageitnion it would coincide with the hottest part of the summer and would thus denote the time when most of the population had moved out to the country and were living in the new environment.³⁵

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³⁴ This is the usual meaning of the word *μετοικία* in Plato's *Laws*.

³⁵ In Byzantium, a colony of Megara, the month Agrianios ("Country Month") is said to have corresponded to the Athenian Metageitnion (see Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s. v. Kalender, col. 1579), but in the calendars of certain other cities it came at a different time.



On the Prehistoric Use of Arsenical Copper in the Aegean Region

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Reviewed work(s):

Source: *Hesperia Supplements*, Vol. 8, Commemorative Studies in Honor of Theodore Leslie Shear (1949), pp. 60-63

Published by: [The American School of Classical Studies at Athens](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1353882>

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ON THE PREHISTORIC USE OF ARSENICAL COPPER IN THE AEGEAN REGION

OF THE various metal objects from the excavations at Corinth which have been analyzed by the writer, the needle about to be described was by far the most interesting because of its peculiar composition. This object was found in the course of the excavation of the North Cemetery directed by the late Professor T. L. Shear. The circumstances under which it was found led to the conclusion that it was buried in Early Helladic times. Yet in spite of its great antiquity and the unfavorable ground conditions at Corinth for the preservation of objects of base metal, this thin needle, 90 mm. in length and only about 1 mm. in diameter, was in a fine state of preservation. Only a superficial layer of greenish copper corrosion products and clay soil covered its surface, and both the point and part of the eye were still plainly discernible. The metal, which could easily be exposed by slight scraping, was noticeably light in color, which suggested that it might be bronze instead of copper. Moreover, the needle was observed to be stiffer than a piece of pure copper wire of the same dimensions, which also suggested bronze. Indeed, Professor Shear¹ originally reported it as a bronze needle. However, the identification of the metal as bronze was to the writer difficult to reconcile with its very early date deduced from the archaeological data. Hence the object was submitted to chemical analysis in an effort to explain the discrepancy.

Careful qualitative tests on small samples of both the metal of the needle and its corrosion products failed to disclose the presence of any tin, so that it was apparent at once that the needle was not composed of bronze. In order to account for the observed physical properties of the metal a complete quantitative analysis was then undertaken. Samples of nearly unaltered metal for the purpose were prepared by completely removing the layers of exterior corrosion products mechanically from small separated sections of the needle. The metal so cleaned was noticeably lighter in color than pure copper, this difference in color being plainly apparent in spite of the fact that some cuprous oxide of characteristic red color was evidently present as an intergranular corrosion product within the metal. On analysis the percentage results shown in Table I were obtained.

These results show the metal of this needle to be a crude arsenical copper which might even be classed as a copper-arsenic alloy by reason of its unusually high proportion of arsenic. The arsenic content of the metal and the considerable proportion of cuprous oxide contained in it are sufficient to account for the noticeable stiffness of the object as compared to one of pure copper of the same dimensions, the presence of these substances being known from various experiments² to increase the tensile strength and hardness of copper. The arsenic content is also sufficient to explain the

¹ *Am. Journ. Arch.*, XXXIV, 1930, p. 405.

TABLE I. Quantitative Analysis of an Early Helladic Needle from Corinth

Copper	95.72	Gold	none
Tin	none	Arsenic	2.52
Lead	0.72	Sulfur	trace
Iron	0.13	Silicon	trace
Nickel	0.09		
Cobalt	none	Total	99.18
Zinc	trace	Oxygen by Difference	0.82
Silver	none		
			100.00

noticeable light color of the metal since the alloys of arsenic and copper, even those containing but a small per cent of arsenic, are very light in color. The decolorizing effect of arsenic when alloyed with copper is, in fact, much greater than that of tin. Explained also is the unusually good state of preservation of the object since copper containing arsenic resists corrosion better than ordinary copper. Thus the observed physical properties of this metal object and its unusually good state of preservation are amply explained by its peculiar chemical composition. This whole matter indicates the danger of relying too much on physical properties for distinguishing ancient bronze from ancient copper, and emphasizes the need of resorting to chemical analysis for distinguishing between the two with certainty.

Though this is apparently the first prehistoric copper object from the mainland of Greece in which a notable proportion of arsenic has been found, several prehistoric copper objects of similar composition are known from elsewhere in the Aegean region. For example, as shown by the first three analyses listed in Table II, a very early copper saw from a tomb on the island of Naxos was found to contain nearly the same proportion of arsenic as this needle from Corinth, and two other prehistoric copper objects from the same island were also found to contain arsenic, though in smaller proportion. Again, as shown by the other analyses listed in this table, similar proportions of arsenic have been found in very early objects from Troy, and from Thermi on the island of Lesbos. In fact a large proportion of the very early copper objects of this region that have been examined chemically have been found to contain these notable amounts of arsenic. From the standpoint of practical utility objects of such composition, when properly worked by cold hammering, are much superior to similar objects of pure copper since they are both harder and stiffer. From this standpoint, therefore, arsenical copper may be considered a forerunner of tin bronze. It seems significant in this connection that later prehistoric bronze objects from this same region are generally free from appreciable amounts of arsenic as shown by the analyses listed in Table III.

² Cf. Gregg, *Arsenical and Argentiferous Copper*, New York, 1934, pp. 99-101.

TABLE II. Analyses of Prehistoric Arsenical Copper Objects of the Aegean Region

No.	Locality	Description	Copper	Tin	Lead	Iron	Nickel	Antimony	Arsenic	Silver
1.	Naxos	Saw	96.73	trace	..	..	..	trace	2.62	.30
2.	Naxos	Tool	98.56	..	..	trace	..	..	1.20	.20
3.	Naxos	Nail	97.20	trace	..	..	..	..	.76	..
4.	Thermi I	Pin	98.65	..	..	..	..	..	1.35	..
5.	Thermi IIIa	Blade	98.05	..	..	..	..	..	1.95	..
6.	Thermi IIIb	Punch	98.15	..	..	..	..	..	1.85	..
7.	Troy I	Not Given	36.00	..	..	..	.09	..	2.20	..
8.	Troy II	" "	98.7	..	..	..	.18	..	1.1	..
9.	Troy III	" "	95.0	2.9	.47	..	.11	..	1.5	..
10.	Troy III	" "	97.6	..	..	..	.03	..	2.3	..

NOTES

Nos. 1, 2, and 3 were analyzed by Zenghelis (*Comptes Rendus du Congrès International D'Archéologie*, Athens, 1905, pp. 226-228). Nos. 4, 5, and 6 were analyzed by Desch and published by Lamb (*Excavations at Thermi in Lesbos*, Cambridge, 1936, p. 215). The others were also analyzed by Desch (*Brit. Assoc. Advancement Sci. Report*, 1936, p. 308). No. 7 was in a highly corroded state and mixed with much earthy matter, which accounts for the low total proportion of metals found. Small amounts of various metallic elements other than those actually determined by the analysts were almost certainly present in all these objects.

TABLE III. Analyses of Prehistoric Aegean Bronze Objects

No.	Locality	Description	Copper	Tin	Lead	Zinc	Iron	Nickel	Arsenic	Sulfur
1.	Sesklon	Tool	96.50	3.01	..	trace	trace	..	..	..
2.	Sesklon	Dagger	92.15	6.79	trace	0.41	trace	..	..	..
3.	Sesklon	Dagger	92.41	7.54	..	..	0.03	..	trace	..
4.	Thermi	Spearhead	89.4	10.1	0.2	..	..	0.3	trace	trace
5.	Thermi	Arrowhead	91.1	8.0	..	..	.07	0.2	trace	..
6.	Thermi	Dagger	83.0	16.0	..	..	0.1	0.3	..	0.6
7.	Troy V	Not Given	90.4	9.6	..	..	..	..	..	..
8.	Troy VI	" "	91.9	8.0	..	..	..	0.05	..	..
9.	Troy VII	" "	91.2	8.2	..	..	..	..	0.55	..
10.	Troy VII	" "	91.0	9.0	..	..	..	..	..	..

NOTES

Nos. 1, 2, and 3, from a grave at Sesklon in Thessaly, were analyzed by Zenghelis (*Comptes Rendus du Congrès International D'Archéologie*, Athens, 1905, pp. 226-228). Nos. 4, 5, and 6 were analyzed by Desch and published by Lamb (*Excavations at Thermi in Lesbos*, Cambridge, 1936, p. 215). No. 4 was from the Early Bronze Age and Nos. 5 and 6 from 1400-1200 B.C. The others were also analyzed by Desch (*Brit. Assoc. Advancement Sci. Report*, 1936, p. 308).

The use of arsenical copper in the Aegean region in prehistoric times was not a practice unique to this region. Indeed, it has been demonstrated from recent analyses that the use of arsenical copper and actual copper-arsenic alloys was in reality common in the prehistoric times in Central Europe,³ and was by no means uncommon in Egypt

³ Cf. Witter, *Metall und Erz*, XXXIII, 1936, p. 118.

and Mesopotamia at certain periods. Thus a particular metallurgical practice in the Aegean region at least finds parallels in other parts of the prehistoric world and it may actually be that this practice in different regions was not unconnected at some periods. This use of arsenical copper or of copper-arsenic alloys may have some value from the standpoint of chronology and may provide a valuable clue to the problem of the discovery of tin bronze, but in the opinion of the writer it would be better to await more data in the way of careful chemical analyses of reliably dated objects before drawing certain intriguing conclusions suggested by the facts at present available.

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Observations on the Painted Venatio of the Theatre at Corinth and on the Arrangements of the Arena

Author(s): Edward Capps, Jr.

Reviewed work(s):

Source: *Hesperia Supplements*, Vol. 8, Commemorative Studies in Honor of Theodore Leslie Shear (1949), pp. 64-70+444-445

Published by: [The American School of Classical Studies at Athens](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1353883>

Accessed: 04/12/2012 15:43

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OBSERVATIONS ON THE PAINTED VENATIO OF THE THEATRE AT CORINTH AND ON THE ARRANGEMENTS OF THE ARENA

(PLATES 8-9)

“THERE remain the wild-beast hunts, two a day for five days,—magnificent; there is no denying it. But what pleasure can it possibly be to a man of culture when either a puny human being is mangled by a most powerful beast, or a splendid animal is transfixed with a hunting spear?”¹

Cicero may well have been describing a scene similar to one of those represented on the painted wall that surrounded the orchestra of the theatre at Corinth (Plate 8, 4) at the time it was being used as an amphitheatre. This transformation apparently took place either just before or soon after the birth of Christ.² So rapidly did the well-known penchant of the Romans for *panem et Circenses*,³ particularly for the more brutal forms of entertainment such as gladiatorial combats and *venationes* (animal-hunts), spread to the provinces that the inhabitants of the new colony that rose on the ashes of the old Greek city, named Colonia Laus Julia Corinthiensis in honor of its illustrious founder,⁴ apparently wasted little time in repairing the old Greek theatre, which had been destroyed by L. Mummius in 146 B.C.,⁵ and in adapting it for the display of such spectacles.

Cicero's remarks to his friend M. Marius, in which admiration for the magnificence of the spectacle is mingled with the realization that its brutish aspects might not appeal to the taste of a refined gentleman, are typical of the attitude of even the more enlightened Romans.⁶ Martial, Pliny and other Roman writers even outdo Cicero in their outspoken admiration for such spectacles.⁷ This attitude contrasts forcibly

¹ Cicero, *Ad fam.*, VII, 1, 3 (Trs. by W. G. Williams, Loeb Class. Lib., *Letters to His Friends*, II, p. 7).

² See T. L. Shear, *A.J.A.*, XXIX, 1925, pp. 381-391 and XXX, 1926, pp. 449-463; also R. Stillwell, *A.J.A.*, XXXIII, 1929, pp. 77-97, especially p. 96. Cf. Bieber, *The History of the Greek and Roman Theater* (Princeton, 1939), p. 426.

³ Juvenal, 10, 81.

⁴ The new colony was founded at the order of Julius Caesar in 44 B.C. See H. N. Fowler in *Corinth*, I (Cambridge, 1932), pp. 15, 16; cf. Broneer, *Hesperia*, X, 1941, pp. 388 ff.

⁵ See Vitruvius, *De architectura*, V, 5, 8, who also imparts the interesting information that Mummius brought to Rome the bronze vessels from the Corinthian theatre which were used for acoustical purposes.

⁶ In another passage Cicero (*Tusc.*, II, xvii, 41) says that a gladiatorial show, particularly one in which criminals cross swords, is the finest “schooling against pain and death, at any rate for the eye.” (Trs. by J. E. King, Loeb Class. Lib., *Tusculum Disputations*, p. 193).

⁷ See Martial, V, 65 and Pliny, *Ep.*, VI, 34 and *Paneg.*, 33, 1. Only Seneca (*Epist.*, 7, 3 ff.)

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with the repugnance expressed by the more cultured Greeks who, particularly among the educated classes, are almost unanimous in their condemnation of gladiatorial combats. Plutarch, for instance, somewhat wishfully recommends that governors of towns either abolish such combats altogether or, if that is not possible, at least limit or hinder the popular demand for them.⁸ In similar vein Lucian deplors gladiatorial contests as being not only bestial and cruel but also unprofitable since brave men are killed who could be better employed against the enemy.⁹ Evidently wild beast shows, the *ludi bestiarum*, were introduced into Greece with less opposition since the Greeks were already accustomed to bull-baiting, a sport at which the Thracians were particularly adept. Thus Dio Chrysostomus, apparently realizing that spectacles consisting only of jugglers, actors and athletes would not long satisfy the populace, accustomed as it was to stronger fare, advocates that one wishing to curry favor with the mob "must get a wild lion or a hundred bulls, or even . . . the unspeakable thing" (gladiators).¹⁰

Corinth, probably because of its non-Greek population,¹¹ apparently became the center of these brutish spectacles in Roman Greece. Dio of Prusa, for instance, reproves the Athenians for having so zealously emulated and even surpassed the Corinthians in their mad infatuation for gladiatorial shows that they even introduced such spectacles into the sacred precincts of the theatre of Dionysus itself.¹² Dio evidently did not realize that the theatre at Corinth had been used for *ludi bestiarum* and presumably also for gladiatorial spectacles long before the Athenians so defiled their theatre, for, while condemning the Athenians for this irreligious practice, he speaks of the Corinthians watching "these combats outside the city in a glen, a place that is able to hold a crowd but otherwise is dirty and such that no one would even bury there any free-born citizen."¹³ Since this description does not fit the existing amphitheatre, which not only lies within the city walls but is on an almost level field, he may be referring to a period when the Corinthians, having no suitable place for spectacles, made use of the stadium on the Isthmus for such contests.¹⁴ This would coincide with the interval after the theatre reverted to its original use but before the amphitheatre was built. Since Dio died in 120 A.D. this suggests that the theatre's use as an arena

apparently really objects to the brutality of such spectacles. For other references and a summary of the Roman attitude see Friedlaender, *Sittengeschichte Roms* (Leipzig, 1920), II, pp. 416 ff.

⁸ *Praec. ger. reip.*, 30.

⁹ *Anachars.*, 37. For other comments by Greek writers see Friedlaender, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 433, 434.

¹⁰ *Or.*, 69, 9 (II, 163 Arn.). The translation is that of Freese and Magnus, *Roman Life and Manners under the Early Empire* (trs. of Friedlaender's *Sittengeschichte Roms*), II, p. 85.

¹¹ Corinth's inhabitants were at first entirely or largely freedmen sent from Italy. Greeks and Orientals (especially Jews) soon were added. See Fowler in *Corinth*, I, p. 16.

¹² *Or.*, XXXI, 121. Cf. Philostr., *Apoll.*, *Tyan.*, IV, 22, who makes a similar reference to the Athenians outdoing the Corinthians in their passion to witness human slaughter.

¹³ The translation is that of Cohoon (Loeb Class. Lib., *Dio Chrys.*, III, pp. 125 ff.).

¹⁴ Cf. Fowler in *Corinth*, I, p. 91, note 2.

was discontinued near the turn of the second century, a date suggested by Stillwell.¹⁵ The amphitheatre appears to have been constructed in the third century.¹⁶

When the theatre at Corinth was transformed into an amphitheatre the orchestra was enlarged by the removal of the ten lowest rows of seats so that it might serve as an arena.¹⁷ After the rock had been quarried to the level of the orchestra a natural wall of living rock was left to a height of about a meter and a half to the south and east (Plate 8, 2). This wall was completed to a height of a little more than 3 m. by a wall of large poros blocks, crowned by a cornice of projecting coping blocks to which was probably added an iron grating as protection against the beasts.¹⁸ The whole wall, which was stuccoed and frescoed, was then carried around in a curve to meet the stage wall. The arena wall is pierced on the south by three openings, each about 1 m. wide and opening into circular chambers cut out of the living rock as shown on the plan (Plate 8, 3). The central chamber, which is directly opposite the center of the stage, has a stairway leading westward into the cavea.¹⁹ The other chambers, each 17 m. distant from the central opening, have no direct access to the cavea. All three chambers are contemporary with the paintings on the wall since the outer borders of the frieze make a vertical terminus in each instance.²⁰ A fourth chamber, somewhat larger than the others, may have been placed directly in front of the stage.²¹

The purpose of these chambers was somewhat mystifying to the excavators since their dimensions, approximately 1 m. by 3, seem too small to have served even as temporary enclosures for the beasts. This use has been suggested for the "dens" of the amphitheatre at Pompeii which occupy somewhat similar positions although set back further from the arena.²² Stillwell is correct, in my opinion, in calling them refuges for the gladiators.²³ Such an interpretation, originally suggested by the author,

¹⁵ *A.J.A.*, XXXIII, 1929, p. 97.

¹⁶ See F. J. de Waele, *Theater en Amphitheater Te Oud Korinthe* (Nijmegen-Utrecht, 1928), pp. 25-31; cf. Fowler, *op. cit.*, p. 90, note 1.

¹⁷ The following description follows the preliminary reports of Shear and Stillwell cited in note 2.

¹⁸ Some of these coping blocks were discovered by Heermance in 1903; their color was still well preserved in 1925 (see Shear, *A.J.A.*, XXIX, 1925, p. 386). For a restoration of this cornice see Stillwell, *A.J.A.*, XXXIII, 1929, fig. 8 on p. 95. Traces of iron were found between the joints of the coping blocks in the corresponding wall of the amphitheatre at Pompeii (Mau-Kelsey, *Pompeii*, 1899, p. 208) showing the use of such a grating. Since leopards can leap a height of 13 ft. (cf. G. Jennison, *Animals for Show and Pleasure in Ancient Rome*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1937, pp. 155, 156) some such protection would be necessary.

¹⁹ This chamber, which is illustrated by Shear (*A.J.A.*, XXIX, 1925, fig. 5 on p. 386), is made largely of poured cement.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, fig. 3 on p. 384; Shear, *A.J.A.*, XXX, 1926, p. 452.

²¹ See Stillwell, *loc. cit.*, p. 82 and fig. 2 on p. 81.

²² Mau (Mau-Kelsey, *Pompeii*, pp. 209 ff., fig. 93), believes that they were more likely used as storerooms. Both suggestions were canvassed by Dr. Shear for the Corinth chambers (*A.J.A.*, XXIX, 1925, p. 386).

²³ *Loc. cit.*, pp. 82, 95, 96.

can be convincingly demonstrated by comparing them to the refuges depicted on the official ivory diptychs of the fifth and sixth centuries. These diptychs, which were issued in great numbers by the consul when he assumed office, frequently represent scenes from the arena on the lower portion of each leaf that bear a remarkable resemblance to those on the painted wall at Corinth. Two such refuges are shown on the detail from a diptych of Anastasius, consul of Constantinople in 517 A.D., illustrated here (Plate 9, 1).²⁴ Each refuge, made in this instance of masonry or brick, is provided with a strong door and a handle of rope spliced on two rings.²⁵ The doors stand ajar and each is guarded by a doorkeeper who stands inside the refuge ready to let the hard-pressed performer pass within and to slam the door in the face of the raging animals in hot pursuit of their tormentors. Other diptychs show as many as four refuges.²⁶ No evidence for doors was found at the theatre at Corinth but they may have disappeared during subsequent alterations.

The frescoes of the poros wall at Corinth, which were nowhere preserved to a height of more than 2 m., about two-thirds of their original height, have now completely disappeared. Fortunately the paintings themselves have been perpetuated through the superb water-color copies executed on the spot by Nora Jenkins Shear.²⁷ Since they will be published eventually in the final publication of the theatre, I shall omit any detailed description but shall instead single out particular scenes which present interesting parallels with *venationes* found in other media, in particular on the ivories and mosaics. One interesting feature of the Corinth paintings is that, unlike the frescoes on the arena wall in the amphitheatre at Pompeii now known to us only from copies in the museum at Naples which depict scenes of preparation for gladiatorial combats,²⁸ they present actual episodes from the arena.

One of the scenes which was not illustrated in the preliminary reports is of interest because it throws some light on the arrangements of the arena. It followed immediately the scene directly east of the central refuge (Plate 8, 2) which showed an official or *bestiarius*, clad in a long purple garment and wearing high red boots, and engaged in combat with a charging lion.²⁹ Two *bestiarii* stand beside a large structure

²⁴ R. Delbrueck, *Die Consular-Diptychen* (Berlin-Leipzig, 1929), no. 20; E. Capps, Jr., "The Style of the Consular Diptychs," *Art Bull.*, X, 1927, pp. 61-101, fig. 7.

²⁵ See Delbrueck, *loc. cit.* and pp. 75 ff.; cf. Jennison, *Animals in Ancient Rome*, p. 180.

²⁶ Delbrueck, *op. cit.*, nos. 9, 10, and 58.

²⁷ Some of these water-color copies are reproduced in Shear's preliminary reports. See *A.J.A.*, XXIX, 1925, figs. 3 and 4 on pp. 384, 385, and XXX, 1926, figs. 6 and 7, pp. 451, 452.

²⁸ Mau-Kelsey, *Pompeii*, pp. 207, 208, fig. 92.

²⁹ *A.J.A.*, XXIX, 1925, pp. 384, 385, figs. 3 and 4. Because of the ornamental costume and the red boots Shear identified the chief figure as an official or magistrate thus paralleling the director of the games pictured on the Pompeian fresco, who, however, does not take part in the contest. In this connection it is interesting to note that the hunters who are portrayed on a mosaic floor from Yakto (Daphne) near Antioch and are given the names of classical heroes (Narcissus, Tiresias, Actaeon, Hippolytus, Meleager and Adonis) wear varicolored tunics, decorated mantles

consisting of a frame and broad bars and evidently intended to represent a cage used to confine the beasts before they were released to be tormented and slain. Since there was no sign of an animal within the cage it may have contained one of the fighting lions. The appearance of such a cage on the painted wall suggests that the wild beasts used in the *venationes* were brought directly into the arena in cages and were not even temporarily confined in "dens." This would leave the "refuges" for the human participants in the show as previously suggested. This hypothesis is strengthened by a passage in Apuleius which refers specifically to a spectacle held at the theatre at Corinth.⁸⁰ After telling of the excitement caused by the arrival of the hero (the author who has been transformed into an ass) in Corinth with his master and of certain amorous exploits the narrative continues: "at length they obtained for money an evil woman, which was condemned to be eaten of wild beasts, with whom I should be set in a cage before the people."⁸¹ In another passage Apuleius also informs us that cages could be obtained cheap even in the small village of Plataea.⁸²

Immediately to the left of the eastern refuge is a particularly well-preserved painting (Plate 8, 2 and 4).⁸³ A bull, richly caparisoned for the spectacle, with a fillet round the neck, a broad green band about the body and red discs on his side, is about to be transfixed on the point of a long spear held by a crouching *bestiarius* who supports the blunt end in the sand of the arena with his right foot. Since the *bestiarius* is in a crouched position, with the left knee bent and the right practically touching the ground, his whole figure was preserved save for the upper half of the head. He wears a short white garment decorated with leather straps and is assisted by another hunter who wears sandals with white straps and has white bands around his legs. The bull, his forelegs in the air and his red tongue hanging from his mouth, presents a magnificent spectacle. His adornment recalls the splendor with which animals were arrayed, as if for sacrifice, when sent into the arena. Seneca, for instance, speaks of lions with gilded manes whose spirit has been broken by weariness and thus give less pleasure to the spectator than the wild lion.⁸⁴ Two hundred wild bulls with gilded horns and

and high boots with red laces. See Jean Lassus, "La mosaïque de Yakto," *Antioch on the Orontes*, I (Princeton, 1934), pp. 114-126, figs. 1-9. The hunters of the great "hunting floor" mosaic from Antioch, now in Worcester, also wear fancy boots; some are red, outlined with black and with red laces; others are violet or black (See *Antioch*, III, no. 90, pp. 200-202).

⁸⁰ *Metam.*, X, 19-23.

⁸¹ Trs. by Adlington-Gaselee (Loeb Class. Lib., *The Golden Ass*, p. 513). This passage suggests that the Corinthian theatre was used for the execution of criminals. Cf. Ammianus Marcellinus (XXVIII, 1, 10), who tells of a beast being forced out of his wooden cage that he may devour a criminal bound to a stake. See Jennison, *Animals in Ancient Rome*, pp. 168 ff.

⁸² *Metam.*, IV, 13 ff.

⁸³ See Shear, *A.J.A.*, XXX, 1926, p. 452 and fig. 6 on p. 451 (where Nora Jenkins Shear's water-color copy is reproduced; my Plate 8, 4 is an actual photograph of the fresco).

⁸⁴ *Epp.*, 41, 6.

broad coverlets of colored silk on their backs were said to have taken part in the celebration of the *Decennalia* of 263.³⁵

Although the spear is the favorite weapon for slaying wild beasts both in *venationes* and in actual hunts, judging by extant representations, I know of only one instance in which a bull is thus transfixed. This is the Borghese mosaic in Rome where a bull, richly decorated on front and back with gold bands, meets his death in this fashion.³⁶ Lions, leopards, wild boars and tigers are transfixed by spears on the mosaic from Yakto previously mentioned and on other mosaics from Antioch and vicinity.³⁷ One of these, now in Dumbarton Oaks, presents a combat quite analogous to the Corinth painting.³⁸ Two hunters meet the charge of a tiger and boar respectively on their outstretched spears; the former, although in a reversed position (facing left), crouches with one knee almost on the ground as in the Corinth painting. The motif of hunter or *bestiarius* spearing his animal opponent occurs frequently on the consular diptychs as well as on a group of ivory pyxides representing hunting scenes.³⁹ The example chosen for illustration (Pl. 9, 2) is a pyxis in the British Museum, formerly in the Fuller collection.⁴⁰ A hunter, nude save for his chlamys and boots, meets the charge of an enraged wild boar on his leveled spear while a companion drives his spear into the back of the animal. This illustrates the two positions in which the spear is usually held in such combats, either parallel to the ground or sloping downward. I know of no parallel for the method employed by the Corinthian *bestiarius*.

Between the preceding scene and the point where the painted wall is cut by the East parados is the last scene to be discussed. In spite of its fragmentary condition it is of peculiar interest. An acrobat, by means of a long pole with its sharpened end thrust into the sand, has hurled himself over the back of a charging leopard.⁴¹ Both man and beast are represented in the air with the acrobat landing on his feet behind the beast, "his legs held closely together in good athletic form."⁴² The leopard is painted a tawny color and is heavily spotted; the acrobat has the red flesh used throughout and wears the familiar bands below the knees. This obviously represents the use of the *contomonobolon* or jumping pole which was one of the five games

³⁵ *Hist. aug.*, Gallieni, 8, 2 ff.; cf. Friedlaender, *Sittengeschichte Roms*, II, 405, 406.

³⁶ G. Lafaye in Daremberg-Saglio, *s. v.* "Venatio," 703, 704, fig. 7374.

³⁷ *Antioch*, I, pp. 144 ff., figs. 1-9. See *supra*, note 29.

³⁸ *Ibidem*, III, no. 112, pl. 51.

³⁹ For the diptychs see Delbrueck, *Die Consular-Diptychen*, nos. 9, 37, 57, 58 and 60. The pyxides include examples at Sens (Rohault de Fleury, *La Messe*, V, p. 68, fig.); Florence (*ibid.*, p. 62, fig.); and London (Dalton, in *Ant. J.*, III, 1923, pp. 215 ff., pls.). For a discussion of the whole group of pyxides with pagan subjects including the Sens and Florence examples see H. Graeven in *Mon. Piot*, VI, 1899, pp. 159 ff.

⁴⁰ Dalton, *loc. cit.* The pose of hunter and boar almost exactly duplicates the same scene on the Dumbarton Oaks mosaic (note 38).

⁴¹ Shear, *A.J.A.*, XXX, 1926, pp. 452, 453 and fig. 7.

⁴² *Ibid.*

regulated by Justinian.⁴³ Exactly the same feat is shown on our diptych of 517 (Plate 9, 1) where an acrobat is about to vault over the back of a charging bear. It also occurs on a leaf of a diptych of Areobindus (506) in Leningrad.⁴⁴ The youth standing on his hands on the badly damaged fresco immediately west of the central passageway may have represented a similar acrobatic exploit.⁴⁵

The appearance of such exhibitions of skill and agility on the painted *venatio* of the Corinthian theatre suggest that the actual spectacles that took place in the arena may not altogether have been the brutal type of exhibition so deplored by Lucian. Perhaps the Corinthians, sated by too much bloodshed, at times enjoyed a spectacle in which the human performer might escape death by his skill and agility, and by the refuges provided for his safety. The animals may not have fared as well. In any case spectators at the theatre in Corinth had the opportunity of enjoying a double treat. For they could observe both the actual performance in the arena and also, if their seats were happily situated, the painted *venatio* behind the performers.

EDWARD CAPPS, JR.

OBERLIN COLLEGE

⁴³ *Cod.* III, 43, 3.

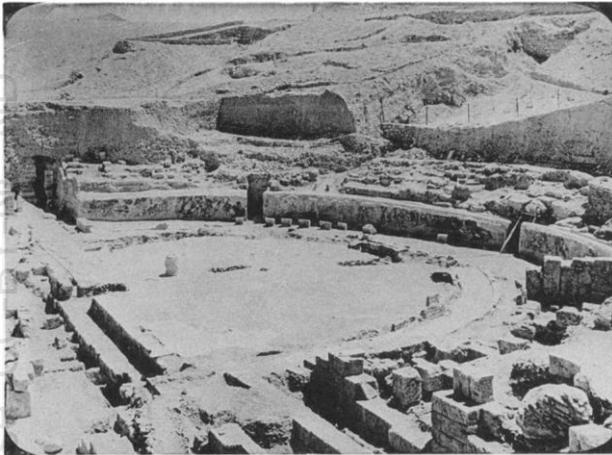
⁴⁴ Delbruck, *op. cit.*, no. 12. See Daremberg-Saglio, *s. v.* "Contomonobolon," who illustrate a medallion with the same scene.

⁴⁵ *A.J.A.*, XXX, 1926, p. 453; *idem*, XXIX, fig. 4 on p. 385.

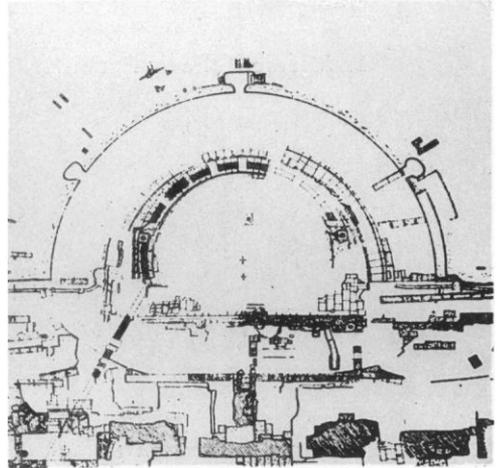


1. Jasper Pendant
(Courtesy of the Brummer Gallery)

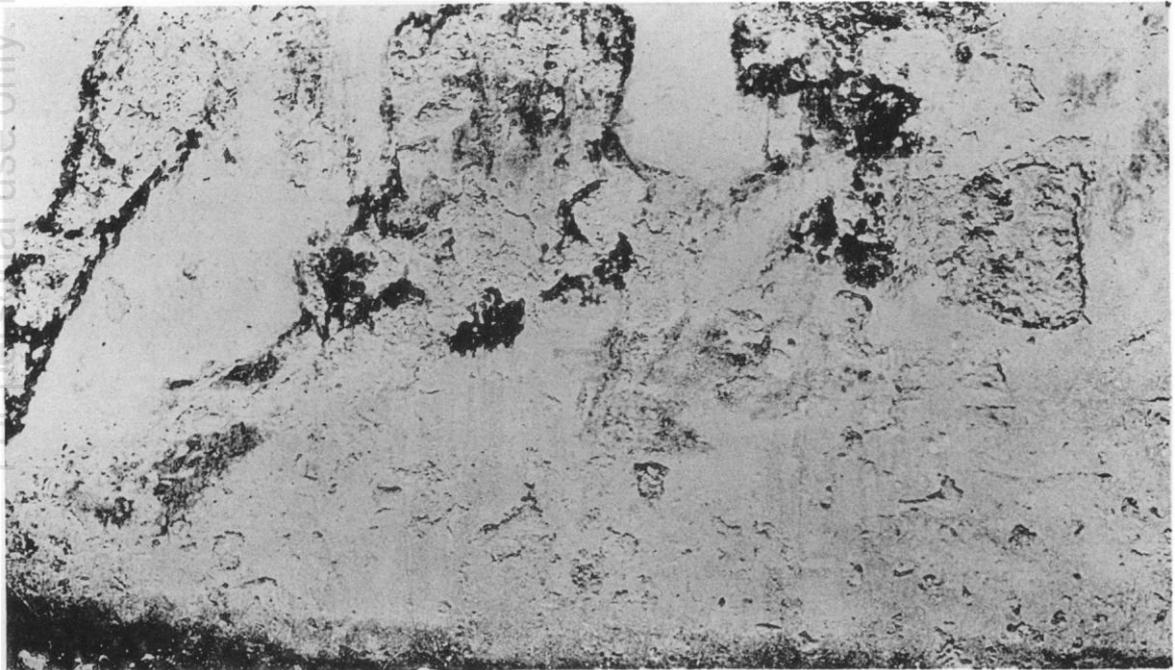
CAMPBELL BONNER: AN AMULET OF THE OPHITE Gnostics



2. View of Theatre, Looking Southeast



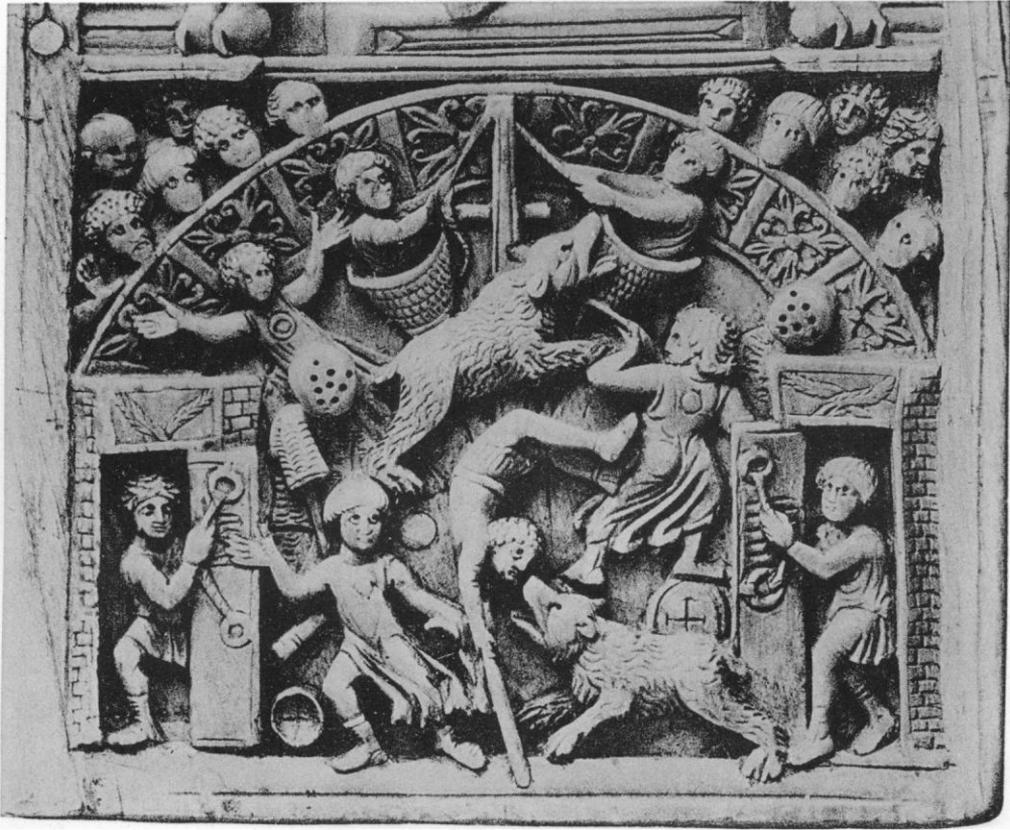
3. Plan of Theatre



4. Painting from Arena Wall

E. CAPPS, JR.: PAINTED VENATIO OF THEATRE AT CORINTH

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1. Detail of Diptych of Consul Anastasius, Berlin, Antiquarium



2. London, British Museum, Ivory Pyxis



The Ostia Altar and the East Pediment of the Parthenon

Author(s): Rhys Carpenter

Reviewed work(s):

Source: *Hesperia Supplements*, Vol. 8, Commemorative Studies in Honor of Theodore Leslie Shear (1949), pp. 71-74+446

Published by: [The American School of Classical Studies at Athens](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1353884>

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THE OSTIA ALTAR AND THE EAST PEDIMENT OF THE PARTHENON

(PLATE 10)

A ROUND altar with a series of figures in relief representing the Twelve Gods was discovered at Ostia in 1939 or 1940 and excellently published by Giovanni Becatti in the first volume of the new series of the *Annuario*.¹ Although not of the same technique in its execution, it belongs to the same general class as the famous Madrid *puteal*, itself also originally an altar from a Greco-Roman workshop. As such—and especially because the same type of Zeus Enthroned appears on both monuments—it cannot fail to be of interest for any information it may yield on the monumental sources from which Late Greek commercial art drew its themes. The figures on the Madrid *puteal* have long been connected with the east pediment of the Parthenon: for its three chief figures ever since R. von Schneider's monograph, *Die Geburt der Athena*; for all seven of its figures in an article published in the *American Journal of Archaeology* for 1925 and subsequently reworked and expanded for a longer article in the second volume of *Hesperia*.² Had the new altar from Ostia by any chance an identical source of inspiration?

The author of the *Annuario* article rejects such a suggestion and proposes a very different source. He believes that eleven out of the twelve figures of the Ostia altar were copied directly from the series of twelve statues of the gods which, according to the slightly hesitant testimony of Pausanias I, 40, 3, were made by Praxiteles and exhibited in the old temple near Theagenes' Fountain in Megara. If this thesis could be established, it would be of paramount importance for our knowledge of Praxiteles, since we should have gained in one stroke vital critical information on eleven hitherto unidentified statues by the master.

Since it partakes of the logical nature of a universal affirmative statement, such a thesis is as vulnerable as it is courageous, since a single exception would tend to invalidate it and any considerable number of exceptions would destroy its probability almost completely. The altar's substitution of the Throned Zeus from the Parthenon's east pediment (which Becatti grants without debate) for the Zeus which Praxiteles must have devised for his series of Twelve Gods at Megara thus constitutes a serious initial obstacle. However, its damaging negative evidence would have to be set aside if, with Becatti, we found that all the other figures were uniformly Praxitelean in period and style. Unfortunately, it seems to me to be entirely certain that they are not.

Let us briefly call in review some of the gods on the Ostia altar:

The Hermes (Pl. 10, 1, right) has the swaying straddle pose without pronounced curve and countercurve in the vertical axis, the elongated limbs, the rippling muscles

¹ *Annuario della R. Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente*: nuova serie, 1939-1940, Volume I-II, Rome, 1942, pp. 85-137.

² *A.J.A.*, XXIX, 1925, pp. 117-134; *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 1-88.

without emphatic contours, the small round head, the face tending to be as wide as it is high, all of which have been pretty generally accepted as Lysippan characteristics (cf. the Vatican Apoxyomenos, the Delphi Agias, the Lansdowne Herakles, and the Berlin youth, Blümel, *Katalog*, V, K 233 on pl. 45).

The charming Hephaistos (Plate 10, 1, center) so skilfully described and identified by Becatti, a veritable Alcibiades with elegant gait and slender walking-stick, balances himself in the best late fifth-century Attic tradition and has the large eyes and round face with heavy hair almost encircling it which marks the *παῖς καλός* of that period rather than the Praxitelean norm and which is occasionally to be seen on coins of the end of the fifth century from Sicily, Thrace, and elsewhere. We must agree that he is an altogether delightful figure; but it would be difficult to make him Praxitelean, for the drapery folds are systematic and continuous and the torso is laid out in simple divisions within strongly grooved outlines.

The Ares (Plate 10, 1, left) recalls at first glance the Hermes of Andros; and no one can quarrel with Becatti for making the comparison. Yet the figure distributes its weight with too chiasmic a balance and in all its detail too closely echoes the Polykleitan Doryphoros³ to be put into Praxitelean company.

The Aphrodite (Plate 10, 2, right), for all that one can see of her, may perfectly well be Praxitelean “nel pieno gusto del IV secolo”; but the Poseidon standing next to her (Plate 10, 2, center) all but steps out of the Parthenon frieze.⁴ He carries his weight with little distinction between weight-leg and free-leg in an incompletely “Polykleitanized” ponderation, and his drapery is functionally formalized. How different all this is from the next figure, which Becatti identifies as Demeter (Plate 10, 2, left), with its swaying balance and tilted head, its interrupted flow of drapery lines, which belong so fitly with the oval face and smaller mouth and the whole rhythmic expression of grace and *χάρις*, for which Praxiteles is so generally (and no doubt, correctly) considered responsible!

In our analysis only two out of six figures have proved themselves Praxitelean. If such a finding is as correct as we think, there is very little chance that any of the Praxitelean Twelve Gods of Megara are represented; for the Megara series does not seem to have been a famous creation of the master (Pausanias is the only ancient writer to mention them and he is not quite sure of the attribution) and there is no discoverable reason why a scattering of two or three figures from such a source should have found its way into the repertoire of a late Attic sculptor. Regretfully, we shall have to look for a less interesting and more commonplace solution than that so eloquently argued by Becatti and recognize the Ostia altar for a less consistent pastiche from various sources and various periods.

³ This cannot be seen very clearly in our illustration, but is immediately apparent in the detail frontal photograph in the *Annuario* (fig. 16 on p. 103). My comments on the various figures are based on the individual detail pictures in that publication.

⁴ Cf. the isolated figure standing at the north corner of the west frieze (I, 1) and the stance of the boy holding the horse, West V, 9.

It is therefore permissible to ask whether, in view of the fact that the Zeus of the Parthenon's east pediment has been utilized, some of the other figures on the Ostia altar may not have been taken from this same easily available source.

The Hera (Plate 10, 3, right), standing in front of the Enthroned Zeus, is precisely the figure which was predicated for a similar position behind Poseidon in the right wing of the pediment.⁵ The Poseidon of the Ostia altar (Plate 10, 2, center) is almost exactly the Poseidon of the Chalkidike relief,⁶ in which I had believed that I had detected the type of the Poseidon in the pediment. The Athena behind Zeus' throne on the Ostia altar (Plate 10, 3, left) is the Second Fate of the Madrid *puteal*, appropriately equipped with aegis, helmet, and spear for her new duties (the running goddess of the pediment and *puteal* being inappropriate in a static assembly of the gods). And finally, the Hestia (Plate 10, 4, left) is an equally clear adaptation from the seated Klotho of the *puteal*, whom I had assigned in the pediment to the location where the floor-marks demand such a theme. This placed her precisely as on the Ostia altar, fourth on the left behind the enthroned Zeus, beyond three standing figures. The sudden intrusion of a seated pose at this spot makes no compositional sense for the altar frieze, whereas in the pediment it was the exigencies of space beneath a rising gable that induced the sculptor to employ it for this position. There could scarcely be more striking internal evidence for a connection between altar and pediment, or more specific clue that the Fates of the Madrid *puteal* belong together with the other figures of its relief.

In adapting Klotho of the pediment to become Hestia of the altar, the little altar-throne on which the figure perches is a rather obvious intrusion from the late artist's own invention, to which should also be due the substitution of the appropriate veil for the inappropriate spindle. Becatti persuasively compares the Hestia with the seated woman on the Lysistrata stele in Berlin.⁷ The attitude, with one hand in the lap holding an end of drapery while the other spreads the veil, is identical; but the drapery forms are not. On the stele they are broken, nervous, and episodic, according to developed fourth-century usage; on the altar they are long-flowing, formal, and systematized in the fifth-century manner. The pose was, after all, a commonplace and proves nothing for the period of composition. It may be found (in reverse) on the grave stele in Athens reproduced as plate XXV of Conze's monumental *Attische Grabreliefs*, which the ornament on the headband assigns to the fifth century; and it is already employed for Mynno the Spinner on the Berlin stele⁸ which must also date from the fifth century, but shows drapery forms a little later than the Hestia type of the Ostia altar.

⁵ *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 74-78.

⁶ *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 77, fig. 28.

⁷ Blümel, *Katalog der griechischen Skulpturen des V u. IV Jhds.* (Vol. III of the general sculpture catalog of the Staatliche Museen), K35 on pl. 45.

⁸ Blümel, *op. cit.*, K23 on plate 33.

On the other hand, the citharode Apollo on the Ostia altar (Plate 10, 4, center) has nothing whatever to do with the seated Apollo of the pediment; and his sister Artemis beside him (Plate 10, 4, right) certainly resembles the Dresden Artemis very closely and has every right to be as Praxitelean as Becatti claims. She likewise has no counterpart on the Parthenon. And we have already seen that the Aphrodite, Demeter, and Hermes on the Ostia altar are fourth century in style, while the Hephaistos is not taken from the pediment (even though his inspiration need not be many decades later than the Parthenon), and the Ares is little more than a Polykleitan Doryphoros.

Is it probable that only five out of the twelve figures on the Ostia altar should have been borrowed from the east pediment of the Parthenon, while the remaining seven types bear no resemblance to any Parthenon counterparts?

To the objection implied in such a question it should be answered that the striding Hephaistos, the running Hermes, the reclining Aphrodite⁹ and the frontally seated Demeter (F) and Artemis (K) of the pediment were in any event unsuitable for the "Sacra Conversazione" of the Ostia altar. We are not to imagine that the sculptor in making the altar seated himself with his tools and materials on the Acropolis before the east façade of Athena's temple with deliberate intent to copy figures from those above him in the pediment; but rather that reduced versions of pedimental figures had for a long time been part of a general, and probably very extensive and miscellaneous, repertoire of available material in the city workshops. A "neo-Attic" artist aspiring to make a "Dodekathion" might choose almost at random among his various "classical" (fifth and fourth century) prototypes, putting into his work whatever types and figures appealed to him for the momentary task in hand. There would thus be no compulsion to cling with archaeological insistence to one specific monumental source, though if he were working with Parthenon figures which often had been used together, he might perfectly well be led to include as many of them as could be utilized and proved suitable for his theme.

If, therefore, five out of twelve figures on a Late Greek representation of the Twelve Gods of the Attic theology, such as the Ostia altar, chance to agree—completely in sculptural type, in a majority of cases in iconographical identity, and in one critical instance even in compositional location—with five figures already assigned on wholly independent grounds to the Parthenon's east pediment, though it cannot be claimed for categorical proof, it is certainly most welcome confirmatory evidence that such a reconstruction was not wholly wide of the mark.¹⁰

RHYS CARPENTER

BRYN MAWR

⁹ I believe that, under the omnipotent influence of Homer (*Iliad*, E 370 f.), the reclining goddess (M) of the Elgin marbles is Aphrodite in the lap of her mother Dione (L).

¹⁰ For the four photographs of the Ostia Altar and permission to reproduce them here I am much indebted to the courtesy of the Italian Ministry of Public Instruction.

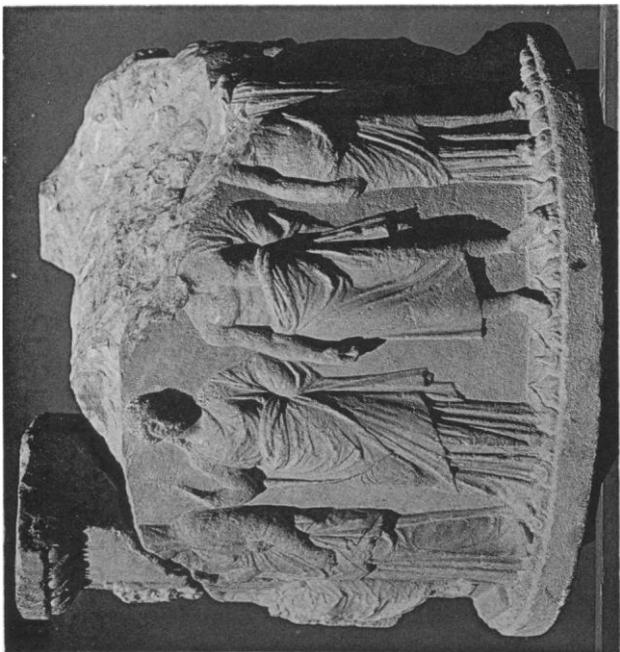
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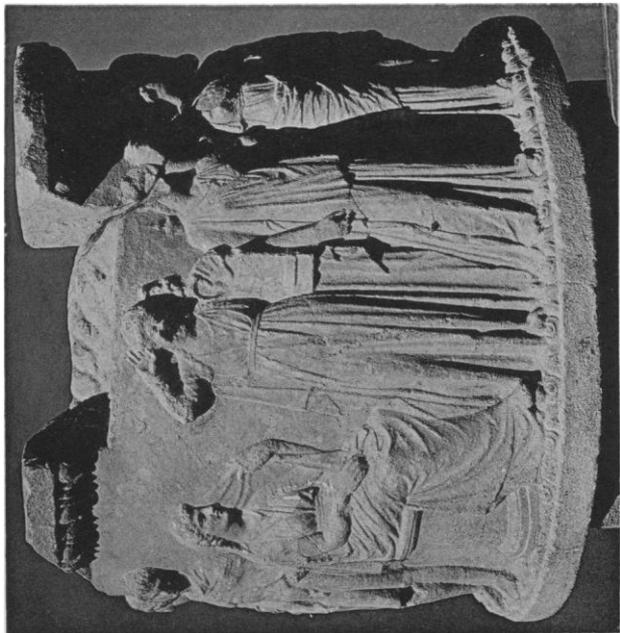
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The Bird Riddle Reexamined

Author(s): H. Lamar Crosby

Reviewed work(s):

Source: *Hesperia Supplements*, Vol. 8, Commemorative Studies in Honor of Theodore Leslie Shear (1949), pp. 75-81

Published by: [The American School of Classical Studies at Athens](#)

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THE BIRD RIDDLE REEXAMINED

66 FROM this [bird] begins the enumeration of the twenty-four members that constitute the chorus, those previously listed having been taken in excess; on the other hand, the tragic chorus has fifteen members. Counting from this point, you will find the twenty-four members of which the comic chorus is formed.”

Scholium on Aristophanes, *Birds*, 297.

This statement as to the size of the comic chorus is in harmony with all the evidence presented by ancient writers,¹ whose testimony presumably is based upon some scholarly treatise dealing with scenic antiquities, rather than upon the roster contained in *Birds*, 297-304, for the text of lines 263-304 does not of itself afford unmistakable evidence on which to discriminate between the four “previously listed” and the twenty-four whose names are given later.

Modern scholars in general have accepted without question the accuracy of this ancient testimony. The number twenty-four commends itself as admirably adapted to the evolutions of the comic chorus, and it has been suggested with some plausibility that this number is the outgrowth of the early tragic chorus of twelve, the comic chorus characteristically splitting into halves, which frequently engage in lively conflict one with the other.

The ancient tradition was first challenged by A. Willems,² who regarded the four birds who are introduced singly in *Birds*, 268-293 as being the coryphaeus and his three parastatae, the chorus of this play at least containing twenty-eight members. This interpretation appears to have received scant attention for nearly half a century. Van Leeuwen in his edition of the *Birds* (1902), in commenting on line 267, does refer to Willems, but with disapproval. No one else, it would seem, deigned to mention Willems in this connection until Professor Warren E. Blake revived the problem at the annual meeting of the American Philological Association in 1941 in a paper entitled “The Aristophanic Bird-Chorus, A Riddle.”³

Blake believes that he has found additional evidence to support Willems' thesis, which he accordingly adopts. He disposes of the seemingly explicit testimony of the scholium with which we began by dubbing it “qualified and hesitant” and has recourse to a scholium on *Knights*, 589, a portion of which runs as follows. “The comic chorus consisted of men and of women, and also of children as well, twenty-four, precisely as he (Aristophanes) counted in the *Birds*, male birds twelve and as many female. On the other hand the tragic chorus numbered fifteen, as Aeschylus (has it) in the

¹ Scholia on Arist., *Ach.*, 211 and *Eq.*, 589; *Vita Aeschlyli*; Pollux, IV, 109; Bekker, *Anec.*, p. 746, 28.

² “Notes sur les Oiseaux d'Aristophane,” *Bull. de l'Acad. Roy. de Belgique*, 3 Ser., XXXII, 1896, pp. 607 ff.

³ *A.J.P.*, LXIV, 1943, pp. 87-91.

Agamemnon. Sometimes there were semi-choruses of men and of women. In such choruses, if the chorus consisted of men and women, the men's section came to thirteen, while the women were eleven." This scholium contains statements regarding the mixed chorus which are manifestly contradictory, and a chorus consisting of thirteen males and eleven females would be at least surprising. Merry in his edition of the *Birds* stated that it is impossible to divide the chorus of that play into equal halves on the basis of sex. Blake believes that the scholiast has left us a "garbled record of an inaccurate count" of the twenty-four birds listed in lines 297-304 of the *Birds*. Making his own tabulation of them and equating grammatical gender with sex, he lists ten males and fourteen females. It should be noted that the figures would be eleven and thirteen respectively, were it not that he assumes that because *κορυδός*, which normally is masculine, is feminine in 472-476—where the poet claims to be borrowing from Aesop—it must be feminine also in 302.

This division into ten males and fourteen females is of vital importance to Blake's theory, for, observing that the four birds who precede the twenty-four all have masculine names and adding the two groups together, he obtains an augmented chorus of twenty-eight, of whom precisely half are male (masculine) and half female. In a footnote he admits that "normally the grammatical gender of the name of a bird has no correlation with the sex of the individual bird. The point is that in this play for purposes of his own Aristophanes, as will be shown, has chosen to assume this correlation."

The demonstration promised in the foregoing sentence is not clearly visible in Blake's further argument. Possibly he feels that he has supplied it in his analysis of the grouping of the twenty-four birds of lines 297-304. Taken in the order in which they are announced, they fall into four groups of six, the four groups held to represent the four ranks that make up a comic chorus and the order in which each bird is named held to indicate the position which each bird occupied in its rank. Employing that principle and noting the gender of each name, Blake represents the four ranks schematically as follows.

F	M	F	M	M	M	rank I
F	F	M	F	F	F	rank II
F	M	M	F	M	M	rank III
M	F	F	F	F	F	rank IV

At first glance there seems to be no purpose in such an ordering of the sexes, but Blake discovered that by bisecting the chorus thus arranged there would result semi-choruses consisting of five males and seven females, no matter whether the division were made horizontally or vertically. So striking a phenomenon, he argued, could not be the result of blind chance. And yet what purpose of the poet's could such an arrangement have served? Elsewhere among his extant comedies we find a mixed

chorus only in the *Lysistrata*, and in that instance the semi-choruses are exclusively either male or female, the two groups, and for obvious reasons, engaging in most lively conflict until near the end of the play. In the *Birds*, on the contrary, the chorus is united in both sentiment and purpose throughout. Nowhere in the play is there any recognition of a male or a female interest to be served or of any sex difference in the composition of the chorus. Can it be that the poet was striving for spectacular effect in thus intermingling male and female? In the absence of clear and precise information as to choric evolutions in ancient comedy, it may be venturesome to pass judgment on that point, but at least it is difficult to imagine why, for example, such an arrangement of two male birds and four female as Blake prescribes for rank I would be preferable to any other. Incidentally, it might be worth noting that ἐπιθρόπους, which Blake stations in the second place from the left in rank III and regards as masculine, might just as well be feminine so far as our information goes. On the whole, one may possibly be pardoned for wondering whether the diagram achieved by him, striking as its nature seems to be, may not after all be the result of chance, and whether in lines 302-304 both the choice of names, of which some are not found elsewhere and some may be fictitious, and also the order in which each is listed may not have been dictated by the exigencies of the verse.

But assuming for the sake of argument that the four birds who enter first were members of the chorus and should be added to the twenty-four which came later, what would result? If these four were, as both Willems and Blake assume, the coryphaeus and his three parastatae, it would seem logical to assign each to a separate rank. That would be most favorable for Blake's hypothesis, for it would now be possible to split the chorus horizontally into equal halves, each with seven males and seven females. But no matter what station within the rank be assigned to each of the four, one can no longer split the chorus perpendicularly without destroying the integrity of the individual rank. The precise sequence of the sexes, to which Blake attaches so much importance, has thus lost all significance. Our suspicion that, beyond the requirements of his verse, the poet was not greatly concerned as to his choice of bird names is thereby strengthened, and the principal argument in favor of regarding the four birds of mystery as members of the chorus falls to the ground.

If not choreutae, what were they? The propriety of accounting for their presence in the play has appealed to many scholars. Genellius suggested that they were the hoplites who were dismissed in lines 448-450. Süvern, Kock, van Leeuwen, and Rogers look upon them as mutes that provided occasion for the poet's witticisms and, having served that purpose, silently withdrew. Blaydes calls them "an advanced guard of the chorus." Zielinski admits himself perplexed, but he salves his conscience with the remark that the problem is "of the least consequence in the world." To Wieseler, Merry, Croiset, and Haigh they seem to have been musicians. Most recently Dr. Lillian B. Lawler has interpreted them as dancers.⁴ This doubtless is not a complete

⁴ "Four Dancers in the *Birds* of Aristophanes," *T.A.P.A.*, LXXIII, 1942, pp. 58-63.

list of those who have wrestled with the problem, but at least it will suffice to suggest the range of the solutions proposed. Besides, it should be of some significance that so many distinguished scholars have been willing to accept the tradition that the comic chorus consisted of twenty-four members and no more.

Among all the theories that have been advanced, that which regards the four birds as musicians appears to have the most in its favor. Let us review the evidence afforded by the text of the play.

Verse 267 contains the words *τοροτιξ̄ τοροτιξ̄*, on which the scholiast comments: *οἶμαι καὶ ταῦτα τοῦ ἔποπος ἐπικαλουμένου, οἱ δὲ ὀρνέου παριπταμένου*. The words in question manifestly represent bird cries and resemble those recorded in lines 260-262. Certain editors ascribe those three lines to Hoopoe, while others label them *ΧΟΡΟΣ ΟΡΝΙΘΩΝ*. In any event these cries presumably were produced by the flute, and because the flamingo is described immediately after line 267, it is reasonable to choose the scholiast's second alternative and to conclude that the cries just heard were produced by the flamingo with that instrument.

In verse 275, which serves to introduce the bird called Medus, occurs a phrase, said to be borrowed from Sophocles' *Tyros*, which the text reports as *ἔξεδρον χώραν ἔχων*, but Suidas and the scholiasts as *ἔξεδρον χροῶν ἔχων*. The interpretation is by no means certain, but assuming the correctness of the reading found in the text itself, it seems natural to imagine that Aristophanes means "occupying a strange location," a characteristically Aristophanic distortion of meaning for a phrase which is said to have signified in common parlance "occupying an ill-omened quarter." Certainly *χώραν* could not here mean country, for the identity of the bird is yet to be discovered. We conclude that the word refers to some special post in the theatre.

Verse 276, in which the identity of the bird Medus is the subject of inquiry, contains a parody of a passage from Aeschylus' *Edonians*:

τίς ποτ' ἔσθ' ὁ μουσόμαντις ἄτοπος ὄρνις ὀρειβάτης.

Direct quotation ends with *μουσόμαντις*, the rest of the line being the work of Aristophanes. The identity of Medus being still unknown to the speaker, *μουσόμαντις* must have reference to something visible to the eye, and Wieseler long ago took it as proof that the bird was carrying a musical instrument.⁵ The word *ἄτοπος* might conceivably be given the meaning suggested above for *ἔξεδρον χώραν ἔχων*. The epithet *ὀρειβάτης* seems to leave less room for debate. Euripides had applied it to the Cyclops (*Troades*, 436) the year preceding the performance of the *Birds*, and it would not be surprising if Aristophanes had borrowed it from that source. In this connection attention has, of course, been called to *Birds*, 836, where Euelpides says of the cock that he is "suited to dwelling upon the rocks"; but in line 276 the speaker does not yet know Medus to be a cock, if such is indeed the fact, which some scholars doubt. Why, then, the term *ὀρειβάτης*?

⁵ *Adversaria in Aeschyli Prometheus Vincitum et Aristophanis Aves*, Göttingen, 1843, pp. 50 ff.

Some light seems to be shed upon that question by line 279,

ἕτερος αὖ λόφον κατειληφώς τις ὄρνις οὔτοσί.

Because of the various meanings inherent in the word *λόφον*, scholars both ancient and modern have proposed various interpretations. One scholium takes it to mean the crest of the helmet, and that meaning has had the greatest vogue with modern critics. But another scholium reads: *ἐπί τινος λόφου καθήμενος*. That would appear to be the only acceptable interpretation in view of the verb which accompanies *λόφον*, for that verb is very common in the sense of seizing or occupying some point of vantage, while to say that our bird has seized a crest of a helmet would be most surprising in such a context.

The idea of *λόφος* dominates lines 290-293, with which the poet dismisses consideration of his four outlandish birds in order to herald the entry of the chorus proper:

- 290 *Ευ. πῶς ἂν οὖν Κλεώνυμός γ' ὦν οὐκ ἀπέβαλε τὸν λόφον;*
Πι. ἀλλὰ μέντοι τίς ποθ' ἢ λόφωσις ἢ τῶν ὀρνέων;
ἢ 'πὶ τὸν διάυλον ἦλθον; Επ. ὥσπερ οἱ Κἄρες μὲν οὖν
ἐπὶ λόφων οἰκοῦσιν ὠγάθ' ἀσφαλείας οὔνεκα.

Line 290 naturally has led to the belief that *λόφος* means crest, for it would be absurd to speak of throwing away a hillock. But absurdity is precisely the role of Euelpides, and both his comrade and Hoopoe rightly ignore the buffoonery. Line 291 has a more serious purpose. There we find the word *λόφωσις*, a word occurring nowhere else and presumably coined for this occasion. From its formation it should naturally refer to some action, and the reply of Hoopoe, that the birds “like the Carians, dwell on *λόφοι* for the sake of safety,” however jocular the allusion to the Carians, should leave no doubt that our word means hillock. Yet the scholia on the passage, as so often happens, reveal the uncertainty of ancient critics regarding the real meaning of the written word: *ὡς τῶν Καρῶν τὰ ἐχυρὰ καταλαμβάνόντων* (possibly reflecting the verb of line 279) *διὰ τὸ στρατιωτικούς εἶναι, ἢ ὅτι ἐν πέτραις ὤκουν ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας, ἢ ὅτι λόφον ἔχουσιν ἐπὶ τῶν κρανῶν*. A second scholium contains similar material, with the exception that the final alternative is lacking, an alternative quite obviously having no warrant in the text of line 293, but originating in the absurd jest of line 290, which has always been the chief obstacle in the way of a correct understanding of the whole situation.

But a final difficulty was created by the query (line 292), *ἢ 'πὶ διάυλον ἦλθον*. It so happens that *διάυλος*, “double-pipe,” signifies most commonly the foot-race in which the runners round the post at the end of the course and return to the starting-line. Although occasionally it was applied to a double channel of one sort or another, for some strange reason it seems not to have been used of the double-pipe so commonly depicted in Greek art as a musical instrument and possibly the one normally used to

accompany the drama. Yet it is worth noting that *διαύλιον* is attested by Hesychius and by a scholium on *Frogs*, 1282 to denote "an air on the flute in the interval of the choral song," and also that *διαυλέω* has been found in a papyrus to denote the rendering of such an air.

Perhaps the scholiasts who dealt with our passage may be pardoned for assuming a connection between *δίαυλος* and the well-known foot-race, but they should have known better than to suggest that such a race was run exclusively by hoplites. Undoubtedly they have been misled by the poet's word-play on *λόφος*. Suidas (*s. v. δίαυλος*) seems to differentiate very clearly between *δίαυλος* and the *ὀπλίτης δρόμος*. Pausanias (V, 8, 3) records that the former was added to the Olympic program in the 14th Olympiad (*ca.* 720 B.C.). Whether hoplites entered that event so early is not certain, but at least a fragment of a black-figured Panathenaic amphora, whose date is said to be about 550 B.C., bears the likeness of a nude male and the legend, *διαυλοδρόμο εἰμί*.⁶ In Daremberg et Saglio, *Dict. des antiq. gr. et rom.*, *s. v. cursus*, we are told that "no ancient author speaks in formal terms of a race in armor a stade in length; but we hear frequently of a *δίαυλος* in armor." A footnote offers as evidence *Birds*, 292 and the scholium thereon and also Pausanias, II, 11, 8 and X, 34, 2. Neither of the passages in Pausanias has more significance toward the interpretation of *Birds*, 292 than the scholium on that line, for the runner mentioned in the one, though said to be a native of Sicyon, is named Granianus and therefore may safely be assigned to the Roman period, and the other passage refers to a contest held in A.D. 160-164. Armed runners occur frequently on Greek vases, but with no clue as to the precise race in which they run.

Thus we are left without any reliable evidence to show that in the time of our play hoplites competed in the *δίαυλος*. At any rate, that race was not reserved for hoplites. Why, then, assuming for the sake of argument that our four birds were made conspicuous by huge crests,⁷ should their appearance have suggested the *δίαυλος*?

By this time it should be fairly obvious that the difficulty over *λόφος* and *δίαυλος*, and therefore over the correct motivation of the whole passage, owes its origin to the poet's fondness for word-play. The setting of our play is a rocky region remote from human habitation. When the two Athenians reach the home of Hoopoe, there ensues the following colloquy (lines 52-55).

Eu. There must be birds about, I'm sure of that.

Let's make a noise and we shall soon find out.

Pei. Then harkye; bang your leg against the rock.

Eu. And you, your head; and there'll be twice the noise.⁸

⁶ See E. N. Gardiner, *Athletics of the Ancient World*, p. 134.

⁷ Wieseler, *op. cit.*, p. 39, observes that the flamingo at least should have no crest.

⁸ I use the translation of B. B. Rogers.

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Earlier in the scene (lines 20-21) Euelpides, addressing the daw to whom he had trusted for guidance, exclaims,

Where are you gaping now? Do you want to lead us
Against the rocks? There's no road here, I tell you.

It is these rocks which the poet jestingly dignifies with the name *λόφοι*, and when the four strange birds file into the orchestra, as they in succession seat themselves upon one or more of the rocks, their so doing may properly be termed *λόφωσις*. If we may believe the poet, they do so for safety's sake, that is, to be out of the way of the chorus and no doubt close to the nest of Hoopoe. What their function is to be is hinted at in the pun on the word *δίαυλος*. If Aristophanes employs that term in place of the conventional *ἀυλοί*, he is not only etymologically safe but also purposely humorous, trusting to the well-known keenness of his audience to get the point that seems to have eluded critics, who of course had not the assistance of the ocular demonstration.

It seems to be commonly assumed that but one piper was provided for each play. The evidence on that point is scanty and is drawn from vase paintings and the words of ancient grammarians. If the paintings never depict more than a single piper, neither do they depict a whole chorus. The single piper would suffice to fix the setting, and the space at the artist's disposal was limited. The literary evidence is mostly late and inconclusive. Haigh finds no difficulty in believing that our play at least had four musicians.⁹ The highly lyric nature of the *Birds* may well have warranted more pipers than usual, and it may be that the special attention paid to them in the scene we have been discussing was in recognition of the fact that the poet was treating his audience to something of a novelty both with regard to the number of his pipers and in the manner of their handling. As a rule the piper arrives and departs without there being a word of warning in the text that he exists.

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⁹ *The Attic Theatre*³, pp. 270-271.



The Altar of the Twelve Gods in Athens

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Reviewed work(s):

Source: *Hesperia Supplements*, Vol. 8, Commemorative Studies in Honor of Theodore Leslie Shear (1949), pp. 82-103+447-450

Published by: [The American School of Classical Studies at Athens](#)

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THE ALTAR OF THE TWELVE GODS IN ATHENS

(PLATES 11-14)

66 **I**N OTHER respects the city [under the Peisistratids] itself enjoyed the laws before established, except in so far that the tyrants took precaution that one of their own family should always be in office. Amongst others of them who held the annual archonship at Athens was Peisistratus, a son of the Hippias who had been tyrant. He was named after his grandfather and, when he was archon, dedicated the Altar of the Twelve Gods in the Agora and that of Apollo in the Pythian precinct. The people of Athens afterwards, in extending the length of the altar in the Agora, effaced the inscription; but that on the Altar of the Pythian Apollo can still be seen in indistinct letters, reading as follows:

This memorial of his office Peisistratus son of Hippias
Set up in the precinct of Pythian Apollo.”

Thucydides, VI, liv, 6-7 (C. F. Smith's
translation in the Loeb edition)

EXPLORATION

That the Altar of the Twelve Gods in the Agora at Athens played a conspicuous part in Athenian topography and history as the central milestone from which road distances were measured and as a place of asylum for suppliants is clear from the literary tradition.¹ Yet nothing is preserved in the ancient sources from which the details of the altar or its exact location could be determined; and until recent years nothing had been found to help locate or restore it.

In 1891 short lengths of two walls were exposed in a deep trench then being dug for the southern retaining wall of the Athens-Piraeus Electric Railway. Details of these are preserved on a sketch in the files of the German Institute in Athens, here reproduced as Plate 11, 1.² No reconstruction or identification, however, was possible from the limited data then obtained.

In the spring of 1934, in the course of the American excavations of the Agora, the area immediately south of the railroad retaining wall was dug and the southwest corner of an enclosure was discovered deep below the modern, Byzantine, and Roman levels, obviously a continuation of the walls exposed in 1891. Set against its west

¹ For the Altar as a central milestone see Herodotus, II, 7; *I.G.*, II², 2640; as a place of asylum, Herodotus, VI, 108; Diodorus, XII, 39; Lycurgus, *In Leocratem*, 93. The other ancient references to the Altar of the Twelve Gods in Athens are: Thucydides, VI, liv, 6-7; Plutarch, *Nicias*, 13, *Vit. X Or.*, 847a. There are three known dedications to the Twelve Gods in Athens: *Hesperia*, V, 1936, no. 2, p. 358; *I.G.*, II², 2790 and 4564. A fourth, *I.G.*, I², 829, found on Salamis, is possibly from Athens. Other references to the Twelve Gods in Athens with possible relevance for Altar or cult are: Xenophon, *Hipparch.*, III, 2; *I.G.*, I², 310; *I.G.*, II², 30, 112, 114, and 5065.

² Zeichnung Inv. Nr. 880h.

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side a base still stands *in situ* inscribed with a dedication by Leagros son of Glaukon to the Twelve Gods. On the assumption that this was the site of the altar dedicated

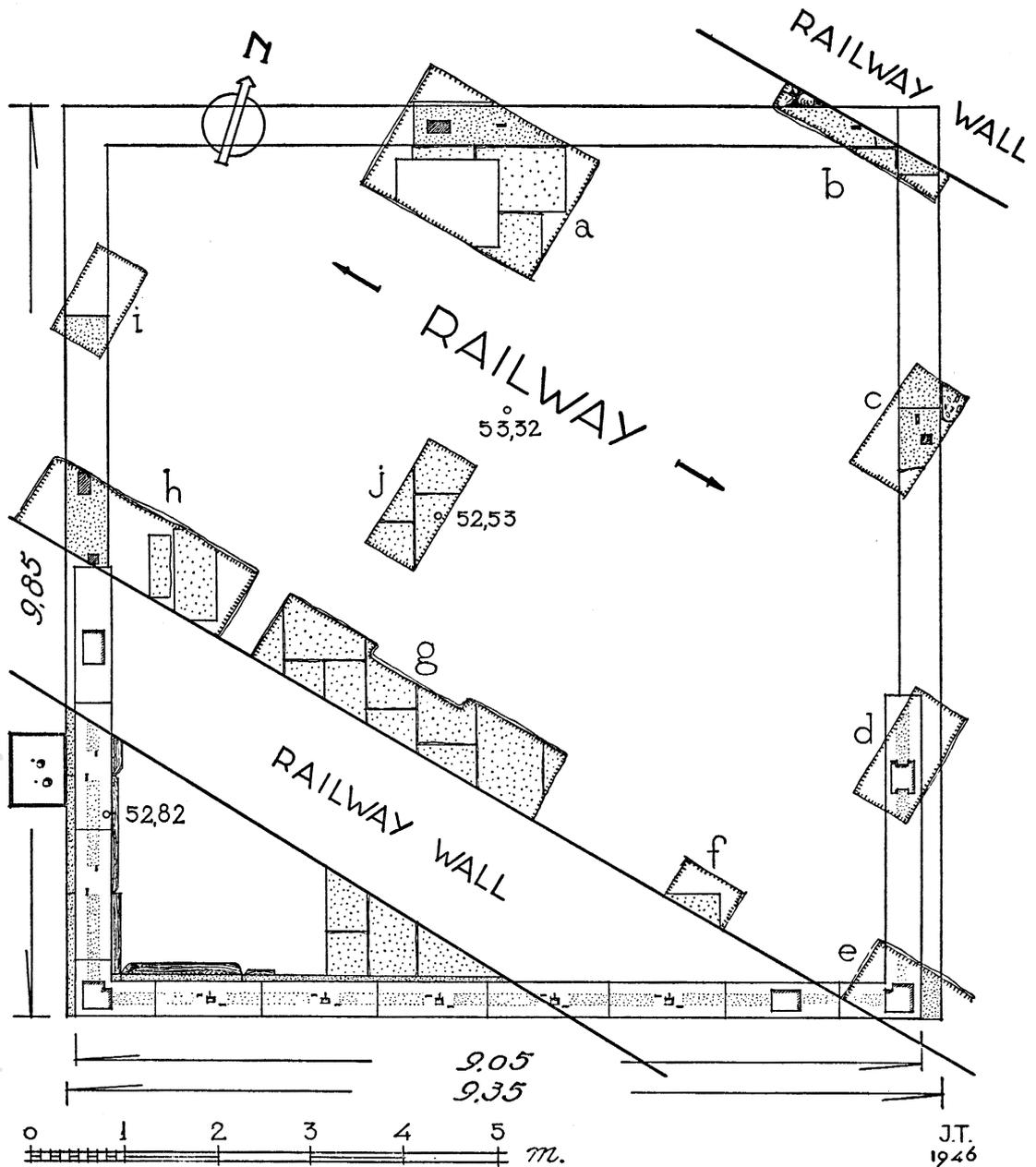


Fig. 1. Plan of Peribolos, Actual State
(The blocks of Period I and the floor slabs are stippled)

by Peisistratos the Younger, all possible exploration of the area seemed desirable. Permission was obtained from the railway company to dig pits within the right of way. Train service could not be interrupted, nor live wires deadened, so it was with considerable risk and difficulty that these pits were dug (Figure 1 and Plate 11, 2).

Two more corners of the enclosure, five points along its walls, and many paving blocks were located.

During the summer of 1946 further investigation of the enclosure and its immediate vicinity was undertaken (Plate 12, 1).³ Although the final study of this north central region of the Agora must await the removal of a considerable amount of earth left in connection with a late Roman building that overlies the area, more details of the enclosure are now available and are here reported.⁴

The successive steps in the excavation of the enclosure are clearly seen on Figure 1. Only the southwest corner is now open for study. Details of the blocks under the retaining wall are supplied from the German sketch, details of those found further north from the plan made in 1934 by Charles Spector and the notebook recordings of Homer A. Thompson.

The foundations thus uncovered are those of a parapet surrounding a rectangular area. They lie at a low level in the north central part of the Agora close to the point where the roads leading into the ancient city from east, north, and west converged⁵ (Figure 2). The Panathenaic Way passes just to the north and east as it turns up towards the Acropolis and the road through the Agora which runs in front of the west side public buildings lies some twenty meters to the west of the Altar. In the open market square to the south are the foundations of a large temple, identified as that of Ares.⁶ In orientation the enclosure with its longer axis slightly west of north is closer to the Panathenaic Way than to the street to the west.⁷

The only reference to the location of the Altar of the Twelve Gods in the ancient authors is the statement that the statue of Demosthenes stood near the *περισχοίνισμα* and the Altar of the Twelve Gods (*Vit. X Or.*, 847a). The *περισχοίνισμα* is of no topographical help, for there is no certainty about its location or nature.⁸ Pausanias, who does not mention the Altar by name, lists the statue of Demosthenes as the last

³ Three blocks of the second course were lifted in the summer of 1947.

⁴ Special thanks and acknowledgments are due to Professor Homer A. Thompson, not only for the details of the 1934 excavations, which he supervised, but more especially for the constant help and many suggestions made in the preparation of this paper. The plans are by John Travlos to whom credit and thanks are due for much of the reconstruction. The photographs, except Pl. 11, 2, are by Alison Frantz.

⁵ See the plan of the Agora in the second century A.D., Figure 1, p. 386 of this volume. Note that the most probable line of the earlier walls of Athens postulates a gate close to this point. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*², plate IV, and p. 123, note 4.

⁶ *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 43-52.

⁷ A line of Hellenistic monument bases east of the Odeion suggests that the Panathenaic Way may originally have been more nearly parallel to the east side of the peribolos.

⁸ See Judeich, *Topographie*², p. 351, note 1, for a list of the references to *περισχοίνισμα* and *περισχοινίζειν*. Assuming that the *περισχοίνισμα*, mentioned in connection with the Altar in the *Life of Demosthenes*, was a permanent "roped off place"—not to be identified with the "roping off" used at some religious festivals and for some types of voting—Schömann suggested (*Griechische Altertümer*⁴, 1902, 2, p. 200, followed by Domaszewski, *Sitzungsberichte Heidelberger Akad.*, phil.-hist. Klasse, V, 1914, Abh. 10, pp. 4-5) that it was the enclosure around the Altar of the

of the series seen after the Eponymous Heroes and near the Temple of Ares (I, 8, 2-4). The topographical requirements for the Altar seem perfectly filled by the site of our enclosure, lying as it does some twenty meters north of the Temple of Ares

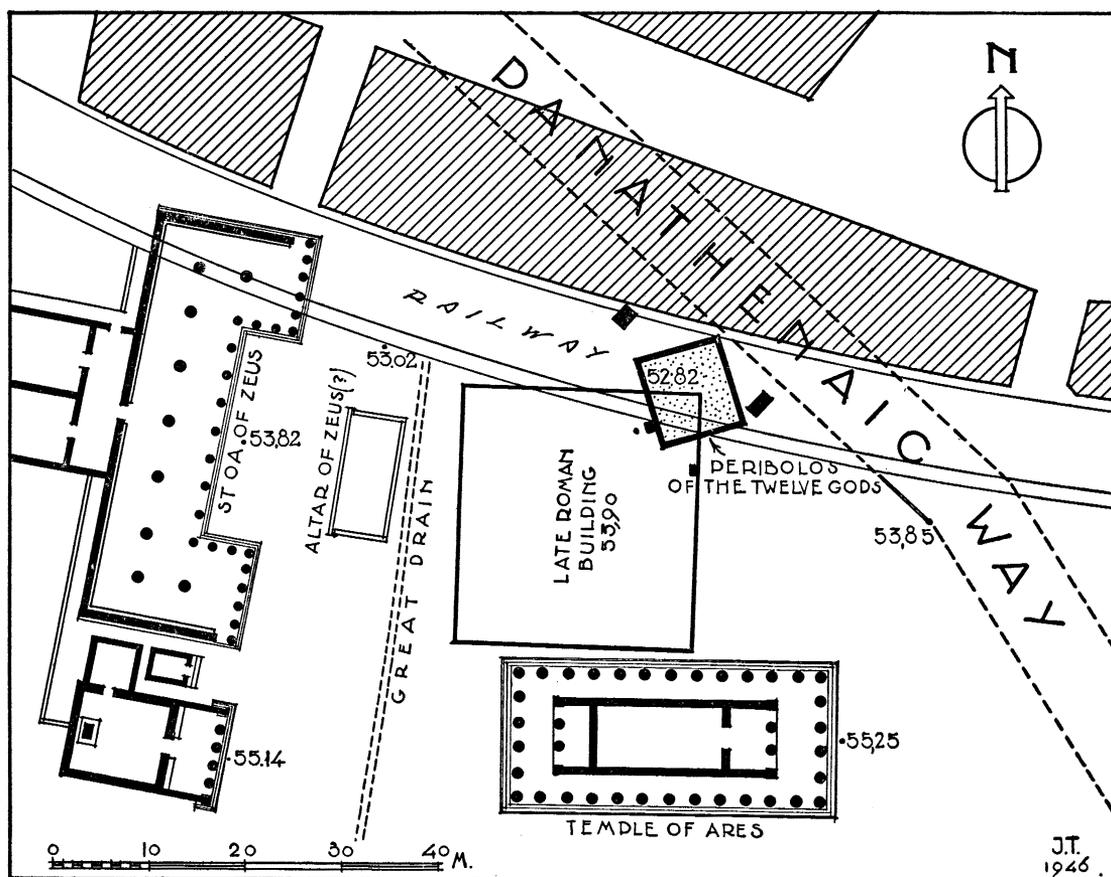


Fig. 2. The Northwest Corner of the Agora

and at the point where the main roads turn into the Agora, a most appropriate spot both for central milestone and place of asylum. On the evidence of the Leagros dedi-

Twelve Gods. Recently Martin (*B.C.H.*, LXVI-LXVII, 1942-43, pp. 282 ff.) has argued that all references to *περισχοίνισμα* and *περισχοίνιζεν* apply to one and the same area which he identifies as that around the Royal Stoa. Personally I believe that the *περισχοίνισμα* in the *Life of Demosthenes* can best be interpreted as a permanent fixed place, and I am inclined to agree with Schömann that the author is referring to the enclosure around the Altar, that is, to our parapet. Although no evidence was found to suggest the employment of a rope, the use of the word *περισχοίνισμα* for an area enclosed by a parapet of posts and slabs seems a perfectly possible extension of its original meaning. Perhaps the parapet was called the *περισχοίνισμα* in this *Life of Demosthenes*, written in the Augustan period, through some confusion with an earlier, vaguer area. Therefore, from this single text associating the Altar with the *περισχοίνισμα* we need not conclude that the original name of the enclosure was *περισχοίνισμα*.

cation and the location, therefore, the foundations have been identified as those of a peribolos within which stood the Altar of the Twelve Gods dedicated by Peisistratos the Younger.⁹

THE PARAPET

The peribolos was rebuilt once, and repaired at least once, perhaps several times, but from the time of its foundation to its final abandonment the basic plan remained unchanged: an unroofed area enclosed by a parapet. Parts of the sill course for the parapet of each of the two major periods and some paving slabs were found in place.

The first period (Figures 3 and 4) is represented by a single course of soft yellow poros blocks¹⁰ set partly on bedrock (in this region a compact clay formation), partly on earth, with sides smooth dressed only in the upper portion. Rough rectangular cuttings¹¹ on the sides of these blocks (Figure 6 and Plate 12, 1) were probably for bars used in shifting the blocks into place. The setting of a sill course such as this, which required a true top surface, directly on earth rather than on the more usual stone foundation must have offered considerable difficulty and many adjustments would have been needed in the course of setting.

Cuttings on the tops of these blocks (Figure 3 and Plate 12, 2 and 3) are of two types: deep rectangular beddings and oblong dowel holes.¹² On the basis of these cuttings a parapet of posts and intervening slabs can be restored. The posts were countersunk in the deep beddings and apparently secured still more firmly by small dowels set under the projecting shoulders of the posts. Metope-like slabs to be restored between the posts were fastened to the sill course by central dowels. This assumes a bored pour channel leading into the dowel hole from the inner face of the

⁹ *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 355-358. Dörpfeld (*Alt-Athen*, I, p. 69, II, p. 137 and *passim*) rejected this identification in favor of the marble altar east of the Metroön (*Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 140-148) which he believed originally stood north of the Odeion; he suggested that our peribolos was the Leochorion. Judeich (*Arch. Anz.*, 53, 1938, col. 384-5) also rejected the identification. In general the identification has been accepted. For recent discussions of the peribolos see R. Martin, "La Stoa Basileios," *B.C.H.*, LXVI-LXVII, 1942-43, pp. 274-298; O. Weinreich, in Roscher, *Myth. Lex.*, VI, cols. 772-775.

¹⁰ They measure 0.33 to 0.40 m. high, 1.30 to more than 1.80 m. long, 0.45-0.465 m. wide on the top finished surface.

¹¹ They measure 0.06-0.09 m. wide, 0.05-0.06 m. high, and 0.035 m. deep. There are two on each side of every block and a fifth at the narrow end of the southwest corner block. They are irregularly spaced, except for the four on the inside of the south wall which are 0.60 m. from center to center, and the pairs on opposite sides of the same block are approximately but not exactly opposite each other.

¹² The beddings are 0.12-0.14 × 0.20-0.23 × 0.11-0.115 m. deep except for a longer one in the west wall, at *h* on Figure 1, which measured 0.25 m. in length, although not fully exposed. The small dowel holes at each end of the beddings, preserved clearly only at the corner, measure 0.06 × 0.03 × 0.025 m. deep. The intermediate dowel holes are 0.08-0.14 × 0.04 × 0.04 m. deep; the cavity in the lead, still preserved in the dowel hole at the west end of the south wall measures 0.064 × 0.021 × 0.04 m. deep.

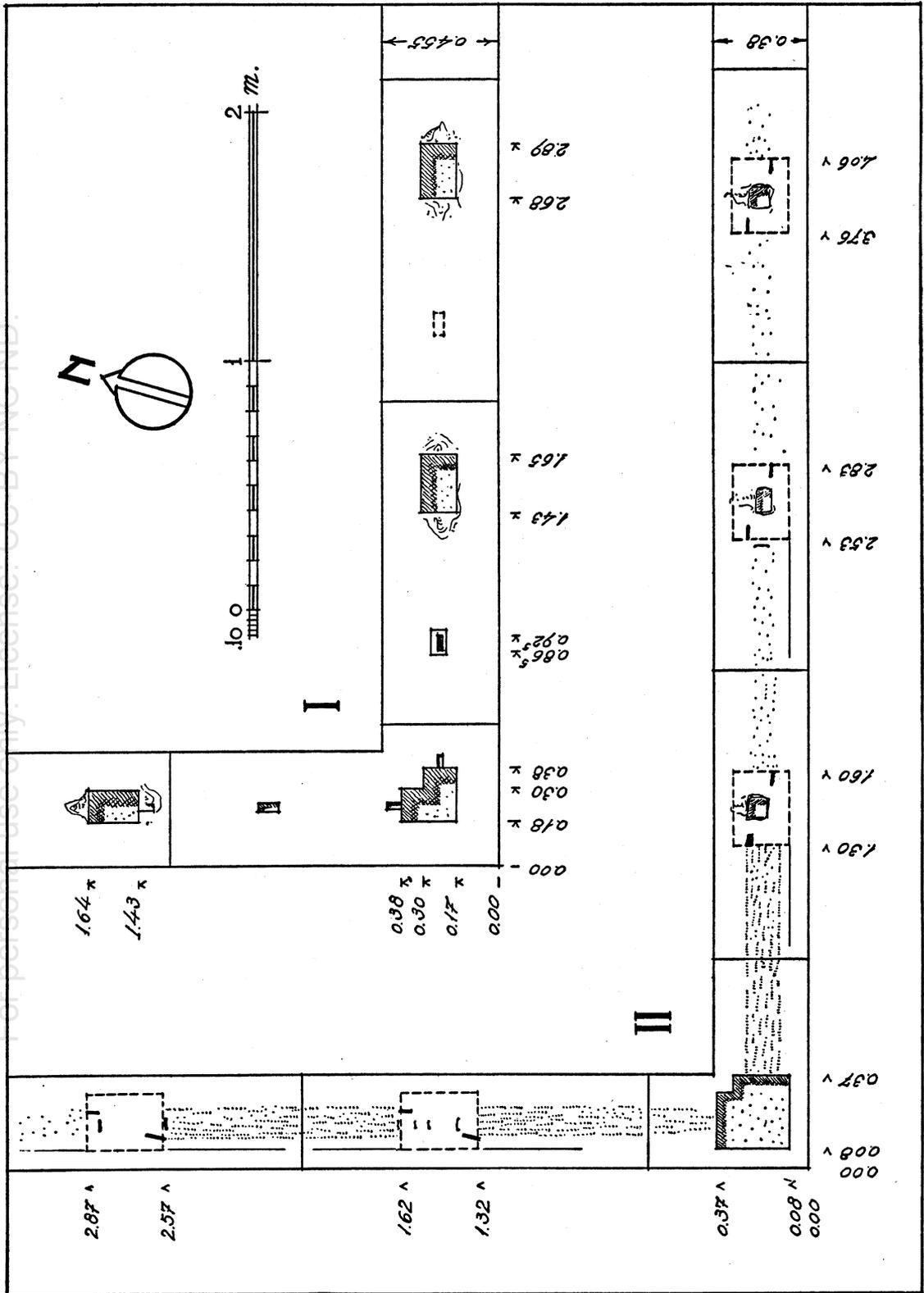


Fig. 3. Detail of Southwest Corner of Peribolos, Periods I and II

slab. Lead still in place in the dowel hole exposed on the south wall is clearly in two layers which suggests that the dowel was first set in the sill block and lead poured to secure it; and that the slab was then set in place above the dowel and lead poured a second time through a hole in the slab. The small rectangular cutting at the exact center of the west wall was presumably for a vertical bar fastening a gate.

Subsequently the parapet represented by these cuttings was removed. In the rebuilding that followed, the yellow poros sill course was used as a foundation and on it a new sill course of hard grey poros blocks was set.¹³ They were not dowelled to the lower blocks. On their inner faces the new blocks were lightly stippled with a single point to their full depth save for a smooth band around the edge; on the outer face a similar finish appears only on the upper half, the lower being left rough picked in a projecting panel (Plate 13, 3).

The cuttings on the top of the second sill course are shown in Figures 1 and 3 (see also Plate 13, 1 and 2). The position of the outer faces of the posts was fixed by a scratched setting line which is still legible over part of the south and west sides. The large cuttings on the two exposed corner blocks and at three other points as indicated are shallow beddings *ca.* 0.03 m. deep. The pairs of small oblong dowel holes¹⁴ are very regularly set and carefully cut. On the south side a larger dowel hole¹⁵ with pour channel is placed between the two smaller holes of each pair. The panels shown on the tops of the blocks are unevenly roughened surfaces. The tops of the blocks on the south side are considerably battered.

These cuttings call for a parapet very similar to that of the first period although of somewhat different construction. Only some of the posts were countersunk¹⁶ and that in cuttings much shallower than those used in the first period. Others, resting on the sill course, were originally fastened by two dowels set near diagonally opposite corners of the posts. The slabs of the parapet were fastened not to the sill course but to the posts by tongue-and-groove joints as shown by the H-shaped bedding on the east wall. The very accurate spacing of the pairs of small dowels and the slightly diagonal line of the outer ones can best be explained by assuming that they were set in the projecting ends of the posts and the lead not poured until after thin slabs had

¹³ They measure 1.16-1.50 m. long, 0.38 m. wide, 0.295 m. high. The southwest corner block was found slightly out of position, projecting to the outside at each joint (Plate 13, 1); apparently set after the adjoining blocks on each side, it proved to be slightly too long, and the error was left uncorrected.

¹⁴ The holes measure 0.04-0.07 × 0.015 × 0.04-0.06 m. deep.

¹⁵ At present these holes average 0.10 × 0.07 × 0.08 m. deep, but their edges are badly broken and the original dimensions may have been somewhat smaller. Some lead still remained in two of them.

¹⁶ The countersinking of the corner posts and of the one beside the entrance is easily explained by a desire for greater security at the more exposed positions. No explanation has been found for the similar treatment of the two near the southeast corner. Perhaps they represent resettings.

been fitted into place in the grooved joints. The pry holes, preserved clearly only on the west sill, were used either against the projecting tongues of the slabs or against the posts.¹⁷

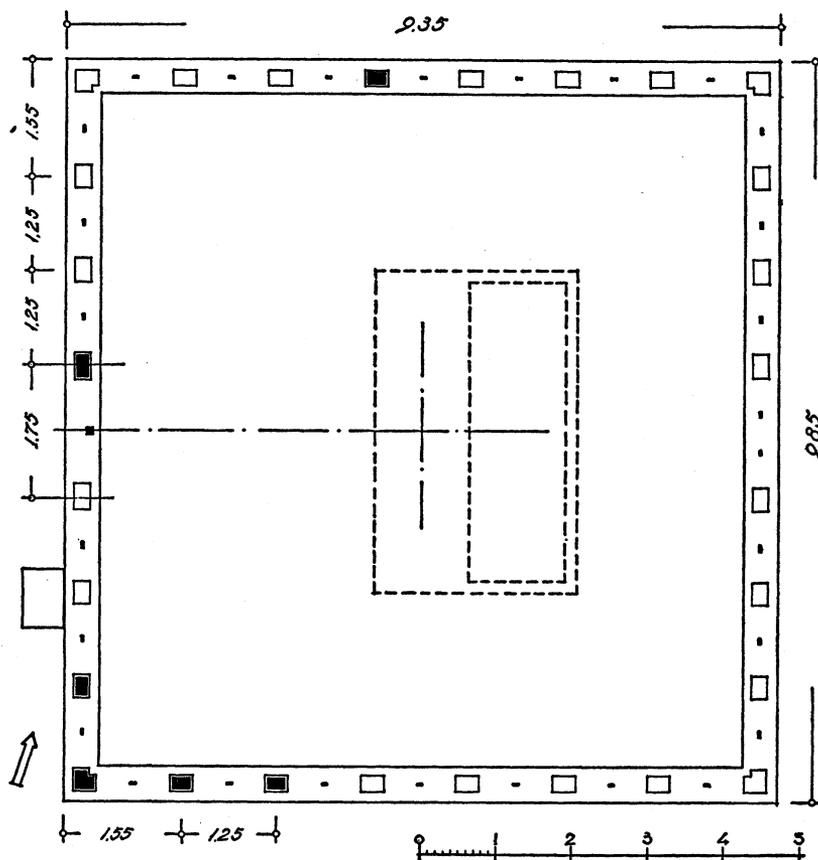


Fig. 4. Restored Plan of Peribolos, Period I

The parapets in the two periods were thus almost identical in plan (Figures 4 and 5). For the first period eight posts, counting the corner posts twice, are to be restored on each side with an entrance at the middle of the west side in the wider interval between the two central posts. The position of the single dowel cutting found on the east wall¹⁸ suggests that the post positions there corresponded to those on the

¹⁷ The roughened panels between the posts were apparently made in the process of adjusting the slabs; an absolutely true top surface would be needed for the continuous coping that is to be restored above posts and slabs. The first and sixth pry holes, numbering from the south, would have been used against the projecting tongues of the slabs, the fifth against the post. The three small pry holes beside the second dowel may represent difficulties met in process of setting the last block, which was either the second post or second slab.

¹⁸ The break recorded at the southern edge of the block in which this dowel cutting appears (c on Figure 1) may represent the edge of a post cutting.

west with a wider interval at the center, an arrangement probably to be interpreted as due to a desire for symmetry rather than as an indication of a second entrance.

On the parapet of the second period the spacing and number of posts on the west side remained the same.¹⁹ Eight posts were again used on the south, but the interval between the posts was reduced slightly to fit the shorter over-all dimension. No blocks of the second period were found along the north side but the post positions

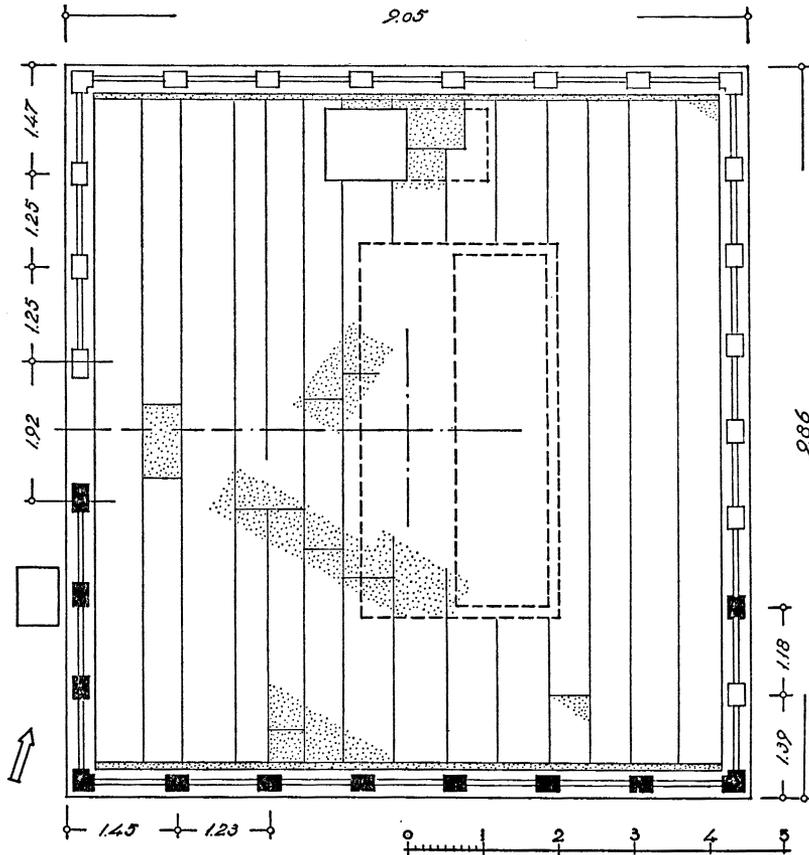


Fig. 5. Restored Plan of Peribolos, Period II

probably corresponded to those on the south. The single post cutting found on the east side does not correspond to the positions on the west. If this cutting be assigned to the third post from the southeast corner, nine posts can be restored with uniform spacing, which suggests that the wider interval employed in the first period at the middle of the east side, corresponding to the entrance at the west, was abandoned in the second period.

¹⁹ Note, however, that the entrance in the second period was slightly wider, this difference in width taking up the increase in the over-all interior length of the side that resulted from the use of narrower blocks in the sill course.

An interaxial space of 1.25 m. was used on the west side in both periods. In the second period it clearly comprised posts *ca.* 0.295 × 0.21 m. and slabs 0.955 × *ca.* 0.08 m. (save for the longer post beside the entrance).²⁰ For the first period posts and slabs of the same length as those used in the second have been restored, on the assumption that the posts overlapped the deep beddings (as is suggested by the dowel holes at the edges of these cuttings).

No trace of the parapet blocks of either period has been found. The posts and slabs of the first period were probably of poros, in the second possibly of marble which would be better adapted to the precision and thinness required for the tongue-and-groove joints. A crowning moulding or coping probably carried across both posts and slabs and the parapet was perhaps a meter or slightly more in height.²¹

FLOOR

The floor of the peribolos was originally of hard-packed earth as shown by the ledge on the inner face of the earlier sill, and was intended to be a few centimeters below the top of the sill course, a few centimeters higher than the contemporary ground level outside. Later the peribolos was paved at the level of the top of the earlier sill with yellow poros slabs of varying dimensions and thickness.²² A threshold or step

²⁰ The shorter Greek foot of *ca.* 0.295 m. seems to be the unit used in both periods. For the second it is clearly attested by the sill course 0.295 m. or one foot high and the posts 0.295 m. or one foot long. For the first period its use is suggested not only by the probable identity of post length but also by the fact that two fragments of yellow poros, probably orthostates from the original altar, have joint surfaces 0.295 m. wide. The interaxial space of 1.25 m. would be four and one quarter feet, with posts one foot, slabs 3¼ feet long. The spacing suggested for the east wall in the second period is based on a unit of 1.18 m. or exactly four shorter feet. Although the longer foot of *ca.* 0.326 m. is used in most of the public buildings of Athens until Roman times, there are indications that the shorter foot was known in Attica much earlier (Dinsmoor, *A.J.A.*, XXVI, 1922, pp. 262-3; Parsons, *Corinth*, III, part II, pp. 291-292). With its use in the peribolos established, further investigations might well prove profitable. For recent discussions of the Greek foot, see Robinson and Graham, *Olynthus*, VIII, pp. 45-50; Dinsmoor, *Hesperia*, Suppl. V, p. 33, note 87.

²¹ Compare the post and lintel construction of the fence around the base that is probably to be associated with the statues of the Eponymous Heroes (*Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 137-139), an enclosure corresponding to the altar peribolos in many details. There, posts, set on a single course of blocks very similar to the lower sill course of the altar peribolos, were connected by three wooden bars and crowned by a continuous cap. The posts used in one period there are identical in material and finish with our second course blocks; and of the same dimensions as our second period posts. They are *ca.* one meter high (a fragment from the bottom of one of these posts, found after the original publication, establishes the height). On the assumption that the posts of the altar peribolos were about the same height, the metope-like slabs of our parapet would be approximately square.

²² The thickness of the blocks found varies from 0.18 to 0.32 m.; some were set on the projecting ledges of the first course; for others the ledges were cut away. At the southwest corner, however, where the paving blocks are missing, projections left on the lower course and packing found in place preclude paving slabs thicker than 0.095 m. (see Plate 13, 4).

block is probably to be restored inside the entrance in the west side, where the paving blocks do not carry up to the wall.

By the time the second sill course and paving were added, the ground level outside had risen at the west to about the level of the top of the first sill course, and at the south some twenty centimeters higher. The finish on the outside of the second sill course is designed for a ground level at about the middle of the blocks. Whereas in the first period the peribolos floor was slightly higher than the ground outside, in the second the floor is distinctly lower than the contemporary ground level. The rise in

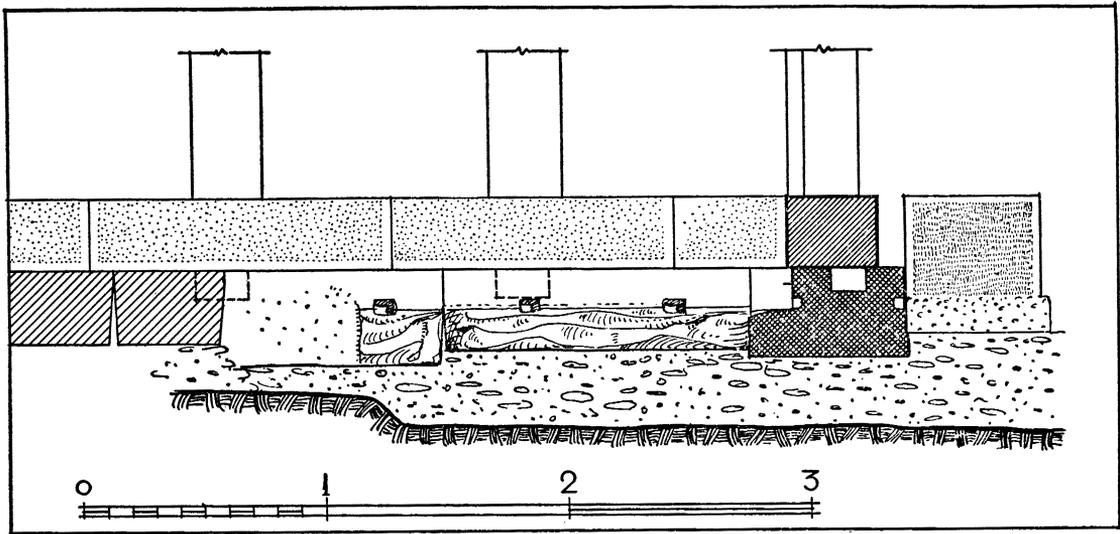


Fig. 6. East-West Section of Peribolos, Looking South

the outside ground level may be one reason why a second sill course was added in the rebuilding.

On the paving slabs along the north side of the peribolos a single block of Hymettian marble was found *in situ*.²³ It has smooth-dressed west and south faces, rough anathyrosis along the east and a rough-picked back or north face. The top is lightly picked to receive another block. If a block of similar dimensions be restored to the east, there results a base for a small monument or possibly altar centered against the north wall. Although this block of Hymettian marble was the only trace of a foundation or bedding found within the enclosure, it can scarcely be associated with the main altar.

²³ It measures $1.082 \times 0.96 \times 0.26$ m. high.

THE ALTAR

Three fragments of a large poros altar (Figure 7, Plate 14, 1 and 2) were found incorporated in the bedding for the paving blocks. The first piece is from a crowning moulding with projecting fascia above a hawkbeak.²⁴ The top, of which the edges are broken, curves up to the left and a joint surface with anathyrosis is

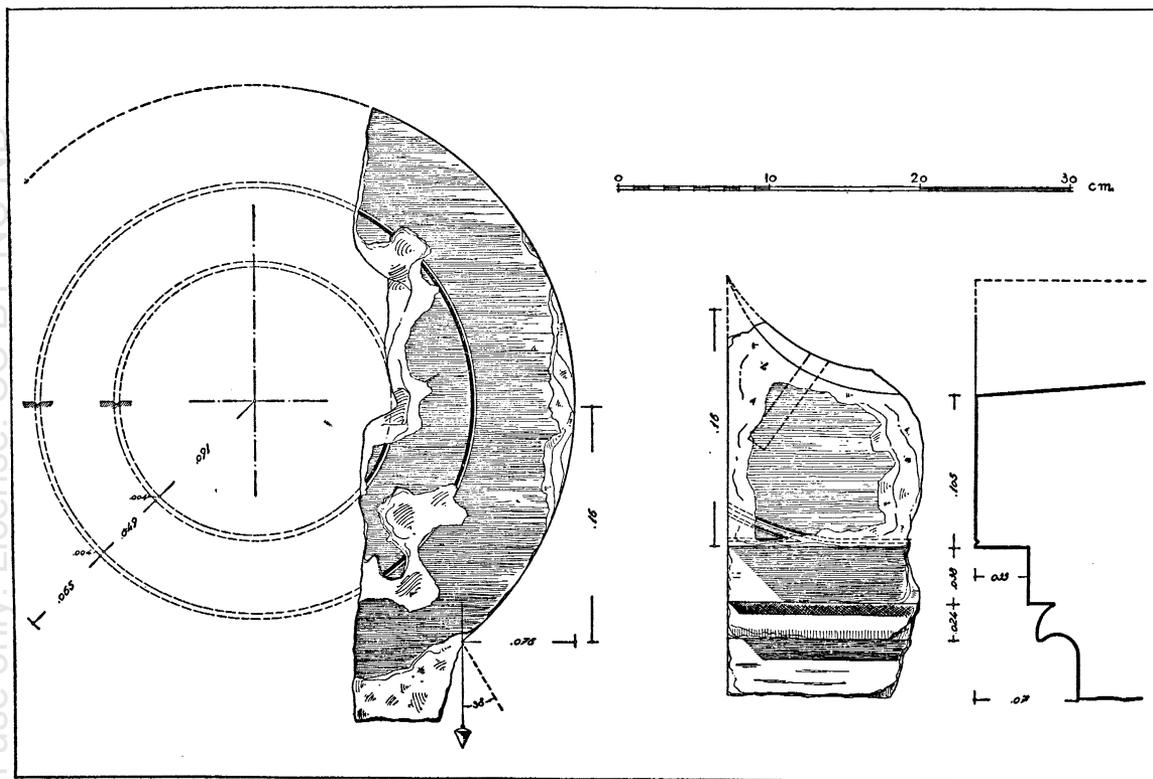


Fig. 7. Fragments of Altar: A 1199a at Left, A 1198 at Right

preserved along the left side. On the top fascia part of the decoration is preserved in the three incised lines which must have continued across the joint to the next block. The other two pieces²⁵ are from a bolster at the end of the altar. The better preserved of these has part of the columnar surface at the side with the spring of a fascia and part of the flat end decorated with incised concentric circles. The other preserves

²⁴ Inv. no. A 1198; broken at right, back and bottom; height 0.245 m., length 0.126 m., width 0.26 m. Along the break at the back, the floor of a cutting with traces of iron in it is preserved (shown in a dotted line on Figure 7).

²⁵ Inv. nos. A 1199 a and b; a, length 0.275 m., height 0.42 m., width 0.125 m.; b, length 0.36 m., height 0.32 m., width 0.095 m. Similarity of stone and lines of break show that the two fragments are from the same bolster, thus establishing a minimum length of ca. 0.65 m. They cannot be from the same corner as the moulding.

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only part of the columnar surface. The front surfaces of both moulding and disk are very smooth with fine horizontal striation. Traces of red paint are clear on the fascia just above the hawkbeak and in the incised circles on the disk.

Five or six other fragments of soft poros found near the peribolos may be from the orthostates of this same altar. One was imbedded in the foundation for a monument close to the south side of the peribolos; the rest had been re-used in a rough foundation near the southwest corner which probably supported a monument contemporary with the second period (see below). All these pieces correspond closely in material and finish with the three altar fragments described above and with the first sill course. The two largest (Plate 14, 3) are each from the lower left side of a block with horizontal striation on the front surface, a smooth picked finish on back and bottom, and anathyrosis on the left edge.²⁶

The scale and workmanship of all these fragments are eminently suitable for the altar postulated within the parapet of the first period. Although the actual size cannot be determined, dimensions that seem appropriate both to parapet and altar fragments are suggested in the dotted lines on Figure 4.²⁷

A small poros altar²⁸ still *in situ* on the west slope of the Acropolis just inside the Beulé Gate is illustrated in Plate 14, 4. Closely similar in material and workmanship, it may give an idea of the scheme of the Agora altar.

NEIGHBORING MONUMENTS

Of small monuments or dedications in the immediate vicinity of the peribolos, the only one that can be identified is the statue base inscribed with the dedication by Leagros to the Twelve Gods.²⁹ This single block of Pentelic marble with the inscription on its west face is set against the west side of the peribolos (Plate 13, 1 and Figure 6). The projecting lower face of the original sill course was cut away to receive it. A band left rough-finished around the bottom marks the ground level at which it was set, a level identical with that of the first period of the peribolos. On the top of the base are dowel cuttings for a bronze statue with right foot advanced. The

²⁶ Both broken at top and right. Inv. no. A 1266: height 0.66 m., length 0.37 m., width 0.295 m. Inv. no. A 1267: height 0.395 m., length 0.225 m., width 0.295 m.

²⁷ These dimensions (altar base 4.25×2.50 m. and altar 4.00×1.25 m.) correspond closely with those of the late sixth-century altar base at Vouliagmeni which measures 4.25×2.55 m. (*Δελτίον*, 1927-28, pp. 32-33).

²⁸ It measures $1.025 \times 0.645 \times 0.405$ m. high. The surface is covered with fine stucco; traces of red paint are visible in the incised grooves. It is set on its own base which projects 0.22 m. to the west. It is uninscribed and there is no conclusive evidence as to the divinity. Cf. Judeich, *Topographie*², p. 216; Cavvadias and Kawerau, *Ἀνασκαφή τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως*, pp. 128-130, pl. H', no. 93 for exact location.

²⁹ *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 358-9, no. 2. For further discussion and bibliography of this base see *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 160-164. The suggestion made there, pp. 161-162, on the basis of published photographs, that the mark of the end of a javelin was visible on the base, is not substantiated by an examination of the stone itself.

statue at some time was carefully removed.⁸⁰ The top of the base shows considerable wear and was obviously tramped over after the statue had been taken away. The wear on the inner edge must have occurred before the sill blocks of the second period were set in place beside it since the outer edge of the sill course shows no sign of wear.

A rectangular base of yellow poros⁸¹ with a circular cutting in its top (Figure 2 and Plate 12, 3) lies just west of the Leagros base and is centered on it. Rising some ten centimeters above the ground level established for the first period and the Leagros base, it seems clearly to be associated with the statue base. A layer of earth that accumulated during the construction of the second sill course covered its top.

A slightly curving rubble wall⁸² at the southwest corner of the peribolos (see photograph Plate 12, 1) probably represents the bedding of a monument. It was built almost entirely of the fragments of re-used poros which we have assigned to the orthostates of the original altar. It was bedded at the same level as the bottom of the first course.

Against the outside of the east wall part of the top of a large rough block of red breccia was exposed and against the north wall a packing of small stones as shown on Figure 1. The blocks near the southeast corner shown on Figure 2 are supplied from the sketch at the German Institute (Plate 11, 1). Those shown north of the northwest corner in Figure 2 were exposed in 1934 and seemed to be part of a large monument or building continuing to the northeast. Both these monuments were oriented with respect to the Panathenaic Way rather than the peribolos.

Two other monuments perhaps to be associated with the Altar of the Twelve Gods in Athens, although not found during the current excavations, may best be discussed here.

A round base with the Twelve Gods in low relief on its sides, found in 1877 just north of the peribolos near the church of St. Philip, has generally been described as an altar, but the proportions (diameter of 0.83 m. to a height of 0.44 m.) seem more appropriate for a base than an altar.⁸³ The top, preserved only near the center, is a smooth-finished flat surface. Whether base or altar, or base of altar, it is almost certainly to be associated with this sanctuary, although no trace of a circular bedding for it was found either inside or outside the peribolos.

⁸⁰ Only the lead packing of the dowels under the heels of the statue remains in place, whereas the lower ends of the iron dowels for the balls of the feet are still preserved in the lead. The rear dowels were chipped free, those in front broken off. Cf. *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 359.

⁸¹ It measures 0.65 × 0.65 × 0.45 m. deep; the circular cutting is 0.40 m. in diameter, 0.05 m. deep. A strip of lead was found lying in the cutting. Compare the very similar base found under the stoa of Zeus (*Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 8, figure 4 on p. 10).

⁸² This wall was ca. 0.40 m. wide, 0.25 m. high; a length of ca. 1.20 m. was preserved. There was clearly no continuation to the east, at least at the same level; a continuation of the firm-packed earth on which it was set suggests that it extended at least another meter to the west.

⁸³ National Museum in Athens, no. 1731; Svoronos, *Das Athener Nationalmuseum*, pp. 158-163, Abb. 110, Tafel XXVI. G. Becatti (*Annuario della R. Scuola Arch. di Atene*, nuova serie, I-II, 1939-40, pp. 85-138) assigns this altar to the neo-Attic period; a re-examination of the relief, however, seemed to support the earlier attribution to the fourth century B.C.

The second monument is a marble relief from Tarentum, now in the Walters Art Gallery at Baltimore, with a procession of the Twelve Gods.⁸⁴ It probably is an archaizing Greek original of *ca.* 460 B.C. Weinreich⁸⁵ has suggested that this was copied from reliefs on the altar dedicated by Peisistratos. The poros fragments—if correctly assigned to the altar—suggest that the sides of the altar proper were flat, perhaps painted, but not carved. That representations of the gods formed some part of the altar decoration is however suggested in some of the lines in Aeschylus' *Suppliants*. It seems probable that the *κοινοβωμία* demanded by the play (line 222) was patterned somewhat on the "common altar" known to all Athenians, the Altar of the Twelve Gods.⁸⁶ The mention of the divine attributes, such as the bird of Zeus (line 212) and the trident (line 218), and of the images (lines 429-463) shows that for the stage at least actual representations were visualized. The six slabs along the front of the enclosure, i. e., the west side, used in both periods and apparently of the same length in both periods, would have been admirably suited to the representation of the Twelve Gods arranged in pairs, either painted or carved. The archaistic relief with the standing gods in procession does not seem to reflect directly such an arrangement by pairs, although the original of the relief may have played some part in the decoration of the sanctuary. The position of Athena next to Zeus suggests an Attic origin. In the later reliefs of the Twelve Gods, so popular in neo-Attic art, the only example of the gods in pairs is on the *Ara Borghese* at the Louvre: a three-sided base with two pairs of standing gods and goddesses on each face.⁸⁷ This seems to be a much-restored eclectic piece and has no obvious connections with our sanctuary. A glance through the vase paintings, however, shows a sudden appearance, near the end of the sixth century of the Olympian deities seated in pairs. In earlier representations they had been placed in line one behind the other as on the François vase. It is not impossible that these pairs of seated divinities reflect the original decoration of the slabs. At any rate they offer adequate parallels for the gods arranged in pairs as early as the late sixth century.⁸⁸

The base of the statue dedicated by Leagros, which would have partially concealed the lower part of the slabs of the first period, is not exactly centered on a post. Conceivably it was placed so as to leave a clearer view of what may have been the more relevant parts of each of the two adjacent slabs.

⁸⁴ Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkm. Gr. Röm. Skulpt.*, 660; Ed. Schmidt, text to B-B 660 and *Archaistische Kunst*, p. 57. The dimensions of the relief, which is broken at the bottom, are 1.195 m. long \times 0.38 m. high \times 0.066 m. thick.

⁸⁵ In Roscher, *Myth. Lex.*, VI, cols. 790-792, abb. 2, col. 791.

⁸⁶ Reisch, Pauly-Wissowa, *R.-E.*, s. v. *Altar*, cols. 1658-59; Noack, *Σκηπή Τραγική*, pp. 10-11; Pickard-Cambridge, *The Theatre of Dionysus in Athens*, p. 33, note 1.

⁸⁷ Cook, *Zeus*, III, ii, p. 1058, figure 852.

⁸⁸ Note particularly the pairs of divinities seated side by side either on the same or overlapping stools: the Sosias Berlin cylix (Furtwängler-Reichhold, Taf. 123); the Nikoxenos amphora at Munich (*ibid.*, Taf. 158); and the Oltos cylix from Corneto (Cook, *Zeus*, III, ii, p. 1050, figure 843). A single such group with Athena and Zeus is found on a late black-figured hydria at Berlin (Cook, *Zeus*, III, ii, p. 1049, figure 842).

CHRONOLOGY

The peribolos in its first form with the single course of yellow poros surmounted by a parapet was built in the archaic period as is clearly shown by choice of material, ground level, and orientation. External evidence for dating is slight, for excavation of the lower levels in the vicinity has not been completed and very little undisturbed earth was found against the peribolos walls. Scattered prehistoric sherds in the area suggest habitation from an early period but no clear trace of any building antedating the lower sill course has been found on the site. The few scraps of pottery that can be associated with the construction of the first period are consistent with a date in the second half of the sixth century. The details of construction indicated by the cuttings on the sill course can be paralleled in this same period. A step block of Kara limestone³⁹ almost certainly to be assigned to the Peisistratid fountain house in the Agora⁴⁰ preserves evidence of a dowel hole with bored pour channel. Another block,⁴¹ part of a parapet from a water basin in the same building, was cut with a tongue-and-groove joint.

The closest parallels for the hawksbeak moulding on the altar fragment (Figure 7) are found in the second half of the sixth century. There are no very close parallels that can be dated precisely for this form of hawksbeak below a projecting fascia. Better-dated examples are found in the hawksbeak used as geison crowns. Those illustrated in Shoe, *Profiles of Greek Mouldings*, pl. LIII, 2-6, have a form very like our hawksbeak with deep top and undercut of similar proportion.⁴² The first, from the Treasury of Selinus at Olympia, is dated in the second half of the sixth century; the next two, one from Halae, one from Perachora, belong to the third quarter, and the last two, from the Treasury of Sikyon at Olympia, are placed in the last quarter. Thus we may assign our moulding to the second half of the century and probably to the latter part of that period.⁴³

The only parallel I have found for a disk, or true circle, used as the end ornament of an altar instead of the usual volute is in two poros fragments of an altar gable

³⁹ Inv. no. A 1270 (unpublished). It is a corner step block with a dowel hole, $0.06 \times 0.015 \times 0.06$ m., on its bottom surface set in 0.04 m. from the edge. Although the front surface of the block is broken away at this point, the hole clearly could only have been reached by a bored channel. For other examples of bored pour channels in the archaic period see *Miletus*, I, iv, p. 451; Richter, *Archaic Attic Gravestones*, pp. 34, 81, figure 6 b on p. 30.

⁴⁰ *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 360, and VI, 1937, pp. 3-4.

⁴¹ Inv. no. A 1269 (unpublished). At one end of the block, which is 0.153 m. thick, there is a tongue 0.06 m. wide projecting *ca.* 0.04 m.

⁴² A hawksbeak with projecting fascia above differs from the contemporary moulding without the fascia only in being more deeply cut at the top; these geison crowns, therefore, although not as deeply cut back as the altar fragment, can be used as parallels.

⁴³ Miss Shoe, to whom I am indebted for most of the references above, concludes her discussion of the altar moulding: "Therefore, I feel quite safe in agreeing to a 523-512 date for the hawksbeak."

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from Aegina.⁴⁴ Both are disks with incised concentric circle and both pieces preserve part of the curving surfaces of the top and side walls. Welter assigns them to the opposite ends of a gable and dates them in the middle of the sixth century, on the evidence of style and place of finding. A somewhat later date, however, is suggested for our disk because of its association with the hawksbeak moulding.

Thus from the archaeological evidence it seems possible to date the peribolos of the first period and the altar fragments to the later part of the sixth century B.C.

The statue dedicated by Leagros was set against the west face of the peribolos between 490 and 480 B.C., as shown by the lettering of the dedication.⁴⁵ Wear on the top of the marble base and on the lower sill course of the south side shows that after the statue was removed and the parapet damaged, a considerable interval elapsed before the rebuilding. This state of affairs, a sanctuary in the Agora damaged and then not rebuilt for some time, clearly suggests the Persians' visit in 479 B.C. The delay in rebuilding is perhaps explained by the oath taken by the Greeks after Plataea, not to rebuild their sanctuaries.⁴⁶

The small amount of undisturbed earth that could be associated definitely with the addition of the second sill course produced no figured pottery. The few scraps of plain black-glazed ware susceptible of dating seem to find their closest parallels in the period between 430 and 420 B.C. Similar fragments were found in the footing trench beside the curved foundation to the southwest of the peribolos. Inside the peribolos, where the paving slabs were bedded below the level of the original dirt floor, no relevant pottery was found, either for paving or for second sill course. Some grey poros chips—a stone used apparently only in the second period—were found in the packing along the west side where the floor slabs were missing. This indication that the paving is to be associated with the second sill course is supported by the fact that its top is flush with the top of the first sill course blocks and about ten centimeters higher than the earlier floor. A higher floor level would have necessitated changes in the altar, and the use of the fragments of the poros altar as packing under the paving slabs, and of other fragments probably to be assigned to the altar in the curved bedding contemporary with the second period, not only shows that the original altar was rebuilt or replaced by the time of the second period, but also suggests that the earlier altar may have been essentially intact until that time; otherwise the fragments would scarcely have been so available or so fresh. The very distinctive finish of the grey poros blocks of the second sill course (see Plate 13, 3) finds its closest parallels in the temple of Hephaistos and the Nike Bastion, the former built between 449 and

⁴⁴ Welter, *Arch. Anz.*, 53, 1938, cols. 23-24, figures 15-17 in col. 26.

⁴⁵ *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 359.

⁴⁶ Judeich, *Topographie*², p. 72, note 2; cf. also Dinsmoor, *Studies in the History of Culture*, 1942 (presented to Waldo G. Leland), p. 214 and note 38; Parsons, *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, p. 230, note 84.

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444 and the latter probably before 437/6 B.C.⁴⁷ Thus the rebuilding of the peribolos, with additional sill course, poros paving and changed altar, clearly dates from the third quarter of the fifth century and probably from close to the end of the quarter, to judge from the few scraps of pottery which cannot be much if at all earlier than the decade 430-420 B.C.

At some later date the posts on the south side were re-set, as shown by the second set of dowel cuttings in the sill; but the tops of the blocks are so battered that no deduction as to date can be drawn from the cuttings. West of the peribolos, however, lay a mass of filling, characterized by many animal bones, metal waste, and much broken pottery. The latter dates from about the end of the fourth century B.C. and is very like the pottery associated with the construction of the porch and propylon of the Bouleuterion.⁴⁸ Scattered pieces of similar pottery were found in several disturbed spots beside the bottom of the lower course, which suggests that some changes were made not only west of the peribolos, but also along the wall itself at this time. The posts on the south wall thus may have been re-set in consequence of some disturbance at the beginning of the third century.

No details are known of further changes in the peribolos. The blocks as found were covered with a layer of earth containing sherds of the second and third centuries A.D. The peribolos apparently remained essentially intact until the sack of the Heruli in 267 A.D. forced the abandonment of the Agora. The parapet blocks and some of the paving slabs presumably were taken for the construction of the "Valerian Wall." When this part of the Agora was rebuilt at about the end of the fourth century A.D., the northeast corner of a large building, its floor level a meter above the top of the later sill of the peribolos, was laid over the southwest corner of the enclosure, and cement foundation walls were poured directly over the surviving blocks of the earlier structure (see Plate 12, 1 and Figure 2).

LITERARY AND EPIGRAPHICAL SOURCES

The chronology indicated by the archaeological evidence is consistent with the information about the Altar of the Twelve Gods found in literary and epigraphical sources. The latter supplements the former in several important points.

The first question is the precise date of the original Altar and peribolos. Thucydides states that the Altar of the Twelve Gods in the Agora was dedicated by Peisistratos the Younger during his archonship. This archonship is almost certainly to be assigned to one of the years between 522/1 and 512/1 B.C.⁴⁹ One of the earlier

⁴⁷ For the Hephasteion see Dinsmoor, *Hesperia*, Suppl. V, 1941, p. 154; for the Nike Bastion, see Judeich, *Topographie*², p. 217, note 3, and Schleif, *Jhb. des Inst.*, 48, 1933, pp. 177-184.

⁴⁸ *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 165, figure 98.

⁴⁹ The suggestion that Peisistratos the Younger was archon in 497/6 (*Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 63-65) has not been generally accepted, for the Thucydides text clearly implies a date before 511. Cf. A. W. Gomme, *A. J. Ph.*, 65, 1944, p. 327 and Dinsmoor, *Studies in the History of Culture*, pp. 195-196.

years would fit better into the history of the Twelve Gods and their Altar at Athens. First, the Altar of the Twelve Gods, as central milestone of Attica, should be associated, it would seem, with the road improvements of the Peisistratids and especially with the herms set up as road markers by Hipparchos (Plato, *Hipparchus*, 228D-229A). The central milestone should be contemporary with, or earlier than, the markers along the roads, which would suggest that the Altar was dedicated while Hipparchos was still alive, that is, earlier than 514 B.C.

Secondly, the earliest specific reference to the Twelve Gods in Athens is in the account of the alliance between Athens and Plataea dated by Thucydides (III, lxxviii) in 519 B.C.⁵⁰ The Plataeans, turning to the Athenians on the advice of the Spartans, found the Athenians offering sacrifice to the twelve Gods. Seating themselves as suppliants on the altar, the Plataeans gave themselves up to the Athenians (Herodotus, VI, 108). From a study of the growth and spread of the cult of the Twelve Gods, its introduction into Athens is generally placed in the Peisistratid period.⁵¹ Since there is no evidence for their cult in Athens earlier than the probable *floruit* of Peisistratos the Younger, it seems reasonable to assume that the Altar which he dedicated in the Agora was the first erected to the Twelve Gods in Athens. Thus 519 B.C. is suggested as a *terminus ante quem* for both Altar and archonship.

Lastly, a fragment of an Athenian archon list (*Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 60, no. 21) inscribed *ca.* 425 B.C., preserves the following letters for the archon of 522/1 B.C.: ΣΤΡΑΤ. Since a similar date is suggested by a study of the Altar, there seems no need for hesitation in restoring the name of Peisistratos and thus dating his archonship in 522/1 B.C.⁵²

⁵⁰ Grote, *History of Greece*, 1869, IV, p. 94, note 1, suggested that the Thucydides text should be emended and the alliance dated in 509. Since a date in 519 does not conflict with any known facts, there seems no valid reason for rejecting it. For arguments supporting the earlier date see Wells, *Studies in Herodotus*, pp. 81-87, and Cornelius, *Die Tyrannis in Athen*, p. 51 and note 9; for the later date, Busolt, *Griech. Geschichte*², II, p. 399, and Ziehen, P. W., *R.-E.*, s.v. Thebai, col. 1459.

⁵¹ Weinreich in Roscher, *Myth. Lex.*, VI, cols. 772-3, 829; Kern, *Die Religion der Griechen*, I, p. 203, II, p. 93. An inscription, *C.I.G.*, I, 452 (not republished in *I.G.* or *I.G.*²), read by Chandler at Salamis with a possible reference to the Twelve Gods of Solon is "no proof that the Twelve Gods were worshipped in Attica in Solonian times" (Weinreich, *op. cit.*, cols. 772, 781).

⁵² This is the date proposed by Wade-Gery, *B.S.A.*, XXXVII, 1936-7, p. 263, note 1, and Dinsmoor, *Studies in the History of Culture*, 1942, p. 197. "The vague . . . traces of the fifth letter" mentioned by Dinsmoor, visible on the photograph in *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 60, figure 21, on re-examination of the stone prove to be a break, and sufficient surface is preserved to exclude any letter with an upper hasta projecting right of center.

The apparent lateness of the lettering on the cover slab of the Altar of the Pythian Apollo (*I.G.*, I², 761, Kirchner, *Imagines*, No. 11), also dedicated by Peisistratos during his archonship, is almost as hard to reconcile with the date 512/1 as with 522/1. Therefore, it seems better to ignore this dedication and assume, as others have, either that our knowledge of Attic letter forms in the late sixth century is insufficient for precise dating or that the inscription on the Altar was recut. Gomme, *A. J. Ph.*, 65, 1944, p. 327, concludes that our knowledge of letter forms is insufficient. Dinsmoor, *op. cit.*, pp. 197-8, suggests a recutting in 496/5. E. Löwy, *Sitzungsb. Ak. Wien*, 216, Abb. 4, 1937, pp. 12-14, suggests a recutting in the late fifth century.

The literary and epigraphical sources, although of less help in establishing a precise chronology for the second period than for the first, do contribute some information. The second half of Thucydides' reference to the Altar (VI, liv, 7) reads: *προσοικοδομήσας ὕστερον ὁ δῆμος Ἀθηναίων μείζον μήκος τοῦ βωμοῦ ἤφανισε τὸνπίγραμμα.* "Later then the Athenian demos, having built an additional length to the altar, obliterated the inscription." Presumably this enlarged altar was the one known to Thucydides. There is no implication in the text that the altar was enlarged and its inscription concealed as a deliberate anti-tyrannical act and so to be dated immediately after the expulsion of Hippias, for Thucydides, directly below the passage quoted above, refers to the inscription on the other altar dedicated by Peisistratos as *ἔτι καὶ νῦν δῆλόν ἐστιν ἀμυδροῖς γράμμασι.* "It can still be seen in indistinct letters."

No archaeological evidence was obtained for the altar contemporary with the second period. The use of fragments of the first altar as packing for the floor, however, suggests that the original altar may have remained essentially intact until the floor was laid. The lines of break on the two volute fragments are such as might occur if one or both ends of the altar were being deliberately cut away in process of rebuilding. The enlargement mentioned by Thucydides is thus probably the change made in the altar when the new sill course and paving were added late in the third quarter of the fifth century B.C. The only specific detail that we know about this enlarged altar is that, according to Thucydides, it was longer than the first.⁵³ If we are correct in suggesting a marble parapet for the second period, a marble facing may well have been added to the original altar as well as an additional length at this time.⁵⁴

Two references to the Altar as a central milestone, Herodotus, II, 7 and *I.G.*, II², 2640,⁵⁵ are of no help in fixing the chronology, for once the Altar was established and distances measured from it, it would in all probability have continued to be used as the focal point, regardless of the state of the Altar or peribolos at that time.⁵⁶

The three remaining fifth-century references to the Altar and the cult can be dated precisely: in 431 B.C. the friends of Phidias sought asylum at the Altar of the

⁵³ Weinreich, in Roscher, *Myth. Lex.*, VI, col. 774, from this text argues that the inscription of the original altar must have been on a short end, since lengthening the altar concealed it; and this further suggests that the long side was not suitable for an inscription, which would have been the case if it were decorated with a relief of the Twelve Gods.

⁵⁴ The Altar of Apollo at Cyrene, originally of tufa, was later faced with marble (Pernier, "Il Tempio e l'Altare di Apollo a Cirene," *Africa Italiana*, V, 1935, pp. 61-70; *Arch. Anz.*, 44, 1929, col. 414. Abb. 24 in cols. 417-418).

⁵⁵ This inscription, read by Chandler, although placed in *I.G.*, II, almost certainly belongs to the fifth century because of the spelling of *METAXSY* in line 3.

⁵⁶ This practice seems to have been followed in late Roman times, for milestones found along the sacred way to Eleusis, *I.G.*, II², 5181-2, 5202-04, two dating from the second century after Christ and three from the fourth and fifth centuries, all seem based on the same starting point, although the later ones were erected after the destruction of the Altar of the Twelve Gods. Thanks are due to J. Travlos for this observation.

Gods (Diod., XII, 39);⁵⁷ in 429/8 the Twelve Gods received 2,000 drachmas from the Treasurers of the Other Gods (*I.G.*, I², 310, line 64); and in 415 sacrilege was committed on the Altar (Plutarch, *Nicias*, 13). The probability that the Altar itself was standing between 479 and the rebuilding of the peribolos makes it impossible to use 431 as a definite *terminus ante quem* for the second period. It is suggestive, however, that these first post-Persian references come close to the date indicated by the pottery and workmanship for the second period.

In the first half of the fourth century the Twelve Gods appear in five inscriptions: a private dedication (*I.G.*, II², 4564); a dedication by the *boule* in 357/6 (II², 2790); and three decrees (II², 30, 112, 114, the first of 386/5, the other two of 362/1) in which the herald is instructed to make vows to the Twelve Gods. From this same period are two literary references, Xenophon, *Hipparchos*, III, 2, and Lycurgus, *in Leocratem*, 93. In the latter, Kallistratos, presumably of Aphidna, is said to have sought asylum at the Altar; this must have occurred about 355 B.C.

I have found no dedications to the Twelve Gods in Athens later than the middle of the fourth century and only two specific references to the cult or Altar. One is the inscription on the theater seat for the priest of the Twelve Gods, *I.G.*, II², 5065, dating from the second century A.D. The other is the topographical mention of the Altar in connection with the statue of Demosthenes, *Vit. X Or.*, 847a. The inscription on the theater seat is sufficient evidence, if any were needed, that the cult continued to be recognized officially, but the complete absence of dedications after the mid-fourth century is striking. The suggestion originally made by Wilamowitz⁵⁸ that the Altar of *Eleos* or *Pity* was identical with that of the Twelve Gods may be the explanation. All the references to the Altar of *Pity* postdate the fourth century.⁵⁹ In Hellenistic and Roman times the Altar of *Pity* served as one of the great places of asylum in Athens, just as the Altar of the Twelve Gods had done in the classical period. Pausanias, who does not mention the Altar of the Twelve Gods, writes (I, 17, 1), after describing the statues in front of the Stoa Poikile and just before passing out of the Agora: 'Αθηναίοις δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ . . . ἐστὶν . . . Ἐλέου βωμός. Thus, although he suggests no specific location for the Altar, he introduces it just after finishing his description of the north side of the Agora and the statues in front of the Stoa Poikile cannot have been far from the Altar of the Twelve Gods.

This suggestion gains support from a passage in Philostratus (*3 epist.* 13, 39) which reads: [the Athenians] τὸν Ἐλέου ἐστήσαντο βωμὸν ὡς τρισκαιδεκάτου θεοῦ.

⁵⁷ The manuscript reading τὸν τῶν θεῶν βωμὸν was emended by Dindorff, and so accepted by Oldfather in the Loeb text, to τῶν τῶν θεῶν βωμῶν. This seems entirely unnecessary since the text as it stands can be interpreted as referring to the Altar of the (Twelve) Gods, a well-known place of asylum.

⁵⁸ *Aus Kydathen, Philol. Untersuch.*, I, 1880, p. 201, note 4.

⁵⁹ See Judeich, *Topographie*², pp. 356-357, note 1, p. 357 for list of references. A reference to the Altar of *Pity* at Athens in one of the speeches in Diodorus, XIII, 22, 7, supposedly delivered by a Syracusan in 413 B.C., can be disregarded, for the speeches in Diodorus are particularly suspect.

The thirteenth god is most commonly a deified hero or ruler⁶⁰ and there seem to be no parallels for this identification with an abstraction such as Pity. The simplest explanation of the text would seem to be that Pity was added to the Twelve Gods in Athens in some physical sense, by sharing their sanctuary either through the addition of a second altar or through a gradual usurpation of the name.⁶¹ Essentially the Altar of the Twelve Gods was an altar of pity. The dropping of the old name may perhaps be connected with the painting of the Twelve Gods by Euphranor in the Stoa of Zeus about the middle of the fourth century B.C.,⁶² that is about the time that dedications to the Twelve Gods and references to their Altar cease. The presence of this famous mural in the Agora near by may have made the change in the name of the Altar more acceptable.

CONCLUSION

From a combination of the archaeological and literary evidence the history of the Altar may be recovered as follows. Peisistratos the Younger during his archonship in 522/1 B.C. dedicated the first Altar of the Twelve Gods in Athens, consisting of a poros altar enclosed by a parapet. The six slabs along the front of the parapet may have been decorated with the twelve gods arranged in pairs. Thus we have a prototype of the great Hellenistic and Roman altars, such as that at Pergamum and the *Ara Pacis* at Rome, where the major decoration is carried on the enclosure rather than on the altar proper. This altar stood close to the point where the highways leading in from the country turned in to the city proper, close to a line suggested for an early city wall and gate; it formed the central milestone of the road network improved and marked by Hipparchos, and was an important place of asylum. Between 490 and 480 B.C. Leagros set a statue dedicated to the Twelve Gods against its west wall. The Persians in 479 removed the statue and damaged the parapet, but the altar seems to have remained standing. The parapet was not rebuilt until close to the end of the third quarter of the fifth century. By that time the ground level had risen to such a point that a second sill course was needed. The parapet which it carried was very similar to the first, except for the probable use of marble in place of poros. At the same time the enclosure was paved, and the altar lengthened and perhaps faced with marble. Subsequently the posts on the south side were re-set. In Hellenistic and Roman times the altar was probably called that of Pity. As such—the Altar of Pity—it is mentioned by Pausanias as he leaves the Agora. Both Altar and parapet, if not destroyed by the Heruli in the sack of 267 A.D., were at any rate dismantled soon thereafter and were never again rebuilt.

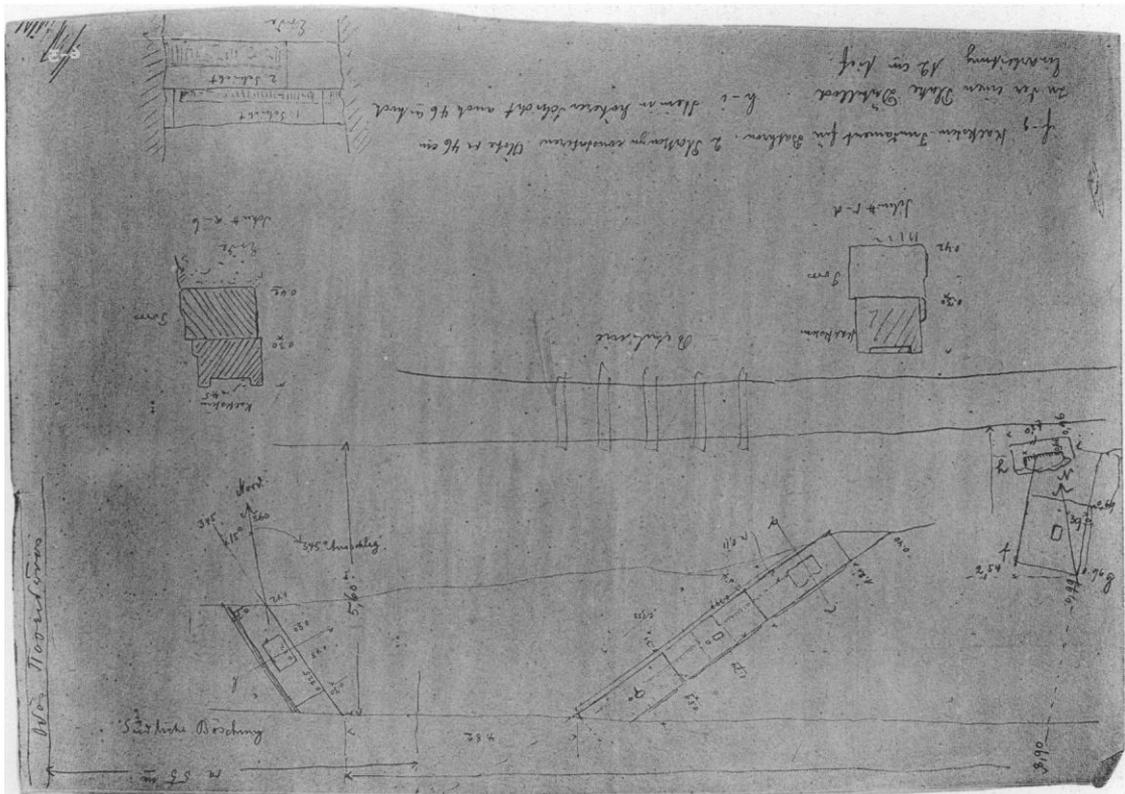
MARGARET CROSBY

AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

⁶⁰ Weinreich, "Lykische Zwölfgötter-Reliefs," *Sitzungsber. Heidelberger Akad.*, phil.-hist. Klasse, IV, 1913, Abh. 5, pp. 35-37.

⁶¹ Weinreich (Roscher, *Myth. Lex.*, VI, col. 773) and Domaszewski (*Sitzungsber. Heidelberger Akad.*, phil.-hist. Klasse, V, 1914, Abh. 10, p. 5) believe in separate altars; the latter uses the Philostratus text as evidence for the two altars in the same enclosure.

⁶² *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 69, "shortly after 362 B.C."



1. Drawing of Foundations as Exposed in 1891



2. Pits in Right-of-Way, 1934. View from East. Outline of Peribolos in Black

PLATE 12

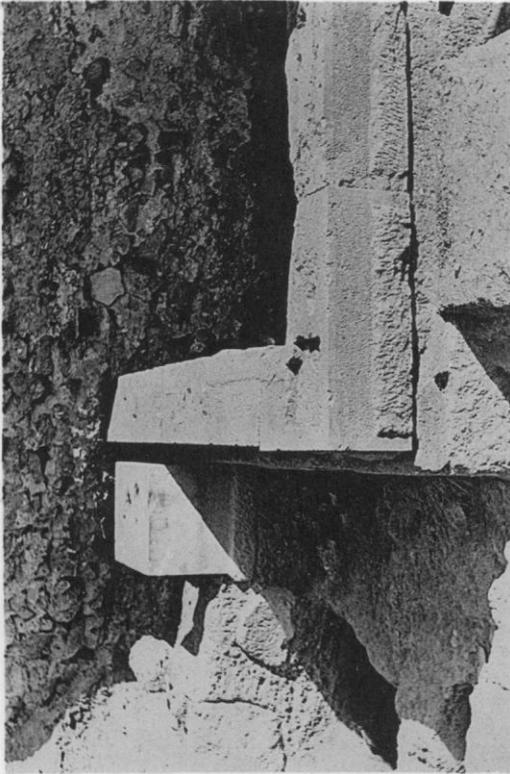


1. Southwest Corner of Peribolos from South



2. Cuttings on Lower Sill Course from Northeast 3. Cuttings on Lower Sill Course from Northwest

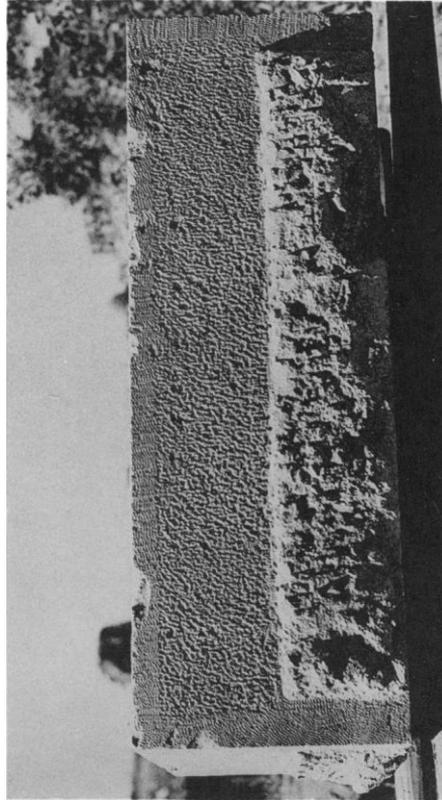
M. CROSBY: THE ALTAR OF THE TWELVE GODS IN ATHENS



1. Southwest Corner of Peribolos from South



2. Southwest Corner of Peribolos from West

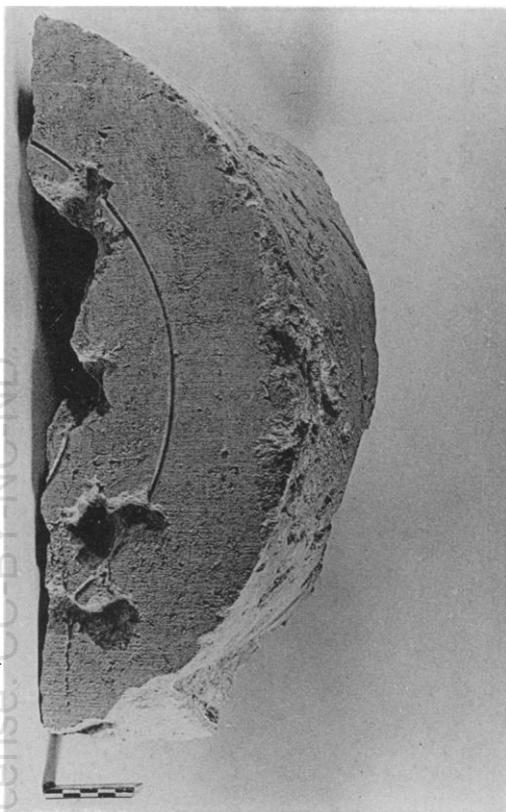


3. Southwest Corner Block of Second Sill Course

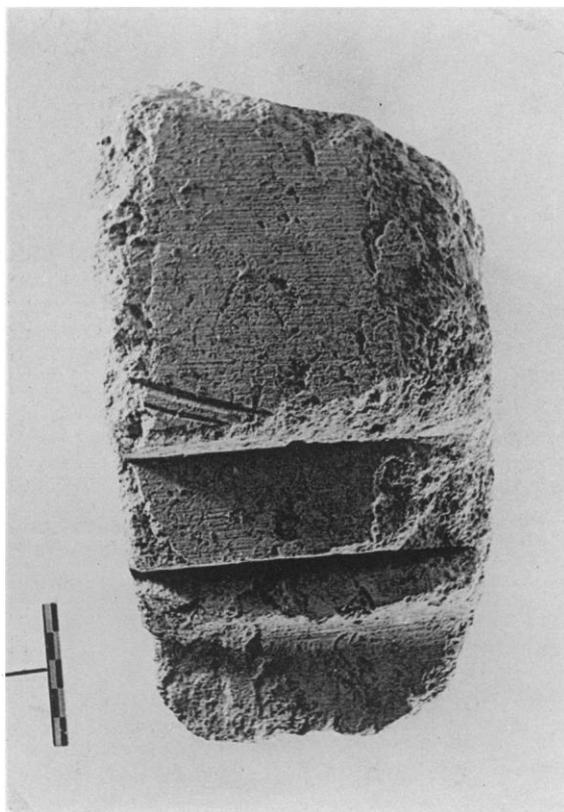


4. Floor Slabs along South Side, from West, Showing Altar Fragment Used as Packing

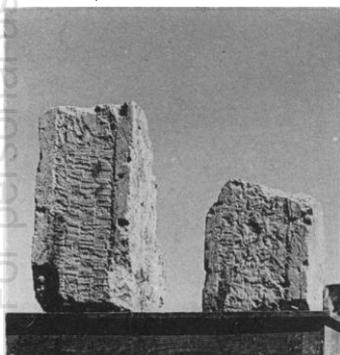
PLATE 14



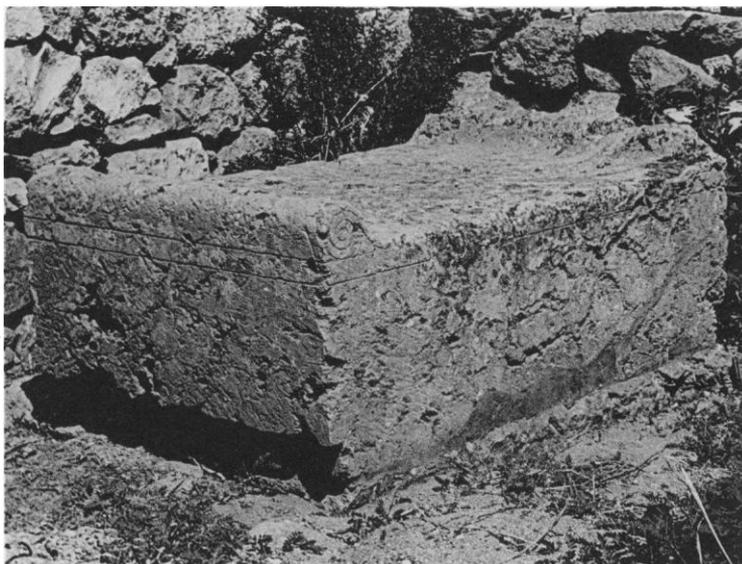
1. Fragment from Bolster of Altar



2. Fragment from Crowning Moulding of Altar



3. Fragments of Orthostates
(?) of Altar



4. Poros Altar on West Slope of Acropolis



The Largest Temple in the Peloponnesos

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Reviewed work(s):

Source: *Hesperia Supplements*, Vol. 8, Commemorative Studies in Honor of Theodore Leslie Shear (1949), pp. 104-115+451

Published by: [The American School of Classical Studies at Athens](#)

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THE LARGEST TEMPLE IN THE PELOPONNESOS

(PLATE 15)

EXACTLY half a kilometre northwest of the datum point of the Corinthian excavations (the southwest corner of the well-known archaic temple of Apollo), the road which witnessed the daily passage of American excavators during the seasons of 1915 and 1916 (B. H. Hill and the writer) and 1928 to 1931 (the late T. Leslie Shear and his staff), from the city plateau to the lower plain of the great North Cemetery, dips suddenly through a depression in the high bluffs.¹ At this point, just to the left of the road, stands a line of blocks (Plate 15) forming part of the remains of a large fortified redoubt, laid out after the Venetian seizure of the town in 1687, to secure the head of a military road leading up from the Corinthian Gulf.² And just to the right of the road are three nondescript circular column bases on square plinths *in situ*, likewise in an east-to-west line, enframed at north and south by parallel wall foundations possibly belonging to the "old gymnasium" mentioned by Pausanias (II, 4, 5).³ The northern of these walls had been incorporated in the same Venetian fortification, and thus determined the line of the westward prolongation containing the blocks with which we are concerned.⁴

Most of the early travelers who visited Corinth after the Venetian occupation, such as Stuart and Revett, LeRoy, and Chandler, and even most of those of later times such as Dodwell, Gell, Blouet, and Beulé, did not allude to these remains. The first to note them was Clarke who arrived in 1801 (*Travels in Various Countries*, 1814, VI, pp. 547, 552). Next came Leake, here in 1806, reporting the facts as follows:⁵

On the brow of the cliffs . . . I remarked the foundations of a large building, and some fragments of Doric columns, sufficient, I think, to prove that in this spot anciently stood another of the principal edifices of *Grecian* Corinth. It was apparently a temple of the usual plan, and of larger dimensions than that to which the extant columns [of the temple of Apollo] belonged, for some fragments of shafts, probably not from the lowest part of the shaft, are six feet three inches [1.905 m.] in diameter, and the chord of the fluting is twelve inches [0.305 m.]. It seems therefore to have been a hexastyle about seventy-five feet [22.86 m.] in breadth.

¹ See the sketch plan of the Corinth excavations in 1896 (*A.J.A.*, I, 1897, pl. 14; repeated in *Corinth: I, Introduction, Topography, Architecture*, 1932, p. 7, fig. 3). Also the general plan by Mazarakis, in Skias, *Πρακτικά*, 1906, pl. E' (reproduced in simplified form in *Corinth*, I, p. 79, fig. 46).

² The original plans of these forts exist in the Biblioteca Marciana at Venice, and photographs of them were secured by the late James M. Paton for the Corinth archives. See also Carpenter and Bon, *Corinth*, III, 2, *The Defenses of Acrocorinth and the Lower Town*, 1936, pp. 153-154, 268-269, figs. 96-97, 219.

³ Carpenter, *Guide to the Excavations of Ancient Corinth*, 2nd ed., 1933, p. 87.

⁴ Dörpfeld, excavating in 1886 (see below), assumed that the western prolongation actually formed part of the north wall enclosing the column bases; he regarded the remains as belonging to a Roman building or a Byzantine church.

⁵ Leake, *Travels in the Morea*, 1830, III, pp. 247-248. In *Peloponnesiaca*, 1846, pp. 393-395, he attempted to justify his attribution of these remains to the temple of Apollo at greater length.

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Having assigned the standing temple to Athena Chalinitis, Leake identified these remains in turn as belonging to the temple of Apollo, assuming that it stood at the left of the road leading out toward Sikyon. Pouqueville and Vischer made similar observations; and Curtius followed Leake without question: ⁶

Die Säulentrümmern bezeugen ein ansehnliches Tempelgebäude und der Apollotempel war seit alter Zeit der heilige Mittelpunkt der städtischen Gemeinde.

The remains attracted the attention of Dörpfeld during his excavation of the temple of Apollo in 1886, and to him we owe the most important published account of the items which form the subject of this paper: ⁷

Durch die Ausgrabung wurde aber weiter constatirt, dass die dorische Säulentrommel, welche schon Leake erwähnt, in die nördlichste Mauer dieses Bauwerks eingebaut ist, und dass in derselben Mauer noch ein Stück eines grossen dorischen Architravs steckt. Säule und Architrav gehören nach ihren Dimensionen und ihrem Material einem alten dorischen Tempel an, und zwar einem Bau, der noch beträchtlich grösser war als der bisher allein bekannte Tempel und dem grössten Tempel im Peloponnes, dem Zeustempel in Olympia, an Grösse gleich kam. Der gefundene Architrav aus Poros, an welchem noch ein Theil der Tropfenleiste erhalten ist, hat eine Höhe von 1.75 m., ist also genau so hoch wie der Architrav des olympischen Tempels. Wo dieser grosse dorische Tempel gestanden hat, ist nicht zu bestimmen, da keine alten Fundamente gefunden sind. Wahrscheinlich stand er nicht weit von dem späteren Bau, in welchen einige seine Steine vermauert sind. Ist diese Annahme richtig, so kann der grosse alte Tempel nach des Pausanias Beschreibung kaum etwas anderes als der Apollotempel sein, der an der Strasse, welche von der Agora nach dem sikyonischen Thore fuhrte, zur Rechten lag. Als Erbauungszeit des Tempels dürfen wir auf Grund der vorhandenen Bauglieder dieselbe Epoche annehmen, in welcher auch der noch aufrecht stehende Tempel erbaut ist.

Frazer, combining the observations of Leake and Dörpfeld, concluded as follows: ⁸

In the most northerly of the three walls is the drum of a Doric column and also a fragment of a large Doric architrave. These must have formed part of a large Doric temple, larger probably than the one of which the seven columns are standing. For the diameter of the drum (which Leake thought not to be from the lowest part of the shaft) measures 6 ft. 3 in. [1.905 m.], and the architrave is exactly the height of the architrave of the great temple of Zeus at Olympia. Dr. Dörpfeld thinks that the temple in question must have stood not far from the later building in which the fragments are found; and he, like Leake, conjectures that the temple was no other than the temple of Apollo described by Pausanias.

While Frazer was writing, during the first of the American campaigns at Corinth in 1896 trial trenches (I and II) were sunk just to the west of the "several column drums" which had attracted Dörpfeld. The first of these uncovered thirty-five pieces of Corinthian marble fluted column shafts laid on their sides to form part of the Venetian redoubt, while the second, still farther northwest, uncovered fourteen early rock-cut graves with skeletons and unpainted pottery.⁹ The "column drums" themselves, while mentioned by Richardson, were not investigated at this time.

⁶ Pouqueville, *Voyage de la Grèce*, 2nd ed., 1826, IV, p. 460; Vischer, *Erinnerungen und Eindrücke aus Griechenland*, 2nd ed., 1875, p. 266. Curtius, *Peloponnesos*, 1852, II, p. 532.

⁷ *Ath. Mitt.*, XI, 1886, pp. 307-308.

⁸ Frazer, *Pausanias*, III, pp. 37-38.

⁹ Richardson, *A.J.A.*, I, 1897, pp. 457-460.

A brief examination of the "column drums," which involved some amount of clearing, was made by the writer in 1911 (June 30), though no publication resulted.¹⁰ Thus Fowler, in his description of Corinth and the Corinthia, discusses our "drums" only briefly:¹¹

One of these is part of a fluted Doric column more than 1.50 m. in diameter, the other a great block, possibly from an architrave. The corners of this are rounded, which indicates that it was rolled to the spot from a considerable distance; its present position is, therefore, no indication of the position of the building to which it originally belonged.

The more recognizable of these pieces is a great column "drum," lying on its side (Plate 15, at right), the maximum preserved height (between beds) being 1.15 m. As a matter of fact, neither of the two beds, bottom or top, is original; for the upper end is a natural break, while the lower end of the drum (forming part of the exposed north face of the Venetian wall) presents a wavy surface which is the result of Venetian sawing, done in order to make the block more portable when it was brought to its present position.¹² In order to bed the block more firmly in the wall, moreover, one side was split off after it arrived on the present site; thus of the twenty original flutes only thirteen now remain. The side of an inscribed square (the chord of five flutes) being 1.285 m. at the present sawn bottom (less at the broken top), we may estimate the full diameter at this level as 1.817 m. From the fact that the upper end is broken, the lower end sawn, neither showing an original bed surface though the remaining height is 1.15 m., it is obvious either that the "drum" was part of a monolithic shaft like those of the temple of Apollo at Corinth, or that it came from a column shaft built up with comparatively few tall drums like those of the colossal temple of Apollo ("GT") at Selinus in Sicily. The dimensions, furthermore, show that it came from a structure considerably larger in scale than the temple of Apollo, of which the maximum column diameter (on the fronts) is 1.744 m., diminishing to 1.295 m. at the top, while on the flanks the diameters are only 1.645 m. at the bottom and 1.232 m. at the top. We may conclude, therefore, that the height of the columns greatly exceeded that of 7.24 m. in the temple of Apollo.¹³

The shaft had twenty flutes, separated apparently by sharp arrises (now badly worn) as in the temple of Apollo. The width of each flute, at the present bottom of the "drum," is 0.284 m. measured on the chord or 0.2855 m. as calculated on the arc

¹⁰ The photographs and notebook sketches made at this time were deposited in the archive of the Corinthian excavations and have proved to be inaccessible for the purposes of this article. Plate 15 has been reproduced, therefore, from a new photograph supplied through the kindness of Professor David M. Robinson. Unfortunately, during the thirty-five years since the excavation, the lower portions of the blocks have now (1946) been concealed by the accumulation of earth.

¹¹ *Corinth*, I, 1932, pp. 92-93.

¹² This was pointed out to me by B. H. Hill during my initiation at Corinth.

¹³ I employ the dimensions obtained in my survey of 1914, differing slightly from those of Stillwell (*Corinth*, I, pl. IX), who gives 1.72 m. and 1.63 m. at the bottom and 1.295 m. and 1.23 m. at the top; we concur as to height.

of the circumference, and the depth of the flute is 0.058 m. measured from the full circumference, the diameter within the flutes being 1.701 m. at this point. Each flute is a circular arc, evidently struck with a radius of 0.2025 m. at this particular level, and so subtended an angle of $89^{\circ} 1'$, slightly less than a right angle; presumably it was intended to be $88^{\circ} 51'$, so that the chord and radius maintained a fixed ratio of 7:5 from bottom to top.¹⁴ No traces of the original stucco are perceptible; the few patches now remaining are evidently cement of the epoch of the Venetian fortifications. An interesting constructive detail is the ancient repair of a broken arris, just at the point where the back of the drum was split off by the Venetians: the defective arris had been cut out by the original builders for a height of 0.195 m. and to a depth of 0.0335 m., so that the width of the cutting, and thus of the missing inserted piece, was 0.092 m.

The second prominent block, farther to the west (Plate 15, at left), while shaped superficially like a column drum, is really a portion of an epistyle lying on its left end joint, with its original face inward toward the south and its top to the west, so that the well-finished rear joint surface is now flush with the north face of the fortification wall. Its deceptive appearance is due to the fact that the Venetians, in order to roll it conveniently to its present position, incised on the original back (the present north face) a circle about 1.85 m. in diameter, by means of a groove 0.02 m. wide and 0.01 m. deep. In accordance with this circle they roughly rounded off the corners; but since the corners at the left joint retained something of their original squareness this joint was utilized for bedding the "drum" more firmly in the wall. The original height of the epistyle is preserved, 1.751 m. (as compared with 1.327 m. in the temple of Apollo); and the width of the soffit is 0.965 m. (the thickness at some distance above the soffit in the hollowed joint being 0.955 m.), so that if doubled we obtain an original soffit width of 1.930 m. (as compared with 1.62 m. and 1.55 m. on front and flank in the temple of Apollo). The maximum length is now 1.71 m., giving no idea of the original span. On the present south face (the original exposed face) are still visible the hacked outlines of the taenia and half regula nearest the joint; the height of the taenia is 0.122 m. and that of the regula 0.120 m., the two being practically equal (as compared with 0.117 m. and 0.108 m., respectively, in the temple of Apollo).¹⁵ The projections are unknown as a result of the later recutting; and no traces of the guttae remain. Most significant is the length of the half regula, 0.587 m.; it is thus certain that the width of the triglyph was 1.174 m. (as compared with 0.835 m. and 0.747 m. on front and flank in the temple of Apollo). All these dimensions prove that

¹⁴ I. e., with the chord of 0.284 m. at this level the radius of the flute should actually measure 0.20285 m. But of course at the time of erection such radii would have been calculated only at the bottom and top of the shaft.

¹⁵ I again employ my measurements; Stillwell gives 0.115 m. for each in the case of the temple of Apollo.

the epistyle, like the piece of column shaft, belonged to a much larger building than the standing archaic temple.

Among the technical details of the epistyle the most remarkable are the two great lewis holes in the top, placed lengthwise parallel to the face of the epistyle, each 0.26/0.28 m. in length, 0.11 m. in width, and 0.59 m. in depth. The centers of these holes are 0.61 m. and 1.36 m. from the left end joint; that toward the left joint widens at the bottom toward the left, the other in the opposite direction. It is apparent that the epistyle block must have been hoisted by four lewises working simultaneously, two at each end of the block, probably with each pair suspended from a single rope. Also on the top of the epistyle are pry holes, about 0.05×0.02 m. in plan and 0.04 m. deep, placed with their lengths at right angles to the face of the epistyle; there are two of these holes, one near the front and one near the back, centered at or barely to the left of the end of the half regula, and so evidently used for prying the rebated triglyph block into place from the right. No traces of clamps remain, because of the rounded corner cut by the Venetians (Fig. 1).

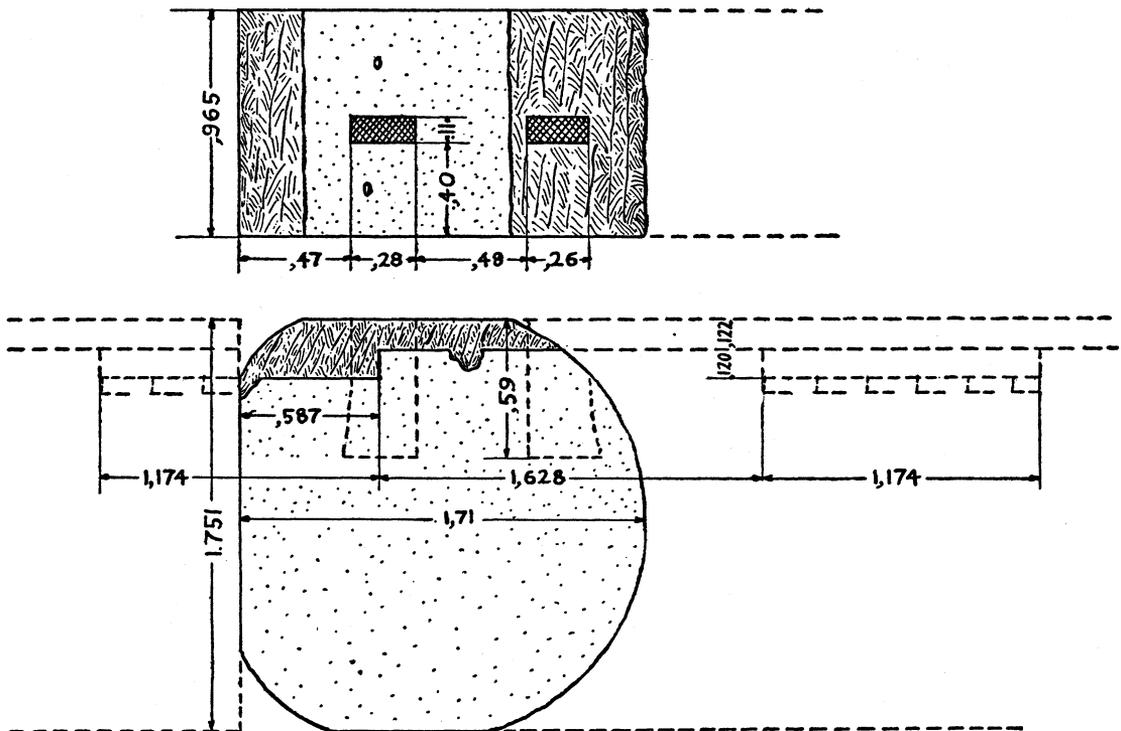


Fig. 1. Great Epistyle Block at Corinth

So much for the description of the two pieces; we now turn to their interpretation. In the first place, it is hardly possible to assume that they came from different buildings; their likeness in material, exceptional size, and uniformity of treatment

by the Venetians, all suggest a common source, a single colossal building which can hardly have been anything but a temple.

For the purpose of ascertaining the main dimensions, the proportions, and the probable date of the temple to which these remains belonged, we may tabulate some comparable dimensions of a few other temples of various periods, confining our attention to those of large size in order to avoid minor complications of scale, as follows: ¹⁶

TABLE OF DIMENSIONS	Axial column spacing		Column diameter		Triglyph width		Epistyle height
	Front	Flank	Front	Flank	Front	Flank	
	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>f</i>		g
Corinth, Apollo	4.028 m.	3.744 m.	1.744 m.	1.645 m.	0.835 m.	0.747 m.	1.327 m.
Athens, Peisistratid	4.04 m.	3.84 m.	1.63 m.	1.55 m.	0.822 m.	0.753 m.	1.275 m.
Delphi, Old Apollo	4.106 m.	4.002 m.	1.80 m.	1.72 m.	0.8465 m.	0.8185 m.	1.415 m.
“ Alcmaeonid	4.124 m.	“	1.72 m.	“	0.8905 m.	“	“
Olympia, Zeus	5.2265 m.	5.221 m.	2.25 m.	2.21 m.	1.060 m.	1.060 m.	1.767 m.
Athens, Parthenon	4.2965 m.	4.2915 m.	1.905 m.	1.905 m.	0.844 m.	0.844 m.	1.351 m.
Nemea, Zeus	3.750 m.	3.746 m.	1.63 m.	1.63 m.	0.733 m.	0.733 m.	1.025 m.

The ideal proportion for the triglyph width was two-thirds of the metope and consequently one-fifth of the axial spacing of the columns. Applying this rule to the triglyph width of 1.174 m., we should obtain a column spacing of 5.870 m. Actually, however, we find over the years considerable variation from the ratio 1:5. Our table yields the following ($e:a$ and $f:b$): 1:4.824 and 1:5.012 on front and flank in the temple of Apollo at Corinth; 1:4.915 and 1:5.100 on front and flank in the Peisistratid temple at Athens; 1:4.851 on the west front, 1:4.632 on the east front, and 1:4.889 on the flank at Delphi; 1:4.931 and 1:4.925 on front and flank at Olympia; 1:5.091 and 1:5.085 on front and flank in the Parthenon; and 1:5.116 and 1:5.111 on front and flank at Nemea. It is apparent that, on these analogies, the axial spacing in our Corinthian temple might have ranged anywhere between 5.438 m. (given by east front ratio 1:4.632 at Delphi) and 6.006 m. (given by front ratio 1:5.116 at Nemea).

The width of the triglyph also bore a fairly recognizable relation to the lower column diameter, one being approximately half of the other; but here again we find considerable variation. Our table yields the following ratios ($e:c$ and $f:d$): 1:2.310 and 1:2.276 on front and flank in the temple of Apollo at Corinth; 1:1.986 and 1:2.061 on front and flank in the Peisistratid temple at Athens; 1:2.126 on the west front, 1:1.931 on the east front, and 1:2.101 on the flank at Delphi; 1:2.123 and

¹⁶ The dimensions at Corinth, Delphi, and Nemea and those of the Parthenon are my own measurements and calculations; those of the Peisistratid temple of Athena at Athens and of the temple of Zeus at Olympia are taken from Dörpfeld, with modifications of the column diameters in the former and of the column spacings in the latter.

1:2.085 on front and flank at Olympia; 1:2.257 in the Parthenon; and 1:2.224 at Nemea. It is apparent that, on these analogies, the lower column diameter in our Corinthian temple might have been anywhere between 2.267 m. (given by east front ratio 1:1.931 at Delphi) and 2.650 m. (given by Parthenon ratio 1:2.257).

Comparison of the lower diameters and axial spacings of the columns in other temples yields the following ratios ($c:a$ and $d:b$): 1:2.310 and 1:2.276 on front and flank in the temple of Apollo at Corinth; 1:2.479 and 1:2.477 on front and flank in the Peisistratid temple at Athens; 1:2.281 on the west front, 1:2.398 on the east front, and 1:2.327 on the flank at Delphi; 1:2.323 and 1:2.362 on front and flank at Olympia; 1:2.255 and 1:2.253 on front and flank in the Parthenon; and 1:2.301 and 1:2.298 on front and flank at Nemea. If we compare these ratios with the extremes in axial spacing permitted by the triglyph width, applying the largest ratio (1:2.479) to the minimum axial spacing and the smallest ratio (1:2.253) to the maximum axial spacing, the resulting extreme allowances for the lower diameter would be as follows:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{minimum} & 5.438 \div 2.479 = 2.194 \text{ m.} \\ \text{maximum} & 6.006 \div 2.253 = 2.666 \text{ m.} \end{aligned}$$

And, conversely, if we compare the same ratios with the extremes in diameter permitted by the triglyph width, applying the smallest ratio (1:2.253) to the minimum diameter and the largest ratio (1:2.479) to the maximum diameter, the resulting extreme allowances for the axial spacing would be as follows:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{minimum} & 2.267 \times 2.253 = 5.108 \text{ m.} \\ \text{maximum} & 2.650 \times 2.479 = 6.569 \text{ m.} \end{aligned}$$

In other words, the extreme limits for the lower diameter are still 2.267 m. and 2.650 m., and those for the axial spacing 5.438 m. and 6.006 m., as obtained in the foregoing paragraphs.

We now return to the extant column "drum," on which we have measured an actual diameter of 1.817 m., though neither at the bottom nor at the top of the shaft. If this diameter could be considered as the mean diameter of the entire column, we might conclude, in view of the fact that a Doric column can be diminished by an amount varying from one-fourth to one-fifth of the lower diameter, that it should be regarded as 0.875/0.900 lower diameter, which would thus have been 2.019/2.077 m., giving an upper diameter of 1.558/1.615 m. If, however, the extant "drum" came from a lower portion of the shaft, the lower diameter would be smaller, the contrary if it came from a higher portion. In other words, if the bottom of the extant "drum" were about one-fifth of the shaft height above the bottom, it would be about 0.950/0.960 lower diameter, which would thus be about 1.893/1.913 m.; or if it were about one-fifth below the top, it would be about 0.800/0.840 lower diameter, which would thus be about 2.163/2.271 m. Thus 1.893 m. and 2.271 m. would seem to be

the probable extremes for the lower diameter. Of these, the greater amount seems the more likely in view of the fact that the diminution in the extant "drum" is somewhat more rapid than would be expected in the lower part, the greater rapidity in the upper part being the natural result of entasis. Furthermore, the measurement of a diameter of 1.905 m. by Leake and his allusion to several drums would suggest, if his statements can be trusted, that other pieces with a diameter even greater than that now remaining were available in 1806.

The only large dimension known is the height of the epistyle, 1.751 m., which, though probably not intended to be a simple dimension in terms of Doric feet, should at least have been expressed with a reasonable fraction. The following are the only possibilities allowing such fractions:

$$\begin{aligned} 1.751 &= 5\frac{1}{8} \quad \text{D. F. of } 0.32831 \text{ m.} = 5\frac{1}{4}\frac{7}{8} \quad \text{D. F. of } 0.32704 \text{ m.} \\ &= 5\frac{1}{3}\frac{1}{2} \quad \text{D. F. of } 0.32767 \text{ m.} = 5\frac{3}{8} \quad \text{D. F. of } 0.32577 \text{ m.} \end{aligned}$$

Of these, three may be eliminated as falling outside the normal bracket of 326 to 327¼ mm. for the Doric foot unit, thus leaving us with the conclusion that the epistyle height was designed as 5¹/₄⁷/₈ D. F. of exactly 0.327 m. The known triglyph width may then be interpreted as 3¹/₂ D. F. (1.172 m.), assuming that there is an error of 0.001 m. either in execution or in measurement of the half regula.

If the columns were uniform on all sides of the temple, only one solution becomes possible. The maximum permitted by the extant "drum" is only 0.004 m. greater than the minimum obtained from calculations based on the triglyph width, so that we might conceivably accept the only dimension common to both calculations, 2.27 m. The probabilities of this coincidence are so tenuous, however, that it seems preferable to assume that the extant "drum" belonged to a slightly smaller column on the flanks, and that the extant architrave belonged to a front system with wider triglyphs and heavier columns. The difference in column diameter might then be assumed to be 0.08 m. or ¼ D. F., as in many late archaic examples, or as 0.04 m. or ⅛ D. F. if we assign it to the fifth century, thus yielding possible diameters of about 2.31 m. and 2.23 m. or about 2.31 m. and 2.27 m., respectively, or preferably, in order to reconcile them with the Doric foot unit of 0.327 m., 2.330 m., and 2.248 m. (equivalent to 7¹/₈ and 6⁷/₈ D. F.) or 2.330 m. and 2.289 m. (equivalent to 7¹/₈ and 7 D. F.).

The axial spacing on the fronts, necessarily between the extremes of 5.438 m. and 6.006 m., could not, even with the maximum ratio of 1:2.479 employed on the Peisistratid fronts at Athens, have exceeded 5.773 m. (17⁵/₈ D. F.),¹⁷ and would probably have been considerably less. The minimum allowable axial spacing, on the other hand, being 5.436 m. (16⁵/₈ D. F.), would have been equivalent to 2¹/₃ front diameters of 2.330 m. (7¹/₈ D. F.). Experiment with the latter dimensions and with a triglyph width of 3¹/₂ D. F. shows, however, that the metope width could have been

¹⁷ I. e., $2.479 \times 2.330 = 5.776 \text{ m.}$

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only $4\frac{3}{8}$ D. F.,¹⁸ giving a triglyph: metope ratio of only 1: 1.320. As compared with other temple-front ratios ($e: \frac{1}{2}a - e$), we have 1: 1.412 in the temple of Apollo at Corinth, 1: 1.457 in the Peisistratid temple at Athens, 1: 1.425 on the west front and 1: 1.316 on the east front at Delphi, 1: 1.466 at Olympia, 1: 1.545 in the Parthenon, and 1: 1.558 at Nemea. The low ratio of 1: 1.316 on the east front at Delphi would be a satisfactory analogy were it not that this was distinctly exceptional, resulting from an alteration of the design by the Alcmaeonids with a redistribution of equally spaced metopes across the previously determined width of the façade. It would hardly be plausible to assume that our triglyph: metope ratio was less than 1: 1.385, which would increase the metope width in our temple to $4\frac{7}{8}$ D. F. (1.628 m.) and so the front axial spacing to about $17\frac{1}{8}$ D. F. (5.600 m.), giving a ratio of 1: 2.404 between front column diameter and axial spacing. Then the flank axial spacing might likewise have been 2.404 (flank) diameters and so 5.404 m. or 5.503 m.; but it is more likely to have been reduced merely by the amount of the reduction in the diameter itself, giving 5.518 m. ($16\frac{7}{8}$ D. F.) or 5.559 m. (17 D. F.), the intercolumniation remaining constantly 3.270 m. (10 D. F.). These colossal dimensions are second only to the axial spacings in the huge temple of Apollo ("GT") at Selinus, where we have 6.53 m. on the west front and 6.61 m. on the east front and flanks.¹⁹

Turning now to the question of date, and comparing the ratio between the front triglyph width and axial spacing, 1.174 m. and 5.600 m. giving 1: 4.770 m., with the results obtained from our table ($e: a$ and $f: b$), it is apparent that the ratio, though exceptionally heavy, would not be incompatible with the archaic examples or even with that at Olympia, though it could hardly have appeared in a temple contemporary with that at Nemea. The same is true of the ratio between the front triglyph and column diameter; 1.174 m. and 2.330 m. giving 1: 1.985, the comparison ($e: c$ and $f: d$) shows that it would be conceivable as late as the temple at Olympia but not much later. As for the ratios between the column diameters and axial spacings, estimated as 1: 2.404 on the front and 1: 2.455 or 1: 2.429 on the flank (2.248: 5.518 m. or 2.289: 5.559 m.), our analogies ($c: a$ and $d: b$) show that these again are exceptional and so of little assistance in dating the temple.

We fall back, therefore, upon such minor features as the ratio between triglyph width and epistyle height, 1.174 m. and 1.751 m. giving 1: 1.491. From our Table ($e: g$ and $f: g$) we obtain 1: 1.589 and 1: 1.776 on front and flank of the temple of Apollo at Corinth; 1: 1.551 and 1: 1.693 on front and flank of the Peisistratid temple at Athens; 1: 1.672 on the west front, 1: 1.589 on the east front, and 1: 1.729 on the flank at Delphi; 1: 1.667 at Olympia; 1: 1.601 in the Parthenon; and 1: 1.398 at Nemea. These results would suggest that our epistyle is hardly to be assigned to the

¹⁸ I. e., $\frac{1}{2}(16\frac{5}{8}) - 3\frac{7}{12} = 4\frac{3}{8}$ D. F.

¹⁹ We may exclude from the comparison the even greater spacings in the pseudo-peripteral Olympieion at Akragas, where the axial spacings of 8.042 m. (fronts) and 8.185 m. (flanks) are mitigated by the solid walls filling the intercolumnar intervals.

sixth century; the lightness of proportions suggests rather the fifth or fourth, though earlier than the temple at Nemea.

This impression is intensified when we take into consideration the extreme lightness of the crowning mouldings of the epistyle. The heights of the taenia and regula being 0.122 m. and 0.120 m., their sum, 0.242 m., goes 7.236 times into the total height of the epistyle. But in the temple of Apollo we have $0.117 + 0.108 = 0.225$ m., going only 5.898 times into the epistyle height (g). In the Peisistratid temple at Athens ($0.1275 + 0.1335 = 0.261$ m.) the ratio is 1:4.885; at Delphi ($0.153 + 0.134 = 0.287$ m.) it is 1:4.930; at Olympia ($0.150 + 0.150 = 0.300$) it is 1:5.890; and even in the Parthenon ($0.114 + 0.081 = 0.195$ m.) it is only 1:6.928. In the Athenian Propylaea ($0.0895 + 0.065 = 0.1545$ m.), displaying a special tendency toward reduction in the heights of mouldings combined with greater projections, and with an epistyle height of 1.145 m., the ratio is 1:7.411 which must be regarded as distinctly exceptional. At Nemea the sum ($0.087 + 0.056 = 0.143$ m.) goes into the epistyle height 7.168 times. From these comparisons it seems evident that a ratio of 1:7.236 could not have been attained much before the time of the Parthenon.

Similarly we may compare the ratio between the heights of the two mouldings together and the width of the triglyph, 0.242 m. and 1.174 m. giving a ratio of 1:4.851. Employing the dimensions given above, we find that in the temple of Apollo at Corinth the ratios are 1:3.711 (front) and 1:3.320 (flank), in the Peisistratid temple at Athens 1:3.149 (front) and 1:2.885 (flank), at Delphi 1:2.949 (west front) and 1:2.852 (flank) and 1:3.103 (east front), at Olympia 1:3.533, in the Parthenon 1:4.328, in the Propylaea 1:4.592 (triglyph width 0.7095 m.), and at Nemea 1:5.126. Again we have a graded series wherein the ratio of 1:4.851 could find no logical place except between Parthenon and the temple at Nemea.

Another detail is the technical method of hoisting by means of lewises, which would be difficult to parallel in sixth-century work, though numerous analogies may be found in temples of the fifth and fourth centuries.

On the other hand, the apparently monolithic character of the extant column "drum," which on the analogy of the monolithic shafts in the temple of Apollo might seem to suggest an archaic origin, is a factor not cogent in itself. To be sure, huge monolithic shafts would be improbable in the later centuries; but, as noted above, such a "drum" might have come from columns built up with comparatively few tall drums, a natural process when the quarries lay in the neighborhood and transportation by sea was not involved. In other words, if we consider that the shafts were built up with three high drums, the construction would not be incompatible with a fifth- or fourth-century date.

The height of the columns, in Peloponnesian work of the first half of the fifth century, seems to have been planned as twice the axial spacing on the fronts, as at Aegina, or on all sides, as at Olympia. Applying this rule to our temple, the column

height would have been $2 \times 17\frac{1}{8} = 34\frac{1}{4}$ Doric feet or 11.200 m. This would have been equivalent to $4\frac{6}{7}$ front diameters and $4\frac{5}{5}$ or $4\frac{2}{8}$ flank diameters, proportions a little higher than at Olympia ($4\frac{3}{5}$ and $4\frac{2}{7}$ diameters, respectively). Athenian influence, as exemplified in the Parthenon, would have increased the height at this scale to about $38\frac{1}{4}$ D. F. or 12.507 m. ($5\frac{1}{9}$ front and $5\frac{4}{5}$ or $5\frac{1}{2}$ flank diameters); or the analogy of Nemea would still further have increased the height to about 44 D. F. or 14.388 m. ($6\frac{1}{7}$ front and $6\frac{2}{5}$ or $6\frac{1}{4}$ flank diameters). Both the Parthenon and the Nemean proportions yield such excessive heights that we may conclude that, in this huge temple, the Olympian system of 2 axial spacings still prevailed, an additional argument for dating the temple not long after the time of the Parthenon.

Now that the date seems to be restricted to the second half of the fifth century, we may infer that the difference between the column diameters on front and flank would have been only $\frac{1}{8}$ D. F. and consequently that these diameters were $7\frac{1}{8}$ and 7 D. F., respectively, and the axial spacings $17\frac{1}{8}$ and 17 D. F. The actual plan of the temple, of course, must remain unknown unless perchance its foundations should be discovered by excavation. With columns of such size the fronts must at least have been hexastyle, in which case the flanks may reasonably be assumed to have had fourteen columns (counting the corner columns twice), as at Tegea, but less than the temples of Apollo at Corinth, Delphi, and Bassae, more than the temples at Athens (Peisistratid), Olympia, and Nemea. Then the axial rectangle may be estimated as $(5 \times 17\frac{1}{8})$ by (13×17) or $85\frac{5}{8}$ by 221 D. F., diminished by the amount of contraction (perhaps $1\frac{1}{2}$ D. F., barely greater than at Olympia) at each corner, giving about $82\frac{3}{8}$ by 218 D. F. or 27.038 by 71.286 m. Adding the front column radius ($3\frac{3}{16}$ D. F.) at each corner, we obtain about $89\frac{3}{4}$ by $225\frac{1}{8}$ D. F. over the columns, and so about $90\frac{1}{4}$ by $225\frac{3}{8}$ D. F. or 29.512 by 73.698 m. on the stylobate. If the temple were octastyle we should add two spacings ($34\frac{1}{4}$ D. F.) on the front and perhaps three (51 D. F.) on the flank, giving a stylobate of about $124\frac{1}{2}$ by $276\frac{3}{8}$ D. F. or 40.612 by 90.375 m. Even with the more conservative dimensions our temple must have exceeded that of Apollo at Corinth by 8.03 m. in width and 19.87 m. in length, and that at Olympia by 1.83 m. in width and 9.58 m. in length of stylobate. If Pausanias had seen this temple—though it was presumably standing in his time—he could hardly have said (VIII, 45, 5) that “the present temple [at Tegea] far surpasses all other temples in the Peloponnesos both in size and style.”²⁰

With the evidence contained by two stones in a Venetian wall,²¹ therefore, it seems

²⁰ Frazer (*Pausanias*, IV, p. 425) rightly takes Pausanias to task for making this statement in the face of his own observations regarding the temple at Olympia (V, 10, 3); “but with this exception [says Frazer] the temple at Tegea is the largest Peloponnesian temple known to us.”

²¹ It may be noted that there is actually a third stone of this series, adding little to our knowledge: it is another piece of epistyle, lying face upward adjoining the column “drum,” toward

possible to construct in imagination what must have been the largest temple in the Peloponnesos, unknown as to location and cult, apparently overlooked by Pausanias,²² but erected in the latter part of the fifth century,²³ and presumably overthrown in one of the disastrous earthquakes of later imperial times, such as that which immediately followed the death of Valentinian I, in 375 A.D.²⁴

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the large epistyle piece. It retains only 1.40 m. of the height and 1.32 m. of the length, with the original left joint and soffit; the latter, now facing north, is 0.96 m. wide. The original face (now the top) is partly covered with thick stucco which seems to be Roman, thus implying that the temple still existed in the time of Pausanias.

²² Hill once suggested (orally) that the temple might have been "a sanctuary of Zeus called Capitolius in the Latin language, though in Greek he might be called Koryphaios," located "beyond the theater" near the spring called Lerna (Pausanias, II, 4, 5), — hardly, therefore, to be identified, as suggested by Miss Freeman (*Corinth*, I, ii, pp. 166, 235-236), with Temple "E" above the Agora, which is more probably the Temple of Octavia (Gens Julia or Augusta) — on the assumption that the temple of a god with such an epithet might well have stood on a height from which the "drums" might have been rolled down to the Venetian redoubt. I should hesitate to believe, however, that this sanctuary, if it were identical with our temple, would have been discussed by Pausanias with no allusion to its enormous size, a characteristic to which he was prone to allude. Nor does Fowler's conclusion, based on the transformation of the pieces into "drums," that they were rolled from a considerable distance, seem to be a valid deduction. Of course we reject the old assumption of Leake, Curtius, and Dörpfeld, that they belonged to the temple of Apollo seen by Pausanias at the right of the road toward Sikyon, since the standing archaic temple has long been correctly identified as that of Apollo.

²³ In other words, we may reject Dörpfeld's conclusion, based partly on the false identification and partly on the colossal size of the pieces, that they come from a temple of about the same date as the standing temple of Apollo, that is, about 540 B.C.

²⁴ Zosimus, IV, 18; for some of the effects of this earthquake at Corinth see my study of "The West Shops" (at Corinth), now in preparation.



Archons of the Period after Sulla

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Reviewed work(s):

Source: *Hesperia Supplements*, Vol. 8, Commemorative Studies in Honor of Theodore Leslie Shear (1949), pp. 116-125+451

Published by: [The American School of Classical Studies at Athens](#)

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ARCHONS OF THE PERIOD AFTER SULLA

(PLATE 15)

1. TWO FRAGMENTS from a stele of Pentelic marble.

Fragment A. Unpublished; T. L. Shear included a preliminary note in his report for the 1935 season, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 42. Plate 15.

Agora Inventory, no. I 2388.

The left side is preserved; it is tooth-chiseled. The original rough-picked back is also preserved.

Height, 0.23 m.; width, 0.17 m.; thickness, 0.134 m.

Height of letters, exclusive of phi, *ca.* 0.009 m.

Found in the demolition of a modern house-wall in Section O at 43/Z. (The data in the preceding five sentences are quoted from the Agora Inventory card.) Section O runs from in front of the Stoa of Attalos toward the middle of the Agora (*Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 360 is the clearest plan).

It should be noted that the horizontal spacing is wider in lines 2-3 than in lines 4-15, and wider in line 1 than in lines 2-3. The letters in line 1 were also larger. Vertically, measured on the squeeze, lines 4-13 occupy 0.118 m.

The left margin is somewhat irregular, line 13 being indented a half-space. The edge here shows considerable rubbing, and it may well be that when the inscription was carved, the block already showed defects at the edge similar to the cracks now visible at the level of lines 2-6. Conceivably the block had formerly been used for another purpose, and was injured, like so many, in the Sullan destruction.

Fragment B. *I.G.*, II², 1716, most recently reëdited by S. Dow in *Am. Journ. Archaeol.*, XXXVII, 1933, pp. 578-588, with plates LXV and LXVI (the latter a drawing); bibliography, p. 585; place of finding, p. 585. Plate 15.

Epigraphical Museum, inventory no. 8450.

Broken all round the edges; back original.

Height, 0.31 m.; width, 0.26 m.; thickness, 0.16 m.

Height of letters, i. e., length of longest chisel blade, 0.010 m. Some lines have shorter letters. Phi is much taller. Vertically, measured on the squeeze, lines 121-130 occupy 0.136 m.; lines 131-140 occupy 0.145 m.

NOTE. For their kind assistance I am grateful to Professors W. S. Ferguson and B. D. Meritt.

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UNION OF THE TWO FRAGMENTS. The suggestion that the two fragments were actually from the same inscription was first made by W. B. Dinsmoor (*per litt.*). The stones have not as yet actually been brought together, but apparently the differences are trivial. The reader will note that the photographs have been taken in different lights, and that Frag. A has not been rubbed down by footwear. Nor are differences in the vertical spacings and heights of letters significant, since variations are observable on each fragment. The thickness of Frag. A has been measured as 0.026 m. thinner than Frag. B, a discrepancy not great enough to cause misgivings. On the positive side, the apparent identity of the hands, the use of the one-space indentation in each case following a line with a date, and in general the similarity of the contents all bespeak an essential unity.

The preserved dimensions suggest that the original stele was of the order of 0.60-0.70 m. in width and *ca.* 1.35 m. or more in height. There may have been space vertically for as many as 100 lines in each column, but hardly more; when allowance is made for a missing decree in large letters at the top, then columns of 70-80 lines are more probably indicated.

INTEREST AND CONTENT. The inscription is chiefly of interest because the fragments preserve the names of the archons of the years 87/6-81/0 and 63/2-53/2 B.C. The individual archons are commented upon *infra* under the various lines; summary, p. 125; and for Fragment B, *Am. Journ. Archaeol.*, XXXVII, 1933, pp. 578-588. The purpose of the inscription was to honor and to list certain officials. The lists were made up of a date (*ἐπί* with the name of an archon) and the name of the official (regularly with a patronymic, in full or abbreviated). We shall find reason to believe that there were only the two columns with a list in each.

The first column is headed (line 4): *οἶδε ἐραπίευν[σαν]*; the heading of the second column is lost. There is some further evidence to help in identifying the offices. (1) Each office could be held more than once, and apparently each office was in fact often held twice: cf. lines 66 and 68, 122 and 124, 126 and 136. No instance of a third term appears among the 14 preserved annual entries. (2) In certain years either office (but not both?) might go unfilled: cf. lines 64, 132, 138. The likely inference is that candidates were hard to find because the offices were burdensome.¹ It is in this very decade (63/2-54/3) when the three vacancies occur, that the instances of second terms, of two Roman office-holders (lines 128 and 130), and of two Roman

¹ The archons, officials, and blank years are tabulated in *Am. Journ. Archaeol.*, XXXVII, 1933, p. 582. For the blank years, an explanation which I did not consider in the earlier article should be mentioned as an admissible alternative, viz., that the redactor(s) of the lists did not know the names of the incumbents for the years in question. Notoriously Greek lists were put up with gaps which were to be filled later, but which mostly never were filled. The main reason for not adopting this explanation here is the facts in the next sentence.

archons (lines 129 and 135) also occur.² Again the inference is natural that candidates were hard to find because the offices involved some financial outlay; conversely, the period which included the decade 63/2-54/3, and an unknown number of years before or after, apparently was a time of financial depression.³ (3) The second office, and possibly the first also, could be held concurrently with the office of archon eponymous, since Aristaios served under Aristaios (lines 123-124; year 62/1 B.C.).⁴ Hence the second office was not that of Herald of the Areiopagos.⁵ *I.G.*, II², 2336 shows multiple tenure of offices during certain years, which are probably years of stress,⁶ and the year 62/1 may well have been such a year. But it is notable that even in the years for which *I.G.*, II², 2336 now provides full evidence, there is no instance of an archon holding another office in his own year. Later the archon eponymous was regularly priest of Drusus. No more nearly contemporary or relevant parallel is known to me. (4) From all this evidence, both offices appear to have been among the most important in the state, worthy of being recorded in the present elaborate inscription. (5) Coming to particular positions, we may exclude the twin office of the mint magistrates, on the evidence of lines 68 and 140: see *Am. Journ. Archaeol.*, XXXVII, 1933, p. 588. (6) Also excluded are the treasurers of the prytaneis, since there were 12 of these each year; and the treasurer of the boule, whose prestige had sunk low (S. Dow, *Prytaneis* [*Hesperia*, Suppl. I], p. 18)—whereas that of the *ταμίης τῶν στρατιωτικῶν* had risen to considerable prominence (*ibid.*). It is in fact the latter office of which the holders are probably listed in Col. I.

As to Col. II, no clear grounds have appeared as yet to determine a preference. The requirement to be met is that of an office comparable in importance to the Military Treasurership, but slightly lower than it in prestige, since the second column is an

² Conceivably some of these men with Roman names were of Athenian (i. e., Greek Athenian) birth and blood. *Λεύκιος* was a real but a rare Greek and Athenian name: *P.A.*, 9057, of the fourth century B.C.; and cf. F. Bechtel, *Hist. Personennamen*, p. 229, *s.v.* *Kalvos*. Be this as it may, it is notable that in our modern reconstructed list of Athenian archons, which to be sure is far from complete, *Λεύκιος* and *Κώντος* are the first Roman *names* to appear, and are the only Roman names down to A.D. 64/5. Cf. the additional data given by Ferguson in *Klio*, IX, 1909, p. 330.

The archons appear simply with *ἐπί* and the one name, like Greeks; but this may not be significant.

³ On the economic condition of Athens between Sulla and Caesar, see John Day, *An Economic History of Athens under Roman Domination* (New York, 1942), pp. 126-130. I have not attempted to re-examine any of the other evidence. For the political developments, W. S. Ferguson, "Constitutional Crises in the First Century B.C.," *Klio*, IX, 1909, pp. 323-330.

⁴ That it was in fact the same Aristaios is strongly suggested by the absence, unique in this inscription, of a patronymic in line 124. For another mention of the archon Aristaios see now *Hesperia*, XIV, 1945, pp. 147-148, no. 19, line 5.

⁵ This is borne out by comparing line 136 with *I.G.*, II², 1717, line 16, which has a different man as Herald.

⁶ This text has been re-edited with new fragments and new readings by S. Dow in *Harv. Stud. Class. Philol.*, LI, 1940, pp. 111-124; cf. Years V and VI.

inferior position. Hence the Hoplite General is highly unlikely, perhaps one should say definitely excluded.

CITIZENSHIP. The names of the officials listed in Frag. B were excluded by Kirchner from his *Prosopographia Attica*, and by Sundwall from his *Nachträge*, on the ground presumably that the men were not proved to be Athenian citizens. The presence of the two Romans must have made this doubt seem plausible. On the other hand, it must have been almost unheard of in Athens for an elaborate list to be published on marble, with individual dates given for each man listed, when the men listed were not Athenian citizens. Hence the correct presumption for Kirchner and Sundwall was that the men were citizens, in this and in any similar case. In the present instance, now that the men listed are seen to be Athenian officials, they must be put down, "Romans" and all, as Athenian citizens.

DATES OF THE FIRST ARCHONS. As to the evidence for the dates, there is no need to discuss Frag. B, since the crucial data presented in *Am. Journ. Archaeol.*, XXXVII, 1933, pp. 578-588 have not been, and I think cannot be, questioned. Frag. A reproduces in part Col. II of *I.G.*, II², 1713, thus:

Year		Frag. A		<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1713
87/6	Line 5	Φιλάνθου	Line 13	Φιλάνθης
86/5	6	Ἱεροφάντ[ου]	14	Ἱεροφάντης
85/4	7	Πυθοκρί[του]	15	Π[υθόκριτος]
84/3	8	Νικῆτου	16	[Ν]ι[κήτης]

Line 16 in *I.G.*, II², 1713 had been read [A]ῖ[σχαῖος], and in 1933, I was able to doubt but not definitely to reject Aischraios (*ibid.*, p. 585). The grounds for dating him in this year, as given by Dinsmoor, *Archons* (1931), p. 291, were not binding. Similarly the archon Seleukos, who as a near successor of Aischraios had been put in 83/2, must be moved.

PERIOD COVERED: DATE OF THE INSCRIBING. Thus it is clear that the record began with what must have been recognized very soon as a new epoch. The siege, capture, and partial destruction of Athens by Sulla resulted in more physical damage than the city had sustained since the Persians. In 88/7 B.C. there was, officially, ἀναρχία.⁷ Afterward the government was probably to some extent reorganized. A new cycle of the priests of Asklepios was initiated (Dinsmoor, *Archons* [1931], pp. 286-288); other cycles too may have begun afresh.

The terminal date of the lists is unknown. As we have seen, the stele was conceivably tall enough to have borne dates and names for as many as, but probably not

⁷ For the chronology see Dinsmoor's summary, *Archons* (1931), p. 283. On the year of anarchy, there is a conjecture in *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 144-146.

more than, 50 years; but the preserved lettering lacks the regularity of such official documents of the Augustan period as, e. g., *Prytaneis*, nos. 112-116, and leads one to surmise that the inscription was cut *med. s. I a.* We have seen that columns for *ca.* 40 years accord with the preserved dimensions. Further, if the inference is correct that the officials listed were honored by the state, then presumably many were still living, and the inference is again that the record was terminated some years short of 30 B.C. In the lower half of Frag. B the sizes of the letters, and correspondingly the vertical and horizontal spacings, show marked increases. This is a fairly sure sign that the end is near; cf. for instance *I.G.*, II², 2336. Possibly the stele was put up soon after Julius Caesar captured the city in 48 B.C.; but the date is easier to guess than the motivation.

GRAMMAR. The consistent refusal to avoid hiatus may be noted: *ἐπί* is never *ἐπ'* or *ἐφ'*. This may be due to a desire for regularity, but evidence can be cited to show that in the preceding century hiatus was apparently the rule (W. K. Pritchett and B. D. Meritt, *Chronology*, p. 129).

Line 1. In the first two spaces no traces of strokes can be detected. The letter given as tau is identifiable by the spacing as gamma, rho, tau, upsilon, phi, or psi; tau is merely the most probable. For the omicron, theta might be read. The traces given as delta are slight: almost any other letter might be admitted. After the epsilon, two vertical strokes parallel to each other seem to belong together (pi?); a third, last, stroke slants slightly away from them. The whole line is probably the last line of a decree granting honors. If so, the decree was in pretentious large letters; for which cf. *Prytaneis* (*Hesperia*, Suppl. I), pp. 176-178, no. 109, an inscription in which the letters of the decree are about twice as large as those of the list; the hand, though not the same, is very similar; and the date is *ca.* 30 B.C. In the present decree, however, neither *τόδε* nor *τὸ[ν] ἐπί* (or *ἐπι* [-----]) seems to fit any common formula.

Lines 2-3. The restoration given is of minimum length. In line 2 the last preserved letter might also be a mu, but *ἀν[έγραψεν]* is indubitable. To account for the beginning of line 3, Meritt has suggested [*κατ' ἄρχον*]|*τας*, which he does not favor, and [*ταμείσαν*]|*τας*, which seems worthy of adoption. As we have seen, the officials are actually inscribed *πατρόθεν καὶ κατ' ἄρχοντας*, but the provision for doing this would naturally be inserted above in the decree, not here in a heading. The restoration [*τοὺς τὰ στρατιωτικὰ ταμείσαν*]|*τας* might also be made, but it would lengthen the line only to repeat, again, words already given in the decree. On the other hand, *who* drew up the list is quite uncertain, and likewise the title of the second official honored. In any case line 2 cannot have contained less than 33½ letters, so that in terms of lines 4-15 the stele was at least *ca.* 40-50 letter-spaces wide.

NUMBER OF COLUMNS IN THE LIST. Thus there was ample room for three, though scant room for four, columns each as wide as those of Frag. B, and the possi-

bility of three columns cannot be entirely excluded. The repetition of every date yet a third time would have been uneconomical, though in itself not unthinkable. It is visible on Frag. B that the spacing of the first column is irregular enough to displace the second increasingly from an even vertical alignment. Hence a column, now missing, inscribed to the left of the first preserved column, would probably have similarly displaced that column. The preserved letters of the first preserved column do not indicate that another column is missing at the left, although they by no means prohibit the possibility: see the drawing, *Am. Journ. Archaeol.*, XXXVII, 1933, pl. LXVI). To the right of the preserved second column there is an area in which as yet no trace of a letter has been read. Despite the heavy footwear which has rubbed down the surface, it is clear from the squeezes that, if a column of letters had been inscribed in this area, traces would show, e. g., after the final letters in lines 128 and 130. In short, the indications are that the list was contained in only two columns, and that only two officials were honored.

ARRANGEMENT OF THE TEXT. In line 10, below the fifth archon, the name of a treasurer is mentioned, but below the preceding four archons no names occur. Were there no treasurers in these years? The examples of lines 64, 132, and 138, which were certainly left blank for want of office-holders, suggest that in 87/6-84/3 also there may have been none. This conclusion cannot be disproved; and although it would seem odd to begin a list with four blank years (rather than to begin it in 83/2 with the first known treasurer), still the counter-argument might be made that the Athenians wished to commemorate four lean years, and to begin their list just after Sulla. If this were the case, however, four blank lines ought to have been left.

It seems to me more natural to assume that treasurers did hold office in 87/6-84/3 and that their names were inscribed, as provided for in the text *supra*, to the right of the archons'. In support of this view one piece of evidence is worthy of mention, though it does not constitute a proof. Just as a bit of the sigma almost certainly shows at the end of line 4, so at the end of line 5 there appears a mark which might well be the upper left corner of some (unidentifiable) letter—the first letter, *if* the stroke is real, of a treasurer's name.

On this reasoning, then, something in the arrangement proved to be unsatisfactory—there was probably some lack of clarity about Col. II—and the mason altered his plan at line 9, adopting the arrangement seen in Frag. B. Col. II then had ample room, but he nevertheless moved it close to Col. I, as seen on Frag. B, preferring to leave a blank space at the right of Col. II rather than between the columns, and sacrificing verticality in Col. II.

On Frag. B, however, Col. I is so spaced in relation to Col. II as to suggest that Col. II was already three lines longer. It is impossible to discover exactly how the transition took place, but it is not necessary to admit that Col. I actually contained

three (or any) more lines than Col. II. In the 30 + lines which are lost, discrepancies such as are visible at lines 68-69, where two lines of Col. I are set against three lines of Col. II, can easily have developed. Alternatively, some such scheme as that shown *supra* in the text (lines 5 and 74 recording the two officials, but with only one dating, for 87/6) may account better for what we have, though of course it is impossible to determine, in 34 missing lines, precisely where column II began to be swung over against Column I.

Line 7. *I.G.*, II², 1715, a list of *archontes* headed by the archon Pythokritos, bears the date *c. a.* 80 *a.* in the Corpus. The precise date 85/4, which may now be assigned to it, lengthens somewhat the careers of the Polemarchos and of the first Thesmothetes; and proves, interestingly, that *after* becoming members of the Areopagus (or, at least, ex-archons), they became respectively Epimeletes of Delos and Priest of Isis (in Delos).

Line 8. The archon Niketes had been dated *ca.* 70 B.C. or slightly earlier by Dinsmoor, on the basis of a reconsideration of all previous studies (*Archons* [1931], pp. 291-292). The sole mention of the archon Niketes is in the papyrus of Philodemos, which is mutilated in the relevant portions;⁸ but it has always been assumed, and with reason though not conclusive reason, that the part mentioning Niketes records the death of the (unknown) successor of Philon. Philon is known from other sources to have left Athens in 88 B.C. It now appears that his successor died not *ca.* 70 B.C., but after only four years as scholarch.

Line 9. In place of Seleukos, the archon for 83/2 is shown to be Pamme[nes]. The upright and top strokes of the epsilon appear to be preserved; but even if we were to consider all the other known Greek names in Παμμ ----,⁹ viz., Παμμάχιος, Πάμμαχος, Παμμεδέων, Παμμένων, Πάμμιλος, Πάμμων, we should find that none of these is yet known in Athens.¹⁰ The restoration ἐπὶ Παμμέ[νον] as the archon of 83/2 B.C. may be regarded as beyond a reasonable doubt correct.

The name Pammenes itself was uncommon in Athens. It is found attached to the demotic Δαμπτρεύς once, in 37/6 B.C. (Sundwall, *N.P.A.*, *s. v.*), and the name occurs unattached three times (*P.A.*, *N.P.A.*); otherwise its only association is with a family of Marathon prominent in the first century B.C.¹¹ It would be natural to assume that the archon was of this family, but for the fact that the only Pammenes known in the proper generation, Παμμένης (I) Ζήνωνος (II) Μαραθώνιος, was a Πυθαϊστής παῖς in 106/5 and 97/6, and accordingly was at most 29 years of age in

⁸ S. Mekler, *Academicorum Philosophorum Index Herculaneensis* (Berlin, 1902), pp. 106-108; chronological summary, p. 120; Niketes, XXXIII, 40.

⁹ Pape-Benseler, *Wörterbuch*, III, *s. vv.*; Bechtel, *Hist. Pers.*, p. 358.

¹⁰ Formerly Πάμμαχος was given, but on the sole authority of earlier editions of *I.G.*, II², 1729, line 5, which is now restored [Σύμ]μαχος; correctly, since the man is known (commentary *ibid.*).

¹¹ Even if we descend to the Imperial period, no additional demotic is found.

83/2 B.C. Possibly after Sulla the rule that an archon had to be 30 years of age may have been relaxed. There is a general reason for suspecting that such was the case: the present inscription shows that the state needed its rich men, and the Marathonian family was undoubtedly well off.

An archon Pammenes was recently made known by an inscription regarding the cult of Agdiste at Rhamnous. Rhomaios and Roussel hesitated over the date, and admitted that it might belong not under the homonymous grandson, who flourished early in the reign of Augustus, but under the grandfather, of *init. s. I a.* We now see that *if* the latter was the archon, then the Agdiste decree belongs in 83/2. The style of the lettering favors this period rather than a date under Augustus.¹² This earlier Pammenes may have been the one who served as a mint magistrate for the series where Architimos is named first.¹³

Line 10. The name Πασίνικος is known in Athenian inscriptions in only one other instance: *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 123, no. 25, line 39, Πασίνικος (Πειραιεύς), a prytanis of 165/4-150 B.C. There is apparently no other occurrence of the name in Greek prosopography. Owing to the novelty of that appearance, Pritchett suggested (*op. cit.*, p. 126) that perhaps there might be some error of orthography, a different name being intended. The present instance vouches for the former.

Line 11. There appears to be no other Athenian name in Δημη[----] except Demetrios. This archon was hitherto unknown: according to Dinsmoor's nomenclature, he becomes Demetrios (III). Demetrios II held office in 123/2. The Demetrios who was archon in 50/49 B.C. now becomes Demetrios (IV).

The archon Herakleodoros was formerly assigned to 82/1. He must now be dated near his ousted predecessors Aischraios and Seleukos (Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 291), whatever their dates may prove to be. Apollodoros and his successor, whose name in the genitive is [-----]ου, must be moved down from 81/0-80/79 to 80/79-79/8 (or to 79/8-78/7 ?); they cannot descend further (Dinsmoor, *Archons* [1931], pp. 290-291).

Line 13. The archon Αρ[-----] was hitherto unknown. In the upper left corner of the next space, enough of the surface apparently is preserved uninscribed to exclude, e. g., a tau or a chi.

¹² In this note, without carrying the question further, I have tried to collect references through which all mentions of the Pammenes of *init. s. I a.*, mentioned above, and his homonymous grandson Παμμένης (II) Ζήνωνος (VII) Μαραθώνιος will be available.

Stemma: *N.P.A.*, p. 85.

Prosopographies: *P.A.*, 11520. *N.P.A.*, p. 140.

Recently published inscriptions: P. Roussel, *Rev. ét. anc.*, 32, 1930, pp. 5-8 (the Agdiste inscription). P. Roussel and M. Launey, *Inscrs. de Délos*, 1592 (see commentary). B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 86-96. A. E. Raubitschek in D. B. Thompson and G. R. Davidson, *Small Objects from the Pnyx*, I (*Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, 1943), pp. 3-4, no. 4.

Add: *I.G.*, II², 3493, 5477.

¹³ *Hesperia*, X, 1941, pp. 218, 235.

Line 14. The preserved trace of the fourth letter looks like the top of an iota. After it, but more dubious, is another mark which also looks like the upper part of a vertical stroke.

Line 5-13: Summary. The new list, which with its scrupulous dating of every item is different in form from any other Athenian document, fixes exact dates for Pythokritos, Niketes, and Pammenes, hitherto known but not exactly dated, and for Demetrios and Ar[-----], new to us as archons. It limits to alternative sets of adjacent years the dates for Apollodoros and his successor, who formerly ranged over some six years. It also obliges us to find new dates for the sequence Aischraios, Seleukos, Herakleodoros.

There is no need to repeat here the commentary on Frag. B which is given in *Am. Journ. Archaeol.*, XXXVII, 1933, pp. 585-588. It may be noted that the gap between Frags. A and B, i. e., the years 80/79-63/2, now constitute the longest unfilled gap in the whole series of Athenian archons from the sixth century down to Augustus. In this gap, only Aischines of 75/4 is precisely dated.

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Metallographic Examination of a Sample of Metallic Zinc from Ancient Athens

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Reviewed work(s):

Source: *Hesperia Supplements*, Vol. 8, Commemorative Studies in Honor of Theodore Leslie Shear (1949), pp. 126-129+452

Published by: [The American School of Classical Studies at Athens](#)

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METALLOGRAPHIC EXAMINATION OF A SAMPLE OF METALLIC ZINC FROM ANCIENT ATHENS

(PLATE 16)

THE literature of ancient Greece and Rome contains no unequivocal reference to metallic zinc, although its alloy, brass, and various forms of its oxide were well known. Archaeologists, however, have reported three finds. Grignon¹ in 1774 examined a sample found in a Roman site in Champagne and concluded that it was worked zinc. Salzman² describes certain bracelets found on the Island of Rhodes which examination showed to be hollow silver rings filled with zinc. The record of the identification of both these leaves much to be desired. More positive is the analysis made by Helm³ of an idol found in a Dacian settlement, which showed it to contain 11.41 per cent lead, 1.07 per cent iron, and the balance zinc. No samples have been reported from Greece, and the present find is therefore of great interest. We were permitted to sacrifice half the sample in making our studies and hence to obtain a fairly conclusive picture of the treatment that the metal had received.

The sample was found near the Acropolis under conditions which the finder, Dr. Arthur W. Parsons, described as follows:

The fragment of zinc was found in Section OA on May 13, 1939, at the base of the cliff on the north slope of the Acropolis, at a point about 7.0 meters east of the ancient fountain house, the Klepsydra, and directly below the cave sanctuary of Pan. The pottery and the coins with which it was found were chiefly of the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C.; there was nothing later than the early 2nd century B.C. It may be regarded as certain that the zinc got there no later. The deposit appears to have been formed by a winter torrent which washed the material down from the ledges above.

The sample was in the form of a piece of flat sheet, roughly rectangular in shape, measuring about 65 x 40 mm. Most of the piece was 0.50 to 0.55 mm. thick, but in places it tapered to almost nothing at the edges. The thin irregular edges and the rounding of the corners probably resulted from corrosion. A few pits penetrated right through the piece. When first found, the sample was supposed to be lead, and no particular attention was paid to it until one of us (M. F.) found by qualitative study in the field that it was largely zinc. A grant from the American Philosophical Society which made this field work possible is gratefully acknowledged. Half the piece was later sent to the United States for more detailed examination, and the balance was preserved in the collection of the Agora Excavations at Athens.

The condition of the piece was unfortunately not noted until after preliminary

¹ P. C. Grignon, *Bulletin des fouilles d'une ville romaine, Bar-le-Duc*, 1774, p. 11.

² M. Salzman, *Revue Archéologique*, 1861, p. 472.

³ O. Helm, *Verh. Berlin Anthropol. Gesellschaft, Zeit. für Ethnologie*, 1895, p. 619.

cleaning (Plate 16, 1). In the belief that it was lead, and to bring out any inscription that might have been present, it was subjected to rather drastic cleaning. The pitted surface, as finally studied, may well have resulted from this treatment.

A quantitative spectrographic examination made in the Research Laboratory of the New Jersey Zinc Company gave the following results:

Lead	1.3 per cent
Cadmium	0.060 "
Copper	0.0055 "
Iron	0.016 "
Manganese	0.00025 "
Magnesium	slightly less than 0.0005 per cent

The results are probably accurate to about 10 per cent of the figures given. In addition, the spectrograph showed lines of antimony (weak), tin (faint), silver (very faint), and silicon (extremely faint). Chromium lines were also present but were attributed to contamination with the chromic acid cleaning agent used. The sample contains a greater variety of impurities than any modern grades of zinc, although the proportions of cadmium and iron are no higher than in modern "High Grade" zinc (ASTM No. 1), and the lead content is less than permissible in modern "Prime Western" zinc (ASTM No. 5).

Plate 16, 2 shows the appearance of the sheet at a magnification of 1.5. The top and left sides have been untouched except for cleaning, but the others were cut by shears for examination. The pitted surface is evident.

The microstructure is shown in Plate 16, 3, 4, and 5.⁴ Plate 16, 3 shows the structure of a section parallel to the original surface of the sheet. The clusters of dark spots are lead, which is insoluble in solid zinc, and solidifies in the form of a eutectic. The structure is not that of a casting, though the size and distribution of these lead particles indicate that the zinc has been worked only to a small extent. It is to be noted that the structure in Plate 16, 3 is not elongated particularly in any one direction, a fact that affords positive proof that this is not a piece of *rolled* zinc, in which elongation of the lead particles in the rolling direction is a very characteristic feature of the structure (Plate 16, 6).

Cross sections taken at right angles to the surface (Plate 16, 4-5) show unmistakable evidence of working, for the lead particles are arranged distinctly in streaks, and the grains of the zinc itself are decidedly elongated.⁵ Coincident with this is the

⁴ Photomicrographs at 200X. Etched with 200 g. CrO_3 and 15 g. Na_2SO_4 in 1000 ml. H_2O . 3: section parallel to the surface of the zinc showing random distribution of lead droplets. 4: cross section showing distribution and form of lead. 5: cross section showing relatively coarse flattened grain structure, polarized illumination. 6: cross section parallel to the rolling direction of a typical modern high lead hot rolled zinc at 200X.

⁵ These are not the original grains of the casting just elongated. Cold worked zinc recrystallizes

fact that some intergranular corrosion has penetrated in from the edges of the sheet to a much greater extent than normal to the surface. The extent of elongation of both lead clusters and grains is substantially the same in all directions of the sheet, a fact that confirms the evidence of Plate 16, 3 and indicates that the piece had been flattened by compression (e. g. hammering). Any other mode of deformation would have produced a structure showing marked directionality, with different degrees of extension of the groups of lead particles in different directions.

Microconstituents are elongated in much the same manner as the piece as a whole. On the basis of the observed elongation, it is likely that the piece had been reduced from a casting about 4 to 10 times its present thickness; that is, a slab about 2 to 5 mm. thick. Such a piece would result if a pool of molten zinc were poured on a flat slab and allowed to solidify without restraint.

X-ray diffraction patterns made with the beam normal to the surface of the sheet, showed that large and small grains were present but that there was no sign of "preferred orientation" of the grains that usually accompany deformation by modern methods.

Because of the drastic cleaning that the sample had received, an examination of the surface corrosion products could not be made. This would have been of great interest, for the very existence of zinc under conditions of outdoor exposure for so long a period indicates an unusual type of resistant surface layer, the nature of which it would be valuable to know.

While it is hard to believe that a sample of a reactive metal like zinc would not disappear by corrosion in much less than 2000 years in a location damp enough to cause severe corrosion of adjacent bronze coins, the spectrographic and metallographic analyses agree in showing that the present sample is unlike modern zinc in both composition and manner of working, and support the archaeological evidence of its antiquity.

The earliest recorded reference to zinc in Europe was in the sixteenth century, and even then it was known only as an accidental condensate in the cracks and crevices of lead smelting furnaces. It is a difficult metal to smelt. It is unlike the other metals known to the ancients, for, while it is easily reduced by carbon from its ores, it has a low boiling point and is vaporized as soon as it is formed. The resulting vapor escapes and burns to zinc oxide unless it is protected from air until it has condensed or has been absorbed in an alloy as in brass making. For this reason the process for producing it remained unknown until a fairly advanced chemical knowledge had been built up.

Zinc was smelted in both India and China much earlier than in Europe. The Chinese, moreover, may have known how to make the metal malleable. The extensive completely at room temperature. The shape results from the restriction of growth by the lead and other impurities.

trade in Oriental zinc in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries was principally in slab zinc, but it may have been used as thin hammered sheets for tea chests,⁶ which would have had a structure like our sample.

Cast zinc is quite brittle when cold, and it was not until early in the nineteenth century that the method of working zinc was rediscovered—or at least published—in Europe. Although it is possible by gentle blows to work zinc to a slight extent when cold (particularly since hammering itself produces some heat), it becomes usefully malleable only at a temperature of about 100° C, reverting to brittleness again at about 250° C unless of high purity. It seems certain that whoever produced the present sample made it by hammering in this narrow temperature range—a truly remarkable metallurgical achievement for the period to which it must be assigned.

In conclusion, therefore, though the advanced technique needed to produce the sample and its existence after prolonged exposure to outdoor corrosion would make one suspect the assigned date, it can certainly be said that this is not a piece of zinc made by modern methods.

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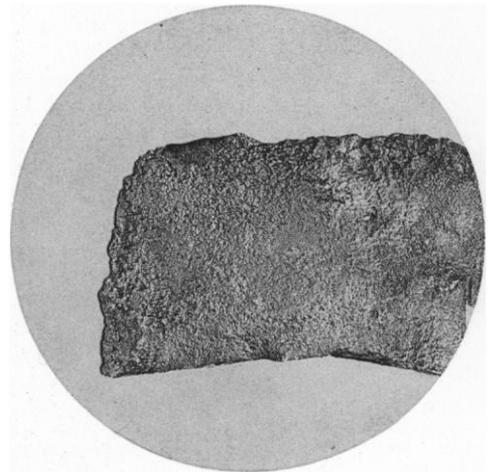
J. L. RODDA

RESEARCH DIVISION, TECHNICAL DEPARTMENT,
THE NEW JERSEY ZINC CO. (OF PA.)

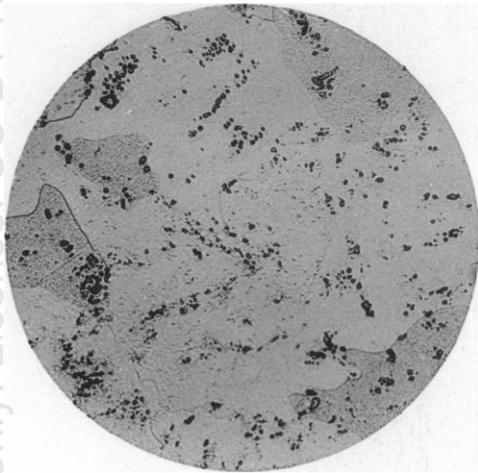
⁶ N. Grew, *Catalogue of Rarities Belonging to the Royal Society*, London, 1681. Grew's identification of the tea-chest "teutenage" with spelter is not very convincing, though the word *teutenag* did in most cases definitely mean zinc. Other seventeenth-century authors use this name for the thin sheet of tin-lead alloy that is still used for tea packaging, and we regard it as unlikely that zinc was ever employed.



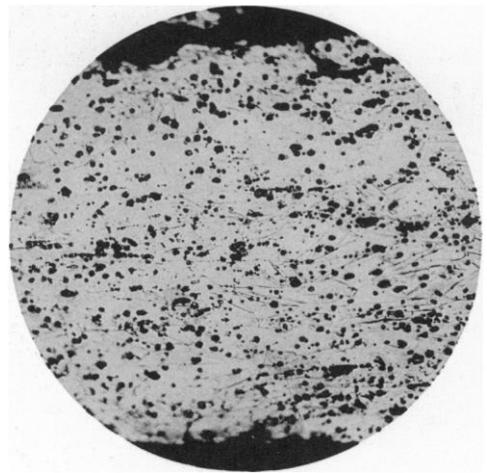
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2



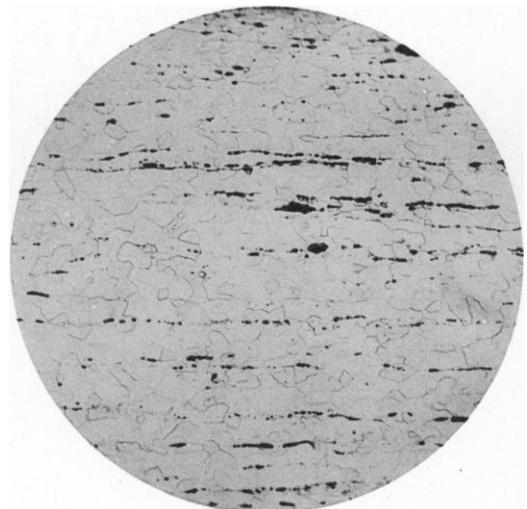
3



4



5



6

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Orgeonika

Author(s): William Scott Ferguson

Reviewed work(s):

Source: *Hesperia Supplements*, Vol. 8, Commemorative Studies in Honor of Theodore Leslie Shear (1949), pp. 130-163+453

Published by: [The American School of Classical Studies at Athens](#)

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ORGEONIKA

(PLATE 17)

I. THE HERO AND THE HEROINES

IN THE Attic Orgeones (*Harvard Theological Review*, XXXVII, 1944, pp. 61 ff.) I discussed in its historical setting the “ancient” decree of the orgeones of the Hero (later personalized as Echelos) and the Heroines published by Meritt in *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pp. 282 ff., no. 55, lines 12-23.¹ The restorations (as a whole minimal) skilfully made by Meritt seemed to me incontestable, with one exception—the filling of the troublesome lacuna before *ους* in line 20. His suggestion here, [*μετ’ αὐτ*] *ούς*, I could not accept, for other reasons and because it was (as he now concedes) too long for the space. After a minute examination Sterling Dow, whom, as often in such matters, I called on for help, reached the following conclusions (“The Attic Orgeones,” App. 3): “In conformity with the neighboring lines . . . the number of [missing] letters in line 20 may be put down as preferably 7, i. e. *ὀργεῶ[νων . . .]ους*. In place of the four spaces left blank here, 3½ (or even 3) could be admitted; or 4½ (or even 5, as in line 16). In view of the regularity of the inscription as a whole, more should not be considered.” Since one of the six letters restored by Meritt is a mu, which “in this inscription . . . actually occupies the space of about 1½ letters . . . the restoration *ὀργεῶ[νων μετ’ αὐτ]ούς* can hardly be accepted.”

The sense of this passage seemed to me to require some such phrase as *κατὰ τάδε*, which would break up for the apportioning of the sacrificial meats the general category (*γυναιξί*) into its components; but I could find nothing in Greek which would do this and at the same time satisfy the spatial limitations and the terminating letters *ους*. It was natural in a passage concerned with a *κρεανομία* to restore *ους* as [*β*] *ούς*; but if this were right the contingent phrase, [*ἂν ἦι β*] *ούς*, was, I believe, inevitable. I confess that when first I proposed this solution I did so facetiously. Subsequently, *faute de mieux*, I took it up seriously, and spent much time in the search for parallels which would justify it as passable Greek and instances which would sustain its implications for Greek sacrificing.

It was much labor lost. Meritt found the solution; and, once it was found, there was no longer need of argument. His new text, which he asked me to publish, runs as follows: (line 12) *τὸν ἐστιάτορα θύειν* —· (line 16) *λογίζεσθαι δὲ ὅ τι ἂν | [ἀνα- λ]ώσει· ἀναλίσκειν δὲ μὴ πλεον τῆς προσόδου· [ν|εμέτω] δὲ τὰ κρέα τοῖς {οἰς} ὀργεῶσι τοῖς παροῦσι καὶ τοῖ[s | οῖς τῆν] εἰς ἡμίσειαν καὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶ ταῖς τῶν ὀργεῶ|[νων,*

¹ The finding of the stone was reported by T. Leslie Shear in his account of The Campaign of 1934 in *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 363.

διδ]οὺς ταῖς ἐλευθέραις τὴν ἰσαίαν καὶ ταῖς θυγ[α|τράσι τὴν εἰς ἡμί]σεαν καὶ ἀκολουθῶμιαι τὴν εἰς ἡμ[ί|σεαν· παραδιδότω δὲ τ]ῶι ἀνδρὶ τῆς γυναικὸς τὴν με|[ρίδα.] “The *eleutherai* [he adds] thus become the grown women,² both wives and non-wives, as distinguished from minors and servants.”³ The change from the infinitive (ἀναλίσκειν, line 17) to the imperative ([νεμέτω], lines 17/8), now substituted for [νέμειν], does not trouble me (cf. Meisterhans-Schwyzler, *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*³, p. 248, 5). A similar change, even in the consecutive phrases of a compound sentence, is found, *e. g.*, in *I.G.*, I², 94, lines 6 f., and II², 43, lines 63 ff.; and a change from the infinitive to the imperative without a change of subject is found in *I.G.*, I², 76, lines 14 ff.: τὰς δὲ πόλεις [ἐγ]λ[ο]γέας ἠελείσθαι τῷ καρπῷ . . . ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἐγλεχθεῖ, ἀποπεμφσάντων Ἀθῆναιζε. The limit of fluctuation is reached in a decree of a private association (*I.G.*, II², 1273), where, as Meisterhans³, *loc. cit.*, points out, ein Satz mit dem Accus. cum inf. (καὶ τὸν ἱερέα) beginnt, und mit dem Imperativ (στεφανούτω ὁ ἱερεύς) schliesst. Since the imperatives now established in our record have in each case the same number of letters as the infinitives, an editor would be free to take his choice, if it were not for [διδ]οὺς. Meritt’s new restorations necessitate a few excisions in “The Attic Orgeones.” In the translation of the decree, “[if an ox were sacrificed],” p. 75, must be replaced by “giving,” and the last 14 lines of the middle paragraph of p. 77 must be omitted. The rest of the text is unaffected. [Διδ]οὺς makes most of note 16 useless. Fortunately I refrained from using elsewhere in my monograph the idea that the women folk of the orgeones might, on occasion, be debarred from sharing in the sacrificial meat.

II. BENDIS AND DELOPTES

During the war three fragmentary inscriptions relating to Bendis were published by N. Pappadakes in the Ἀρχ. Ἐφ., in the issue for 1937, pp. 808 ff., which,

² The phrase, γυναῖκες ἐλεύθεραι, is a stereotyped expression. The list of examples given in “The Attic Orgeones,” p. 75, note 18 can be extended almost indefinitely. I have noticed two further instances in Theopompus (*F. Gr. Hist.*, II B 115; 121 and 227), two in Lysias (III, 23; XIII, 66), one in Athen., XIII, 569a, and one in Aristophanes (*Eccles.*, 722; here, as in *Lysis.*, 379, the substantive is omitted). The adjective means “free,” with what goes with freedom, civic status and hence respectability. Lysias, XIII, 66 suggests that the Athenian law used this phrase in defining the class of women illicit sexual intercourse with whom constituted an offence punishable with death. The passages cited from Theopompus indicate that the rape of γυναῖκες ἐλεύθεραι was recognized as an intolerable outrage. The *eleutherai* were ladies and were expected to behave (*Men.*, Frag. 546, Kock) and entitled to be respected (*Theoph.*, *Char.*, XI, 2) as such.

³ Δοῦλοι, it should be noted, did not receive portions, while αἱ ἀκόλουθοι did. It can well be that, when the orgeonic associations were first formed, their members did not have any male slaves; or we can derive their non-participation from the fact that δοῦλοι were often less closely integrated with their households than the maids, nurses, duennas, etc., who as ἀκόλουθοι received portions. It must also be borne in mind that the proprieties required women to be attended by ἀκόλουθοι, whereas δοῦλοι accompanied men only when there was real or fancied need for them. Consequently δοῦλοι may have been left out simply because none were present.

however, was printed only in 1941. They contained what the editor calls 'ἱερὸς Νόμος Βενδιδείων. At the time "The Attic Orgeones" appeared (1944) they were unknown to me, and at the time of writing Pappadakes' publication is still inaccessible. I first learned of them by letter from Martin P. Nilsson of Lund,⁴ who in turn owed his knowledge of them to a communication from Adolf Wilhelm, including a copy of Pappadakes' article. Nilsson devoted to them a Nachschrift (pp. 183 ff.) to a study of "Bendis in Athen" already submitted for publication in Vol. III (1942), *From the Collections of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek*—a splendid monument of Scandinavian war-time scholarship. Nilsson's publication included photographs of the three fragments of the stone on which the inscriptions were cut; what seems to be a copy of Pappadakes' transliteration, with practically all the restorations omitted; and a valuable commentary. This is the basis for my remarks. Needless to say I regret not having had these materials in time to use them for my study of the orgeones of Bendis.

The three stones were found on the southwest slope of the Munychia Hill and doubtless came from the Bendideion, which was situated, according to Xenophon (*Hell.*, II, 4, 11), in the region of the find (cf. Wilhelm, *Oesterr. Jahresh.*, V, 1902, pp. 134 ff.). There are in the inscription certain general indications as to the date: the mention of the kolakretai (Frg. B, line 19) defines a limit *ante quem*, since this board was abolished in 411.⁵ The fact that Pasiphon of Phrearria was general (in Samos) in 410/9 (*I.G.*, I², 304, line 35) indicates that he was a member of the Council and secretary for one of its prytanies at a somewhat earlier date. Nilsson (p. 172) makes the limit *ante quem* 429/8 since in that year Bendis had a public *ἱερόν* in Attica.⁶ It must be observed, however, that in the year of our new inscription Bendis had already a shrine, and that the cult-statue (τὸ ἄγαλμα) was already made or in the making (Frg. C, line 7 [29]; cf. Nilsson p. 186). Nilsson affirms that the cult-statue "einen Tempel voraussetzt," and I agree with him. But this temple need

⁴ I wish to thank him for his great kindness in sending me in typescript a copy of the three fragments, especially since at the time I was debarred from making my acknowledgments by post. I have also received help from A. D. Nock, Sterling Dow, A. E. Raubitschek, and B. D. Meritt.

⁵ Ferguson, *The Treasurers of Athena*, pp. 3 ff. Meritt, *Ath. Fin. Doc.*, pp. 101 ff.

⁶ *I.G.*, I², 310, line 208; cf. Jotham Johnson, *A.J.A.*, XXXV, 1931, pp. 31 ff. It is excluded that this was a private shrine of the Thracians. [Βενδ]ίδος also appears as one of The Other Gods of *I.G.*, I², 91 in *I.G.*, I², 324 (426/5-423/2), line 68 of Meritt's text in his *Athenian Calendar*, p. 75 and Plate I = Plate XII in his *Ath. Fin. Doc.*; cf. pp. 128 f., 140. Meritt's text is reproduced by M. N. Tod, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, no. 64; cf. p. 139. In the year 423/2 a debt of 86 drachmas plus [1] drachma interest was recorded by the logistai as due to Bendis. It had been loaned to the state by the Treasurers of the Other Gods (cf. lines 54 ff.). Obviously it came from a public shrine. The officials (ἄρχοντες) of the Attic shrines, excluding those of Athena, were designated in 434, in the first decree of Kallias (*I. G.*, I², 91, lines 18 ff.), as tamiai, epistatai, and hieropoioi; and they were required to turn over to the new board of Treasurers of the Other Gods the treasures then on hand and their yearly increment thereafter. It was in pursuance of this order that the χορήματα of the shrine of Bendis came into the possession of the Treasurers of the Other Gods. The officials who transmitted them were the hieropoioi created by the first of our decrees.

not be a public one. The public hieron of Bendis first comes to our notice in the inventory-accounts⁷ of the Treasurers of the Other Gods for 429/8; but, since we do not have the records of these Treasurers for the years 434/3—430/29, on this evidence there may have been a public hieron of Bendis in Athens as early as 433 or even earlier.

The limit *post quem* for the Bendis-decrees is given by Frg. C line 5 (27). However, construed, the words τὸν πολεμίων indicate that Athens was at war at the time. It is possible that the year 433/2, in which the Athenians, while at peace with Corinth, fought with the Corcyraeans against the Corinthians, and opened their campaign to subjugate Potidaea (Adcock, *C.A.H.*, V, p. 475) would suit this requirement; but, if this year is excluded, the years 432/1, 431/0 and 430/29 are alone open for the Bendis-decrees. Athens was at peace between 439 and 432/1 B.C. (A. W. Gomme, *Commentary on Thucydides*, I, pp. 176, 229). Accordingly the date (431) assigned to the fragments by Pappadakes and approved by Nilsson (p. 187) is not excluded.⁸

A cursory inspection shows that the three fragments (A, B, and C, Plate 17) contain a decree or decrees of Athens which dealt with, (A) a prayer or vow; (B) finances, sacrifices, the pannychis, the priestess and the priest and their perquisites; and (C) the pompe,—the ordering of its several units,—and also with “the enemy,” the cult-statue, a stele, and something which concerned the Thracian women (Θράιττα[s]). Manifestly the three fragments recorded the inauguration by the Athenians of the public cult of Bendis. The Thracians are already in the picture. We are warranted in assuming that a shrine of Bendis existed already, with a temple and its agalma, a stele and possibly an altar. We may conclude that a private Thracian cult of Bendis had been authorized previously. A decree had probably been passed theretofore like that enacted later (333/2, *I.G.*, II², 337) on the motion of Lycurgus of Butadai: δοῦναι τοῖς ἐμπόροις τῶν Κιτιέων ἐγκτησι[ν] χ[ω]ρίου ἐν ᾧ ἰδρύσονται τὸ ἱερόν τῆς Ἀφροδίτης καθάπερ καὶ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τὸ τῆς Ἰσιδος ἱερόν ἰδρυνται. In the decree of the Thracian orgeones of Bendis enacted in the archonship of Polystratos (261/0? B.C., *I.G.*, II², 1283) there is an unmistakable reference to this earlier decree as well as to the subject-matter of the records which have now come into our hands. The third-century document begins as follows: ἐπειδὴ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων δεδωκότος τοῖς Θραιξὶ μόνοις τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν τὴν ἐγκτησιὴν καὶ τὴν ἰδρυσιν τοῦ ἱεροῦ κατὰ τὴν μ[α]ντείαν τὴν ἐγ Δωδώνης καὶ τὴν ποντηνὴν πένπειν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐστίας τῆς ἐκκ τοῦ πρυτανείου καὶ νῦν οἱ ἠι[ρη]μένοι ἐν τῷ ἄστει κατασκευάσασθαι ἱερόν οἴονται δεῖν οἰκείως διακεῖ[σθ]αι πρὸς ἀλλήλους· ὅπως ἂν οὖν φα[ίν]ωνται καὶ οἱ ὀργεῶνες τῷ τε τῆς πόλεως νόμῳ πειθαρχοῦντες ὃς κελεύει τοὺς Θράικας πέμπειν τὴν πομπὴν εἰ[s II]ε[ι]ραιᾶ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἄστει ὀργεῶνας οἰκείως [δ]ιακέμενοι, κτλ. At some time in the past an Athenian decree had fulfilled an oracle from Dodona and permitted the Thracians

⁷ Cf. Ferguson, *The Treasurers of Athena*, p. 97, note 2, and p. 165.

⁸ I had the same idea, but was thinking only of the Thracian cult (“The Attic Orgeones,” p. 98).

to acquire a site and install on it a shrine of Bendis. The procession of the Thracians, unique in being "from the hearth of the prytaneion" in Athens "to the Piraeus," was ordered by a "law" of the Athenians—i. e., by the psephisma preserved in small part on Frg. C. Since the orgeones met in the Bendideion they had in full view the ancient stelae. Their decree could thus be textually correct and even repeat phrases of the original grants of privileges. The existence of a stele erected prior to the one of which we have fragments is proved by Frg. C, line 8, where τὸν στέλε[ν] cannot, I think, be the one of which Frg. C, as well as Frgs. A-B, is a piece. That was as yet non-existent.

The restorations of the new fragments, made *exempli gratia* by the Greek editor, Pappadakes, are not available to me. Without their aid, I have addressed myself to the same heart-breaking task of trying to determine and phrase in appropriate Greek the connections of as many of the broken lines as offer any clues. I lack the audacity to claim that what I have restored is, *ipsissimis verbis*, what was cut on the missing parts of the stele; but I think that as an interpreter I am obligated to show that the thought-continuity I have established can be expressed naturally in appropriate Attic speech and writing. Of course the thought-continuity itself may none the less be wrong. My text runs as follows:

A

- 1 [Π] Α Σ Ι Φ Ο Ν Φ Ρ Ε Α Ρ [Ρ Ι Ο Σ Ε Λ Ρ Α Μ Μ Α Τ Ε Υ Ε Ν]
- 2 *Ἐδοχσεν τῆι βολῆι καὶ [τῶι δέμοι. ἔπρυτάνευε, Πασιφῶν ἐγραμμάτευε,]
- 3 κλῆς ἐπεστάτε, Κλε[όνυμος εἶπε· εὐχασσῆναι προσόδον πρὸς τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα ἀποτρό]
- 4 παιον ἀπὸ τῆς πόλε[ος ποέσσεσθαι ἂν συνενέγκει Ἀθηναίον τῶι δέμοι τὰ δόχσαντα]
- 5 ταῦτα εὐχασσ[ῆναι. ἐπειδὴ κατὰ τὴν μαντείαν τὴν ἐκ Δοδῶνες χρὲ τῆι Βενδίδι βοῦ]
- 6 ς [θ]ύσεν ἂν τ[ῶι δέμοι ὅς εὐσεβέστατα ἔχει, ἡεροποιὸς δέκα, ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς ἐκάστε]
- 7 [ς ἐν]α, χ[ε]ρ[οτονέσα]

lacuna

B

- 1 [----- ἡι]ερ[.....]
- 2 [-----]εννα[.....]
- 3 [-----]ος καὶ ἐπα[ρχε...]
- 4 [-----] ἐγγενομε[ν.....]
- 5 [----- τῆ]ς ἐπαρχῆς ἐ[σπραχσ]
- 6 [ιν· οἱ δὲ πολεταὶ ἀπομισθοσάντων τὴν τῆι Βενδίδι δυοδραχμ[ί]αν· ὅσο δ' ἂν πρ[αθῆι ἐ]
- 7 [ἂν μὲ ἀποδῶσι αὐτῶν καταγιγνοσκόντων ὁ εὐθνος καὶ οἱ π[άρ]εδροι· τὸς δὲ α[ί]ει ἡι]
- 8 [εροποιέοντας πριάσθαι ἐκ τῶν ἐγγενομένων ἡιερέα κ]άλλιστα· θύεν δὲ ἐ[κατόμ]
- 9 [βεν τῆι Βενδίδι· λαμβανόντων δὲ τὰ κρέα αὐτοὶ καὶ ἐ βο]λῆ καὶ ἄλλος ὅστις ἂν [τὴν τ]
- 10 [εἰ θεοὶ ἐπαρχὴν διδοῖ. ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀπολλοδόρο ἄρχοντος τ]ὴν παννυχίδα ποῆν ὅς [κάλλι]
- 11 [στα τὸς ἡεροποιὸς ἐνάτει ἐπὶ δέκα τῶ Θαργελιόνω]ς μὲνὸς τῆι ἐνδεκάτει [τῆς δε]
- 12 [κάτες πρυτανείας· ὅπος δ' ἂν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι μάθοσι] εἴτε χρὲ γυναῖκα ἡιερέος [ἡιερε]
- 13 [όσθαι τῆς Βενδίδος εἴτε ἄλλο γυναῖκα ἐχς Ἀθηνα]ίων ἀπάντων πεμφσάντων [ἐς Δοδ]
- 14 [όνεν δύο θεοπρόπος τὸς καὶ τοῦτο ἐπερεσομένος] ὅς τάχιστα· ὁ τι δ' ἂν ἀνέλε[ι ὁ θεὸ]
- 15 [ς τοῦτο πᾶν ἐπιτελέν· τὸν δὲ ἡιερέα τὸ μὲν νῦν] λαμβάνεν τὸν δεμοσῖαι θυο[μένον τ]

16 [ἀ σκέλε, τὸν δ' ἰδίαι θυομένον τὰ δέρματα ἀπ]ὸ δέκα *ἱερείον*· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα δέρματ[α λα]
 17 [μβάνεν τὸν *ἱέραν* ἔτις ἂν *ἱερόται*· τὸ δὲ λο]ιπὸν κληρὸν περὶ τούτον τὸς *ἱερο[ποι]*
 18 [ὸς οἱ ἂν *ἱεροποιῶσιν*. *φιάλεν* δὲ *διδόναί* ἐ]κάστοτε τῷ *Βενδίδι* ἀπὸ *πεντέκο[ντα δ]*
 19 [*ραχμὸν* τὸς *ἱεροποιῶς* ἐπὶ τῆς *ἐνάτης* πρ]υτανείας· οἱ δὲ *κολακρέται* *διδόν[τον]*
 20 [τὸ *ἀργύριον*²⁴.....]α τὸν *βολὸν* αὐτοκράτορα *ἐναί[...⁶...]*
 21 [...¹⁵..... τὸ δὲ *φσέφισμα* τὸδε *ἀνα]γράφσας* ὁ *γραμματεὺς* ὁ τ[ῆς *βολῆς* ἐστ]
 22 [ἔλει *λιθίνει* *καταθέτο* ἐν τῷ *Βενδιδέοι*· ο]ἱ δὲ *πολεταὶ* ἀπομοσθοσ[άντων. *υααατ]*
υααατ

C

23 1 [⁶Ἐδοχσεν τῷ *βολεῖ* καὶ τῷ *δέμοι*. ...⁶... ἐπρ]υτ[ῆ]νευε, *Πασιδὸν* ἔγρα]μμάτευε, [...]
 24 2 [*κλῆς* ἐπεστάτε, *Κλεόνυμος* εἶπεν· τὸν *Βενδίν* καὶ τὸν *Δελόπτεν* ἰά]σασθαι διὰ πομ-
 25 3 [*πῆς* ἀπὸ τῆς ἐστίας τῆς ἐκ τῷ *πρυτανεῖο*· *πεμπέτο* ὁ μὲν ἐμ *Περαεῖ* σ]τρατός, μετὰ δὲ
 26 4 [-----] τῆς *φυλῆς* ἐκάστε-
 27 5 [⁵ *συμπεμπόντων* δὲ καὶ οἱ *Θραῖκες*. μὲ *πέμπεν* δ' ἐὰν οἱ *στρατιῶ*]ται τὸν *πολεμῖον* κα-
 28 6 [*ταδρομὰς* ποῶσιν πρὸς τὸν *Περαεῖ*, ἐπιτελέν δὲ τὸν *θυσίαν* κα]ὶ τὰλλα ἂ *παρανέι*
 29 7 [*ὁ θεός*, ----- τῷ *Βενδῖ*]δι τὸ *ἄγαλμα* ἐ-
 30 8 [*κτελέσαι* ----- τὸν *βομ]*ὸν καὶ τὸν *στέλε-*
 31 9 [*ν* ----- ἐπι]μελεθῆσοντα
 32 10 [-----]σθαι τὸν *δέμον*
 33 11 [-----]πρὸς δὲ τούτο τ
 34 12 [-----]ν τῷ *Βενδίδι* [...]
 35 13 [-----] *Περαεῖ* ἕκατερ[...]
 36 14 [-----] *Θραῖττα*[...]
 37 15 [-----]σθαι δ[ἐ ...]
 38 16 [-----] τῷ *Βενδι*]δέοι [...]

First I take up the relative positions of the fragments. The right margin of the stone is preserved in Frg. C, lines 2-10. That is proved by the absence of parts of letters, after the final letters read in the transcription, where such traces must have been visible, there being room for them on the stone. The perpendicularity of the edge of the stone in this section enforces this conclusion. Frg. A gives us the top left-hand corner of the stele. Frg. B may lie in between. In script, cutting, and spacing of letters it is identical with Frg. A. Manifestly Frgs. A and B are parts of the same stele to which doubtless C also belongs.⁹

The last line of Frg. B is line 22. Had there been a complete twenty-third line it must have been visible in the space left vacant below line 22. At most a partial line is permissible, though improbable, since this vacancy, while it is three times that between the rows of letters in Frg. B, is much too narrow for another line. The horizontal position of Frg. B with reference to Frg. A above it and Frg. C below it

⁹ In regard to Frg. C Nilsson reports: Das dritte (enthält) ein Amendement und könnte von einer zweiten Stele herrühren, denn der Stein ist dünner (7 cm. gegen 11), nach der Angabe des Herausgebers aber schon in alter Zeit an der Rückseite abgehackt, und die Buchstaben sind ein wenig kleiner; aber auch dies ist für die nachträgliche Hinzufügung der Inschrift kein ausreichendes Argument. Roussel (p. 179; cf. the following note) goes farther: On prétend aussi que les lettres sont un peu plus petites sur C que sur les deux autres fragments; mais c'est pure illusion, comme les figures 4, 5 et 6 de l'article de M. P. Nilsson en font foi.

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may be determined. As confirmatory of its vertical position immediately above Frg. C I should like to point out that there are traces of two letters below the space left vacant at the bottom of Frg. B. These indicate that there was an inscription below Frg. B.¹⁰ Since the preserved letters of line 1 of Frg. C are *μματενε*,¹¹ the restoration [*εγρα*]*μμάτενε* is imperative, and we have part of the stereotyped formula of a decree. We should therefore look in line 1 for the two letters, parts of which are present,¹² after the gap, on Frg. B. They lie immediately below the *ΕΠ* of *δὲ πολεταί* in line 22 of Frg. B. If the letters are *ΤΑ* they can be none other than the *ΤΑ* of *ἐπρυτάνευε* when the same formula is restored for Frg. C and Frg. A. If they are *ΕΥ* they can be only the *εϵ* of this same word. I have assumed that they are *ΤΑ* on the assumption that the stone tells more than the photograph, and in my text I have given the horizontal position to Frg. B which results. *ΕΥ* would mean only that the last two (restored) rows of letters in Frg. B would have to be shifted to the left side of the text. In this case the last visible letters of lines 16-19 of Frg. B would reach to the margin of the stone.

Adding, as the name of the secretary, Pasiphon, the space vacant between [*ἐπρυ*]*τά[νευε]* and [*εγρα*]*μμάτενε* is filled precisely. The only element of uncertainty left in the initial formula in both decrees is the name of the phyle. Theoretically all the phylae are available, except Leontis, which is excluded because the secretary could not belong to the prytanizing phyle. The possible letter-spaces were 6, 7, 8, 9, or 10. Assuming that Frgs. C and A were passed on the same day the phylae with six are the most probable, as we can ascertain now that we have the positions of *ΤΑ* and [*εγρα*]*μμάτενε* in relation to *ἔδοξεν* in a line of 64 letters. That leaves us Aigeis and Oineis and I know no way to choose between the two.

Unfortunately the inscription was not arranged stoichedon. It contains, however, a second stereotyped formula (Frg. B, lines 21 and 22),—the formula of giving directions to the secretary of the Council. The fragments were found in the region

¹⁰ After this was written I obtained Roussel's article, "A propos d'un décret attique relatif à la déesse Bendis," published in *R.E.A.*, XLV, 1943, nos. 3-4, pp. 177 ff., and learned that W. Peek in *Ath. Mitt.*, LXVI, 1941, pp. 207 ff.) reported these two broken letters as tau and alpha.

¹¹ The photograph published by Nilsson, p. 186 shows that the reading given by him (from Pappadakes?), [*Ἐπὶ τῆς βολῆς ἐι Παισιφῶν Φρεάρ]ριος ἔγραμ[μάτενε]*, is incorrect. There is no space for *ριος* and the *μματενε* is clearly visible.

¹² Peek (Roussel, p. 182) reports them as *ΤΑ* with no indications of uncertainty. Since he saw the stone of Frg. B (he gives us the sad news, Roussel, p. 149, note 1, that Frgs. A and C have disappeared, and that B alone is in the museum of the Piraeus), he is doubtless presenting his own reading. Nilsson's photograph shows only the upper parts of the two letters. If the letters are *ΤΑ* I can see only the horizontal stroke of the tau and the apex of the alpha. Conceivably the horizontal stroke could belong to an epsilon, and what Pappadakes took to be the apex of an alpha might be the left up-sloping stroke of an upsilon (viewed through a magnifying glass it looks more like the tip of an alpha), so that we should read *ΕΥ*. I do not perceive any other possibilities. With *ΕΑ*, *ΕΔ*, or *ΕΑ* there would be collision between the lowest horizontal of the epsilon and the nearest part of the alpha, delta, or gamma.

of the Bendideion. It was there that the stele was erected. Restoring *ἐν τῷ Βενδιδέοι*, as seems inevitable,¹³ we have a line of 64 letters. Consequently we may assume that in line 2 of Frg. A there were also 64 letters. And the same is the case with Frg. B, line 11, where the restorations are, I think, certain (cf. below, pp. 145 ff.). I have therefore assumed that the lines had 64 letters normally.¹⁴

The conclusion thus reached is that Frgs. A and B contain one decree and Frg. C another, both passed in the ecclesia on one and the same day, as was the case, for example, with the famous decrees of Kallias (*I.G.*, I², 91/92).¹⁵ The analogy between these two pairs is close in that the two decrees in each pair dealt with a single subject and were moved by the same person. In the one case (434 B.C.) Kallias divided his subject into two parts for separate voting; in the other Κλε. (restored plausibly by Pappadakes as Kleonymos)¹⁶ did the like. In each case the second decree dealt with

¹³ *Ἐν τῷ hierōi* is too short. *Ἐν τῷ hierōi τῆς θεῶ* is too long. Pappadakes (Peek) inserts *ἐν τῷ hierōi Πειραιοῖ*, which, besides being too long, is too indefinite. There were many hiera in the Piraeus. In decrees of the orgeones of Bendis passed at meetings held in her shrine phrases like *στῆσαι ἐν τῷ ier[ō]i τῆς θεοῦ* (*I.G.*, II², 1256), *ἐν τῷ ierōi* (*I.G.*, II², 1324) were unambiguous and sufficiently explicit. *I.G.*, II², 1255 had, it seems, [*ἐν τῷ ier[ō]i τ[ῆς Βενδίδος*]. This, too, was a decree of the orgeones, but it honored three hieropoioi who were, I believe, public officials. The new decrees of 430/29 were, on the other hand, public decrees passed in the assembly in Athens. In them the shrine in which the stele was to be set up had to be designated by a particularizing name. In confirmation of *Βενδιδέοι*, the name given to the shrine by Xenophon (*Hell.*, II, 4, 11), I call attention to Frg. C line 16 (38), where instead of *θεοι* (Pappadakes—Peek) what I find on Nilsson's photograph is *δεοι*, thus suggesting the restoration [*Βενδι*]δέοι. See further below, pp. 142, 152.

¹⁴ In line 4 of Frg. A (if *ἐὰν* is restored instead of *ἀν*) and in line 17 of Frg. B, unless *αἰρεθεῖ* or *γένεσαι* displaces *hierōται*, there were 65 letters. A vacant space after *εὔχασθαι* in Frg. A, line 6 is assumed. Otherwise the restorations have 64 letters per line. It seems to me tenable, in view of the prevalence of stoichedon writing at the time (cf. R. P. Austin, *The Stoichedon Style*, pp. 50 ff., 122), that the stonemason used a copy in which there were lines of 64 letters arranged stoichedon. It accords with this idea that in the first full line of Frg. A (at its beginning) he set the iotas more closely to the preceding and following letters than elsewhere, solicitous, it may be thought, that he might not have room on the stone for the entire line of his copy.

¹⁵ Cf. the rereadings of the beginnings of 92 made by Wade-Gery (*J.H.S.*, LI, 1931, p. 59^r) and included in M. N. Tod's *Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions*, 51, pp. 105 f., and in *The Athenian Tribute Lists* of Meritt, Wade-Gery, McGregor, I, D 1, pp. 160 f.

¹⁶ Kleonymos is known as the mover of three decrees in the year 426/5 (Meritt, *Hesperia*, XIV, 1945, p. 116, no. 10), and of an amendment to a fourth (Meritt, *loc. cit.*), which Meritt dates in 425/4. Meritt's comment is, "The shapes of the rho and the mu are older than one expects to find in the mid'twenties, but mention of Kleonymos (line 4) as sponsor of an amendment brings the probable date of the decree down to the accepted time of his political activity. He is known to have been a member of the Council for the first time in 426/5, and mention of *πίστεως* (with Chios) in line 7 serves to fix the time more closely to the late winter or early spring of 425/4." Kleonymos is also known as the author of a decree offering a reward of 1000 drachmas to anyone giving information which would convict those guilty of the profanation of the Mysteries in 415 (*Andoc.*, I, 27).

There is no comedy of Aristophanes beginning with the *Acharnians* (426/5) and ending with

a distinct topic of the general subject, that of ours being the pompe and the settlement of relations between the state and the Thracians.

We shall now proceed to a more minute analysis of the text (cf. above, pp. 133 ff.).

FRAGMENTS A AND B

In line 5 of Frg. A we have the curious phrase,¹⁷ ταῦτα εὔχασθαι—"to make this (i. e., the preceding) vow or prayer." Kleonymos' motion must have begun with the vow or prayer. As far as I can recall, this approach to a decree is unparalleled in the fifth century, but something similar is found in line 3 of *I.G.*, I², 22, 450/49 B.C. (new text by Oliver in *Trans. Amer. Phil. Assoc.*, 1935, p. 178), where an Athenian decree regarding the Milesians begins with the phrase, [τελέν τὰ] νομιζόμενα το[ῖς θεοῖς]. The oddity consists here, as in Frg. A, in incorporating a religious prescription as the opening section in the *anagraphē* of a decree. Ordinarily it is absent. But a prayer is in itself irreproachable, since one prefaced regularly the transaction of business in the ecclesia. In the *Thesmophoriazusae* (411 B.C.) Aristophanes, in presenting to his audience the opening of his Council and Assembly of Women, parodies the initial procedure of the public assembly (Wilamowitz, *Arist. u. Athen.*, II, pp. 348 ff.; cf. Brandis, Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s. v. Ekklesia, p. 2173). His text, written in liturgical prose, with a *kerykaîna* as spokester, runs as follows (295 ff.):

εὐφημία ἴστω, εὐφημία ἴστω. εὔχεσθε τῶν Θεσμοφόρων
τῇ Δήμητρι καὶ τῇ Κόρῃ, καὶ τῷ Πλούτῳ, καὶ τῇ
Καλλιγενείᾳ, καὶ τῇ Κουροτρόφῳ τῇ Γῆ, καὶ τῷ
Ἑρμῇ, καὶ Χάρισιν, ἐκκλησίαν τήνδε καὶ ξύνοδον
τὴν νῦν κάλλιστα κᾶριστα ποιῆσαι, πολυφελῶς μὲν
πόλει τῇ Ἀθηναίων, τυχηρῶς δ' ἡμῖν αὐταῖς·
καὶ τὴν δρῶσαν καὶ τὴν ἀγορεύουσιν τὰ βέλτιστα
περὶ τὸν δῆμον τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τὸν τῶν γυναικῶν,
ταύτην νικᾶν. ταῦτ' εὔχεσθε, καὶ ὑμῖν αὐταῖς τὰγαθά.
ἰῆ παιῶν, ἰῆ παιῶν, χαίρωμεν.

In the comedy a lyric response of the chorus follows; then, in iambs, a ribald parody of the curse which, as part of the opening rites of meetings of the ecclesia, was

the *Birds* (415/4) in which Kleonymos is not lampooned (cf. Busolt, *Griech. Gesch.*, III, 2, p. 1118, note 2); and if the earlier plays of the master of wit and libel (the *Banqueters* in 428/7 and the *Babylonians* in 427/6) were extant, there is no reason to think that he would be missing. He was a "side-kick" of Kleon, and can have been associated with him in his campaign against Pericles. I see no reason why he may not have been sponsor of a decree in 430/29. Incidentally men appear as proponents of psephismata when they were not in the Council (e. g., Alcibiades, Demosthenes, and Stratokles of Diomeia).

¹⁷ The omission of δέ after ἐπειδέ is common. For a retrospective ταῦτα cf. *I.G.*, I², 39, 63: ταῦτα μὲν φσεφίσασθαι Χαλκιδεῦσιν.

pronounced on traitors and other transgressors against the public, and again a choral response. Then comes in iambs the preamble proper of the decree: ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ τάδε | τῇ τῶν γυναικῶν· Τιμόκλει' ἐπεστάται, | Λύσιλλ' ἐγραμμάτευεν, εἶπε Σωστράτη· | ἐκκλησίαν ποιεῖν ἔωθεν, κτλ.

A prayer was thus a constant element in the initiatory acts of the decree-making body in Athens, and its pattern, with the repetition of the proper form of εὔχομαι at the end, was set before 411. It was, moreover, possible for the author of a motion to have it inserted in the preamble of the published copy, with specific application to the matter in hand, as three known examples from the first half of the fourth century attest. The earliest dates from 386/5 (*I.G.*, II², 30), the best preserved from 362/1 (*I.G.*, II², 112).¹⁸ Since the latter gives the clue to my restoration of lines 3 and 4 I quote the entire relevant passage:¹⁹ Περίανδρος εἶπεν· εὔξασθαι μὲν τὸν κήρυκα αὐτίκα μάλα τῶι Διὶ τῶι Ὀλυμπίῳ καὶ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ τῇ Πολιάδι καὶ τῇ Δήμητρι καὶ τῇ Κόρῃ καὶ τοῖς Δώδεκα [Θ]εοῖς καὶ ταῖς Σεμναῖς Θεαῖς, ἐὰν συνενείγκῃ Ἀ[θη]ναίων τῶι δήμῳ τὰ δόξαντα περὶ τῆς συμμαχία[s θυσί]αν καὶ πρόσοδον ποιήσεσθα[ι] τελουμένων [τούτων κα]θότι ἂν τῶι δήμῳ δοκῆι· τα[ῦ]τα μὲν ἠῦχθ[αι, ἐπειδὴ δ]ὲ οἱ σύμμαχοι, κτλ. Since the space forbids the use in our text of so lengthy a formula I have reduced it to its essentials. The restoration Ἀπόλλωνα is obvious once [ἀποτρό]παιον is introduced, since Apollo was “the Averter of Evil” par excellence for the Athenians.²⁰ The meaning of ἀπὸ τῆς πόλε[ος] is, of course, “from the Akropolis.” A prosodos²¹ is a ceremonial approach, commonly supplicatory in character (a prototype is Homer, *Il.*, VI, 293 ff.), a kind of pompe perhaps (cf. Plato, *Laus*, 796C: προσόδους τε καὶ πομπάς), something like the Roman *supplicatio*; and it was an added solemnity that on this occasion it is the Acropolis from which it was to proceed to the temple of Apollo.

As Peek (Roussel, *loc. cit.*, p. 180, note 1) observed, the third letter of line 6 is an upsilon, not a chi (Pappadakes). For the future infinitive [θ]ύσειν see Goodwin, *Moods and Tenses*, § 113, and for a sacrifice of an ox to Apollo as a sequel to an oracle see *I.G.*, I², 78. The restoration of the ἐὰν clause in line 6 is taken, with the

¹⁸ A placative prayer without a vow is all that is called for in *I.G.*, I², 108, line 55 (410/09). For analogous non-Athenian prayer-vows I refer to Ditt., *Syll.*³, 581 = *G.D.I.*, 3749 (Rhodes, ca. 200-197), and 694, line 44 (Elaea or Pergamon, ca. 129).

¹⁹ Another decree of the same year (*I.G.*, II², 114) has an almost identical formula.

²⁰ See Liddell-Scott-Jones, *s. v.* The vocative, Ἀπολλων ἀποτρόπαιε, appears four times in Aristophanes' comedies (*Wasps*, 161, *Birds*, 61, *Plutus*, 359, 854); and once (*Knights*, 1307) ἀποτρόπαιε serves to designate Apollo without his name being present. We know of an altar in the Piraeus dedicated to Apollo Apotropaios (*I.G.*, II², 5009; cf. Judeich, *Top. v. Athen*², p. 436). The oracle from Dodona quoted in Demosth., XXI, 53 indicates that the god and the epithet are appropriate to our context; cf. Wernicke, Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, II, 43, 72. It may be noted that Apollo, the god of pest-bringing in Homer, and later the god of healing (*R.E.*, II, 15), appears as Paion in the Attic inscriptions for the first time in the inventory-accounts of the Treasurers of the Other Gods for 429/8 (*I.G.*, I², 310, line 228; cf. Walton, *Harv. Stud. Class. Phil.*, XLVI, 1935, pp. 174 ff.).

²¹ There was a type of hymn for πρόσοδοι; cf. Schmid-Stälin, *Gr. Lit.*, I, 1, p. 340. In note 6 they cite examples of these processional.

necessary condensation, from *I.G.*, I², 94, line 6. Hieropoioi were the proper officials to conduct a public sacrifice,²² and their appointment, one from each phyle, was regular.²³ The initial letters of line 7 are reported by Roussel, p. 180 to have been read by Pappadakes & Peek as ... A .. N. The alpha is certain; but, as Nilsson's photograph shows, the fifth letter is a chi. Instead of N Sterling Dow reads rho, and the curve of this letter is visible in its proper place just below a nick in the stone which has been mistaken for part of a nu. Part of the upright stroke of the rho is also visible. X[ε]ρ is the record on the stone, and it can hardly be anything but the beginning of the proper form of *χεροτονέν*. The spelling, *χερ*, is attested by *I.G.*, I², 63, line 2 = Meritt and West, *Athenian Assessment of 425 B. C.*, p. 44, line 4; cf. Meisterhans³, p. 21, 18.

When I had reached this point in my study of the new fragments, Roussel's article (cited above, p. 136, note 10) came into my hands, and at first I was inclined to accept his findings. He would transfer Frg. C from its position below B and place it at the top right-hand margin of the stone. He would do this firstly because of [έγρα]μμάτευε, which he restored correctly, conceiving it as part of the initial formula of which Frg. A, line 2 is the beginning; and secondly because, as he believes, the text of Frg. C, lines 2, 3, and 4 is continued naturally by lines 4, 5 and 6 respectively of Frg. A, thus:

κλῆς ἐπεστάτε· Κλε[— εἶπεν ——]σασθαι ΔΙΑΓΟΜ-
 ΠΑΙΟΝ ἀπὸ τῆς πόλε[ος ——— σ]τρατος· μετὰ δὲ
 5 ταῦτα εὔχασσ[θαι ————— ἐκ] τῆς φυλῆς ἐκάστε-
 5 ς [θ]ύσεν ἐὰν ————— ται τῶν πολεμίων κα-
 ... A .. N ————— κα]ὶ τὰλλα ἃ παραινει

On the first point what is needed has been said already. [έγρα]μμάτευε is irreproachable where I have placed it. The difficulty with Roussel's second point is the obscurity, and I may add, the inappropriateness, of ΔΙΑΓΟΜ|ΠΑΙΟΝ. The obscurity he himself admits by offering three interpretations. Il n'est point impossible que le Zeus des *Πομπαια* ait porté, entre autres, l'épithète de Πομπαῖος: on pourrait donc écrire ici: Δία Πομπαῖον, et d'après le contexte, admettre soit un transfert ([μετακομί]σασθαι?) de ce Zeus de l'Acropole en un autre lieu de culte, soit une procession solennelle où il aurait joué le rôle principal et qui aurait eu l'Acropole comme point de départ. Peut-être aussi faut-il écrire, en un seul mot, διαπόμπαιον, terme inconnu, mais dont on rapprocherait διαπόμψησις, une confusion ayant pu d'ailleurs se produire entre διαπομπέν et διοπομπέν. Il s'agirait encore d'une procession de caractère purificateur sans doute, qui serait partie de l'Acropole. In a note (3) he adds: pour envisager toutes les hypothèses, on pourrait écrire: διὰ πομπαίων, dont je ne tire rien.

²² Cf. e. g., *I.G.*, I², 94; 304, line 7; and Arist., 'Αθ. Πολ., 54, 6.

²³ *I.G.*, I², 84, lines 19 f., 24 f.; cf. 38, 3; 45, 7; Arist., 'Αθ. Πολ., 61, 1; Ditt., *Syll.*³, 976, 40.

All that we know of the Pompaia is that it was a fete of Zeus Meilichios performed in the last ten days of the month Maimakterion,²⁴ six months distant from the Bendideia; that the fleece of a victim sacrificed on this occasion was called δῖον (Διός?), and that at it occurred καθαρμῶν ἐκβολαὶ εἰς τὰς τριόδους. Our report is a gloss on διοπομπεῖν and it ends with a fanciful etymology of the word.²⁵ The epithet πομπαῖος belongs, of course, to Hermes, not Zeus, and has the inappropriate meaning, “conductor of souls.” If there were a Zeus with the epithet pompaios and the epithet meant “the director of pompai” (*quod est absurdum*), I could find a reference to him appropriate in the introductory sentence of a decree which inaugurated a sacrifice and a pompe in Athens in honor of Bendis. Otherwise not. Moreover, the transition from line 5 to line 7 does not seem to me natural now that line 7 is known to have begun . . . AX.P. Restoring χ[ε]ρ, as seems inevitable, with the proper form of χεροτονῆν, or, if you wish, with that of διαχεροτονῆν, how can this be united naturally with -ται τῶν πολεμίον κα? The best I can think of is κα[ὶ δι]αχ[ε]ρ, but that leaves ται τῶν πολεμίον stranded. The καί (instead of δέ) makes the thought-continuity difficult. As it happens, διαχειροτονῆν is the spelling of this word in the fifth-century inscriptions. The appropriate form of another compound of χεῖρ, διαχερίζω, should be considered (cf. *I.G.*, I², 91, line 19); but this does not make the transition from ται τῶν πολεμίον any easier so far as I can see.

Since there *was* an inscription on our stone *after* the decree in Frg. B was finished, I am adhering to my view that Frg. C contains what is left of this decree, and, reverting to page 140, I continue with my analysis of the three fragments. We have no means of knowing how much of the inscription is lost between Frgs. A and B; but it seems likely that it was in this gap that, once the motives for Athens' action were set forth (cf. line 5 of my restoration), the rules creating the officials which were needed for the public cult of Bendis were laid down (lines 6 ff.).²⁶ These were ten hieropoioi and, doubtless, a priest and priestess.

²⁴ Eustath. *ad Ody.*, XXII, 481, p. 1935, 5: φθίνοντος Μαιμακτηριῶνος μηνός, ὅτε ἤγοντο τὰ Πομπαία.

²⁵ Cf. Nilsson, *Jahrb. d. deutschen arch. Instituts*, XXXI, 1916, p. 318; Deubner, *Attische Feste*, pp. 157 f. On διοπομπέομαι cf. *L.S.J.*, s. v. ἀποδιοπομπέομαι. The trouble is that our stone has *δια* not *διο*.

²⁶ The orgeones who took over from the Athenaiοi, in large part at least, the management of the fete (below, pp. 152 ff.), had at their head epimeletai and hieropoioi. There is a probability that the former were a later creation, but it is also possible that they were with the cult from the start: there may have been a reference to the appointment of epimeletai in the portion of the first decree lost between Frgs. A and B; or the reference may have stood in the second decree near [ἐπι]μελεθέσονται in Frg. C, line 9 (31). On the other hand, in the decree inaugurating the Hephaistia (*I.G.*, I², 84) hieropoioi have almost everything to do, and there is no trace of epimeletai. They have, for example, the conduct of the pompe—a function which in Aristotle's time involved epimeletai (*Ἀθ. Πολ.*, 56, 4; 57, 1). On *ad hoc* hieropoioi of this sort see R. Schöll, *Sitzb. d. bayer. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1887, pp. 1 ff.; also L. Ziehen, *Leges sacrae*, II, 1, 29 note. Ziehen includes the Bendideia among the public fetes of Athens which were handled by special hieropoioi. There is to be found, it seems, only one certain instance of a board of epimeletai in the records of fifth-century Athens, viz., in *I.G.*, I², 65 = Meritt, Wade-Gery, McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*,

When we reach lines 3-7 of Frg. B²⁷ we can determine what the general subject under treatment was. This was the financing of the new cult. The longest line of the five under consideration has only 10 letters out of 64; hence a reconstruction is precluded when we have no analogies to help us. The only thing that is certain is that an *ἐπαρχή* was envisaged. In a note to *Fouilles de Delphes*, III, 2, 88, p. 100 Colin writes as follows: Au propre, *ἐπαρχή* désigne l'offrande faite à une divinité en vue d'en obtenir quelque faveur, tandis que *ἀπαρχή* est une offrande destinée à remercier le dieu d'un bien déjà acquis par sa protection. Ce sens de *ἐπαρχή* est encore fort net dans une inscription d'Oropos datant de la fin du V^e ou du début du IV^e siècle (*I.G.*, VII, 235, l. 20: *ἐπαρχὴν δὲ διδοῦν τὸν μέλλοντα θεραπεύεσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ μὴ ἔλαττον . . .*); mais, dans les comptes d'Éleusis de 329 [*I.G.*, II², 1672], *ἀπαρχή* et *ἐπαρχή* sont déjà employés indifféremment. Ici, dans un texte de la fin du III^e siècle, *ἐπαρχή* doit signifier simplement une offrande quelconque. At the time of our decree *ἐπαρχή* could have been used with exactitude of a placatory offering just as *ἀπαρχή* was used in the almost contemporary decree ordering the payment of first fruits to Demeter and Kore (*I.G.*, I², 76) as a "thanksgiving."

Unquestionably the *ἐπαρχή* was imposed by public authority, but upon whom? In *Harvard Stud. in Class. Phil.*, LI, 1940, pp. 233 ff. Robert Schlaifer has collected the evidence bearing on the financing by Athens of certain cults, notably those of Theseus and Asklepios. In regard to the latter he remarks very properly (p. 239): "The presence of taxation is more easily explicable in the cult of Asclepius than it would be in almost any other. The worship of this god was introduced late into Athens, arriving from Epidaurus only in 420 B.C. Consequently his temples had no traditional organization or established revenues. The absence of the former made it possible to select the priest from the entire body of Athenians in accordance with a scheme fixed by the state, and the lack of the latter led to the creation of a tax to substitute for income-producing properties." Ten years earlier Athens had faced this same problem with Bendis and some fifty-five years earlier (475) it had been confronted with a similar but not identical problem with Theseus.²⁸ To finance Theseus Athens levied in the fourth century τὸ τέλος τῆς πεντεδραχμίας τῆς τῷ Θησεῖ and to finance Asklepios τὸ τέλος τῆς [δραχμῆς τ]ῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ. It is permitted to think that it also levied τὸ τέλος τῆς—δραχμίας τῆς τῇ Βενδίδι, and that the imposition

I, D 8, lines 38 ff. (426/5); cf. Meritt, *Doc. Ath. Tribute*, pp. 38 ff.; Busolt-Swoboda, *Griech. Staatskunde*, II, pp. 1115, 1352 note 1, 1357. This board, moreover, dealt with imperial and not with purely domestic matters. It is noteworthy that in *I.G.*, I², 91, lines 18 f. epimeletai do not appear in the comprehensive list of the archontes of the shrines of the Other Gods.

²⁷ In line 4, we can restore *ἐγγενομε* as *ἐγγενομε*, i. e., [τὰ] ἐγγενομέ[να] or [τὸν] ἐγγενομέ[νον], etc. We should then have a reference to "the yield" of an impost or investment.

²⁸ Theseus had long since become an Attic hero (cf. Ed. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Alt.*, II¹, p. 775; III¹, p. 503). The Salaminioi sacrificed to him on the sixth of Pyanopsion (*Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 5, line 92; cf. pp. 27 f.).

and levying of this tax—the yield of the *ἐπαρχή*—was covered in lines 3-7 of our new texts. The *τέλη* of Theseus and Asklepios were sold by auction to the highest bidder.²⁹ There is, I believe, a reference to a sale of this sort in line 6: *αν ὄσο δ' ἄν πρ[αθῆι*. The *poletai* should be looked for in the vicinity of this place. In line 7 I have restored *[πάρ]εδροι*.³⁰ *Πρόεδροι* appear in Athens only in the fourth century and *σύνεδροι* belong in a federation, not in the *πόλις*. They are therefore excluded in our text. Several magistrates in Athens had *paredroi* (alternates), particularly, if not exclusively, when they had to act individually. The archon, king, and polemarch had each two *paredroi*; so had each of the ten *euthynoi* (Arist., *Ἄθ. Πολ.*, 56, 1; 48, 4). *Paredroi* appear in the documents of the fifth century with the *Hellenotamiai*, but not before 418/7 (Meritt, *Athenian Financial Documents*, p. 129), and with the *stratego* in Sicily (Meritt, *Ath. Fin. Doc.*, p. 162, line 50 = *I.G.*, I², 302, line 40). It is improbable that any *paredroi* except those of the archon, king, polemarch, or those of the *euthynoi* should appear in our text, and of these the *paredroi* of the *euthynoi* have much the better chance of being present. It was inevitable that in a section dealing with public finance an accounting for funds was required and this fell naturally upon the *euthynoi* rather than upon any one of the three superior *archontes*. On the model of *I.G.*, I², 127, line 19, II², 1629, lines 233 ff., and *Andoc.*, I, 78—all three use the same verb—I have restored *καταγιγνοσκόντων* in line 7 (cf. Lipsius, *Das Attische Recht.*, I, pp. 108 f.). This probably envisaged the checking of malpractices on the part of the *telonai* or *poletai*; and I have filled in lines 6 and 7 with this in mind.

The question may now be put again: who paid the *eparchai*? We have no *knowledge* with which to answer it in the case of the cults of Theseus and Asklepios.³¹ All we can say is that levies of this sort could be made in Athens on specified categories of citizens and residents. They need not have been of general application. Cases in point are those covered in *I.G.*, I², 128, 127, and 79. In the first the levy applied to shippers and benefited an unknown god, possibly Zeus Soter; in the second it applied to the *ναύκληροι* again and benefited the Anakes; and in the third³² Apollo was the

²⁹ We know of syndicates as the holders of these franchises (*οἱ μετασχόντες τέλος*) from the records of the *poletai* published by Meritt in *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 401, lines 137, 142); cf. *Andoc.*, I, 133.

³⁰ In line 7 the text is *εδροι* not *εαροι*. The delta is perfectly clear in Nilsson's photograph. The *monstrum* *Φρ]εαροι* is impossible in any case. The deme was written with two rhos. Cf. Steph. Byz. s. v. The misspellings of the demotic on ostraka of Themistocles (*Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 369, fig. 25) are not evidence of orthography.

³¹ Schlaifer, p. 237 reports with approval a suggestion made by Nock "that the five drachmae are to be identified with the *ἀποφοραί* paid for the support of the cult of Theseus by the members of those families which according to the legend had sent their children as tribute to Minos." He cites Plut., *Thes.*, 25, 3.

³² Here the levy is called, or is included in, *τὸ ἀργύριον τῷ Ἀπόλλωνος*; in the second what comes in question is *ἐπιβατικόν* and *πεντεκοστέ*; in the first alone (*I.G.*, I², 128) is the word *ἀπαρχαί* used and that by implication alone, l. 7, *σταμπερ τὸ τῶν ἀπα[ρχὸν τέλος?* For an *ἀπαρχή* levied as a *telos* see Schlaifer, *loc. cit.*, p. 235, note 2.

beneficiary, the contributors⁸³ being the hippeis (assessed for two drachmas each per year), the hoplites (assessed for one drachma) and the toxotai (assessed for three obols). “If anyone did not pay his tax voluntarily the paymasters deducted the amount from his wages.”⁸⁴

I am not sure that any of these three is a parallel to the five-drachmae tax for Theseus and the one drachma for Asklepios in anything but the fact of a publicly imposed payment by a specified group.

Roussel writes, La mutilation du document ne permet pas—ou permet trop—de multiplier les hypothèses. At the risk of taking too many liberties with hypotheses I conjecture that the *ἐπαρχή* of Bendis was collected under public compulsion from all who ministered to the cult, among them, and outstanding at least in numbers, the pompeis, i. e., those who, without holding office, participated in the pompe.⁸⁵ Such persons would inevitably be favored in the *κρεανομία* (cf. my tentative restoration of lines 9 f.). To require them to pay as *ἐπαρχή* a telos of, shall we say, two drachmas apiece would not, I think, have seemed inappropriate. If *I.G.*, I², 84, line 28 is restored correctly (*καὶ ἐκγράφευ ἐκ [τῶν πενπόντων]*), an official list was kept of those entitled to participate in a pompe.

The next two lines (8 and 9) give us little with which to start. We should expect, however, to find in the text somewhere specifications as to the animals to be sacrificed and something about the *κρεανομία*. *Κάλλιστα* might have been used of *ἡερέα*. The purchase of victims was a proper function for the hieropoioi to exercise⁸⁶ and the phrase *ἐκ τῶν ἐγγενομένων*, which I have restored, links the expenditure with

⁸³ The word [*καταβάλλεν*] is restored in *I.G.*, I², 79, but in *I.G.*, I², 128 we have *ἐνμβάλλονται*.

⁸⁴ Schlaifer, *loc. cit.*, p. 236.

⁸⁵ Pompeis is the term used by Thucy., VI, 58: *ἐπὶ τοὺς πομπέας τοὺς ὀπλίτας*, “to the hoplites in the procession” (Smith in Loeb Classics). It is found also in *I.G.*, II², 47: *νέμεν δὲ τὰ [κρέ]α τὸ μὲν ἡγεμόνος βοῶς τοῖς πρυτάνεσιν [καὶ τ]οῖς ἐννέ’ ἄρχουσιν κα[ὶ] τ[οῖ]ς ἰ[ε]ροποιοῖς [κ]αὶ [τοῖς πο]μ[π]εῦσιν; and in *I.G.*, II², 334: *νείμαν[τας τοῖς πρυτάν]εσιν πέντε μερίδας καὶ τοῖς ἐννέα ἄρ[χουσιν τρεῖς] καὶ ταμίαυ τῆς θεοῦ μίαν καὶ τοῖς ἱερ[οποιοῖς μίαν] καὶ τοῖς στ[ρα]τηγοῖς καὶ τοῖς ταξίαρχ[οις τρεῖς καὶ τ]οῖς πομπ[εῦσι]ν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τα[ῖς] κληφόροι[ς] κατὰ (τὰ) εἰω[θότα], τὰ δὲ ἄλλα κρέα Ἀθηναίο[ις] μερίζεω]. Schlaifer (*loc. cit.*, p. 244) has pointed out correctly that the priest of Asklepios, Euthydemos of Eleusis, who presented to the demos the matter with which the decree, *I.G.*, II², 47, lines 23-39, is concerned, was the priest of the Piraeic, not the urban, Asklepios. The demos in question, moreover, is obviously the demos of the Piraeic deme, not of the Athenian state (the inscription is misplaced in *I.G.*, II²). The procession in honor of this Asklepios need not have added so many pompeis to the enumerated officials that the prize ox could not have furnished portions of meat of acceptable size for all of them. The pompeis of *I.G.*, II², 334 were participants in the pompe of the minor Panathenaia. Non-Athenians were, therefore, to be found among them, who, however, received no κρέα. They were, doubtless, much more numerous than were the Πειραιεῖς in *I.G.*, II², 47. I see no reason for thinking that pompeis is not the correct term for all non-official participants in pompai. Stengel, *Griech. Kultusaltertümer*³, p. 225, takes them to be Geleiter, i. e., marshals; but, if this were so, we should have to recognize that there were non-Athenians among the marshals. Lidell-Scott-Jones interprets *πομπεύς* as I do.**

⁸⁶ *I.G.*, I², 10, lines 5 f.; *I.G.*, II², 334, lines 16 ff.

the income—appropriately, since the yield of the ἐπαρχή could not be known in advance. I have filled out θύεν δὲ ε as θύεν δὲ ἐ[κατόμβην τῆι Βενδίδι because the public sacrifice to Bendis was this in fact.³⁷ What I have restored thereafter (λαμβάνοντον -- διδοί) is, of course, venturesome, but it yields an intelligible kreonomia.

With line 10 we come to the establishment of the pannychis to which there is the famous reference in the opening passage of Plato's *Republic*. And to take up first things first, I proceed to deal at once with the problem of restoring the formula used to fix the day of the year at the close of which the pannychis occurred.³⁸ The prime fact is well established—that the Bendideia was celebrated on the 19th of Thargelion.³⁹

The existence in the fifth century B.C. of a conciliar year (concurrent, but not coterminous, with the lunar year) of 365 days (a year of 366 and another of 365½ days on the average are arrived at by Meritt, *Ath Fin. Doc.*, pp. 154 f.), subdivided into ten prytanies of approximately equal length (36 or 37 days), was first demonstrated by Meritt⁴⁰ in his *Athenian Calendar* published in 1928—"a veritable triumph of acumen and industry."⁴¹ Meritt (*Athenian Calendar*) and Dinsmoor (*The Archons of Athens* [1931], pp. 322 ff.), and Meritt (*Athenian Financial Documents* [1932], pp. 152 ff.) and Dinsmoor again (*The Athenian Archon List* [1939], pp. 205 ff.) have dealt exhaustively and with mutual help and criticism with the relations of these conciliar years to those of the lunar cycles (both in the first Metonic period,⁴² 432/1–414/3, and beyond it), and have tabulated their results on pp. 176 and 211 of their respective latest books. Using these two tables as points of reference

³⁷ A hecatomb remained in name a "hecatomb" even if the victims fell far short of 100 oxen; cf. Ditt., *Syll.*³, 57, line 19: ἡ πόλις διδοί εκατόμβην τρία ἱερήμια. I have pointed out in "The Attic Orgeones, p. 101 that in 334/3 the sacrifice to Bendis was a full hecatomb.

³⁸ The partial restoration current (Pappadakes-Nilsson, Peek-Roussel), ἐνδεκάτει [φθίνοντος] is, of course, impossible, not merely, as Nilsson writes, "neu." How could the Athenians carry the period of the waning moon (φθίνοντος) back to the period when the moon was not waning (μεσοῦντος)? The fact that it is "new," when the examples of datings by days of the month both in the Attic inscriptions and outside them, are so numerous, is of itself enough to condemn it. The obvious, and to me, at least, certain, complement of ἐνδεκάτει is τῆς—πρυτανείας.

³⁹ Scholion on Plato's *Republic*, 327 a: ταῦτα δὲ ἐτελείτο Θαργηλιῶνος ἐνάτη ἐπὶ δέκα. Cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, III, 1, 269, s. v. Bendideia; Deubner, *Attische Feste*, p. 219. For a corroboration in a document of the fourth century B.C. see below, note 73.

⁴⁰ He was anticipated, in so far as the general idea was concerned, by Bruno Keil ("Athens Amtsjahre und Kalenderjahre im V. Jahrhundert," and "Das System des Kleisthenischen Staatskalenders," *Hermes*, 1894, p. 32 ff. and 321 ff.); but "the first proof" is due to Meritt (p. 16).

⁴¹ Tod, M. N., *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, p. 142.

⁴² For a discussion by a third party of the question whether or not the inauguration of the conciliar year coincided with the establishment of the Metonic Cycle in Athens, see M. Giffler, *A.J.P.*, LX, 1939, pp. 436 ff. He concludes, agreeing with Dinsmoor, that both entered into effect in 432. In an article published in *Hermes*, LXXV, 1940, pp. 215 ff., which I know only from J. and L. Robert, *R.E.G.*, LIII, 1940, p. 208, no. 37, Giffler dissents from McGregor's conclusion, accepted by Meritt and Dinsmoor (*The Athenian Archon List*, p. 211, note 23), that 422/1 was an ordinary and not an intercalary year. If he is right, and 422/1 turns out to be actually an intercalary year, the validity of the synchronism between the two sets of years in the year 430/29 will not be impaired.

I shall try by a process of trial and error to solve the problem of establishing the equation to be used in our new text.

In line 11 the 19th of Thargelion coincided with the 11th day of a prytany. Of the ten prytanies the ninth and the tenth are the only two which are possible, since the 19th of Thargelion can in no circumstances have fallen more than 99 days before the end of the conciliar year. Let us start with the ninth. In an ordinary civil year of 354 days, 10 days of Thargelion and 30 days of Skirophorion remained after the 19th of Thargelion. Therefore 314 days of the civil year had elapsed. In the conciliar year of $365\frac{1}{2}$ days there remained after the 11th of the ninth prytany 25 days of that prytany (giving it 36 days) and 37 days of the tenth prytany. Therefore $365\frac{1}{2}$ less 62, or $303\frac{1}{2}$ days, had elapsed. Consequently the civil year began $10\frac{1}{2}$ days before the conciliar year.

How about the year following that of our decree? At the 19th of Thargelion the civil and the conciliar years were, the one (civil) 40 days from its end, the other (conciliar) 62 days from its end. Hence in the following year the civil year should begin 22 days before the conciliar.

There is no consecutive pair of years in either table showing, in the earlier, an advance of the civil year over the conciliar of $10\frac{1}{2}$ days, and, in the latter, an advance of 22 days. In all the years possible for the Bendis-decrees, 433/2, 432/1, 431/0 and 430/29 (above, p. 133), the civil years began and ended after the conciliar years (Meritt, *Ath. Fin. Doc.*, p. 176, Dinsmoor, *The Ath. Archon List*, p. 211). (In 433/2 the civil year ended 18 days [Dinsmoor] or 13 days [Meritt] after the conciliar.) Let us assume that our year was an intercalary year of 384 days. The days of the conciliar year that had elapsed by the 19th of Thargelion would remain the same, i. e., $303\frac{1}{2}$ days, but the elapsed days of the civil year would be increased by 30, i. e. from 314 to 344. In this case the civil year would have begun 40 days before the conciliar, and, in the year next following, the antecedence of the civil over the conciliar would still be $10\frac{1}{2}$ days. We come to a result which is even more emphatically ruled out.

It remains to see what the situation would be if the synchronism were between the 19th of Thargelion and the eleventh day of the *tenth* prytany. The elapsed days in the civil year would remain the same, 314 in an ordinary year and 344 in an intercalary year. The elapsed days in the conciliar would have risen by the length of one prytany, 36 or 37 days, i. e., from $303\frac{1}{2}$ days to 340 days. In other words the conciliar year would have begun in an ordinary year 26 days before and in an intercalary year 4 days after the civil year. And the following year would have shown an antecedence of the conciliar year over the civil of 40-26, or fourteen days.

430/29 was an ordinary year, following an intercalary year immediately, in the tables of both Meritt and Dinsmoor. I take this to be an established fact.

We note that in 430/29, according to Meritt's table, the conciliar year began

22 days before the civil and that in 429/8 it began 10 days before. Meritt's figures compare with ours (for the Bendis-decrees) as follows: 26 to 22, 14 to 10, a difference of 4 days in each case.⁴³ Dinsmoor's figures for these two years compared with mine are 26 to 26, 14 to 14. They agree precisely.

The demonstration is complete. I take it that Dinsmoor's figures, at this point at least, are established by the new synchronism; that the year of the Bendis-decrees is 430/29; and that *δεκάτης* must be restored in line 11. I have accordingly not hesitated to restore the name of the archon for 430/29 in line 10. In any case, a limiting phrase, like *τὸν δὲ ἐνιαυτὸν τόνδε*, would be necessary since the Bendideia could not be celebrated *τῷ ἐνδεκάτῃ* [*τῆς δεκάτης πρυτανείας*] in any subsequent year.

Peek⁴⁴ gives the following context to the extant words of lines 12-14: [*περὶ δὲ ἱερεοσύνης*] *εἴτε χρὲ γυναικα ἱερεοσ[ύνης] ἔχεν τῆς θεῆ εἴτε χρὲ ἄνδρα καθίστασθαι ἐξ Ἀθ[ηνα]ίων ἀπάντων, πεμφσάντων [ἐς Δοδόνην] δὴ ἄνδρας οἱ τὸν θεὸν ἐπερέσσονται περὶ τούτου] ὅς τάχιστα. I cannot use his initial phrase since its 17 letters are 6 too few for the space. I must also reject his main idea. There can have been no doubt that the hieresyne of Bendis was to have a priest. It is well established (cf. below) that Bendis was served in Athens by both a priest and a priestess. My restoration accepts the *ἱερέος* of the text given by Nilsson (following Pappadakes) and makes the *ἀπορία* consist of the question whether the priestess should be wife of a priest or wife of any man selected [*ἐξ Ἀθ[ηνα]ίων ἀπάντων*].⁴⁵*

I have inserted an innocuous final clause before *εἴτε*, which has the merit of filling the space exactly and of giving us a plural subject for the plural imperative *πεμφσάντων* in line 13. **Ἄλλο γυναικα* brings out a desirable antithesis between *ἱερέος* and *ἄλλο*. I take it that *γυναικα* in line 12 lacks *τέν* in order to bring out the idea that a priest might have no wife; hence the translation is "a wife of a priest." I naturally prefer the proper technical term, *θεοπρόπος*, to Peek's *ἄνδρας* in line 14. His relative clause is too long for the space vacant between *θεοπρόπος* and *ὅς τάχιστα* (29 spaces to 23). I have taken over the construction with the future participle (including the nice *καί*) from Nilsson & Pappadakes.

The next four lines (15-18) concern the hieresyne of the priestly officials. Instead of the *λαμβάνον* of Pappadakes & Nilsson I read, following a suggestion kindly made to me by Raubitschek, *λαμβάνεν*, which the vestiges visible on the photograph

⁴³ It stems from the fact that Dinsmoor has the conciliar year 432/1 begin with the first day (Skir. 13 = June 27) of the first Metonic Cycle, while Meritt disassociates the conciliar years entirely from the years of the Metonic Cycle.

⁴⁴ See Roussel, p. 182.

⁴⁵ It is conceivable that the problem arose for the Athenians because of the chance that the priest and priestess of the Thracians were husband and wife. Something of the sort existed in the case of the hieresyne of the Mother of the Gods in the association of Attic orgeones (cf. "The Attic Orgeones," pp. 112, 137). The husband of the priestess (there was no priest) helped his wife. The institutions of these orgeones—a third-century B.C. creation—were obviously modelled on those of the orgeones of Bendis.

make preferable. Σκέλε is normal.⁴⁶ Δέρματα is not an acceptable substitute. Besides, the hides of all the victims, except those of the ten assigned to the priest, went, I believe, to the priestess. Ηιέρεαν is irreproachable in line 17 since, irrespective of what Zeus of Dodona decided, there *was* to be a priestess. Doubtless line 16 can be restored differently; but τῶν δημοσίου θυο[μένον] calls, I think, for τῶν ἰδίου θυομένον. Similarly [τὸ δὲ λο]ιπὸν calls for a preceding τὸ μὲν νῦν. No reason is stated for defining specifically the hierosyna for 430/29 and leaving their subsequent distribution to allotment;⁴⁷ but, without experience, the Athenians could not know (especially if my restoration of line 8 approximates to the truth) how valuable the perquisites of even the public sacrifices (to say nothing of those of the private sacrifices, which were of course unpredictable) would be. It would make a lot of difference to the priestess if the private victims were one dozen or five dozen, for example. Moreover, the portions to be given to the officiants might be made different according to whether the priest and priestess were or were not man and wife.

In line 18 the space required for οἱ ἂν hieropoioῖσιν is also what is required for τὸς ἐπὶ τὰ ἐκθύματα. The Athenian demos, says Aristotle in his *Constitution of Athens* (54, 6), κληροὶ δὲ καὶ ἱεροποιοὺς δέκα, τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰ ἐκθύματα καλουμένους, [οἱ] τὰ τε μ[αν]τευτὰ ἱερὰ θύουσιν, κἂν τι καλλιερῆσαι δέη, καλλιεροῦσι μετὰ τῶν μάντεων. The Athenian inscriptions contain no mention of this board; hence we cannot judge from concrete cases what its role was. "The expiatory sacrifices" (τὰ ἐκθύματα) may have been single and not, like the Bendideia, continuing rites. In fact the intervention of the *manteis* to pass on the auspiciousness of the rites suggests an isolated rather than a recurrent sacrifice. The "alloted" hieropoioi are certainly not our "elected" hieropoioi, and there is no compelling reason why a new board should enter into action at this point. The present infinitive κλερῶν shows that a phrase like οἱ ἂν hieropoioῖσιν is required. In line 11 the directive is given, as is proper, to the hieropoioi of 430/29 alone, and the [ἐ]κάστοτε of line 18 also makes hieropoioῖς in line 19 sufficient.

Peek's restoration of the next sentence (lines 18 f.) runs as follows (Roussel, p. 182): [πρίασθαι δὲ καὶ βῶς ἐς τὰς θυσίας ἐ]κάστοτε τῷ Βενδίδι ἀπὸ πεντέκο[ντα μῶν καὶ μῖα μετὰ τῶν βοῶν πρὸ τῆς ἐνάτης πρ]υτανείας. I should expect a clause of this sort, one authorizing the purchase of the sacrificial animals, to come earlier in the text, before their σκέλε and δέρματα were dealt with. The place I should look for it is in lines 8/9 (cf. above, p. 144). Moreover, I doubt whether the kolakretai would be the paymasters for such a purpose. If μῶν were not a restoration, or were a restoration without an obvious alternative, we might follow Peek's lead; but

⁴⁶ Cf. *I.G.*, I², 24: φέρειν δὲ τὴν ἱέρεαν (of Athena Nike) --- καὶ τὰ σκέλε, καὶ τὰ δέρματα φέρειν τῶν δημοσίων. *I.G.*, II², 1316, lines 5 ff.; *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 3 f.; and below, p. 154. The Schol. on Aristophanes, *Wasps*, 695, and *Plut.*, 1181, νόμος δὲ ἦν τὰ ὑπολειπόμενα τῆς θυσίας τοὺς ἱερέας λαμβάνειν, ἃ εἰσιν οἷον δέρματα καὶ κωλαί, may be cited also. See the comments of Ziehen, P. W., *R.E.*, VIII, p. 1423, and Stengel, *Griech. Kultusaltertümer*³, pp. 40 f.

⁴⁷ For κληρώ used absolutely see Aristotle, *Ἀθ. Πολ.*, 4, 3; 8, 1. Cf. λαγχάνει in the prescriptions of the Milesian Molpoi, Ditt., *Syll.*³, 57, line 18.

δραχμῶν is what one would think of first. What 50 drachmae calls for is *φιάλεν*. The annual gift of a (silver) phiale to a god or goddess is well attested; for Athena in the inventories of her tamiai, notably those of the Pronaos;⁴⁸ for Demeter and Kore and for the Mother of the Gods in the ephebe inscriptions;⁴⁹ for Asklepios in *I.G.*, II², 1475 (cf. Ferguson, *The Treasurers of Athena*, p. 125); and for Apollo at Delos, who received a phiale from Athens for thirty consecutive years, 344-314 (Homolle, *B.C.H.*, XV, 1891, pp. 152 ff.; Laidlaw, W. A., *A History of Delos*, p. 89). *Ἐνάτες* is preferable to *δεκάτες* in line 19. *Δεκάτες* would require the phiale to be given to Bendis after the 19th of Thargelion in a good many years and before the Bendideia in very few.⁵⁰ A year like 430/29 was very exceptional. For what purpose the Council was given full power (line 20) I have not ventured to guess.⁵¹ Then follow in lines 21 and 22 the instructions giving the secretary of the Council (Pasiphon of Phrearria) the order to publish the decree. A like order was undoubtedly given him toward the close of the second decree and the kolakretai were authorized to furnish the money for the entire stele. Hence Pasiphon's name appears properly in big letters on the cornice of the stone, below the sculptured relief, for which see Nilsson, p. 188. Should, however, it be thought, out of deference to Plato (below, notes 59, 61) that Frg. C was enacted and the whole stele engraved in a later year than the enactment of Frgs. A-B, then Pasiphon's name should not be restored in Frg. A, line 2, but only in Frg. C (cf. *I.G.*, I², 57 = Meritt, Wade-Gery, McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, I, D 3-6; *I.G.*, II², 1). It seems to me unlikely that Pasiphon was elevated to the generalship for 410/09 within two years of his tenure of the secretaryship of the Council; yet he cannot have been secretary before 412 if Frg. C is dated on Plato's evidence. But Plato's evidence would date Frgs. A-B also after 412 and this the epigraphic evidence cited above, note 6, prohibits.

On *ἐν τῷ Βενδιδέοι* see above, p. 137, note 13, and below, p. 152. *Ἀπομισθοσάντων* can be used without an object; cf. *I.G.*, I², 24, 9; 63, 25 = Meritt and West, *Athenian Assessment of 425/4 B. C.*, p. 45; and 115, line 8.

FRAGMENT C

I add only one comment to what I have said already (above, p. 136) about line 1 (23) of this fragment. The final epsilon of [*ἔγρα*] *μμάτευε* is cut above the space

⁴⁸ The phialae, described as "of silver," listed among the *ἐπέτειά* vary in number from year to year. None are recorded in one year only between 432/1 and 423/2 B.C. (*I.G.*, I², 232 ff.), viz., 430/29, in which in significant compensation 3 gold phialae, "weighing" 2544 drachmas, came to the Hekatompedon (*I.G.*, I², 260). The silver phialae varied in weight, but two norms are determinable, one of 100 ± and another of 80 ± drachmas.

⁴⁹ *I.G.*, II², 1006, 1009, 1028, 1029. They cost, the first 100, the second 70 drachmas. Here the annual donations were ordered by psephismata. The expenditure for Bendis was not extravagant.

⁵⁰ See above, p. 146, and the tables of Meritt and Dinsmoor cited above, p. 145. Aristotle's statement (*Ἀθ. Πολ.*, 47, 4) is in point: *πλείστα χρήματα ἐπὶ ταύτης συλλέγεται τῆς πρωτανείας*.

⁵¹ Peek has filled in the two gaps (Roussel, p. 182); but what he puts into the second gap seems

between the iota and alpha of *διά* in line 24. Therefore 3 or 4 spaces remain in line 23. A name like [*Ἄντι*]κλέης would fit.

Deloptes (restored in line 24) is associated with Bendis in her cult in Athens (*I.G.*, II², 1324; cf. "The Attic Orgeones," p. 98; Nilsson, no. 15 on p. 174), possibly in Samos (Wiegand, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXV, 1900, p. 172; cf. Wilhelm, *Oesterr. Jahresh.*, V, 1902, p. 131) and in Chalkis.⁵² It is to be noted that Sterling Dow⁵³ has shifted the date of *I.G.*, II², 1324 from *ca.* 200 B.C. to the late fourth or early third century B.C.

In line 3 (25) the phrase *ἀπὸ τῆς ἐστίας* — — *πρυτανεῖο* is taken verbatim from *I.G.*, II², 1283 in the belief that the drafters of *I.G.*, II², 1283 had copied it verbatim from our new stele.⁵⁴ According to *I.G.*, II², 1283 what the "law" of the Athenians had "ordered" (line 11), what the demos "had conceded to the Thracians alone," was, not to make a procession, but to make a procession *ἀπὸ τῆς ἐστίας τῆς ἐκκ*⁵⁵ *τοῦ πρυτανεῖου*. There is, I think, some justification for restoring line 3 (25) as I have

redundant after *ἀνοκράτορα*, and what he puts into the first seems improbable in view of the imminence of a second decree.

⁵² Nilsson (pp. 169 f.) takes the Asklepios-like figure in the Ny Carlsberg relief (*I.G.*, II², 1256), which is ordinarily identified as Deloptes, to be Asklepios himself; like Pan and the two nymphs, Hermes and (in the corner) Acheloös (?) carved weakly in the inset above to the left of the main scene, he strayed, so Nilsson suggests, into the Bendideion from the Piraeic Asklepieion in Zea, they from the Nymphaion, which probably abutted on the precinct of Bendis (*I.G.*, II², 1283, line 18). He concedes, however, that in Samos (Wiegand, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXV, 1900, p. 172) Deloptes was given an Asklepios-like figure as a result of "eine alte Umdeutung." Such was, I believe, the case in Athens also. There is a pictorial representation of Bendis and Deloptes in a relief (with inscription) from Chalkis (cf. P. Collart, *Philippes*, pl. 76, 2). Here (to quote J. and L. Robert, *R.E.G.*, LV, 1942, Bulletin Épigraphique, p. 333, no. 44a) "à coté de Bendis, figure un dieu barbu portant sur le bras droit une corne d'abondance, dieu de la fertilité compagnon de l'Artémis thrace (τοῖν θεοῖν)." The inscription is *I.G.*, XII, suppl., 528, and is not accessible to me. Probably Deloptes was thought to be able to restore health to men, beasts, and crops. Cf. O. Kern, *Religion der Griechen*, II, p. 239.

⁵³ *Harvard Theological Review*, 1937, p. 197, note 54.

⁵⁴ Nilsson, p. 176 has written a long-overdue note on the *μόνοις* of the section of *I.G.*, II², 1283 quoted on p. 133 above. "Das Wort *μόνοις* ist auffällig. Denn im J. 333/2 hatte das athenische Volk auf den Antrag des Lykurg den Emporoi aus Kition auf Cypern auf ihre Bitte die Erwerbung eines Grundstücks gestattet um einen Tempel der Aphrodite Urania zu erbauen, gleichwie, heisst es am Ende des Psephisma, die Ägypter einen Tempel der Isis gegründet haben. Da zu der Zeit, in der die Inschrift aus dem Jahr des Polystratos [*I.G.*, II², 1283] in der Mitte des 3. Jahrhunderts gesetzt wurde, die fragliche Begünstigung wenigstens noch zwei anderen Fremdvölkern gewährt worden war, wäre *πρώτοις* richtiger.

"Vielleicht könnte man geneigt sein, darin eine kleine Entgleisung zu sehen, darauf beruhend, dass die fraglichen Worte einem älteren, vor dem J. 333/2 geschriebenen Text entnommen seien; es ist aber zu bemerken, dass die älteren Vergünstigungen nicht nur in der Erlaubnis zur Tempelgründung bestehen, sondern auch darin, dass die Prozession der Bendideen vom Staatsherd im Prytaneion aufging. Auf diese Vergünstigung, die, soweit wir wissen, keinem anderen Fremdvolk gewährt worden ist, bezogen ist das Wort *μόνοις* richtig. So kann es als die Ausnamestellung des Bendiskults bezeichnend verteidigt werden."

⁵⁵ *Ἐκκ* was not in the original. It occurs here and there in Attic inscriptions of the IV-III centuries (Meisterhans³, p. 106, 2). It recurs in *I.G.*, II², 1283 in line 29.

done. [ὁ μὲν ἐμ Περαιεῖ σ]τρατός fills the space, but is a venture. Στρατός is not found in Hiller's indices to *I.G.*, I² and appears only once in Vol. IV of Ditt. *Syll.*³; but, as J. and L. Robert remark (*R.E.G.*, LV, 1942, Bulletin épigraphique, p. 330), l'index de la *Sylogé*³ et l'index *Sermo atticus* des décrets attiques ne peuvent suffire à tout. Στρατός abounds in Thucydides (Von Essen, *Index Thucydideus*, p. 406). For the armed forces in the Piraeus see Thucy., II, 13, 7. After the "panic" of the "beginning of winter" in 429 B.C. (Thucy., II, 93 f.), when Knemos and Brasidas launched an attack by sea on the port, the defences of the Piraeus were further strengthened; but, though the harbor had been theretofore ἀφύλακτος καὶ ἄκκληστος, the walls which protected the harbor-town from attacks by land were guarded by forces at least during the times when the Peloponnesians were in Attica. The restoration of Frg. C line 6 (28) is also venturesome, but it hangs together with [ὁ ἐμ Περαιεῖ σ]τρατός. Like the Thracians, who lived for the most part in the Piraeus, the men in garrison there—in 415 they constituted a distinct unit (Andoc., I, 45)—had to go up to Athens to take their places in the procession when it was formed. At the time this decree was passed the Peloponnesians had possibly withdrawn after their second invasion of Attica, but their return was expected next spring or early summer, when the first celebration of the Bendideia was due (June 3, 429, Dinsmoor). It was to meet this contingency that the sentence beginning with με πέμπειν δ' εἰάν, if the restoration incorporates the right idea, was inscribed in the decree.⁵⁶ The balance of the line 7 (28) almost restores itself. In *I.G.*, II², 1283 (cf. above, pp. 133 f., 150 f.) we have reference to the law of Athens ὃς κελεύει τοὺς Θρᾷκας πέμπειν τῆμ πομπῆν εἰ[ς Π]ε[ι]ραιᾶ. We are therefore warranted in looking for this injunction somewhere on our stele. Since there is an appropriate space free in line 5 (27) I have inserted it there; but it may have come elsewhere (near line 14 [36], e. g.), and have been worded differently. I have commented on lines 7 (29) and 8 (30) already (above, pp. 132 and 134). The last 10 lines are too fragmentary to offer any base for profitable restorations. I have the impression, however, that they dealt with problems arising from the use for the public cult of the property—the Bendideion—which had been already occupied by the Thracians for their private cult. [ἐπι]μελεθῆσονται might be thought to suggest that a board of epimeletai be established to do what epimeletai ordinarily did, look after the material equipment of shrines;⁵⁷ but the verb is used to cover the activities of all kinds of Athenian magistrates; cf. e. g. below, note 63. I prefer [Περ]αιεῖ in line 13 (35) to the αἰεῖ of Nilsson & Pappadakes. Peek (Roussel?) writes simply αἰε. "Both" (ἐκατερ-) may be various things, Athenians and Thracians, for example, or two boards of officials. Θράιττα[ς] in line 14 (36) is quite isolated. The only role

⁵⁶ Cf. Thucy., VII, 27 5: τῶν ἱππέων, πρὸς τε τὴν Δεκέλειαν καταδρομὰς ποιουμένων = "making demonstrations against Deceleia" (Loeb Class. Trans.).

⁵⁷ Cf. Arist. *Pol.* 8 (6), p. 1322 b, 18: ἄλλο δ' εἶδος ἐπιμελείας ἢ περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς, οἷον ἱερεῖς τε καὶ ἐπιμεληταὶ τῶν περὶ τὰ ἱερά τοῦ σφίζεσθαι τε τὰ ὑπάρχοντα καὶ ἀνορθοῦσθαι τὰ πίπτοντα τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα τέτακται πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς.

we can infer for the Thracian women in the worship of Bendis in Attica (cf. "The Attic Orgeones," pp. 109, 111 f.) is their part in furnishing, by allotment possibly, the priestess of the goddess. But the fact that a comedy of Kratinos bore their name, *Θράιραι* (Kock, 80),—they formed the chorus it seems—suggests that they appeared in the cult, as yet shrineless, rather conspicuously in the Periclean Age.⁵⁸ Did they march in the pompe? They were doubtless as well able to walk with the men as were the Kanephoroi at the Panathenaea.

As I read Nilsson's photograph the first letter in the last line is not theta, but a gamma or a delta. With delta the restoration [*Βενδι*]δέοι is fairly obvious. The lower part of the letter is broken off. ΔΕΟΙ is possible; but what could it mean? [*Μεσό*]γεοι makes no sense to me.

THE ORGEONES

The big question remains, what is the relation of the orgeones, Athenian and Thracian, to the cult as described? So far as I can see they do not appear in our text. Plato's *Republic* contains no evidence as to their existence or non-existence at the time, whatever it was, when Socrates went down to the Piraeus to see "the first celebration" of the Bendideia. In "The Attic Orgeones" (pp. 97 f.) I took the position that the time was *ca.* 411, some twenty years after the Thracians got their hieron. This position is no longer tenable. The first celebration was held in 429. At that time Polemarchos, the brother of Lysias, cannot have been in Athens to waylay Socrates and open the dialogue, and Kephalos, his father, and Sophocles, the tragedian, were not as old as they are represented by Plato to have been.⁵⁹ On the other hand it is clear that Plato (427-347) was familiar with the Bendideia. It must have continued to be celebrated for some time after 429, if not till the *Republic* was written (380-370).⁶⁰ It may have been omitted, even wholly, at times during the Deceleian War⁶¹ and its disastrous aftermath; but I feel certain that if we had the entire calendar of festivals incorporated with the Laws of 403/1, we should find the Bendideia listed there in the category of fetes recurring annually. For the period of some forty years after Plato wrote the *Republic* we have no evidence as to the fate of the Bendideia. The extant records of the orgeones begin in the epoch of Lycurgus. They consist of three decrees of the Athenian association⁶² (two precisely dated in 337/6 and 329/8,

⁵⁸ Kratinos was an older contemporary of Aristophanes. The date of production of *The Thracian Women* is unknown according to Nilsson (p. 171). Ed. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Alt.*, IV¹, p. 36, argues on the basis of Plut., *Per.*, 13, for a year not long after 443, as does Perrin, B., *Plutarch's Cimon and Pericles*, p. 233. Cf. A. W. Gomme, *Commentary on Thucydides*, I, p. 374, note 1.

⁵⁹ What reason Plato had for ascribing the first celebration to 412 or later I cannot imagine, unless it be that he did not know when the Bendideia was instituted, or did not care.

⁶⁰ Shorey, Introduction, p. xxv to his translation in the Loeb Classics.

⁶¹ If it was omitted between 413 and 410, its reinauguration in 409, confused in Plato's memory with its inauguration, would give us an irreproachable dramatic date for the *Republic*.

⁶² Nilsson, p. 172, nos. 6, 9, and 15; Ferguson, "The Attic Orgeones," p. 98. I failed to notice in 1944 that *I.G.*, II², 1256 can be ascribed on evidence to the Athenians; for, while the crowns conferred on the two epimeletai were of gold—each ἀπὸ Ἡ δραχμῶν—the two crowns engraved on

the other only approximately, in the late fourth or early third century);⁶³ and a *lex sacra* (I.G., II², 1361). The honorary decrees show that the association was served by hieropoioi and epimeletai who were alike in having to do with the pompe, different in that the former were charged with the kreanomia, the latter with repair of the premises. It also had, as was inevitable, a treasurer and a secretary.

The *lex sacra* is much more instructive. It was issued at a time (post 350, probably in the epoch of Lycurgus, 338-326, cf. Nilsson, p. 172 f.) when the ordinances of the society needed revision, and the premises needed repairs.⁶⁴ Like all such documents (e. g., the *διαλλαγαί* published in *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 1 ff.), it is difficult to interpret, since we do not know what the earlier ordinances were. Clearly the association already possessed, engraved on a stele, an official catalogue of its members. Their *ἔκγονοι* were members-to-be. No new offices were created. The priest and priestess, the epimeletai and the hieropoioi are taken for granted. The chief officials are the epimeletai and the hieropoioi. They act jointly in convoking the business meetings of the association,⁶⁵ which came on the second day of each month. The epimeletai alone act to enforce a fine of 50 drachmas imposed on a private member or an officer responsible for proposing a change in an ordinance. The penalty to be imposed was for them to inscribe his name as a delinquent debtor on the official published register. The hieropoioi alone receive the two-drachmae fees "for the sacrifice" for which

the face of the stele below the text were olive crowns, not crowns of oak, as should be the case if the crowning was the work of the Thracians. See the photograph in Nilsson, p. 171, fig. 1. There is no doubt that the two epimeletai, Euphues and Dexios, were not slaves, but citizens, as Wilhelm (*Oesterr. Jahresh.*, 1905, p. 134) first remarked. This attribution of I.G., II², 1256 is, perhaps not invalidated, but it is weakened by the case cited by Wilhelm (I.G., II², 896) where a gold crown is engraved as of olive when we should expect it to be of ivy.

⁶³ The first honors with a gold crown ([ἀπὸ τρια]κοσίων δρα[χμῶν]) three men (two otherwise known, PA 1237 and 10601, the other with a defective name) who, as hieropoioi in the archonship of Phrynichos, superintended ([ἐπεμε]λήθησαν) the pompe and the kreanomia; the second (I.G., II², 1256) honored two men, who served as epimeletai in the archonship of Kephisophon (cf. note 62) and the third (I.G., II², 1324) honored Stephanos (cf. "The Attic Orgeones," p. 98, note 43), epimeletes in an unknown archonship, with an olive crown because of various services—attending to the repair of the temple, conducting the pompe (ἐπεμψε—τὴν πομπήν), spending money from his own pocket, and performing his duty well and with grace and dignity. It might be inferred that the hieropoioi were three in number and the epimeletai two, but I.G., II², 1324 gives us pause, and the correct inference may be that the honors were given only to those members of the boards who were thought to deserve them. However, the two bearded men of Nilsson, figs. 1 and 3 are probably the epimeletai, as Wilhelm, *loc. cit.*, 1902, p. 131, suggests. The epimeletai of the orgeones of the Mother of the Gods, whose organization was doubtless modelled on that of the orgeones of Bendis, were two plus one (I.G., II², 1327), the third being taken from their thiasotoi ("The Attic Orgeones," p. 140).

⁶⁴ It may be that the *lex sacra* is to be dated a little before I.G., II², 1324, in which the epimeletes Stephanos [τῆς τοῦ ἱερο]ῦ ἐπισκε[υῆς π]ρόσο[τηκε καθάπε]ρ προσῆκ[ο]ν ἦν; but this does not help us any, since I.G., II², 1324 is dated only very approximately.

⁶⁵ Ἀγορὰν [δὲ] καὶ ξύ[λλ]ογον ποεῖν --- πε[ρὶ τῶν κοιν]ῶν. The date of the meetings, the second of the month, shows that the *lex* is not an enactment of the Thracian orgeones since they met on the eighth day of the month (I.G., II², 1283, 1284).

each orgeon was liable. Besides these fees collected for the sacrifices, the association had income from a house which it let and from a spring the water of which it sold; and by ordinance the revenues thence derived were to be used for repairs to the premises until these were completed unless the orgeones decided to spend them otherwise on the shrine (*εἰς τὸ ἱερόν*).

An ordinance (obviously new) shows that the orgeones had the right to increase their membership. It is introduced by the phrase "in order that the orgeones of the shrine might be as numerous as possible,"⁶⁶ and it admitted "anyone who wished" to "partnership in the shrine" on payment of x drachmas. New members were to be listed on the official register and subjected to a scrutiny (*δοκιμασία*) by the orgeones. The association was no longer limited to members and their *ἔκγονοι*—an important innovation.

The section of the *lex* dealing with sacrifices in the shrine invites a comparison with corresponding lines of Frg. B of our new text. It runs as follows (lines 2 ff.): Ἐὰν δέ τις θύῃ τῆι θεῶι τῶν ὀργεῶνων οἷς μέτεστιν τοῦ ἱεροῦ⁶⁷ ἀτελεῖς αὐτοὺς θύειν· [ἐ]ὰν δὲ ιδιώτης τις⁶⁸ θύῃ τῆι θεῶι διδόναι τῆι ἱερέαι γαλαθηνοῦ μὲν :|C: [κ]αὶ τὸ δέρμα καὶ κωλῆν διανε[κ]ῆ δεξίαν, τοῦ δὲ τελέου :|||: καὶ δέρμα καὶ [κ]ωλῆν κατὰ ταῦτά, βοὸς δὲ :|C: καὶ τὸ δέρμα· διδόναι δὲ τὰ ἱερώσυνα τῶ[ν μὲ]ν θηλ[ε]ῖων τῆι ἱερέαι, τῶν δὲ ἀρρένων τῶι ἱερεῖ· παραβώμια δὲ μὴ [θύ]ειν [μ]ηδένα ἐν τῶι ἱερώ[ι ἢ] ὀφείλε[ι]ν :F: δραχμάς.⁶⁹ This section makes it clear that the orgeones were competent to declare on what terms and by what officials private individual sacrifices might be offered in the shrine. The matter of sacrifices offered by the state or by the orgeones as an association is not mentioned and was probably not within the discretion of the organization. We may presume that such sacrifices were covered by public law, since the Bendideion was a public shrine; and that public law gave to the orgeones

⁶⁶ This envisaged the pompe doubtless.

⁶⁷ Why are the orgeones thus defined? The phrase *οἷς μέτεστιν τοῦ ἱεροῦ* must mean something. It is added again to the word "orgeones" in line 18, where, as in line 2/3, exactitude of expression was called for; but when we reach line 21 we encounter *ὀργεῶνες τοῦ ἱεροῦ* and in line 24 as in line 11 "the orgeones" alone. If the inscription were intact at the top we should probably know the answer, as in the two analogous cases known to me, Ditt., *Syll.*³, 1106 50, and 1023. There are several possibilities: (1) that it excluded citizen orgeones who had forfeited their right to participate in "the affairs" of the group (line 14); (2) that it comprehended the Thracian orgeones, in whose case the phrase was appropriate (*I.G.*, II², 1283, lines 18 f.); (3) that it affirmed the rights of the Athenian orgeones in the public shrine. Of these the last seems to me the most likely.

⁶⁸ *Ἰδιώτης* means simply "outsider."

⁶⁹ *Παραβώμια* means, beside, not on, the altar. For sacrifices "on" the altar the services of the priest or priestess were obligatory, and the sacrificers, when outsiders, had to pay the specified tolls and reward the officiants with the specified portions of the victims. The injunction is, however, general, and thus applied to orgeones as well as outsiders. Since orgeones could sacrifice without payment to the priest and priestess, the injunction must have been issued in the interest of ritualistic decorum. What may have been envisaged is evidenced by *I.G.*, II², 1177. Cf. "The Attic Orgeones," p. 96.

control of their revenues, entrusted to them the upkeep of the premises, and stipulated what hieresyna should be given to the officiants at public and orgeonic sacrifices. In the *lex sacra* the principle applied was that the sex of the victims of private sacrifices made by outsiders should determine whether the priestess or the priest⁷⁰ got the hieresyna assessed on them. Allotment, as contemplated in Frg. B, line 17, is ruled out in their case. Since we do not possess the decree of the state by which the regime of the orgeones was set up, we do not know what disposition was made of the perquisites of the animals sacrificed by the state or the orgeonic association; but in 334 the *δέρματα* of the hecatomb were public property.

In “The Attic Orgeones” (p. 104) I wrote, “The Bendideia was a national fete and the relation of the orgeones to it was like that of the *genos* of the Salaminioi to the Oschophoria (*Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 33 ff.)” Just as the state handed over to the Salaminioi animals (line 20) for sacrifices to Athena Skiras, it handed over to the Athenian orgeones victims for sacrifices to Bendis. The Salaminioi divided the flesh among themselves. They also assigned the *dermata* as hieresyna. In these two particulars the two bodies diverged: the *dermata* of the Bendideia (excepting those of the sacrifices of “outsiders”) went to the state; the orgeones can hardly have divided the flesh of the hecatomb to Bendis among themselves. The magnitude of the sacrifice was such that, as at the minor Panathenaia, a *kreanomía* of national dimensions (*I.G.*, II², 334) is alone thinkable.

As we have seen (above, pp. 152 f.), the hieropoioi whom we encounter in the records of the citizen orgeones⁷¹ attended to the *kreanomía*, and they and the epimeletai attended to the pompe. Were they at one and the same time officials of the orgeones and the state?⁷² The epimeletes of *I.G.*, II², 1324, Stephanos, was certainly an orgeon (line 19), and it is probably best to think of the epimeletai as exclusively orgeonic boards. It can well be, on the other hand, that the hieropoioi of *I.G.*, II², 1255 (337/6) and *I.G.*, II², 1361 (the *lex sacra*) represent the board which, as I take it, was created in 430/29, and that they are the hieropoioi who in 334/3 handed over to the state the 457 drachmas realized from the sale of the hides of the animals publicly sacrificed at the Bendideia (*I.G.*, II², 1496, lines 86 f., 117: *ἐγ Βενδιδέων παρὰ ἱεροποι[ῶν]*).

The *lex sacra* contains a financial section (lines 17 ff.): *διδόναι δὲ [τοῖς ἱεροποιοῖς εἰς τὴν θυσίαν] : ἑ : δραχμᾶς ἕκαστον τῶν ὀργεῶνων οἷς μέτεστι [τοῦ] ἱεροποῦ τοῦ Θαργηλιῶνος πρὸ τῆς ἕκτης ἐπὶ δέκα,⁷³ ὃς δ' ἂν ἐπιδημῶν Ἀθήνη[σι]⁷⁴ καὶ ὑγαίωνων μὴ συνβάλληται, ὀφειλέτω : ἑ : ἱερὰς τῇ θε[ῶ]*.

⁷⁰ Strictly the tariff applied to the priestess alone, but it is obviously assumed that it applied to the priest also. It may be that the precedence of the priestess in the tariff betrays a reality of cultus.

⁷¹ They do not appear in the records of the Thracian orgeones.

⁷² Cf. “The Attic Orgeones,” p. 98, note 43.

⁷³ The date shows that *τὴν θυσίαν* was that of the Bendideia, which came three days later than the *terminus ante quem* set for the payment of the two drachmas. *τῇ θε[ῶ]* is, accordingly, Bendis.

⁷⁴ Nilsson (p. 173) thinks that Thracians are envisaged here; but this is excluded, seeing that

The sacrifice was the great sacrifice which formed the essential part of the Bendideia. What the annual fee of two drachmas represented was either coverage for a special sacrifice of the orgeones⁷⁵ on that occasion, or a contribution of the orgeones toward the expense which the state incurred in making the hecatomb. Since it would take the two-drachma payments of about 35 orgeones to purchase a single βούς, the orgeones would have had to be about 3500 strong to foot the entire cost of the hecatomb with their fees. Was there a tax (telos) of, say, two drachmas per person levied as ἐπαρχή on so large an aggregate (the orgeones being simply a self-taxing part of it); or did the state draw on its general revenues to defray its portion of the expenses? We are, I believe, entitled to ask these questions, but there is no evidence on which we can draw to answer them.

In concluding this analysis of the new fragments and the *lex sacra* I should like to say what seems to me probable, namely, that at some time between 429 B.C. and the epoch of Lycurgus the state transferred the major part of the responsibility for the Bendideia—its sacrifice, pompe,⁷⁶ pannychis, and torch-race⁷⁷—to the two associations of orgeones to be handled coöperatively by them, reserving perhaps its control of the kranomia and a measure of control over the business and the business meetings of the Athenian branch by keeping in its own hands the appointment of the hieropoioi.⁷⁸ The priest and priestess of the Athenian association must, I think, have remained public officials, selected ἐξ Ἀθηναίων ἀπάντων; but in the conduct of other than public sacrifices they came under the authority of the orgeones.

the *lex* was issued by the Athenian orgeones (above, p. 153, note 65). Athenians had business reasons for being absent from Attica or public duties which took them abroad.

⁷⁵ It is clear from *I.G.*, II², 1283, lines 20 ff. that the Thracian orgeones sacrificed in the shrine on the 19th of Thargelion as a distinct group, since it is unthinkable that they could prescribe the "prayers" for anyone but themselves.

⁷⁶ If I have interpreted correctly the decision of the Athenian orgeones to increase to the utmost their number (above, note 66), these orgeones formed the Athenian contingent in the pompe. It is, I think, the implication of *I.G.*, II², 1283 that the Thracians in the asty needed to be orgeones in order to participate in the procession. Hence the conclusion ("The Attic Orgeones," p. 100) that "so far as we know all the participants [in the pompe in the epoch of Lycurgus] were orgeones." In addition to the pompeis, civic authorities and representatives were doubtless there to head it, as at the minor Panathenaia for example (above, note 35); but there is no reason to think that the complexion of the pompe in 429 was the same as in 337. We have to take account of the changes which preceded and accompanied the creation of the two associations of orgeones.

⁷⁷ The Bendis-relief in the British Museum published by P. Hartwig, *Bendis*, Taf. II and recently by Nilsson (p. 175, fig. 3) is evidence for the existence deep into the fourth century of the torch race. Nilsson writes (p. 173): Etwas älter [than 329/8] ist wohl das von Hartwig veröffentlichte Relief in British Museum; vor Bendis stehen acht nackte Jünglinge von zwei bärtigen Männern geführt, deren vorderster eine Pechfackel in der Hand hält. Das Bild bezieht sich auf den von Platon erwähnten Fackellauf.

⁷⁸ It is notable that under the *lex sacra* the convocation of the monthly business meetings of the Athenian orgeones devolved upon the epimeletai and the hieropoioi. The hieropoioi among the orgeones, if they were public officials, would be like the demarch in the Piraeus (cf. "The Attic Orgeones," p. 96, note 9). In no other association of orgeones are hieropoioi found. The absence of hieropoioi among the orgeones of the Mother of the Gods ("The Attic Orgeones," p. 109) is especially noteworthy in this connection.

When did this transfer take place? In other words when were the orgeones of Bendis, both associations, the Athenian and the Thracian, organized? Public action was necessarily involved and this not simply because the Thracians were permitted to call themselves orgeones.⁷⁹ This was an anomaly so long as the law (of Solon?) was in force which compelled the phratries to admit to membership both orgeones and gennetai, i. e., to qualify them alike for enrollment with themselves in the registers of citizens. The Thracian orgeones did not become Athenian citizens: they were and long remained the central organization of the Thracian ethnos in Attica (*I.G.*, II², 1283; cf. "The Attic Orgeones," p. 100). They owed the name orgeones to a *privilegium*.⁸⁰ This is another question which we cannot answer.

BENDIS AND THE PLAGUE

I have reserved to the end the discussion of the circumstances in which the public cult of Bendis was established by decree in Athens. The year was 430/29. The Athenians may have voted during the prytany of Aigeis or Oineis, but this does not help us to determine more precisely the tenth of the conciliar year in which Pasiphon was secretary, since, while we know the sequence of most of the phylae in holding the prytany in 432/1 (Meritt, *Ath. Fin. Doc.*, p. 79), we have no information about their order in 430/29. According to Meritt (*op. cit.*, p. 176) and Dinsmoor (*The Athenian Archon List*, p. 211) the civil year ran from July 24 to July 11. The conciliar year ran from June 28 to June 27 (Dinsmoor and above, p. 147).⁸¹ The Bendis-decrees must have been passed some time before the 19th of Thargelion 429 in order to give time for the preparations which were necessary before the Bendideia could be celebrated, and also to allow the theopropoi (Frg. B-C, line 14) to travel to Dodona to consult the oracle again and to return to Athens. As we have seen, the 19th of Thargelion fell 314 days after the beginning of the civil year, i. e., on June 3, 429 (Dinsmoor). Apparently the ninth prytany was yet in the future when the decree was passed; that is to say, the decree was passed before April 17, 429, at the latest. It was accordingly enacted between June 28, 430, and April 17, 429.

According to Thucydides the plague broke out in the summer of 430, while the

⁷⁹ I have discussed this anomaly in "The Attic Orgeones," pp. 96 ff., 110 f., 127, 139 f.).

⁸⁰ I have suggested a possible connection between this *privilegium* and the mention of the law (of Solon?) in the IVth book of Philochoros' *Atthis* ("The Attic Orgeones," p. 68, note 8); but this has much less chance of being right now that the possible time of the transfer is extended some sixty years after the period dealt with by Philochoros in Book IV. Book V did not begin later than 394; cf. Busolt, *Griech. Gesch.*, II², p. 10.

⁸¹ To this year belong *I.G.*, I², 218 = Meritt, Wade-Gery, McGregor, *Athenian Tribute Lists*, I, no. 25; also *I.G.*, I², 57, lines 3-72 = *Ath. Trib. Lists*, I, D 3—the first of four decrees concerning Methone. This decree was passed during the prytany of Erechtheis, which is not numbered. We have no financial accounts for 430/29. These are, of course, our main source of information on the order of the phylae in holding the prytany.

Peloponnesians were still in Attica. They began their second invasion, he says (II, 47, 2) τοῦ δὲ θέρους εὐθὺς ἀρχομένου [“at the very beginning of summer”]⁸² . . . καὶ ὄντων αὐτῶν [he continues, II, 47, 3] οὐ πολλὰς πω ἡμέρας ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ἢ νόσος πρῶτον ἤρξατο γενέσθαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις [“And before they had been many days in Attica the plague began for the first time to show itself among the Athenians.”] . . . καὶ τὸ πρῶτον [II, 48, 2] ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ ἤψατο τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὥστε καὶ ἐλέχθη ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ὡς οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι φάρμακα ἐσβεβλήκοιεν ἐς τὰ φρέατα· κρῆναι γὰρ οὐπω ἦσαν αὐτόθι. ὕστερον δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν ἄνω πόλιν ἀφίκετο καὶ ἔθνησκον πολλῶ μᾶλλον ἤδη [“It attacked first the inhabitants of the Peiraeus, so that the people there even said that the Peloponnesians had put poison in their cisterns; for there were as yet no public fountains there. But afterwards it reached the upper city also, and from that time the mortality became much greater”]. Later (II, 57) Thucydides says: “During this entire period, while the Peloponnesians were in Attica and the fleet of the Athenians was on the expedition, the plague was making havoc among the Athenians, both in their fleet and in the city. The statement was therefore made (ὥστε καὶ ἐλέχθη) that the Peloponnesians left Attica in haste (“Gegen Mitte Juli,” Busolt) because they were afraid of the disease, since they not only heard from deserters that it was in the city, but also could see them burning their dead. In this invasion, however, they remained in Attica longer than at any other time, and also ravaged the entire country; indeed they were in Attica almost forty days.”

We may thus fix the date of the establishment of the Bendideia in the first prytany of 430/29 if we relate its inauguration to the mood created by the plague, since this prytany covered the 37 days following June 28 (Dinsmoor) whereas the plague began shortly after *ca.* June 1 (Busolt); or we can fix it later, but not by more than 7 prytanies and preferably less,⁸³ and still connect the inauguration of the new fete with plague-psychology.

Plague-psychology is illuminated by two famous passages in Thucydides' history of the war: II, 47, 4 and II, 54. They are usually cited as examples of the historian's intellectual superiority and religious rationalism, and such indeed they are; but they

⁸² I have used here and in the case of the following extracts the translation of Thucydides given by Charles Foster Smith in the Loeb Classics. According to Busolt, *Griech. Gesch.*, III, 2, 940, “the very beginning of summer” came in “Anfang Juni 430.” Since the Peloponnesians retired “almost 40 days later,” the date of their leaving, on Busolt's chronology, was about the middle of July. The conciliar year 430/29 began on June 28 (Dinsmoor), when on Busolt's dating the plague was already raging.

⁸³ I am inclined to date it about the second or third prytany (Aug.-Sept.-Oct. 430), not out of deference to Thucydides' statement (below, p. 159), that “at last they desisted from” appeals to the gods by supplications, oracles and the like, but because of the time which must have elapsed between the decree and the ninth prytany. The sale and collecting of the ἐπαρχαί must have been a lengthy process. They were probably due in the ninth prytany which ended eleven days before the Bendideia. Incidentally we may note that at the time of the decree it was known that the 19th of Thargelion would be the 11th of the tenth prytany. In other words the order of the prytanies with their lengths of 36 or 37 days and the order of the full and hollow months was fixed in advance.

are equally significant for the hold which religious scruples had on the minds of his contemporaries in Athens. I shall therefore quote them in extenso in translation (II, 54): "And in their distress they [the Athenians] recalled, as was natural, the following verse which their older men said had long ago been uttered:

‘ A Dorian war shall come and pestilence with it.’

A dispute arose, however, among the people, some contending that the word used in the verse by the ancients was not *λοιμός*, ‘pestilence’ but *λιμός*, ‘famine,’ and the view prevailed at the time that ‘pestilence’ was the original word; and quite naturally, for men’s recollections conformed to their sufferings. But if ever another Dorian war should visit them after the present war and a famine happened to come with it, they would probably, I fancy, recite the verse in that way. Those, too, who were familiar with it, recalled that other oracle given to the Lacedaemonians [cf. Thucy., I, 118, 3], when, in answer to their inquiry whether they should go to war, the god [Apollo] responded that if they ‘warred with all their might victory would be theirs,’ adding that he himself would assist them. Now as far as the oracle is concerned, they surmised that what was then happening was its fulfillment, for the plague broke out immediately after the Peloponnesians had invaded Attica; and though it did not enter the Peloponnesus to any extent, it devastated Athens most of all, and next to Athens the places which had the densest population.”

To this text, I append Adcock’s comment, in his account, marked at once by conciseness and circumspection, of the entire incident (*C.A.H.*, V, pp. 200 ff.): “To many at Athens the Plague was more than Fortune’s criticism of a calculated plan—it was a sign that the wrath of heaven rested on their city. They remembered that Apollo had promised to the Spartans his help, and now he was helping them with the farshooting shafts with which he had avenged the wrongs of his priest on the Greeks before Troy.”

In this situation a vow to make a solemn public *prosodos* to Apollo, the Averter of Evil, if the resolutions of the Athenians should prove to be to their advantage, was a timely act of appeasement; and if Kle(onymos)⁸⁴ was actually the drafter of this vow it was a gesture on the part of those in Athens who supported the war yet criticized Pericles’ conduct of it.

The other passage in Thucydides which I shall quote in full runs as follows (II, 47, 4): “For neither were physicians able to cope with the disease, since they at first had to treat it without knowing its nature, the mortality among them being greatest because they were most exposed to it, nor did any other human art avail. And the supplications made at sanctuaries, or appeals to oracles and the like, were all futile [*ὄσα τε πρὸς ἱεροῖς ἰκέτευσαν ἢ μαντείους καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις ἐχρήσαντο, πάντα ἀνωφελῆ ἦν*], and at last men desisted from them, overcome by the calamity.” If, as

⁸⁴ See above, p. 137, note 16.

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I believe, I have ascertained the general tenor of Kle(onymos') decrees they could have been cited as *pièces justificatives* by Thucydides in a footnote, if he had deigned to use this resource of the modern scholar. An official supplication to Apollo Apotropaïos, an oracle sought and got from Dodona, the latter an appeal, as it were, to Zeus against an adverse decision of the Delphian Apollo—these document nicely Thucydides' narrative.

In his article "Bendis in Athen" Nilsson takes the position, and sustains it by a well-documented survey of its history in Athens, that the cult of Bendis there is a remarkable case of the influence of foreign policy on domestic worship. The Athenians granted a hieron to the Thracians in the Piraeus in 431 as part of their policy of securing help from Sitalkes, the Thracian potentate with whom Athens made in fact the well-known treaty of alliance in that year. The decrees of Kle[onymos) were, he thinks, grounded in the same desire to hold Thracian support in the war in the north, which the duration of the siege of Potidaea, with its far-reaching implications for the power of Athens in the whole Chalkidike, made increasingly dangerous. He points out that two of the fundamentals of Athenian foreign policy in the fourth as well as the fifth century were on the one hand to assure for herself the Macedonian and Thracian supplies of timber and pitch without which she could not build and equip her warships, and on the other hand to keep the Straits (from which the Thracians were separated only by the fringe of Greek city-states) open to the cargo-ships which brought from Russia to Athens the grain necessary for the sustenance of the population of Attica. That is, of course, quite correct. Lycurgus was able to combine the two aspects of his policy, the rehabilitation of the ancient cults of the state and the strengthening of its resources for reopening at the proper time the struggle with Macedon, by fostering the Bendideia and thus conciliating the Thracians, the always latent and sometimes avowed enemies of Philip and Alexander. Hence the second crop of Bendideian records. As he points out, the third crop belongs in the middle of the third century. His treatment of these is less satisfactory. He goes astray in treating them as a single whole, whereas they fall into two distinguishable groups, one the product of a humble association of thiasotai with a shrine on the island of Salamis and the other the decrees (unfortunately only two [really 3] in number) of the Thracian orgeones in the Piraeus, the central organization of the Thracian ethnos in Attica.⁸⁵ Obviously inferences from the names of the thiasotai (many of them are slave names, Nilsson, p. 182) have no bearing on the social posi-

⁸⁵ I have dealt with this question at various times and places, notably in *Athenian Tribal Cycles*, p. 81, note 1 and in "The Attic Orgeones," p. 100, note 45. I have taken the view that the thiasotai were non-Thracians first because the Thracians in all Attica already had a comprehensive organization and secondly because their meetings were held on the second not on the 8th of Thargelion. I am glad to notice from Nilsson's article (p. 183) that Wilhelm has abandoned the view, which he himself launched, and now admits that none of the stelae found in Salamis were strays from the Piraeus.

tion in the mid third century of either the Thracian or Athenian orgeones of Bendis. Hence I cannot agree with him that at this time der Kult der Bendis deutlich sozial gesunken ist. If the humbleness of the thiasotai is an index of anything, it is that Bendis had a greater religious appeal than Nilsson is disposed to allow her. Nilsson remarks of the later cult of Bendis in Athens, p. 183: Er verschwand bald. Seit der mittleren hellenistischen Zeit hört man nicht mehr von ihm. That is, I believe, correct. Whether he is right in saying that the state abandoned it and that this is the reason for its disappearance I do not know; but there are other considerations. The pompe was the most spectacular feature of the Bendideia. It could not be conducted when the asty was in the hands of one government and the Piraeus in the hands of another, each distrusting or openly attacking the other, as between 288 and 262. Its feasibility was also, at least in times of war, questionable after the Long Walls had fallen in ruins, as was the case after 229 (Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, p. 211). The disappearance of the Bendideia may be due to the failure to survive of all the later records relating to it. If the shrine in the Piraeus were found and excavated properly we might be able to say more on this point (cf. "The Attic Orgeones," p. 121).

The resort of Athens to Dodona for divine guidance was almost inevitable in 430. Delphi was in the power of the Peloponnesians, and the Pythia⁸⁶ had already espoused their cause. The response of Zeus was naturally that they should sacrifice oxen; but why to Bendis? Why look Thraceward for religious help? Athenian solicitude about Potidaea? But they had already won Sitalkes, conferred their citizenship on his son, and regained the support of Perdiccas of Macedon (Thucy., II, 29); and when in the early winter of 429/8 (Thucy., II, 95, 1) Sitalkes brought his 150,000 ? men into action in Macedon and Chalkidike there is some reason to believe that his advance was unwelcome to the Athenians (Busolt, *Griech. Gesch.*, III, 2, p. 973; Adcock, *C.A.H.*, V, p. 206). None the less it must be admitted that in the course of the intervening year 430/29 Athens engaged in a diplomatic struggle with Sparta at the Court of Sitalkes (Busolt, III, 2, p. 960, 970); and Athens' policy of appeasing him can undoubtedly have influenced citizens to vote for giving Bendis a public cult who were hesitant on religious or other grounds about honoring thus signally a barbarian goddess. But the dominating motive which led the majority to support Kle(onymos') motions was, I believe, their disposition to do any and everything that might stop the plague. The oracle from Dodona in response to the inquiry put to it in 431 as to the advisability of allowing the Thracians to set up a shrine of Bendis

⁸⁶ Pausanias (I, 3, 4), in speaking of the statue of Apollo Alexikakos by Kalamis, which stood in front of the temple of Apollo Patroös on the western edge of the Agora, says: τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τῷ θεῷ γενέσθαι λέγουσιν, ὅτι τὴν λοιμῶδη σφίσι νόσον ὁμοῦ τῷ Πελοποννησίων πολέμῳ πιέζουσιν κατὰ μάντευμα ἔπανσεν ἐκ Δελφῶν. Since (or if) the statue was made by Kalamis, it cannot have been made in 430 ff. If an oracle of Apollo stopped a plague, this was not the plague that accompanied the Peloponnesian War. It is useless to try to extract anything of historical value out of a story like this one. Cf. Homer Thompson, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 109.

in Attica may have contained an admonition to the Athenians to sacrifice oxen to Bendis, and their failure to do so may have led pious citizens to connect the plague with the injured feelings aroused in the Thracian goddess by this neglect; but theopropoi sent to Dodona in 430 after the outbreak of the Plague may have elicited the response that it was necessary to placate ([ιλά]σασθαι) Bendis, and for good measure, her paredros Deloptes, by a grant of the highest honors at their disposal. It seems to me that they can have satisfied the exigencies of foreign policy when they granted to the Thracians their own private shrine. The Bendideia had no precedents, and nothing quite like it is found again in Athens even in Hellenistic times.⁸⁷ When she did officially what she indicted Socrates 30 years later for doing privately she must have felt the need to be very great indeed.

III. ET CETERA

1) In "The Attic Orgeones," No. 12, p. 94, I stated in regard to the orgeones who awarded a crown to Asklaon of Maroneia (*I.G.*, II², 2947) that the provenience of the stone from which we learn of them "suggests that it belongs to an association otherwise unknown, since no other orgeonic record has turned up in or near the Academy." It has subsequently occurred to me that the citation may have been the work of the orgeones of Bendis in the asty.⁸⁸ In that case the nationality of Asklaon would be in no wise anomalous, since he was a citizen of Maroneia which in the ancient official terminology of Athens was a Thracian city.⁸⁹ The only names of Thracian

⁸⁷ Cf. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, Festkalender, after p. 277. Though Nilsson may be right in saying (p. 183): In der griechischen Welt kommt Bendis ausserhalb Athens kaum vor . . . Den religiösen Bedürfnissen der Menschen hatte er [i. e., her Cult] offenbar wenig zu geben; er zeigte geringe Verbreitungsfähigkeit und Widerstandskraft"; yet, if Paul Collart (*Philippe*, Texte, pp. 112, 398 and 430 ff.) has interpreted his materials correctly, in "The Thraceward Parts," notably in Neapolis (cf. *I.G.*, I², 108) and Philippi, Bendis, transformed into Artemis-Diana but not obliterated, lived on deep into Roman times.

Nilsson (p. 170, note 1) adduces evidence from the name Deloptikos that Deloptes had at least some vogue in Byzantion. Where "the hero" was, the goddess was also.

There is a skyphos in Tübingen (Carl Watzinger, *Vasen in Tübingen*, pl. 41), according to Beazley (*Greek Vases in Poland*, p. 51 note) "an Attic Kotyle of the end of the Fifth Century," on which are painted two figures, one designated by an inscription as Ben[dis] and the other as Themis. Nilsson (p. 172, note 1) comments as follows: Wenn man ein attisches Vorbild voraussetzen darf, könnte man dies auf die durch den dodonäischen Orakelspruch gewährte Erlaubnis zur Erbauung eines Tempels beziehen" (cf. V. Ehrenberg, *Die Rechtsidee im frühen Griechentum*, p. 32). For a full description and a different interpretation of the skyphos see C. Watzinger, *Die griech. Vasen des arch. Instituts in Tübingen* (Katalog), pp. 166 ff.

⁸⁸ The date, III-II cent., would permit this identification, since the urban orgeones of Bendis are in existence in ca. 261/0. From lines 20 ff. of *I.G.*, II², 1283 I infer that they did not lose their separate identity because of their *entente cordiale* with their confreres in the Piraeus regarding the pompe.

⁸⁹ Meritt, Wade-Gery, McGregor, *Athenian Tribute Lists*, Vol. I, p. 517. It appears as a tributary in the Register of this admirable book, pp. 338 f. It was registered under the caption ἀπὸ Θραίκων φόρος, or, more simply, Θραίκιος φόρος.

orgeones known to us come from records of the mid third century B.C. They are Antimachos, Eukleides, Hippocrates, Olympiodoros, Olympos, and Sosias. They are all Hellenic. There is not a distinctively Thracian name in the lot. What an Attic list spotted with Thracian names looked like can be seen in *I.G.*, II², 1956; cf. also W. Tomaschek, *Sitz. Akad. Wien*, 131 (1894), Die alten Thraker, II 2, pp. 1 ff. If we knew the names of the Thracian supplicants in 431 we might find that they had a different complexion; but we must always bear in mind that the Thracian partisans of Bendis in Athens may have belonged, in some part at least, to the Greek cities in the Thraceward parts (cf. above, p. 162, note 89). I wonder if Nymphodoros of Abdera, proxenos of Athens, Sitalkes' brother-in-law, the Greek who was chiefly instrumental in bringing Athens and Sitalkes together (Thucy., II, 29), was wholly uninterested in the founding of the shrine of Bendis in the Piraeus.

2) In "The Attic Orgeones," no. 16, p. 121 appears the statement: "It is, however, possible that in an association of orgeones founded as late as 122/18 B.C. (that of Hagne Aphrodite, the Syrian Goddess) aliens were enrolled as members. At this time the social system of Athens disintegrated: citizens intermarried with foreigners, foreigners were enrolled in the ephebe corps, the gene were no longer mutually exclusive, citizens and aliens consorted freely as eranistai (*IG* II² 1335, 2358), and the ancient stock of family names was badly corrupted." What was then envisaged as a possibility has now become known to me as a fact. N. Kyparissis and W. Peek have published in *Ath. Mitt.*, LXVI, 1941, p. 228, no. 4, which appeared in the spring of 1943 but is not yet available to me, an inscription regarding which I shall let J. and L. Robert (*R.E.G.*, LV, 1942, Bulletin Épigraphique, p. 329) speak: "Décret, accompagné d'un relief (avec la statue d'Athéna), des orgéons d'Aphrodite pour leur épimelète, Sarapion d'Héraclée, qui, en plus des devoirs de sa charge, ἐκονίασεν δὲ καὶ τὰ βάρηρα τὰ ἐν τῷ ἱε[ρῶι --] καὶ τὸν λουτρῶνα τὸν ἀνδρείου. Commentaire à la fois trop long et insuffisant. Discussion chronologique sur les archontes Dioklès et Timarchos (II s. a. C)."

WILLIAM SCOTT FERGUSON

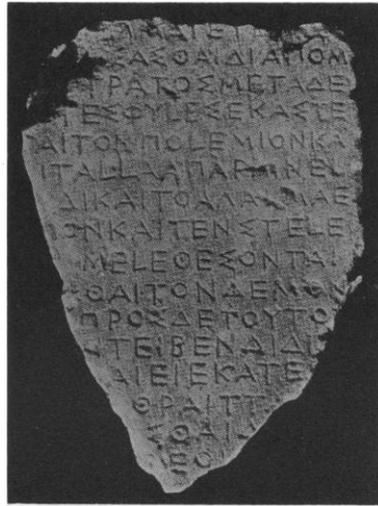
HARVARD UNIVERSITY

ADDENDUM

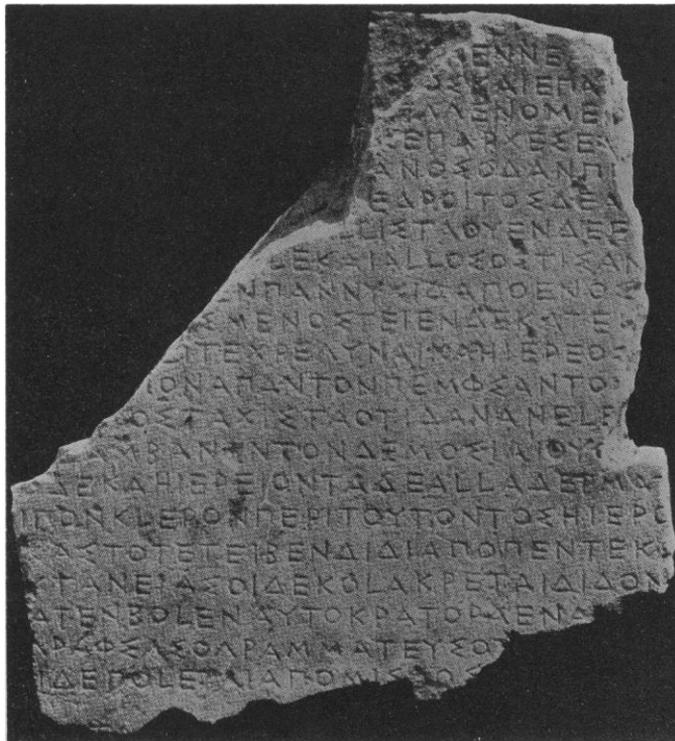
The text of this inscription reached me too late for more than the briefest notice. It appears that these orgéones have not been known hitherto. They cannot be identified with those of Hagne Aphrodite. Their shrine was in or near the *asty*, not in the Piraeus: they held their annual reunion in Thargelion, not in Skirophorion, the month of the *agora kyria* of the Syrian goddess. They had at their head a single epimeletes who, like the ancient *hestiator*, combined priestly with executive duties and, as early perhaps as 195/4 B.C., was an alien.



Fragment A



Fragment C



Fragment B



Sandon and Herakles

Author(s): Hetty Goldman

Reviewed work(s):

Source: *Hesperia Supplements*, Vol. 8, Commemorative Studies in Honor of Theodore Leslie Shear (1949), pp. 164-174+454

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SANDON AND HERAKLES

(PLATE 18)

SOME years ago, in a paper published in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* and entitled "The Sandon Monument of Tarsus,"¹ I attempted to analyse the iconographic elements of a terracotta plaque, Plate 18, 1, found in a number of incomplete replicas in excavations at that site and to offer interpretations which, while not susceptible of definite proof, seemed plausible when viewed in the general framework of Near Eastern and more specifically Anatolian and Aegean religious concepts. In returning to a consideration of the plaque, and after more prolonged study of comparative material, it has become possible to make corrections and to strengthen the argument in favor of certain of the interpretations.

There is no essential difference between the substructure depicted on the coins of Tarsus and that of the terracotta, Plate 18, 1, although the surface treatment is more architectural in one case than in the other. Both are supports for the image of the god within the triangular framework. Neither represents a gabled building. This became clear upon studying a large series of coins. While some coins show a low base, others, Plate 18, 2, have approximately the same proportions as the terracotta and on a few the substructure is proportionately even higher;² and if comparison is made with coins from sites other than Tarsus variants of the base or pedestal can be found. Many of them clearly represent altars.³

In the original paper it was suggested that the pyramidal superstructure might be a mountain rather than a pyre. Cook argued against the pyre and for the mountain with his customary thoroughness and accompanied the argument with ample illustration and bibliography;⁴ but even more cogent proof can be adduced by studying the coins on which Mount Argaeus⁵ is represented and above all a coin of Sagalassos, Plate 18, 3.⁶ On this one sees, below, the goddess Tyche between columns, and on the flat top of the monument, placed between two nude youths (usually interpreted as Dioskouroi or Kabeiroi),⁷ a pyramid with irregular imbrications intended to suggest

¹ *J.A.O.S.*, LX, 1940, pp. 544 ff.

² *Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, 92, pl. VIII, 168, 171.

³ *British Museum, Catalogue of the Coins of Alexandria*, pl. XXIX, 822, 1200.

⁴ Cook, *Zeus*, I, pp. 593 ff. *C.R.*, XVIII, 1904, pp. 75 ff.

⁵ *British Museum, Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Galatia, Cappadocia, and Syria*, Caesarea, *passim*.

⁶ In the collection of the American Numismatic Society, reproduced through the courtesy of the Society. *British Museum, Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Lycia, Pamphylia, and Pisidia*, pl. XXXVIII, 15, is similar.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. cvii. W. M. Ramsay, *Asiatic Elements in Greek Civilization*, p. 273. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults*, p. 186.

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rocks: the typical manner of representing a mountain in early Anatolian art. Curiously, the author of the British Museum's catalogue of coins, under the preconception that a columnar structure must of necessity be surmounted by a gabled roof and writing at a time when Near Eastern symbolism was not so well understood, speaks of "the gable surmounted by sphere and crescent." The whole combination of youthful gods flanking a central pyramid crowned with solar disk or lunar crescent can be paralleled on the Cappadocian coins; the same holds true for the Tarsus coins,⁸ except that here the eagle occupies the apex as it frequently does on Mt. Argaeus. The celestial symbol is, however, not wanting in connection with Sandon.⁹ Mt. Argaeus is represented in a number of ways, some extremely realistic, the details of which do not concern us here, but such stylized mountains as those on the Zeugma coins. Plate 18, 4, standing as they do on a base and showing well-defined converging sides, bear a striking resemblance to the Sandon pyramid.¹⁰ In thus gaining certainty in the interpretation of the pyramid as a mountain, a link has been forged between Sandon and Herakles of which more will be said later.

In her article "The Oriental Origin of Herakles,"¹¹ Miss Levy, building upon the work of Frankfort,¹² draws attention to the striking resemblance to Herakles both of a hero slaying a Hydra-like monster with the help of an Akkadian "Iolaos," Plate 18, 6, and of a fertility deity clothed in lion's skin and with branches sprouting from his shoulders, Plate 18, 7. It is not my purpose to reexamine the Herakles myth from the point of view of comparative mythology and religion, for the trail would lead farther than I feel equipped to follow, but to consider specifically whether the oriental elements which are apparent in it should be attributed to the transference of an oriental god from Asia to Greece by settlers of the third millennium or to another, later contact or series of contacts between Greece and Asia. Miss Levy, realizing the difficulty created for her theory by the indirect nature of the evidence and "the great gulf of space and time separating Herakles from his Babylonian affinities" seeks the link between east and west in the Cilician god Sandon. Here too the evidence must be reconsidered.

Towards the middle of the third millennium there apparently was a movement of people from Anatolia to Greece and Crete by way of the intervening islands.¹³ There

⁸ *British Museum, Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Lycaonia, Isauria, and Cilicia*, pl. XXXVII, 9.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pl. XXXIII, 1.

¹⁰ *British Museum, Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Galatia, Cappadocia, and Syria*, pl. XVI, 13, 14.

¹¹ Levy, "The Oriental Origin of Herakles," *J.H.S.*, LIV, 1934, pp. 40 ff.

¹² "Gods and Myths on Sargonid Seals," *Iraq*, I, 1934, pp. 2 ff., pls. I a, III a-c.

¹³ This theory has been generally accepted by archaeologists and can be found in almost any book dealing with the Early Bronze Age in Greece. V. Gordon Childe, *The Dawn of European Civilization*, p. 64. Wace and Blegen, "Pottery as Evidence for Trade and Colonization in the Aegean Bronze Age," *Klio*, XIV, 1939, pp. 139 ff.

they mingled with the existing population and left the material remains of their culture on the mainland, chiefly, though not exclusively, in the form of pottery,¹⁴ and in Crete in more diversified objects including seals and an early pictographic writing. A number of scholars have connected this migration with the Luvians on account of place names which resemble Luvian forms.¹⁵ Although the actual linguistic evidence for the Luvian language is separated from the migration by at least a thousand years, resting as it does on documents of the mid-second millenium found in the Hittite archives of Bogaz Köy, the language was held to embody older forms on the basis of which ethnic forerunners of the Luvians closely related to them in language were postulated.¹⁶ While none of this is strictly provable, the linguistic evidence is strong enough to bring conviction of Anatolian if not specifically Luvian origin and has been generally accepted. It is these Luvians or proto-Luvians, according to Miss Levy, who brought their god with them to reappear in Greek mythology as the hero-god Herakles.

Perhaps the strongest argument against this theory, for which one can, of course, expect the support neither of literature nor of any pictorial or sculptural representation, is the fact that the name of Herakles like those of the vast majority of the mythological heroes of Greece is Greek.¹⁷ The strong linguistic link between Anatolia and Greece which exists for place-names¹⁸ is strikingly wanting for heroes.

While Herakles, when we hear of him in Syria, and the Near East in general, is always a god,¹⁹ he is certainly a hero before he is a god in Greece as far as the evidence goes. As Farnell says, "nor does the dogma of his aboriginal godhead receive any support from his legend."²⁰ His heroic deeds precede his apotheosis and win him godhead and introduction into Olympus.²¹ In the *Iliad* he performs the deeds of a

¹⁴ The theory that emigrants from Anatolia brought "Urfirnis" to Greece (Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, p. 122) is no longer tenable in the light of Kunze's discovery that "Urfirnis" was already known in neolithic Greece (*Orchomenos*, II, p. 47).

¹⁵ A. Götze, *Kulturgeschichte des alten Orients, Kleinasien*, p. 54. E. Forrer, *M.D.O.G.*, LXI, 1921, p. 23.

¹⁶ Götze, *op. cit.*, p. 55. P. Kretschmer, *Glotta*, XIV, 1925, p. 302.

¹⁷ Nilsson, *Homer and Mycenae*, p. 81. Farnell, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

¹⁸ P. Kretschmer, *Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache*. A. Fick, *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen als Quelle für die Vorgeschichte Griechenlands*. J. B. Haley and C. Blegen, "The Coming of the Greeks," *A.J.A.*, XXXII, 1928, pp. 141 ff.

¹⁹ Seyrig, *B.C.H.*, LI, 1927, pp. 185 ff. M. Launey, *Études thasiennes*, 1, *Le Sanctuaire et le culte d'Hérakles à Thasos*, p. 201.

²⁰ Farnell, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

²¹ Herakles the hero is introduced into Olympus (*C.V.A.*, British Museum fasc. 2, III He, pl. 13, 2, a black-figured cup by Phrynos) and the manner in which he attained divinity is not lost sight of. Herodotus, II, 44, in speaking of the two forms of worship accorded Herakles refers to the hero and the immortal Olympian; Pindar, *Nemean Odes*, III, 22, speaks of the hero-god. It is well to remember that even common mortals, as can be demonstrated from tomb sculpture and tomb offerings, became heroes and approached godhood, for there was no very clear distinction between hero and god. This is admirably discussed by Schreiber, *Studien über das Bildniss Alexanders des*

hero,²² and even later, and after Herodotus had written that he was both god and hero in Greece, there were remarkably few temples in his honor. Most of the shrines indicate a hero cult. Even more difficult is it to see in the Greek Herakles a true fertility god. He starts his existence as the strong man who protects the people from dangerous beasts and other threats to their security. From the hero who averts evil he gradually evolves into the bringer of positive good, for these roles are but two facets of the same character.²³ He thus becomes associated with springs and medicinal waters.²⁴ It seems particularly unnecessary to account for a hero of this kind by a theory of diffusion, for the circumstances which bring him into being exist everywhere in primitive society. Everywhere small groups of human beings are menaced by wild beasts, by floods or droughts, by fire and disease. Even if there is a residue of historical fact behind some of these strong men of fairy tales, they surely represent for the most part the wish-fulfilment of the weak and the menaced.

While the fertility god on one of the Akkadian seals does wear the lion's skin and carry weapons characteristic of Herakles, Plate 18, 7,²⁵ on others the costume and the weapons of the same god are quite different and the ram or ibex which appears on many of them as an adjunct of the divinity is nowhere associated with Herakles nor, indeed, it should be noted, with his supposed ancestor, Sandon.²⁶ It seems to me that a better case can be made out for the hero slaying the Hydra-like monster,²⁷ for here indeed not only the beast itself but the method by which it is slain by the two assailants recalls the slaying of the Hydra by Herakles accompanied by Iolaos, although here too "the great gulf of space and time" exists. The hydra disappears from Mesopotamian art after the Akkadian period.²⁸

The death of Herakles on the pyre of Mt. Oeta, which constitutes a link with

Grossen, p. 243: Es ist festzuhalten, dass θεός der allgemeine Begriff ist, der in hellenistischer Zeit und schon früher an den ἥρωες in sich begreift. M. Launey, *op. cit.*, p. 163, points out that the distinction between god and hero was maintained in ritual, specifically in the kind of sacrifice offered, but that neither images nor functions of Herakles in the two aspects of hero and god were clearly differentiated at Thasos. Seyrig, *B.C.H.*, LI, 1927, p. 188, expresses the opinion that in Greece the divinization of Herakles was superimposed upon the hero and that in Asia and especially Phoenicia the reverse was true.

²² M. Nilsson, *The Mycenaean Origin of Greek Mythology*, pp. 197 ff.

²³ I find myself in agreement with Farnell, *op. cit.*, p. 152. He says that one should not be led by comparatively late archaeological evidences into considering Herakles as originally a fertility daimon. He points out that this only proves that the normal and usual transformation of the hero or saint into agriculturist or shepherd happened earlier in his case.

²⁴ Discussed with bibliography by Bieber, "Archaeological Contributions to Roman Religion," *Hesperia*, XIV, 1945, pp. 276-277.

²⁵ *Iraq*, I, pl. III a.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pl. III.

²⁷ *J.H.S.*, LIV, 1934, pl. II; p. 40, fig. 1.

²⁸ Van Buren, "The Dragon in Ancient Mesopotamia," *Orientalia*, XV, 1946, p. 19; for a discussion of Miss Levy's theory see p. 20.

the Near East, is a late element in the myth²⁹ instead of an early one as it ought to be if brought to Greece by the first Anatolian immigrants. Nevertheless, it may very well be inspired by the orient where pyre ceremonies are fairly common.³⁰ Nilsson has indeed shown that fire festivals with which the death of Herakles on Oeta might be connected are common throughout Europe, but he has also shown that there are fire rituals in the worship of Artemis and the goddess of Prinia which appear to be pre-Greek and so may very well be of eastern origin. They persisted long into historical times and at a number of places.³¹

Had Herakles belonged to the people who came in the third millenium from Anatolia and had he then already been the slayer of dragons, a god clothed in lion's skin and armed with club and bow, as the sealstone shows the fertility god, one would expect at least some of his heroic story to belong to Crete where there were powerful dynasties and a highly developed culture, with a script of its own and no mean gift for pictorial art, long before the flowering of civilization on the mainland.³² But his story and cult are localized on the mainland.³³ Even episodes connected with Herakles as Idaean Daktyl do not take place in Crete but on the mainland and in one case on an island of the Cyclades.³⁴

The problem of the identification of Herakles with Sandon must now be considered. Aside from the fact that no early writers mention the identification,³⁵ the results of excavations at Tarsus make it extremely unlikely that the emigration to

²⁹ Farnell, *op. cit.*, pp. 170 ff.

³⁰ Instances cited Levy, *loc. cit.*, pp. 47 ff.

³¹ Nilsson, "Fire-festivals in Ancient Greece," *J.H.S.*, XLIII, 1923, pp. 144 ff.; "Der Flammentod des Herakles auf dem Oite," *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, XXI, 1922, pp. 310 ff.

³² Farnell, *op. cit.*, p. 124: "later records [in Crete] scarcely reveal any trace of the cult of Herakles either divine or heroic, anywhere in the island. . . . We have a large number of Cretan inscriptions both public and private, and many of them of the highest importance containing codes of law and treaties between cities sanctified by public oath; and these reveal a whole pantheon of pan-Hellenic and local divinities of higher and lower rank. *We detect in many of them the strong and abiding tradition of the Minoan period and the deposits of many strata of Hellenic nationality; but we nowhere find the name of Herakles in these historic archives . . .*" (italics mine).

³³ Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, "Der Glaube der Hellenen," I, p. 91. "Der Name Herakles stammt von Hera, damit ist Argos gegeben; in Kreta fehlt die Gestalt. . . ." Gruppe, *R.E.*, Supplementband 3, p. 960, "Wenig wusste von Herakles Kreta."

³⁴ Levy, *loc. cit.*, p. 43. Three instances are cited, all on the late and unreliable authority of Pausanias, two of which connect him with temples of the Greek Goddess at Megalopolis and that of Demeter at Mykalessos. At the temple in Thespieae Pausanias hears the tale of the marriage of Herakles with the fifty daughters of Thestios in which Miss Levy sees a suggestion of a former *ἱερός γάμος* and so a fertility rite. All this seems highly controversial and certainly does not establish Herakles very firmly as an early fertility daimon. The same may be said of his connection as the eldest of the Idaean Daktyls with the founding of the Olympic games as related to Pausanias by the priestly families of Elis, even if Cook and Cornford should be right in "*the assumption* [italics mine] that the foot-race began as a fertility rite, the victor replaces the founder or daimon of the New Year. . . ."

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 52, for the literary sources.

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the Aegean included people from as far east as Cilicia. Although levels corresponding to the Early Helladic in time have been reached,³⁶ there is no evidence of any interchange of ceramic wares such as exists, for example, at Troy.³⁷ One would have expected emigration to have taken place from the west coast of Anatolia and that is indeed what the archaeological evidence indicates.³⁸ That it took place specifically from the south and southwest as Götze suggests,³⁹ there is as yet no archaeological proof, although it must be emphasized that we still await the evidence of excavations from Lydia and Lycia, where the name of Sandon was also known. The center of his worship, however, was in Cilicia.⁴⁰ Cilicia, indeed, remained outside the sphere of the Aegean world for a remarkably long time. The Mycenaean culture, except for a few scattered pieces, was represented at Tarsus only by a relatively small quantity of the latest form of the mainland pottery.⁴¹ It is by no means so numerous as to suggest a Mycenaean settlement and it is associated everywhere with clusters of hovels which reveal that Tarsus was at the low ebb of its fortunes. An examination of the sherds has also shown that the local imitations of the Mycenaean style were so crude as to preclude the possibility of their having been made by Mycenaean colonists or artisans. Throughout the first six centuries of the first millenium very little of Greek origin was found at Tarsus and there is no reason to suppose the Greeks formed an appreciable element of the population under Persian rule. With the conquest of Alexander all this changed and the culture of Tarsus from that time on differed little from that of other Hellenistic towns of the eastern Mediterranean.

Even after the city had been fully Hellenized, there was no change on the one hand in the strictly oriental type of the god who appears on the coins and on the other in the purely Greek character of Herakles. There was no fusion of the two types such as one would expect if, over a long period of time, the two gods had been thought to be one. How such a type would have looked one can see from the orientalized Herakles found in Cyprus: ⁴² he wears the lion's skin of Herakles and carries his club, but he strangles a beast in the manner of an old Syrian god. We know too how an orientalized Herakles looked in Anatolia, for at Nimrud Dagh on the monument of

³⁶ *A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, pp. 60 ff.

³⁷ Blegen, "Excavations at Troy, 1937," *A.J.A.*, XLI, 1937, p. 595: "Early Helladic pottery is much more richly represented, including many imported pieces as well as much that can be regarded as a local imitation or adaptation." "Chronology of Troy," *B.S.A.*, XXXVII, 1936-37, pp. 7 ff. For pottery of Trojan type in Euboea, Papavasileiou, *Περὶ τῶν ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ ἀρχαίων τάφων*, pl. H'; in central Greece, Kunze, *Orchomenos*, III, pp. 56-57, pl. XXIII, 1, 2, pl. XXX, 5d.

³⁸ This is very well illustrated on the map, Bittel, *Prähistorische Forschung in Kleinasien*, p. 97.

³⁹ A. Götze, *op. cit.*, pp. 54 ff.

⁴⁰ E. Meyer, "Über einige semitische Götter," *Z.D.M.G.*, XXXI, 1877, pp. 736 ff. "Das einzige Land in dem er [Sandon] heimisch ist, ist Kelikien."

⁴¹ *A.J.A.*, XLI, 1937, pp. 281 ff.

⁴² Pryce, *Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum*, I, 2, p. 82.

the Commagene kings both the Hellenistic type of Herakles and the oriental were represented.⁴⁸

Some of the evidence that has been adduced for Herakles on early fourth-century coins must be challenged. The club which hangs above the lion devouring the bull on the coins which show the city walls (Plate 18, 5) need not be the club of Herakles at all.⁴⁴ The club in Cilicia and neighboring territories has its own significance.

At Olba, where the native god is known to have been identified with Zeus, the symbol of the club is found everywhere as well as in other parts of the mountainous Cilicia (Fig. 1). The early explorer Bent remarked that a ruined fortress in the vicinity of the Olban cave had two stones with "the symbol of the club, another distinctive symbol of Olba, very common throughout the district."⁴⁵

It is true that a few representations of Herakles appear on late coins of the satraps,⁴⁶ but from the iconographical point of view the Ba'al of Tarsus most frequently represented is not a Herakles but a Zeus-like god carrying the symbols of fertility, the same symbols of grape and wheat stalk which are carried by the god in the triangle of the later coins.⁴⁷ Even the wreath and the flower which Sandon sometimes carries are found on the earlier satrapal coins, this time in the hands of Aramazda.⁴⁸ On certain of the coins with the Zeus type on the obverse the club in an oak wreath is shown on the reverse.

It is interesting to note that in Cilicia Tracheia both the club and the sword are found in combination with the shield (Fig. 1, nos. 6, 10, 15),⁴⁹ just as the sword is combined with the shield on the base of the terracotta Sandon monument; and so the club may be thought of as an alternate for the sword and both as symbols of the deity. The sword and shield in similar combination can now be traced to Crete where they appear on a tripod depicted on a mitra from Axos (Fig. 2).⁵⁰ The shield has indeed

⁴³ K. Humann and O. Puchstein, *Reisen in Kleinasien und Nordsyrien*, pls. XXIX, XXXIX.

⁴⁴ Levy, *loc. cit.*, p. 51, figs. 3 and 4. What Miss Levy believes on her fig. 3 to be a club in the hand of "a purely Greek Herakles, naked and bearded, recognizable by the club which he extends toward his worshipper, the satrap Datames, who ruled over Cilicia from 378 to 374 B.C." is nothing but a rude cutting made to test the metal of the coin, as Professor Bernard Cook, owner of the coin, kindly informs me by letter.

⁴⁵ J. T. Bent, "A Journey in Cilicia Tracheia," *J.H.S.*, XII, 1891, p. 210.

⁴⁶ Babelon, *Catalogue des monnaies grecques de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Les Perses achéménides*, pl. III.

⁴⁷ *British Museum, Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Lycaonia, etc.*, pls. XXVIII-XXXII.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pl. XXXIX, 1.

⁴⁹ J. T. Bent, "Cilician Symbols," *C.R.*, IV, 1890, pp. 321-322, whence our Fig. 1.

⁵⁰ Doro Levi, "Gleanings from Crete," *A.J.A.*, XLIX, 1945, pp. 270 ff., fig. 15. The interpretation of the tripod is very fully discussed and the association of Zeus and Apollo at Delphi. When I wrote the first article on the "Sandon Monument of Tarsus," *J.A.O.S.*, *loc. cit.*, I was unaware of this evidence from the late seventh or early sixth century, although Cretan parallels were cited to prove the talismanic use of the sword and shield in Minoan religion; nor did Levi know of the terracotta from Tarsus. I can now bring together this important interlocking evidence,

suffered a sea change and received the stamp of the Aegean by the addition of the octopus design. The coins of the city show that this tripod may be associated with Zeus, for the thunderbolt appears either above or beside it on fourth-century coins of the city, even when the head on the obverse is that of Apollo.⁵¹

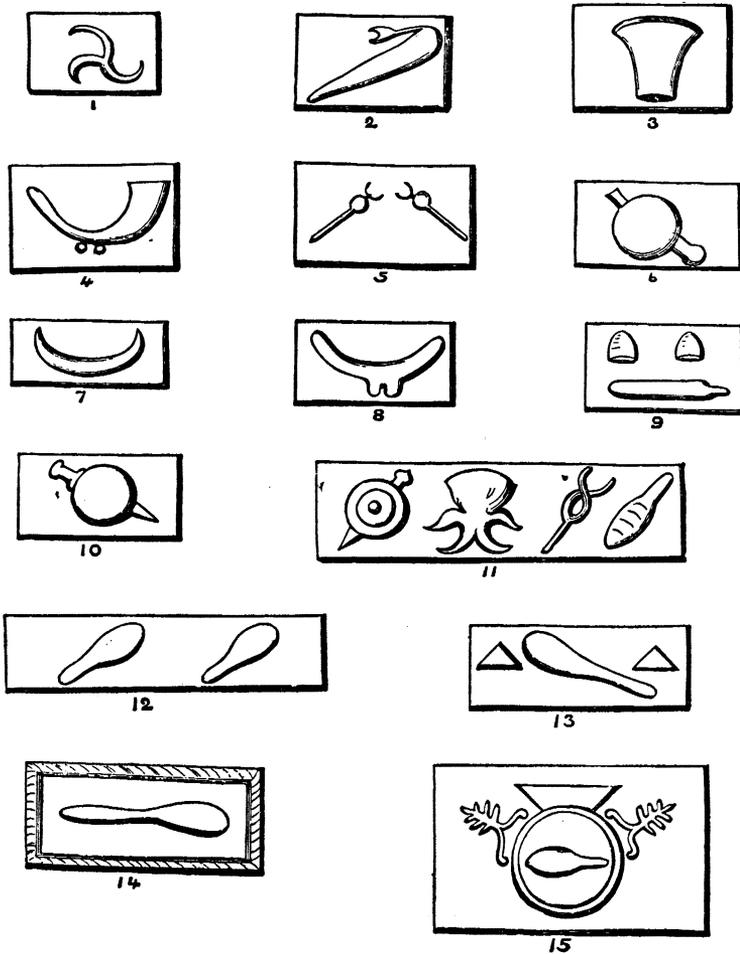


Fig. 1. Rock-cut Reliefs Found in Cilicia

The club on the coins of Tarsus is the symbol of the Ba'al of Tars, just as it is the symbol of the Ba'al of Olba. Placed above the ramparts on the coin it represents the god protecting his city. The attribution of the club to Herakles on the coins under discussion is, therefore, not justified.

although it leaves untouched the question of *when* the symbol entered Crete. Certain it is, however, that it was associated at Axos not with Herakles, but with Zeus or Apollo.

⁵¹ Levi, *loc. cit.*, fig. 19 c.

The club also appears on imperial coins of Caesarea (Plate 18, 8) and, although described by Wroth as derived from the club of the coins of King Archelaos "by whom it may have been introduced in allusion to his descent from Temenos, son of Herakles," he himself finds that this explanation will not cover all occurrences, such as the club on the obverse of a Hadrianic coin where it is placed between a star and crescent "as if the type were in some way connected with Mt. Argaeus, which is sometimes represented with a star and crescent near its summit."⁵² In the light of what we have learned about the club in Cilicia it is safe to say that in Caesarea too

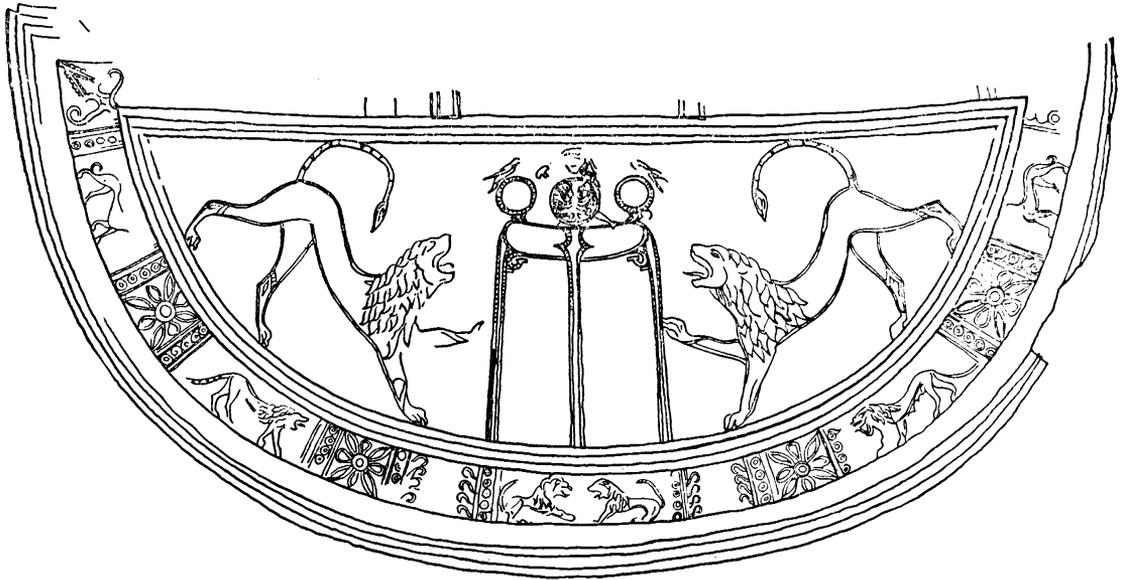


Fig. 2. Bronze Mitra from Axos

it was originally the symbol, not of Herakles, but of an ancient god: that is of Mt. Argaeus both god and mountain.⁵³ We are thus warned that the interpretation of symbols cannot be transferred from one country to another, but that these must be studied in the light of local iconography. Whether the two parts of Cilicia worshipped the same god or two divinities with similar attributes is of no great importance to the argument. Certainly they were similarly represented on the coins of the two regions.⁵⁴

But if Sandon cannot be accepted as the oriental progenitor of Herakles we are

⁵² *British Museum, Catalogue of Greek Coins of Galatia, Cappadocia and Syria*, pl. IX, 4; p. xxxviii.

⁵³ Cook, *Zeus*, II, p. 978, brings together a great deal of interesting data about the mountain. "It was to the Cappadocians *καὶ θεὸς καὶ ὄρος καὶ ἄγαλμα*."

⁵⁴ Frazer believed that they were identical. *The Golden Bough*, IV, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, p. 160. "On the whole we conclude that the Olban Zeus . . . clearly identical in nature with the Corycian Zeus, was also identical with the Baal of Tarsus, the god of the corn and the vine. . . ."

still faced with the problem of accounting for the obviously oriental elements in the Herakles myth. Here it seems to me that recent archaeological discoveries in Syria give unequivocal support to ancient tradition if we are willing to accept two things: the Mycenaean origin of Herakles as postulated by Nilsson,⁵⁵ and that Herakles did not go to the Aegean from the east but was brought to Syria by those Mycenaean who settled in such numbers on the coast of Syria. We know that the colony at Ugarit⁵⁶ was no isolated phenomenon, although that alone would be sufficient to account for the interpretation of Mycenaean and Phoenician ideas and legends; Herakles is not vaguely associated with the east, he is specifically associated with Phoenicia⁵⁷ and above all with the city of Tyre where he was identified with the god Melkart. The second half of the second millenium B.C. was the first great moment of contact between east and west and through a movement which had its origin not in the east but in the west.

While Nilsson's arguments for the Mycenaean origin of Herakles do not and cannot, as he himself was the first to recognize, amount to proof, they do represent a high degree of probability. They can be studied in his great books, *The Mycenaean Origin of Greek Religion* and *Homer and Mycenae*. The most cogent argument seems to me to rest upon the demonstrable fact that the Herakles myths center around the important Mycenaean sites such as Argos, Athens, and Thebes. Surely it is of great significance in this connection that in the conquest of Ilion Herakles was the forerunner of the Greeks who came under the leadership of Agamemnon, king of Mycenae.⁵⁸ It is true that so eminent a student of the Mycenaean period as Karo does not accept the Mycenaean origin of Herakles; but his main argument lacks cogency because it is a negative one: the absence of proven representations of Greek hero tales in the Minoan-Mycenaean art.⁵⁹ For Herakles is not a Minoan hero; he is specifically of the mainland Mycenaean who are now generally held to have been Greek-speaking. The themes of Mycenaean art were Minoan because it was an art of the courts; Mycenaean rulers employed Minoan artists who expressed themselves in the idiom of their homeland, and were little affected by local ideas and tales current among the common people.

After the establishment of the first Mycenaean colonies in Syria the contact

⁵⁵ *Homer and Mycenae*, p. 248: "The fact that the mythological centers are always at the same time centers of Mycenaean civilization, and conversely that the great centers of Mycenaean civilization have always cycles of myths attached to them, proves that the cycles of heroic myths in their outlines go back to Mycenaean times."

⁵⁶ Reports on excavations by Claude Schaeffer, *Syria*, I, 1929, and later; *Ugaritica*, I. Dussaud, *Les Découvertes de Ras Shamra et l'Ancien Testament*, p. 23, finds that the legend of Cadmos can only be understood if he is assigned to the period of Mycenaean-Syrian intercourse.

⁵⁷ Herodotus, II, 44.

⁵⁸ Homer, *Il.*, V, 640.

⁵⁹ Karo, "Mykenische Kultur," *R.E.*, Suppl. 6, p. 601.

between Phoenicia and Greece must have been fairly continuous and the oriental features of Herakles need not have been acquired all at one time but by a gradual process of diffusion, confusion, and amalgamation. It seems likely, though by no means either proven or as yet provable, that the combat with the Hydra is of oriental origin and may well have come to Syria from Mesopotamia. The scene depicted on the seal stone could very well serve as an illustration of the Herakles myth. The literary evidence connecting the Hydra or a Hydra-like animal with Syria is both very early and very late.⁶⁰ The story of the Amazon belt may have been added by the Achaeans who settled in Anatolia, for even those who do not believe that the Achaeans are mentioned in the Hittite texts cannot deny the incontrovertible archaeological evidence for a colony at Miletus.⁶¹

As for Sandon and Herakles, it seems best to return to the theory generally held: finding at Tarsus a local god whose symbol was the club, who carried the bow, whose worship included a fire ritual and who was depicted in connection with a mountain such as had been the scene of the apotheosis of Herakles,⁶² what more natural than that the Greeks who came with Alexander should have identified Herakles with Sandon? Indeed, the impetus may have been given by Alexander himself who claimed Herakles among his forebears and celebrated games in his honor at Tyre.

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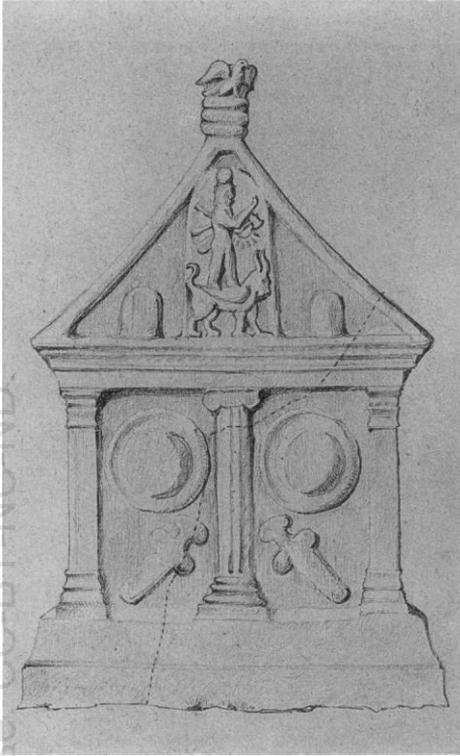
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⁶⁰ See footnote 12; Stephanos of Byzantium (*Ethnica*, s. v. *Ακη) relates that Herakles went to Phoenicia to be cured of the wounds inflicted by the Hydra and then founded Ake, and in the Ras Shamra epic a leviathan with seven heads appears (Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, p. 122).

⁶¹ *Abhandlungen der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Anhang, 1908, pp. 1 ff. Th. Wiegand, "Sechster vorläufiger Bericht über die von den königlichen Museen in Milet und Didyma unternommenen Ausgrabungen," *Vith International Archaeological Congress*, Berlin, 1939, pp. 332-352, describes the settlement at Miletos as stratified L.M. I-III. Unlike Troy, the report concludes, this was no native Anatolian settlement with Mycenaean importations but a Mycenaean settlement which came either from Greece or Crete.

⁶² Dion Chrysostom, *Oratio XXXIII*, 408. M. Heidel, *The Day of Yahweh*, p. 444, in examining into what leads to unification of cults and identification of deities in the systematizing of religions, came to the conclusion "that the rites did in fact furnish the chief though not the sole basis for the identification of various gods."

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1. Reconstruction of Terracotta Plaque from Tarsus



2. Coin of Tarsus



3. Coin of Sagalassos



4. Coin of Zeugma



5. Coin of Tarsus



6. Seal Impression Showing Hero Slaying Monster



7. Seal Impression Showing Fertility Deity



8. Coin of Caesarea



Standard Pottery Containers of the Ancient Greek World

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Reviewed work(s):

Source: *Hesperia Supplements*, Vol. 8, Commemorative Studies in Honor of Theodore Leslie Shear (1949), pp. 175-189+455-456

Published by: [The American School of Classical Studies at Athens](#)

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STANDARD POTTERY CONTAINERS OF THE ANCIENT GREEK WORLD

(PLATES 19-20)

BEFORE the extensive commercial development of glass and metal, earthenware was the common material in which to preserve and carry fluid or semi-fluid commodities.¹ Like glass or metal, or plastic, this abundantly available material can readily be made to conform to a specified shape and size, and can be labelled by means of a mould or stamp in the process of manufacture. Clay jars, not too large for a man to lift a full one, and provided with convenient handholds, were the logical containers for shipment. Such is the Greek plain pointed amphora (Plate 19), an unpainted, two-handled jar ending below not in a resting surface but in a tip or knob for grasping. A jar of this shape can be set upright in a rack or stand, or in a hole in an earth floor, it can be secured in a pannier or slung from ropes,² and it can be stacked, full, at a convenient angle in the hold of a ship, provided the relatively narrow mouth is sealed. Variations of the type are known to us in preserved examples, jars commonly somewhat under three feet in height, with a capacity of five to eight gallons. Anyone who has had occasion to empty such a jar will appreciate the extra handle provided by the knobbed "base," which must have facilitated the shifting of these heavy objects when packed. Stoppers of plaster and of lead have been found; also, about the rim and the tops of the handles of many fragments of the jars, red stains as from cords which may have held sealings in place.³

Liquid quantities were expressed in terms of clay jars. Thus, the Sinopeans presented to Xenophon's Greeks fifteen-hundred jars of wine, along with three thousand measures of barley.⁴ In a frequently cited passage in Polybios which lists provisions

¹ The present article is based on data assembled at the Agora and Pnyx excavations in Athens, and at other places in the eastern Mediterranean area visited mostly in 1939 during tenure of a Guggenheim fellowship. Suggestions have been drawn from Professor Casper J. Kraemer, who as a papyrologist was interested in capacity figures for "knidia," etc.; also from the article of B. N. Grakov, "Packing and Storage of Agricultural Products in Classical Greece of the Sixth-Fourth Centuries B. C.," in *Bulletin of the State Academy of the History of Material Culture*, CVIII, 1935, pp. 147-182 (in Russian).

² Cf. the representations in *Syria*, VIII, 1927, p. 51, fig. 1; in Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, III, p. 44, fig. 186; and in *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, Plate XXX, no. 36.

³ For stoppers, see C. Smith, "Amphora-stopping from Alexandria," *J.H.S.*, IV, 1883, pp. 158-161; Grakov, *loc. cit.*, p. 167; and a stamped example was found in the Harvard-Boston Museum of Fine Arts excavations at Meroë (Anglo-Egyptian Sudan) in 1922, the context of which was dated 40-200 A.D. (I owe the information to Dr. W. S. Smith and others on the staff of the Museum of Fine Arts.) A photograph of this specimen is published in the *Classical Journal*, issue of May, 1947. The red stains are found on Thasian and Rhodian handles, occasionally on others.

⁴ *Anabasis*, VI, i, 15. In this passage and that cited in the following note, the expression is οἶνον κεράμια, followed by the number.

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for an expected siege supplied to a Sinopean embassy in Rhodes in 220 B.C., the first item is ten thousand jars of wine.⁵

It may occur to the reader that for commercial dealings on a large scale, or involving expensive goods such as wine at five days' mason's wages per quart,⁶ a container made on a potter's wheel offers possibilities of intolerable variations in capacity, from inattention as well as from deliberate faking. Ancient pointed amphoras available for measurement do actually show very considerable variations, often not in the direction suggested by their appearance, due to difference in the thickness of fabric, and the deceptive character of certain shapes. Even as between jars of the same shape and fabric, and identical height (Pl. 19, 7 and 9), a difference in dimensions and outline that is scarcely noticeable to the eye can produce a difference in capacity of about an eighth of the total. It seems unlikely that clay jars will in the long run inspire the minimum essential confidence in purchasers or tax-collectors unless there is incorporated in their manufacture some recognizable endorsement, analogous to the coin types struck on pieces of metal so they may circulate freely as units of value, without being weighed and analyzed at every exchange.

Such endorsements we apparently have in the stamped impressions (Pl. 20) found on many of the pointed amphoras mentioned, and on many more fragments of such jars, ordinarily on the thicker fabric of the handle, on top where they are readily seen.⁷ The total number of the stamped handle fragments now in collections may be estimated as approaching a hundred thousand,⁸ of which probably eighty to ninety percent come from jars marked, whether by a single stamp or by a combination of stamps, with what appears to be a dated endorsement, accompanied in certain series by an ethnic adjective ("Knidian," "Thasian," etc.). Study of a small proportion of the stamped fragments and of associated material has made it possible to sort the

⁵ IV, 56. One quite modern piece of *matériel* is also listed: χρυσοῦς ἐπισήμους τρισχιλίουσ.

⁶ Cf. *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 296, on Chian jars.

⁷ The main classes of stamped handles and jars are differentiated by description and illustration, and to some degree dated, in *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 195-310. The selected bibliography there given should be supplemented by the important study, B. N. Grakov, *Ancient Pottery Stamps with the Names of Astynomoi*, Moscow, 1929 (in Russian); and by numerous smaller recent publications cited in the notes of Rostovtzeff's *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, Oxford, 1941 (see particularly p. 1486, note 97, for Rhodian material); subsequent short articles by the present writer are "Early Thasian Stamped Amphoras," *A.J.A.*, L, 1946, pp. 31-38, and a chapter on the stamped handles found at Tarsus to appear in the forthcoming Volume I of Dr. Hetty Goldman's publication of the excavations at Tarsus, and "Wine Jars," *The Classical Journal*, 42, 1947, pp. 443-452.

The explanation of the purpose of these stamps as certificates of capacity (cf. for instance Paton and Hicks, *The Inscriptions of Cos*, Oxford, 1891, p. xlv) was discarded by Nilsson (*Timbres Amphoriques de Lindos*, Copenhagen, 1909, p. 58) for reasons not now clear to me. C. H. Inge on p. 108 of the article cited in note 33 below comments sensibly on Israelitish stamped jars as standard containers.

⁸ Estimates of the number in certain large collections follow: Alexandria, in the Museum and in the collection of Mr. Loukas Benachi, at least 20,000; Athens, in the National Museum and in the Agora workrooms, over 20,000; Delos, 15,000; Russian collections, at least 15,000.

stamps geographically and to some degree chronologically: the resulting picture is one of prolonged periods during which large numbers of jars were marked according to specific and consistent rules.

The essential elements of the endorsement are two names (or a recognized equivalent),⁹ one of which is apparently present only to indicate a date. The other name, which forms the endorsement proper, has in twentieth-century studies and comments been called that of the "manufacturer" or "potter," and some individuals are so described on the stamps.¹⁰ One is not, however, to imagine a craftsman, like the men who signed Attic vases, but a person responsible for an output of standard products, perhaps a pottery operator appointed as a commissioner, as we know bankers sometimes served as coin magistrates.¹¹ We have evidence suggesting that four or five of these men often functioned contemporaneously within a state, and that some individuals continued in this function over a considerable period, perhaps up to twenty years, sometimes spanning changes in stamp usage and modifications in the shape of the standard jar. A date assumes importance for fixing responsibility more closely.

A name accompanied by *epi*, "in the term of," is the principal expression which has been recognized as a date. On Rhodian jars, the largest group, the month is also specified, and the eponym is frequently qualified by the title "priest." Rhodian decrees were dated according to annually changing priests of Helios. Efforts to identify individual dating names on Rhodian stamps with those known in literary texts or on stone have produced some results confirmed by independent dating of the stamps. The point is perhaps worth laboring, because the same prepositional phrase appears on some coin series, where I believe the name is usually taken as that of a coin magistrate.

A stamp like those under consideration cannot of itself guarantee the quality, or age, of the *contents* of a jar, because it is applied before firing in the kiln, and in any case does not seal the mouth of the container. However, it may have come to have convenient uses in this connection. Perhaps the handy presence of a date on early Thasian wine jars first suggested the idea of definite maturing periods for wine, and the identification of superior vintages.

Earlier speculations on the purpose of amphora stamps have properly called

⁹ In the later series of Thasian stamps, dating probably from the Macedonian conquest, one of the names is replaced by a letter or a device; cf. Pl. 20, 2. On this subject, I hope to publish in a later article.

¹⁰ Cf. Nilsson, *op. cit.*, p. 359, no. 28, 4, illustrated in his pl. I, 5, with comment on p. 57: *Αἰνέας ἐργαστηριάρχας*. This stamp belongs to the second century B.C., when Rhodian stamping had been established over a hundred years. It hardly seems likely that this highly exceptional descriptive term would have been used by that time to define an established function. It may simply have distinguished an individual.

¹¹ See A. B. West, *Fifth and Fourth Century Gold Coins from the Thracian Coast*, *Numismatic Notes and Monographs* No. 40 (New York, 1929), p. 75, note 1, and *Revue des Études Grecques*, XXXIX, 1926, pp. xlv-xlvi, on Hikesias the father of Diogenes.

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attention to the similar, and in certain series identical, stamps which appear on bricks and tiles. Here again the requirement is a great number of duplicates made according to precise specifications. The analogy is a confirmation that stamps on jars were certificates of capacity.¹²

We have some indications of the technique of production of these containers. It is related that the sculptor Lysippos invented a wine-jar for Cassander, for the export of Mendean wine from the newly founded neighboring city of Cassandreia.¹³ This was not the earliest container designed for Mendean wine, for we possess a fragment stamped with the Mendean coin type of Dionysus on an ass, discontinued after 358 B.C. (Pl. 20, 1). The story is in line with what we know of the introduction of wholly new forms for wine jars: such introductions are of rare occurrence, and the only ones so far established with fair certainty as to date belong near the end of the fourth century B.C. For the execution of duplicates according to a prescribed design and capacity, I have been advised that a skilled and practised potter could manage freehand with adequate exactitude; but traces of the use of a form have been noticed on body fragments of one group of stamped jars.¹⁴ An incised line which at varying levels encircles or partly encircles the neck of many stamped jars has suggested to me that an actual measureful of something was poured in and its level then marked on the outside; but the line was drawn before firing, and I have not found a satisfactory solution as to what temporary filling could be used in a practical way on a large scale in jars of still unbaked clay. The material and preparation of the die for the stamps has been discussed in an earlier publication: no actual implements have been found, but on some stamps there is a clear imprint of wood grain, or the slipping of a point used to incise a hard material, while others, like Pl. 20, 14, record letters written in a soft material which furrowed on either side of the writing point,

¹² On stamped bricks and tiles, see Schuchhardt, *Die Inschriften von Pergamon*, II (Berlin, 1895), pp. 393-422; A. J. B. Wace, *B.S.A.*, XII, 1905-6, pp. 344-350, and XIII, 1906-7, pp. 17-43 (Sparta); E. M. Pridik, *Inventory-Catalogue of the Stamps on Handles and Necks of Amphorae, and on Bricks, of the Hermitage Collection* (Petrograd, 1917), pp. 127-128 (Russian); B. N. Grakov, the work cited in note 7 above (page references unavailable, as the book is still known to me mainly through the review in German, *Phil. Woch.*, LIII, 1933, pp. 630-647). The two latter report and discuss the series dated by *astynomoi*, duplicates of which appear on jars. For more recent reference, see Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, p. 109 and note 44. Nilsson, *op. cit.*, pp. 63-71, has a discussion of stamped bricks and tiles. He accepts Wace's assumption that the purpose of these stamps was to prevent theft. But clay bricks served as units of measurement in construction specifications: see a recent interesting discussion by R. Demangel, "Regula," *B.C.H.*, LXVI-LXVII, 1942-43, especially pp. 269-271. Provision for a tile of specified dimensions is indicated by the Delian inventory item τύπον ξύλινον κεραμίδων τῶν ἐπὶ τὸν Κερατῶνα (*Insc. Délos*, 442 B, 172; see comments, Grakov, *op. cit.*, pp. 68-69; Grace, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 427, note 4).

¹³ Athenaeus, XI, 784. I owe the reference to W. L. Cuttle, of Downing College, Cambridge.

¹⁴ See Grakov, *op. cit.* in note 7 above, p. 68, on the jars attributed to Sinope. The author has noticed vertical marks on the inside of the body (not shoulder or neck) which might have been caused by the removal of a form. He supposes the various parts of the vessel were then assembled and finished on the wheel.

presumably clay marked before firing.¹⁵ The wooden die has been detected on Rhodian and Knidian stamps of the early second century B.C. The clay die is conspicuous on many Rhodian at the beginning of the third century, and may have been the source of numerous cursive letter forms natural to a soft medium; these forms apparently begin somewhat before 300 B.C. in Thasian stamps. Certain changes in the system of applying the stamps to the handles can be followed on Rhodian amphoras of the third and second centuries. They suggest that the stamping was in the early days done either personally by the endorser or at any rate by a literate employee, but that from about the second quarter of the second century the job became purely mechanical.¹⁶ Evidence for an extensive use of slaves in the amphora factories has been discussed.¹⁷

Identification of extant vessels as specific containers of guaranteed capacity provides a key to much desirable information. Changes in standard may be recorded which reflect commercial and political relations. In conjunction with accounts recorded on stone or papyrus, capacity figures will often supply the missing factor needed for recovering information on the cost of living and "the profits to be derived from agriculture."¹⁸ We need (1) measurements of a large number of jars, and (2) an examination of ancient references to jars, both literary and epigraphical.

Unfortunately the total number known to me of whole or restored jars with Greek stamps is only a few hundreds, and of these about two hundred are a close group of Rhodian jars with one or other of two endorsements; the latter, which were found together in a deposit in Rhodes, have been published, but without capacity measurements.¹⁹ It is urged that further examples be reported, with photographs and measurements. Available figures permit some provisional statements:

¹⁵ *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 421-429. Note that no. 24 (fig. 1) and no. 28 (fig. 2) are Rhodian of the early third century. An actual implement for the stamping of bricks has been found: see R. H. McDowell, *Stamped and Inscribed Objects from Seleucia on the Tigris* (University of Michigan Press, 1935), pp. 254-255. The object is of unbaked clay, and its date has been calculated to read 72/71 B.C.

¹⁶ See the introductory text to the catalogue of stamped handles from Tarsus referred to in note 7 above. It is chiefly a matter of getting the two stamps on a jar right side up with respect to each other.

¹⁷ Grakov, *op. cit.* in note 1 above, pp. 179-182.

¹⁸ See J. A. O. Larsen's discussion of the price of wine, *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, IV (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1938), pp. 391-394. I owe the reference to Dr. John H. Kent. For a later period, cf. L. Casson, "Wine Measures and Prices in Byzantine Egypt," *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, LXX, 1939, pp. 1-16.

¹⁹ A. Maiuri, "Una Fabbrica di Anfore Rodie," *Annuario della Regia Scuola Archeologica di Atene*, IV-V, 1921-1922 (Bergamo, 1924), pp. 249-269. Cf. *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 216-217.

A large group of Greek stamped jars of Pontic manufacture, found in tombs of the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C. in the Crimean Chersonese, are published by M. Ebert, "Ausgrabungen auf der Gute Maritzyn," in *Praeh. Zeitschrift*, V, 1913, pp. 1-113. I owe the reference to Dr. Berta Segall. This otherwise excellent publication also omits capacity measurements. B. N. Grakov's article, "Incised stamps on the necks of some Hellenistic jars," in *Studies of the State Historical Museum*, I, 1926, pp. 165 ff., apparently discusses this class of jars, but I have not as yet been able to consult it.

1) Various local standards existed simultaneously. For instance, early third century B.C. Thasian (Pl. 19, 6), Rhodian, and Knidian examples held respectively about 21, 28, and just under 40 liters.²⁰

2) In the same state, the standard jar was different at different periods. In the late second century B.C., the average Knidian amphora holds about 31 liters (Pl. 19, 7) instead of the earlier larger quantity. For Rhodian third- and second-century jars, a succession of norms can be followed with fair certainty, dipping to below 25 liters in the third quarter of the third century and again apparently in about 175 B.C.

3) Fractional stamped containers were also current. In the National Museum in Copenhagen is a Rhodian amphora datable probably about 225 B.C., the capacity of which is 12.7 liters.²¹ One of a somewhat earlier date in the Cyprus Museum, Nicosia, held just over 4 liters.²² A smaller fractional container seems to have been provided by the lagynos (narrow-necked jug). The word appears in papyri as that of a rough measure, and numerous fragments of undecorated examples have handles stamped with a plain endorsement (name, abbreviation, or device). Unstamped plain lagynoi found in a tomb in Cyprus held about 2 liters.²³

²⁰ The Rhodian and Knidian jars referred to are Agora SS 370 and 371, from Thompson's Hellenistic Group B (see *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 332). They are published with photographs of stamps and jars in the same volume, p. 235, no. 77, p. 280, no. 233, and p. 202, nos. 5 and 6 (described p. 304). For details on the Thasian jar, see below, description of Pl. 19, 6. The norms referred to in paragraph (2) are each based on several approximately contemporary examples, to be published in a subsequent article. The evidence includes certain apparent contradictions, and cannot as yet be simplified enough for presentation in a general survey. Measurements here quoted are of jars filled to the brim. Unbroken jars were measured by filling them with water until they would absorb no more, then measuring what could be poured out. (A pint or more is absorbed by the porous clay of the jar.) Restored jars were measured with wheat, in a manner devised after testing both methods on sound jars; but we never did succeed in pouring in quite as much wheat as we could pour out water, using the same containers.

²¹ "Inv. No. 10022. Provenance: Tell Bisseh, a village between Hama and Homs in Syria. Acquired 1939 from Hama." Ht. and diam. of jar, 0.643 and 0.277. The jar is endorsed by Sokrates (with torch) and dated in the term of Ainesidamos. Mr. P. J. Riis, Keeper in the Museum, very kindly furnished me with measurements and photographs for a more specialized article than the present.

²² From Apendrika, Tomb 36, no. 29. The tomb is to be published by Miss Joan du Plat Taylor, probably in the next report of the Cyprus Department of Antiquities, according to a letter dated November 6, 1946. The stamp on this small amphora is a Helios head, without any names.

²³ See *λάγυνος* in Preisigke, *Wörterbuch der Griechischen Papyrusurkunden* (Berlin, 1927): "Öfter als Massbezeichnung angewendet, doch ohne festen Rauminhalt." The references here are all post-Hellenistic. The identification of stamped Hellenistic lagynoi is based on numerous fragments in the collection of Mr. Loukas Benachi in Alexandria, plus a recently discovered example from the Agora (P 17088), in which the stamped handles are still attached to the narrow necks, many similar small stamped handles (minus necks) having been found in datable context in the Agora. Mr. Benachi has very kindly supplied me with photographs, and a publication is planned. The plain lagynoi measured in Cyprus are part of a tomb group (from near Larnaka) which includes a Rhodian amphora of Agathokles dated in the term of Athanodotos (early second century), also to be published.

Evaluation of relevant ancient texts depends partly on a proper understanding of a somewhat confusing form of reference frequently employed: "Thasian [or Chian, etc.] jars of wine." Grammatically, the modifier is applied to the container, not the contents; and in favor of accepting the meaning purely in that sense is the fact that in papyri Knidian and other similarly specified types of jars appear as unit containers of pickled fish, etc. But in some passages a distinction in contents is clearly involved.²⁴ It appears, then, that the place of bottling identified both the quantity and the variety or grade of wine, and that when other contents were specified, the quantity unit remained. Nowadays in the Middle East one may ask to be supplied with so many Standard Oil tins of spring water, and Herodotos noticed that old wine jars were put to a similar use by the Egyptians of his day.²⁵

Hellenistic amphora types known both in the clay and in references contemporary with their period of use are: Thasian, Rhodian, Knidian, Parian, Kolophonian, Paphian, and perhaps Athenian.²⁶ Of these, we have complete or completely restored examples of only the first three (Pl. 19); the rest are known in stamped fragments, three varieties being illustrated in Pl. 20. Koan may probably be added: this commonly mentioned variety has been identified with amphoras having the double or twin stamped handles familiar to many excavators: the stamps have no ethnic, but many of their names are found also on Koan inscriptions and coins, including quite a few not known to the author of the identifying study; the distinctive jar type is known in examples (many not stamped) of various dates; a stamped example of probably about 200 B.C. (Pl. 19, 8) held 44.2 liters.²⁷ Kinds of jars identified by their stamped handles,

²⁴ See a discussion by Larsen, *op. cit.*, p. 394. Notice that the form of reference is as early as Aristophanes: *Lysistrata* (line 196) orders a *θάσιον οίνου σταμνίον* and the following passage precludes any ambiguity about the contents.

²⁵ III, 6.

²⁶ References in Ptolemaic papyri are assembled by F. M. Heichelheim, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Altertums* (Leiden, 1938), Vol. II, pp. 1072-1073. He lists an Athenian type. At the Agora, Athenian coin types were found on fragments of handled vessels as well as on the open cylindrical dry measures like that illustrated *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 346, figure 5. See H. A. Thompson, *Hesp.*, Suppl. IV, 1940, pp. 141 f., on Public Measures of various shapes and sizes, dated by context from the fifth to the early third centuries B.C., fragments of which were found near the Tholos which served as the Athenian bureau of standards. But I know of no evidence that containers used for export were stamped with these types.

²⁷ The study is that of A. Maiuri, *Nuova Silloge Epigrafica di Rodi e Cos* (Firenze, 1925), Appendice 1, *Iscrizioni Anforarie di Cos*, pp. 245-249. Some additional names common to double-handle stamps and coins of Kos: *Ἀνδροσ* (Agora SS 506 and 550); *Ἀρχέπολις* and *Διογένης* (on handles in the Benachi collection in Alexandria); *Ἐκαταίος* (Agora SS 4487); *Λόχος* (Agora SS 3773); *Σάτυρος* (Agora SS 2110). I use the coin references in the index of Paton and Hicks, *op. cit.* in note 7. Under the description of Pl. 19, 8 is included a brief summary of the characteristic features of the jar; in late (?) examples, such as that illustrated by Maiuri (p. 246), the body of the jar is much contracted, but the typical handles and collar remain. The type can be followed from the third century B.C. probably well into the Roman imperial period, some stamps having Latin letters.

but not mentioned, to my knowledge, in other ancient texts, are those of Zakyntos, Smyrna, Alexandria Troas (Pl. 20, 3), Mamertine Messene, Ikos.²⁸

The relatively small number of Hellenistic references to Rhodian jars has caused speculation in view of the fact that they are the most numerous in our finds.²⁹ The predominance of Rhodes and Rhodian bottling operations perhaps made specific reference generally unnecessary except for non-Rhodian containers: the type is readily understood, for instance, in the passage from Polybios cited above. The word "Rhodian" never appears on jar stamps.

A chronological sketch will lend perspective:

The earliest Greek series so far established, the stamps of which indicate official endorsement, are the Chian amphoras of the third quarter of the fifth century³⁰ and the Thasian of the last quarter. It appears probable that these jars, and perhaps the early Mendean (Pl. 20, 1), were stamped in compliance with the Athenian imperial standards decree of ca. 449 B.C., and subsequent supplementary legislation.³¹ They contained wine much celebrated in the Athens of the period. About the middle of the fourth century, there is a change in usage in Thasian stamps, presumably to be associated with the Macedonian conquest of the island state in 340 B.C. Late in the century, an entirely new form of Thasian amphora is introduced; and it appears that at about the same time a whole group of new stamped series originate. To this date have been assigned the earliest of the thousands of stamped jars manufactured in the Black Sea area.³² The Rhodian series began not later than the beginning of the third century, also the characteristic jar later to carry recognized Knidian stamps, and several distinguishable types the locale of which has not yet been established. Thasian stamped amphoras carried by Alexander's commissary may have had something to do with this manifestation, also contact with the East, where clay jars bore stamped endorsements before the Greeks invented coins.³³ A more complicated system of

²⁸ Zakyntos: Corinth Pottery no. 1815. Smyrna: *Inschriften von Pergamon*, II (Berlin, 1895), p. 492, no. 1274. Ikos: A. Dumont, *Inscriptions Céramiques de Grèce* (Paris, 1871), p. 387, no. 5 (others found in South Russia and in Athens). Mamertine Messene: *Altertümer von Pergamon*, IX (Berlin, 1937), p. 150, no. 67.

²⁹ Cf. Heichelheim, *op. cit.*, p. 472.

³⁰ *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 296-297.

³¹ See *A.J.A.*, L, 1946, p. 31.

³² See Grakov, *op. cit.* in note 7, Chapter 5 (cf. *Phil. Woch.*, LIII, 1933, p. 634).

³³ Two completely restored Israelitish stamped jars of the early sixth century B.C. have recently been published: D. Diringer, "On Ancient Hebrew Inscriptions Discovered at Tell Ed-Duweir (Lachish)," *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, 1941, p. 43, no. 5 (bearing a "private" stamp), and pp. 91-92, 1, i (bearing a royal stamp), the jars being more fully published in the *post scriptum* by Charles H. Inge (pp. 106-109). Inge suggests that both were intended to hold the standard official "bat," "the largest Hebrew measure of capacity which could be transported as a unit." The capacities, calculated from measurements, are stated to be 45.33 liters for the "royal" jar, and 46.667 liters for the "private" jar.

Diringer's article is a preliminary account of a study of ancient Hebrew jar stamps in general.

marking quickly developed and became regular in Rhodes: the endorsements were dated to the month, and as time went on were sometimes supplemented by additional small stamps, a device or letter or monogram. The tendency indicates tightened control, and one may guess that in Rhodes the unit container assumed additional importance as a means of reckoning port taxes. The production of Rhodian amphoras continued to increase through the third and first part of the second centuries B.C., the characteristic stamps do not stop before some time in the first century B.C., and some sort of recognizable Rhodian stamped amphoras must be dated even later. The quantity and spread of extant remains is not equalled in any other series: the known Thasian handles are three or four thousand, found mainly in Thasos, Athens, and northern Greek settlements including those of the Black Sea region; stamped handles from jars made in Black Sea ports, possibly ten thousand in all, at a guess, are found only rarely south of that region; the Knidian figure may approach thirty thousand, but a very small proportion has been found outside of Athens and Delos; whereas probably fifty thousand Rhodian handles have been collected, from mass deposits in Alexandria, in Rhodes itself, in Syria and Palestine, in Athens and in south Russia, plus smaller scattered lots as far east as Susa, as far west as France and Spain.³⁴ The Knidian is the latest typical Hellenistic container stamp to be developed. Early examples (of the late third or early second centuries) show distinct Rhodian influence and probably control, attributable first to Rhodian commercial ascendancy, and then also to the Rhodian occupation of the early second century. See Pl. 20, 6. A special endorsement added at the end of the second century and continued through the early first (about thirty years in all, apparently) may be connected with Athenian standards regulation,³⁵ since the market for these jars seems to have been mostly confined to

For other early jar stamps found in Palestine, see for instance O. R. Sellers, *The Citadel of Beth-Zur* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1933), pp. 52 ff., including Middle Bronze Age fragments impressed by Hyksos scarabs. Hittite stamped jar handles are published by K. Bittel, *Boğazköy* (Leipzig, 1937), pp. 30-34, and plate 12, especially numbers 18-20.

For an understanding of the background of the Greek stamped amphora, we need to know more about contemporary Hebrew, Phoenician, and Punic jar stamps, varieties of which are datable through the Greek classical and early Hellenistic periods. I am grateful to Professor W. F. Albright for information and comment on this subject.

³⁴ Cf. F. Cumont, "Deux anses d'amphores Rhodiennes trouvées à Suse," *Syria*, VIII, 1927, pp. 49-52; a Rhodian handle found in the excavations of Ensérune near Béziers in southern France is published in *C.V.A. France*, Collection Mouret, pl. 46, 10, text, p. 39, commentary p. 3 (but note that the handle is *not* to be dated before the 2nd century B.C.); on two found in Ampurias, Spain, a reference in *B.C.H.*, XXXVIII, 1914, p. 325.

³⁵ On standards regulation in Athens at the end of the second century B.C., see W. S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens* (London, 1911), p. 429. The special feature on Knidian jars at this period consists in an extra pair of names which usually changes with a change in eponym, i. e., presumably we have to do with annually appointed pairs of commissioners, though one or both of a pair seem occasionally to have been carried over to another year. There being now four names involved, along with ethnic and device, the information is often divided between the two handles of the jar.

Athens and Athenian-controlled Delos. Some later Knidian stamps of a simpler kind have been tentatively identified; though it is doubtful whether any are to be dated as late as the later mentions of "knidia" in papyri.

The miscellaneous types not accounted for in the foregoing account are known at present in small numbers, sometimes single examples, and in most cases their dates are not very closely established. Some of them, however, are to be dated in the Christian era, including a few representing Byzantine emperors as on the coins (Pl. 20, 14). We know of Byzantine regulations obliging retailers of wine to use officially stamped containers.⁸⁶

It will readily be seen how useful the stamped fragments may be in dating constructions and objects found associated with them in excavations.⁸⁷ Further, compilers of economic history have begun in recent years to base statements on statistics of stamps published from various places.⁸⁸ Such statements must be limited by the fact that the subject has not yet been advanced to the point where detailed use can be made even of such material as has been published (a rather small part of the total): the publications contain many erroneous readings and mistaken identifications not merely of distinguishable individuals but even of handle types, so that Knidian citizens may be confused with Rhodians; the economical style of presentation frequently employed (few pictures or even descriptive details) makes it difficult even for the specialist to apply modern criteria which would establish dates; and such dates as have been proposed without reference to the appearance of stamp and handle are subject to revision, because, for one thing, it is clear that names of officials recurred in successive

Such a supplementary pair of stamps, which were accidentally superposed, has been published: *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 303, 8. Examples of the pair of types used by the same endorser, Dioskouridas, in the term of a different eponym are published in the same article, p. 273, nos. 211-213. Contemporary with the latter, but endorsed by Euphrantidas instead of Dioskouridas, is no. 188, p. 265 (the first line, there wrongly restored, named the eponym Pisinon). There remains no evidence for "firms of manufacturers" on Knidian stamps (cf. *loc. cit.*, p. 241, and Nilsson, *op. cit.*, p. 104). Further stamps naming these "duoviri" (they are sometimes called *ἀνδρες* on the stamps) are nos. 130 and 180-190 of the same article; and see also Dumont, *op. cit.*, pp. 327-328, 330-335. A great many examples of this class of stamps have been found in various deposits in the Agora attributed to the clearing up of rubbish after the destruction of Athens by Sulla in 87 B.C.

The information here outlined is familiar to those who have consulted the index of amphora stamps at the Agora excavations, and it was discussed briefly in a paper read at Ann Arbor at the general meetings held in 1939, where reference was made to similar practice on contemporary Athenian coins. Fuller publication is likely to be delayed (in favor of reports on new Rhodian and Thasian material), hence the present note.

⁸⁶ See McDowell, *op. cit.* in note 15, p. 251.

⁸⁷ Cf. A. W. Parsons, *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, pp. 240-241, on dating in the Klepsydra.

⁸⁸ See M. Rostovtzeff, *Cambridge Ancient History*, VIII, 1930, pp. 628-629; *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, pp. 93, 743-744, etc. Heichelheim, *op. cit.*, pp. 471-474, indicates what may be made of the material, but attempts too ambitious a statement for the present state of information.

generations.³⁹ A vast amount of isolated, often duplicated, labor has brought us in the course of about a hundred years to a position where these common objects still on the whole cannot communicate their unambiguous bits of information, but remain material for scholarly exercise and hobby. Progress requires that we accept the need for a large-scale controlled publication, the corpus of amphora stamp types long in demand by liberal epigraphists.⁴⁰ Such a publication could now become a basic collection of dated material important for reference not only to historians but also in many branches of archaeology. That the way is open, is due in no small degree to the professional level of recording attained at the Agora excavations, where documentation on context of discovery exists for over ten thousand stamped handles; and for many of the steps already taken, we must thank Dr. Shear's continued personal interest in the study.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATES

PLATE 19

All save numbers 4 and 5 are from photographs by Alison Frantz.

1-3. Note the sack and levelled measure of wheat in the background, used for measuring restored jars. The jar is Agora SS 7210, from which part of the characteristic Knidian toe is missing.

4. Chersonesian jar. Istanbul museum, no. 6677. Excavated by French occupation troops in 1922, at the point of Top Kapı Saray (site of the ancient acropolis of Byzantium); five Rhodian jars were also found. I am obliged to Dr. Emilie Haspels, now professor of archaeology at Amsterdam University, for ascertain-

ing the finding-place, and to M. Demangel, Director of the French School in Athens, for permission to publish. For the stamp, see Pl. 20, 12.

Measurements of the jar: height, 0.58; diameter, 0.227; capacity, 5 liters, 10 cc. Height, width and thickness of handles, 0.174, 0.033, 0.021. The mouth of the jar is a little contracted inside. The body is ribbed as from the wheel. The toe is bevelled off and has a small central hollow underneath (diameter 0.023).

Dull red clay with a few very fine particles of mica.

I have not seen other complete examples of this kind of jar, either actually or in photographs. Cf. Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.* in note 7, p. 109.

³⁹ Hiller's valuable dated list of Rhodian eponyms (the article Rhodos in Pauly-Wissowa, Supplementband V, 1931, pp. 835-840) contains many items that must be corrected. In *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 215 and 219, I have wrongly dated the whole group of names associated with Agathoboulos, because at the time I had not seen any of the handles with this endorsement: they belong just after 180 rather than just before 220 B.C.

⁴⁰ Cf. Kaibel in *I.G.*, XIV (1890), p. 563: "Quantum ex his titulis utilitatis percipi possit . . . non hic locus est accuratius exponere: illius hominis hoc erit qui omnia aliquando omnium regionum manubria in unum tamquam corpus collegerit. Quod incohavit Dumontius opus (insc. ceramiques 1872) nec vero ad finem perducere potuit, id maximo opere optandum est ut repetatur, augeatur, corrigatur, absolvatur, etc." The project has been advocated by none, perhaps, better than by Hiller von Gaertringen: see especially his review of Nilsson's Rhodian study, in *Phil. Woch.*, XXXVIII, 1918, p. 1020.

5. Rhodian jar of the early second century B.C. Cyprus Museum, Nicosia (CMC 199). Published by permission of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus. For the stamps, see Pl. 20, 4-5.

Measurements of the jar: height, 0.785; diameter, 0.336; capacity, just under 24 liters.

6. Thasian jar of the early third century B.C. Agora SS 8932, from a cistern deposit in Section EE about contemporary with Thompson's Hellenistic Group B. The stamp, not illustrated, reads ΑΙΣΧΡΩ(N) | ΘΑΣΙΩΝ above and below a branch or sprinkler. An Αἰσχροῦν Ἀλκίμου was *theoros* of Thasos in about 260 B.C. (*I.G.*, XII, 8, 288, 20).

Measurements of jar: height, 0.74; diameter, 0.318; capacity, 20 litres, 875 cc. Height of handles, 0.22.

7. Knidian jar of the latter second century B.C. Agora SS 3219, from Section OE, cistern to the west of the Bouleuterion. The stamp, not illustrated, reads [ΕΠΙ Δ]ΙΟΚΛΕΥΣ | ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ. The same stamp is applied to both handles, left and right.

Measurements of jar: height, 0.95; diameter, 0.337; capacity, 29 liters, 875 cc. Height of handles, 0.305. A line incised before firing partly encircles the neck at 0.05 below the rim (on the unphotographed side of the jar).

8. Koan jar of about 200 B.C. (?). Agora SS 8214, from Section ΑΛ, well at 97/T, the deposit in which were found a large number of infant skeletons (see *Hesperia*, XIV, 1945, p. 311). The well was apparently filled with rubbish from the destruction by Sulla in 87 B.C., but there were included large fragments of Knidian jars to be dated not far from 200. For the stamp, see Pl. 20, 10.

Measurements of jar: height, 0.785; diameter, 0.45; capacity, 44 liters, 175 cc. Height of handles, 0.19.

Rim, profile of handle, peg toe, and shape of body, somewhat resemble the same elements in Rhodian jars, but in SS 8214 the top is disproportionately small for the huge body, its

capacity being 50%, or more, greater than that of contemporary Rhodian and Knidian jars. There is an offset at the base of the short neck, where it is set on a sort of collar; this feature is still found in much later examples. Many jars of this class were not stamped: Mr. Loukas Benachi, Alexandrian collector, has noticed a large number of unstamped double handles. Ordinarily, one part only of one handle is stamped.

The clay is red or reddish-buff with more or less mica, and sometimes a peppering of dark bits; the surface is often covered with a light coating which seems to be a slip.

9. Knidian jar of the third quarter of the second century B.C. Agora SS 9367, from Section NN, packing to north of tiles in well at 107/IT. For the stamp, see Pl. 20, 11.

Measurements of jar: height, 0.95; diameter, 0.34; capacity, 33 liters, 525 cc. Height of handles, 0.29 and 0.30.

PLATE 20

The stamps are shown at approximately actual size, with the exception of those on the handles 10 and 11, which are somewhat reduced. Items found in Athens (1, 2, 10, 11, 13, 14) were photographed by Alison Frantz. Width and thickness of handles are measured at the stamped part.

1. Mende. Agora SS 6917, from a late filling in Section I.

Dionysus riding an ass. For the type, see particularly Sydney P. Noe, *The Mende (Kaliandra) Hoard, Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, No. 27 (New York, 1926). Note that the bird below the ass's nose on many of the coins is not represented on the stamp; and that the impression is incomplete and slightly doubled by a slip in setting.

The clay is micaceous, and the fabric of the handle in general resembles Thasian. I know of no other example.

2. Thasos under Macedon. Agora SS 6133, from a late filling in Section IIΘ. A left handle.

Above, below, and to left of plough, ΘΑΣΙΩ[N] | ΑΜΦΙΚΛΕΙΔΗΣ | ΕΥ. A plough is one of the subsidiary symbols appearing on coins of Alexander the Great (L. Müller, *Numismatique d'Alexandre le Grand*, Copenhagen, 1855, pl. XVIII, nos. 1280-1285. The name Amphikleides, with the abbreviated patronymic (?), is on record with other devices: ladle, caduceus, and two distinct floral emblems. He was, perhaps, the son of the Εὐαλκείδης 'Αμφικλείδης listed as *theoros* of Thasos in about 350 B.C. (*I.G.*, XII, 8, 278, 66), who was possibly the signatory of the stamp *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 212, no. 12. Note the use of both barred and lunate sigmas.

3. Alexandria Troas. From the University of Cincinnati excavations at Troy. Published by permission of Professor Carl W. Blegen. A left handle.

Above and below grazing horse, ΑΑΕΞΑΝ | ΚΕΦΑΛΙΩΝ. For the type, compare *B. M. C. Troas*, pl. III, 7 and 11.

Relatively broad (0.046 by 0.025), ribbed handle with short, slightly arched top part. Light reddish buff clay, bluer toward core of handle, with some very fine particles of mica. I know of no other example.

4-5. Rhodes: stamps of jar on Pl. 19, 5. See description of Pl. 19.

Left handle: around a rose, ΕΠΙ [ΑΡ]ΧΙ-ΛΑΙΔΑ ΚΑΡΝΕΙΟΥ. Right handle: around a rose, ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΕΥΣ. On the side of this handle, supplementary small stamp with the letter B.

Dating and endorsing names are both independently dated in the early second century B.C. by finding places of other examples. The combination, with the month name Thesmophorios instead of Karneios, occurs on an amphora in the Damascus museum, found in a tomb at Khan el-asal near Aleppo: I owe the information to M. Henri Seyrig.

6. Knidos under Rhodes. Corinth Pottery no. 1808, from the excavations of the American School of Classical Studies, "in 1901 west of

the 'Old Fountain'" (see *A.J.A.*, VII, 1903, pp. 35-36, 10a). Left handle.

Around a rose, ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΕΥΣ. The same type on other handles of Knidian make and clay, Agora SS 2592 and 3238. For another type of Aristokles on Knidian handles, see *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 300 and 302, 6, where he is dated somewhat too early. A third circular Knidian type of his has as device the head and forepaw of a lion, as on coins of Knidos (SS 5688). He is evidently the same man whose name endorses Rhodian jars like Pl. 19, 5; and he may be the father of the "Damokrates son of Aristokles" whose name appears on many Knidian handles (cf. *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 271-272, nos. 204-206) datable probably in the third quarter of the second century B.C.

7. Paros. Corinth 34-1641. Right handle, preserved complete, with most of the neck of the jar attached.

ΠΑΡΙΩΝ. Compare *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 276, no. 220.

The neck, with plain torus rim, is somewhat compressed by the application of the handles. Of the preserved handle, width, thickness and height are 0.029, 0.018, and 0.165; there is a finger impression at the base. Fine, light brown clay, somewhat micaceous.

8. Kolophon. V. G. Alexandria 520 (of a provisional inventory). Permission was given for study by Dr. Adriani in 1939, for publication recently by Dr. Alan Rowe, present director of the Alexandria museum. Right handle. ΗΓΕΚΡΑΤΟΥ | ΚΟΛΟΦΩΝΙΩΝ. Compare Dumont, *op. cit.* in note 28 above, p. 387, 3 and pl. X, 13, with the name Apollonios. See also Nilsson, *op. cit.*, p. 61. Agora SS 2067 is like Dumont's example.

The handle is broad (0.04 by 0.023) with a slight arch. The clay is red with both white and dark inclusions and a buff surface.

9. Paphos. Alexandria 575: see on 8 above. Left handle.

With the two parts of the word separated by a double-axe, ΠΑ ΦΙ. Width and thickness of

handle, 0.033 and 0.022. The stamp is set on the down curve. The clay is a pale buff, pinkish at the core, non-micaceous but with dark inclusions. I know of no other example.

10. Kos. Handle of Pl. 19, 8. See description of Pl. 19. The other handle is unstamped.

Above a club, ΕΚΑ (the alpha inverted). The name is probably Hekataios, as it appears more fully on other double handles one of which is dated by context in the late third century B.C. This name is common on inscriptions of Kos: see the many citations in the index of Paton and Hicks, *op. cit.*, including a restoration on a coin dated 300-200 B.C. (p. 309, no. 76, one of the accompanying symbols being a club).

11. Knidos. Handle of Pl. 19, 9. See description of Pl. 19. Both handles were impressed with the same stamp, as left and right handles. ΕΠΙ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΩ|ΡΟΥ ΑΝΑΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ|ΚΝΙΑΙΟΝ club. (The last three letters of the first name come at the right instead of the left end of the second line in this type.) This is a type known in many examples (over twenty from the Agora), datable probably in the third quarter of the second century B.C.: see *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 194-195, on SS 5527, found in a footing trench of the Hellenistic Metroön; cf. also no. 98 of the handles from Tarsus, in the forthcoming volume of the excavations at Tarsus. For other types endorsed by Anaxandros, see *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 259, nos. 164-167.

12. Crimean Chersonese. Handle of the jar

in Pl. 19, 4. See description of Pl. 19. The other handle is unstamped.

A]NTIBIΩNOΣ|A]ΣΤΥΝΟΜΟΥ. For the type, see Pridik, *op. cit.* in note 12, p. 103, 844. Note the concave surface of the stamp, characteristic of this class, of which only one example is on file from the Agora: SS 8929, naming the *astynomos* Heraklei[tos], the handle datable by context in the fourth to third centuries B.C.

13. Sinope. Pnyx (Athens) AH 35, from a filling of the second century A.D. Left handle.

Eagle and dolphin (coin type of Sinope) in the right end of a stamp, from which the lettered left portion has broken away. B. N. Grakov, in the definitive study of the large group of stamps attributed by him and others to Sinope, assigns the series with this device to his earliest chronological division, late fourth to early third centuries B.C. Cf. *Phil. Woch.*, LIII, 1933, pp. 631 and 634.

14. Byzantine Empire. Pnyx AH 194, from a late filling.

Around a bust of a Byzantine emperor, ΠΤΟΛΑΙΜΕΟΥΣ. Note AI for E, and vice versa. The figure has been compared by Miss Katherine M. Edwards and Miss Margaret Thompson with that on coin types of the seventh century A.D. (Phocas I and Heraclius) but no complete parallel has been found. Unpublished stamps of the same kind are Agora SS 5654, 9085, 9295, 9434.

The handle is rather broad and distinctly ribbed; the clay is fine, micaceous and sandy, reddish buff with a large red core.

VIRGINIA GRACE

ADDENDUM

Recently, fragments of jars (unstamped) of the double-handled type attributed to Kos (see pp. 181, 186, and 188 above) have been reported from a settlement in southeast India with Roman pottery: see R. E. M. Wheeler, "Arikamedu: an Indo-Roman Trading Station on the East Coast of India," *Ancient India*, 2, 1946, pp. 16-124, particularly pp. 41-45 with Figs. 9-11. I owe the reference to M. Henri Seyrig. Included among the fragments are some (cf. No. 56) which show a lower sharp offset at the base of the sloping shoulder, found also in Maiuri's jar (*op. cit.* in note 27 above, the drawing on his page 246), but not, to my knowledge, on Hellenistic examples. The upper offset, at the base of the straight neck, seems to be characteristic at all periods.

Some fragments of small double handles are of Rhodian clay, and it is not entirely certain that all the rest were made in one place, although the long period of production would probably account for observed differences in fabric. The description of the clay on p. 186 above is general for the class. It should be noted that in this particular example, Agora SS 8214, there are dark bits but little or no mica; and beside the remains of a light slip, there are grey smears round the mouth and upper handle attachments from a wash used inside.

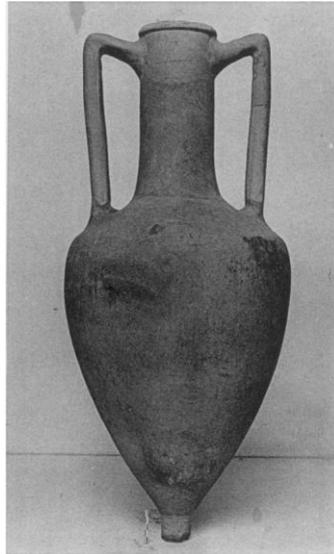
V. G.



1-3. Handling a Pointed Amphora



4. Chersonesian



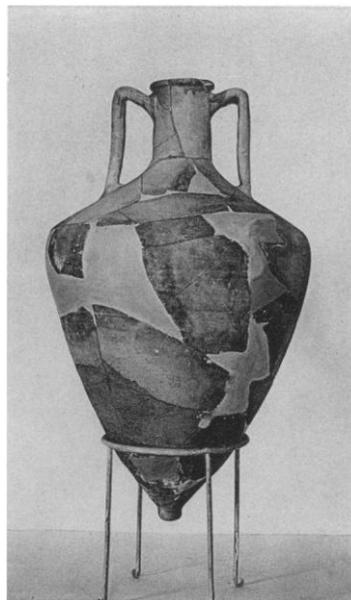
5. Rhodian



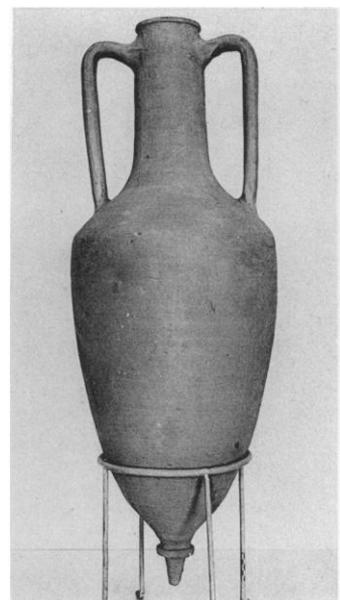
6. Thasian



7. Knidian



8. Koan



9. Knidian

V. GRACE: STANDARD POTTERY CONTAINERS OF THE ANCIENT GREEK WORLD



1. Mende



2. Thasos under Macedon



3. Alexandria Troas



4-5. Rhodes: Stamps of Jar on Plate 19, 5



6. Knidos under Rhodes



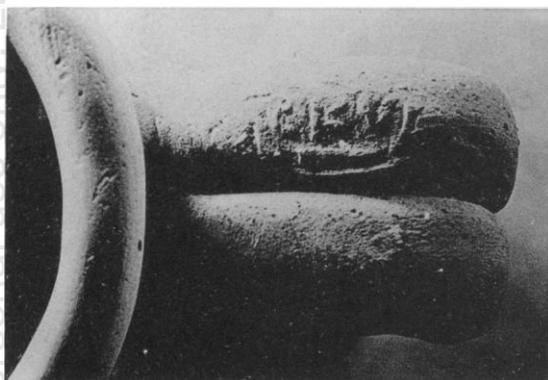
7. Paros



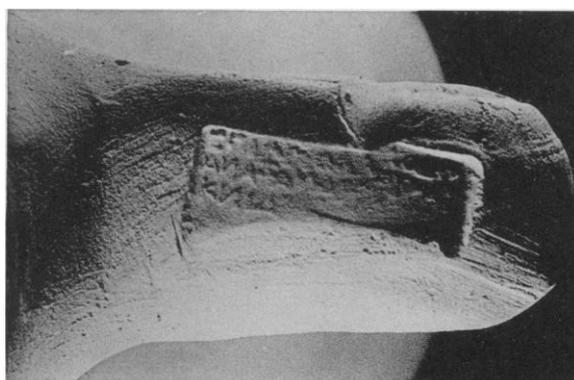
8. Kolophon



9. Paphos



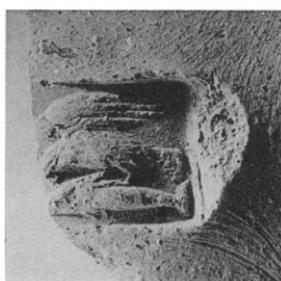
10. Kos: Handle of Jar on Plate 19, 8



11. Knidos: Handle of Jar on Plate 19, 9



12. Crimean Chersonese: Handle of Plate 19, 4



13. Sinope



14. Byzantine Empire

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The Interior Colonnade of the Hephaisteion

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Reviewed work(s):

Source: *Hesperia Supplements*, Vol. 8, Commemorative Studies in Honor of Theodore Leslie Shear (1949), pp. 190-208+457

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THE INTERIOR COLONNADE OF THE HEPHAISTEION

(PLATE 21)

THE foundations for an interior colonnade in the Hephaisteion, first seen in 1939 in the course of systematic exploration within the temple, show that the columns were ranged very near the side walls and returned across the cella in a line somewhat less close to the rear wall, the edge of the stylobate, presumably raised a few centimeters above the general floor level, having been 1.205/1.235 m. from the south wall plane (and so also from the north) and a maximum of 1.935 m. from the west. Thus, since the cella is 12.145 m. long and 6.23 m. wide between wall planes, the floor of the nave as limited by the stylobate of the colonnade measured 3.76/3.82 m. in width by about 10.21/10.32 m. in length (without allowing for the inward projection of the east threshold).

The relatively great height of the cella—7.058 m. from base to crown of the well-preserved walls—made obvious that the colonnade is to be restored in two ranks; and one block of the upper epistyle has been identified among the ancient material recovered in 1936 from the Byzantine and modern east wall of the pronaos. It is 0.514 m. wide, 0.409 high, cut to a square joint at one end and to an irregular, jogged joint at the other, where a tongue 0.257 m. wide has been broken off, leaving the block now 1.425 m. long over all. One polished face, severely plain, preserves its full length of 1.296 m.; the other, crowned by a simple taenia 0.097 m. high projecting 0.011 m., is preserved for 1.335 m. and was presumably of the full length of the block.¹

On the basis of these facts, which I have drawn from the detailed presentation in W. B. Dinsmoor's *Observations on the Hephaisteion (Hesperia, Supplement V, 1941)*, pp. 65-82, the colonnade was at first restored with seven columns along the sides and four across the rear at axial distances of *ca.* 1.55 m., as appears in the general Plan of the Agora by J. Travlos which accompanies Professor Shear's report on the Campaign of 1939 (*Hesperia*, IX, 1940, plate I, pp. 305 and 308). As will be seen below, I believe this earlier restoration substantially correct and to be preferred to that actually adopted and shown in figures 34 and 35, pp. 86 f. of *Observations*, where five columns stand at the sides and three in the rear row.

In both restorations the distance of the first lateral column from the east wall was determined by placing the extant architrave block with its square end on the

¹ The block was built into the southeast corner of the northern pier of the arch constructed to replace the columns of the pronaos when these were removed. It stood with its plain face to S. and soffit to E. (Cf. sketch in Orlandos' *Ἀρχαίον Βυζαντινῶν Μνημείων*, II, 1936, p. 211, fig. 10).

It seems possible that the scars largely concentrated on the upper part of the plain face of the block (Fig. 1) may remain from the chiseling-off of a crown moulding like in height to the taenia on the other face—though in that case the re-users' carefulness seems for their time beyond readily found parallel.

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column and its jogged end bonded into the wall. This arrangement has, however, not passed unchallenged. In an article entitled "Notes on the Interior of the Hephaisteion" (*Hesperia*, XIV, 1945, pp. 246 ff.) O. Broneer urges strong objections to the unusual joint made with the wall by the stepped-back end of the epistylion, and advocates turning the block about and placing its irregular end upon the column and the square end against the wall, restoring an anta there to support it.

Between these two conflicting views a reasonable compromise may be proposed, accepting half of each in principle: namely, that the square end of the block rested on a column, not against the wall; and that the jogged end was not housed in the wall, but it too rested on a column. That is, the lone surviving architrave block would give us the standard intercolumniation, not simply the offset of the first column from the east wall. In order to test this happy solution, we must examine the epistylion and the conditions of its placing somewhat in detail.²

That the block was an epistylion is shown conclusively by the treatment of its under surface, which was polished to be seen from below except toward the ends where it was lightly roughened (with a toothed chisel) the better to grip the support on which it was to rest. This bearing surface extends 0.235 m. from the right end of the block and not quite to its edges. The shifting notch and dowel hole seen at this end (Fig. 1) show that the block was adjusted and anchored before the one next at the right was set. The latter, adjusted in part by the help of the fulcrum notch at the top of our block, was secured to it by the double-T clamps for which the cuttings are seen at either side of the notch. The normal inference from all this is that the two blocks met over a column, each occupying half of the space available on the capital.

The objection has been raised, however, in *Hesperia*, XIV, 1945, p. 248, that the bearing surface of only 0.235 m. is too narrow for an abacus that must have been about 0.60 m. square to suit the epistyle 0.514 m. wide. The point is not well taken; and is in fact conclusively answered on page 249 of the same article, where figure 1 shows the left end of the block restored to reach the middle of the abacus, though the bearing surface would thus be even narrower than the 0.235 m. found too narrow at the right end.³ The fact is that, while in general the prepared bearing surface of the epistyle need not be taken to define precisely the (slightly raised) bed made for it on

² For convenience, and to avoid undue repetition of descriptive phrases, the square end of the block is in this paper designated as the right end and the jogged end as the left, without prejudice to the claim of either face to be the front. As it happens, this designation suits not only Fig. 1 here, but also both fig. 33, p. 82, of *Observations* and fig. 1, p. 249, of *Hesperia*, XIV, 1945. The courses of the walls of the Hephaisteion are referred to in this paper by the numbers given them in *Observations*, the wall-base being course II, the orthostate III, the highest regular course XVI, and the wall-crown XVII. The word epistylion is used in its strict sense of a single epistyle block.

³ The bearing surface at the left, of which only about 0.03 m. remains, begins at ca. 1.33 m. from the right end of the block. The full length as restored in this drawing is 1.553 m., that is, the exposed length (1.296 m.) plus one-half the width (0.257 m.), it being assumed that the architraves meeting on the capital would be of equal width. The prepared bearing surface would thus measure 0.223 m. (1.553 m.-1.33 m.).

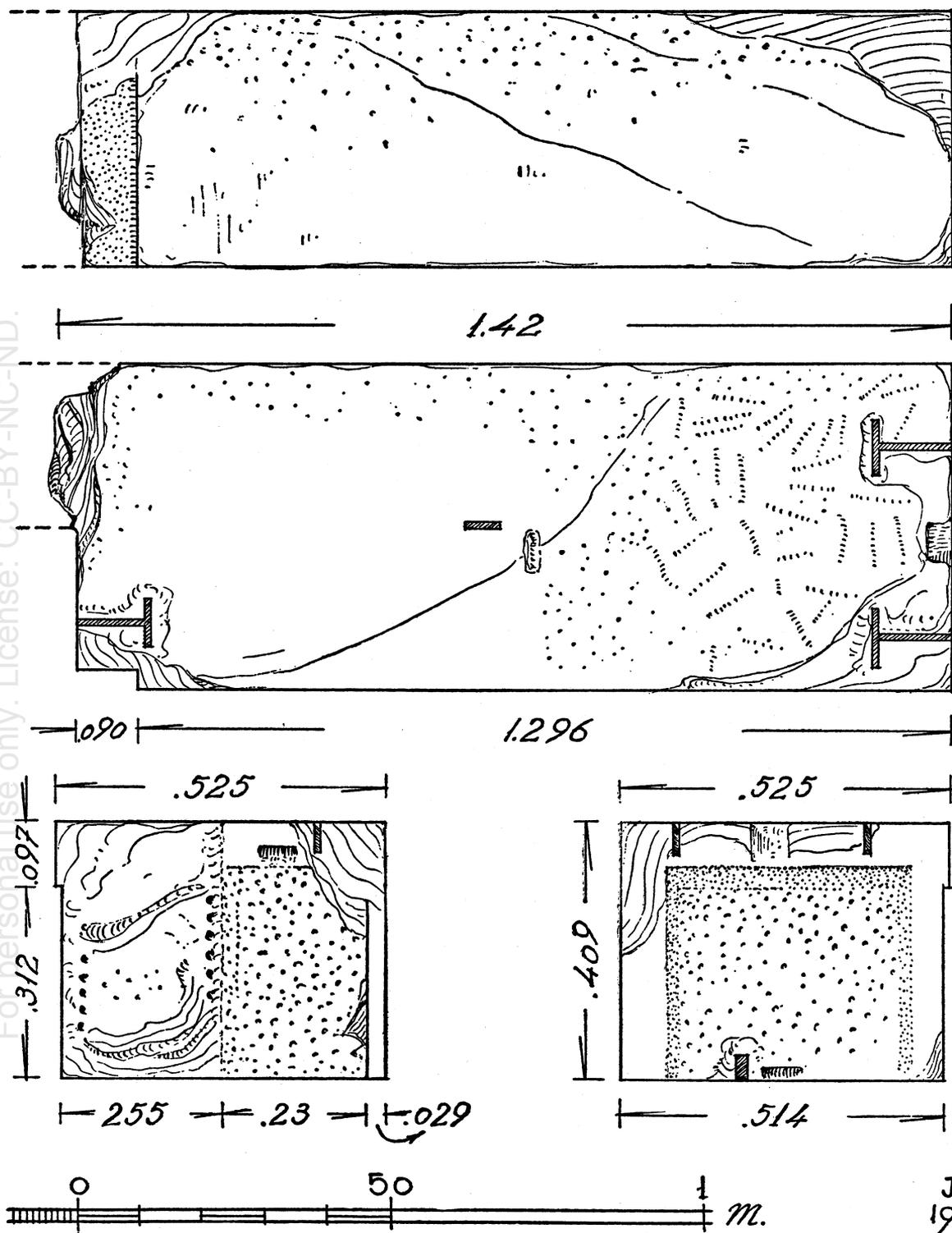


Fig. 1. Details of Surviving Interior Epistyle Block of Hephaisteion

J.T.
1946

the capital, in the present case the bed may well have been 0.47 m. square and was certainly not more than 0.49 m. square (which would leave margins of only 0.012 m. relieved from contact with the abacus). There is, then, no sound reason against setting the right end of the epistylon in its natural place upon a column capital.

Alternatively, it might also—so far as the dressing of its soffit is concerned—be set upon an anta capital of appropriate dimensions, as Broneer proposes. If we accept this arrangement, however, we must suppose that the wall block against which

the epistylon would abut was laid after it and helped into place by use of the fulcrum notch on the epistylon, instead of being adjusted from its own two ends in the normal way.⁴ This is of course most improbable, as Dinsmoor points out in *Hesperia*, XIV, 1945, pp. 364 f.

A third position of the epistylon—consistent with the evidence of the bearing surface, with no anta and with the right end of the block set 0.25 m. or 0.30 m. into the wall—is even less possible than that just considered. For there would be no use for the existing shift and clamp cuttings. The former should not be present at all, and the latter should be at the sides rather than at the end of the block since the space between it and the back of the wall crown and ceiling of the pronaos (both quite different in height from the interior epistyle) would be no more than 0.15 m. or 0.20 m.—enough only for a filler (if that seemed desirable), to which the end of the epistyle would certainly not be bound with two double-T clamps (see Fig. 2). The conclusion is certain: the right end of the extant architrave block was laid neither in nor against the east wall, but can be placed only in its natural position on the left half of a column capital.

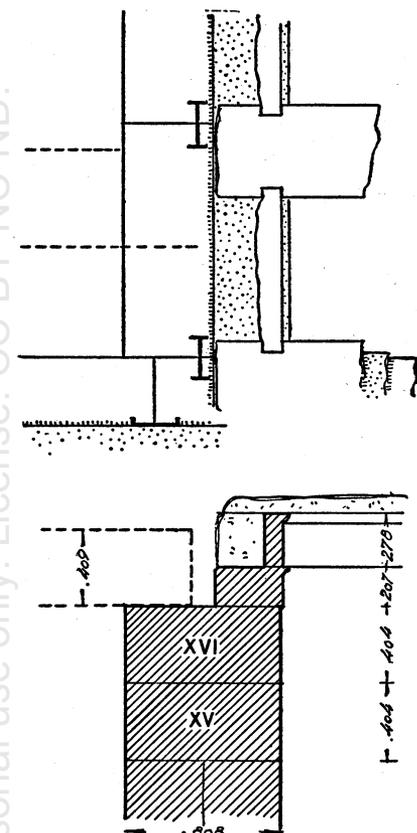


Fig. 2. Plan and Section of Upper Part of South End of East Wall. Restored⁵

What of the other end of the block? Was it bonded into the wall? If so, its plainer face fitted closely against that of the wall for 0.029 m. or a little less, while the other face, with its taenia, entered into the wall,

⁴ For a clear explanation of the use of shifting holes see G. P. Stevens, *The Erechtheum*, p. 191, fig. 117, or his drawing in Fowler and Wheeler, *Greek Archaeology*, p. 104, fig. 59.

⁵ For this reconstruction we have one block of course XVI (see note 15), on which the bed 0.42 m. wide for the outer epikranitis can be traced; two long pieces of this epikranitis (one seen in Plate 21, 4), which show the breadth and spacing of the pronaos ceiling beams; and two fragments of beams broken at both ends but preserving their cross section. Except the longer epikranitis all these blocks lie in the cella.

which would have been cut out to match. The prolongation of the taenia conforms to the regular practice in the temple, as seen at all six junctions of the architraves with the walls of the pronaos and opisthodomos. But in other respects the joint would be abnormal: with the bearing of the epistyle on the wall 0.25/0.40 m. for half its width (0.257 m.), then 0.074/0.090 m. for 0.228 m. and finally nothing at all for 0.029 m. So strange a joint is extremely difficult to accept without cogent reason. The reason actually suggested (*Observations*, pp. 80 ff.) is that the irregular form satisfies the jointing requirements of the east wall. Now, as will be seen from Fig. 2, which gives a plan and section of the south part of the top of the wall, as it may be restored with certainty, the shape of the end of the epistyle need neither affect, nor be affected by, the jointing system of the wall. On the west side, the visible joints will be exactly the same whatever the hidden shape of the epistylon. On the east side, course XVII was the wall crown, which nowhere in the building takes account of the jointing system below. Here it supported the marble ceiling beams and interbeams of the pronaos, and neither it nor they can have affected the position or form of the interior architraves (cf. Fig. 8).

Having found that nothing in the east wall would explain the peculiar form of the left end of the extant epistylon, we might at this point justifiably conclude that it was not inserted in the wall, and must therefore have rested on a column. But the case against lodging it in the wall might perhaps be a little weakened if the one joint cited as analogous (*Observations*, p. 83 and fig. 32e) were a real parallel. This is at the junction of the east and north walls, where the socket in the latter that received course XIII of the former is 0.06 m. deep in its western half and 0.28 m. in the eastern (Fig. 3). A single block fitting there would make a joint almost like that we have been considering (but lacking the 0.029 rabbet)—a joint nearly as unsymmetrical and equally without ascertainable reason.

There is, however, nothing to show that only one block entered the socket, and the natural inference from its form is that it was cut to allow for two blocks, each of half the thickness of the east wall, bonding unequally into the north wall. Why there should be two blocks in the thickness of the cross-wall here may be readily conjectured. Course XIII ranged with the lintel of the great east door, since this cannot have been lower than courses XII-XIII, and was most probably at XIII-XIV, that is, at the level of the pronaos epistyle, just as in the Parthenon the lintel of the west door ranges with the architrave of the posticum. The lintel here must have been of two blocks, two courses high and each half as thick as the wall; and it may well have been found convenient to complete the course in the same manner. In that case the blocks, 0.84 m. high and 0.404 thick, reaching from the lintel to the side walls, would be clamped only at the top of course XIV, and we should have an explanation of the absence of clamps for course XIII of the cross-wall at both its north and south ends, though they appear in every course below (III-XII).

Even if the explanation here suggested of the peculiarities of course XIII at

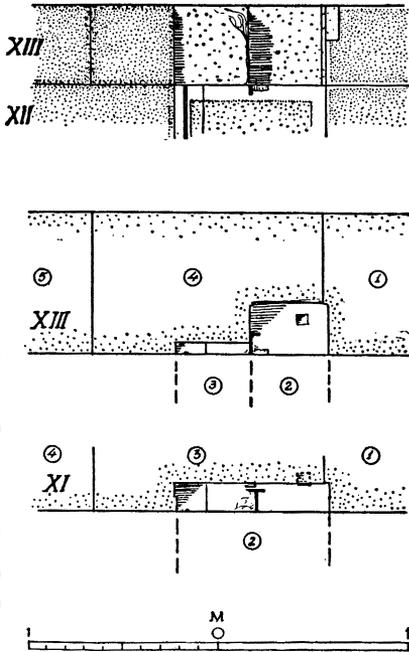


Fig. 3. North Wall at Junction with East Wall. Elevation of Course XIII. Plans of Courses XIII and XI⁶

this is a regular 135° miter extending to the center of the capital, while in ours the joint makes two right-angle turns to reach the same point. Thus the appeal to analogy tends, not to confirm the housing of the irregular left end of our block in the wall, but strongly to favor assigning it to an angle over a column.

The conclusion from this perhaps unduly protracted inquiry is, therefore, that neither end of the surviving interior architrave block was connected with the east wall,

⁶ This figure shows the condition, after the mediaeval filling had been removed, of the socket cut in the north wall for course XIII of the cross-wall. The T-clamps found in the top of all the courses below to hold blocks of the cross-wall are here lacking (as proved to be the case also in course XIII of the south wall when the socket there was cleared). The unusually well-cut pry hole in the east part of the floor of the socket (top of XII), evidently used in setting the wall block next east, shows that this was in place before the adjacent block of the cross-wall (as would of course have been assumed in any case). An exactly similar cutting in course X (see the third drawing in this figure) had obviously the same purpose, and here, fortunately, may be seen at the back of the socket under the edge of XI an ordinary pry hole that can have been used only in setting the intrusive east wall block. We thus have the certain sequence:—E. block of N. wall, N. block of E. wall, W. block of N. wall—and we need not doubt that this was the order regularly in the odd numbered courses. In the drawing the sequence is indicated by the numbers (1), (2), etc. In the even numbered courses, shifting notches in the side wall blocks show that these were laid before the abutting blocks of the cross-wall.

the northeast corner of the cella is not accepted in all details, it is evident that the joint there affords no sure analogy for the jogged end of our epistylon; and in any case it would leave out of account the rabbet 0.029 m. deep, which is an important, or at least a marked, feature of the block. For this the closest analogy is to be found at the inner angles of the architrave of the peristyle, where, instead of meeting in the usual (almost universal) mitered joint, one of the two adjacent blocks fits into a rabbet cut in the other, so that at their junction the latter overlaps the former by 0.022/0.031 m. (Fig. 4). Substitute 0.029 m. for 0.022/0.031 m., and this description—which is of epistylia meeting at right angles over columns—will obviously suit the joint at the left end of our block. Though the exact correspondence does not go beyond the shallow rabbet, the principle is the same: to have a square joint at the visible surface even when conditions may require another form for the actual junction. In the peristyle architrave

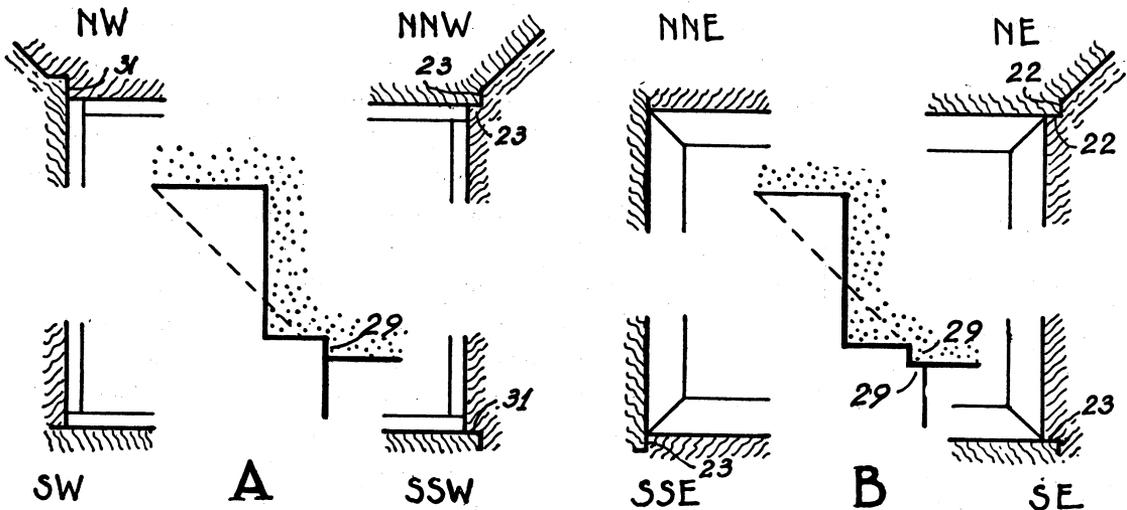


Fig. 4. Plans of Inner Angles of Architrave of Peristyle

NW—SE: At the Four Corners. NNW—SSE: Over Third Column from East ⁷

A-B: Joint of Interior Architrave Compared with Typical Angle of Peristyle ⁸

and so each must by exclusion be set on one of the columns, where in fact it finds its perfectly natural place. At the right, the epistylon shares a capital equally with another block that carries the architrave on in the same direction; at the left, it shares a capital unequally with a second block meeting it at right angles, and possibly also with a third block continuing its line. If there were three blocks they would meet as shown in Fig. 5 C, if two, as shown in Fig. 5 A or B (or A' or B'). In both cases the axial distance indicated would be either 1.553 m. or 1.524 m.—the length of the shorter face of the epistylon (1.296 m. or 1.267 m.) increased by half the breadth of its soffit (0.257 m.)—, the difference of 0.029 m. between A and B being due to the difference in the possible shape of the block restored to adjoin the surviving epistylon (Fig. 4, A and B). Conformably to the example of the angles of the architrave of the peristyle, the existing interior epistylon may either have overlapped the adjacent block by 0.029 m., as seen in Fig. 5, A and A', or it may have itself been overlapped by that block, as shown in Fig. 5, B and B'. Concrete evidence is lacking for a

⁷ The crown of the epistyle backers is here indicated in light outline. In the east portico, being a moulding of curved profile, it is mitered at the corners; elsewhere the plain taenia makes always a square joint.

⁸ A and B show the two forms, either of which the joint at the left end of our epistylon might have had in due conformity with the example of the angles of the peristyle. Which form it actually had might be determined by identification of a suitable fragment of the block that matched ours, or by detection of sure traces of the overlap of that block on the face of ours. These have been looked for, under conditions none too favorable, without result; but their proved absence would not be decisive against B, since the overlap might have left no mark (as in not a few cases where contact is nevertheless certain).

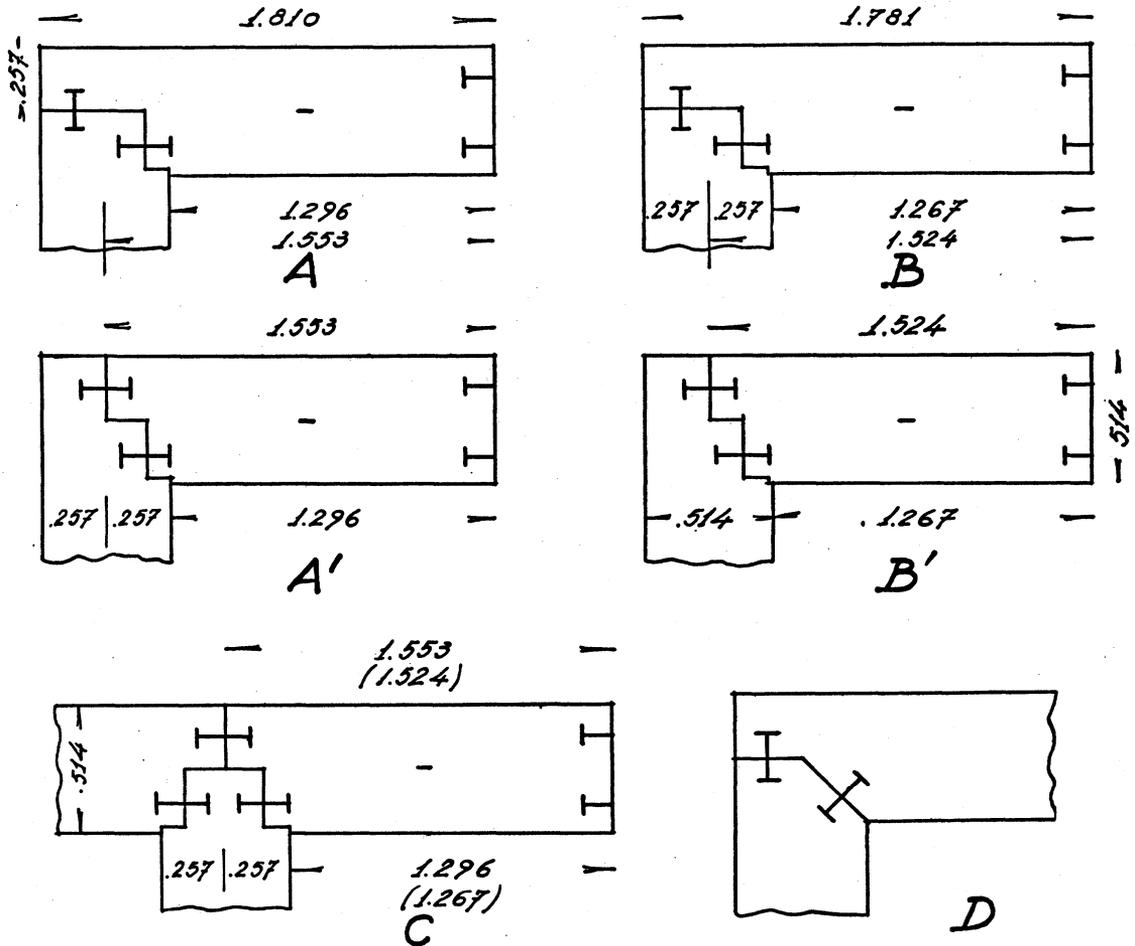


Fig. 5. A-C: Variant Restorations of Interior Epistylon and Adjacent Blocks
 D: Normal Form of Joint at Corners of an Architrave⁹

⁹ In A, A' and C, the joint is restored as in Fig. 4 A; in B and B' it has the somewhat less simple, but equally possible, form of Fig. 4 B, which would indicate an axial distance 0.029 shorter than the other. (It seems unnecessary to show the shorter form of C.) C is the form of joint proposed by Broneer, *Hesperia*, XIV, pp. 248 f. A (A') was first suggested to me by C. W. Blegen (as he will doubtless not recall). The alternatives A and A' (and B and B') differ only in the restoration of the tongue at the left end of the block, A extending it to the outer corner of the architrave, A' (like C) carrying it to the middle of the capital. There are two considerations in favor of A. It divides the space occupied on the capital (which must be unequally shared at best, given the requirement that the outer joint be in an axis of the capital) more equitably—roughly 58:42 (A) against 33:67 (A')—and it better explains the obvious care taken in breaking off the tongue. For the vertical rows of drilled holes at its root (*Observations*, p. 79, note 172) indicate that the tongue was not simply to be got rid of, but was itself to be usable: and a marble block measuring 39 × 41 × 26 cm., with four good surfaces, is more likely to have been thought worth saving than one measuring 13 × 41 × 26 cm., with three good surfaces. The reasons stated for preferring A to A' would hold also for B against B', though in slightly different degree.

sure choice between the two forms of the joint, and we must for the present be content to accept either as possible, making the axial distance either 1.553 m. or 1.524 m.

As stated above, page 190, the face of the stylobate of the colonnade measured about 10.21/10.32 m. by 3.76/3.82 m.—or, more exactly, 3.81 m., corresponding with the length of the threshold of the east door (*Observations*, p. 90). The axial rectangle would then be some 10.57/10.73 m. by 4.53/4.61 m., if we reckon the centers of the columns set back reasonably in proportion to the interaxis—some 0.36/0.40 m., let us say (radius 0.31/0.33 m.). There is good evidence that the actual length of the axial rectangle was 10.672 m., for at that distance from the east wall a vertical line engraved on the north wall-base almost certainly marks the axis of the rear colonnade (*Observations*, p. 91). The axial distance being 1.553/1.524 m., there would be seven columns on each side, with the center of the first column 1.354/1.528 m. from the east wall, and four columns across the rear, with probable interaxis 1.524 m. (making the width of the axial rectangle 4.572 m.).¹⁰ The position of the columns is thus fixed within very narrow limits, and we may proceed to consider the exact place of the surviving architrave block.

The sixteen theoretically possible positions of the block are shown diagrammatically in Fig. 6 (where Cn and Cs each represents one of the five places to which the block might be assigned in the north and south colonnades, respectively). With the block at A, A', B or B', the epistyle would be connected with the east wall only; if the block were at E or in one of the positions represented by Cn or Cs, certain columns

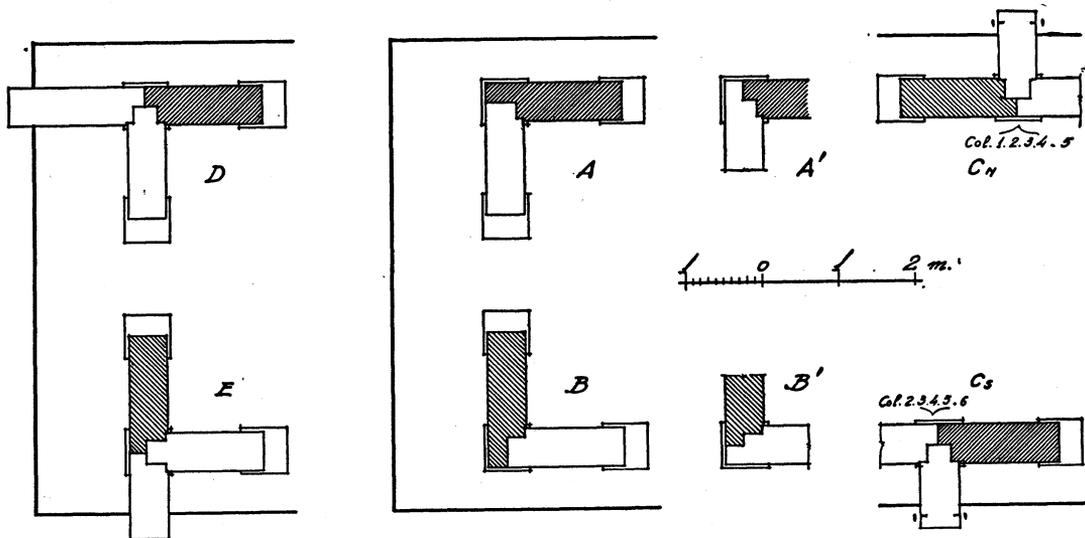


Fig. 6. Theoretically Possible Positions in Cella of Extant Upper Epistylon

¹⁰ The longer of the indicated alternative interaxes, making the width of the axial rectangle 4.66 m. and setting the centers of the columns back 0.425 m. from the face of the stylobate, is clearly excessive, while 1.524 m. is reasonable. If modified at all it should be lessened.

would be bound to the side walls by short epistylia, if at D the lateral architraves would extend to the west wall.

It may be accepted as certain that the upper epistyle ranged either with the top-most regular course, XVI (which it is like in height), or with course XVII (the wall crown everywhere except in the cella, where it is missing), to which it is assigned in both *Observations*, pp. 83-85, and *Hesperia*, XIV, p. 248.¹¹ If it was bound to the walls at either level, evidence of the fact would surely appear in course XVI, which

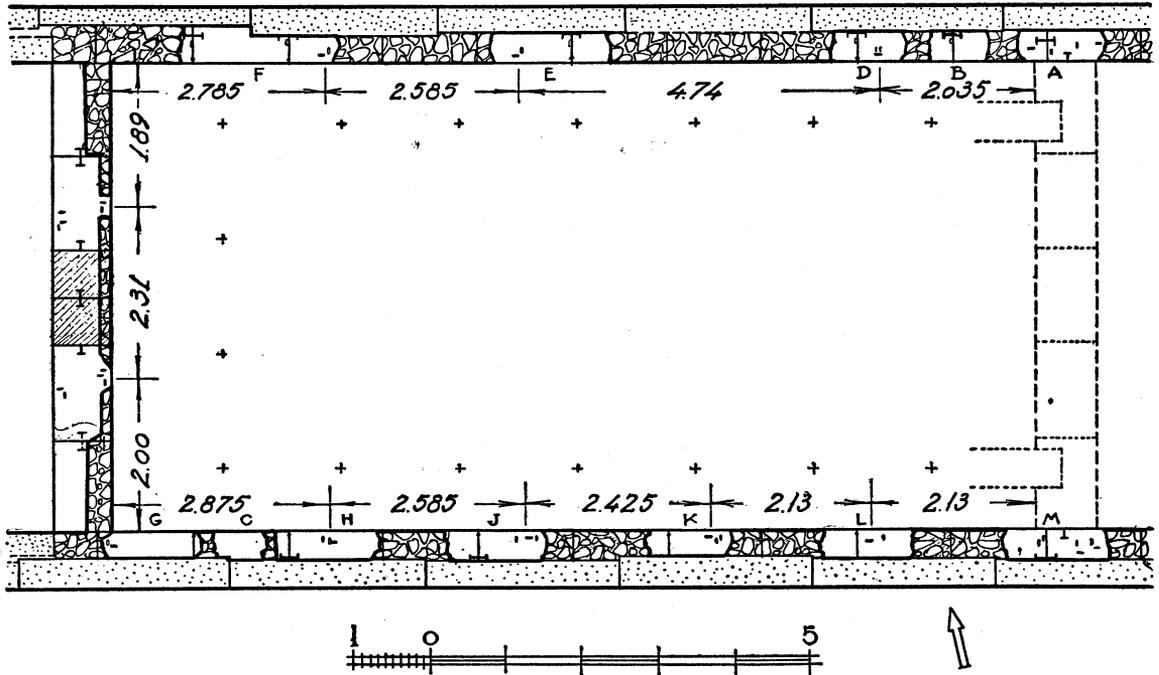


Fig. 7. Plan of Top of Course XVI of Cella Walls as Seen in 1939 and 1946

is well preserved; for architrave binders at XVII would have left sure traces in dowel and pry holes in the top of XVI, while at the level of XVI itself the binders would have been housed in sockets cut into its face.

The inner half of the top of course XVI of the side walls of the cella was temporarily uncovered (at three points in 1939 and at nine points in 1946), in narrow pits 0.70 m. to 2.00 m. long (average 1.10 m.) sunk through the masonry gutter of the mediaeval-modern roof (Fig. 7).¹² In these pits the inner edge of XVI was found

¹¹ Course XV also is considered in *Observations*, by way of making the argument complete, because its height agrees with that of the epistyle; but it is rightly rejected (p. 83).

¹² For permission to open these small pits and to remove the modern filling from the west door of the "Theseum" thanks are due to the Archaeological Council of the Department of Antiquities, represented in this case by Dr. J. Meliades and Professor A. K. Orlandos. The labor required—

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admirably preserved (Plate 21, 1-3), and it can be stated positively that no socket was cut in this course at the points required for binding columns to the wall. And on the top of XVI there is no indication of binders where traces should quite certainly appear;¹³ but on the contrary dowel and pry holes show an actual jointing of course XVII wholly incompatible with the existence of architraves connecting any of the columns with the lateral walls. This is true also of the west wall where like evidence indicates that XVII was composed of three long blocks, and course XVI, which is visible from within the temple, has no socket for the architrave shown at D.¹⁴ All the theoretically possible positions of the extant epistylon involving connection of the upper architrave with the side or rear walls—Cn, Cs, D, and E, in Figure 6—must thus be rejected, and only A and B (or the variants A' and B') remain to be considered.

At the southwest corner (Fig. 6, B) the block can be restored only as in Fig. 5 B (or B'); at the northwest (Fig. 6, A) it might be either as in Fig. 5 B (or B') or as in Fig. 5 A (or A'), the former being perhaps preferable since it would make the interaxis at the sides and at the rear identical (1.524 m.). Since the shift notches and dowel hole in our block show that it was laid from left to right, at whichever west corner the block was placed the northern epistylia must have been laid from west to east; if it was at the southwest corner the western row was laid from south to north. For the order of laying the southern architrave we have no evidence: west to east is perhaps a fair conjecture, since the whole architrave would then be laid in the same direction as courses XVI and XVII on the nearest walls, and it was certainly at the level of one of these two courses, as has been stated above and is indeed obvious.

The reasons found for rejecting the extant architrave block from connection with the east wall do not hold against restoring a suitable epistylon entering the wall full width and laid, doweled and clamped in its proper turn: that is, after the wall block

usually of one man—was supplied from the limited force in the Agora by the Director, Professor H. A. Thompson, under whose instructions the foreman, Sophokles Lekkas, saw that I had ladders and ropes and willing hands as needed. Photographs were made by Alison Frantz and Rodney Young, and the several pits were plotted for the Agora Excavations files by J. Travlos. The masonry through which we cut is unlike that of the vaulted ceiling which was evidently in contact with the side walls at courses XIV, XV, and XVI, and did not grip the top of XVI. In fact this course, with outer XVII, has at many points moved 0.01 m. to 0.025 m. away from the vault.

¹³ It is obvious that any connections of the lateral columns with the walls would have been symmetrical. Thus we might suppose that columns 1, 3, 5 and 7, or 2, 4 and 6, or, less plausibly 2 and 5, or even 4 alone on each side were bound to the wall. It is obvious, furthermore, that if even one member of a group was not connected with the wall then the whole group must be rejected. Course XVI was cleared thoroughly over against columns 7 and 4 on the north side, and 6 and 3 on the south, and sufficiently, opposite 5 on the south, without the slightest trace of any connection of a column with the wall at either XVI or XVII being found. Cn, Cs and E are therefore excluded.

¹⁴ It was not feasible to examine the top of XVI of the west wall opposite either of the corner columns, and such examination would of course have been labor lost, for there is no likelihood that the upper architrave continued to the west wall, inasmuch as the lower one did not (*Observations*, pp. 77 f.).

next south of it, since courses XVI and XVII were both laid from south to north.¹⁵ There is no difficulty in adjusting the epistyle to either of these courses. At XVII there was no connection at all between the outside and the inside of the wall (Figs. 2 and 8 B). At XVI, where the thickness of the wall was taken up by a single block, the architect may have been careful to have all five joints across the top of the pronaos precisely equidistant, or he may have let the end blocks be a little shorter than the other

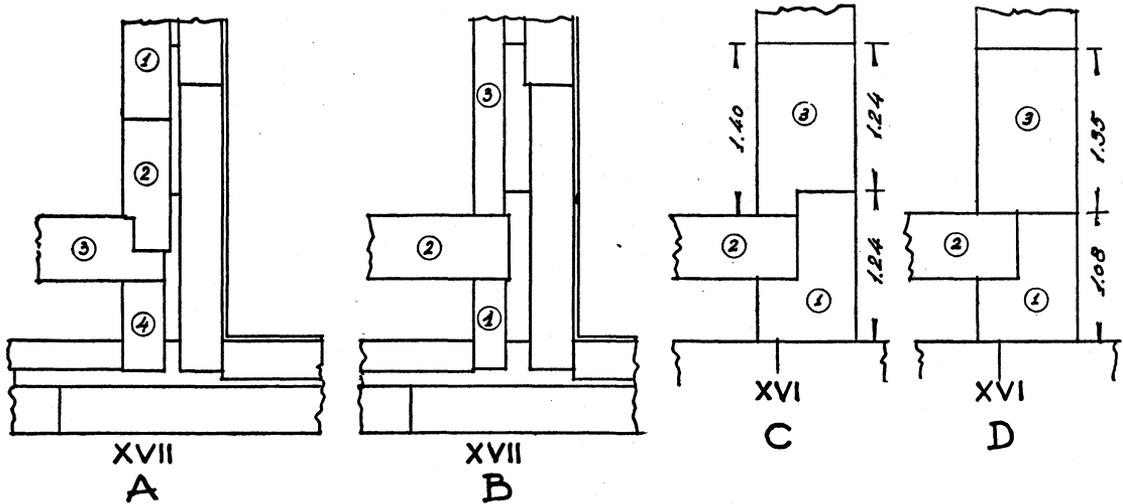


Fig. 8. Variant Plans of Junction of Upper Epistyle with East Wall, Restored. A and B: at Course XVII (A as proposed in *Observations*, fig. 33 and p. 84). C and D: at Course XVI

three. The possible arrangements are shown in Figure 8, C and D: In defense of the simpler of these it may be remarked that any small irregularity in XVI of the pronaos would hardly be noticed in view of the fact that the jointing of the course above (the epikranitis) had no relation at all to it, and so much of the wall was occupied by the great east doorway that there was no jointing system below to which it need conform.¹⁶

¹⁵ This is shown, for XVII, by the dowel and pry hole on XVI of the north wall at the north-east corner of the cella (*Observations*, fig. 33 and p. 83); and for XVI, by the dowel and shift cutting at the north end of the one identified block from that course of the east wall. Its width, 0.808 m., and the stippled panels on both faces, show that it is from the east wall; its height, 0.403/0.405 m., that it is from either course XV or course XVI; the bed cut in the top for two blocks back to back (i. e., the outer and inner blocks of XVII) shows that it is from XVI. The state of the borders of the stippled panels enables us to distinguish the face toward the pronaos (border intact) from that toward the cella (border picked), and so to determine that the end preserving the dowel and shift cuttings was the north end of the block. The other end has been broken away roughly leaving the present length of the block ca. 0.87 m.

¹⁶ In the west wall, which had no doorway, the jointing is very regular, five full-length blocks in the even courses, two of half length and four regular in the odd courses, the former abutting against the side walls, the latter bonded into them somewhat.

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Thus far there is in its adjustment to the east wall no valid reason for preferring XVII to XVI or XVI to XVII, as the level of the upper epistyle, apart from the presumption due to its correspondence in height with course XVI. Let us, then, consider XVII further. The examination of the inner half of the top of course XVI of the cella walls, recorded above, p. 199, showed that course XVII there consisted of five long blocks on each side of the cella and of three at the west end (Fig. 7). The laying of the course, which began either with the middle block on the south or with that next west of it,¹⁷ proceeded westward, then northward (the full length of the first block on the west wall being *ca.* 2.30 m., as it overlapped the southern series, and that of the third similarly *ca.* 2.15 m.), then eastward to the northeast corner of the cella. On the eastern part of the south wall two (or three?) blocks were laid from west to east; and the order on the east wall was south to north. The thirteen blocks traced on the three walls examined averaged *ca.* 2.38 m. in length and were relatively narrow—some of them very narrow, to judge by the position of the dowels (three only 0.09 m., and two 0.11 m. back from the face of the wall) and from the bed only 0.270/0.275 m. wide cut for the third and fourth blocks on the north wall.

It would without question be most natural to suppose these blocks to have been like those of the same course everywhere else in the temple, where it forms the epikranitis composed of long narrow blocks 0.207 m. high, with plain polished fascia crowned by a hawksbeak moulding 0.035/0.037 m. in height and projection (L. T. Shoe, *Profiles of Greek Mouldings*, pl. LXI-1).¹⁸ If course XVII is restored thus, the upper epistyle will range with XVI, as would also be very natural in view of their correspondence in height (epistylon 0.409 m., average of course XVI 0.404 m.—*Observations*, p. 74).

If, however, the upper epistyle is to be placed at XVII the two short blocks of that course at the ends of the east wall and the thirteen long narrow ones on the other three sides of the cella would have the same height (0.409 m.) and profile (with taenia 0.097 m. wide) as the epistyle, since the ceiling would rest directly upon it and them, and they would take the place of the epikranitis, with the taenia serving as a very plain crowning moulding instead of the usual hawksbeak. This is possible, though blocks 0.409 m. high might have been expected to be considerably thicker, and perhaps some-

¹⁷ It is impossible to state positively which of these two blocks was the first one laid, since there is no certain indication (in a setting line or weathering, for example) as to which of the two pry holes at the western joint of the middle block was actually used. If it was the one west of the dowel (the nearer one in the photograph, Plate 21, 1) the dowel held the middle block and the farther pry hole was covered unused; if, on the contrary, that pry hole was used, the western block was held by the dowel. As this block was doweled at its west end and the middle block at its east end, that which had the dowel we see was doweled at both ends and was the first block laid. In the plan Fig. 7, I have preferred to start with the middle block; if it was not the first, the distances 2.585 m. and 2.425 m. are to be changed to 2.63 m. and 2.38 m. respectively.

¹⁸ The profiles, plate LXI, 1 and 2, are in the text, p. 128, mistakenly attributed to the pronaos. They are found actually in the opisthodomos (cf. G. P. Stevens, *A.J.A.*, XV, 1911, p. 20).

what shorter, than these actually were on the lateral walls.¹⁹ In the central part of the east wall course XVII, with a bearing of 0.39 m. or less and height 0.409 m., might either be polished smooth like the epistyle and project a little from the wall, or be stippled like the wall below and be flush with it. The course which must be restored above XVII here and over the plain front of the epistyle, to make the transition to the ceiling of the nave, would doubtless be much the same as the epikranitis generally, 0.207 m. high, with a plain fascia surmounted by a hawkbeak moulding. (So *Observations*, p. 85 and fig. 35.)

According to this reconstruction, the ceiling over the narrow aisles, resting directly on the epistyle, would be 7.465 m. above the wall-base, and that of the nave at about 7.67 m.—respectively 0.20 m. and 0.405 m. higher than in any other part of the temple. If, on the other hand, the epistyle ranged with course XVI, the ceiling of the cella, both aisles and nave, would be at the same level (7.265 m.) as that of the pronaos, opisthodomos and peristyle; course XVII would be a normal epikranitis at the normal level, as the traces of it indicate; and the epistyle would be at the level naturally to be inferred from the correspondence in height of the preserved block with course XVI of the walls. These facts would seem amply to warrant the conclusion that the upper epistyle ranged with course XVI; but certain adverse considerations that might be advanced should also be examined.

1) Course XVI lacks the taenia it might be expected to have, corresponding with that on the back of the epistyle only *ca.* 0.55 m. distant (*ca.* 1.20 m. at the west). It is course XVII, however, in whatever way restored, that should have the same profile on both sides of the narrow aisle since it would lie close under the ceiling. At XVI, the taenia would belong exclusively to the architrave itself and might well, as in the pronaos and opisthodomos, be bonded into the wall and not be returned along its face. Extending along all three sides of the colonnade, the function of the taenia might be thought of as to bind the whole epistyle together and tie it to the front wall. A similar band is doubtless to be restored with the lower epistyle at course X, where it was certainly not returned along the well-preserved side and rear walls.

2) From the state of the upper surface of the surviving epistylon it has been inferred that a margin of *ca.* 0.08 m. along its rear edge had been covered with wood (of the ceiling over the aisles) while the rest of the top was occupied by the marble course evidenced by the surface dressing and the dowel- and pry-hole seen near the middle of the block. Since a wooden ceiling may have rested directly on the epistyle at XVII, but not if it was at XVI, the evidence of the weathering as interpreted is

¹⁹ That this was in fact the expectation may be seen from *Observations*, fig. 35 and p. 75. The former shows the inner blocks of course XVII as wide as they are high; the latter has the space occupied by them 0.395/0.425 m. in width. As we now know, the space available was 0.27/0.39 m. wide, and that occupied was rather less, as indicated by the position of dowels (see above, p. 202).

important and might perhaps determine the level to which the architrave is to be assigned. The weathered margin is, however, rather less definite and the contrast between it and the rest of the surface less pronounced than fig. 33, p. 82, of *Observations* would suggest, as may be seen from J. Travlos' new drawing of the epistylion (Fig. 1 above), which aims to show the state of the whole top of the block. It is, moreover, by no means sure that the weathering we see resulted from exposure while the block was *in situ*. For the longest period during which we can suppose it to have been unprotected in its original place must have been very brief in contrast with the centuries since it was first taken from that place. It may be added that the position of the dowel, just in the axis of the epistyle, though far from decisive, points rather to a marble course above having covered the whole top. With the epistyle at XVI, this would be restored equal in height to course XVII generally, profiled at the back like the epikranitis across the narrow aisle. On the front, it would be crowned with the regular hawkbeak and have at the bottom a suitable moulding—doubtless a cyma reversa—to serve as the crown of the plain face of the epistyle below. The whole course would be, with different dimensions, much like that crowning the frieze of the Parthenon (Penrose, *Principles of Athenian Architecture*, plate 20, figs. 27 and 27 a).

3) An important reason offered for preferring XVII as the level of the upper architrave is that if the upper columns reached only to the top of course XV they would be disproportionately short in comparison with the lower order. Before discussing the point we must modify a little the figures given in *Observations*, p. 79 and note 171. The height of the lower architrave there, 0.58 m., which is too great for the length of the epistylia as we now know it, was undoubtedly the same as that of course X with which it ranged (0.512 m.).²⁰ With the architraves at X and XVI, the ratio in height of the upper columns to the lower would be 2.23 m. : 3.912 m. (courses XI-XV : III-IX) : : 57 : 100. With the architraves at X and XVII, these ratios would be 2.634 m. : 3.912 m. (XI-XVI : III-IX) : : 67 : 100. The ratio 57 : 100 is obviously wholly satisfactory when compared with Paestum, 56 : 100, Aegina 57 : 100, and Parthenon 61 : 100; and it is distinctly preferable to the 67 : 100 resulting from placing the upper architrave at XVII.

We may conclude, finally, that the upper columns reached from course XI of the walls to course XV, 4.424 m. to 6.654 m. above the wall-base, that the upper architrave was at the level of course XVI, and that it, like the walls, was surmounted by a moulded stringcourse (epikranitis) 0.207 high, upon which the wooden ceilings of the cella were laid, at the level 7.265 m. above the wall-base.

²⁰ The height of the lower columns was from the beginning seen to be that of the first seven courses of the walls (III-IX, 3.912 m.) for the reasons stated in *Observations*, pp. 76 f. The height of the epistyle, which should be in normal relation to the axial distance (now 1.553/1.524 m.), that is, some 0.49/0.53 m., was obviously the same as that of course X (0.512 m.) into which it was bonded in the east wall.

The lower epistyle, unlike the upper one, was in all probability of the regular Doric order, with the conventional taenia, regulae, and guttae on the front and a plain taenia on the back. Its height, 0.512 m., is given by course X of the wall. Its breadth, if in normal proportion to its height and to the interaxis determined by the upper epistylon (1.553/1.524 m.), would be some 0.61/0.64 m.²¹—perhaps 0.624 m.?, or half the length of a standard wall block. The major diameter of the columns should be approximately the same (slightly greater, rather than less). They would then be very slender, but no more so than Dinsmoor reckons the lower order of the Parthenon (1 : 6.20). His suggestion that, as there, the columns be restored with sixteen flutes instead of twenty is certainly to be adopted (*Observations*, pp. 85 and 93).²²

As the evidence does not warrant a sure choice between the alternative interaxes, 1.553 m. and 1.524 m., for the lateral colonnades, both must be considered. With 1.553 m. as the standard length, the easternmost epistylon would measure 1.354 m. (10.672 — [1.553 × 6]), only the taenia would reach the wall, and the distance of the first regula from the wall would be 0.422 m. (.044 m. less than an ordinary interregula). At the western corners the distance from the angle to the nearest regula would be 0.309 m. (north or south) and 0.298 (west). The very small discrepancy, 0.011 m., would probably never be observed, especially as comparison could be made advantageously only from behind, or upon, the basis of the cult statues. The still smaller differences in length of the regulae (.006) and of the interregulae (.009), which could not be compared directly at all, would of course pass quite unnoticed; and the difference of 0.029 between the western and the lateral intercolumniations would be revealed only by actual measurement, especially since the more widely spaced columns would be seen foreshortened and the others in direct elevation. There is, therefore, no practical or aesthetic objection to having the lateral interaxis slightly exceed that at the rear. Nevertheless the architect may quite reasonably have preferred precisely equal spacing of columns throughout and may have chosen the shorter interaxis. If so, the visible length of the eastern lateral epistylon would be 1.528 and there would be a half regula with its three guttae against the east wall.

Whichever of the two architrave lengths is chosen, the distance from the face of the east wall to the first column will exceed the regular intercolumniation: by 0.113 with the longer interaxis, 1.553 m., or by 0.326 m. with the interaxis 1.524 m. The

²¹ The minimum lower diameter, 0.63/0.635 m., arrived at in *Observations*, pp. 85-87, from a comparison of fifth-century examples and on the basis of the height of the lower columns and the width of the upper epistyle is of course entirely satisfactory.

²² It may be observed that if the diameter were 0.63 m. the individual channels would be 0.123 m. wide at the bottom and about 0.10 m. at the top. A column having twenty flutes of the same dimensions would be about 0.785 m. in diameter. The height, being fixed, would in the former case equal 6.2 diameters, in the latter 5 diameters. That is, the slender column would have the flutings of a comparatively stocky column.

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former, smaller, excess may be admissible; the larger would seem very unlikely. Not only is the discrepancy in the intercolumniations too great, but the full-length epistylion with its half regula and guttae at either end would seem to call for approximately equal support at its two ends. There is no practical difficulty in meeting this requirement by restoring an anta against the wall, resting it chiefly on the foundations of the colonnade, which extended on each side clear to those of the cross-wall.²³ The orthostate of the anta would probably be bonded into the wall;²⁴ the several courses above might well be cut on blocks of the wall itself. The direction of laying these apparently alternated, up to the top of the door, courses IV-VI etc. beginning at the side wall, V-VII etc. starting beside the doorway. The larger of the two blocks in each course was the one first laid, and it would be on this that the anta would be cut.

The only evidence cited against possible restoration of such antae presupposes that the left end of the extant architrave block was thrust into the east wall (*Observations*, p. 80) and has become invalid now that this epistylion has been placed with certainty at a far corner of the colonnade.

It is very probable, then, that antae are to be restored against the east wall, if the shorter of the two possible interaxes, 1.524 m., is adopted for the lateral colonnades, making the spacing uniform throughout; if, on the other hand, the alternative 1.553 m. is chosen the antae might be omitted or their projection from the wall be made very small. With antae in the lower storey, they would naturally be restored in the upper also. Their breadth there should be equal to that of the upper epistyle, to which the major diameter of the upper columns would also conform.

In the revised plan of the interior of the temple, shown in Fig. 9, it will be seen that the pedestal for the statues of Hephaistos and Athena, as reconstructed in *Observations*, pp. 108-109, is placed on the axis of the sixth intercolumniation (between columns 5 and 6), where it would be sufficiently far from the front of the cella but not crowded back against the rear columns, as it must be if there were only five columns in the long rows. The sole argument, aside from this necessity, advanced in favor of setting the pedestal so very far back as it is in *Observations*, fig. 34, namely that it would make use of certain superfluous parts of the foundations of the lateral colonnades, is answered in *Observations*, note 155, p. 73.

In sum, the result of this re-examination of the certain, if limited, evidence for the reconstruction of the interior colonnade of the Hephaisteion, known to have been

²³ *Observations*, pp. 65 ff.

²⁴ A marble fragment found in the modern filling removed in 1946 from the Christian west door of the temple, proved to be part of the southern block of course II (the wall-base) of the east wall. It has cuttings for one of the double-T clamps that held it to the threshold and for a dowel that (as shown by a pry hole) held the south end of an outer block of the orthostate. It is thus seen that this last course (III), like V, VII, etc., was laid in the direction away from the doorway. The joint here was at *ca.* 0.73 m. from the south wall—presumably, as in all the other walls, quite independent of the jointing system above. (Cf. *Observations*, p. 43.)

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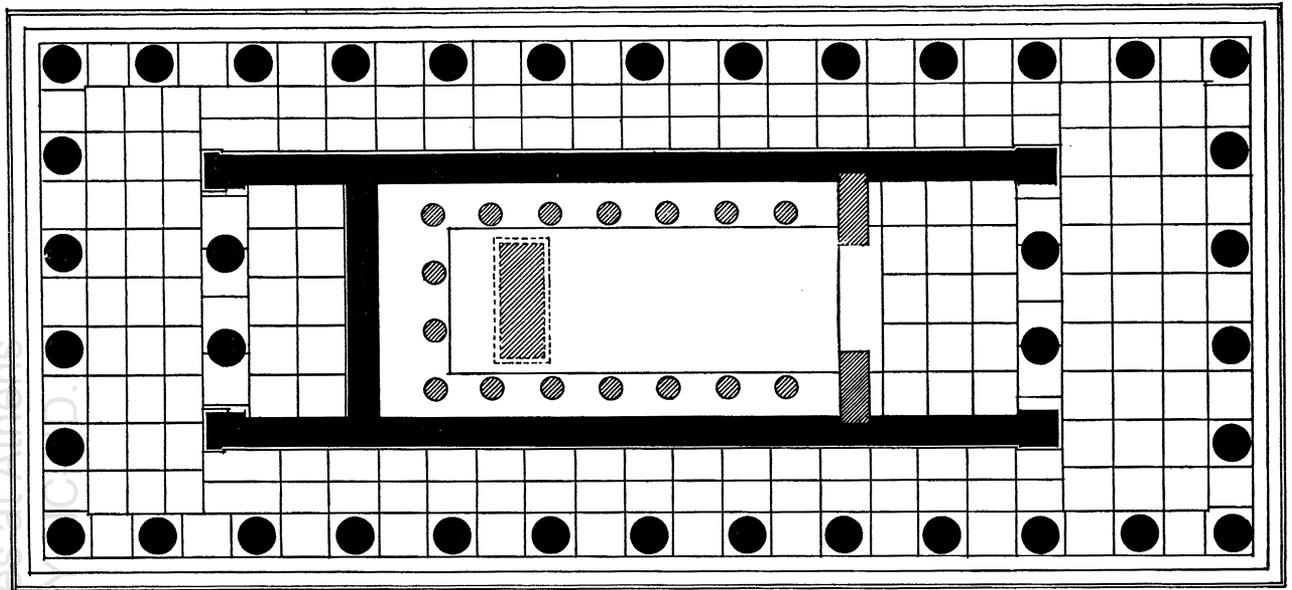


Fig. 9. Plan of Hephaisteion, Restored

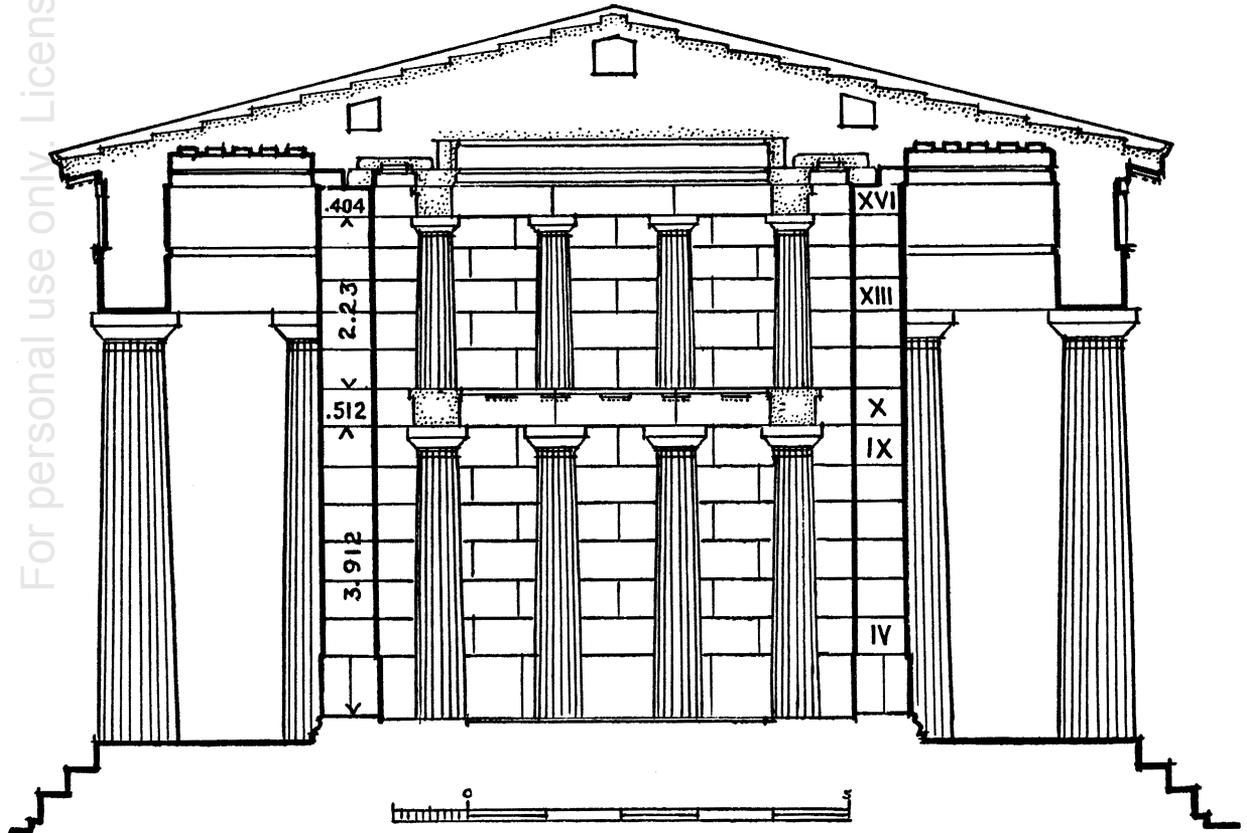


Fig. 10. Transverse Section of Hephaisteion, Restored. Looking West

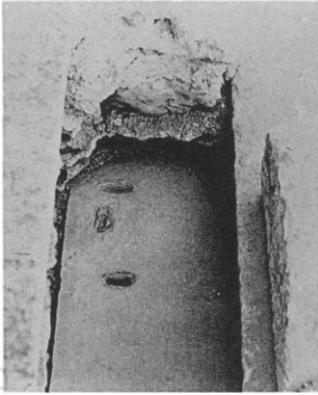
of two storeys, ambulatory in plan, is that the number of columns was seven on either side of the cella, centered about 0.83 m. from the walls, and four across the rear, with their axial line 1.473 m. from the west wall (Fig. 9).²⁵ The interaxis of the lateral columns was 1.553 m. or 1.524 m.; that at the rear 1.524 m., or at the very least 1.51 m. The major diameter of the lower columns, as derived from their spacing, was about 0.63 m. They were very slender, since their architrave, ranging with the seventh course (X) above the orthostate, was at 3.912 m. to 4.424 m. above the wall-base. The superimposed columns were 0.514 m., or very slightly more, in diameter, as determined by the breadth of the upper epistyle, and 2.23 m. in height, as determined by its position, level with the thirteenth course (XVI) above the orthostate, 6.654 m. to 7.058 m. from the wall-base. This epistyle, 0.404 m. in height where it met the east wall, was 0.005 m. higher over the western columns—a discrepancy easily eliminated, or rather in fact occasioned, by the final dressing of the top surface (*epergasia*) to receive the next course of marble. That was a moulded stringcourse, 0.207 m. high to correspond with (XVII) the epikranitis on the walls, finished at the top of its face with the hawksbeak found everywhere immediately under the ceiling, and at the bottom most probably with a Lesbian cyma to serve as the crowning moulding for the plain face of the epistyle, analogous to the crown of the backers of the architrave of the east portico. (We are entitled to hope, however, since our moulding was carved at the latest stage of construction of the temple, that it may prove (if found) to resemble more than does the analogue cited the beautiful cyma reversa of the epikranitis over the Ionic frieze of the Parthenon.)²⁶ The ceiling resting on this course was of wood, the main beams having a span across the nave of a little under 4.00 m., and supporting, besides the ceiling itself, the ridge beam and with it much of the weight of the roof.

B. H. HILL

ATHENS

²⁵ Measurements from the walls are, as throughout this paper, from the surface above the orthostate.

²⁶ If the possibility mentioned in note 1, p. 190, proves a fact and a crown moulding is found to have been carved on the epistyle itself, the form here hopefully imagined for the course above it will have to be rejected in favor of the simpler form—a plain surface surmounted by a small hawksbeak—seen wherever course XVII remains. The change in these details would, naturally, in no wise modify the conclusions reached in this paper as to the position of the surviving epistylon and the number and spacing of the columns.



1



2

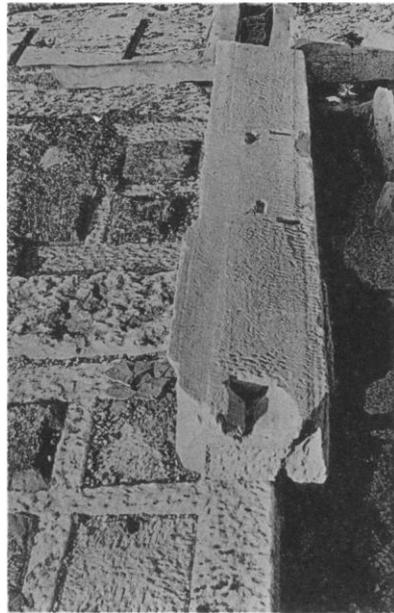
Top of Course XVI of South Wall, with Dowel- and Pry-Holes for XVII

1. About 5.00 m.-5.70 m. from Southwest corner of Cella, Looking East. (Fig. 7, J)
2. About 0.45 m. West to 0.95 m. East of Southeast Corner of Cella, Looking North (Fig. 7, M)



3

Top of North Wall About 1.40 m.-2.90 m. from Northwest Corner of Cella, Looking East, Showing Outer Course XVII with Dowel- and Pry-Holes for Peristyle Ceiling Beams, and XVI with Dowel *in situ* from First Block of Inner Course XVII. (Fig. 7, F)



4

Block from Outer Course XVII of East Cross-Wall. T-clamp Cutting Seen at North End of Block, and Dowel- and Pry-Holes at each Side of Bed for Pronaos Ceiling Beam



A Bronze Patera in Princeton

Author(s): Frances Follin Jones

Reviewed work(s):

Source: *Hesperia Supplements*, Vol. 8, Commemorative Studies in Honor of Theodore Leslie Shear (1949), pp. 209-212+458-459

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A BRONZE PATERA IN PRINCETON

(PLATES 22-23)

PRINCETON University's Art Museum, of which Professor Shear was Honorary Curator of Classical Art for many years, has added to its collection a Greek bronze patera of the late archaic period (Plates 22-23).¹ The handle of the shallow pan is in the form of a nude youth whose head and upraised arms join an "Aeolic capital" which serves aesthetically as a transition and practically as a broad attachment piece between the two members. Further support is given by a palmette which curves around the side wall to the bottom of the pan. A plain ivy leaf² under the feet of the youth balances the design. The handle offers a comfortable grip, the figure fitting in the palm of the hand, the arms and head resting against the index finger.

The pan is not the one with which the handle was first fitted, but is sufficiently similar to give the patera its original appearance as a complete utensil. The four bright new copper rivets, which contrast with the soft green patina of the ancient bronze, might be considered merely modern substitutes for the old pins which held pan and handle together, were it not for the following facts. The curves of the capital and of the palmette do not quite fit the circumference of the pan; the palmette does not follow the vertical profile of the vessel. As the capital forms an arc of a circle whose diameter is *circa* 0.205 m., the original pan was somewhat smaller than its successor. Its walls were more sloping, to judge from the curve of the back palmette. In order to make a tight fit between the handle and the rim of the second pan, the former was tilted forward. The resulting gap at the back of the handle shows in Plate 23, 3, the maladjustment between pan and palmette was made less noticeable by bending the central leaf slightly inward, an operation which caused a small crack. The bending brought the back of the palmette tip below the level of the bottom of the pan, but originally, as suggested by a slight bevel probably due to wear, the edge of the central leaf was flush with the lower surface. Two pairs of small holes pierced through the wall of the bowl near the rim show that the handle which was made for it was probably of the ordinary frying-pan type; the position of these holes bears no relation whatever to the attachment holes of the present handle (Plate 23, 3).

¹ Purchased with the Caroline G. Mather Fund. Accession number 46-15. The height of the handle is 0.174 m.; the height of the figure alone, 0.132 m.; the diameter of the pan, 0.222 m. The bronze is in excellent condition. There are a few thin cracks in the pan. The most noticeable imperfection in the handle is the hole in the right side of the capital where the bronze evidently was too thinly cast. There are a few scars, in particular a gash which cut across the back of both knees. The tip of the central leaf of the palmette is cracked, evidently from modern bending.

² While the outline suggests an ivy leaf, perhaps the intention was to incise a palmette; usually, however, the petals are at least indicated by scalloped edges.

The handle, as many others of its kind, offers a curious contrast of the casual and the careful. The hair is indicated by a mass over which are incised fine lines, but the bands which must have confined the hair at the back of the head and tied the little bunch at the bottom are left to the imagination. The fingers and fingernails are indicated, but the feet are entirely without detail; their slipper-like appearance is duplicated by a handle in Munich on which, however, there are incised lines to mark the tops of shoes.³ The capital and the palmette are incised, but the ivy leaf is quite plain. The modelling of the figure is vigorous, but broad and angular in its treatment; there is very little supplementary detail. We seem to have an object much as it came from the mould, full of the life and style the modeller imparted to the original, but lacking finish. A few quick strokes incised on the capital and the palmette, vertical lines for the hair and, while he was about it, hasty indication of fingers, a slight retouching around the eyes, two round punches to indicate the nipples, small punches for the pubic hairs, and the metalchaser considered his work done. Perhaps the imperfection in the casting of the capital discouraged him from lavishing more care on what he felt would never be a perfect piece. Even so, the figure stands up well in a comparison with other handles of its type, objects produced by artisans in considerable quantity and varying quality.

The figure is stylistically later than Miss Richter's "Anavysos-Ptoön 12 Group" of *circa* 540-515 B.C.,⁴ as may be seen by a glance at the two kouroi which give their names to the group.⁵ But it is close to the Apollo from Ptoön, around which the "Ptoön 20 Group" of *circa* 515-485 B.C. is built,⁶ the torso from Eutresis, of the same group,⁷ and also the sculpture from the Treasury of the Athenians at Delphi.⁸ Among the similarities to characteristic physiological features of the "Ptoön 20 Group" may be mentioned the deep spinal furrow and the two divisions—rather than the three previously used—of the abdominal region. The modelling is not so dry as heretofore and a softening and relaxation show that we are approaching the end of the century. The firm, round chin, the angular mouth, the oblique eyes, and curving brows are similar to those of the Ptoön statue. That our statuette belongs still to the sixth century and not the early fifth is evident from a comparison with the stylistically more advanced Apollo Piombino assigned to the later phase of this group.⁹

Other considerations, at first promising, prove to be less decisive for the date

³ Sieveking, *Antike Metallgeräte*, pl. 4.

⁴ G. M. A. Richter, *Kouroi*, pp. 189 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, figs. 318, 340.

⁶ *Ibid.*, figs. 363 ff. and pp. 213 ff.

⁷ *Ibid.*, figs. 371 ff. Goldman, *Excavations at Eutresis*, figs 329-332.

⁸ See de la Coste-Messelière, *Delphes*, Paris, 1943, figs. 123 ff. for excellent photographs. For the most recent discussion of the date of the treasury, cf. Dinsmoor, "The Athenian Treasury as Dated by its Ornament," *A.J.A.*, L, 1946, pp. 86 ff.

⁹ Richter, *op. cit.*, figs. 415 ff.

of the handle. The hair is of a style worn in the sixth and early fifth century.¹⁰ The capital does not develop and change at the same rate as the figured handle; capitals of the same style as ours are paired with earlier and later figures.¹¹ The palmette at the back of the handle is of a type used decoratively by several arts over a long period and the particular style on our patera does not confine itself to a narrow range of time. In vase painting, comparable palmettes, with bound volutes, belong to the third quarter of the sixth century.¹² This is a period in which palmettes first became popular as finials on grave stelai,¹³ but it is in the next quarter century that we find finials more suggestive of our palmette.¹⁴ Palmettes with the stalks of the volutes tied together decorated clay architectural members and revetments of Greece and Italy both in the sixth and early fifth century.¹⁵ Turning to the same medium as that of the palmette we are studying, we find that related examples are widely dated, but many belong to the late sixth and early fifth century.¹⁶ While the sculptural style of the figure belongs

¹⁰ Cf., for example, vases by Sakonides (Rumpf, *Sakonides*, pls. 8c, 26b, 28b-d), third quarter of the sixth century, and the Apollo Piombino mentioned above.

¹¹ Curtius and Adler, *Olympia*, IV, pl. VII, no. 84. M. Gjødesen, "Bronze Paterae with Anthropomorphic Handles," *Acta Archaeologica*, XV, 1944, p. 115, fig. 4, listed as in the Berlin Antiquarium; or *Burlington Fine Arts Club, Exhibition of Ancient Greek Art*, London, 1904, pl. LXVII, D 118, in the Cook Collection. (Surely these two illustrations are identical, probably through an error; the Berlin and Cook handles cannot be one and the same for the former has been in its museum since the middle of the last century.)

The term "capital" is used here for the sake of brevity and convenience, although the member is a variation of the architectural form, for the palmette has been enlarged to a spreading ornament. Cf. Clarke, "A Proto-Ionic Capital," *A.J.A.*, II, 1886, pp. 1 ff.; Koldewey, *Die Antiken Baureste der Insel Lesbos*, pp. 44 ff.

¹² In red-figure technique, the volutes have become unimportant and the leaves are the dominant element. But on black-figure ware the volutes are prominent and often develop into elaborate scrolls. The works of Amasis, Exekias, the Little Masters, and their contemporaries of the third quarter of the sixth century and slightly later show bound palmettes not unlike ours, considering the different media (Jacobsthal, *Ornamente griechischer Vasen*, pls. 14b, 22a, 24b and d, 29b, 67c; Rumpf, *Chalkidische Vasen*, pls. CLXXXIX ff.).

¹³ Richter, *Archaic Attic Gravestones*, pp. 77 ff.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 99 ff.; cf. figs. 23-24, 104-105.

¹⁵ Close are antefixes from the Athenian acropolis (Van Buren, *Greek Fictile Revetments in the Archaic Period*, p. 146, no. 9, and fig. 24, dated seventh to sixth century B.C.) and probably from mid-sixth century Treasury V or VI at Olympia (Curtius and Adler, *op. cit.*, II, pl. CXIX, 3); also the ridge palmettes of the temple of Aphaia at Aegina (Furtwängler, *Aegina*, pl. 48; pl. 102, Gl. 179-183). Related are antefixes and revetments from Italy (Arvid André, *Architectural Terracottas from Etrusco-Italic Temples*, pls. 41, from Civita Castellana, early fifth century; 130-131, from Lanuvium, late sixth to first half of fifth century; 139, 144, and 150-152, mostly with leaves of equal length, from Satiricum, late sixth to early fifth century).

¹⁶ The palmette on a handle in Copenhagen, while like ours, is associated with a figure of slightly earlier style (Gjødesen, *loc. cit.*, p. 104, fig. 1). A bronze palmette from Olynthus, broken from the object it adorned, is very close (Robinson, *Excavations at Olynthus*, X, p. 43, no. 27); it was found in a fourth-century house, a find spot which, of course, provides a date *ante quem*. A roughly incised palmette at the top of a lion's foot, which probably supported some article of

to the end of the sixth century B.C., it is evident that the style of the secondary ornament, although quite compatible with such a date, is not restricted to so brief a span of time.

A census of almost fifty paterae of the same design as that of the Princeton example has been assembled by Mogens Gjødesen in a recent and careful study which makes it unnecessary for us to cite long footnotes of comparative material here.¹⁷ A few mirror handles of the same type are also included, for, although the female figure was usually considered more appropriate, the nude youth occasionally served such a purpose. Nearly half of these paterae were found in Greece, chiefly on the Athenian acropolis, and a few in Italy; the remainder, as our own piece, are of unknown provenance. Their appearance at such great sanctuaries as Dodona, Delphi, Olympia, and Athens, suggests that the vessels were intended for ritual use. The geographical distribution implies a Greek origin and the typological coherence of the group during the half century or so of its existence argues against many or widely separated centers of manufacture.¹⁸

Gjødesen groups the paterae into sub-types, chiefly according to minor variations of the ornament. His class IC, a small collection of three examples from the Acropolis and the Munich bowl mentioned above, is identified as Attic.¹⁹ It is in this group that the Princeton patera joins its fellow survivors.

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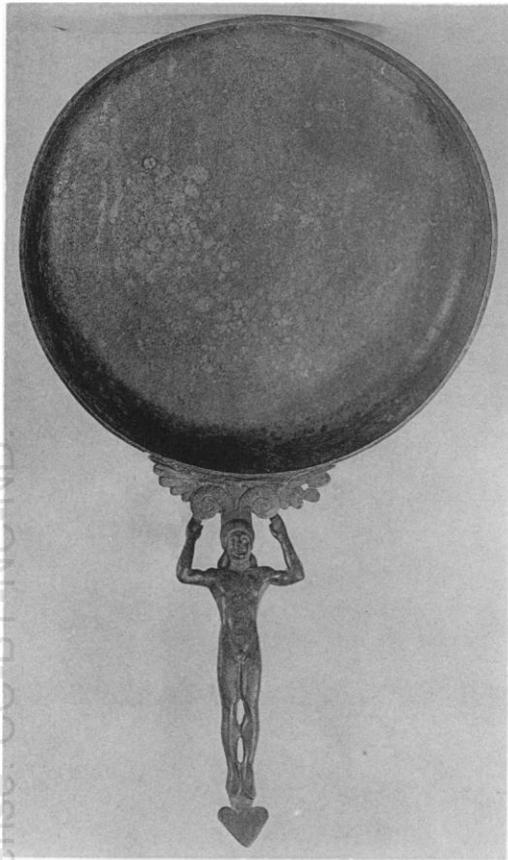
furniture, was found at Perachora and is dated in the late archaic period (Payne, *Perachora*, I, pl. 70, 5). From Olympia we may cite a bronze example dated in the second half of the sixth century (Curtius and Adler, *op. cit.*, IV, pl. XLIII, 762-764; cf. pl. L, 840, pl. LIV, 899, and pl. LV, 925, all undated, and pl. XLIII, 771, of the fifth century). The handle palmette of a mid-fifth century hydria in Baltimore is of a later, more refined style (Robinson, *A.J.A.*, XLVI, 1942, p. 175, fig. 4); closer to ours are the palmettes of the New York hydria dated *circa* 460 B.C. (*ibid.*, p. 179, figs. 7-9).

¹⁷ M. Gjødesen, *loc. cit.*, pp. 101 ff.; the article was kindly brought to my attention by Professor A. M. Friend.

¹⁸ Gjødesen believes the type originated in the Peloponnese, perhaps Corinth; many of the paterae he considers Attic, some South Italian. The group as a whole seems too consistent to be split up, particularly on the very elusive criterion of local styles.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 113, nos. 30-33.

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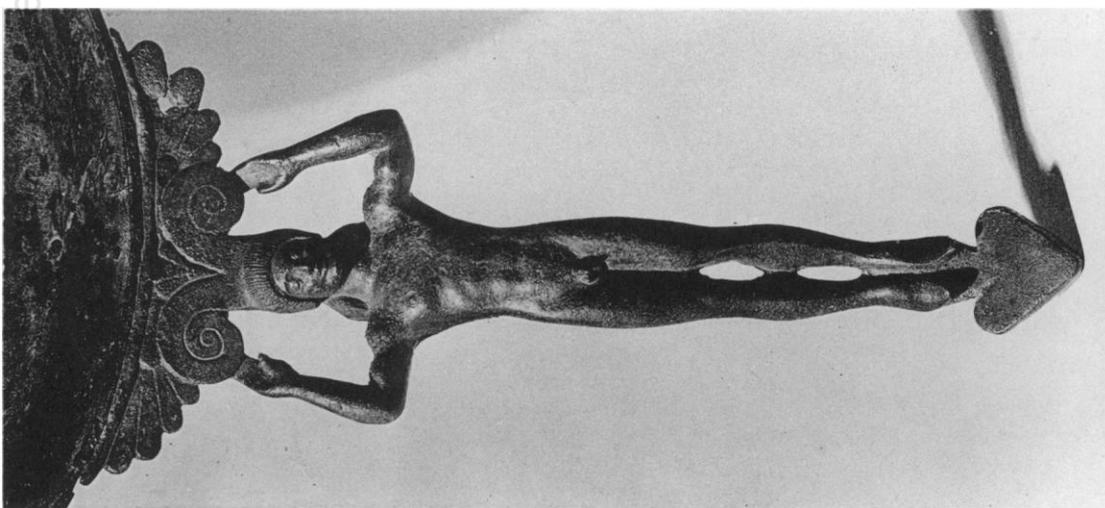
1. Bronze Patera in Princeton



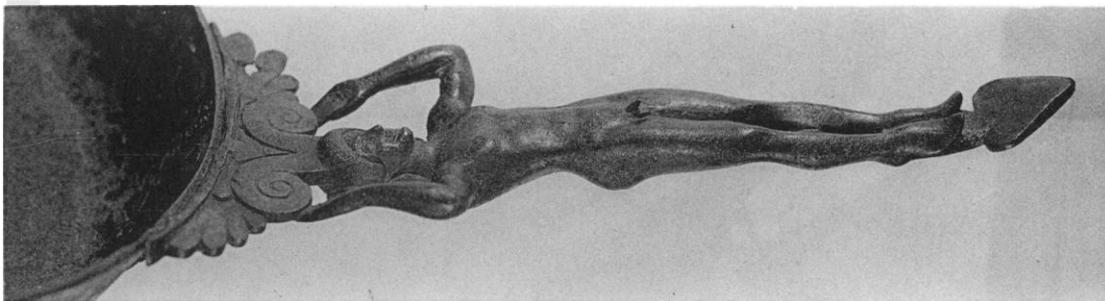
2. Palmette at Back of Handle



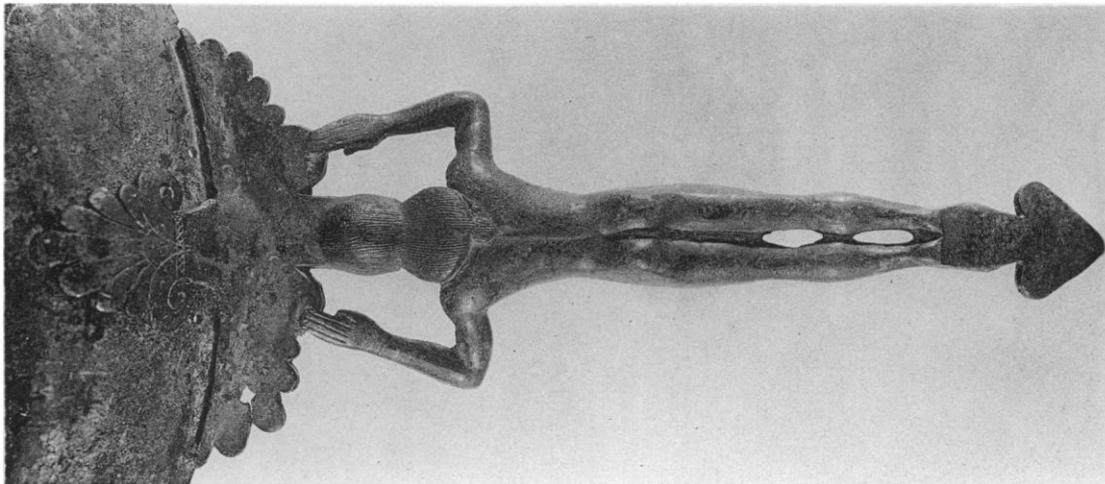
3. Detail of Handle



1. Front View of Handle



2. Side View of Handle



3. Back View of Handle

F. F. JONES: A BRONZE PATERA IN PRINCETON



The Epigraphic Notes of Francis Vernon

Author(s): Benjamin D. Meritt and Francis Vernon

Reviewed work(s):

Source: *Hesperia Supplements*, Vol. 8, Commemorative Studies in Honor of Theodore Leslie Shear (1949), pp. 213-227

Published by: [The American School of Classical Studies at Athens](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1353895>

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THE EPIGRAPHIC NOTES OF FRANCIS VERNON

THE inscriptions which Francis Vernon copied into his diary at Delphi in 1675 have recently been published in *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, pp. 58-62, together with a brief account of the diary itself.¹ There can be no doubt that the diary is that of Francis Vernon,² for the author describes the death of his companion, Sir Giles Eastcourt, at Vitrinitza (p. 18v), refers to his "cousin Vernon" (p. 25r), and in his record of January 10, 1676, from Smyrna, mentions continuing a letter to "Mr. Oldenburg." This letter was received in London and published by Oldenburg in the *Philosophical Transactions*, XI, 1676, no. 124, pp. 575-582.³

It has been known for some time that Francis Vernon, Sir Giles Eastcourt, and Bernard Randolph were together in Athens in 1675. Their well-carved names appear on a wall of the Hephaesteion with the date 1675 appended.⁴ William Miller reports a statement of Randolph that he and Vernon and Sir Giles together with the Consul Giraud were at Thespieae in 1674 and that Randolph came to Euboea from Athens in 1679.⁵ I have been unable to determine the source from which Miller derived this item of information, but the date in any case is incorrect. Vernon's diary shows that he arrived in central Greece through the port of Domvrena (which he spelled Tebrenna) in August of 1675 and that the only day in his life when he could have been at Thespieae was on August 24, even then for only a brief period. I suspect that the others in his party on that occasion had come with him by boat from Patras and that they made the journey together from Domvrena via Thespieae and Thebes to Athens, where they arrived on August 25. The account given by Miller implies that Randolph, having reached Athens in 1675, went on to Euboea only in 1679. In point of fact, Randolph was in Euboea in 1676.⁶ He had already been in Euboea in 1670,⁷ and returned later, as Miller observed, in 1679. On the occasion of his visit in 1676 he gives a brief indication of his itinerary in reporting a conversation with a man he had once befriended: ⁸ "And now being at Negro Ponte, sitting in the Coffee house, one morning, I observed him to look very often at me, asking me what Country man

¹ The diary is ms. 73 in the Library of the Royal Society in London. I wish to express again my thanks to the Council of the Society for permission to study and publish this manuscript.

² Richard Mead, in his letter of July 15, 1709, transmitting the diary to Mr. Chishull, merely stated that the papers were "supposed to be Mr. Vernon's Journal."

³ It was printed also by John Ray, *Collection of Curious Travels and Voyages* (London, 1693), II, pp. 19-29. Vernon reported (p. 29) that "My Companion Sir Giles Eastcourt died by the way."

⁴ W. B. Dinsmoor, *Hesperia*, Supplement V, p. 16. W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*² (1931), p. 21, is in error in stating that Eastcourt died before reaching Athens; so also Count de Laborde, *Athènes au XV^e, XVI^e, et XVII^e Siècles* (Paris, 1854), I, p. 249.

⁵ *The English in Athens before 1821* (London, 1926), p. 5.

⁶ See B. Randolph, *The Present State of the Islands in the Archipelago* (Oxford, 1687), p. 2.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

I was, from whence I came, and whether I was going. I told him that I was an English man, come from Patrass, and was going to Constantinople.”

Soon after Vernon reached Athens, he set out upon a tour of the Peloponnesos. On September 2 he started upon his journey, going by way of Eleusis and Megara to the Isthmus of Corinth, thence to Corinth itself and by way of Argos to Mistra. The new town occupied him here more than the old, though he did visit Palaiopolis, where he made copies of several inscriptions. Vernon mentions his companion, Sir Giles Eastcourt, during their visit at Mistra. Apparently Sir Giles bought as a souvenir “a peice of brass.” There is no record of inscriptions from the Peloponnesos after Vernon left Mistra. He and Sir Giles crossed through the Langadha pass to Kalamata and made their way up the west coast to Patras. From Patras they crossed over to the north shore of the Gulf of Corinth and stopped for a time at Naupaktos. Here Sir Giles began to complain of ill health but he insisted on proceeding with the party. He died at Vitrinitza. Randolph’s account of this unfortunate circumstance is published in his *Present State of the Morea* (London, 1789), 3rd edition, p. 14: “About Fifteen miles from hence [Lepanto], upon the same side of the Gulph, stands a small Village called *Vitrenizza*, near unto which *Sir Giles Eastcourt* was Buried, travelling in Company with Mr. *Francis Vernon*; and in his way towards Mount *Parnassus*, *Sir Giles* complained in the Morning, but would not be perswaded to tarry at *Lepanto*, hoping it would pass, he called to his man to help him down, and in less than half an hour he Dyed, and was Buried with the assistance of *Greek Priests*, who live in *Vitrenizza*.”

Vernon’s account is somewhat different, and inasmuch as Randolph must have given a relayed account of information he received from Vernon I believe that the latter is to be preferred. Under date of September 23, 1675, Vernon has the following entry in his diary: “Afternoone 2 Cl. S^r Giles in sound fetcht againe wth cold water sleep 2 houres wake take Jelly dye 4 Cl. buried by 9 Cl.”⁹

Vernon continued his journey to Salona, where the epigraphical record is resumed. From there he went on to Delphi, Hosios Loukas, Lebadea, Thebes, Negroponte, and Athens. The date of the return to Athens was October 3.

Most of the inscriptions copied by Vernon have been seen and copied by other travelers, and many of them are still preserved. I wish here to present briefly those documents which, so far as I know, have not yet been published and to give a list, with some comment wherever necessary, of the documents otherwise known that Vernon saw and copied in his travels.

On September 6, 1675, Vernon copied (p. 11v) at Argos an inscription Ναξιων |

⁹ Ludwig Edelstein has kindly given me the following reference from an eighteenth-century encyclopedia to the nourishing and restorative powers of “jelly”: “— en général elles [sc. les gelées] sont plus alimenteuses et restaurantes, que médicamenteuses.” See *Encyclopédie ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, Nouvelle édition (Geneva, 1777-9), Vol. XV, p. 896. Cold water as a treatment for fainting needs no comment.

Αγετας which I interpret and restore as follows: [^Α]ναξίων [----- ^Απόλλωνι] | [^Αρχ]αγέται. For the form of the dedication, cf. *I.G.*, IV², 197.

At Sparta, in Palaiopoli, Vernon copied the following (p. 14v):

ἃ πόλις
Πανταιολαιος
ασασαν Λιβια
δίαυλον.

Also at Sparta, in Palaiopoli, Vernon copied (p. 14v) the following dedication to the Emperor Claudius II (268/9 A.D.):

ἡ πόλις
αὐτοκράτορα
Καίσαρα Μάρκον
Αὐρήλιον
5 Κλαύδιον
Εὐσεβῆ Εὐτυχῆ
Σεβαστόν Ϛ

At Mistra Vernon copied (p. 14r) a Byzantine inscription in five lines. G. Soteriou has suggested to me, by letter, that one line has been accidentally omitted from this copy and he reads the text as follows:

† Ἐκμηθήθῃ ὁ Πρόεδρος Λα
κεδαιμονί(ας) Κ(ύρ) Γρηγόρηος

(?) μετονομασθέντος <διὰ> τοῦ ἀγγε
5 ληκοῦ σχήματος Μακαρίου
μοναχοῦ † ἐν ἔτη ϚωΓ

The symbols Ϛο appear in the copy at the beginning of line 4; the numeral at the end of line 6 is ΧωΓ, which Soteriou has corrected. The world-year 6803 is the same as 1295 A.D.

Vernon copied "in Greece," probably near Thebes, the following (p. 10r):

ΙΤΑ
ΝΗ
Α ΤΟΥΤΟ
Ν ΣΩΤΑΝ
ΟΙ ΑΥΤΟΥ
ΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΣΥΝΦΟΡΩ
ΕΚ ΤΩΝ ΙΔΙΩΝ ΥΗΦΙΣΜΑΤ
Β ΚΑΙ Δ

Two texts of late date are attributed by Soteriou to the period of Venetian control:

1. (p. 1v) in Spalatro:

HIC REQUIESCET FRAGELIS ET INVTELIS IOANNES
PECCATOR HARCHIEPISCOPIVS

2. (p. 2r) in Spalatro, "nel campanile."

HOC
OPVS
MAGISTER
OTTO FECIT.

The inscriptions from Delphi (pp. 19r and v) have already been published in *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, pp. 59-62. At the bottom of Plate XI (*ibid.*) appear three lines of a text copied "In Negroponte" bearing the date 1273. Vernon copied the rest of this inscription on p. 20r. It was subsequently copied and published by George Wheler, *A Journey into Greece* (London, 1682), p. 458, and by Jacob Spon in Spon and Wheler's *Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce, et du Levant* (The Hague, 1724), p. 405.¹⁰ The dedication to God and to St. Mark confirms Spon's view (cf. Wheler, *op. cit.*, p. 458) that the part of the building carrying the text was a chapel.

There are the following new inscriptions to report from Athens:

1. p. 20r. Vernon copied "over a doore" on October 3, 1675, the following text:

ΚΑΙΣΙΑ
ΓΑΙΟΥ
ΠΑΥΣΙΑΣ

In the ethnic of *Καισία* Raubitschek suggests, I think correctly, Π<ρο>υσιάς. Cf. *I.G.*, II², 10117.

2. p. 20r. Vernon records "over another doore 3 figures with Inscription from one like pallas & another Heracles": ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ.

3. p. 9v.

ΑΦΧΟΝΤΑ ΑΡ
ΑΡΙΑΝΟΝ

Perhaps ἄρχοντα ΑΡ | [— — 'Α]δριανόν.

4. p. 9v.

ΔΩΡΟΘΕΩΝ
ΑΝΔΡΩΝΟΣ
ΕΙΚΑΝΕΥΣ

¹⁰ The first edition was published in Lyon in 1678.

I interpret this as a grave stele naming Δωρόθεος | Ἄνδρωνος | Εἰκα(ρι)εύς.

5. pp. 4v and 23r. This text was copied at Νέα Πόρτα and was first transcribed ΗΡΥΖ ΝΑΝΝΙΟ ΛΟΡΓΟΤΤΩΛΗΣ. The later version was

ΗΡΥΣ ΝΑΝΝΙΟΥ
ΛΟΡΓΟΤΤΩΛΗΣ

The reading probably should be Ἡρως Ναννίου | χορτοπώλης.

6. p. 23r.

ΤΕΒΕΡΙΣ
ΧΡΗΣΤΟΣ

7. p. 25r. On October 12, 1675, Vernon entered in his notes the following item: “3 women one setting 2 standing mourning ΠΑΜΦΥΛΗ” The reading should probably be amended to Παμφίλη; but the description of the monument does not permit identification with any one of the known funerary inscriptions with this name: *I.G.*, II², 12383-12396.

8. p. 27v. The following text was copied “at Maistro Tomasos”:

παῖδες κοσμητοῦ
Δημητρίου εἰκό
να πατρὸς Ἡλιό
δώρος ἔθηκε καὶ
5 Φλ. Μηνοχάρης
ὁ κοσμητῆς τὴν στήλην

These two brothers from the deme Cholleidai appear in *I.G.*, II², 2119, lines 16-17, as victors in the Theseia ca. 180-192 A.D.

9. p. 27r. At the Academy “on wall by garden”:

Ι ----- | ΔΩ ----- | ΣΩ ----- | ΜΙ -----.

On November 30, 1675, Vernon copied in the convent of Παναγία in Thermia the following two texts (p. 36v):

- 1) ΕΥΒΟΥΛΙΑ
ΓΥΝΗ ΜΟΣΙΝΟΑ
ΧΡΗΣΤΗ ΧΑΙΡΕ
- 2) ΜΑ[ΡΚ]ΙΟΣ ΒΑΒΥΛΙΟΣ
ΑΣΥΚΙΟΥ ΡΩΜΑΙΟΣ
ΥΠΕΡ ΤΟΥ ΥΙΟΥ ΘΕΩ
ΚΙΣΤΩ ΕΥΧΗΝ

In all probability the last line is to be read [Ἵ]ψίστω εὐχὴν; cf. *I.G.*, II², 4798 ff. Perhaps the patronymic in line 2 was Λευκίου.

On page 37r dated "Smyrna, Jan. 16, 1676," Vernon records *Μοιροῦν Διονυσίου Δημητρίου δὲ γυναιῖκα*. The manuscript has ΔΗΜΗΑΡΙΟΥ and LYNAIKA. Also at Smyrna Vernon copied a text (p. 37v) which I transcribe as follows:

--- ονι ---
 [Δημ]οσθένης --
 [---] ἐαυτῶι --

Presumably at Smyrna Vernon also copied the following text (p. 45r):

† ΠΥΡΓΟΣ ΚΚΤΗΝΑΡΗΣ Ο ΠΛΗΡΗΣ ΑΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ ΗΜΕΛΗΜΕΝΟΣ ΑΝΕΚΤ-
 ΗΣΤΗ ΕΟΥΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ ΕΠΗ ΚΟΣΤΑΝΤΗΝΟΥ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΗΟΣ ΚΑ
 ΟΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ Ψ ΑΝΟΡΘΟΤΗΣ ΤΟΜ ΠΑΛΕ ΠΕΠΤΟΚΟΤΑ ΣΤΑΟΥΡΟΥ
 ΠΑΓΕΝΤΟΣ ΕΝ ΤΟ ΚΡΑΝΗΟ ΦΥΛΑΤΕ ΤΟΝ ΔΕΣΠΟΤ-

I am indebted to Markellos Mitsos for the following transcription:

† Πύργος <δ> κτηνάρης ὁ πλήρης ἄχριστος, ἡμελημένος, ἀνεκτ
 ἦσ<θ>η εὐόχριστος ἐπὶ Κ<ων>σταντήνου μεγάλου βασιλῆος κα[ῖ]
 <α>ὐτοκράτορος Ψ ἀνορθοτῆς το(ῦ) πάλε πεπτοκότ<ος> Σταουροῦ
 παγέντος ἐν τῷ Κρανῆο· φύλατ<τ>ε τὸν δεσπότην).

A proper name for the tower would be remarkable; the interpretation with a common name could be <δ> κτηνάρης.

Vernon also copied a number of texts which have been recorded by others and published since his day. In most instances it will be sufficient merely to note the fact that Vernon made an earlier copy, but at times his text enables one to make an improvement in the accepted readings. I have made no attempt in the following pages to keep to the order of Vernon's manuscript, but have arranged the inscriptions in the order in which they appear in the standard publications. Where no commentary is given it is to be understood that Vernon's transcript has nothing useful to offer.

The references follow:

B.C.H., XXIII, 1899, p. 122, no. XII (p. 14r); pp. 122-123, no. XIII (p. 14r); pp. 138-139, no. XXXV (p. 14r).

C.I.G., 518 (p. 27r); 3175 (p. 37r); 3178 (p. 37r).

C.I.G., 3187 (p. 37v). In line 12 Vernon has [.]αι δυσσιτίαν ---, and thereafter he notes "16 lines more but not worth writing." (Eight of the sixteen lines are in part edited by Boeckh). Yet apparently he gives additional text, for the next lines transcribed seem to belong with *C.I.G.*, 3187:

α χειλάρχον λε[γιῶνος --]
 30 ζηγον πρεσβεύ[σαντα ---]
 τοῦ κατὰ δόγμα [----]
 θεοῦ Κλαυδίου [----]
 [ἀ]πὸ θεοῦ Κλαυδί[ου ---]
 οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσ[ίας ---]
 35 [.]ος Τιβερίου [-----]

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For lines 32 and 33 cf. line 2, and for line 34 cf. line 1.

C.I.G., 3197 (p. 37v); 3309 = *C.I.L.*, III, 417 (p. 36v); 3334 (p. 50r); 3381 (p. 37r); 3394¹¹ (p. 37r); 3796 (pp. 50r and 58v); 3797 = Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*, no. 779 (pp. 50r and 58v); 8608 (p. 2v); 8676¹² (p. 58r); 8749 (p. 36v); 8752 (p. 36r); 8801 (p. 20r).

C.I.L., III, 322 (pp. 50r and 58v); 417 = *C.I.G.*, 3309¹³ (p. 36v); 531¹⁴ (p. 13v); 534¹⁵ (p. 13v); 546¹⁶ (p. 10r); 548¹⁷ (p. 23r); 552¹⁸ (p. 23v); 568¹⁹ (pp. 14v and 19r); 732 (p. 63r); 1992 (p. 2r); 2082 (p. 1v); 2107 (p. 2r); 2133 (p. 2r); 2180 (p. 2r); 2217 (p. 1r); 2234 (p. 2r); 2277²⁰ (p. 1r); 2324 (p. 1v); 2681 (p. 1v); 2683 (p. 1v); 2690 (p. 1v); 2691 (p. 1v); 2696 (p. 1v); 3071 (p. 2r); 3198a (p. 1r); 3198b²¹ (p. 1r); 3200²² (p. 1r); 3201²³ (p. 1r).

I.G., III, 1656 (p. 9v). This is not in the *editio minor*; Kirchner, in the *comparatio numerorum* of *I.G.*, II², Vol. III, part 2 refers to the text as "t. votiv." Vernon's copy shows the correct spelling *Δωροθέου* in line 1, though he did not see the last two letters nor the final sigma of *Ἐλευσίνιος*. Wheeler has the text also in his notes; his copy is like Vernon's except that he reads *Ἐλευσίνιος* entire.²⁴

I.G., IV, 203 (p. 13r and v); 538;²⁵ 539²⁶ (p. 13v); 586²⁷ (p. 13v); 596 (p. 13v); 641²⁸ (p. 13v).

¹¹ Vernon has in line 5 τὸ μνημεῖόν ἐστι Νικίου τοῦ, an improvement over the text of *C.I.G.*, and confirmatory of Reinesius' emendation.

¹² Vernon's text reads Πύργος Θεοφίλου αὐτοκράτορος. This was copied just after Vernon came to the seraglio, and I suspect that it is a corruption of *C.I.G.*, 8676.

¹³ Vernon has HERMIAS in line 3 and KAL. at the end of line 7.

¹⁴ Cf. *Ath. Mitt.*, XL, 1915, p. 97.

¹⁵ *Corinth*, VIII, 2, no. 120 (with photograph). Vernon says in his manuscript (p. 11r) under date of Sept. 5, 1675 "newly dug up."

¹⁶ Vernon has the larger fragment only.

¹⁷ See *I.G.*, II², 3289.

¹⁸ Published also as *I.G.*, II², 3451.

¹⁹ Vernon has the text as in the *Corpus* except that he reads DECIMVS in line 1.

²⁰ Vernon reads FATIS instead of LAPIS and gives the name throughout as CAFENIVS.

²¹ Vernon reads lines 3 and 4 PER MILLIA PASVVM
CLXXVII.

²² Vernon has PASVVM in line 1, writes CXVII at the beginning of line 2, and omits APERVIT at the end of line 5.

²³ Vernon reads line 8 QVOD DIVI F---IBVS.

²⁴ British Museum Add. MS. 35334, no. 362; cf. *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, p. 43 and note 100.

²⁵ See *I.G.*, IV, 641, which is another version of the same stone.

²⁶ Vernon has the first line. Cf. also *Ath. Mitt.*, XL, 1915, pp. 92 and 96.

²⁷ Though Vernon did not see all the letters recorded by Pouqueville and Fourmont he has something to add: Line 1, Ἰο]υλίον Σ[...]ου etc.; Line 2, εὐεργέτην etc.; Line 5, Περ comes at the end; Line 7, δ]ιὰ βίου; Line 8, ἀνεστήσαμε]ν ἀνδριάντας.

²⁸ Vernon has an inferior copy. This is another version of *I.G.*, IV, 538; cf. *Ath. Mitt.*, XL, 1915, p. 97.

I.G., V, 1, 151 (p. 14v). Vernon saw more of the stone than was subsequently preserved, and his copy necessitates a new text:

[-----]s Φιλίπ<π>ου
 Νεικίας Κόσμου
 ἔνσειτος Σέξ. Πο.
 Οὐλπιανὸς Σωσικρά
 5 της
 ἐπὶ τοῦ μυχοῦ Εἰσί
 δωρος
 μάγειρος Λύκος
 ἐκ Διοσκόρου.

The patronymic in line 1 was written ΦΙΔΙΠΤΟΥ. The full name in lines 3-5 appears to have been Sextos Pompeios Oulpianos Sosikrates.

I.G., V, 1, 452 [and *add.*] (pp. 13v and 14r). This text has been made the subject of a study by A. Wilhelm, *Neue Beiträge*, III, pp. 28-31, no. 18. Vernon's copy shows more, except at the beginning of line 4, than was seen by Leake:

ΗΣΟΜΟΝΟΙΑΣΤΩΝ
 ΚΑΙΤΟΥΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΟΥ
 ΥΜΠΙΟΥΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΣΑΤ
 ΑΓΑΘΟΣΑΘΗΝΑΝΤ
 ΜΝΑΔΕΩΝΑΠΟΙΚΩΝ
 ΔΟΘΕΙΣΟΥΝΝΑΡΩ

The differences are not great, but they are none the less worth recording. In the last line Vernon has *δοθείς* without question, and in line 5 the mistaken initial *mu* bears out still further the inevitable reading [Συ]γναδέων. There is an additional letter in each of lines 1, 2, and 3, and at the end of line 4 Vernon's copy has a complete pi.

I.G., V, 1, 538 (p. 13v). Vernon has parts of two lines at the top and the last three lines.

I.G., VII, 49 (p. 10v); 63 (p. 10v); 73 (p. 10r).

I.G., VII, 77 (p. 13r). Vernon has more of the names of the emperors and his text shows a different division of lines:

<p>Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Μάρκον Αὐ- ρήλιον Ἄντωνείνου Σεβαστόν, θεοῦ Ἄντωνείνου υἱόν, θεοῦ Ἄδριανοῦ υἱών, θεοῦ Τραϊανῶ Παρθικοῦ ἔκγονον, θεοῦ Νέρονα ἀπό- γονον 5</p>	<p>Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Λούκιον Αὐρήλιον Οὐή[ρον] Σεβαστόν, θεοῦ Ἄντωνείνου υ[ί]όν, θεοῦ Ἄδριανοῦ υἱών, θεοῦ Τραϊανῶ Παρθικοῦ ἔκγονον, θεοῦ Νέρονα ἀπόγονον ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ὑπὸ ἐπιμέλειαν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Βι Ὀνασικλέους</p>
--	--

I.G., VII, 80 (p. 10v); 87 (p. 13r); 88 (p. 10v); 90 (p. 13r); 92 (p. 10v).

I.G., VII, 94 and 95 (p. 10r). Boeckh says in *C.I.G.*, 1080, "Ex schedis Vernonii edidit Taylor, ad Demosth. de fals. leg. p. 459." Actually, Taylor's text is on p. 358, with comment on p. 359 (cf. Meritt, *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, p. 58). W. Dittenberger (*I.G.*, VII, 94-95) judged that Fourmont's copy—showing the ends of lines 94, 1 and 95, 1, 3, and 4 complete—was in error, but the complete stone was seen by Vernon on Sept. 3, 1675, and its being mutilated in the time of Villoison does not mean that it was mutilated also in the time of Fourmont. So the ends of the lines may be written without indication of restoration. In one respect Vernon gives here an improved text, reading *τεμένη* at the end of 95, 4. He started to write a dative and corrected it to an accusative. Vernon's reading of the name is *Εὐρύσιο* in 95, 3.

I.G., VII, 97 (p. 10r); 98 (p. 10r); 99 (p. 10v); 102²⁹ (p. 10r); 122 (p. 10v); 151 (p. 13r); 161 (p. 13r); 166 (p. 10r); 2493 (p. 10r); 2543 (p. 10r).

I.G., IX, 1, 722³⁰ (p. 2v); 724 (pp. 2v and 10r); 734³¹ (p. 2v).

I.G., II², 1100 (p. 28r and v). Vernon (as also Boeckh in *C.I.G.*, 355) has an extra line at line 14. Apparently Koehler, followed by Dittenberger in *I.G.*, III, 38, confused the two lines *ιδόντες καὶ τό* and *νόντες ὑπογρα* and wrote the resultant hybrid as line 14: *ιδόντες ὑπογρα*. In order to verify the accuracy of Vernon's copy, I secured a squeeze of the inscription and examined it together with Vernon's manuscript and the traditional published text. Vernon's reading here in lines 14-15 is correct, as indeed it is in many other places which show divergences from the published version. The squeeze shows so much that needs to be done by way of disposition and careful verification that I give here a new text with some comments on changes and restorations.

Κε νο θε Ἀδριανού

Οἱ τὸν ἔλαιον γεωργούντες τὸ τρίτον
καταφερέτωσαν, ἢ τὸ ὄγδοον οἱ τὰ
Ἰπάρχου χωρία τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ φύσκου
5 πραθέντα κεκτημένοι· μόνα γὰρ ἐ
κείνα τὸ δίκαιον τοῦτο ἔχει· καταφε
ρέτωσαν δὲ ἅμα τῷ ἄρξασθαι συνκο
[μιδῆς κ]ατὰ μέρος, πρὸς λόγον το[ῦ]
[συνκομιζ]ομένου, τοῖς ἐλεῶναι[ς]
10 [διδόντες τοῖς] προνοοῦσιν τῆ[ς]
[δημοσίας χρεία]ς· ἀπογραφέσθω
[σαν δὲ λόγον τῆς] συνκομιδῆς πρὸ[ς]
[τοὺς ἐλαιώνας κα]ὶ τὸν κήρυκα δύο
[ἀντίγραφα παραδ]ιδόντες καὶ τὸ

²⁹ Vernon adds a leaf after line 1.

³⁰ Vernon adds a fifth line: *ποιήν*. He saw the inscription at Corfu "ala villa del general."

³¹ "In a vineyard neare a well in Paleopoli."

- 15 [ἕτερον ἀπολαμβάνει]νοντες ὑπογρα
φέν· ἢ δὲ ἀπ[ογραφ]ῆ ἔστω μετὰ ὄρκου
καὶ π[υ]όσον συνεκόμισεν τὸ πᾶν,
καὶ ὅτι διὰ δούλου τοῦδε ἢ ἀπελευ
θήρου τοῦδε· εἰ δὲ πωλήσῃ τὸν
- 20 καρπὸν ὁ δεσπότης τοῦ χωρίου, ἢ ὁ
γεωργὸς ἢ ὁ καρπώνης, ἀπογραφέ
σθω δὲ πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοὺς καὶ ὁ ἐπ' ἕξα
γωγῆ πιπράσκων, πόσον πιπράσκει
καὶ τίνι καὶ ποῦ ὄρμ[ε]ῖ τὸ [π]λοῖον. ὁ δ[ε]
- 25 ἀπογραφῆς χωρὶς π[ωλήσα]ς ἐπ' ἕξα
γωγῆ, κἂν ὁ ὠφείλειεν ἢ κα[τενηνοχῶς]
τῇ πόλει, στερέσθω τοῦ πραθ[έντος].
ὁ δὲ ψευδεὶς ἀπογραφὰς ποιησά[μενος]
ἢ τὰς περὶ τῆς συνκομιδῆς [ἢ τ]ὰ[s περὶ]
- 30 τῆς ἐξαγωγῆς ἢ ὑπὲρ χωρίου, [εἴ τις πα]
ρὰ φύσκου ἐπρίατο μὴ Ἰππάρχ[ου γενόμε]
νον ὄγδοον κατενεγκῶν, σ[τερέσθω],
[τὸ δὲ ἡμισυ ὁ μη]νύσας λαμβ[ε]τα[νέτω].
[ὅς δ' ἂν ἐπ' ἕξαγωγ]ῆν ἀναπόγ[ραπτα]
- 35 [πρίηται . . .^{ca. 9} . . .] εἰρειμ[. . .^{ca. 9} . . .]
[.^{ca. 14}] των ἀπ[ο]τερ[. . .]
[.^{ca. 13}] ος αὐτὸς ἢ ὄν[τιν']
[ἂν ἔληται, πιπρασκ]έτω μὲν ἐξ ἀπ[ο]
[γραφῆς . . .^{ca. 5} . . . τ]ῆς δὲ τειμῆς τὸ [ἦ]
- 40 μισυ κατεχέτω, εἰ μήπω δέδωκεν, ἢ λαμ
βανέτω· τὸ δὲ ἡμισυ ἔστω δημόσιον.
γραφέσθω δὲ καὶ ὁ ἔμπορος ὅτι ἐξάγει
καὶ πόσον παρ' ἐκάστου· εἰ δὲ μὴ ἀπο
γραψάμενος φωραθῆ ἑκπλέων, στερέ
- 45 σθω· εἰ δὲ ἐκπλεύσας φθάσῃ καὶ μηνυ
θῆ, γραφέσθω καὶ τῇ πατρίδι αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ
δήμου κάμοι. τὰς δὲ περὶ τούτων δίκας
μεχρὶ μὲν πεντήκοντα ἀμφορέων ἢ βου
λῆ μόνη κρινέτω, τὰ δὲ ὑπὲρ τούτο μετὰ
- 50 τοῦ δήμου. εἰ δὲ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πλοίου τις
μηνύσῃ, ἐπάναγκες ὁ στρατηγὸς τῇ ἐξῆς
ἡμέρᾳ βουλὴν ἀθροισάτω, εἰ δ' ὑπὲρ τοὺς
πεντήκοντα ἀμφορεῖς εἴη τὸ μεμηνυ
μένον, ἐκκλησίαν· καὶ διδόςθω τῷ ἐλέγ

- 55 ξαντι τὸ ἥμισυ. εἰ δὲ ἐκκαλέσῃται τις ἢ
 ἐμὲ ἢ τὸν ἀνθύπατον, χειροτονείτω συν
 δίκους ὁ δῆμος. ἵνα δὲ ἀπαραίτητα ἦ τὰ
 κατὰ τῶν κακουργούντων ἐπι[τ]είμι[α], τει
 μῆς ἰς τὸ δημόσιον καταφερέσθω τὸ ἔλαι
 60 ον ἣτις ἂν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ἦ. εἰ δέ ποτε εὐφορί
 ας ἐλαίου γενομένης πλέον εἴη τὸ ἐκ τῶν
 τρίτων ἢ ὀγδόων καταφερόμενον τῆς εἰς
 ὄλον τ[ὸ]ν ἐνιαυτὸν δημοσίας χρείας, ἐξέ
 στω τοῖς μηδὲ πωλοῦσιν τὸ ἔλαιον ἢ πᾶν
 65 ἢ μέρος δευτέραν ἀπογραφὴν ποιησαμέ
 νοις καὶ δημόσιον τό τε ὀφειλόμενον
 πόσον ἐστὶν [ὄσ]ον οἱ ἐλαιῶναι ἢ ο[ἰ] ἀργυ
 ροταμία[ι] οὐ βούλονται παρ' αὐτῶν λαβεῖν.
 ὁ μὲν ὀφ[ε]ίλουσιν — N — AY — HΣH —
 70 ΦΥΛΑΣΣ — AS — ΔΙΑ —
 ΤΕΤΑ — ΑΓΓΟΓΡΑΦ — ΙΝΩ —
 ΣΚΟΜΕΝΑ — ΗΜΩΙΣΤΕΙΜΗΣ — ΟΕ
 ΣΘΩ — ΔΗ — ΑΓΓΟΓΡΑΦΑ — ΑΦΕ —
 ΡΩΝ — ΝΟΩΦΕΙΛΗΣ — ΣΟΦ —
 75 ΕΑΝ — ΤΗ — ΤΟ ΑΛΛΟ —
 ΠΙΤΙ — ΤΩ — ΑΣΛ —
 Τ —
 —
 Α —
 80 Σ —
 Δ —
 Ν —
 ΕΝ —
 ΕΛ —

uninscribed

Line 10: The restoration in *I.G.*, II², 1100 is too short at the beginning of the line by 2 or 3 letters.

Line 11: There can be no supplement at the end of the line.

Line 12: The line begins with text that was once restored at the end of line 11, and may be completely restored by the addition of the word *λόγον*.

Line 13: The restoration *τοὺς ταμίας* leaves the line short by 3 letters. I suggest *ἐλαιῶνας* instead of *ταμίας*. It makes up for two of the needed letter spaces, and is long enough to be considered a possible supplement. Moreover, the buyers of the oil

are the ones who ought to have seen the declarations. These lines (11-15) require the vendor to submit his declaration in duplicate, one copy of which he receives back signed. There can be no doubt about the word *ὑπογραφέν* in lines 15-16, every letter of which is clear. Koehler so reported it, and Dittenberger so has it in *I.G.*, III, 38. There is no excuse for reading *ὑπογραφήν*.

Line 25: The participle to be restored is *π[ωλήσα]ς*. Not only is *πιπράσκων* too long a word but part of the final sigma is still visible on the squeeze.

Line 28: The restoration *ποιήσα[ς]* leaves four full spaces unoccupied at the end of the line. The correct supplement is *ποιησά[μενος]*, with use of the middle as in lines 65-66, below.

Line 30: The end of line 30 in *I.G.*, II², 1100 is two letters short.

Line 31: More letters than have been accepted in the past must be restored at the end of this line. In no case can the suggested restoration *Ἰππάρχ[ειο]|ν ὄν* be correct, because of the failure to achieve a syllabic division between lines 31 and 32.

Line 32: The complete verb *σ[τερέσθω]* must be restored at the end of this line.

Line 36: Read *απ[ο]τερ* for *απ[ο]στερ*.

Lines 37-39: Too much has been restored at the ends of these lines.

Line 42: *ὄτι* must be read for *τί*, which is only an error of oversight in *I.G.*, II², 1100.

Line 59: The preposition is *ἰς*, as in *I.G.*, III, 38.

Line 60: The final letter is clear.

Line 64: Vernon has *μηδὲ παλοῦσιν* in his manuscript copy, and all who have seen the stone are in substantial agreement with him. Koehler (*I.G.*, III, 38) read *μηδ[ὲ παλοῦσ]ιν*; the same letters are visible on the squeeze today, confirming the traditional text and proving *μ[ὲν γεωργ]οῦσιν* of *I.G.*, II², 1100 impossible.

Line 66: For *δημόσιον* Vernon reads *δηλώσειν*.

Line 67: The word after *ἐστίν* is to be restored *[ῶσ]ον*. This is the last point in which the squeeze is of much help in constituting the text except at the very beginnings of the lines. The surface of the stone is badly worn, worse than in the seventeenth century when Vernon was able to read many letters which are not preserved today.

Line 68: This line has been omitted from all copies of the inscription, including that made by Koehler. Wheler's manuscript notes indicate that there were 16 lines below line 67.⁸² Even though they cannot now be read the stone is well enough preserved to confirm his judgment. Vernon made the attempt to copy some of this text.

Line 71: Koehler reads *ΞΕΤΑ*.

Lines 77-84: The letters at the beginnings of these lines have been copied from the squeeze. Koehler also noticed the uninscribed space at the end of the inscription

⁸² British Museum Add. MS. 35334, no. 247. Wheler notes "16 lineae vetustate erasae sunt." For the manuscript, see *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, p. 43 and note 100.

and reported that many letters once visible had not been seen by him. Cf. commentary on *I.G.*, III, 38 and *I.G.*, II², 1100.

I.G., II², 1776 (p. 24r and v).

I.G., II², 1967 (p. 20v). There are variants of no great significance before line 20, and then the version of Vernon is more nearly complete: Line 20, [Κ]αλλίξενος Διον[υσίου]; Line 21, [Ε]πί<κ>τητος Ἰσιδώρ[ου]; Line 22, [Δ]ιονύσιος Μη[----]; Line 23, [Δ]ημήτριος Δι[----]. These readings are confirmed by Wheler's notes, made in 1676.³⁸

I.G., II², 2037A (p. 36v); 2037C (p. 36r); 3038 (p. 27r); 3042 (p. 28v); 3052 (p. 23r); 3054 (p. 27v); 3056 (p. 23v); 3063³⁴ (p. 23v); 3083A (p. 23v).

I.G., II², 3163 (p. 24v). Vernon's reading of *n* and *q* in the list of victories as ΕΦΕ | CON | ΠΕΡΓΑ | ΜΗΝΩΝ confirms the suggestion quoted by Wolters that *q* refers to Pergamon. Vernon also reads *i* in full: Παναθή|ναια, and *h* in full: δὲς | Σεβαστά, confirming the restorations of Loewy and Robert. He reads *f* as Νέμει|α.

I.G., II², 3175 (p. 28r); 3177³⁵ (p. 28r); 3185 (p. 23r); 3196³⁶ (p. 9r); 3289³⁷ (p. 23r); 3295 (pp. 20v and 23r); 3408³⁸ (p. 9r); 3449 (p. 20r); 3451 *a*, *c*, and *d*³⁹ (p. 23v).

I.G., II², 3507 (p. 9v). Vernon has the complete copy of this, perfectly preserved, made while it was still at Eleusis. The stone was evidently transported to the Monastery of Phaneromene on Salamis at some time between Vernon's visit to Eleusis in 1675 and Fourmont's visit to Salamis in 1729/30. Since the Monastery was built in the years following 1670, and since Laurentios, the "builder," died in 1707,⁴⁰ the stone was probably moved during the seventeenth century. Vernon's reading *θυγάτηρ* at the end of line 1 corrects also Spon's reading *ὄργιαστής* (*C.I.G.*, 388) in line 2 of *I.G.*, II², 3508, which Boeckh wished to emend to *ὄργιαστὶς*. The word *ὄργιαστὶς* in our lexica, which depends on these two texts alone, with Boeckh's erroneous emendation, should be deleted.⁴¹

I.G., II², 3531 (p. 9v). Vernon copied this inscription in two parts. He saw the stone at Eleusis, though it was later built into the church at Phaneromene on Salamis.

³⁸ British Museum Add. MS. 35334, no. 254; cf. *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, p. 43 and note 100.

³⁴ The first name may be read from Vernon as [Ἐρ]γξίας.

³⁵ Vernon has *ιερείς* at the beginning of the line.

³⁶ Vernon saw the complete text.

³⁷ Published also as *C.I.L.*, III, 548. Vernon has in line 3: *ti Traiano* and in line 4 *trib. pot.* These readings may now be controlled on the stone, and while line 3 is correct, line 4 reads [P.] M. [t]r. *pot.* as in *I.G.*, II², 3289.

³⁸ Vernon's text gives only part of the inscription. My identification assumes that the letters ΛΑΥ in Vernon (line 3) were mistakenly read for [Γερ]μαν[ικόν].

³⁹ Published also as *C.I.L.*, III, 552.

⁴⁰ Cf. G. Soteriou, "Ἡ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι Μονὴ τῆς Φανερωμένης," *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*, I (1924), pp. 109-138, esp. pp. 109-110.

⁴¹ Wheler's notes (British Museum Add. MS. 35334, no. 364; cf. *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, p. 43 and note 100) also read *ὄργιαστής* in *I.G.*, II², 3507, but this testimony is not to be taken as confirmation of Spon. Spon and Wheler saw the stone together and evidently shared the error.

Kirchner says that he saw it as late as 1907 built into the outside of the rear wall. Pending confirmation that lines 1-2 are in fact part of the same stone—or of a joining stone—with lines 4-10, it may be well to reserve judgment on Boeckh's attribution of the two fragments to one text (cf. *C.I.G.*, 396). The fragments were copied quite separately by Vernon, and also by Sir George Wheler. Wheler even has *I.G.*, II², 4753 as part of *I.G.*, II², 3531, lines 1 and 2, reading: ⁴²

in lapide quadrato

Γαῖον Μέμμιον Σαβεῖνον Πείσανδρον
ἐπὶ ἱερείας Φλαυίας Λαοδαμίας.

But the significance of this combination is cast in doubt by the fact that he also adds the line ἐπὶ ἱερείας Φλαυίας Λαοδαμίας to his copy of *I.G.*, II², 3196. This stone is now preserved in the Museum at Eleusis, and I have a squeeze which shows no trace of the added line. Wheler was wrong in his attribution here, and he may also have been wrong in his attribution of the line to *I.G.*, II², 3531. Kirchner saw *I.G.*, II², 4753 in the steps at the entrance of the church at Phaneromene in 1907. It may be possible even now to study these fragments on Salamis and to determine whether they belong together, and—if so—how.

Spon's published text of *I.G.*, II², 3531 ended with the line φιλόπατριν. But both Vernon and Wheler, in their notes record additional lines:

Vernon ΛΗΤΤΙΟΔΟ \ΑΥΔΙΑ ΗΣΤΠΑ ΩΣ	Wheler —N—ΤΤΙΟΔ— —ΑΥΔCA —ΗCTPA
---	---

This may be the name of the dedicant, possibly [Ἄσκ]ληπιოდό[τη], the daughter of Memmios—if the fragments belong together—with the line ΗΣΤΠΑ expanded to read τὸν ἑαυτῆς πα[τέρα --]. Or if Vernon misread O for Ω at the end of the line the name [Ἄσκ]ληπιοδώ[ρα] is also possible; Wheler read no letter in the space in question.

I.G., II², 3574 ⁴³ (p. 9v); 3586 (p. 9v); 3610 (p. 9r); 3647 (p. 9r); 3658 ⁴⁴ (p. 9r); 3820/1 (p. 23r); 4085 (p. 9r); 4217 (pp. 7r and 27v); 4222 (p. 27v); 4753 ⁴⁵ (p. 9v); 5187 (p. 27v); 5206 ⁴⁶ (p. 28v); 5208 (p. 27r); 5388 (p. 36r); 5510 (p. 27v); 5786 (p. 27v); 5902 ⁴⁷ (p. 9v).

⁴² British Museum Add. MS. 35334, no. 358; cf. *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, p. 43 and note 100.

⁴³ Vernon has Ν, confirming Spon and Wheler as against Lenormant.

⁴⁴ Vernon saw the whole text, gives leaves at the ends of lines 3 and 5, and reads πολειτία in line 8.

⁴⁵ Vernon saw this stone at Eleusis, though it was later built into the steps of the church at Phaneromene. See the commentary above on *I.G.*, II², 3531.

⁴⁶ Vernon gives the final word as πόλει, as does also Wheler in his MS. notes. (British Museum Add. MS. 35334, no. 226; cf. *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, p. 43 and note 100.)

⁴⁷ Vernon shows lines 2-3 all on one line, no doubt correctly, and like Spon, has the reading

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I.G., II², 6239 (p. 36r). Vernon has a better version:

Πραξικλῆς
 Εὐφρονίου
 Θερίκιος
 γόνῳ δὲ
 5 Καλλικράτου
 Θερίκιου.

Wheler's manuscript (see footnote 46, above) has the same text (no. 346) except that it reads line 3 as Θερίκιου.

I.G., II², 6419 (p. 27r); 6672 (p. 27r).

I.G., II², 6709 (p. 20v). Vernon's copy is like Spon's, used by Boeckh in *C.I.G.*, 672, except that in line 1 Vernon has ΛΙΡΙΔΟΜΗΛΟΥ. The indications are that Fourmont's copy ought to govern the text, and so I suggest no change in *I.G.*, II², 6709. On the general reliability of Fourmont's copies see the note by L. Robert in *Rev. de Phil.*, XVIII, 1944, p. 19, note 2.

I.G., II², 7217 (p. 20r); 7222 (p. 20r); 7582 (p. 28r); 7701 (p. 27r); 7706 (p. 23r); 8481⁴⁸ (p. 23v); 9190 (p. 27r); 9610⁴⁹ (p. 27r); 10046a (p. 23v); 10264 (p. 23r); 10347a (p. 23r); 11140 (p. 23v); 11219 (p. 27r); 12420 (p. 27r); 12828⁵⁰ (p. 20v).

Among the *Classified Papers* of the Royal Society there is one (Vol. XVI, no. 21) from the hand of J. Hevelius, F. R. S., entitled "Inscriptions at Hierapolis with accounts of merchandise." Obviously some of the texts are Athenian, and I have noted (a) a poor copy of *I.G.*, II², 3449, (b) a copy of *I.G.*, II², 1769 which omits one line, (c) a copy of *I.G.*, II², 1760, (d) a copy of *I.G.*, II², 7222, and (e) a small fragment --- μπόρου | --- ἦθεν | --- ιησ --- which I have not identified.

Vernon's manuscript contains many notes on the flora and fauna of Greece and entertaining observations on the dress and customs of the people with whom he associated. There are copious notes also on the buildings of Athens, the study of which has been undertaken by W. B. Dinsmoor with a view to publishing such evidence as may have archaeological value.

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Βησαιέως. Wheler's manuscript notes also have Βησαιέως, but the reading is probably not independent of Spon. See Wheler, *op. cit.*, no. 361 (footnote 46, above).

⁴⁸ Vernon has Ἐδεσσαία in line 3.

⁴⁹ Vernon records this text in three lines of one word each, reading the name EYTYMIA. Wheler, *op. cit.*, no. 267 (cf. footnote 46, above) read the name as ENTIAΛΙΑ.

⁵⁰ Vernon reads complete at the end of line 7 χαριτώπις, of line 8 κείται, of line 9 μητέρος Ὀφρης.



The Style of Lysippos

Author(s): Charles H. Morgan

Reviewed work(s):

Source: *Hesperia Supplements*, Vol. 8, Commemorative Studies in Honor of Theodore Leslie Shear (1949), pp. 228-234+460-461

Published by: [The American School of Classical Studies at Athens](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1353896>

Accessed: 04/12/2012 15:45

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THE STYLE OF LYSIPPOS

(PLATES 24-25)

THE DEBATE concerning the style of Lysippos now reaches back nearly a hundred years into the past. So much has been written in so many languages at the cost of so many scholarly tempers, that it seems worth while to burrow into the mass of printed paper, rather like a grammarian searching through a long and complicated sentence for the essential verb, in an attempt to discover what basic facts have been established by the controversy. Stock-taking is indispensable in any profession, and doubly useful after a century without an inventory. In this particular case, established results are few and consequently of great importance.

The source of later disagreement first appeared in 1849 when workmen in the Trastevere section of Rome unearthed a statue of a nude youth scraping his outstretched arm with a strigil, a type of figure known as "apoxyomenos" (Plate 24, 1). Canina, its discoverer, turned at once to the ancient authors to find a potential author for the original figure of which this was obviously only a copy, settled on Polykleitos, and so published his opinion.¹ In the following year Braun attributed the type to Lysippos² and thereby established a criterion for the master's style that was to endure without serious question for half a century. Braun had only the statements of the ancient authors on which to base his attribution, and to them we must turn to check the justice of his ascription.

Greek and Roman references to Lysippos are relatively numerous, but the majority are too vague or general to be of much value either in identifying types or stylistic qualities.³ The most specific passage is found in Pliny.⁴ It reads:

His [Lysippos'] chief contributions to the art of sculpture are said to consist in his vivid rendering of the hair, in making the heads smaller than older artists had done, and the bodies slimmer and with less flesh [corpora graciliora siccioraque], thus increasing the apparent height of his figures. There is no Latin word for the canon of symmetry which he was so careful to preserve, bringing innovations which had never been thought of before into the square canon of the older artists, and he often said that the difference between himself and them was that they represented men as they were, and he as they appeared to be. His chief characteristic is extreme delicacy of execution even in the smallest detail.⁵

In addition to these statements, a few more pertinent observations may safely be postulated from the same and other ancient sources. Lysippos specialized in athletic statues; in representations of the male divinities and heroes, among whom Herakles

¹ *Bulletino dell' Istituto di Corrispondenza archeologica*, 1849, pp. 161-164.

² In *Annali dell' Istituto di Corrispondenza archeologica*, 1850, pp. 223 f.

³ Some 96 are listed in both the original text and in translation by Johnson in his *Lysippos*, pp. 266 ff.

⁴ *Historia Naturalis*, XXXIV, 65.

⁵ Jex-Blake translation.

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seems to have been favored; and in portraits, especially of Alexander and his entourage. He is twice cited by Pliny for his productivity⁶ and by others for his realism.⁷ His medium was bronze. He may have been active as early as 372 B.C.⁸ and as late as 316 B.C.⁹

Pliny has given an account of a statue of an Apoxyomenos by Lysippos of which the Emperor Tiberius was so enamoured that he removed it from its place in front of the Baths of Agrippa to his palace, only to restore it to its former place in response to popular demand.¹⁰ The event took place quite possibly in Pliny's lifetime, but aside from the information that Lysippos made a statue of this type, that it was set up in Rome by Agrippa where it was readily available to copyists, and that it was greatly admired by ruler and people alike, the story adds nothing to the basic literary evidence for Lysippos.

Returning to the marble Apoxyomenos discovered in Rome, we may assess the basic evidence for accepting it as a copy of a Lysippic original thus: *Lysippos, in common with other sculptors, is known to have made a statue of an Apoxyomenos. The marble figure in question represents an Apoxyomenos which, in proportion, is later than the fifth century. It thus becomes a possible candidate to represent the style of Lysippos.*¹¹

The second half of the nineteenth century was a very busy period in archaeology. Excavations were turning up important new material, and scholars were busily combing museums to identify replicas of the works of ancient masters and to establish criteria of style. A series of almost unique heads from Tegea were seized upon as examples of the style of Skopas. A fine marble from Olympia was enthroned as an original by the great Praxiteles. For the period of the fourth century, only Lysippos was unrepresented by new dramatic evidence, and the attribution of the Apoxyomenos, now installed in the Vatican, became more and more firmly fixed as opposition to it failed to develop. When new testimony was presented, the older scholars had proclaimed their benediction of the original proposal in one way or another, and had brought up generations of pupils in their faith. It is not surprising that they were reluctant to accept a new standard. It is the more remarkable that there were sufficient unprejudiced spirits to give them battle.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, XXXIV, 37 and 62.

⁷ Propertius, *Elegiae*, III, 9, 8; Quintilian, *De Institutione Oratoria*, XII, 10, 9.

⁸ Lysippos made the victor statue of Troilos of Elis who won the chariot race at Olympia in that year; cf. Pausanias, VI, 1, 4-5.

⁹ The date of the founding of Cassandreia with which he is connected by Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, XI, 784.

¹⁰ Pliny, XXXIV, 62.

¹¹ The lack of detail in the marble has been explained as the obvious result of translating the technique of bronze into stone. The fact remains that the figure is not remarkable for its detail. Some supporters would see in the hair a quality that might be described as "vivid rendering." It is apparent that these have ignored the broad flat Polykleitan curls that cover most of the head.

The discovery of a group of statues at Delphi in 1894 was a matter of relatively local interest. That the best preserved of them, representing a certain pankratiast named Agias of Pharsalos (Plate 24, 2), was promptly associated with Lysippos on grounds of style by its discoverer¹² called forth little comment. But when, at the turn of the century, Preuner¹³ noted the almost exact correspondence between the inscription on the base of the Agias at Delphi and a lost inscription from Pharsalos, which latter added the sculptor's signature as Lysippos, the attribution of 1850 came directly under fire, and the war was on.

The basic evidence for accepting the Agias at Delphi as representing a copy of an original by Lysippos is as follows: *Lysippos is known to have made a statue of the pankratiast Agias at Pharsalos. A marble statue of this same Agias was set up at Delphi in the lifetime of Lysippos¹⁴ on a pedestal bearing almost identically the same inscription as that on the pedestal signed by Lysippos. An association of the Agias with Lysippos had already been made on stylistic grounds alone.*

Epigraphical evidence, especially when combined with monumental evidence, is much stronger than generalized literary accounts. In the case of the Agias, furthermore, the figure represents a specific individual whereas the Apoxyomenos can claim only to reproduce a type which other sculptors besides Lysippos are known to have produced. Where demonstrable proof is concerned, the advantage in this instance lies clearly with the challenger.

Embarking briefly on the uneasy seas of stylistic comparison, the proportions of the Agias fit the broad statement of Pliny quite as well as do those of the Vatican Apoxyomenos. It is true that it is as difficult to see "vivid rendering" in the indifferently chiselled and somewhat weathered hair of the Agias, but it is equally plain that the basic conception of its rendering, in long thin locks, represents a revolution from the broad flat curls of Polykleitos and the late fifth century. The greater part of the figure of Agias can lay little, if any, more claim to "delicacy of execution even in the finest details" than can its rival; but one small exception to this observation, the graphically cauliflowered left ear, which is the first of its kind in Greek sculpture, reminds us forcefully of Lysippos' reputation for realism.

The battle for the honor of representing the style of Lysippos was protracted. The roster of great names in the archaeological world which entered the rhetorical lists is an impressive one. In the end, a general compromise resulted that admitted the validity of both candidates, though the truce was a restless one, not infrequently broken. In the general uproar, however, an important attribution was hastily shelved and must now be reconsidered if the picture of Lysippos is to be presented in the light of all the presently available evidence.

¹² Homolle, *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1894, XII, p. 452.

¹³ *Ein Delphisches Weihgeschenk*, Leipzig, 1900.

¹⁴ For the date of the whole group of which the Agias formed a part, cf. Poulsen, *Delphi*, pp. 267 ff.

There is an Apoxyomenos type, best represented in a bronze from Ephesos in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna (Plate 25, 1) and by a marble in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence (Plate 24, 3),¹⁵ but well known from numerous other copies of varying excellence in marble, on gems, and in terracotta reliefs. The action of the figure, known to us from the smaller replicas, consisted in cleaning a strigil held in the right hand with a finger of the left. In 1914, an Italian archaeologist, Mme. Mavigilia, rejected the claims of both the Agias and the Vatican Apoxyomenos in favor of this type as best representing the style of Lysippos.¹⁶ The book is little known in America, and has received scant comment. It had the misfortune to appear at a time when archaeological discussion on the subject of Lysippos was already deeply involved in an infinity of subjective interpretations of the style of two figures, and apparently was not anxious further to complicate the situation with a third. It is less to the validity of Mme. Mavigilia's argument, however, than to the type itself that one should turn to appreciate the possible contribution which it offers to the subject of Lysippos.

The Vienna Apoxyomenos brings with it no further basic evidence for consideration than does its rival in the Vatican. If it is to establish itself in a stronger position, it must either present better internal evidence of authorship or closer association with the best established claimant to representation of the Lysippic style, the Agias. Opinion in such matters will always be open to question since it depends upon interpretation and not on irrefutable fact. There are three points, however, which seem definitely to give the Vienna type the advantage over the one in Rome. They are as follows:

1) The representation of the hair is remarkably careful and detailed, giving a realistic effect of short ruffled locks, thick with oil, that has hardly been equalled at any time in the history of sculpture. While this cannot be proved to reproduce the characteristic tonsorial type of Lysippos as it is described in Pliny, it would be difficult to find a better example. That the quality of the hair of this type was highly regarded in antiquity may be shown from the way in which it is reproduced in faithful, if laborious, detail in the marble version of the figure in the Uffizi.

2) The type was very popular in ancient times, for it appears in many copies in many different media. This accords well with Pliny's story of the general admiration with which Lysippos' Apoxyomenos was regarded in Rome. As positive proof of identification of this observation, it is inconclusive. It is, however, an indication which cannot be duplicated by the Vatican type.¹⁷

3) The Vienna type may be associated with the Agias on two counts. Firstly,

¹⁵ Wrongly restored as holding a vase.

¹⁶ *L'Attività di Lysippos ricostruita su nuova base*, Rome, 1914.

¹⁷ The adherents of this latter type have always explained the lack of other copies in the observation that the pose of the projecting arms made too difficult a translation from bronze into marble, a consideration which does not seem to have daunted the Roman copyists of Myron's Diskobolos.

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the pose of the feet and legs is very similar indeed, and their positioning determines the distribution of the weight of the upper part of the figure, although the difference in action of the two figures makes for an agreeable variety. Secondly, the hair of the Agias, however summary may be its execution, is planned in the same narrow locks. Again, these observations are not in themselves conclusive, but they do serve to bring the Vienna Apoxyomenos specifically closer to the Delphi statue than the Vatican figure can come.

The trend of the argument having brought out points of comparison between the Agias and the Apoxyomenos, let us attack the problems that immediately arise from the obvious dissimilarities that exist between them, always remembering that stylistic evidence is speculative. Except for the hair there is virtually no similarity in the heads; and the physical detail of the bodies, even if the Uffizi example be used to obtain a similar material for comparison, bears little apparent likeness. At this point, the ancient authors remind us that Lysippos was both a realist and a portraitist; and it is immediately apparent that the usually negative evidence of dissimilarity may become, in the light of this consideration, of positive character.

Agias represents a pankratiast who won an Olympic victory more than a hundred years before his statue was set up at Delphi in company with numerous other ancestors of the dedicator, Daochos, who also appeared in the group. The strongly disfigured left ear of the statue is sufficient evidence that the sculptor conceived of his subject from a realistic point of view. The roll of flesh at the outer corners of the eyes, often regarded as indicating emotional intensity, is quite as well explained as the masses of scar tissue acquired as easily by the ancient pankratiast as by the modern pugilist. The sculptor has approached his problem realistically, even though the subject had died long before in an age when portraiture as such was unknown and no specific likeness could have survived. Such a conception is not unusual at any time in history when the trend is toward realism. It is particularly appropriate in such a group which contained the contemporary statue of the dedicator.

The personal identity of the Apoxyomenos of Lysippos is quite unknown. While it is not unlikely that it may have been erected originally as a victor statue, it may have been a "studio" piece. At all events, the broad face of the Vienna figure with its immature mouth and chin fits no known standard of ancient beauty, nor does it more than superficially resemble any of the generalized facial types of Greek sculpture (Plate 25, 2). Here again it is apparent that the sculptor is absorbed in the representation of an individual.

Either or both of the heads just described agrees with the reputation of Lysippos as the first famous Greek sculptor to be known for his portraits. That very accurate likenesses were in vogue at that time is shown by another passage in Pliny¹⁸ in which he states that Lysistratos, the brother of Lysippos, was the first artist to make life

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, XXXV, 153.

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masks, and to render portraits with life-like precision while previous artists had attempted to make them as beautiful as possible.

The bodies of the two figures are as unlike as the heads except in the proportionate slimness of the legs, and the general vigor of the pose as a whole, determined by the almost identical stances. The broad flattish planes of the Agias are quite in harmony with those of the face, and give an effect of agility which was an essential characteristic of a pankratiast and was so reproduced in Panathenaic amphorae of the fourth century.¹⁹ We do not know the particular occupation of the Apoxyomenos, but an indication is suggested by the heavy muscular shoulders and torso. No less an ancient commentator on the effects of ancient training than Socrates is quoted as protesting that just as the runner over-developed his legs, so did the boxer over-develop the upper part of his body.²⁰ The prominent and heavy musculature of the boxers represented on another Panathenaic amphora²¹ implies that Michelangelesque anatomy was considered appropriate for this subject in the fourth century.²² A further possible means of identifying the figure as a boxer may be found in the slightly thickened right ear, a detail as appropriate to the youthful type here represented as is the full distortion of this organ on the Agias, a maturer campaigner.

Whether or not one accepts the association of the statues with originals by the same hand, it is clearly evident on the basis of both heads and bodies that both statues have been treated as complete realistic entities. The identity of conception of the two figures, novel at this point in the development of Greek sculpture, seems reasonably to point to an identity of authorship.

A final summary of the evidence in favor of accepting the Vienna Apoxyomenos type as reproducing the original Apoxyomenos by Lysippos is as follows:

- 1) The fundamental assumption that it represents a subject known to have been made by Lysippos, puts it on the same basis for consideration as the Vatican Apoxyomenos type. In addition to this:
- 2) The novel and detailed rendering of the hair agrees well with a specific characteristic of Lysippos cited in Pliny;
- 3) The stance of the figure and the basic conception of the hair are very closely paralleled in the Agias which is associated with Lysippos on epigraphical evidence; and
- 4) The realistic representation, accords, not only with a similar approach of the sculptor of the Agias to his subject, but to the ancient ascription of this quality to Lysippos.

¹⁹ See the vase signed by Kittos, ca. 365-350 B.C., and the one dated in the archonship of Niketes, 332 B.C., both reproduced in Gardiner, *Athletics of the Ancient World*, Oxford, 1930, figures 192 and 191 respectively.

²⁰ Xenophon, *Symposium*, 2, 17.

²¹ From the archonship of Pythodelos, 336 B.C.; British Museum, b. 607.

²² For further comment on the bulk of Greek boxers, cf. Gardiner, *op. cit.*, pp. 106 and 204.

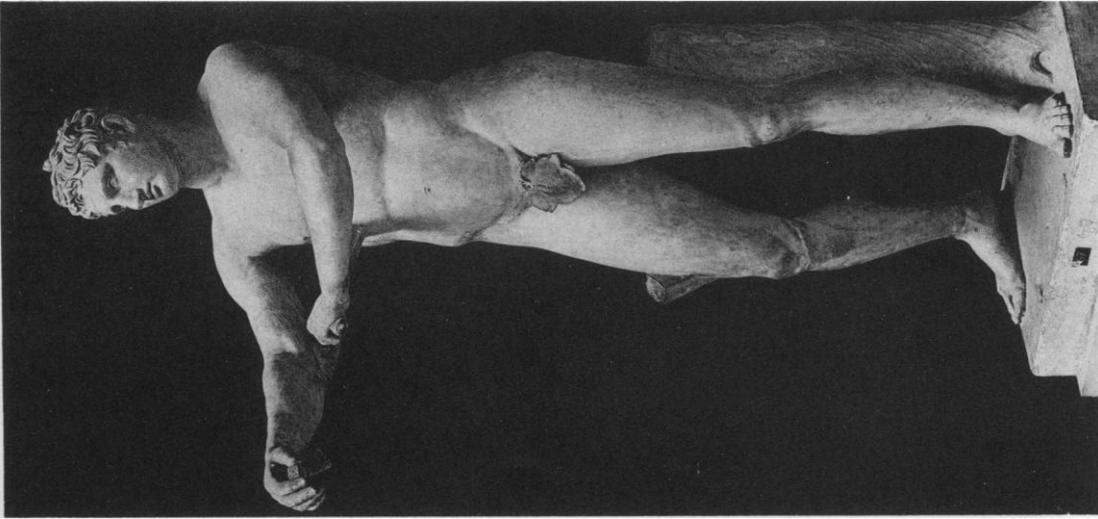
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The recognition of individual masters in fifth-century sculpture is handicapped by the similarity of styles represented. In accepting both the Agias and the Vienna Apoxyomenos as representative of the work of Lysippos, the problem is complicated by their variety. Such a problem will conceivably arise in the distant future when an effort is made on similar evidence to attempt to group together the works of a great realist of more modern date such as Rodin. How, stylistically, can the "Age of Bronze" and "The Thinker" be associated with each other through generalized comments in literature and other indirect means? But, given these two as points of departure, identification of the "Burghers of Calais" and other figures might reasonably be expected to follow. Similarly, acceptance of the Vienna Apoxyomenos at once reinforces the earlier vague assumptions that certain figures of Herakles, notably the Farnese and Epitrapezios types, were at least derived from Lysippic originals. Others, such as the standing Herakles with the apples of the Hesperides,²³ may well be brought into his orbit after careful study and analysis. The proposed solution, rather than complicating an existing problem, opens a way out of an old impasse.

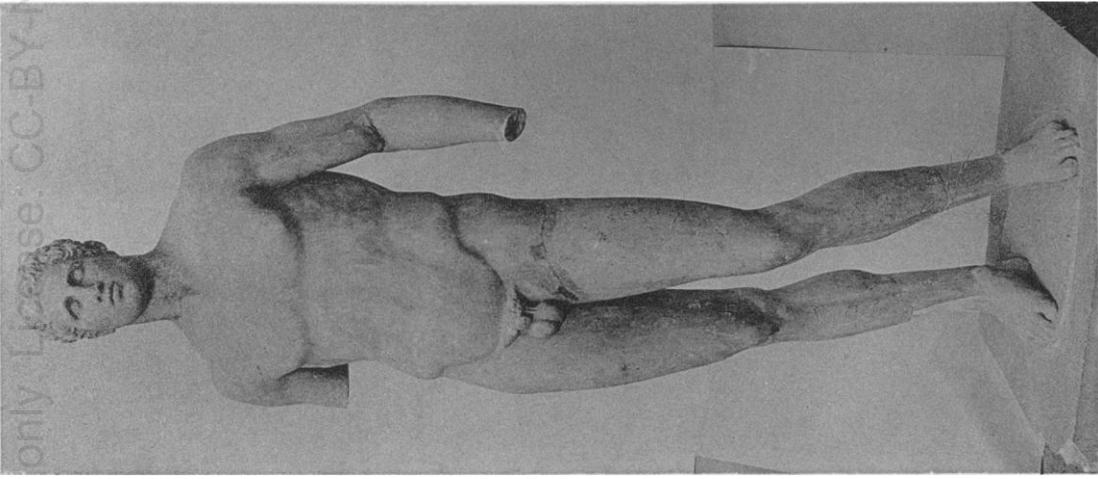
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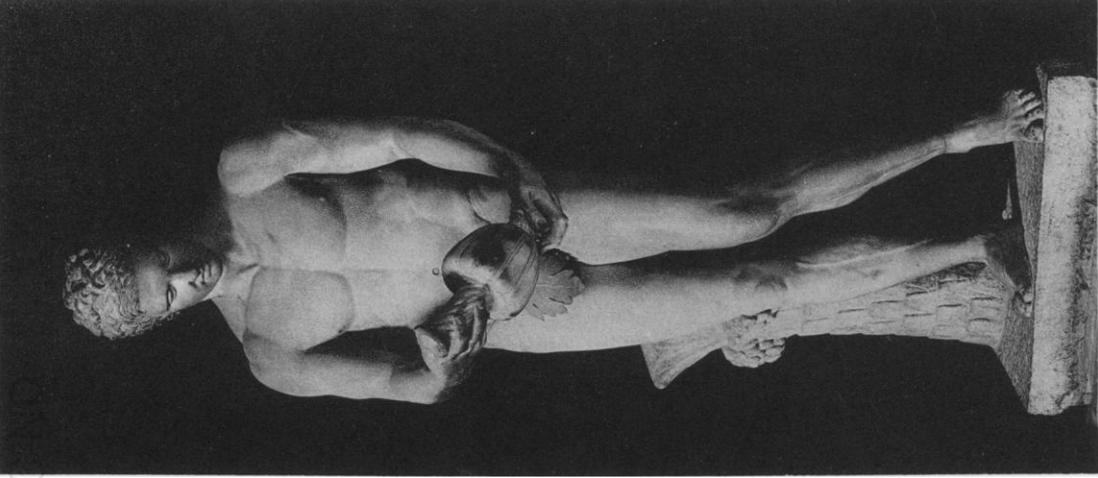
²³ Well represented by a colossal bronze in the Conservatori Palace, and a smaller marble version in the Museo delle Terme in Rome.



1. Vatican Apoxyomenos, Rome

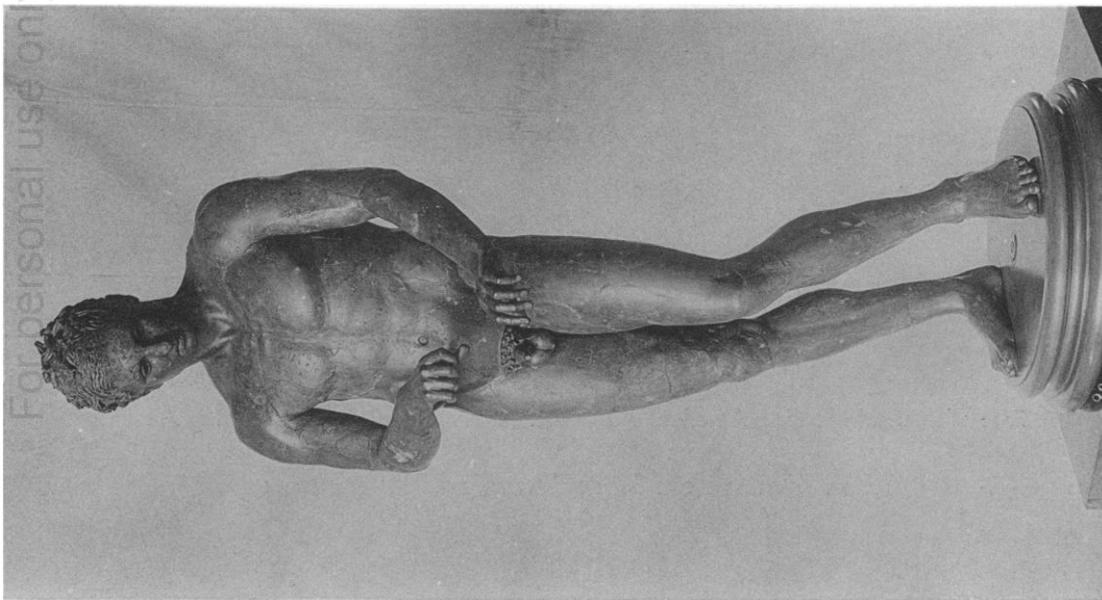


2. Agias, Delphi



3. Marble Replica of the Vienna Apoxyomenos Type (Uffizi)

C. H. MORGAN: THE STYLE OF LYSSIPPOS



1. The Vienna Apoxyomenos (Kunsthistorisches Museum)



2. Head of the Vienna Apoxyomenos

C. H. MORGAN: THE STYLE OF LYSIPPOS



Hoard Evidence and Its Importance

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Reviewed work(s):

Source: *Hesperia Supplements*, Vol. 8, Commemorative Studies in Honor of Theodore Leslie Shear (1949), pp. 235-242

Published by: [The American School of Classical Studies at Athens](#)

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HOARD EVIDENCE AND ITS IMPORTANCE

A CLEAR indication that there is a growing consciousness of the importance of coin hoards for archaeologists is the increase in size of the 1935 edition of the *Bibliography of Greek Coin Hoards* (published by the American Numismatic Society) over the first issue in 1925.¹ This growth—almost a doubling in size—is not due to material which had been overlooked in the first edition; it consists chiefly of publications added during the ten years of peace which intervened. The reception of this work has been highly gratifying, and one of my prized possessions is a congratulatory note written by Professor Shear when the first edition appeared. There has, however, been a tendency toward generalizations on the part of those who have used the *Bibliography*, sometimes without the necessary regard for the caution recommended in the prefaces. The effort here is to emphasize and to amplify those warnings.

We frequently and mistakenly assume that the principles which govern the study of hoards are fully understood by those using the evidence which the hoards supply. These rules are not infallible, but they have shown themselves so dependable that they command a high degree of assurance. An experienced numismatist values them as prized tools—in inexperienced hands their use is fraught with danger. In this paper it is intended to give attention to several of these rules or principles, especially that of Gresham's Law; before discussing the latter, however, it will be necessary to mention some of the others and to clear away some misapprehensions about them.

One of the most dangerous misuses of hoard evidence is that which fails to take into consideration whether the record deals with a hoard that is intact as contrasted with one which is admittedly incomplete. It is safe to make deductions concerning the distance which separates the place of origin of a coin in a hoard from the location of the hoard's discovery whether we have the entire hoard or not, and similar reasonings are true of weights or denominations. But any conclusion regarding the proportionate representation of the coins of a specific mint in a hoard is misleading unless it is known that the entire hoard is recorded. For such purposes, only complete hoards may safely be compared one with another. Hence, generalizations which bring complete hoards into comparison with ones known to be incomplete court disaster. There are possible exceptions—a hoard divided between two peasant finders who could not distinguish the rarer varieties would probably possess in either half a dependable cross-section of the entire lot, and working with either half would probably lead to conclusions differing only slightly from what might have been disclosed by the complete hoard. Notwithstanding this, there must be constant insistence on the value of an intact find.

¹ *Numismatic Notes and Monographs* Nos. 25 and 78.

Accurate knowledge of the find-spot is of the greatest importance, not only because of its relation to the contents of the hoard, but because in the countries in which ancient coins are found, the laws concerned with treasure trove vary considerably, and this often prevents obtaining the facts. There is strong likelihood that Roman coins found in the British Isles will be fully recorded because English law takes into account the rights of the finder, who, in consequence, need have no hesitation in reporting his discovery to the proper authorities. Like conditions do not prevail elsewhere. When the peasant finder has occasion to fear seizure and complications at the hands of local officials, concealment is a natural result, and accuracy of statement as to the location, or the circumstances of the hoard's discovery can hardly be expected, and since the dependability of the one who describes the finding qualifies his statement, interpretation of the published record often involves questions of judgment. These are considerations which must be taken into account in making generalizations.

A prime test of a hoard's homogeneity is uniformity of incrustation or coloration. Discoloration may be due to the receptacle in which it has been buried—the nature of the container is all too frequently disregarded. If intact, the vessel's preservation is always desirable. If shattered, care will enable the re-assembling of its fragments as well as its contents, and the surroundings in which the receptacle was discovered are important. One curious example will illustrate. At Naupactus in 1936, while demolishing a dwelling, ten staters of Elis were found in a box in the house-wall. Uniformity of surface indicated that these must have formed part of an earlier hoard whose peasant-sharer had concealed the coins in this manner for safe-keeping. In other words, these coins had been twice hoarded.

It is obvious that what we hope to obtain from each new hoard is some addition to our knowledge—new types or new varieties. But the emphasis upon these is frequently at the expense of the other components of the find, whose slight commercial value is the cause of their receiving scant attention—there is a consequent loss of evidence which may be of greatest importance. Thought will show that these commoner varieties are likely to recur in further hoards—if then they can be dated accurately, they may have greater value than a unique piece. Loss of evidence is a danger suffered especially by bronze coins when the finder is not aware of what may be done by scientific cleaning. It is also true for worn coins of silver. In olden days, such silver pieces went into the melting pot. Even today, the attitude of dealers' patrons will cause the undervaluing of such a hoard or the ignoring of its numismatic value. Because of these circumstances, the full and careful identification of each piece in a hoard is desirable. It will sometimes provide data whose significance will not be realized for years to come. Completeness of identification should be urged upon every one engaged in excavations or resident in a country in which hoards of ancient coins are likely to occur.

The hoards found in excavations are in a class by themselves. They form a sizable proportion of those listed in the second edition of the hoard *Bibliography*. Their value is increased when they are placed in a national cabinet or other permanent repository where they may be consulted for checking or for amplification of the published record. Even in such permanent repositories, once a hoard has been studied, if it is distributed according to its mints, its re-assembling involves considerable effort. In some museums, fortunately, hoards still unpublished are kept intact and may ultimately be studied. For this we cannot be too grateful—the practice should be urged upon small local museums. Collectors who may be fortunate enough to secure a hoard must be led to realize their trusteeship and their responsibility thereunder.

This leads to another important consideration in the study of hoards, i. e., the occasional necessity of revising conclusions in the light of new evidence. When hoards are published, the individual who records them ostensibly uses all the information at his command and we may presume that the record was as complete as it was possible for him to make it. It will frequently be found that after an interval—an interval that may be as little as ten years—new information will have become available and that this will affect the published conclusions, whether as to the date of its deposit or the dating or attribution of its contents. Rich fruitage may thus result from re-study even when the earlier recording is by an expert, as I hope to show by analyzing a typical Greek hoard.

In considering such an analysis, we shall do well to give thought to method or procedure in the treatment or recording of hoards. It would have been eminently fitting in this paper to have chosen from the hoards described by Mr. Newell, for they provide an admirable model. Many of them, however, are concerned with the problems of the coinages of Alexander the Great and his successors, whereas a less specialized field seemed more desirable. For other reasons which will appear, I have selected the Babylon Hoard described on pp. 92 ff. of the *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* for 1928 by Dr. Kurt Regling—another master in the handling of hoard material and, like Mr. Newell, a numismatist whose wide experience gives his conclusions great weight.

Dr. Regling begins with an account of the discovery of the hoard by German excavators and its interesting subsequent history. Note please that this is an excavation hoard, found intact, and that it was deposited in Berlin where presumably it may be consulted in future. Next the condition of the coins when found and the results of cleaning are described. An analysis of thirteen hoards containing similar material follows—this is based upon the hoard *Bibliography*, but with valuable additions and criticisms, as well as the assignment of burial-dates for several of these hoards. A discussion of the relation of these to the Babylon hoard and to one another follows.

The detailed description of the one hundred coins in the find is accompanied by a table of monograms. Of the eleven tetradrachms of Lysimachus, seven are posthumous issues. The forty-three coins bearing the name of Alexander the Great are all late

tetradrachms of Müller's Class VI, datable after B.C. 190.² No less than twenty-one represent coinages of autonomous cities, chiefly of Asia Minor, but they include Athens (1) and Eretria (3). Mithradates III has a single piece, the Attalids eight and the Seleucids sixteen. The Samothracian piece is unique and the date for the tetradrachm of Alexandria Troas is next to the earliest known, while one piece for Mytilene differs from the only other specimen known. The description is interrupted in at least two places by digressions—one to list all the tetradrachms of Ilion known to the author (there are five of these in the hoard and four of them provide names of magistrates that are new), and the second to discuss carefully dates for the Side coins, with and without countermarks. A Summary indexes the cities and rulers represented in the hoard and five plates illustrate forty-nine of the coins—a few show reverses only.

It is difficult to see how this presentation could have been improved unless all the coins had been illustrated. Further gleaning would seem to promise but scanty results even though some of the questions are left open. But the mint for at least one of the Alexander-type tetradrachms is undecided and the mints from which four or five of the Lysimachus pieces were issued are not identified. One of these latter in the light of information in the E. T. Newell Collection now in the American Numismatic Society, comes from an uncertain mint of which but one other specimen is recorded. Further, Regling's No. 86 can now be assigned to the mint of Ake-Ptolemais.³ There is also a possibility that the chronological order for the Ilion tetradrachms may now be worked out.⁴ There are other gleanings which might be pointed out, but their discussion would require a lengthier presentation than is possible here. Before considering certain deductions made from this and similar hoards, it seems desirable to observe the bearing of Gresham's Law on hoards.

The relation of numismatics to this dictum of Queen Elizabeth's financial adviser is one of its most interesting applications—it usually mystifies a student when first he comes into contact with it. Classicists are familiar with its use in explaining the famous passage in Aristophanes *Frogs* (line 718) concerning which much ink has flowed. It may be questioned that Sir Thomas Gresham fully realized that his law had been in operation almost as long as coined money. As he expressed it "in every country where two kinds of legal money are in circulation, the bad money always drives out the good." Gide⁵ assigns three ways as the chief ones through which good money disappears: (a) by hoarding, (b) through payments abroad, and (c) through sales by weight. Economists have concerned themselves with the more modern work-

² Cf. L. Müller, *Numismatique d'Alexandre le Grand*, pl. II.

³ Cf. American Numis. Soc. *Museum Notes*, 1945, in which Mrs. Brett discusses this mint.

⁴ Cf. *loc. cit.*, p. 123.

⁵ C. Gide, *Principles of Political Economy*, 2nd American Ed., translated by C. W. A. Veditz, p. 238.

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ings of this law. They have observed that during periods of disturbance when there is distrust of a government's ability to redeem paper notes, the metallic currency is withdrawn from circulation by a populace which prefers the coins because of the intrinsic value of their metal content. We had a striking illustration of the lengths to which such reactions will lead in World War I, when even brass tokens disappeared from circulation in France as soon as they were issued. Similarly, according to recent newspaper report certain paper notes of the Bank of England, whose value as legal tender ceased after a date fixed by law, began to appear in surprising numbers. This, it was explained, was due to their withdrawal from hoards. That some of these hoards have been buried was indicated through the deterioration which the notes had suffered from dampness or other soil conditions.

Fear is generally conceded as the commonest cause for the secreting of a hoard. In ancient days, wars or even the presence of foreign garrisons was adequate ground for believing that personal savings might be in danger. Burial in the earth was common, as we learn from Matthew 6, 19-21, the meaning of which is clearer when the word "treasure" is translated so that the injunction is "Lay not up for yourselves hoards in the earth—there moth and rust do consume. . . ." The reference to moth as well as rust is to be explained in that even today in the Near East a prized rug is sometimes buried secretly for safe-keeping. It is obvious that the hoarder's prevention from disinterring his treasure is the necessary condition of our finding such deposits today. Wars provided the condition which prevented such reclamation.

From the foregoing it will be apparent why Gresham's Law is of importance to hoards. Neophytes express great surprise at the preservation of Greek coins and ask how it happens that we have them in such impressive condition when marble statues, architectural remains, vases and even other metal objects are so often fragmentary. The answer is to be found in the practice of hoarding. This application of Gresham's Law will be the more readily understood if we read it as implying that "good money drives out (of circulation) the better." The coin which leaves circulation to pass into a hoard is "the better" one of two or the best of three or more. Of two coins, one of which is uncirculated and the other worn, the worn coin is the more open to challenge for loss of weight. That is why an unworn piece was selected by the hoarder—it afforded him greater security. This tendency is illustrated by one's own sub-conscious selection of a worn coin for spending while an uncirculated piece of the same denomination is returned to one's pocket. In some hoards we are gratified to find a considerable proportion of freshly struck coins without any indications of having circulated. When these are alongside other issues of the same mint which do show wear, we may safely conclude that the unworn ones were struck more recently than those which show circulation—a most valuable criterion for early coins without inscriptions, and also in Hellenistic hoards in which some pieces bear dates, thus affording a fixed point for comparisons.

The method used by Dr. Regling for dating the Babylon Hoard illustrates some of these considerations and is deserving of attention. It is based on the non-occurrence in the hoard of a coin which might have been expected to be there. Because the coinage of Demetrius I Soter is represented by a heavy proportion of the hoard (12 out of 100), and because his predecessor's coinage is also present, attention is called to the absence of the common coinage of his successor, Alexander I Balas. From its absence, it is argued that the hoard would seem to have been buried before Alexander came to power. Furthermore, since there were none of the late issues of Demetrius I, it is suggested that the hoard may have been buried five years before his death. This is a justifiable use of the *argumentum ex silentio* because the hoard was intact. Let us suppose, however that the coinage of Alexander I (which was not present) had been grossly debased. Our hoarder, knowing this, would not have added such coins to his hoard, in consequence of which their absence would have been explainable as the "bad money" of Gresham's Law and this absence would no longer have been significant in assigning a date for the burial of these savings. The *argumentum ex silentio* must be used with the greatest of caution.

In explaining why these spread-flan tetradrachms of the Alexander type struck by the Anatolian cities are found in Syria, Gresham's Law again comes into the picture. It is recognized by most economists that one of the three commonest ways "good money" disappears from circulation is by payments abroad. The booty of the Romans listed in the records of the triumphs of their victorious generals must have been but part of the spoils,—we cannot estimate what more the soldiery took,—and although these can hardly be called payments abroad, the heavy proportion of Attic tetradrachms must have included thousands of the issues of the Anatolian cities. But not withstanding Roman looting, on the evidence of the Babylon hoard as well as that of the other Syrian hoards previously noted, we find the Anatolian tetradrachms journeyed to Syria—the resumption of trade (after its interruption following the defeat of Antiochus III at Magnesia) would amply account for this. If, therefore, the absence of cistophori from the Babylon hoard and from all other Syrian hoard-records indicates that the Syrians preferred the Alexander-type tetradrachms to the cistophori, we are warranted in deducing that they insisted on receiving Attic tetradrachms in payment for merchandise bought from them and rejected the cistophori as the less desirable or "bad money" of Gresham's Law. Could anything be more simple? They were accustomed to the Alexander-types which had circulated for over a century and a half. The cistophoric issues bore a strange design whose significance was not immediately apparent to Syrians. In other words, they received the same treatment by the Syrians that the coinage of the Ptolemaic coinage was accorded—they were rejected by the traders.

Gresham's Law also comes into operation in explaining the practice of counter-marking coins. We need not here go into the manifold reasons for the countermarking

of bronze coins—we have an adequate example in the silver pieces in the Babylon Hoard. Seventeen of the one hundred are surcharged with the Seleucid anchor while another piece shows a countermark which Dr. Regling tentatively accredits to Rhodes. With the exception of one tetradrachm of the Alexander-type struck at Myrina all of these issues originated in Pamphylian mints. The Ain Tab Hoard (*Bibliogr.* No. 24) of which Mr. Newell examined about one-half, had a “majority” of this half similarly marked. This same condition was found in the Aleppo Hoard (*Bibliography* No. 31). It would therefore seem that we might safely conclude that up to the time of the burial of the Babylon Hoard (155 B.C.), the use of the Seleucid countermark for other than the Pamphylian tetradrachms was exceptional. Counterstamping these late Alexander-type tetradrachms with the Seleucid anchor or with any other countermark is not usual in Mr. Newell’s large collection of these issues (four out of approximately two hundred fifty), the Pamphylian issues being always excepted. Outside the Pamphylian issues only one of the counterstamped pieces in the Babylon Hoard is of the Alexander-type. It follows, therefore, that there must have been some reason which made these countermarks necessary before these issues of Side and Aspendus would circulate in Seleucid territory—they were the “bad money” of Gresham’s Law without the countermark, and seeking the reason would take us far afield. But even if we add these countermarked coins to the regular Seleucid issues in the Babylon Hoard, we have the surprisingly low proportion of 33% for the issues of the country in which the hoard was buried, with the remaining two-thirds consisting of coins from distant Asia Minor and from points as far away as Eretria and Kallatis on the Euxine. Dr. Regling considers the small proportion of Attalid tetradrachms not surprising in view of the strained relations between Demetrius I and Pergamum because of Timarchus’ revolt. He also believes that the round sum of one hundred pieces indicates a payment just received or one which was contemplated, while the depositing of the hoard in a cemetery is interpreted by him as showing an absence of fear (due to warfare) as the cause of the burial. From the heavy preponderance of Asia Minor coins it might be suggested that we have the holdings of a trader who either had just come from Asia Minor or who was returning thither for further trading and who had accumulated pieces which he knew would be welcomed at his journey’s end, or along the way. Although such deductions are admittedly speculative, there is no speculation involved in the fact that two-thirds of the contents of this hoard were issues of distant cities and that these were preferred to the local issues. For some reason, this hoarder believed they represented better security. We may never know what these reasons were.

Brief reflection will show that Gresham’s Law is the basis for the truism that Greek bronze coins usually occur not far from their place of origin—an important consideration in attributing previously unknown bronze coins. For commercial transactions bronze coins are acceptable only within the area in which the badge of the issuer is recognized or honored. They might be rejected by a rival state or an enemy.

Bronze coins would have passed freely within the city of issue, less freely among its nearby friendly neighbors and seldom or not at all beyond these limits, where they become the “bad money” of Gresham’s Law and are refused—that is, continued in circulation because no one will accept them. To regain their purchasing power they must be returned to their place of issue, and unless a merchant has a means of bringing this about without expenditure, he must withstand a loss equal to the cost of transportation. Because of their low denominational value, this was likely to exceed the value of the coin. Recognition of these conditions enables us to realize that the home of a bronze coin of an unknown type is to be sought near the place of its finding rather than at any considerable distance.

It is hoped that what precedes has demonstrated that each hoard is a problem with an individuality of its own and that this is why hoards entice students. There is always the joy of pioneering—always the possibility that there is an important addition to our knowledge awaiting recognition or application. With widening experience, the sensing of these possibilities increases and deftness in sifting the evidence is achieved. Surely it is not too much to claim that hoard evidence as to dating historical events should receive consideration equal to that given to fragmentary inscriptions, especially in the Hellenistic period. Do many branches of archaeology or numismatics offer greater promise or opportunity?

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Two Athenian Poets

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Reviewed work(s):

Source: *Hesperia Supplements*, Vol. 8, Commemorative Studies in Honor of Theodore Leslie Shear (1949), pp. 243-258

Published by: [The American School of Classical Studies at Athens](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1353898>

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TWO ATHENIAN POETS

I

THE Statii of Chollidae were more than a prominent Athenian family on the fringe of the international aristocracy of the second and third centuries after Christ, for in the cultural capital of the Greek world they helped to bear the burden of the great cultural tradition, or were closely related to those who did. The reconstruction of their family tree prepares the way for a better understanding of the intellectual and spiritual life of Roman Athens.

The Statii of Chollidae are mentioned in many Attic inscriptions,¹ but because of their evidence on degrees of relationship the text published as *I.G.*, II², 3704 and the original inscription on the front of the Sarapion Monument, both from the Asclepieum on the south slope of the Acropolis, are the chief documents for a reconstruction of the genealogical table. Since the date of my discussion in *Hesperia* V² so much information about the Sarapion Monument has accrued through the discovery of new fragments of the inscriptions on front and sides and through Paul Maas' reconstruction³ of what he has called the *carmen de officiis medici moralibus*, that certain corrections can now be made. Here we are not interested in the unrelated inscription⁴ which around 220 A.D. was engraved on the sides of the monument. Our concern is with the original inscription on the front of the monument. The first seven lines read as follows:

On cap [Σαραπίων]α Χολλείδην > π[οιητήν ----]
 [καὶ φι]λόσοφον Στωικ[όν]

On base Κό > Στά[τιος Πυρφόρ]ος ἐξ Ἀκροπόλεως Χολλεί
 δης ιε[ρὸν εἶναι τοῦ] θεοῦ τὸν αὐτοῦ πάππου
 5 ἀνέθ[ηκεν καὶ τὸ ποίη]μα αὐτοῦ ἀνέγραψεν
 κα[θ' ὑπομνηματισμὸν Ἀρειοπ]αγειτῶν
 Λε[---- Διονυσόδ]ωρος ἦρχε

1 Σαραπίων]α, Kirchner (*I.G.*, II², 3796); π[οιητήν cum adjectivo aut π[οιητήν καὶ ῥήτορα, Oliver². 2 καὶ, Oliver²; cetera Kirchner. 3 Dittenberger (*I.G.*, III, 720 b).
 4 Oliver². 5 ἀνέθ[ηκεν καὶ τὸν παιᾶ]να αὐτοῦ, Graindor (*B.C.H.*, 1927, p. 285); τὸ ποίη]μα, Oliver². 6 Graindor. 7 Oliver¹.

In line 5 Graindor seems to have written παιᾶ]να for παιᾶ]να or παιᾶν]α, because neither von Duhn, whose copy Dittenberger used in *I.G.*, III, 720 b, nor Kirchner in

¹ For example, an inscription edited in *I.G.*, II², 4249 as honoring a Roman lady concerns Statia Thallusa, surely a member of this Athenian family, for there is no indication of servile or foreign origin. It might better be dated around 200 A.D.

² "The Sarapion Monument and the Paean of Sophocles," *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 91-112.

³ P. Maas, *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, VII, 1939, pp. 321-323.

⁴ For the new fragments and further restoration of the second inscription see *Trans. Amer. Phil. Assoc.*, LXXI, 1940, pp. 306-311.

I.G., II², 3631 recorded the nu. A vertical hasta which could belong either to nu or mu is faintly perceptible. In the lower portions of this long inscription is a section (lines 41 ff.) which appears to contain a paean in smaller lettering, but a place of greater honor in the inscription was accorded to the *carmen de officiis medici moralibus* of lines 14-33, engraved in large letters like those of the preamble. Therefore it seems more likely that the grandfather's composition, here made public, was the *carmen de officiis medici moralibus*; hence I restore *ποίη]μα* instead of *παιᾶ]γα*.

The text of *I.G.*, II², 3704 provides us with the information that Q. Staius Themistocles of Chollidae was son of the priest of Asclepius Q. Staius Glaucus and greatgrandson of Q. Staius Sarapion, and it mentions the neighboring tripod (so Graindor) or three-sided monument (so Kirchner in *I.G.*, II², 3631) as that of Q. Staius Sarapion. In the ephebic catalogue *I.G.*, II², 2079 Q. Staius Sarapion appears as cosmete in 158/9 A.D.

Starting with this information and with Kirchner's convincing restoration ⁵ [*Σαραπίων*]α Χολλείδην for what now appeared to be the cap of the Sarapion Monument, I identified the *πυρφόρος ἐξ Ἀκροπόλεως* with Q. Staius Glaucus ⁶ and the grandfather Sarapion with Q. Staius Sarapion, who was grandfather of Glaucus. I had overlooked that the poet and philosopher Sarapion did not possess Roman citizenship, because in that case his *gentilicium* would have been recorded, whereas in line 1 there was never room for the *gentilicium*. The poet Sarapion, therefore, cannot be equated with Q. Staius Sarapion.

But if the reference οὗ καὶ ὁ πλησίον οὗτος τρίπους of *I.G.*, II², 3704 is a reference to the Sarapion Monument, as Graindor, Kirchner and I interpreted it, then the three-sided monument was connected with Q. Staius Sarapion, not because he is honored in it but because he erected it.⁷

Sarapion of Chollidae, poet and Stoic philosopher

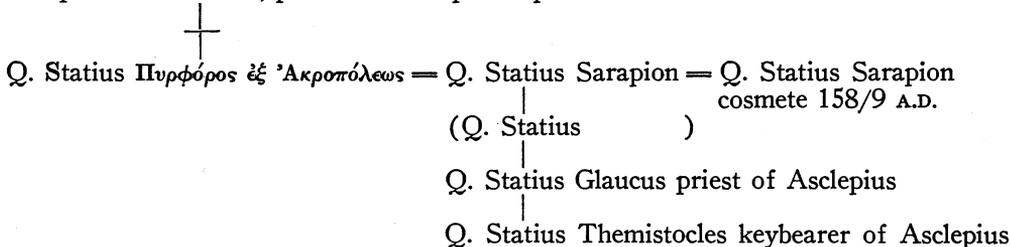


FIGURE 1

⁵ The name Sarapion is attested in the family, while no other name attested in the family has an accusative in alpha. Furthermore, it was common practice to name the first-born son after the paternal grandfather.

⁶ The title *πυρφόρος ἐξ Ἀκροπόλεως* like the titles *ιεροφάντης* and *δαδοῦχος* replaced the personal name, which in the case of Roman citizens was the cognomen.

⁷ P. Graindor, who did not know that the cap with lines 1-2 had any connection with our lines 3-7 of the heading, did identify the *πυρφόρος ἐξ Ἀκροπόλεως* with Q. Staius Sarapion, in the

Hence the poet Sarapion of our monument is pushed back two generations to a period where he may be recognized as the Sarapion to whom Plutarch dedicated the dialogue *De E apud Delphos*, 384 D. In the *De Pythiae oraculis*,⁸ 396 D, *παρὸν οὖν Ἀθήνηθεν ὁ ποιητῆς Σαραπίων*, it is implied that Sarapion was an Athenian, likewise in *Quaest. conviv.*, 628 A, where Sarapion's victory⁹ with a poem at the Athenian Dionysia provides the reason for the celebration. Sarapion is one of the main speakers in the dialogue *De Pythiae oraculis*, where Boethus says to him 396 F, *ποιήματα [μὲν] γὰρ γράφεις τοῖς μὲν πράγμασι φιλοσόφως καὶ αὐστηρῶς, δυνάμει δὲ καὶ χάριτι καὶ κατασκευῇ <τῆ> περὶ λέξιν εὐκότα τοῖς Ὀμήρου καὶ Ἡσιόδου μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς ὑπὸ τῆς Πυθίας ἐκφερομένοις*. Replying to this, Sarapion begins with a medical comparison, *νοσοῦμεν γάρ . . . καὶ τὰ ὄτα καὶ τὰ ὄμματα, συνειθισμένοι διὰ τρυφὴν καὶ μαλακίαν τὰ ἡδία καλὰ νομίζειν καὶ ἀποφαίνεσθαι*. A remark of another speaker, Theon, 397 B, mentions the poet's tendency to moralize: “ὁ Σαραπίων μὲν,” εἶπε, “τὸ εἰωθὸς ἀποδέδωκε τῷ τρόπῳ, λόγου περὶ Ἄτης καὶ Ἡδονῆς παραπεσόντος ἀπολαύσας.” Then in 400 B and C it is plainly stated that Sarapion was a Stoic. Of particular interest is the passage 402 E-F after Sarapion's defense of the *εὐσεβῆς καὶ πάτριος πίστις*:

“What you say, my esteemed Sarapion,” said I, “is quite right. We have not been surrendering hope for philosophy either, as if it had been completely done away with and destroyed, just because formerly the philosophers used to publish their doctrines and discourses in the form of poems, as Orpheus, Hesiod, Parmenides, Xenophanes, Empedocles and Thales. Later they ceased to do this, and now all have ceased using metrical form, all except you. At your hands the poetic art returns to philosophy from its banishment, and sounds a clear and noble challenge to the young.”¹⁰

Sarapion is an interesting figure not only because he appears so often in the *Moralia* and because Plutarch had such regard for his talent but particularly because apart from epigrams so little Greek poetry from the time of the Flavians and Trajan has survived. Hitherto the only fragment of Sarapion's work was that preserved by Stobaeus, III (ed. O. Hense), 10, 2:

Σαραπίωνος

Οὐ τῆς ἐμῆς ἑκατι καρδίας φέρεις
λόγους προσηνεῖς, τοῦ δὲ σοῦ κέρδους χάριν.

Now the *carmen de officiis medici moralibus*, being lines 14-33 of the Sarapion Monument, may be added to read with a new fragment as follows according to the reconstruction by Paul Maas:

editio princeps of our lines 3-7, *B.C.H.*, LI, 1927, pp. 284-286. Kirchner did likewise in *I.G.*, II², 3631. The connection of the cap, which has for a while provided an element of deception, was not realized until we reconstructed the monument at the order of T. Leslie Shear.

⁸ References are to the Teubner edition of the *Moralia*, Vol. III by W. R. Paton, M. Pohlenz and W. Sieveking, Leipzig, 1929.

⁹ The victory is to be dated in the first decade of the second century rather than in the eighties of the first, according to the persuasive argument of U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Sitzungsb. d. Preus. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1928, Phil.-hist. Kl., p. 22.

¹⁰ F. C. Babbitt's translation in the Loeb Classical Library, *Plutarch's Moralia*, V (1936), p. 305.

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- *Ἔργα τάδε ἰατρ[οῦ· Παι]ώνια πρᾶτον ε[---]
 15 καὶ νόον ἰῆσθαι καὶ οἱ πρόπαρ ἢ τῷ ἀ[ρήγην]
 μηδ' ἐσιδῆν θυγέην τε παρέξ καὶ θεσμὰ καὶ ὄρκ[ον].
 καὶ δ' ἀρετᾶι ἀκέο[ι]το καὶ ἤθεσι, μὴ μὲν ἀτ[ε]υχή[ς]
 κούρας τ' ἢδ' ἀλόχους ἐρατὰ[ς] αἶτ' ἀρηγὸς ἀφάσ[σων]
 στέρνα πόθῳ χιλιάοι ετε[---]ς ἰ[η]τῆρος.
 20 [τοῦνε]κα τοῖς ἀπόφαμι θε[όφροσιν ἢδ'] ἀβεβάλοισ
 [-----]ας τε γαμ[-----] ἰ[η]τῆρες
 [-----]οιο κα[ὶ] ὄργια μὴ [ταχ]ὺ λάθην
 [-----] αὐτά τοι ἀ[ρή]γει
 [...]ασ[-----]ς τέκος, αὐθ[ι] δὲ τέχνα.
 25 [τ]οῖος μὲν [γνώμαν γεγ]αῶς, θεὸς οἶα [σ]αωτήρ
 δμῶων ἀκτ[ε]άνων [τ]ε καὶ ἀφνειῶν καὶ ἀνάκτων
 ἴσος [έ]ο[ι], πάντεσσι δ' ἀδελφεὸς [ο]ϊά τ' ἀρηγῳ.
 πᾶν[τες γὰρ πέλομε]ν κάσιες. τ[ῶ μ]ηδέ τιν' ἔχθου
 μηδ[ε] φρεσὶ ζᾶλον κε[ῖ]θου ἢ ὄ[γκον] ἀέξο[ι].
 30 μὴ μ[-----]μιν ηλ[---]
 αἰσχ[-----] Ὑγιείας,
 ἀλλὰ δ[-----]ε[. .] τέχνη[---]
 τοίως [-----]αι ἦτορ.

According to the *Bulletin épigraphique*, 1941, no. 50, R. Keydell, *Hermes*, 1941, p. 320, would restore in line 14 ἐ[λίσσθαι] and in line 19 ἐτε[οῦ ἐκὰ]ς ἰ[η]τῆρος.

These are the duties of a physician: first . . . and to heal his mind and to give help to himself before giving it to anyone (else), and not to look upon (his patient) or make approaches in a manner contrary to divine laws and to the oath. Let him cure not only with (professional) skill but also with blameless character. And as one unfit though coming in the guise of a helper when he handles lovely maidens and matrons, let him not burn in his breast with desire (in a manner unworthy of a true) physician. Therefore I declare to the godly minded and the pure. . . . Possessed of such a mind, like a savior god, let him make himself the equal of slaves and of paupers, of the rich and of rulers of men, and to all let him minister like a brother; for we are all children of the same blood. Therefore let him not hate any one nor hide envy in his heart, nor be lifted up with pride.

The breathing and accent were engraved over the word οἶ in line 15 in order to obviate errors; the reader will note the extraordinary parallel to Luke 4, 23: "Physician, heal thyself." From Paul Maas' concise commentary, *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, VII, 1939, pp. 322 f., we here repeat only the note *color Epiceteus, ne dicam Christianus*, which he applied to the passage lines 25 ff.

II

The other document appears on a statue base still in the Asclepieum on the south slope of the Acropolis. In *I.G.*, II², 3704, it reads as follows:

- Ψηφισαμένης τῆς ἐξ Ἀρείου
 Πάγου βουλῆς Κόιντον Στάτι[ον]
 Θεμιστοκλέα Χολλείδην, υἱὸ[ν]
 τοῦ διὰ βίου ἱερέως τοῦ Σωτήρο[ς]
 5 Ἀσκληπιοῦ Κόιντου Στατ< Γλαύκου
 Χολλείδου καὶ Κλαυδίας Ἀμμίας τῆ[ς]
 καὶ Ἀγριππείνης ἐκ Μαραθωνίων,
 Κλ< Θεμιστοκλέους Ἀσιάρχου< θυ(γατρός)
 φιλοσόφων καὶ ὑπατικῶν καὶ Ἀσ[ι]-
- 10 αρχῶν ἔκγονον καὶ ἀπόγονον
 Τίτος Φλαύιος Γλαῦκος Μαραθῶν(ιος)
 ποιητῆς καὶ ῥήτωρ καὶ φιλόσοφος,
 ἀπὸ συνηγοριῶν ταμίου, κλειδου-
 χήσαντα ἐπιφανῶς τοῦ θεοῦ, παρ[ὰ]
 15 τὸν κοινὸν πρόπαππον Κόιντον
 Στάτιον Σαραπίωνα, οὗ καὶ ὁ πλη-
 σίον οὗτος τρίπους<

The statue was erected by T. Flavius Glaucus of Marathon who had formerly been an *advocatus fisci* and was now (or still) a professional poet, rhetor and philosopher. In the composition of the informative and balanced inscription, all contained within one syncopated but clear and striking sentence, the author presents a notable example of the rhetor's art. The name of the person honored, Q. Staius Themistocles of Chollidae, follows immediately the formula of authorization. The grammatical construction consists merely of an object (lines 3-10) followed by a subject (lines 11-13) with brief return to the object to motivate the erection of the monument in this place (*κλειδουχήσαντα ἐπιφανῶς*). There are no verbs, and yet with the help of appositions and participles and one subordinate clause much is added without obscuring the main thought. Lines 9-10 are especially noteworthy: as philosophers symbolize intellectual culture, and consulars symbolize distinction in government or international affairs, so Asiarchs¹¹ represent the distinction of wealth.

Students of the document have failed to realize the significance, or at least to bring out the importance, of the two words after the name of Claudia Ammia Agrippina.¹² Her father, the Asiarch Claudius Themistocles, cannot have been her real father because he is a non-Athenian and she is described as *ἐκ Μαραθωνίων*, i. e., descended in the male line from Athenians of the deme Marathon. Hence Agrippina must have belonged to the family of the Asiarch by legal adoption and have so acquired the *gentilicium* Claudia according to Roman law. That she belonged to the same family as the Flavius Dryantianus of Marathon who was marked out for a senatorial career even as an *ephebe*, and that both she and he were descended from the non-

¹¹ "The Asiarchs" by L. R. Taylor *apud* F. J. Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake, *The Beginnings of Christianity* (London, 1933), Part I, Vol. V, pp. 256-262.

¹² Polyonymy was fashionable. The phrase *τῆς καὶ*, as here used, need not be translated into either Latin or English. The use of the phrase *ὁ (or ἡ) καὶ* in order to introduce, for more accurate and easy identification, a nickname or a substitution for a foreign name (e. g., Saul called Paul) was quite old. In this inscription, however, the phrase serves no such purpose. It was an elegant affectation of the third century after Christ to insert this old phrase between two cognomina in order to reduce the un-Attic appearance of such a name. The tendency was noted in his section on Aelian by W. Schmid, *Der Atticismus in seinen Hauptvertretern von Dionysius von Halikarnass bis auf den zweiten Philostratus*, II (Stuttgart, 1889), pp. 338-339. The same elegance, by no means restricted to Attica, appears in many other Attic inscriptions.

Athenian senatorial family of the consular Tiberius Claudius Agrippinus, are strongly suggested by the names in the latter family and are confirmed by one piece of evidence. Agrippina's son is descended from consulars, and neither the family of the Asiarch nor that of Q. Staius Glaucus contains any consulars in the direct line.

Since Flavius Dryantianus of Marathon had the *gentilicium* Flavius, obviously his paternal grandfather, who was procurator of Cyprus and hence a Roman citizen, had the same *gentilicium*. This is important because it establishes the *gentilicium*, and even the praenomen,¹³ of all the other descendants of the procurator in the male line, and a similar argument establishes the demotic. Thus the poet, rhetor and philosopher, T. Flavius Glaucus of Marathon, who flourished around 235-265 A.D., may be recognized as Glaucus III in the procurator's well-known family tree.¹⁴

The accompanying stemma (Fig. 2) will help the reader visualize these relationships, and in a way it will underline the ties which the old families of Athens developed beyond the borders of Attica and the cultural traditions which they kept alive.

It is not recorded how the poet Glaucus was descended from Q. Staius Sarapion. Either his mother or his father could have been a grandchild of the latter. Flavius Glaucus I, for example, may have married a daughter of Staius Sarapion, and it might be that the name Glaucus was bestowed on Q. Staius Glaucus, a nephew of Staius Sarapion's daughter, in order to honor her husband.

Flavius Glaucus III, who like his ancestor who was Plutarch's friend combined the profession of philosophy and a facility in versifying, describes himself first of all as a poet. Something of his work may well have survived. Having indicated his connections, date and antecedents in the previous discussions and in the accompanying stemma (Fig. 2), we now make the first attempt at sifting out the extant poems of the man.

Both epigraphical and literary sources provide a promising field for investigation. Poems concerning people closely connected with Glaucus are preserved epigraphically in suggestive abundance.

The following poems may with probability be assigned to the poet Glaucus the Athenian for the reasons stated in each case.

1. FROM THE ELEUSINIAN MEMORIAL OF THE POET'S GRANDMOTHER.

D. Philios, 'Εφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική, 1885, col. 147-152, no. 26; H. van Herwerden, *Studia critica in epigrammata graeca* (Leyden, 1891), 119 f.; P. Graindor, *Marbres et textes antiques d' époque impériale* (Antwerp, 1922), p. 70; J. Kirchner, *I.G.*, II², 3632.

¹³ On rules governing nomenclature in Roman Athens see *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pp. 29-30.

¹⁴ P. Graindor, *Marbres et textes antiques d' époque impériale*, p. 72 (= Université de Gand, Recueil de Travaux publiés par la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres, 50^e fascicule, 1922). Independently A. Stein, *R.E.*, Supplementband VII (1940), 211.

Isaeus
'*Ἀσσύριος σοφιστής*, teacher of Hadrian;
Philostratus, *Vit. soph.*, I, 20;
Pliny, *Epist.*, II, 3; Juvenal, III, 74;
I.G., II², 3632, 3709

Isaeus II
I.G., II², 3632

Isidote
hierophantis in 176 A.D.;
I.G., II², 3632, 3709

Eunice
I.G., II², 3632, 3709

(T. Flavius) Zoilus
I.G., II², 3709

Thaleia — (T. Flavius) Callaeschus II
I.G., II², 3632, 3709

(Flavia) Eunice
hierophantis;
second cousin of senators;
I.G., II², 3709

T. Flavius Glaucus III of Marathon;
poet, rhetor, and philosopher; *fisci advocatus*;
greatgrandson of Q. Staius Sarapion;
I.G., II², 3632, 3704

(T
Philos
I.G.

Flavius Zoilus of Marathon
 member of the Athenian *Boulē* under Hadrian:
 Dow, *Prytaneis*, p. 195

(T. Flavius) Glaucus I (of Marathon)
 procurator Cypri;
I.G., II^a, 3662

(T. Flavius) Zoilus
 II^a, 3709

(T. Flavius) Glaucus II
 hierophant:
 Philostratus, *Vit. soph.*, II, 20;
I.G., II^a, 3661, 3662, 3709

wife of a man who was hierophant, archon, sophist:
 (Flavia) [Eury]lale
I.G., II^a, 3662

(T. Flavius) Zoilus
 Philostratus, *Vit. soph.*, II, 20;
I.G., II^a, 3661, 3662, 3709

(T. Flavius) Glaucus III of Marathon;
 philosopher; *fisci advocatus*;
 O. Stenius Sarapion;
 I.G., II^a, 3632, 3704

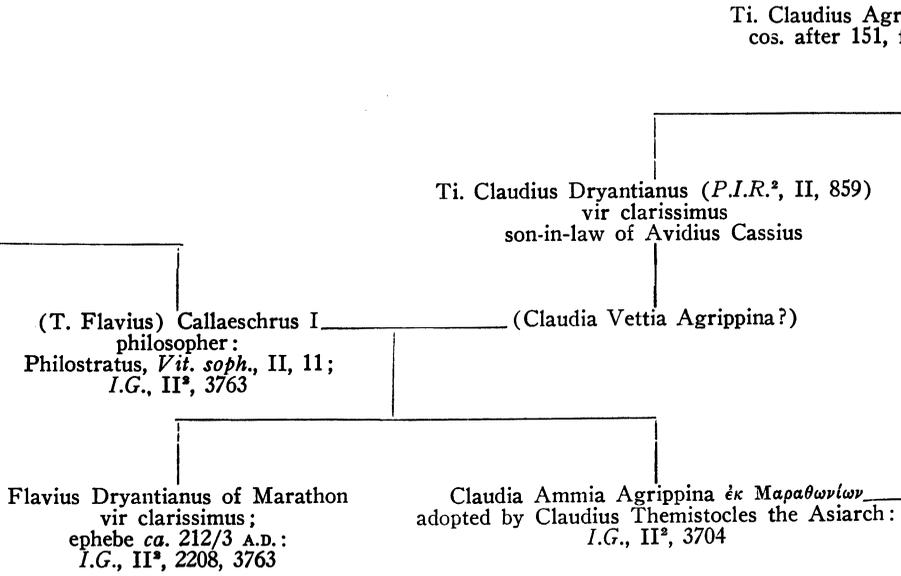
Flavius Dryantianus
 viri
 epheborum
I.G., II^a, 3662

FIGURE 2. The Statii of Chollidae and Related

Isaeus I or II is probably identical with the king archon L. Volusius Isaeus of Melite in
 received Athenian citizenship and to have settled at Athens. Since Isidote became hi
 adlected into the Eumolpidae. Kirchner suggests *sub I.G.*, II^a, 3763, that the Dryantianu
 was the maternal grandfather of Flavius Dryantianus. If so, also Claudius Dryantianus
 for the adlection of Isaeus and Dryantianus are those of the Roman M. Porcius Cato
 of the emperor Lucius Verus (*I.G.*, II^a, 3592), of the emperor Commodus (*I.G.*, II^a, 1
 2959, Period of the Antonines), and of Quintilianus procos. Asiae (*I.G.*, II^a, 4219, third

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Male
ant, archon, sophist:
2



Q. S
φιλοσόφων καὶ ὑπ

The Statii of Chollidae and Related Families

archon L. Volusius Isaeus of Melite in *I.G.*, II², 2897; Isaeus (I?) appears to have been at Athens. Since Isidote became hierophantis, it emerges that Isaeus had been adopted by *I.G.*, II², 3763, that the Dryantianus archon of the Eumolpidae of *I.G.*, II², 1078, was adopted by Isidote. If so, also Claudius Dryantianus was adopted into the Eumolpidae. Parallels are drawn with those of the Roman M. Porcius Cato (*I.G.*, II², 4190, under Claudius or Nero), the emperor Commodus (*I.G.*, II², 1110), of Julius Apella of Mylasa (*I.G.*, II², 4219, procos. Asiae (*I.G.*, II², 4219, third century).

Ti. Claudius Agrippinus (*P.I.R.*², II, 776)
cos. after 151, frater Arvalis 155 A.D.)

*I.R.*², II, 859)

Cassius

pina?)

κ Μαραθῶν
les the Asiarch:

Claudia Ammiana Dryantilla
femina clarissima

Sarapion of Chollidae
poet and Stoic philosopher
friend of Plutarch:
p. 243 above

Q. Staius Sarapion of Chollidae
πυρφόρος ἐξ Ἀκροπόλεως;
cosmete 158/9 A.D. :
I.G., II², 2079, 3704; p. 243 above

(Q. Staius)

Q. Staius Glaucus of Chollidae
ephebe, 218/9, priest of Asclepius :
I.G., II², 2226, 3704

Q. Staius Themistocles of Chollidae
keybearer of Asclepius;
φιλοσόφων καὶ ὑπατικῶν καὶ Ἀσιαρχῶν ἔκγονος καὶ ἀπόγονος;
I.G., II², 3704

- Πυρφόρου Δήμητρος ὑπέιροχον ἱερόφαντιν
 πολλὸν ἐπ' εὐσεβίῃ κῦδος ἀειραμένην
 Ἑλλάδος εὐρυχόρου πρῶτον γένος Ἀντολῆς τε
 ἔγγονον Εἰσαίου τοῦ σοφίας ὑπάτου,
 5 ὃς δὴ καὶ βασιλῆος ἀμύμονος Ἀδριανοῦ
 Μουσάων ἀγαθὴν εἶχε διδασκαλίην·
 Εἰσαίου δὲ θύγατρα μεγαινήτιο καὶ αὐτοῦ
 ἕξοχον ἔν τ' ἀρεταῖς ἔν τε σαοφροσύναις,
 ἦν καὶ ἀμειβομένη Δηῶ μακάρων ἐπὶ νήσους
 10 ἦγαγε παντοίης ἐκτὸς ἐπωδυνίης·
 δῶκε δέ οἱ θάνατον γλυκυρότερον ἡδέο[s] ὕπνου
 πάγχυ καὶ Ἀργείων φέρτερον ἠθέων.
 ἦ τε καὶ Ἀντωνῖνον ὁμοῦ Κομμόδῳ βασιλῆας
 ἀρχομένη τελετῶν ἔστεφε μυστιπόλους.
 15 τὴν μὲν ἄρα ψήφῳ μὲν Ἄρῃ φίλῃ θέτο βουλή,
 εἰκόνα δ' ἠγαθέην ἐκτέλεσαντο νέην
 Εὐνίκη τε φίλῃ θυγάτηρ δῆς τε θυγατρὸς
 Ζωιλίδαί μητρὸς μητέρα θεσπεσίην
 Κάλλαισχρος καὶ Γλαῦκος ἐν εἰκόνι κυδαίνοντες,
 20 ἦν καὶ Δημήτηρ ὥπασεν ἀθανάτοις.

Of fire-bearing Demeter's exalted hierophantis (behold the likeness), who for her piety achieved much fame, scion of the first houses of spacious Hellas and of the Orient, granddaughter of Isaeus surpassing all in wisdom who to the emperor blameless Hadrian brought the good teaching of the Muses, daughter of Isaeus, who like his father was held in high repute, preëminent not less for her virtues than for her womanly modesty, whom Deo requiting led to the Islands of the Blest free from pain of any kind. To her she gave death sweeter than gentle sleep—death mightier far than the Argive hosts. She it was who as leader of the rites crowned Antoninus together with Commodus, emperors, when they came to solemnize the mysteries. To her, therefore, the council dear to Ares voted a place but the statue itself new and holy was wrought and placed by Eunice her dear daughter and her daughter's sons the Zoilidae, Callaeschrus and Glaucus, to their mother's godlike mother doing honor with this likeness of her whom Demeter escorted to the abode of the immortals.

The monument was erected to his grandmother by the poet himself, his brother and his mother. The poem may be assigned to Glaucus with confidence because it is inconceivable that they would have engaged anyone else to compose the poem.

The genealogy is drawn out in Homeric fashion and the language awakens Homeric reminiscences in the reader. Nevertheless it cannot be asserted that the author has decked out his poem with Homeric tags. The phrase *κῦδος ἀρέσθαι ἐπὶ* . . . occurs frequently in the *Iliad*, but the form *ἀειραμένην* introduces a variation of this familiar expression. Line 12, the Argives of which Herwerden identified unconvincingly with Cleobis and Biton, was intended to evoke in the reader a recollection of *Iliad*, VI, 156-158:

αὐτὰρ οἱ Προῖτος κακὰ μῆσατο θυμῷ
 ὅς ῥ' ἐκ δήμου ἔλασσειν, ἐπεὶ πολὺ φέρτερος ἦεν,
 Ἄργείων.

Glaucus made a conscious variation by which he intended to please his readers with the recollection of an Homeric passage but with a simultaneous recognition of a new application.

On the other hand, the by no means uncommon phrase Ἑλλάδος εὐρυχόρου of line 3 occupies even the same position in the first verse of "Simonides" 102 Diehl.

The comparison of death with sleep is one of the commonest themes and has been traced throughout ancient literature.¹⁵ Yet line 11 does not provide just one more variation of an old theme but a light echo and reworking of a specific passage. The criterion of sweetness in our poem reminds the reader of the speech of Socrates in the *Apology*, 40 c-e, where the superiority of death over sleep is summarized by the word ἡδιον. Another echo of the speech occurs in No. 3.

The sophist Isaeus¹⁶ (lines 4-6) formed the subject of an enthusiastic letter of Pliny (*Epist.*, II, 3), and of a chapter by Philostratus, *Vit. Soph.*, II, 20. He is mentioned also by Juvenal, *Sat.*, III, 74. He came probably from Syria-Palestine or from somewhere west of the Tigris. What Isaeus helped to give Hadrian was a rhetorical education. The Muses of line 6 are the patronesses of the "Second Sophistic" Philostratus, *Vit. Soph.*, II, 26 says of the professor Heracleides, who through a conspiracy was driven from the chair at Athens, ἐπὶ τὴν Σμύρναν ἐγράπετο θύουσαν μάλιστα δὴ πόλεων ταῖς τῶν σοφιστῶν Μούσαις. Philostratus (*ibidem*, II, 10, p. 590) reports that the sophist Adrian on his appointment as *ab epistulis graecis* thanked the Muses ὥσπερ εἴωθει.

In line 1 the lengthening of the second syllable (Πυρφόρου) seems to be due to the word accent, as again in No. 8, line 5. The poet ignores Hermann's Law in the curious line 15, and in line 19 he has a monosyllabic word as a long syllable in position 4. The σπονδειάζων in line 19 strikes a solemn note at the end.

2. FROM THE ELEUSINIAN MEMORIAL OF THE POET'S NIECE.

D. Philios, Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική, 1883, coll. 141-143, no. 16; B. Keil, *Hermes*, XX, 1885, p. 625; J. Toepffer, *Attische Genealogie* (Berlin, 1889), p. 317, note 3; E. Cougny, *Appendix nova epigrammatum* (Paris, 1890), p. 597; H. van Herwerden, *Studia critica in epigrammata graeca* (Leyden, 1891), 122 f.; P. Graindor, *Marbres*

¹⁵ M. B. Ogle, "The Sleep of Death," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, XI, 1933, pp. 81-117.

¹⁶ On the role of Isaeus in the development of the so-called Second Sophistic see A. Boulanger, *Aelius Aristide et la sophistique dans la province d'Asie au II^e siècle de notre ère* (Paris, 1923), pp. 94-96, criticized by U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Litteris*, II (1925), 126 f.; also O. Schissel, *R.E.*, XIV (1930), 1853-6, s. v. "Markos." For Isaeus' cultural background see F. Cumont, *C.A.H.*, XI, 640 ff.

et textes antiques d' époque impériale (Antwerp, 1922), p. 69; J. Kirchner, *I.G.*, II², 3709.

- Μυστιπόλοι Δήμητρος, ἐμεῖό τις ἱερὴ ἔστω
 μνημοσύνη Δηοῦς παρ' ἀνακτόρω· οὔνομα μὲν μο[ι]
 [Εὐ]νείκη, τίκτεν δὲ Θάλειά με κυδήεσσα
 πατρὶ φίλω Καλλαίσχρω ἀγακλεῖ, τοῦ δ' ἄρ[α μήτηρ]
 5 Εὐνείκη: τῆς δ' αὖτε σαόφρων ἱερόφ[αντις]
 ἦεν ἀπ' Εἰσαίοιο φερώνυμος Ἄντολί[ης τε]
 [Ε]ἰσιδότῃ, τοῦ κῦδος ἀμύμονο[ς Ἄδριανοῦ]
 ῥητήρων· πάππος δ' ἄρ' ἐμεῦ πέλεν - - - - <
 Ζωίλος, ὃς δοιοῖσιν ἀδελφειοῖς φρόν[ει ἴσα],
 10 τῷ μὲν ἀπ' αἰγλήεντος ἀνακτόρου ἱερο[φάντη]
 Γλαύκω· ἀτὰρ σοφίης ἡγήτορι — τὴν τε Πλά[τωνος]
 δρέψατο —: Καλλαίσχρω περιωνύμω: οὐ μὲν ἐμεῖο
 [τηλ]οῦ συνκλήτοιο πέλει γένος· ἀνχόθι γάρ μο[ι]
 [. . . .] ἀνεψιαδῶν ἔπεται κλέος Αὐσονιῆθεν.

RESTORATIONS:—2, 3, Philios. 4, Keil. 5, Philios. 6, 7, Graindor. 9-12, φρόν[ει ἴσα], τῷ μὲν ἀπ' αἰγλήεντος ἀνακτόρου ἱερο[φάντη] Γλαύκω· ἀτὰρ σοφίης ἡγήτορι—τὴν <δ>ὲ Πλά[τωνος] δρέψατο—: Καλλαίσχρω περιωνύμω, Keil, followed by Kirchner; φρον[έων εὔ] τῷ μὲν ἀπ' αἰγλήεντος ἀνακτόρου ἱερο[φαντεῖν] Γλαύκω, ἀτὰρ σοφίης ἡγήτορι τὴν τε πλα[τεῖαν] (= laticlavium senatorum)] δρέψατο Καλλαίσχρω περιωνύμω, Graindor. 13, Keil.

You who solemnize the mysteries of Demeter, let a dedicated memorial of me stand beside the shrine of Deo. My name is Eunice. Glorious Thaleia bore me to my dear father famous Callaeschus, whose mother was Eunice. Her mother in turn was the chaste hierophantis Isidote who traced her name and descent from Isaeus and the East, Isaeus whose glory was to have been a teacher of eloquence to the blameless [Hadrian]. My grandfather was Zoilus who equalled in intellect his two brothers, the one Glaucus, hierophant at the radiant shrine, and renowned Callaeschus, a leader in philosophy—it was Plato's that he cultivated. My family is not far removed from senatorial rank, for the Italian fame of my second cousins follows close upon me.

This poem reveals a similarity with the foregoing not only in its general pattern and in its particular variety of epic dialect but even in details of concept and phraseology. Thus the concept *εἰκὼν ἡγαθέη* of 1, 16, reappears as *ἱερὴ μνημοσύνη* of 2, 1-2. The grandmother is *σαόφρων* both in 1, 8, and in 2, 5. Corresponding verses in both poems obviously conclude with the word combinations *Ἄντολῆς τε* and *ἀμύμονος Ἄδριανοῦ*. The circumlocution *σοφίας ὑπάτου* of 1, 4, resembles the circumlocution *σοφίας ἡγήτορι* of 2, 11.

Since the senatorial connections are the subject of the last two and a half lines, they cannot have been the subject of the passage *ἀτὰρ . . . περιωνύμω* (lines 11-12). Therefore Graindor's restoration, already rejected by Kirchner because of its linguistic awkwardness, appears doubly impossible. Without resorting to Keil's emendation <δ>ὲ we may perhaps explain the particle *τε* as an epic usage covered by J. D. Denniston, *The Greek Particles* (Oxford, 1934), pp. 520-522.

It was the fashion of the time to claim even the most tenuous and distant relationship with senatorial families. Many examples of the phrase *συγγενῆς συγκλητικῶν* are cited from honorary monuments by A. Stein, *Der römische Ritterstand*, pp. 352-356 (= *Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte*, X, 1927). The last two and a half lines, therefore, are an attempt to work out a poetical equivalent for the refractory but indispensable phrase *συγγενῆς συγκλητικῶν*.

In lines 5 and 7 a monosyllabic word appears as a long syllable in position 4.

3. FROM AN ELEUSINIAN MEMORIAL OF THE POET'S UNCLE.

D. Philios, *Ἐφημερὶς Ἀρχαιολογική*, 1883, col. 81, no. 8; B. Keil, *Hermes*, XX, 1885, p. 627; J. Toepffer, *Attische Genealogie* (Berlin, 1889), 32, 58 f.; E. Cougny, *Appendix nova epigrammatum* (Paris, 1890), pp. 598 f.; Kirchner, *I.G.*, II², 3661.

Γηραλέην ψυχὴν ἐπ' ἀκμαίῳ σώματι Γλαῦκος
καὶ κάλλει κεράσας κρείττονα σωφροσύνην
ὄργια πᾶσιν ἔφαινε βροτοῖς φαεσίμβροτα Διοῦς
εἰνάετες, δεκάτῳ δ' ἦλθε πρὸς ἀθανάτους.
5 ἦ καλὸν ἐκ μακάρων μυστήριον, οὐ μόνον εἶναι
τὸν θάνατον θνητοῖς οὐ κακὸν ἀλλ' ἀγαθόν.

Glaucus, joining a soul of old age to a body still in its prime, and to beauty of person adding the better part, wise self-control, revealed to all mankind the light-bringing rites of Deo for nine years, but in the tenth went to the immortals. Verily a revelation from the blessed ones, fair and mysterious, that death to mortals is no evil, but good.

For the commemorative epigram the relatives, who are the most likely ones to have set up the monument, would presumably have called upon the family poet. This attribution to a poet who was a philosopher receives some confirmation from the doctrine presented in the last two lines. In its philosophical expression, this is not Stoic, as one might conclude from Marcus Aurelius, *Medit.*, XII, 23, or even from Cicero, *Tusc.*, I, 16 (*non modo malum non esse, sed bonum etiam esse mortem*), but first out of Socratic teaching or Plato, *Apology*, 40 c-e: *ἐννοήσωμεν δὲ καὶ τῆδε ὡς πολλῇ ἐλπίς ἐστὶν ἀγαθὸν αὐτὸ εἶναι. δυοῖν γὰρ θάτερόν ἐστιν τὸ τεθνάναι, κτλ.* And I think it is directly out of Plato, the echo of a specific passage, and that the phrase *καλὸν ἐκ μακάρων μυστήριον* reflects the emphasis which Socrates gave to the supernatural revelation about the goodness of death from the behavior of his *δαιμόνιον*. In the speech of Socrates the superiority of death is summarized by the words *ἀμεινον καὶ ἥδιον*, of which another echo occurs in No. 1, line 11. Other passages with related themes may be found *apud* W. C. Greene, *Moirai* (Cambridge, Mass., 1944), 38, note 162.

In structure the epigram resembles No. 8. Both poems are divided neatly into

two parts. In both poems the first four lines describe the subject tranquilly while an exclamation wrung from the poet by the spectacle fills the last couplet. In both poems, moreover, the name is sounded emphatically at the end of a verse (in 3, 1, *Γλαῦκος*; in 8, 2, *Παρράσιος*), and details of the description are smoothly incorporated with the help of an aorist participle modifying the name in the other line of the same couplet (in 8, 1, *ιδών*; in 3, 2, *κεράσας*).

4. FROM AN ELEUSINIAN MONUMENT ERECTED BY THE POET'S AUNT.

A. N. Skias, *Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική*, 1894, col. 205, no. 26, and 1895, col. 124; A. Wilhelm, *Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde* (Vienna, 1909), p. 97; P. Graindor, *Chronologie des archontes athéniens sous l'empire* (Brussels, 1922), p. 217; J. Kirchner, *I.G.*, II², 3662.

[-----]
 [-----]
 [----- ἀγ]λαὰ δέξατο δῶρα
 [-----] φρονέοντα λόγον
 5 [-----] τὴν καὶ ἐπώνυμον ἀρχήν
 [-----] μυστικὸν ἡγεμόνα
 [-----] αὐτὰ πρὶν ἀνδράσιν ἱερά φαίνειν
 [τίμησεν ψ]ήφῳ πατρὶς ἀγασσαμένη·
 [εἰκόνα δὲ] στήσεν χαλκήλατον ἢ ποτε νύμφη
 10 [Εὐρυ]άλῃ ἰσοθέῳ σεμνὸν ἄγαλμα πόσει.
 [ἦ δ'] ἦν Γλαύκου μὲν θυγάτηρ, ὃς ἄριστος ἐτύχθη
 ἱππήων, βυθίην Κύπρον ἐπιτροπέων,
 Γλαύκου δὲ γνωτὴ θεοειδέος, ὃς τε καὶ αὐτὸς
 ἱεροφαντήσας ὄχετ' ἐς ἀθανάτους.

RESTORATIONS:—3, Skias. 7, [καὶ δαδουχῆσ]αὐτὰ, Wilhelm. 8, Hiller von Gaertringen *apud* Kirchner. 9, Skias. 10, Wilhelm. 11, Skias.

The fatherland, having held him in esteem, voted [this honor], and his former bride [Eury]ale set up the bronze statue as an august monument to her divine husband. She is the daughter of Glaucus who was distinguished among knights and served as procurator of Cyprus in the sea. She is sister of godlike Glaucus, who too served as hierophant and has gone to the immortals.

For the commemorative poem the poet's aunt would presumably have applied to the family poet.

In lines 5 and 11 Hermann's Law is violated, and in line 11 a long final syllable occurs in position 4.

Wilhelm pointed out that [Eury]ale's husband was a distinguished sophist as well as archon and hierophant, whom Graindor then sought to identify with C. Julius Apollonius of Steiria, the subject of Philostratus, *Vit. soph.*, II, 20. Apollonius was

honored upon another monument at Eleusis, *I.G.*, II², 3811, but in view of the profusion of such honors he may conceivably have been commemorated in two monuments even in the same place. Although *I.G.*, II², 3811 is a metrical inscription, we have not included it here, (1) because Graindor's identification of Apollonius as the husband of [Eury]ale—the only special reason for assuming that the poem of *I.G.*, II², 3811 was composed by Glaucus—is by no means necessary, for there may have been other sophists with a contemporary record of Athenian honors; (2) because even if the identification were certain, we should have no evidence that this was a second monument erected by the widow who constitutes the link with Glaucus.

5. FROM THE POET'S MONUMENT AT OLYMPIA.

W. Dittenberger and K. Purgold, *Die Inschriften von Olympia* (Berlin, 1896), no. 457; W. Schmidt, *R.E.*, 13^{ter} Halbband (1910), col. 1420, no. 39; P. Graindor, *Marbres et textes antiques d' époque impériale* (Antwerp, 1922), p. 72.

Κεκροπί[δ]ης ὄδε Γλαῦκος, Ὀλύμπιον ὕμνον ἀείσας,
εἶδρυνμαι βουλῆς ψήφῳ Ὀλυμπιάδος.

That the distich concerned the poet, rhetor and philosopher T. Flavius Glaucus was recognized as probable by Schmidt and Graindor. It should be added that the Council of Olympia merely gave permission for the erection of a memorial by Glaucus himself according to a common custom. That is one reason why the monument bears no explicit statement as to who erected it. On a monument set up according to his right by Glaucus himself, the inscription represents a decent restraint, but on a monument set up in honor of Glaucus by some one else, the inscription would be inadequate.

The name and the date are two links between this poet and T. Flavius Glaucus. The attribution of *AP* IX 774 constitutes a third, hitherto unobserved: the poet familiar to third-century visitors of the Panhellenic sanctuary at Olympia as Glaucus the Cecropid (i. e. Athenian) was hardly unknown to Agathias or whoever phrased the attribution in the original collection.

6. ON THE BACCHANTE OF SCOPAS.

Anthologia Palatina (ed. F. Dübner, Paris, 1872), IX, 774 with notation
ΓΛΑΥΚΟΤ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΤ:

Ἄ Βάκχα Παρία μέν, ἐνεψύχωσε δ' ὁ γλύπτας
τὸν λίθον· ἀνθρώσκει δ' ὡς βρομιαζομένα.
ὦ Σκόπα, ἂ θεοποιὸς ἀπιστον ἐμήσατο τέχνα
θαῦμα, χιμαιροφό<ν>ον Θυιάδα μαινομέναν.

EMENDATIONS: 2, θεοποιὸς ἐμήσατο μήσατο τέχνα, codices; θεοποιὸς <ὄσον σεο> μήσατο τέχνα, Jacobs; ἐμήσατο <σᾶ χειρὶ> τέχνα, Lenner; <ἀπιστον ἐ>μήσατο τέχνα, Dübner. 4, χιμαιροφόρον, codices; χιμαιροφό<ν>ον, Hecker.

Six epigrams in the Anthology are attributed to "Glaucus," namely *Anth. Pal.* VII 285, IX 341, IX 774, IX 775, XII 44 and XVI (= *App. Planudea*) 111. In the oldest part of the tenth-century manuscript P 23, namely in the section copied by the scribe whom Preisendanz¹⁷ calls B, *AP* IX 774 has the attribution Γλαύκου Ἀθηναίου, while a marginal note attributes *AP* IX 775 to the same author. Whereas the other three epigrams are assigned merely to Glaucus without distinguishing ethnic, for *AP* VII 285 a marginal note provides the attribution Γλαύκου Νικοπολ(ίτου), whom the ethnic distinguishes from Glaucus the Athenian. The tenth-century manuscript P 23 contains marginal notes by several hands, especially by the arranger J and by the corrector C. The corrector compared with an older manuscript, now lost, the manuscript P 23, put together and completed by J. It was the corrector who in the margin beside *AP* VI 285 added the name of the author Γλαύκου Νικοπολ(ίτου).

Attributions by the corrector, by B, or even by Cephalas have often been rejected, and some scholars have gone so far as to deny their validity in any case whatsoever. But obviously the attributions have a much better chance of being correct in the case of late writers than in that of very early writers, a better chance of being correct in the case of obscure writers than in that of great names.

Thus two epigrammatic poets named Glaucus are represented. F. Jacobs, *Anthologia Graeca*, XVIII (Leipzig, 1814), p. 898, divided the six epigrams of the Anthology between them in such a way that the Nicopolitan received also the epigrams *AP* IX 341 and XII 44, while Glaucus the Athenian¹⁸ received *AP* XVI (= *App. Planudea*) 111 in addition to *AP* IX 774 and 775. The attribution of *AP* XVI 111 (= No. 8 infra) to the Athenian, which Jacobs made because of similarity of type, was supported by H. Stadtmüller, *Anthologia Graeca*, II (Leipzig, Teubner, 1899), p. xxii, who pointed to the similarity of style between No. 6, line 3, and no. 8, line 5.

The attribution of this ephrastic epigram to the poet and rhetor Flavius Glaucus is supported by its appropriateness from an Athenian contemporary of Philostratus

¹⁷ K. L. Preisendanz, *Anthologia Palatina: codex palatinus et codex parisinus phototypice editi* (Leyden, 1911), preface coll. xxvi-lxxiii.

¹⁸ It was a common practice even of Philostratus, Porphyry, and other late writers to refer to distinguished Greeks by the Greek cognomen and ethnic alone. Official usage of the third century was quite different, but in literature one would expect to find him designated, not as "Glaucus of Marathon" nor as "T. Flavius Glaucus of Marathon," but as "Glaucus the Athenian." These hitherto undated epigrams by "Glaucus the Athenian" would not constitute the only link between the Anthology and Athens of the third century after Christ. For example, the anonymous epigram *App. Planudea* 322 Φύρμος με Φύρμον, πυρφόρος τὸν πυρφόρον, | ὁ παῖς ὁ ῥήτωρ τὸν πατέρα τὸν ῥήτορα, is explained by an illuminating record of the two Firmi in an Athenian catalogue of Paeonistae, a second inscription engraved around 220 A.D. on the Sarapion Monument. Since the catalogue has profited by the addition of new fragments, the text to be consulted is that in the *Trans. Amer. Philol. Ass.*, LXXI, 1940, pp. 306-311, but the connection with *App. Planudea* 322 was pointed out by W. Dittenberger, *I.G.*, III, Add. 721 a, an edition of the one fragment with the names of the Firmi. Phyrmos is a genuine Greek name, but on the stone the name is (Δικίνιος) Φίρμος. Another epigram, *Anth. Palatina* IX 688, concerns the man who erected *I.G.*, II², 3674, as pointed out by F. Jacobs, *Anthologia Graeca*, XII (Leipzig, 1803), p. 205.

the Lemnian who composed descriptions of works of art. The same subject even was described in prose somewhat later by Callistratus, *Descriptions*, 2.

7. ON A REPRESENTATION OF ZEUS AND A BACCHANTE.

Anthologia Palatina (ed. Dübner), IX, 775, with notation ΤΟΤ ΑΥΤΟΤ:

Ἡ Βάκχη Κρονίδην Σάτυρον θέτο· εἰς δὲ χορείαν
θρώσκει μαινομέν<ων> ὡς βρομιαζόμενος.

EMENDATIONS: 2, μαινόμενος ὡς, codices; μαινμέν<ων> ὡς, Jacobs; μαινόμενος <χ>ὡς, Boissard.

See comment to No. 6.

8. ON THE PHILOCTETES OF PARRHASIUS.

Appendix Planudea (ed. Dübner), no. 111 with notation ΓΛΑΤΚΟΤ ΕΙΣ ΕΙΚΟΝΑ ΦΙΛΟΚΤΗΤΟΤ:

Καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ Τρηχίνος ἰδὼν πολυώδυνον ἦρω,
τόνδε Φιλοκτῆτην ἔγραψε Παρράσιος·
ἔν τε γὰρ ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐσκληκόσι κωφὸν ὑποικεῖ
δάκρυ, καὶ ὁ τρύχων ἐντὸς ἔνεστι πόνος.
5 ζωογράφων ὦ λῶστέ, σὺ μὲν σοφός, ἀλλ' ἀναπαῦσαι
ἄνδρα πόνων ἤδη τὸν πολύμοχθον ἔδει.

The stylistic similarities between No. 3 and this poem, between this and No. 6, are so close as to indicate the hand of the same poet, and the author recorded for No. 6 is the subject (and author) of No. 5.

With the monosyllabic word in position 4 here in line 5 compare the examples in Nos. 1, 2 and 4 *supra*.

This epigram delighted Milton's Florentine friend Carlo Ruberto Dati, who translated it as follows:¹⁹

Vide Parrasio gl' infiniti affanni
Di Filottete, e colorirgli eslese.
Sorde lagrime fan lunga dimora
Nell' asciutte palpebre, e dentro chiusa
Aspra cura mordace il cuor gli rode.
Saggio Pittore, e perchè fare eterno
Il duol di questo eroe, che ben dovea
Dopo tanti travagli aver quiete?

¹⁹ Cited in James Hutton's interesting book, *The Greek Anthology in Italy to the Year 1800*, p. 370 (= *Cornell Studies in English*, XXIII, 1935), Carlo Ruberto Dati, *Vite de' Pittori Antichi* (Milan edition of the "Classici Italiani," 1806), p. 96.

III

Glaucus the Athenian flourished toward the middle of the third century after Christ, in the heyday of the university of Athens, a period of prosperity for the rhetors who directed and controlled education. As Roman knights, both he and his grandfather had held appointments in the imperial service, and his uncle had married into a senatorial family. Flavius Glaucus was the scion of an Athenian family distinguished for its "philosophers" and for its intimate connection with the cult of the Eleusinian deities.

Poetry had long become one of the subdivisions of rhetoric. Glaucus, who like Aelius Aristides and other representatives of the Second Sophistic prided himself on his ability to create metrical compositions, to express a thought in the effective brevity of a distich, presented himself not only as a (Platonic) philosopher and rhetor but equally as a professional poet. He did express his thoughts, such as they were, in polished epigrams—the neat distichs of No. 3, the archaizing simplicity of No. 5, the three *ἐκφράσεις* Nos. 6-8 preserved in the Anthology. For the commemorative poems on his relatives (except for No. 3) he employed a different style, the poetical encomium, which like the ecphrastic epigram was very popular in late antiquity. No. 1 is far the best encomium; in No. 2 either Glaucus himself or an imitator undertook an extremely prosaic assignment, that of praising a woman who had lived and died in fairly ordinary fashion. He tries to raise them above the level, where a factual inscription in prose of the usual type would leave them, by composing a commemoration in verse of a style for which the Homeric diction provided the model, a style in which I observe the reworking of specific passages from Homer (and Plato) but not from Hellenistic poetry. Indeed, Glaucus displays repeatedly an indifference toward certain Callimachean refinements of versification. Indifference, for in a man of his background this would not be ignorance. On the other hand, except in the case of the name in 4, 10, hiatus is carefully avoided, and three spondees in succession never occur. Nos. 4 and 2 are less likely to be by him than Nos. 1, 3, 5-8.

Among the metrical inscriptions at Athens from the third century after Christ there may be other compositions of Glaucus, but it is unprofitable to try to sift them out on the basis of style alone, except in one case. An epigram engraved on a block re-used for Christian alterations of the Parthenon suggests at once the poet, rhetor and philosopher Glaucus by its reference to Pythagoras and Plato, by the admiration it reveals for a well-delivered speech,²⁰ and by its professional technique. In tone it resembles the ecphrastic epigrams Nos. 6 and 8. The phrase *μετάρσιον ὕμνον ἀκούσας*

²⁰ The word *ὑμνον* may be taken as referring to a hymn composed in prose. This is a common usage among the late rhetoricians. Furthermore, unless the first word is a mere epithet "divinely speaking," the man was a *θεολόγος*, and for Athens of this period a *θεολογία* was a sermon as we know from the Iobacchi inscription, *S.I.G.*³, 1109, line 115, of which see the translation by M. N. Tod, *Sidelights on Greek History* (Oxford, 1932), pp. 90.

recalls by its position and cadence the phrase Ὀλύμπιον ὕμνον ἀείσας of No. 5. Perhaps reflecting in its tribute to a (Neo-Platonist?) preacher named Laetus the impact upon academic Athens of the last great spiritual movement of the ancient world, the poem²¹ reads as follows in *I.G.*, II², 3816:

Θειολόγον Λαίτιο μετάρσιον ὕμνον ἀκούσας
 οὐρανὸν ἀνθρώποις εἶδον ἀνοιγόμενον·
 εἰ κατὰ Πυθαγόρην ψυχὴ μεταβαίνει ἐς ἄλλον,
 ἐν σοί, Λαίτε, Πλάτων ζῆ πάλι φαινόμενος.

G. L. Hendrickson, who bears no responsibility for my errors, has given me valuable criticism. I thank also M. MacLaren for one fruitful suggestion.

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²¹ With the Laetus epigram compare *AP* (ed. Stadtmüller) VII 75, anonymous in the Marcianus but attributed in the Palatinus to one of the poets named Antipater:

Στασίχορον, ζαπληθὲς ἀμέτρητον στόμα Μούσης,
 ἐκτέρισεν Κατάνας αἰθαλόεν δάπεδον,
 οὐ—κατὰ Πυθαγόρῳ φυσικὰν φάτιν—ἀ πρὶν Ὀμήρου
 ψυχὰ ἐνὶ στέροισι δεύτερον ὤκισατο.



Notes on the Roof Tiles of the Parthenon

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Reviewed work(s):

Source: *Hesperia Supplements*, Vol. 8, Commemorative Studies in Honor of Theodore Leslie Shear (1949), pp. 259-267+462

Published by: [The American School of Classical Studies at Athens](#)

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NOTES ON THE ROOF TILES OF THE PARTHENON

(PLATE 26)

IN THE course of the recent consolidation work on the Parthenon, some three years ago, I took the occasion to make a new systematic study of the architecture of this building, which, strangely enough, although it is the most important work of ancient Greek architecture, is relatively one of the least well published from an architectural point of view.

This new study has resulted in conclusions which differ in many points from those now generally accepted, both in respect to parts of the temple still preserved in situ, and especially in respect to fragments of the building which are lying scattered about in different parts of the Acropolis, particularly the ceiling and the roof.

The detailed study and careful drawing of the many fragments, which I collected and arranged in order, has brought to light new details concerning the construction, disposition and decoration of the above-mentioned parts of the Parthenon, details which make it necessary to change some views which have been held until now.

I will reserve for publication elsewhere my new observations on the disposition and decoration of the marble coffered ceiling, and will confine myself here to a discussion of my investigations of the roof tiles.

Our knowledge of the Parian marble roof tiles of the Parthenon has been derived until now exclusively from the old basic study of the building made by Francis C. Penrose,¹ just one hundred years ago (1846-1847). All those who have since dealt with the architecture of the Parthenon either in whole or in part, for example Michaelis,² Durm,³ and others⁴—I do not include the late Nicholas Balanos, because he does not mention the roof or the ceiling of the Parthenon in his book on the monuments of the Acropolis⁵—have accepted without question the accuracy of Penrose's restoration of the roof-tile system and have reproduced it in their books and manuals of architecture⁶ and in other studies.⁷

Penrose, who did not have at his disposal enough pieces of the movable tiles of the temple, based his restoration on the eaves tiles which are still preserved in situ

I am much indebted to E. Vanderpool, who kindly helped me in the translation of this paper.

¹ Francis Cranmer Penrose, *An Investigation of the Principles of Athenian-Architecture*, first edition London 1851, second edition 1888.

² Adolf Michaelis, *Der Parthenon* (Tafelband), Leipzig, 1871, pl. 3, fig. 21.

³ Joseph Durm, *Die Baukunst der Griechen*³, Leipzig, 1910, p. 206, fig. 179.

⁴ The French authors Lucien Magne (*Le Parthénon*, Paris, 1895), Gustave Fougères (*L'Acropole d'Athènes, I Le Parthénon*, Paris, 1910), and M. Collignon (*Le Parthénon*, Paris, 1912 and 1914), though obviously accepting Penrose's views, do not show any restoration of the roof in their books on the Parthenon.

⁵ Nicholas Balanos, *Les monuments de l'acropole*, Paris, 1939.

⁶ Allan Marquand, *Greek Architecture*, New York, 1909, p. 122, fig. 153.

⁷ Gorham P. Stevens, *Hesperia*, Suppl. III (1940), p. 60, fig. 45.

near the bases of the angle acroteria. These eaves tiles have on them the ends of two cover tiles worked in one piece with them. From these remains and from other traces *in situ* Penrose drew the following three conclusions. First, that the marble roof was composed of flat tiles all of the same size and shape, on the joints of which were placed triangular cover tiles (Fig. 1, A). Second, that all the rows of cover tiles did not reach to the edge of the roof and end in a large antefix, but only every third row, the two intermediate rows stopping at a distance of 0.75 m. from the edge, without antefixes. Third, that a similar but independent antefix was placed at the edge of the roof, on the axis of the space between the two intermediate rows of cover tiles, for reasons of symmetry (Fig. 1, A).

According to this interpretation the first of the rows of cover tiles descending from the ridge, namely that placed over the inner edge of the raking sima, would have reached the edge of the roof if it had not been interrupted by the base of the angle acroterion. The interposition of the acroterion base made it necessary to stop this row 0.332 m. before the base, but this first row is itself represented at the edge of the roof by an antefix which is carved on the outer corner of the acroterion base, though not exactly on the axis of the first row of cover tiles (Fig. 1, A). The second and third rows of cover tiles stopped at a distance of 0.75 m. from the edge and were held in place by small projections in the shape of cover tiles, worked near the inner edge of the eaves tiles. The fourth row reached down to the edge of the roof and ended in a large leading antefix (the ἡγεμόνες ἔχουσαι τὸν καλυπτῆρα of the inscriptions⁸). The fifth and sixth rows stopped 0.75 m. from the edge; the seventh reached the edge, and so on. On the other hand, at the edge of the roof, between the second and third rows, was placed a pseudo-leading antefix, that is, an antefix of the same shape and size as the others but not having a row of cover tiles behind it (Fig. 1, A). There was another pseudo-leading antefix between the fifth and sixth rows, between the eighth and ninth rows, and so on.

The position and the dimensions of both the true and pseudo antefixes in plan and elevation are fixed exactly by the preserved fragments and by traces on the eaves tiles preserved *in situ*.

Penrose's restoration (Fig. 1, A), although correct in its main outlines, contains however certain mistakes in details which will be pointed out in this study.

For example, Penrose (*loc. cit.*, pl. 17 of the first edition and here Fig. 1, A) restores the fourth, seventh, tenth, etc., rows of cover tiles with narrow (0.235 m.) and low (0.115 m.) pieces of cover tiles, which join the wide (0.355 m.) and high (0.136 m.) ends of the leading antefixes (Fig. 1, A). This solution, however, is not a practical one, for it has the disadvantage that rain water running down from the ridge of the roof would strike with force against the projecting wider ends of the antefixes, would cause wear on the marble, and would deposit dirt in the angle. This

⁸ *I.G.*, II², 1627, col. B, lines 307 ff.; *I.G.*, II², 463, line 70.

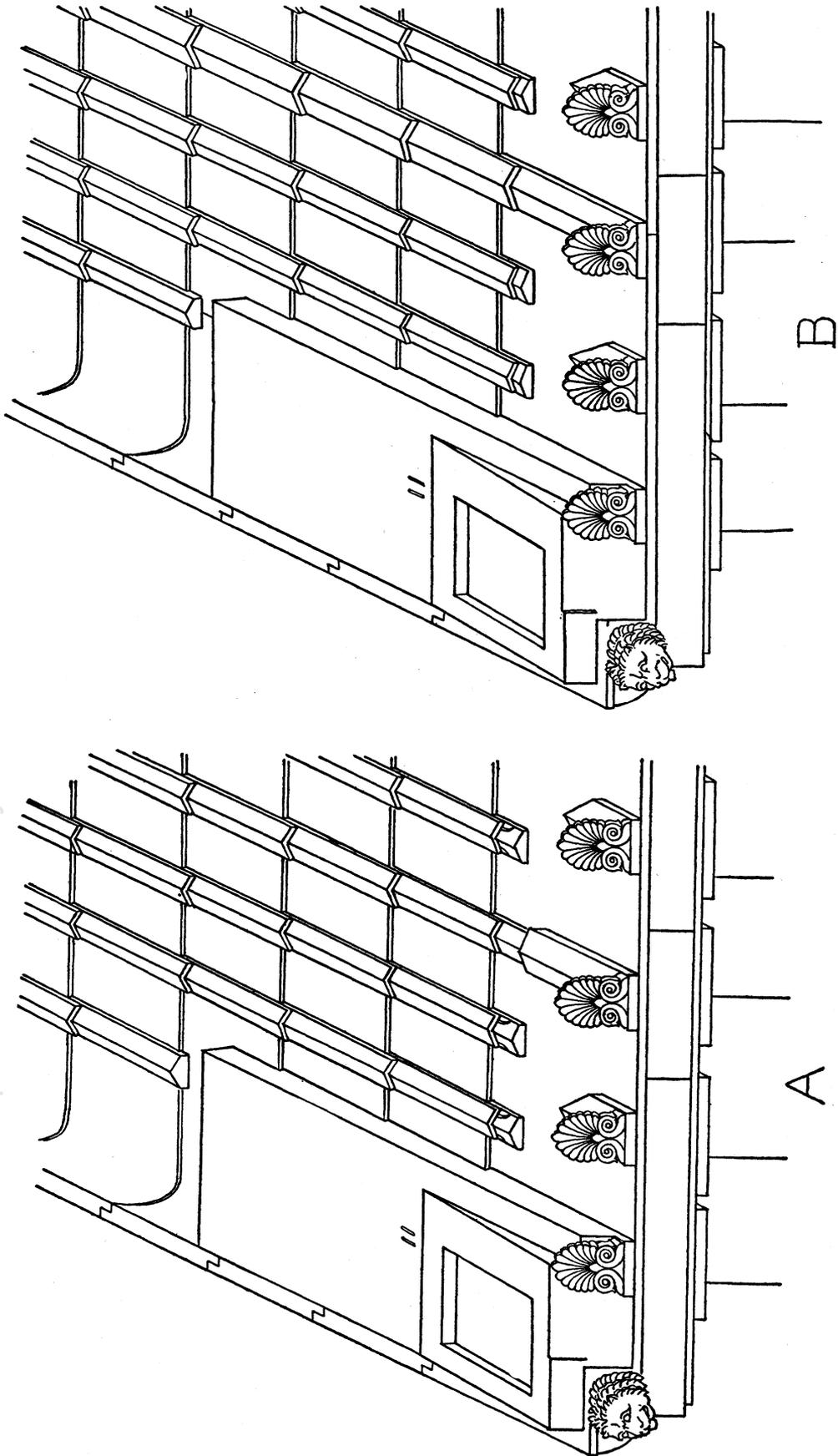


Fig. 1. The Roof-Tile System of the Parthenon According to Penrose (A) and to the Newly Discovered Tile (B)

unpractical solution has always seemed to me suspect, but I never had evidence to prove that it was wrong. I could never believe that architects, who were so completely rational as the Greeks were, and engineers, who had reached the peak of perfection which we admire in the Parthenon and other classical monuments, would have used such an impractical device. Three years ago, I had the good luck to discover on the Acropolis three pieces of tiles which confirmed my suspicions. These pieces belong to simple cover tiles, that is, not leading cover tiles, and are of Parian marble like the few other preserved pieces of movable tiles of the Parthenon. One of these three pieces is fortunately a complete cover tile (Fig. 2), and the other two are large frag-

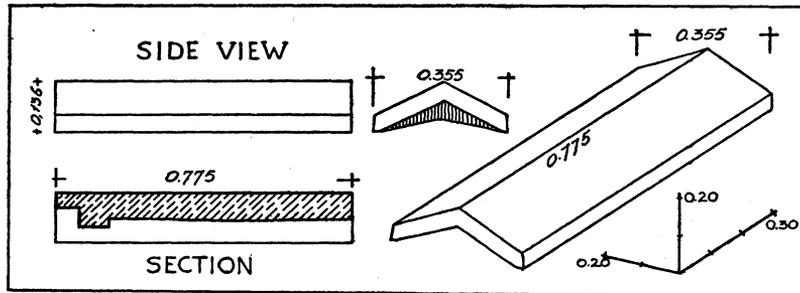


Fig. 2. Newly Discovered Roof Tile of the Parthenon

ments of cover tiles. That these three pieces belong to the Parthenon is proved not only by their material (Parian marble) and their fine workmanship, but also by their dimensions. The length of the complete tile is 0.775 m.—that is exactly equal to the length of the raking simas and consequently with that of the flat tiles. On the other hand their width, 0.355 m., is exactly the same as the width of the back ends of the antefixes.

The existence of these large cover tiles implies restoring behind the leading antefixes not the usual narrow, low cover tiles, which Penrose restores, but wide (0.355 m.) and high (0.136 m.) ones, which will then fit exactly the wide ends of the leading antefixes without making the inconvenient angle, as in Penrose's restoration (Fig. 1, B).

Figure 3 shows at the left Penrose's drawing (A) and at the right the solution derived from the newly discovered tiles (B).

If we accept the fact that there were alternately two rows of narrow cover tiles and one row of wide ones, we see that the system of tiles is modeled as it were in an unusual and interesting way. The rows of wide, high cover tiles give to the roof a series of strong lines or sinews, which dominate the two rows of smaller cover tiles between them. In the side view of the temple the wide rows are seen (Plate 26, 1) with their 0.52 m. high antefixes symmetrically disposed so that each of them corresponds to a mutule below, while the narrow rows, stopping 0.75 m. from the edge were not visible, their place being taken at the edge, by a single pseudo-leading antefix

placed on the axis between the two narrow rows, in order to restore the symmetrical arrangement of the antefixes.

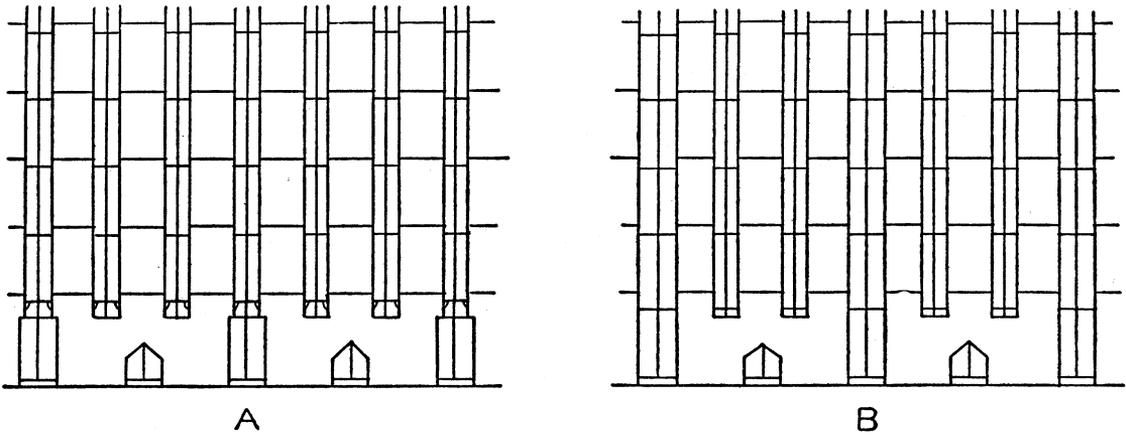


Fig. 3. Schematic Drawing of Roof-Tile System According to Penrose (A) and to the Newly Discovered Tile (B)

Here I may add an interesting detail concerning the conformation of the back end of the pseudo-leading antefixes. Penrose does not show this detail in his drawings whereas Bühlmann⁹ draws the side view of the pseudo-leading antefixes entirely wrong in his architecture of the classical antiquity.

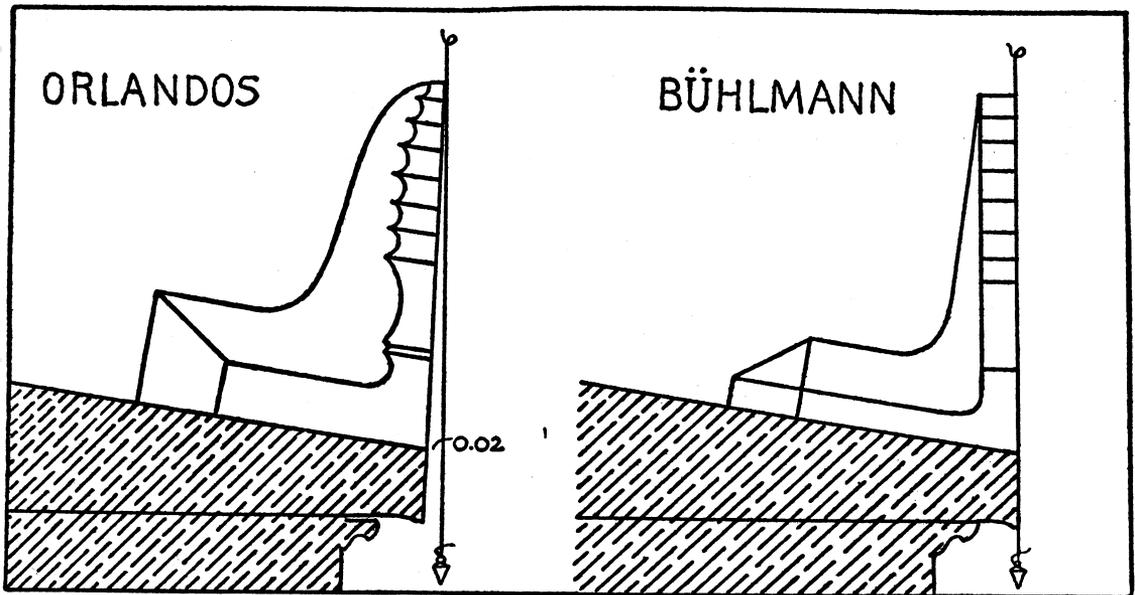


Fig. 4. A Pseudo-Leading Antefix

⁹ J. Bühlmann, *Die Architektur des Klassischen Altertums und der Renaissance*, Eszlingen a. N., 1913, pl. 6, fig. 10.

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The real shape of this back end is given by several pseudo-leading antefixes now lying in the Acropolis Museum. Plate 26, 2-3 and Fig. 4, A show two views and a drawing of the side of a pseudo-leading antefix which I discovered two years ago among the pieces of the small collection of marbles in the Tower of the Winds and brought to the Acropolis Museum.

On the evidence of these pieces the back end of the pseudo-leading antefixes must be restored not in the form of a half pyramid, as Bühlmann draws it (Fig. 4, B) but like a triangular prism having all its sides vertical (Fig. 4, A).

Another mistake of Bühlmann's drawing of the pseudo-leading antefixes is that he draws the exterior face of it absolutely vertical (Fig. 4, B) whereas both true- and pseudo-leading antefixes have their outer faces strongly inclined to the exterior, the amount of the inclination being 0.02 m. for a height of 0.52 m.

Another mistake of Penrose's drawing which needs to be corrected is the following: The width of the flat tiles next to the raking sima is given by Penrose as considerably wider than the others (Fig. 1, A), while in reality they should be the same. In fact, the width of this first row of flat tiles may be calculated easily by means of the cutting which was made for the sima on the side of the base of the corner acroterion, which faces the ridge of the roof. This cutting ends 0.285 m. from the upper inner corner of the acroterion base, and the distance from this corner to the joint of the second row of flat tiles is 0.402 m. Therefore the distance from the first joint of the flat tiles to the second one was $0.285 + 0.402 = 0.687$ m., which is the average width of the other flat tiles. I may also add here that Penrose has failed to show in his drawing the joint between the flat tiles immediately behind the acroterion base, between the base and the first row of cover tiles, a row which stopped 0.332 m. before the base, as we have already seen, in order to leave an outlet for the water which ran down in the channel behind the raking sima.

A third incorrect detail in Penrose's drawings concerns the lower end of the narrow cover tiles (Fig. 5, B). On the preserved eaves tiles of the southwest and northwest corners there exist, as I have already said, the ends of two narrow cover tiles worked in one piece with them. These pieces have on their sloping surfaces on either side a vertical curved cutting (Fig. 5, A) the depth of which is 0.04 m. at the back and which vanishes at a distance of 0.105 m. from the front end.

Penrose (Fig. 5, B) covers only the back half of this cutting with the first movable cover tile, leaving the front part uncovered. In my opinion this cutting, which obviously helped to hold the first movable cover tile in place on the fixed end piece, must have been entirely covered by this movable cover tile (Fig. 5, C), because if it was only half covered (Fig. 5, B), as Penrose draws it, a pocket would have remained which would have collected water and dirt, and would also have made it possible for the first movable cover tile to slip, since it was in a sloping position.

The right-hand side of Figure 1 gives a view of the roof according to the corrections suggested above.

In closing my observations on the roof tiles, I should like to give some information about the exact number of, first, the rows of flat and cover tiles, and second, the leading antefixes and the pseudo-leading antefixes, because, strangely enough, these numbers have never been accurately calculated and it has only been vaguely stated¹⁰ that the number of antefixes was "more than one hundred." The following data are taken from my recent measurements. The distance between the upper edge of the raking sima of the eastern gable and the upper edge of the raking sima of the western gable is 70.968 m. If we subtract from this distance the width of the raking simas, that is 2×1.2715 , we have a remainder of 68.425 m. which must be a multiple of the width of the flat tiles, or, what is the same thing, a multiple of the distance between

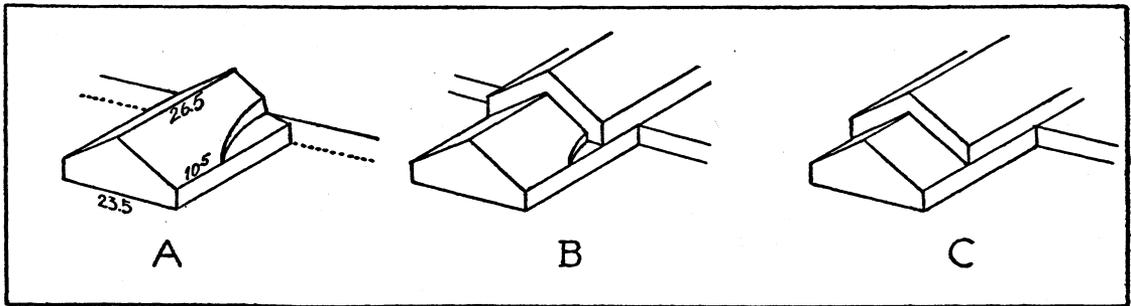


Fig. 5. Detail of Parthenon Cover-Tile Systems

the axes of the rows of cover tiles. On the other hand, for reasons of symmetry, the quotient of the division of the length 68.425 m. by the number of the flat tiles must also be a multiple of three, because between two broad cover tiles there are three flat tiles. But 99 is the only number which fulfills both these conditions, because it is a multiple of three, and when it divides into 68.425 m. it gives a quotient of 0.691, which is very close to 0.687, the width of the flat tiles as measured at the eaves tiles beside the acroterion bases.

Therefore the total number of rows of flat tiles is 99 and of cover tiles exactly 100 of which 32 are large and 68 small.¹¹

On the same basis we may calculate the number of antefixes on each side of the roof, the leading antefixes being 32 plus 2 carved in semi-relief on the bases of the angle acroteria, the pseudo-leading antefixes being 33.

Therefore the total number of antefixes on both sides was $2 \times 32 + 2 \times 33$,

¹⁰ F. Brommer, *Die Antike*, Vol. XVI, p. 72.

¹¹ The two end rows of cover tiles were narrow ones, as is shown by traces preserved on the raking sima near the northeastern acroterion base.

or 130 plus 4 in semi-relief on the bases of the angle acroteria, three of which are preserved *in situ*, only that at the southeast corner being destroyed.

Of the 130 free-standing antefixes 52 broken pieces have been preserved on the Acropolis, some in the Museum, some outdoors. Twelve of these are from leading

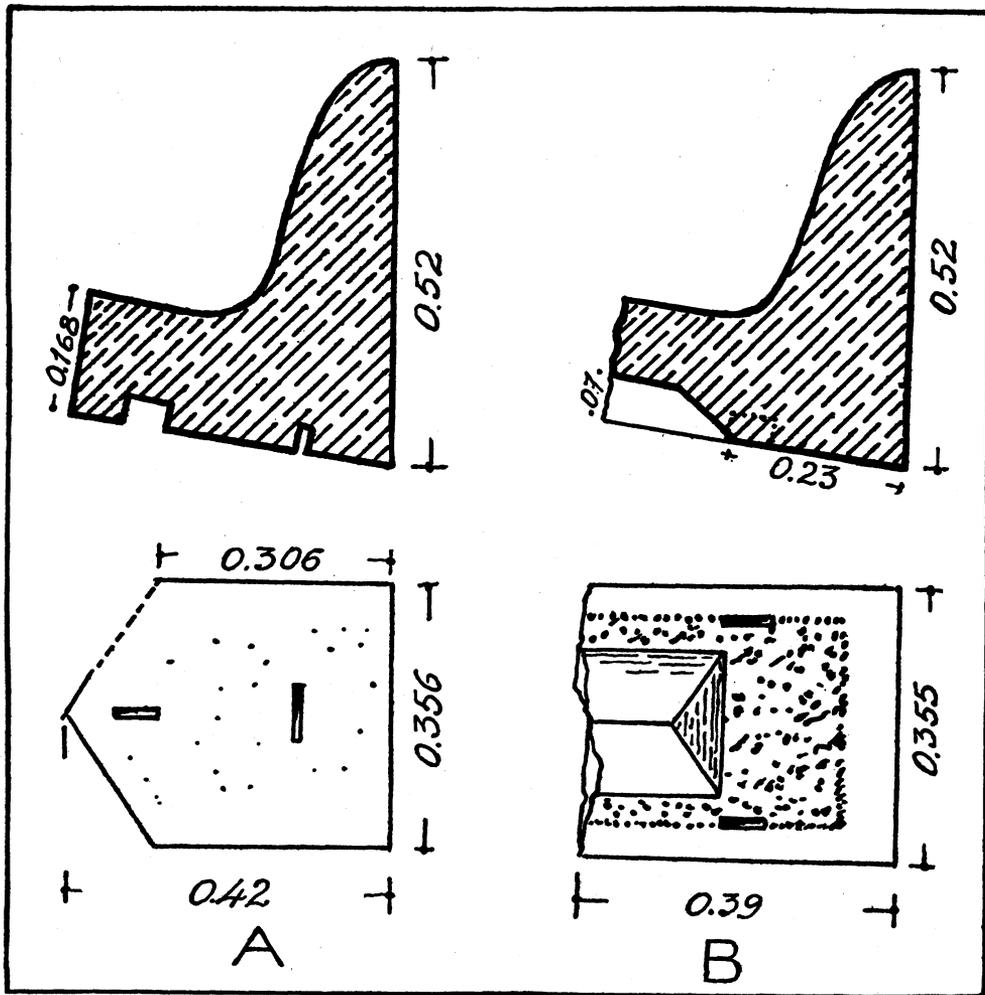


Fig. 6. Pseudo-Leading and Leading Antefixes

antefixes and eleven from pseudo-leading antefixes, the remainder being uncertain. The rest have disappeared. Some have travelled to the Museums of Europe (London,¹² Cambridge,¹³ Munich¹⁴). The broken leading antefixes may be distinguished from

¹² A. H. Smith, *The Sculptures of the Parthenon*, fig. 133.

¹³ Fitzwilliam Muzeum. F. Brommer, *Die Antike*, Vol. XVI, p. 73, fig. 9.

¹⁴ Furtwängler-Wolters, *Beschreibung der Glyptothek*, 1910, 158, no. 195. Now A, 230.

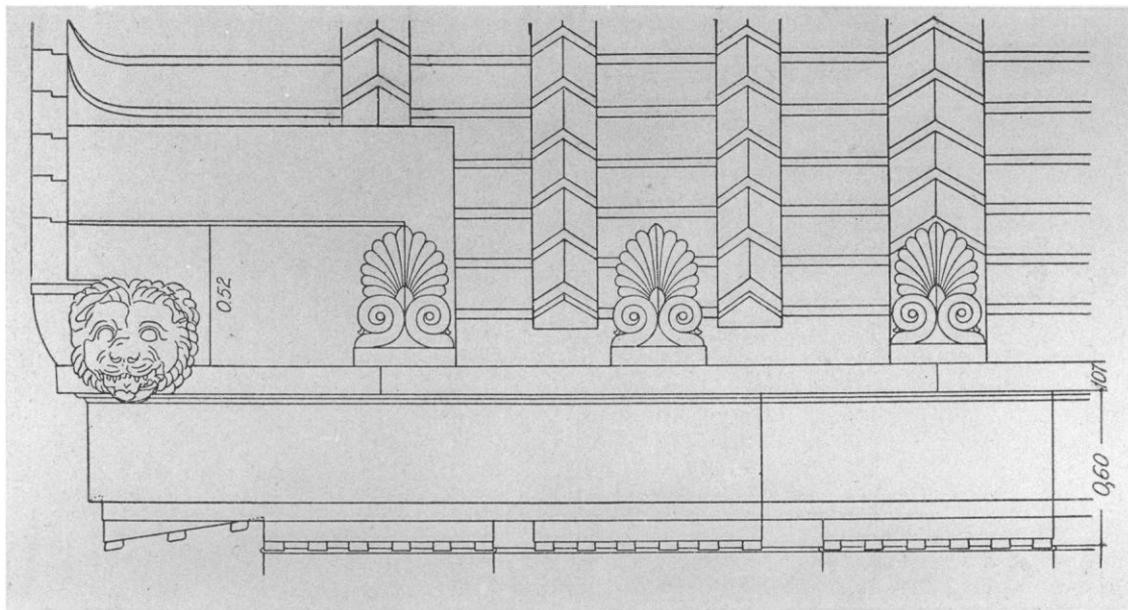
the pseudo-leading antefixes by their bottom surfaces and by the dowels by which they were fastened to the eaves tiles. The bottom surface of the leading antefixes has a triangular hollow (Fig. 6, B) to receive the raised edges of the flat (eaves) tiles, while the pseudo-leading antefixes have a completely flat bottom (Fig. 6, A). Furthermore the two dowel holes of the leading antefixes are placed on either side and at right angles to the face of the antefix (Fig. 6, B) while on the pseudo-leading antefixes one is placed parallel to the face, the other at right angles, and both are on the axis of the antefix not at the sides (Fig. 6, A).

ANASTASIOS K. ORLANDOS

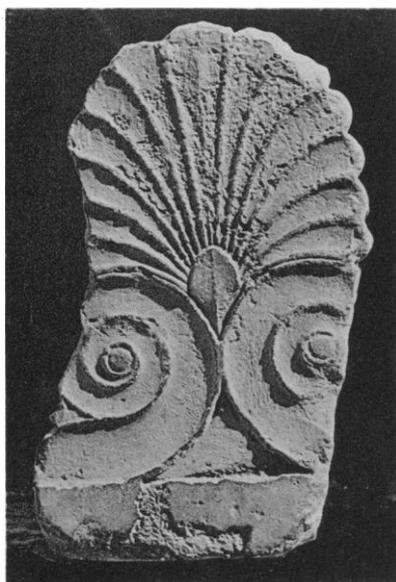
ATHENS

ADDENDUM

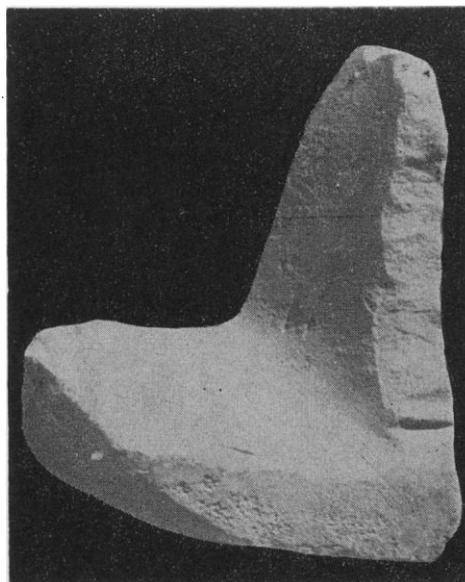
The above calculation of the total number of antefixes is based on the supposition that the flat tiles were of the same width throughout the entire length of the building. In this case, however, it will be noted that the axes of the antefixes will not coincide with the axes of the triglyphs and metopes below. If we wish to meet this requirement also, we must assume that after the first large cover tile from each corner (that which corresponds to the second triglyph from each corner) the width of the flat tiles changed from 0.681 to 0.715 m. (that is one-sixth of the average interaxial space, 4.296). If we accept this solution, which is most probable owing to the corresponding contraction of the angle columns, the total number of antefixes on each side becomes 63 plus 2 carved in semi-relief on the bases of the angle acroteria, of which 31 are true leading antefixes and 32 are pseudo-leading antefixes, not including the 2 carved in semi-relief. Thus the total number of antefixes for the whole building was $(2 \times 31) + (2 \times 32) = 126$, plus 4 carved on the angle acroteria.



1. Southwest Corner of the Roof of the Parthenon Restored



2. Face of a Pseudo-leading Antefix



3. Side View of a Pseudo-leading Antefix

A. K. ORLANDOS: ROOF TILES OF PARTHENON



A. W. PARSONS: A FAMILY OF PHILOSOPHERS



A Family of Philosophers at Athens and Alexandria

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Reviewed work(s):

Source: *Hesperia Supplements*, Vol. 8, Commemorative Studies in Honor of Theodore Leslie Shear (1949), pp. 268-272+462

Published by: [The American School of Classical Studies at Athens](#)

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A FAMILY OF PHILOSOPHERS AT ATHENS AND ALEXANDRIA

(PLATE 26)

IT WAS during the campaign of 1933 that the excavators of the Athenian Agora uncovered a massive block of Pentelic marble—a lintel from above a doorway—which bore on its face an inscription recording the dedication of a library by one T. Flavius Pantainos. Dr. Shear reported the discovery at the time;¹ and later had the satisfaction of announcing that it was now possible, on the basis of the information yielded by the stone, to identify, as the Library of Pantainos, the building which, from the time of Trajan until the Herulian invasion, stood at the corner just south of the Stoa of Attalos where the Street of the Roman Agora met the Street of the Panathenaia.² The text has now been published, for the first time, by Professor Meritt.³

The stone (Plate 26), as Meritt's comment suggests, proves of interest not only for what it has added to our knowledge of the topography and history of the Agora: the dedication introduces us to a family of philosophers—a philosopher father and a philosopher son, who were active at Athens just in the years during which Plutarch, Dio Chrysostom, and Apollonius of Tyana were visitors to the city; and whose philosophic tradition was, I should like to think (cf. below, p. 271), handed down through another two generations, to reappear in the person of another Pantainos, a stoic philosopher, whom we know after his conversion to Christianity as the teacher of Clement of Alexandria.

Here is the text:⁴

¹ *A.J.A.*, XXXVII, 1933, p. 541; *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 330 ff.

² *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 294 f. The present note on Pantainos and his family is a by-product of an investigation of the building and its surroundings, a preliminary report on which will appear in a later number of *Hesperia*. The photograph Plate 26 was made by Miss Alison Frantz.

³ *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 233, no. 64. There are a few minor inaccuracies in both text and measurements, the result of the editor's having to work from a copy and notes made before the stone had been properly cleaned; and Meritt's interpretation differs considerably from mine in certain respects. For this reason, and although it means duplication at some points, it has seemed well to leave the present study, which was complete before I knew of Meritt's, substantially as it was written.

⁴ Inv. I 848. Found on May 20, 1933, in Section I, where it formed part of the east face of the "wall of Valerian" (the block as found is shown in *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 332, fig. 19) at a point about 35 meters south of the Stoa of Attalos. Pentelic marble. Height, 0.372 m.; length, 2.595 m.; thickness, 0.545 m. Height of letters, 0.024-0.04 m. The block is chipped but otherwise intact save for two lugs which originally projected downwards, one at either front corner, and carried the moldings around to form mitred joints with the door-jamb; these have been broken off, presumably by the wall builders. The ends and the top of the block behind the moldings bulge slightly and are rough-picked. The back is stippled, with traces of the attachment for a door-pivot near either end, and for a bolt at the center.

Ἀθηναῖ Πολιάδι καὶ Ἀντοκράτορι Καίσαρι Σεβαστοῦ Νέρβα Τραιανῶ
 Γερμανικῶ καὶ τῇ πόλι τῇ
 Ἀθηναίων, ὁ ἱερεὺς Μουσῶν Φιλοσόφων Τ. Φλάβιος Πάνταινος, Φλαβίου
 Μενάνδρου διαδόχου
 υἱός, τὰς ἔξω στοάς, τὸ περίστυλον, τὴν βιβλιοθήκην μετὰ τῶν
 βιβλίων, τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς πάντα
 κόσμον, ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων, μετὰ τῶν τέκνων Φλαβίου Μενάνδρου καὶ
 Φλαβίας Σεκουνδίσσης, ἀνέθηκε.⁵

The inscription is to be dated, in all probability, between A.D. 98 and A.D. 102 (Shear, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 331: "close to 100 A.D.," Meritt, *loc. cit.*), since Trajan is called Germanicus—a title which he already held when he became emperor—but not Dacicus, a title which he received only at the end of 102.

It is thus very close in time to the year of the archonship of Pantainos of Gargettos—"shortly after A.D. 102"⁶—with whom Shear (*loc. cit.*) proposed to identify the donor of the library. We need not, I think, be too hesitant in accepting this identification. It is true that the absence of a demotic in the library inscription suggests, as Meritt points out, that Pantainos was a foreigner, while the archon was an Athenian. But this is by no means conclusive; demotics are sometimes omitted: this may be the case here, perhaps for reasons of space; or Pantainos may have received citizenship in recognition of his gift to the city.⁷ And other considerations favor the identification: the rarity of the name Pantainos and the close contemporaneity of the two documents, the unlikelihood that there should have been two men of this name living at the same time in Athens, both prominent, and both rich. Moreover, an examination of the stone *I.G.*, II², 2017, indicates that the restoration at the beginning

⁵ L. 3: βιβλιοθήκην, βιβλίων. These derivatives of *byblos* are, in inscriptions, all but universally spelt with *v* through most of antiquity (cf. Dziatzko in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s. *vv.* Bibliotheken, col. 406, and Byblos, cols. 1103 f. Prof. D. M. Robinson calls my attention to a Hellenistic grave monument from Sardis, on which both βύβλος and βίβλος appear: *Sardis*, VII, part 1, pp. 108 f., no. 111).

⁶ *I.G.*, II², 2017; this dating is accepted also by Oliver in his list of Athenian archons under the Empire, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 86. Graindor, *Chronologie*, p. 109, has shown that this ephebic catalogue ought to be placed at the very beginning of Trajan's reign, and has suggested dating it, approximately, A.D. 100/1. But the restoration of Δακικόν at the end of line 3 is almost certainly correct: not only does the space permit it, the whole composition, heading, text and relief, seems to demand it. Photographs of the stone (Nat. Mus., Inv. Sculpt. 1469) may be found in Svoronos, *Ἐθνικὸν Μουσεῖον*, pl. CIX; Graindor, *Album*, pl. XXIV, 32; *id.*, *B.C.H.*, XXXIX, 1915, p. 252, fig. 1; Arndt-Amelung, *Einzeltaufnahmen*, no. 1259.

I must here express my gratitude to Mr. Christos Karouzos, the Director of the National Museum, to Mrs. Karouzos and to Mr. John Threpsiades for the very real trouble to which they put themselves in making it possible for me, under the difficult conditions still prevailing in the National Museum, to examine this and other objects.

⁷ The family were probably not, in any case, newcomers to the city: the scanty evidence available suggests that the schools preferred citizen scholars, or aliens already established in Athens.

of line 5 probably needs supplementing: unless this and the lines which follow were indented, the space to be filled requires, not 12, but at least 14-15 letters. The solution seems evident; we ought to restore: [ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Τ. Φλ. ΙΙ]ανταίνου Γαρυ[ηττίου . . .].

The identification accepted, we find ourselves rather surprisingly well-informed about Pantainos and his family. We know that he was, or became, a citizen of Athens, a demesman of Gargettos. And we know that he was wealthy and well-known enough, not only to have presented a public library to the city, but to have served shortly thereafter as eponymous archon—at a period when only a very wealthy man could afford to accept this expensive honor.⁸ Prominence and probably wealth are implicit, equally, in the family's possession of the Roman citizenship, which had been granted, we may assume, to Pantainos' father, Flavius Menandros, by one of the Flavian emperors.⁹

Of the philosophical activity of Pantainos and Menandros, we discover just enough to make us wish for more—particularly because for this period, just before the intellectual revival under Hadrian and the Antonines, we are, despite Plutarch and Dio Chrysostom and Philostratus, but ill-informed regarding the personalities connected with the schools, the teachers who actually ran them and drew to them young men and old from every corner of the Empire.¹⁰ We learn that Flavius Menandros had been chosen to head one of the schools—*διάδοχος* can mean only this¹¹—a considerable distinction and one for which, at this time, only Roman citizens seem to have been eligible.¹² Unhappily, we are not told to which school he belonged: if our identification of Menandros' great-grandson, Pantainos (II), is correct (cf. below) we might guess it to have been the Stoic, and suppose him to have been a predecessor of T. Coponius Maximus, scholarch under Trajan (*I.G.*, II², 3571) and

⁸ Graindor (*Chronologie*, pp. 11 ff.; cf. also his *Hérode Atticus*, p. 56, and *Athènes de Tibère à Trajan*, p. 73), discussing the archonship at this period, explains the years of "anarchy" which now begin to appear, as the result of the city's inability to find men both willing and sufficiently rich to face the heavy financial burden of this office. See also Oliver, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 30, on the functions and obligations of tribal and other *eponymoi*. The whole question of the method of filling the archonship during the Imperial period has recently been reopened by Notopoulos, *4.J.P.*, LXV, 1944, pp. 149 ff.

⁹ On the extension of the Roman citizenship in Greece, see Graindor, *Athènes sous Auguste*, pp. 133 f.; Oliver, *op. cit.*, p. 29. In the middle of the first century after Christ, it was still a coveted honor: Graindor, *loc. cit.*, citing *I.G.*, IV², 84, l. 34.

¹⁰ Graindor's effort (*Athènes de Tibère à Trajan*, pp. 150 ff.) to compile a prosopography of the philosophical schools covering the first century after Christ and the first years of the second, is a sufficient comment on the state of our knowledge in this respect.

¹¹ Cf. Walden, *The Universities of Ancient Greece*, p. 102. Recall the *Διαδοχαί* of Sotion, and the *Φιλοσόφων διαδοχή* of Sosicrates; and cf., e. g., *I.G.*, II², 1099, line 6: *diadochus* and line 16: ἡ Ἐπικούρου διαδοχή; *ib.*, 3571, line 4: *διάδοχον Στωϊκόν*.

¹² This was true at least of the Epicurean school, until A.D. 121, when Plotina, the widow of Trajan, successfully interceded with Hadrian to permit the Epicurean scholarch, Popillius Theotimus, to select a non-citizen successor; a part of the correspondence is preserved, *I.G.*, II², 1099. The same restriction probably applied also to the other schools (*S.E.G.*, III, 226 [= Wilhelm, *Att. Urkunden*, III, pp. 61 ff., no. XVIII] might refer to the more general lifting of this restriction).

Aurelius Herakleides (*I.G.*, II², 3801) who headed the school in the time of Hadrian (both, we might note, were Athenian citizens).

Pantainos tells us also that he, like his father, was a philosopher—whether as amateur or as professional teacher, it would be difficult to say. But his self-bestowed title—“priest of the Philosophic Muses”—is hardly intended to be understood literally. Redolent of the study, it would be quite unparalleled, I believe, as the title of an actual priesthood; Pantainos' phrase must be figurative, like the *ιερεὺς φιλοσοφίας* of Libanius (*Orat.*, LII, 42): he means to describe himself as “the votary of the Muses, patronesses of philosophy”—that is, simply, “the philosopher.”¹³

Pantainos is an uncommon name either in Attica or elsewhere in the Greek world.¹⁴ It seems, therefore, rather a striking coincidence that we encounter, seventy-five years later, another philosopher named Pantainos. The outlines of his career come to us chiefly through Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.*, V, 9-11), who tells us that Pantainos started as a stoic, but that when Commodus became emperor, in A.D. 180, he was already head of the Catechetical School at Alexandria. Both Eusebius and Clement (*Stromateis*, I, 11, 1 f.) bear witness to his greatness and his influence; and from

¹³ Had Pantainos been in fact, as Meritt would have him, priest in charge of the Museum at Alexandria, surely he must have used his proper title—*ιερεὺς* (or *ἐπιστάτης*) *τοῦ Μουσείου* or the like (Otto, *Priester u. Tempeln im hellenistischen Aegypten*, I, pp. 166 ff., II, p. 321; Müller-Graupa in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s. v. *Museion*, col. 808)—which would have made his identity clear to his Athenian readers.

Perhaps we ought to conjecture that he intends to identify himself as priest of the cult in one of the Athenian schools (on the schools as *θίασοι* of the Muses, cf. Wilamowitz, *Antigomos v. Karystos*, pp. 263 ff.; Müller-Graupa, *loc. cit.*, cols. 799 ff.). But—except for a statement attributed to Antigonos of Carystus (Athenaeus, 547 E) that in the Peripatetic school, in Lycon's time, the monthly officer *ἐπὶ τῆς εὐκοσμίας* was obliged, in addition to his other duties, *ιεροποιῆσαι τε καὶ τῶν Μουσείων* (or *Μουσῶν*) *ἐπιμελητὴν γενέσθαι*—we are almost without direct testimony as to the internal organization of the schools and their cults. And Pantainos' selection of an epithet for the Muses, which is probably unique, and is certainly nowhere recorded as a cult-name, seems to me rather to suggest a deliberate effort to avoid the possibility of confusion with the priests of either Alexandria or Athens.

¹⁴ Cf. Pape-Benseler, *Gr. Eigenn.*, s. v.; the indices of *I.G.*; etc. Except for our Pantainos, the name occurs but twice, to my knowledge, in Attic prosopography: as that of the father of Thucydides of Gargettos, described by Theopompos as a political adversary of Pericles (*P.A.*, 7272, 11580, where Kirchner rather arbitrarily emends to Pantainetos); and as that of an ephebe of about A.D. 200, Aurelius Pantainos of the tribe Ptolemais. More than four centuries separate the first of these from T. Flavius Pantainos, although they were fellow demesmen, while the second seems excluded from a direct connection with ours both by his *nomen* and by his tribe (Gargettos belongs to Aigeis).

Menandros is, of course, more common, but it seems impossible to associate either Pantainos' father, Flavius Menandros (I), or his son, Flavius Menandros (II), with any otherwise known person. His daughter too, who, again, bears a comparatively rare name, appears to be known only here.

Can there be any connection between this family and the *Pantaenis* mentioned by Martial (*Ep.*, VII, 69), who was either a poetess and friend (*P.I.R.*, III¹, no. 67; Ker, *ad loc.*) or a work (*P.I.R.*, II², no. 397) of the poet Canius Rufus?

Clement we learn that he was dead before Book I of the *Stromateis* was written, close to A.D. 200.

Neither Clement nor Eusebius gives us a clue to Pantainos' homeland.¹⁵ But Philip of Side says that he was an Athenian. Philip's testimony on this point, however—because he misplaces Pantainos in the succession and adds that he was a Pythagorean and because he is in any case a notoriously inaccurate historian¹⁶—is ordinarily discarded as valueless. Yet this is exactly the sort of point on which tradition is least likely to be in error: a man's early training, or his precise place in the succession, might be confused by a later writer, but his place of origin, which was so often all but a part of his name, would be far less easily forgotten. In the absence of reliable information to the contrary, we are bound, I think, to accept, at least tentatively, Philip's statement.

We can say, then, of Pantainos (II), with certainty, that he had been a philosopher—a stoic—and that he was active in the second half of the second century; with probability, that he came originally from Athens. Surely this is something more than coincidence. I submit that his name, his calling, his date, his probable homeland, all support the hypothesis proposed at the start of this paper, all point toward a kinship with Pantainos (I), of Athens. And I suggest that we shall remain well within the bounds of probability, if we conjecture that his name, too, was T. Flavius Pantainos; and that Flavius Menandros (I), the scholarch at Athens, was the great-grandfather, and T. Flavius Pantainos (I) of Gargettos, the philosopher and Athenian archon, was the grandfather, of this first distinguished head of the Christian school at Alexandria.

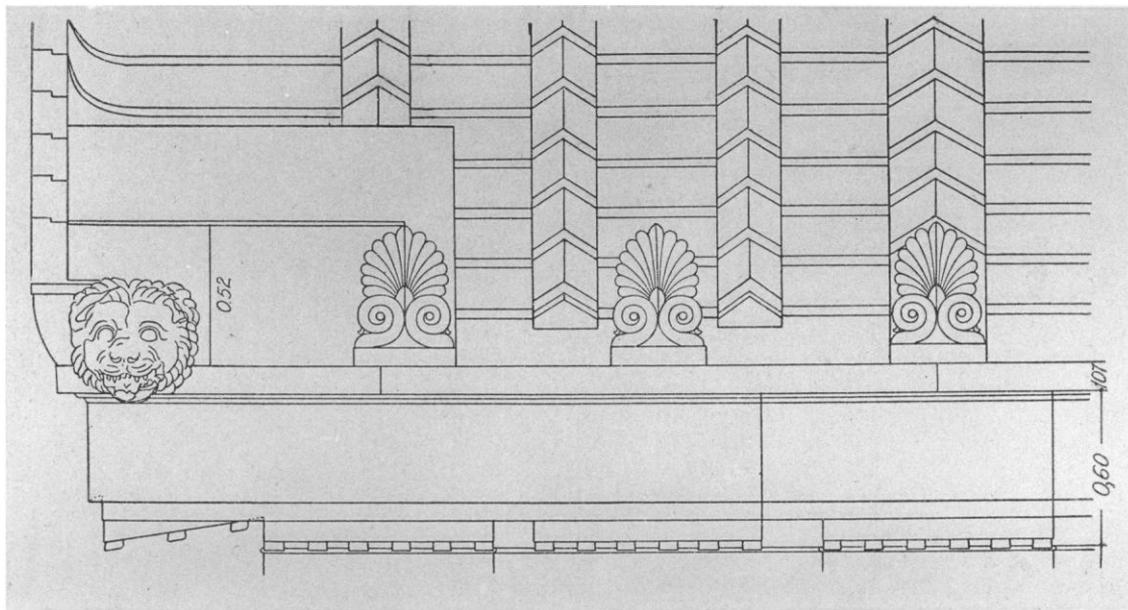
ARTHUR W. PARSONS †

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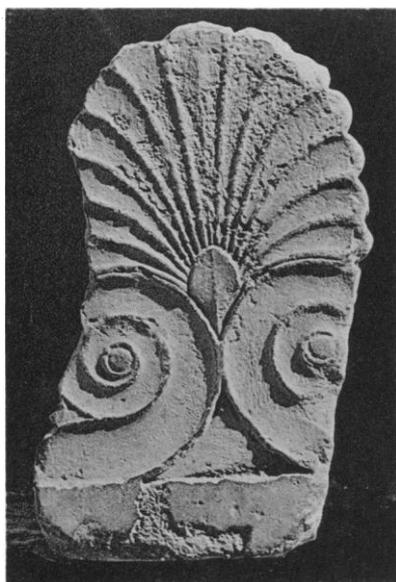
¹⁵ Clement, in a passage full of Euripidean echoes (*Strom.*, I, 11, 2), says of one of his teachers, probably Pantainos: *Σικελικῆ τῷ ὄντι ἦν μέλιττα*. The phrase is frequently interpreted to mean that Pantainos was a Sicilian (e. g., O. Bardenhewer, *Gesch. d. altkirchlichen Literatur*, II, p. 13). But this is to misread Clement; the whole passage is figurative, and Clement means no more than that Pantainos "was a bee and a particularly good bee." Everyone knew that Sicilian honey, especially the Hyblean, was the best; and while students of natural history like Varro (*R.R.*, III, 16, 14) and Pliny (*Hist. Nat.*, XI, 13) were aware that it was the quality of the flora which made it so, the literary tradition (e. g., Martial, *Ep.*, IX, 26, 3) was content to attribute the excellence of Sicilian honey to the excellence of the Sicilian bees.

¹⁶ I know Philip of Side only at second hand. The sole edition of the surviving fragment of his *de catechistarum Alexandr. successione* appears to be that by Dodwell in *Dissertationes in Irenaeum* (Oxford, 1689), p. 488. On his unreliability, cf. Bardenhewer, *op. cit.*, II, p. 13; I, p. 277; Puech, *Histoire de la Littérature grecque chrétienne*, II, p. 328.

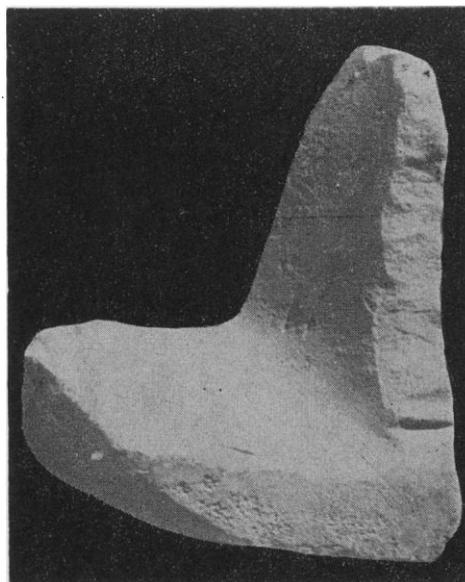
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1. Southwest Corner of the Roof of the Parthenon Restored



2. Face of a Pseudo-leading Antefix



3. Side View of a Pseudo-leading Antefix

A. K. ORLANDOS: ROOF TILES OF PARTHENON



A. W. PARSONS: A FAMILY OF PHILOSOPHERS



Epheboi of Oineis

Author(s): W. Kendrick Pritchett

Reviewed work(s):

Source: *Hesperia Supplements*, Vol. 8, Commemorative Studies in Honor of Theodore Leslie Shear (1949), pp. 273-278+463

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EPHEBOI OF OINEIS

(PLATE 27)

STELE of Hymettian marble, complete except for a strip across the front at the top, removed from bedrock at the bottom of the Valerian Wall in Section AA on February 21, 1938. On the top surface there is a cutting which measures 0.060 m. × 0.114 m.

Height, 1.154 m.; width, 0.30 m.; thickness, 0.152 m.

Height of letters, 0.007 m.

Inv. No. I 5250. Plate 27.

Five lines occupy a vertical space of *ca.* 0.075 m. The names were engraved between horizontal guide-lines which extend across the width of the stone. Twelve of these lines were incised beneath the last name of the register in column I. The names in the citations, which were probably enclosed within painted wreaths, were not engraved with the aid of guide-lines and are very unevenly arranged. It is to be noted that the stele is only half the usual width.¹

The distance on the front face of the stele from the top of the first preserved name of column II, *Εἰθουος*, upwards to an imaginary line projected parallel to the bottom of the original crowning moulding preserved on the right and left sides measures *ca.* 0.10 m. This space could have contained a maximum of six lines spaced as in the remainder of the register, or five lines if we allow for the conventional space between the moulding and the first line of the inscription. This number would be reduced if one assumed a heading of one or two lines inscribed in larger letters and possibly set off from the name-list by a wider interlinear space.

This list of epheboi of the phyle Oineis may be dated *ca.* 330 B.C. Habron of Boutadai (line 8) was the eldest of the sons of Lykourgos (*P.A.*, 9251),² all three of whom were imprisoned after the death of their father in 324 B.C.³ The names of one and possibly two of the epheboi (Hippotherses and Theophilos of Acharnai) occur on a votive monument discovered at Karystos in Euboia (Legrand and Doublet,

¹ Figures concerning the three dimensions of a stele have been compiled by S. Dow, who has concluded that normally thickness is to width in the proportion of 1 : 4½. See *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 141-144, and *Cl. Phil.*, XXXVII, 1942, p. 324.

² For the bibliography which supports this statement in contradiction to the assertion in [Plut.], *Vit. X. or.*, *Lyc.*, 843C that Lykophron was the eldest, see Blass, *Die attische Beredsamkeit*, III², 2, p. 107, note 2.

³ In accord with Aristotle's statement ('Αθ. Πολ., XLII, 5) that no legal action except in cases concerning estate, marriage of an heir, and inherited priesthood could be brought against epheboi during their two years of service, the youngest of the three sons must have been at least twenty years old when they were arrested in 324 B.C.

c. a. 330

non-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

-----		-----	
(Col. I)	(Col. II)	(Col. I)	(Col. II)
[<i>demoticum</i>]	[Ἀχαρνείς]	Νέων	Δεισίθεος
[-----]	[-----]	Δήμων	Λυσικράτης
[-----]	[-----]	25 Καλλιφῶν	Ἠγήτωρ
5 [-----]	[Σώστρατος]	Ἀγαθοκλῆς	60 Εὐθυκλῆς
Νικομένης	40 Εὐθιοιός	Λακιάδαι	Πυθοκλῆς
Βουτάδαι	Τιμοκλῆς	Κτησίας	Ὀλυμπιόδωρος
Ἄβρων	Ἴπποθέρσης	Θεόπομπος	Κοθωκίδαι
Θεαίος	Ἀριστοφάνης	30 Θριάσιοι	Δορκεύς
10 Τυρμείδαι	Θεόφιλος	Εὐβουλος	65 Ἀριστόνικος
Δημοφάνης	45 Λέων	Χιωνίδης	Ἄβριππος
Φυλάσιοι	Δημόφιλος	Πτελεάσιοι	Μνησικλῆς
Ἀριστοφῶν	Εὐθύμαχος	Εὐπόλεμος	
Διότιμος	Ἀριστοτέλης	35 Σωσίπολις	
15 Λεπτίνης	Κηφισογένης	<i>vacat</i> 0.142	<i>vacat</i> 0.185
Σωκράτης	50 Ναυκύδης	68 Κηφισογένην	72 Χιωνίδην
Ἀντοκλῆς	Ἀντιφάνης	Ἀχαρνέα	Θριάσιον
Ἐπικράτης	Διόδωρος	<i>vacat</i> 0.13	<i>vacat</i> 0.135
Περιθοῖδαι	Ἐχέμυθος	70 Ἄβρωνα	Σώστρατον
20 Φιλέας	Φίλιππος	Βουτάδην	75 Ἀχαρνέα
Ὀθήθεν	55 Μνησίας	Φίλιππον	
Ἀριστόδημος	Δημοκλήδης	Ἀχαρνέα	
	<i>In latere sinistro:</i>		<i>In latere dextro:</i>
	Χειμέα		Ναυκύδην
	σωφρονιστήν		Διογένους
	<i>vacat</i>		<i>vacat</i>
	Φίλιππον		Φιλημονίδην
			στρατηγόν
			<i>vacat</i>
		5 Κηφισί --	
		ἀκοντιστήν	

B.C.H., XV, 1891, pp. 406-408).⁴ Legrand and Doublet have dated the inscription, which contains a catalogue of Athenians arranged by demes, in 323 when Karystos, perhaps alone of the cities of Euboeia,⁵ joined the Greek confederacy during the

⁴ Republished as *I.G.*, XII, 9, no. 1242.

⁵ *Diod.*, XVIII, 11, 1-2, and *Paus.*, I, 25, 4; cf. Geyer, *Philologus*, LXXXV, 1929-30, p. 177. Tarn (*C.A.H.*, VI, p. 456) suggests that Histiaia joined the Athenian side.

Lamian War. In this year, Athenian soldiers are known to have been on the island;⁶ so Hippotherses and Theophilos had completed their ephebate and entered service. A Pythokles of Acharnai, who bears the same name as the ephebe of line 61, was thrice listed as trierarch within the period 326-322 B.C. (*P.A.*, 12440). The *τριηραρχία*, as Demosthenes testifies, was incumbent on Athenians of a certain census *εὐθὺς ἐκ παίδων ἐξεληθῶν*.⁷ On the other hand, several of our epheboi were active in political affairs in the last decade of the century and there is no evidence for dating the inscription before the reorganization of the ephebeia in 335 B.C.⁸

The names of three Oineid demes are not preserved in the extant portion of the text: *Ἐπικηφίσιοι*, *Ἴπποτομάδαι*, and *Λουσιεῖς*. To one of these three demes belonged Nikomenes of line 5. If the stele contained no heading, all three may have been represented, but the omission of demes is paralleled in two fourth-century ephebe lists.⁹

⁶ Strab., X, 446; cf. Glotz, Roussel, and Cohen, *Histoire Grecque*, IV, p. 270.

⁷ Dem. XXI, 154.

⁸ Wilamowitz (*Aristoteles und Athen*, I, pp. 191-194, 353) has argued that the institution of the Athenian ephebeia was established in 335 after Chaeronea, and his position has been supported by A. Brenot in her not entirely satisfactory study, *Recherches sur l'éphébie attique et en particulier sur le date de l'institution*. Others who endorse this theory include Hiller (*ad S.I.G.*³, 957), Kirchner (*ad I.G.*, II², 1156), Forbes (*Greek Physical Education*, pp. 109-178; *Class. Phil.*, XXV, 1930, pp. 75-77), and A. H. M. Jones (*The Greek City*, p. 223). The treatment of Forbes is the most detailed. Scholars who dissent from the Wilamowitz position include Bonner (*Aspects of Athenian Democracy*, pp. 88-91), Gomme (*The Population of Athens in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B. C.*, p. 8, note 3), and G. Mathieu (*Mélanges A. M. Desrousseaux*, pp. 311-318). More recently, L. Robert (*Études épigraphiques et philologiques*, pp. 296-307) has published a fourth-century inscription from the deme Acharnai which contains the famous oath of the epheboi couched in archaic language of which the prefix reads: *Ὅρκος ἐφήβων πάτριος ὃν ὀμνῖναι δεῖ τοὺς ἐφήβους*. Proponents of the Wilamowitz thesis (cf. Busolt-Swoboda, *Griechische Staatskunde*, p. 1190) in considering the literary references in Demosthenes, XIX, 303; Lycurg., 76; and Plutarch, *Alcibiades*, 15, 4, have already admitted the antiquity of this ephebic oath, but have postulated that before 335 B.C. the oath was administered to youths (epheboi in a non-technical sense) on enrolment as hoplites. But the prefix of the Acharnai stele which was probably inscribed in the last third of the century (so Robert, *op. cit.*, p. 316, conjectures) refers to the contemporaneous ephebic corps (*τοὺς ἐφήβους* in a technical sense), and it is natural to infer that the ancestral oath was that of the epheboi (technical), particularly when this is considered in connection with Gomme's arguments on the passage in Aeschines, II, 167; for which see, also, L. Robert, *op. cit.*, p. 306, note 3. Wilamowitz's contention (*op. cit.*, p. 194; cf. p. 353) that "Platons Gesetze haben die ephebie erzeugt" has been rejected by Jaeger, *Paideia*, III, p. 250. The article on the ephebic oath by M. Bock in *Jahresh.*, XXXIII, 1941, pp. 41-59, I have been unable to obtain.

⁹ In the ephebic list published by Leonardos, *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1918, pp. 73 ff. (= Michel, *Recueil*, Suppl. no. 1704) the names of three demes of Leontis are not inscribed in the register. Leonardos (*op. cit.*, p. 84) and Forbes (*op. cit.*, p. 152) have assumed that these demes actually supplied epheboi but that their names were omitted from the stele, which is completely preserved; instead of 63 epheboi from one phyle they estimate 74 or 75. (This latter figure is the only authority I can discover for Tarn's statement [*C.A.H.*, VI, p. 442] that "the system produced some 800 recruits annually," a figure which is unquestionably too high.) Such reasoning might be used equally well for positing the omission of names of epheboi from some of the preserved demes and would render any statistical argument invalid. The official list of diaitetai for 325/4 (*I.G.*, II², 1926) furnishes

Unfortunately, the two ephebic lists of 333/2 are not sufficiently well-preserved to permit exact determination of representation.¹⁰

Of the officials who were cited, the five on the obverse are unquestionably the ephebic lochagoi,¹¹ whose names were also inscribed in the register.¹² The man named in the first citation on the right side has the same *nomen* as one of the epheboi and apparently was also a lochagos, although the mason inscribed his patronymic instead of demotic. The general Philemonides is otherwise unknown.¹³ On the left side of

the analogy for considerable fluctuation in an age-group for one year; of the one hundred and three diaitetai whose names are preserved in the inscription, tribal representatives range from three to sixteen. In *I.G.*, II², 478, the column containing the epheboi of Erechtheis is sufficiently well-preserved to permit Gomme (*op. cit.*, p. 69) to estimate that only eight of eleven demes of this phyle were represented in 305/4.

The fact that three demes had no representatives in Leonardos's Oropos list might be used to support Gomme's contention (*op. cit.*, p. 68) against other commentators on the subject, including Leonardos, Beloch, Mathieu, and Colin, that the epheboi were of one year, honoring at the end of two years of service the officials of both years; for on purely statistical grounds, admittedly not a strong argument, there is less likelihood of three demes having no representatives in two years than in one year, for representation would become with each additional year more nearly in proportion to the size of the demes. Gomme's conclusions have been criticized by Treves (Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s. v. Philokles 4, with additional bibliography) and De Sanctis (*Riv. di Filol.*, N. F., XV, 1937, pp. 292-293) because Gomme rejected the hypothesis on which those who advocate that the list comprises the epheboi of two classes base their conclusion, namely, that Philokles (*P.A.*, 14521), the well-known general involved in the Harpalos episode whose patronymic and demotic are unknown, is identical with Philokles, son of Phormion, of Eroiadai, the kosmetes in the Oropos inscription and trierarch in 323/2 (*I.G.*, II², 1631, line 444). The prosopographical argument which rests on the identification of men bearing the very common name Philokles is indeed tenuous.

¹⁰ For the Leontid list of 333/2 (*Hesperia*, IX, 1940, no. 8), Roussel (*Revue Arch.*, XVIII, 1941, p. 225) estimates 35 epheboi including the five lochagoi. The Pandionid list (*A.J.P.*, LXVI, 1945, pp. 238-239) contained seven lochagoi, but only the bottom of the register is preserved.

¹¹ For these cadet officers, see Leonardos, *op. cit.*, p. 84; Forbes, *op. cit.*, p. 146; Kirchner *ad I.G.*, II², 2976; Roussel, *Revue Arch.*, XVIII, 1941, pp. 222-226; and Meritt, *A.J.P.*, LXVI, 1945, pp. 234-239.

¹² Roussel (*ibid.*) has remarked that the lochagoi were in proportion to the number of epheboi, but in the Oropos inscription there are eleven lochagoi for 63 epheboi; in the Leontid list of 333/2, according to Roussel's estimate, five lochagoi for 35, and in the present inscription six for ca. 52 epheboi. Mathieu (*Rev. Phil.*, LV, 1929, p. 161, note 7, and pp. 172-3) was disturbed by the duplication of the name *Ἐπιπολις Καλλιᾶδου* in lines 6 and 12 of the Oropos text, but concluded that the two were cousins. However, the entry in line 6, which was in the nature of a correction inserted in the interspace between lines 5 and 7, may have been intended as an addition to the list of lochagoi whose names were contained in lines 1-5. In this case there would be twelve lochagoi for 62 epheboi.

¹³ The second-year epheboi served under the *στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τῆι χώραι*, whereas those of the first year were in charge of the two strategoi assigned to Mounychia and Akte (see Aristotle, *Ἀθ. Πολ.*, XLII; Leonardos, *op. cit.*, p. 97; Forbes, *op. cit.*, p. 143; and Gomme, *op. cit.*, p. 68). It might be conjectured that Philemonides was the *στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τῆι χώραι* and the epheboi were of the second year: this might explain the apparent failure to honor the kosmetes who was with them in their first year. But the epheboi of 269/8 were linked with one strategos under whose orders they guarded the Museum (*I.G.*, II², 665, line 12), and a similar situation might have occurred in our year.

the stele, Philippos was cited beneath the sophronistes of Oineis. He is to be identified as the taxiarch of the phyle, rather than one of the gymnastic or military instructors named by Aristotle (*᾿Αθ. Πολ.*, XLII, 3); for this official was regularly associated with the sophronistes.¹⁴

Line 8: For Habron, see Kirchner, *P.A.*, 15.

Line 13: The name of Aristophon, son of Antigenes, of Phyle appears in a catalogue of Oineis (*I.G.*, II², 2408, line 4) which may now be dated shortly after our Agora inscription. For another possible member of the family, see *I.G.*, II², 2437, line 18.

Line 16: For an homonymous member of this deme, see Kirchner, *P.A.*, 13125.

Line 25: For a Kalliphon of Oineis, see *I.G.*, I², 948, line 8.

Line 26: For a later Agathokles of the same phyle, see *I.G.*, II², 961, line 24.

Line 32: The name of Chionides of Thria appears in the inventory record of the treasurers of Athena and the Other Gods for the year 305/4 (*I.G.*, II², 1492, lines 132-133).

Lines 42 and 44: For Hippotherses and Theophilos of Acharnai, see *supra*, pp. 4 f. For a possible son of Hippotherses, see *I.G.*, II², 668, lines 29-30. Within the period 332-268 B.C., the name Theophilos is attested for five different *᾿Αχαρνεῖς*. They are the sons of Ephiamon (*B.C.H.*, XV, 1891, p. 407, col. II, line 6), Kallimachos (*I.G.*, II², 1544, line 3), Olympiodoros (*I.G.*, II², 5806), Theodotos (*Hesperia*, VII, 1938, no. 18, lines 3-4), and Echestratos (*Prytaneis*, no. 3, line 7). Although Acharnai was possibly the largest Attic deme and the name Theophilos was not uncommon, the fact that *ca.* 300 B.C. there may have been five persons of varying ages with the same *nomen* and demotic can only be a restraining factor in the establishment of family relationships for students of prosopography who must depend in great measure on homonyms. For later *᾿Αχαρνεῖς* of this name, see *P.A.*, 7130, 7133.

Line 43: A somewhat older Aristophanes of Acharnai is known from *I.G.*, II², 1559, line 98.

Line 45: A Leon of Acharnai was named as priest in the inscription published by Robert, *Études Épigraphiques et Philologiques*, p. 294, for which Robert proposed a date in the last third of the century. The priest may have been the same man as our ephebe.

Line 46: The name of Demophilos of Acharnai appears in *I.G.*, II², 1672, line 299, for the *ιεροποιὸς ἐγ βουλῆς* (329/8). If this Demophilos was a member of the boule, as Elter maintains,¹⁵ his age in 329/8 would have been at least thirty and

¹⁴ See Meritt, *A.J.P.*, LXVI, 1945, p. 238.

¹⁵ *Ein athenisches Gesetz über die eleusinische Aparche*, cols. 35-37; cf. Busolt-Swoboda, *Griechische Staatskunde*, p. 1066, note 3; and Raubitschek, *Class. Phil.*, XXXVII, 1942, p. 319.

he could not have been our ephebe.¹⁶ His multifarious activities during the ensuing decade are listed by Kirchner, *P.A.* 3675.

Line 48: An Aristoteles, son of Euphiletos, of Acharnai was γραμματεὺς in 378/7 (*I.G.*, II², 44, 155; *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 626).

Line 49: A Kephisogenes of Acharnai was father of an orator of a decree in 306/5 (*Hesperia*, III, 1934, no. 6, line 9).

Line 50: Probably the same as *P.A.*, 10537 (= *I.G.*, II², 5823).

Line 51: The name Ἀντίας Ἀντιφάνους Ἀχαρνεύς is contained on a funerary stele, published as *I.G.*, II², 5783, which Möbius (*Die Ornamente d. gr. Grabstelen*, p. 41 and Table 26a) has shown is to be dated between 340-317 B.C. A date nearer 340 is apparently preferred by Kirchner who says the letter-forms are those of the middle of the century. The stele contains a relief which portrays a mother holding in her arms the boy Ἀντίας. The floruit of Antiphanes, therefore, must be placed near the middle of the fourth century, and he must be distinguished from the homonymous demesman of our inscription.

Line 54: Our Philippos might well be the Φίλιππος Ἀχαρνεύς who was orator and ταμίας τῶν στρατιωτικῶν in 306/5 and 305/4 (*I.G.*, II², 1492, lines 123, 130, and 136).

Line 60: A funerary λουτροφόρος of an Εὐθυκλῆς Ἀρχίππου Ἀχαρνεύς has been dated by Kirchner (*I.G.*, II², 5798) in the middle of the fourth century.

Line 61: For Pythokles, see *supra*, p. 275. It is not unlikely that the trierarch (*P.A.*, 12440) is the same man as our ephebe, although another candidate is the Pythokles of *Prytaneis*, no. 3, line 5, councillor in some year *ca.* 290-280 B.C. For a later Pythokles of Acharnai, see *Prytaneis*, no. 64, line 29.

Line 62: For an Olympiodoros of Acharnai, who is the same as our ephebe or a contemporary, see the commentary on line 42 (= *I.G.*, II², 5806). Cf. also *P.A.*, 11398.

Line 74: An earlier Sostratos of Acharnai is known from Kirchner, *P.A.*, 13346 and *I.G.*, II², 1609, line 78.

Line 79: For an earlier Diogenes, see *I.G.*, II², 1952, line 34: Διόφαντος Διογένης [Ἀχαρν]εύς.

I have not found the names Ἐχέμυθος (line 53) and Ἀβριππος (line 66) in Attic prosopography.

W. KENDRICK PRITCHETT

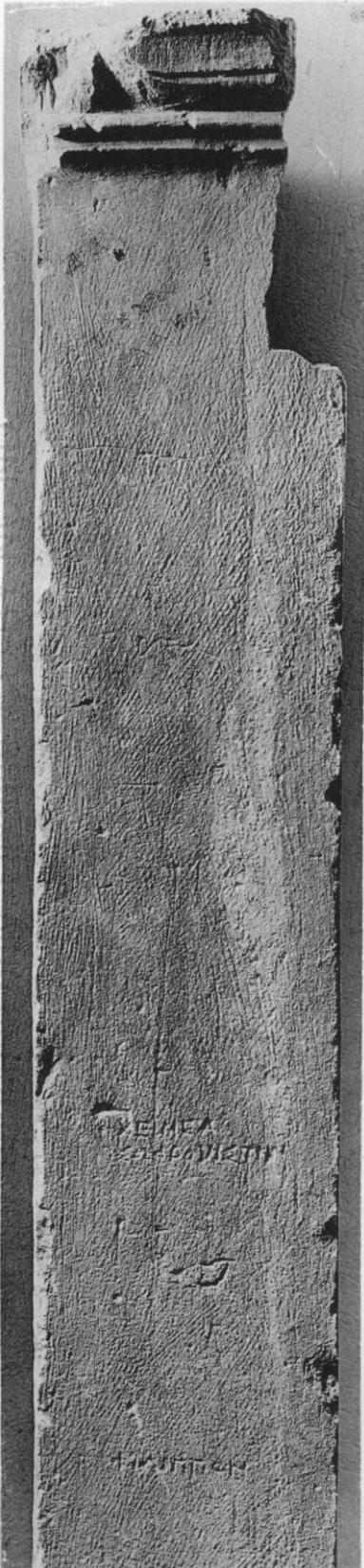
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Elter's argument that the *ιεροποιοὶ ἐγ βουλῆς* were bouleutai rests largely on the evidence of *I.G.*, II², 140, lines 26-27: ἡ βουλή . . . θύσει. In any case, Demophilos, as the only one of the college of *ιεροποιοὶ* specified by name, would probably not have been a youth.

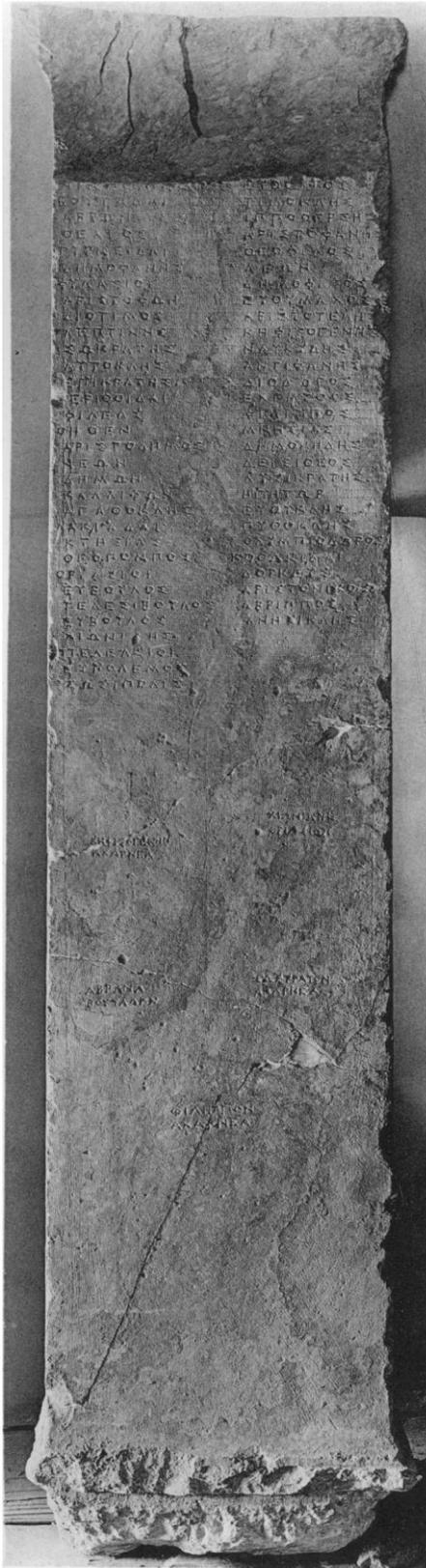
¹⁶ Xenophon, *Mem.*, 1, 2, 35.

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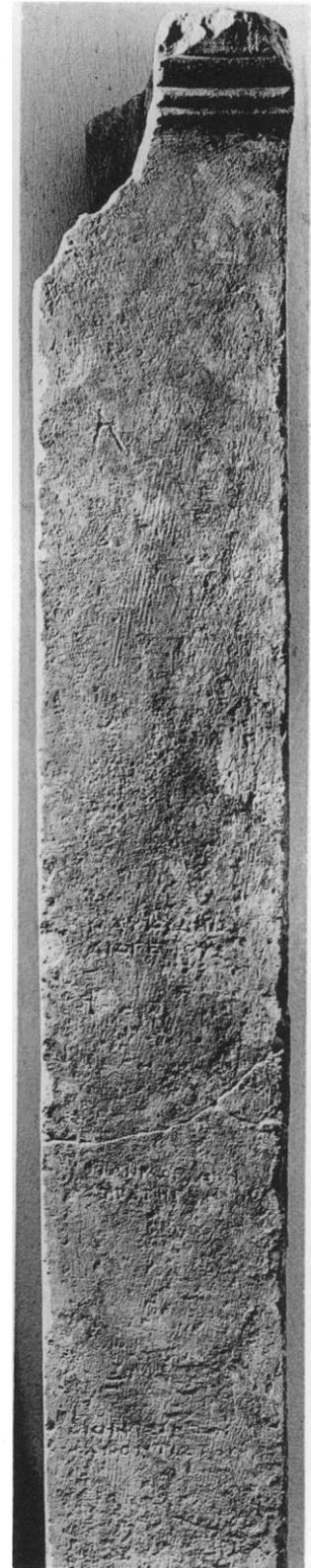
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Left Side



Obverse



Right Side



Commodus and Athens

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Source: *Hesperia Supplements*, Vol. 8, Commemorative Studies in Honor of Theodore Leslie Shear (1949), pp. 279-290+464-466

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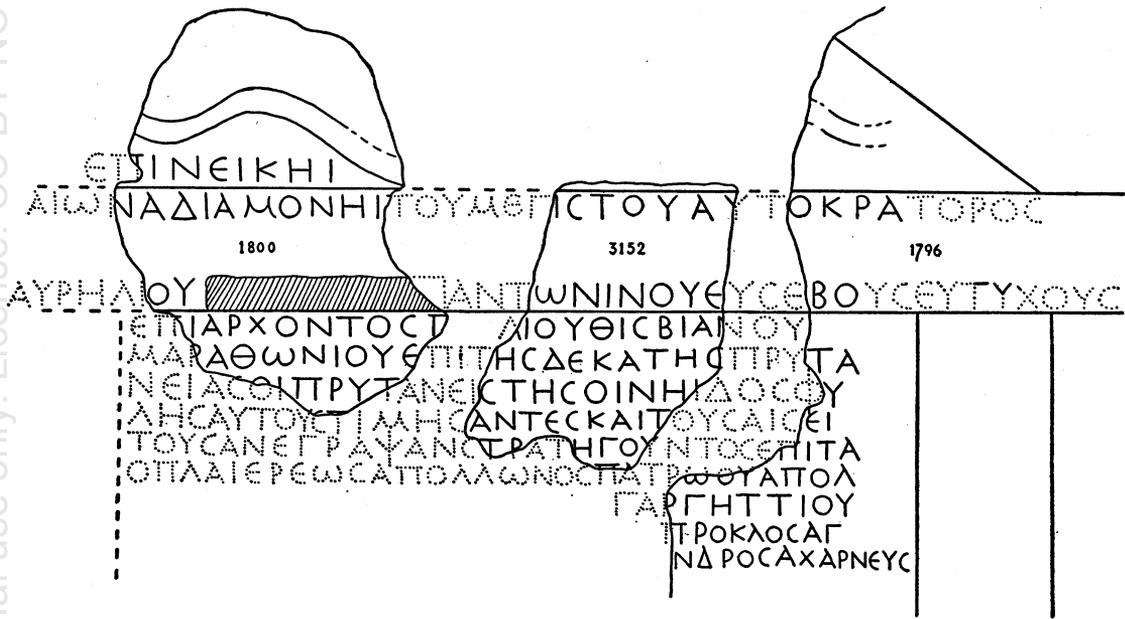
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COMMODUS AND ATHENS

(PLATES 28-30)

GRAINDOR'S observation¹ that the two fragmentary inscriptions now published as *I.G.*, II², 1796 and 1800 may belong to the same document is confirmed by the addition of a still unpublished fragment from the Epigraphical Museum (E.M. 3152) which must join both *I.G.*, II², 1796 and 1800. M. Mitsos who kindly made the fine drawing, Fig. 1, also supplied the dimensions: height, 0.19 m.; width, 0.18 m.; thickness, 0.06 m.



186/7 A.D.

[Ἐ]πὶ Νείκημ

[καὶ]

[εἰς αἰῶ]να διαμονῆ τ[οῦ Μεγ]ίστου Αὐ[τ]οκρά[τορος Καίσαρος]

[Μ. Αὐρηλί]ου [Κομμόδο]ν Ἀντ[ωνίνου] Εὐσεβ[οῦ]ς Εὐ[τυ]τυχ[οῦ]ς ---]

[Ἐ]πὶ ἄρχοντος Γ. [Ιου]λίου Θισβιαν[οῦ]

5 [Μα]ραθωνίου· ἐπὶ τ[ῆ]ς δεκάτης [πρυ]τα

[νεία]ς· οἱ πρυτ[άνει]ς τῆς Οἰνή[δος] φυ

[λῆ]ς αὐτοῦς τ[ιμ]ήσαντες καὶ τ[οὺ]ς αἰσ[ι]εῖ

[τοὺ]ς ἀνεγράψαν. στρα[τη]γοῦντος ἐπὶ τὰ

[ὄπλα] ἱερέως Ἀπόλλωνος Πα[τρ]ῶν Ἀπολ

¹ *B.C.H.*, LI, 1927, p. 296, repeated by J. Kirchner in the heading of *I.G.*, II², 1800.

- 10 [λοδώρου τοῦ ---^{α. 8}--- Γα]ρρητίου.
 [ἐξηγητῆς (?) Γάιος Πεινάριος] Πρόκλος Ἄγ(νούσιος).
 [ἐπώνυμος Πομπήιος Ἀλέξα]νδρος Ἀχαρνεύς.

For the lower part of the inscription, see *I.G.*, II², 1796; add the restoration of line 39 made by J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 57. For the restoration [εἰς αἰῶ]να διαμονῆι, see *O.G.I.*, no. 702; cf. also H. U. Instinsky, *Hermes*, LXXVII, 1942, pp. 313-355 (*non vidi*). Line 41 should be restored [ὑπογραμματ]εὺς.



Fig. 1. E.M. 3152

case), while the 2 names mentioned in lines 11 and 12 stood in the nominative case. The Hoplite General Apollodoros may be a descendant of the man of this name mentioned in *I.G.*, II², 3556. For the restoration of line 11, compare *I.G.*, II², 1791, line 13; for that of line 12, see Oliver, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 65, no. 30, line 6.

The prescript of this document bears a striking resemblance to those of the prytany lists published by Oliver, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pp. 58-63, nos. 25-27, and to *I.G.*, II², 1792, for which Oliver (*loc. cit.*, p. 61) gives a new and for the most part convincing restoration. With this new evidence at hand, the whole group of inscriptions may be reexamined.

The best preserved of the inscriptions published by Oliver is no. 25 (*loc. cit.*, pp. 58-61). It seems clear from a study of the photograph and the squeeze that the

This combination provides us with the name of a hitherto unknown Athenian archon and with the date of his archonship. The full name of Thisbianos may have been either Publius Thisbianus or C. Iulius Thisbianus. The name Thisbianus is rare, and it may therefore be suggested that the dadouchos Thisbianus mentioned in *I.G.*, II², 3730 was the same man as the archon. The date of his archonship has been determined by J. A. Notopoulos who assigned *I.G.*, II², 1796 to the year 186/7 A.D.²

At the end of line 3, there is space either for the word *Σεβαστοῦ* or for the demotic *Βησαϊεύς*; more about this later.

The restorations of lines 9-12 are uncertain. It is clear, however, that lines 8-10 were filled by the name and title of the Hoplite General (in the genitive

² *A.J.P.*, LXIV, 1943, p. 53.

first preserved letter of line 5 is a sigma rather than an upsilon; the restoration of [Σεβαστο]Ϝ should therefore not be considered as certain. Another peculiarity of Oliver's restoration is the omission of Καίσαρος in line 2; this title which is rarely omitted may be divided between lines 2 and 3 if the first name Μᾶρκος is abbreviated to Μ(ᾶρκος) instead of Μᾶρ(κος). Finally, the eta in line 8 belongs, according to its position, to [τιμ]ῆ[σαντες] rather than to [φυλ]ῆ[ς].

The remarkable features of this prescript are not only the occurrence of Commodus' demotic,⁸ but the introduction of the emperor's name by ἐπί, and the omission of the name of the archon. I have been unable to find any other Attic document "dated" by a Roman Emperor, and Oliver has refrained from all comment (*loc. cit.*, p. 62).

The inscription is dated, incidentally, by the mention of the Hoplite General C. Cassius Apollonios from Steiria (lines 5-7), and the occurrence of his name in two similar inscriptions may help us to understand the peculiar use made of Commodus' name as if he were the eponymous archon of that year

The two joining fragments of no. 27 (Oliver, *loc. cit.*, pp. 62-63) should be combined with another fragment first published by Oliver in *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 49-50, no. 12, with *I.G.*, II², 1807, and with the list of aisitōi also published by Oliver as no. 23 (*Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pp. 57-58). To the same document also belongs a hitherto unpublished fragment of Pentelic marble which was found on May 29, 1937, in a well on the porch of the new Bouleuterion, at a depth of 6 m., in Section B. It is broken all around, but it is clear that it must join *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 49-50, no. 12.

Height, 0.235 m.; width, 0.148 m.; thickness, 0.10 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.017 m.

Inv. No. I 4912 (Plate 28).

Oliver restored the name of the Hoplite General Apollonios in *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, no. 12, and he apparently considered restoring the same name in *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 27. There is little doubt that these two separately published inscriptions are part of the same document; its prescript may now be fully restored (see p. 282).

Before commenting on the restoration [ἄρχο]ντος in line 6, attention may be called to the restoration of line 11 [ἀνέγρα]ψαν which is based on the addition of *I.G.*, II², 1807 (Plate 28) the first line of which contains the end of the prescript. Oliver apparently noticed the similarity between *I.G.*, II², 1807 and the fragment which he published in *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, no. 12, but he refused to combine the two fragments (*loc. cit.*, p. 50), probably because the indentation of the demotic on *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, no. 12 is two letter-spaces wide, while the demotics on *I.G.*, II²,

⁸ He was enrolled in the deme Besa because his ancestor Hadrian belonged to the same deme.



188/9 A.D.

[Ἄγαθ]ῆι Τύχηι.

- [Ἐπὶ τοῦ] μεγίστου κ[αὶ]
 [θειοτάτο]ν Ἀυτοκράτορος
 [Καίσαρος Μ.] Αὐρ. [Κομμόδου]
 5 Ἄ[ντωνίνου Εὐσεβοῦς Ε]ὐτυχούς
 Σ[εβα]στο[ῦ Βησαιέως ἄρχο]ντος·
 [στρατ]ηγούντ[ος ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα Γ.] Κάσ.
 Ἄ[πο]λλωνίου Σ[τειριέως· οἱ π]ρυτά
 [νεῖς] τῆς Ἀδριαν[ίδος φυλῆς .] πρυ
 10 [ταν]είας τιμήσ[αντες ἑαυτοὺς κ]α[ὶ]
 [τοῦ]ς αἰσίτους [ἀνέγρα]ψαν. ⚡

1807 begin about four letter-spaces to the right of the column of names. The vertical spacing of the two name lists is also different, *I.G.*, II², 1807 being more narrowly spaced than *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, no. 12. These irregularities occur, however, quite often on similar documents; compare, for instance, *I.G.*, II², 1774 and 1776.

A comparison of *I.G.*, II², 1807 and *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 27b shows clearly that these two fragments must join. The incised frame preserved on no. 27b is continued on *I.G.*, II², 1807. Another peculiarity which links *I.G.*, II², 1807 and *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, no. 12 is the spacing of the name of the eponymous. On the Agora fragment there is an unincised space after [ἐ]πώνυμος (line 7), and this unincised space is balanced by a similar space in line 3 of *I.G.*, II², 1807, in front of Ἐλευσίος. The name of the eponymous cannot be restored with certainty, but it must have been followed by the sign) indicating that the eponymous had the same name as did his father. Faint traces of a vertical stroke belonging to the first letter of the name are preserved just under the final sigma of αἰσίτους in *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, no. 12, line 7, and the name may be restored as Ῥ[οῦφος)] with reference to *I.G.*, II², 1793, line 19.

The date of the inscription, 188/9 A.D., is based on the addition of still another fragment, published by Oliver, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pp. 57-58, no. 23. This fragment, which contains a list of aisitōi, has been dated by J. A. Notopoulos in 188/9.⁴ It belongs with the other fragments of this document on account of the similarity of letter forms and of the identical vertical spacing which connects it with *I.G.*, II², 1807. Moreover, a trace of the lower part of the incised frame is preserved at the bottom of the fragment. The list of aisitōi belongs to the end of the second column, and part of the last line of the first column is preserved in line 1 (Oliver's publication).

Both the document published by Oliver as no. 25 (*Hesperia*, XI, 1942; see above, p. 280) and also this new inscription belong to the same year 188/9. They both mention the same Hoplite General, C. Cassius Apollonios from Steiria.⁵ They both omit any reference to an Athenian archon, but give instead the name of the Emperor Commodus as if he had been the honorary archon of that year. In fact, in one of the documents the title [ἄρχο]ντος should be restored after the Emperor's name, and in the other the same title [ἄρχοντο]ς may be restored in front of the demotic (line 5 of *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 25; see above, p. 281). It is quite likely that the two inscriptions were engraved on the same columnar monument, and it seems possible that a third document (*Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pp. 61-62, no. 26) stood on the same stone and belongs to the same year. Oliver has restored in this inscription the name of the Hoplite General M. Munatius Vopiscus, but the faint traces of letters in line 4 seem to me to favor the restoration Ἀπολλ]ωνίου rather than Οὐ]ρηίσκ[ου]. An examination of all these fragments in Athens should reveal whether they really belong to the same monument, and whether a fourth document (of which no fragment has so far been identified) stood on the same column.⁶

⁴ *A.J.P.*, LXIV, 1943, p. 53.

⁵ See *I.G.*, II², II, 2, p. 795; *I.G.*, II², 2081, line 22; 2085, lines 52-53; 2199, line 7; 3811-3812. For the father (?) of Apollonios, see *I.G.*, II², 2079, lines 3-4; 2085, line 5; 3012; C. A. Forbes, *Cl. Phil.*, XXIX, 1934, p. 150. His grandfather may have been the archon of 125/6 A.D.; see *I.G.*, II², 2037, line 3.

⁶ *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 58, no. 24, belongs to the same year. Oliver has published (*Hesperia*,

The last document to be mentioned in this connection is *I.G.*, II², 1792, the text of which has been greatly improved by Oliver, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 61. There seems to be an uninscribed space above the first line, and only about three letters can be restored in the lacuna of [--- μεγ]ίστου, if this line began at the same point as the following lines. Either the article was omitted altogether [ἐπὶ μεγ]ίστου ---, or the line began a few letters further to the left [ἐπὶ τοῦ μεγ]ίστου ---; this line also extended (according to Oliver's good restoration) with *ca.* 3 letters to the right beyond the other lines of the prescript. Space requirements demand in line 4 the restoration ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα. In line 5, there is not enough space after Αἰολίωνος [-^{ca.} 3 Β]σηδρομ[ώνος] to supply the unabbreviated demotic Φλυέως; it may have been written Φλυ(έως). In line 6, the sigma of [φυλῆ]ς is preserved, and so is the nu of ἀνέ[γραφα]ν in line 7.

In addition to these smaller corrections, it may be suggested that one should restore the third line --- Βησαιέως πανηγυριαρ[χοῦντος· ἄρχοντος τῆς] πόλεως Ἰου(λίου) Ἱεροφάντων. The monument was erected in Eleusis, and this may be explained by the fact that the archonship was held by the Hierophantes. The phrase ἄρχοντος τῆς πόλεως is unusual, but compare the similar expression [στ]ρατηγήσας τῆς π[ό]λεως in *I.G.*, II², 2109; see also *I.G.*, II², 2953. The emperor himself held in this year the honorary office of πανηγυριάρχης.⁷ I suggest this restoration because it is impossible to restore a full name in the lacuna after πανηγυριαρ[χοῦντος], and because it is equally unlikely that the Hierophantes held this office in addition to the archonship. In this case the archonship would have to be mentioned first (see *I.G.*, II², 3592), and the restoration [ἐπιμελητεύοντος] instead of [ἄρχοντος] is too long. This restoration, moreover, would presuppose that the Emperor functioned as archon in more than one year, for the Hoplite Generals mentioned here and in the other documents (see above, p. 283) are different men. There is, moreover, some evidence to show that Commodus served as agonothetes of an Athena festival, possibly of the Panathenaic games.⁸

The interest shown by the Emperor in the city of Athens was not confined to his willingness to serve as honorary archon in 188/9 A.D. and, perhaps in 187 A.D.,⁹ as

XI, 1942, pp. 52-54, no. 20) two fragments of a similar columnar monument, and compared it with the well-preserved column on which *I.G.*, II², 1773-1776 are engraved. The two fragments which he published may belong to the same column, but they can hardly belong to the same inscription. The width of the frame on fragment *a* (which he placed above *b*) is between 0.09 m. and 0.097 m. and the width increases towards the bottom. On the other hand, the frame on fragment *b* is only 0.08 m. wide and does not seem to taper. Moreover the height of the letters on fragment *a* is *ca.* 0.008-0.009 m., while the letters on fragment *b* are *ca.* 0.01-0.012 m. high.

⁷ See P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Hadrian*, p. 97.

⁸ *I.G.*, II², 2116, lines 19-21, may be restored [Κόμμοδος] καὶ ὁ κοσμητῆς ἀνανεωσάμεν[οι τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Πανα]θηναί[ων]; see J. Day, *An Economic History of Athens*, p. 200, note 140. The inscription, unfortunately, seems now to be lost.

⁹ The date of *I.G.*, II², 1792 and of *I.G.*, II², 2116 cannot be determined accurately, but evi-

πανηγυριάρχης. He was initiated into the Eleusinian Mysteries together with his father Marcus Aurelius in 176 A.D.¹⁰ At an undetermined later date, he became a member of the Genos of the Eumolpidai and even served as their archon as we know from an almost completely preserved letter of the Emperor to the Genos (*I.G.*, II², 1110 = Dittenberger, *Sylloge*³, no. 873). The beginning of the prescript of this letter, which was engraved on a stele set up in Eleusis, can be restored, and a new small fragment (Eleusis, Inv. No. 13) may be added (Plate 28), which seems to contain the beginnings of the first four lines of the letter proper.

[Α]ὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσ[αρ Μ. Αὐρήλι]
 [ος [Κόμμοδος] Ἄντ[ωνίνος] Σε]
 [βαστὸς Εὐσ]εβῆς [-----]
lacuna

Ἐγὼ μ[ὲν -----]
 5 ὁ πρε[-----]
 τῶν ο[-----]
 ὑμετ[ερ -----]

The title of Commodus, as restored above, is in its regular, though abbreviated, form without the mention of any ancestors. It is most unusual, however, to find the name Ἄντωνίνος erased. In spite of the fact that the erasure was carefully done, it is still possible to see the traces of three letters which seem to belong to the name Ἄντ[ωνίνος] below the letters rho, kappa, and alpha of the preceding first line. It may be assumed that the first line of the new fragment indicates the beginning of the letter because it evidently contains the word ἐγώ; the epsilon seems to stand nearer to the edge, thus perhaps marking a paragraph.

The date of this letter is not known, but it may be that it belongs to the years 186-189 A.D. when the Emperor showed such great interest in the city of Athens. On the other hand, we know that Commodus and his father Marcus Aurelius addressed a number of letters to the Gerousia of Athens in and before 180 A.D.,¹¹ and Commodus himself wrote to the same organization several letters two of which should be dated before 184 A.D.¹² This date may be deduced from a restoration of the Emperor's title in lines 8-11 which, though by no means certain, seems to fulfill the requirements of space and normal terminology.

dence will be presented below to show that in 187 A.D. Commodus wrote a letter to Athens which dealt with some sort of sacrifices and celebrations. Ioulios Hierophantes may therefore be added to our archon list for the year 187/8 A.D.

¹⁰ *I.G.*, II², 3620 and 3632; see Oliver, *Hesperia*, Supplement VI, pp. 107-108, no. 23.

¹¹ See Oliver, *Hesperia*, S. VI, pp. 108-120, no. 24. Cf. *Hesperia*, 1948, p. 195.

¹² *I.G.*, II², 1112; see Oliver, *op. cit.*, pp. 122-123, no. 26.

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ca. 180-184 A.D.

[Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Θεοῦ Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίνου Εὐσεβοῦς
 υἱός, Θεοῦ Τ. Αἰλίου Ἀντωνίνου Εὐσεβοῦς Σεβαστοῦ]
 [υἱωνός, Θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ ἔκγονος, Θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ] Παρθικοῦ καὶ
 [Θεοῦ Νέρονα ἀπόγονος Μ. Αὐρηλίου Κόμμοδος Ἀντωνίνος]
 [Εὐσεβῆς Σεβαστὸς Σαρματικὸς Γερμανικὸς] Μέγιστος ἀρχιερ[εὺς
 Μέγιστος δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ . αὐτοκρά]
 [τωρ τὸ . ὑπάτος τὸ . πατῆρ πατρίδος Ἀθη]ν[αί]ων γερουσία.

The same list of titles should, of course, be restored in lines 16-19 of the same document.

Oliver correctly observed that the Emperor was Commodus and not Caracalla, but he was unable to restore the full title apparently because he assumed that the letters preserved in lines 8 and 16 belong to the name of Commodus' grandfather. This made it impossible to fill the long lacuna between the mention of Antoninus Pius (lines 8 and 16) and that of Trajan (lines 9 and 17). The restoration suggested here removes this difficulty by assuming that Commodus mentioned both his father and grandfather with their full names. This emphasis of his father and grandfather which has hitherto not been found on similar documents of Commodus reappears in another letter of the Emperor which can be reassembled from several inscriptions published separately and from three unpublished fragments which were recently found in the Agora Excavations.

One of these fragments has been recognized as part of an imperial letter by K. S. Pittakis (*Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1860, p. 1920, no. 3742), and has been republished in *I.G.*, III, 40 and in *I.G.*, II², 1109 among the *epistulae*. It is said to be broken all around, and its thickness is given by Pittakes as 0.05 m., by Kirchner as 0.06 m. The fragment was found by Pittakes on October 3rd, 1858, north of the Parthenon.

I.G., II², 1109 (Plate 29) is joined on the left by two small fragments of Pentelic marble found in the Agora Excavations.

One of them was found on April 28, 1936, in Section HH; it is broken all around.

Height, 0.082 m.; width, 0.07 m.; thickness, 0.042 m.

Height of letters, 0.012 m.

Inv. No. I 4077 (Plate 29).

The other fragment was found on March 15, 1939, in Section BB; it is broken on all sides, but its original thickness may be preserved.

Height, 0.148 m.; width, 0.11 m.; thickness, ca. 0.065 m.

Height of letters, ca. 0.012 m.

Inv. No. I 3025 *b* (Plate 29).

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Another fragment of the same inscription was first published by J. Kirchner (*I.G.*, II², 3412, Plate 29) who thought that it belonged to a statue base. He recognized in the fragmentary text the title of Commodus, but his restoration is most unusual. The thickness of this fragment is given by Kirchner as 0.06 m.; it preserves part of the right edge with a deep groove running parallel to it along the right margin of the inscription.

From these four fragments, the complete prescript of the letter can be restored

187 A.D.

[Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Θεοῦ Μ(άρκου) Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίνου Ε]ὔσεβο[ὺς υἱός,]
 [Θεοῦ Ἀντωνίνου Εὔσεβους Σεβαστοῦ υἱωνός, Θεοῦ] Ἀδριανοῦ [ἔκγο]
 [νος, Θεοῦ Τ]ρα[ι]ανοῦ [Παρθικοῦ καὶ Θεοῦ Νέρουα ἀπό]γονος, [Μάρκος]
 [[Αὐρήλιος Κ]όμμοδος] Ἀντωνίν[ος Εὔσεβῆς Εὐτυχῆ]ς Σεβαστὸς Σαρ
 5 [ματικὸς Γε]ρμαν[ικ]ὸς Μέγιστος Βρεταν[νικὸς ἀρχιερ]εὺς μέγιστος
 [δημαρχικ]ῆς ἐξ[ο]υσίας τὸ ἸΒ αὐτοκράτω[ρ τὸ Η ὑπατος τὸ Ε πατήρ] πα
 [τρίδος τ]ῆι ἐξ Ἀρείου Πάγου βουλῆι κ[αὶ τῆι βουλῆι τῶν πεντακο]
 [σίων καὶ τῶ]ι δήμωι τῶι Ἀθηναίων· [-----ca. 20-----]
 [-ca. 7 ἡγγ]ελλον, ἀσμένως ἔ[γνωκα -----ca. 16-----]
 10 [-ca. 6 Ἀθήνησ]ιν διατρ[ί]ψ[αντες -----ca. 18-----]

Attention may be called to the fact that the restoration in line 5 αὐτοκράτω[ρ τὸ Η] is at variance with the inscription of the same year published as *I.G.R.*, I, no. 745.

The restored phrase ἀσμένως ἔ[γνωκα] (line 9) is equivalent to the Latin expression, *libenter cognovi*; see Oliver, *Hesperia*, Supplement VI, p. 115, note 10.

The new reading in line 10 διατρ[ί]ψ[αντες] (or some other form of the participle) is significant because it allows the deduction that some sort of embassy was sent to Athens. This point may be stressed on account of the list of high imperial officials which is contained in two fragments which belong to the part of the letter which follows, perhaps immediately.

One of these fragments was found by K. S. Pittakes on July 24, 1853, built into the altar of the church which was located in the Erechtheion. It was published by him in *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1853, p. 1043, no. 1958. It has the right edge with its characteristic groove preserved, and its thickness is given by Pittakes as 0.04 m.; this measurement is repeated in *I.G.*, III, 59 and in *I.G.*, II², 2771 (Plate 30). In all these publications, the inscription is considered as funerary, or more specifically as part of a *testamentum*. There can be no doubt, however, that lines 3-9 contain a list of names to which are added titles. This is confirmed by the addition of another fragment (*E.M.* 10006/7, Plate 30) which was first published by H. Lolling (*Ἀρχ. Δελτ.*, 1889, pp. 112-113, no. 9) but which does not seem to have been republished by Kirchner. M. Mitsos very kindly made a drawing of this fragment (Fig. 2); its text supplies the begin-

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nings of lines 4-9. Finally, there may be added a small fragment found on June 17, 1935, in Section N' of the Agora Excavations. Its rough picked back is preserved, and the third line of its inscription has been erased. It is this erasure which allows us to place it so that its three lines correspond to lines 1-3 of *I.G.*, II², 2771.

Height, 0.13 m.; width, 0.12 m.; thickness, 0.068 m.

Height of letters, 0.012 m.

Inv. No. 3025 *a* (Plate 30).

[^{ca. 9}—] θύειν κ[αὶ ---^{ca. 15}—]ν καὶ σὺννεορτάζειν
 [^{ca. 8}—] ταῦρον. ἐπ[έστειλα περὶ τ]ούτων καὶ τῶι ἐπιτρόπῳ
 [μου [^{ca. 5}—] ---^{ca. 8}— [^{ca. 11}—] ---^{ca. 11}—] Ἀκείλιος
 5 Γλαβρίῳ[ν ὁ ὑπατικός· Αὐρήλιος Κ]λέανδρος ὁ τροφεύς
 μου καὶ ἐπὶ [τὴν τοῦ θαλάμου καὶ τ]οῦ σώματος τοῦ ἐμοῦ
 πίστιν ἐπιτε[ταγμένος· Αὐρήλιος] Λάριχος ὁ φίλος μου
 καὶ τὴν τάξιν τῶ[ν Ἑλληνικῶν ἐπισ]τολῶν πεπιστευμένος·
 Ἰούλιος Κάνδιδ[ος ὁ φίλος μου καὶ ἐπὶ τ]ὴν τῶν καθόλου λόγῳ[ν]
 προστασίαν ἐπ[ίτροπος ἐπιτετραμμένο]s· Αὐρήλιος [^{ca. 2}—]



Fig. 2. E.M. 10006-7

For the doubtful restoration of line 2, see Dittenberger, *Sylloge*³, no. 837, lines 14-16. No restoration can be suggested for the erasure, although faint traces of letters seem to be preserved both on the Agora fragment and on *I.G.*, II², 2771. Once the true meaning of the whole passage is discovered, the reading of the erasure will become possible. At present, one may suggest that the Emperor was speaking of certain celebrations which should be held in his honor. It may also be assumed that the high officials mentioned in lines 3-9 belonged to an embassy which went to Athens.

This should not be surprising considering the great interest in Athens shown by the Emperor, an interest for which the evidence has been presented above.

In spite of the fact that the correct meaning of the list of names cannot yet be determined, all the individuals mentioned are known, and the titles can be restored with certainty.

Manius Acilius Glabrio is probably the consul of 186 A.D.; see *P.I.R.*, I², pp. 10-

11, no. 69. The fact that he is mentioned first in the list shows his importance which is well known from other sources.

Aurelius Kleandros is, of course, the well-known favorite of Commodus; see A. Stein, *Ritterstand*, p. 119; *P.I.R.*, I², pp. 300-301, no. 1481; L. L. Howe, *The Pretorian Prefect*, pp. 13 and 67, no. 8. To the information already at hand, the new inscription adds certain important facts. The designation ὁ τροφεύς μου, if taken literally, must mean that Kleandros was the tutor of Commodus, appointed perhaps by his father Marcus Aurelius. Marcus Aurelius himself lists (V, 31) the τροφεῖς after the διδάσκαλοι but before the φίλοι; compare, for a similar career, A. Stein, *op. cit.*, p. 118. The office held by Kleandros at the date when the letter was written (187 A.D.), ἐπὶ [τὴν τοῦ θαλάμου καὶ τ]οῦ σώματος τοῦ ἐμοῦ πίστιν ἐπιτε[ταγμένος], in Latin *a cubiculo*, has been restored with reference to a passage in Herodian (I, 12, 3) which has been called to my attention by David Magie: . . . τὴν τε τοῦ σώματος φρουρὰν καὶ τὴν τοῦ θαλάμου ἐξουσίαν. . . . The word πίστις (line 6) may be equivalent to the Latin *custodia* and to Herodian's φρουρά.

Aurelius Larichos, who held the office *ab epistulis Graecis*, is known as procurator from a Lycian inscription (*T.A.M.*, II, no. 300). He may be a member of the famous Lesbian family which is represented by Sappho's brother Larichos and by Laomedon, the son of Larichos, one of the friends of Alexander the Great.¹³ The title of Larichos, τὴν τάξιν τῶ[ν Ἑλληνικῶν ἐπισ]τολῶν πεπιστευμένος, is known in this form from Flavius Josephus (*Antiquitates*, XX, 8, 9 [183]) who speaks of τάξιν τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἐπιστολῶν πεπιστευμένος.

Iulius Candidus, though not known himself, was probably a descendant, son or grandson, of Iulius Candidus who served as proconsul of Achaia under Hadrian.¹⁴ The same man may be mentioned in *I.G.*, II², 1114. His title, tentatively restored as [ἐπὶ τ]ὴν τῶν καθόλου λόγω[ν] προστασίαν ἐπ[ίτροπος ἐπιτετραμμένο]s, may be equivalent to the Latin *procurator summarum rationum*. This would mean that he was of senatorial rank but devoted himself to an equestrian career.¹⁵

The high government officials listed here represent part of the imperial cabinet, and the order in which they are listed is as significant as their personalities. Normally, one would expect the *a rationibus* to be mentioned first, but Candidus was in fact only *procurator summarum rationum*, that is, he served under the *a rationibus*. The order here is *a cubiculo*, *ab epistulis Graecis*, *procurator summarum rationum*.

It has become customary to assume that the high offices under Commodus were held by unworthy personalities. Yet we find here Acilius Glabrio, a man of highest

¹³ See H. Berve, *Alexanderreich*, II, pp. 231-232, no. 464; J. Papastauru, *Amphipolis*, pp. 88-92, nos. 50-51; O. Broneer, *The Lion Monument at Amphipolis*, pp. 53-57.

¹⁴ See E. Groag, *Die römischen Reichsbeamten von Achaia*, cols. 69-70.

¹⁵ See O. Hirschfeld, *Die Kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten*, pp. 32-34 and 417, note 1; A. Stein, *op. cit.*, pp. 195-202.

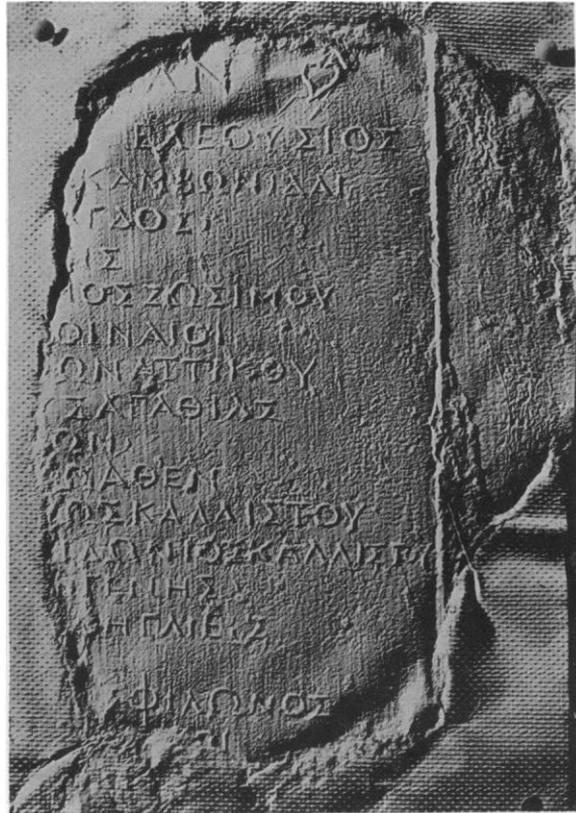
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rank and reputation, Aurelius Kleandros, whose intimate association with the Emperor certainly qualified him for the position *a cubiculo*, Aurelius Larichos, who had been following a procuratorial career before he became *ab epistulis Graecis*, and, finally, Iulius Candidus, a man of senatorial rank who devoted himself to imperial finance and became *procurator summarum rationum*.

Judging from the evidence presented here, the reputation of Commodus in the literary tradition is not quite justified. His interest in various cities has become known from dedications found all over the Roman world. To these should be added the recently published building inscriptions of Corinth (*Hesperia*, XIII, 1944, pp. 344-348) and the documents found in Athens which have been discussed in this essay.

A. E. RAUBITSCHKE

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY



I 4912

I. G., II², 1807



I. G., II², 1110 + Eleusis 13



I. G., II², 3412



I 3025 b



I 4077



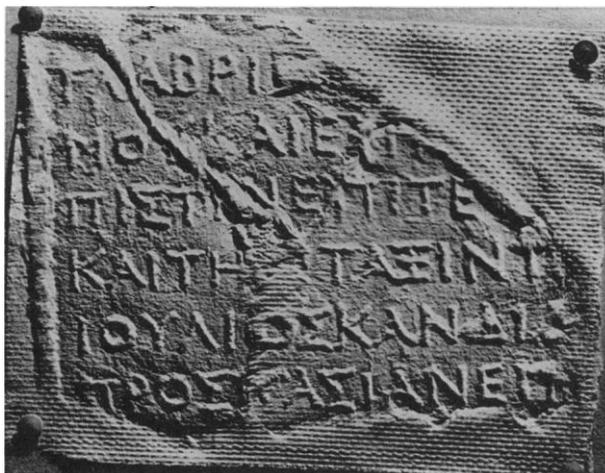
I 3025b + I. G., II², 1109



I. G., II², 2771



I 3025 a



E. M. 10006-7



The Late "Achaemenian" or "Graecopersian" Gems

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Reviewed work(s):

Source: *Hesperia Supplements*, Vol. 8, Commemorative Studies in Honor of Theodore Leslie Shear (1949), pp. 291-298+467-474

Published by: [The American School of Classical Studies at Athens](#)

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THE LATE "ACHAEMENIAN" OR "GRAECO-PERSIAN" GEMS

(PLATES 31-38)

THE ART of Persia in the Achaemenian period—its intrinsic character and its relation to Oriental and to Greek art—is a complex subject which has of late received considerable attention, some authorities upholding the essential originality of Achaemenian art, others stressing its debt to other sources.¹ I myself have tried in a recent article in the *American Journal of Archaeology*² to discuss the subject from the Greek viewpoint in the light of recent discoveries; for the building inscription from the palace of Darius in Susa, which specifically mentions foreign workmen³ (Medes, Babylonians, Egyptians, Sardians, and Ionians), and the preciser dating achieved in archaic Greek art, which demonstrates the priority of Greek over Persian renderings in certain key conventions, have given a new aspect to the whole problem. In this article I shall discuss the "Achaemenian" or "Graeco-Persian" gems, since

¹ I can mention only a few articles and books that have appeared during the last twenty years or so: Moortgat, "Hellas und die Kunst der Achaemeniden," *Mitt. der altorientalischen Gesellschaft*, II, 1926, pp. 3 ff.; Dalton, *The Treasure of the Oxus* (1926); von Bissing, "Ursprung und Wesen der persischen Kunst," *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, phil.-phil. und hist. Klasse, 1927, 1; Coomaraswamy, *Bulletin, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, XXXI, 1933, pp. 21 ff.; Rodenwaldt, "Griechische Reliefs in Lykien," *Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, phil.-hist. Klasse, XXVII, 1933, pp. 1028-1055; Schefold, "Der skythische Tierstil in Südrussland," *Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua*, XII, 1937, pp. 72 ff.; Gadd in Pope, *A Survey of Persian Art*, I, 1938, pp. 383 ff., pls. 123 f.; Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals* (1939), pp. 220 ff.; Lushey, *Die Phiale* (1939), *passim*; Moortgat, *Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel* (1940), nos. 756 ff.; Herzfeld, *Iran in the Ancient East* (1941); Goetze, "Three Achaemenian Tags," *Berytus*, VIII, 2, 1944, pp. 97 ff.; Frankfort, "Achaemenian Sculpture," *American Journal of Archaeology*, L, 1946, pp. 6 ff.; Porada, *Mesopotamian Art in Cylinder Seals* (1946), pp. 68 f., and *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals*, I, Collection Morgan Library, 1948, pp. 104 ff.

² L, 1946, pp. 15 ff.

³ Scheil, *Mémoires de la Mission archéologique de Perse*, XXI, 1929, pp. 3 ff.; XXIV, 1933, pp. 105 ff.; König, *Mitteilungen der vorderasiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft*, XXXV, 1930, pp. 1 ff.; Weissbach, *Archiv für Orientforschung*, VII, 1931-1932, pp. 37 ff.; R. G. Kent, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, LI, 1931, pp. 193 ff.; LIII, 1933, pp. 1 ff.; Herzfeld, *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, III, 1931, pp. 29 ff.; and *Altperische Inschriften* (1938), pp. 13-17; Frankfort, *A.J.A.*, L, 1946, pp. 6 ff.; Richter, *A.J.A.*, L, 1946, pp. 23 ff.

I am happy to say that Dr. Herzfeld, though objecting to certain details in my comments on the Susa building inscription, agreed with me that the sculptures of Persepolis were produced by Greeks. His chief objection was that "since the inscribed terracotta tablets were found in the foundation, below the level of the pavement of the building on the terrace" they cannot refer to the reliefs, but rather to work already done or proceeding at the time they were deposited, such as columns, etc. But the fact that Greek workmen are actually mentioned as employed at Susa is, in his opinion, a more than sufficient basis for my deductions.

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they too shed light on the relationship between Persians and Greeks. Inevitably I shall have to go over some of the same ground as in my previous article; but, whereas there the discussion centred on the stone reliefs of Persepolis and Susa of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., I shall now deal with products of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.

Regarding the origin of these "Achaemenian" sealstones opinions have varied. Orientalists have generally simply called them Achaemenian, with an occasional concession of "Greek influence." Greek archaeologists have held different opinions. Furtwängler, in 1903, in his epoch making *Antike Gemmen*, divided the stones into two categories—the earlier, archaic ones, which he called *persisch* (but not necessarily executed by Persians), and the later ones which he called *griechisch-persisch*—that is, carved by Greeks for Persian patrons. This became the accepted opinion until Miss Maximova, in 1928, in an article in the *Archäologische Anzeiger*, claimed Persian workmanship for both the early and later stones.

I have recently been brought face to face with the problem while reinstalling the collection of Greek gems in the Metropolitan Museum. This collection has of late been augmented by a number of "Graeco-Persian" stones—some derived from the Beatty Collection, others through generous loans from private collectors. They fall into the two classes defined by Furtwängler—one with a mixture of Oriental and archaic Greek elements, stylistically datable in the sixth and the early fifth century B.C.,⁴ see Plate 31, 1-3⁵ (but apparently continuing practically unchanged, as far as we now know, until the time of Alexander⁶), and another approximating the developed Greek style of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. (see Plates 31, 4-35, 4). I propose to restudy the latter class, using the New York examples for illustrations. Before doing so, however, we must glance also at the stylistically earlier class, for it helps in an understanding of "Achaemenian" art in general.

The subjects in these earlier stones—a king or god subduing wild animals, cult scenes, and mythical creatures of various types—⁷ are Oriental and were inherited from the Babylonian-Assyrian repertoire, changed here and there to suit Persian

⁴ I am much indebted to Miss Edith Porada for help in my study of these Orientalizing stones.

⁵ Plate 31, 1-2 are unpublished; Plate 31, 3 was published by C. H. Gordon, "Western Asiatic Seals in the Walters Art Gallery," *Iraq*, VI, 1939, pp. 31 f., no. 107, WAG, C 24, pl. XIII.

⁶ Just as did the representations on some of the coins (cf. Plate 37, 2) and on some of the stone reliefs at Persepolis. On the lack of development of the latter Dr. Herzfeld offered an interesting explanation (in a letter to me dated September 10th, 1946): "Mann kann sagen wenn schon in Susa . . . Griechen mitarbeiteten, um so mehr in Persepolis, wo die Skulpturen ihre Arbeit documentieren. So löst sich auch das "odd phenomenon" das Sie am Ende [of my article *Greeks in Persia*] erwähnen: als es keine griechischen Künstler mehr gab, konnten die ungeübten einheimischen Arbeiter unter Artaxerxes II und III nichts anderes thun, als die älteren Werke sklavisch, in ganz inferiorer Technik nachahmen. Die griechische Mitarbeit erklärt also die Schöpfung und den unmittelbaren Verfall."

⁷ Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, III, pp. 119 ff. A good selection is given in Pope, *A Survey of Persian Art*, I, pls. 123 f.

beliefs and customs. The style has lost the grandeur of the Oriental prototypes, is softer and livelier, and contains archaic Greek elements, for instance, in the stylization of the drapery. They show in fact the mixture of Oriental and Greek elements that we observed in the reliefs of Persepolis and Susa. And this is only natural. The Persians had in a single generation subdued the ancient Orient including the Egyptians, Medes, Babylonians, Lydians, and Eastern Greeks—most of whom, in contrast to their Persian conquerors, had had a long previous artistic experience. Herodotos (I, 135), writing around the middle of the fifth century, states that "the Persians were of all mankind the readiest to adopt foreign customs, good or bad." Since they lived in Asia, they were surrounded by Oriental conceptions in which endless repetition was the order of the day. The sealstones with their hybrid Oriental-Greek style and uniform renderings exactly reflect these circumstances. Whether the carvers of the sealstones were Orientals (including Persians), or Greeks, or both is a moot question. Until we know more of Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenian art of that period it would be hazardous to be too positive in our statements. On the one hand, we must remember that the Babylonians and the Assyrians had a long tradition in glyptic art and that the motives on the stones are largely Oriental. On the other hand, it is clear from the Greek conventions, particularly in the rendering of the drapery, that the Greeks also had a hand in the production. These Greeks, moreover, had presumably lived in the Orient for some time, and, being adaptable, must to some degree have been influenced by Oriental conceptions. It seems best therefore for the present to recognize the possibility of both Oriental and Greek workmanship and to await further evidence before drawing a definite dividing line.

The "Graeco-Persian" stones of the fifth and the fourth century (see Plates 31, 4-35, 4) present a great contrast to the preceding ones. The subjects are taken from the life of the time and consist of Persians, generally fighting and hunting, or of animals, mostly running at full speed with legs outstretched as if pursued, perhaps intended as excerpts from hunting scenes. Occasionally an Oriental element is introduced, such as the winged disk. The style might be called pure Greek except for a certain "frozen" quality—a uniformity in subject, composition, and rendering. Men in Oriental costume (generally the tiara, sleeved jacket, trousers, shoes), mounted on horses (generally with saddle cloth, top knot, tail tied with a fillet) are shown hunting wild animals—lions, boars, foxes—or in combat with their enemies, all in similar compositions; or they stand at rest, sometimes confronting long-haired women; the women appear also singly, dressed in long, belted tunics, holding objects. Only the animals occasionally show a refreshing diversity, though here too certain types and attitudes predominate.

The scenes shown in Plates 31, 4 – 35, 4 are, unless otherwise stated, on stones exhibited in the Metropolitan Museum and reproduced from photographs by E. Milla by the courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum.

PLATES 31, 4–32, 2. L 46.25.14. 1.5×1.9 cm.; th. 1.1 cm. Rose-colored agate cut into ten facets, six of which are engraved: Persian horseman shooting an arrow at a deer, deer, wild goat, hyena, bull, lion. Anonymous loan.

PLATE 32, 3-8. L 1812. 1.5×1.5 cm.; th. 0.8 cm. Agate with reddish brown markings cut into ten facets, six of which are engraved; Persian horseman spearing a boar, parrot (?), bear, hyena, fox sniffing grasshopper, lizard. Lent by the American Numismatic Society.

PLATE 33, 1. L 45.56.1. Length 2.7 cm., diam. 1.2 cm. Grayish chalcedony cylinder: Persian horseman shooting an arrow at a lion; winged disk above. Lent by Mrs. E. T. Newell.

PLATE 33, 2. 41.160.431. 2.2×2.9 cm.; th. 1.3 cm. Bluish grey chalcedony scaraboid. A Persian horseman has speared a fox and is about to spear another; large chip missing.

PLATE 34, 1. 41.160.433. 1.8×2.3 cm.; th. 1.2 cm. Light-brown chalcedony scaraboid. Persian horseman shooting an arrow at a lion.

PLATE 34, 2. 41.160.653. 1.2×1.6 cm.; th. 0.7 cm. Plasma scaraboid. Persian horseman spearing a Greek foot soldier, who stabs the horse. The Greek wears chiton and helmet and is armed with sword and round shield.

PLATE 34, 4. L 46.25.15. 1.5×1.7 cm. as preserved; th. 0.8 cm. Black jasper scaraboid. Persian horseman spearing a Greek foot soldier. Anonymous loan.

PLATE 34, 6. 25.78.98. 2×2.9 cm.; th. 1 cm. Bluish chalcedony scaraboid. Persian lady with ointment vase and cup.

PLATE 34, 3. L 45.56.2. 1.5×1.9 cm.; th. 0.7 cm. Carnelian scaraboid, convex on engraved side. Persian lady holding wreath and phiale. Lent by Mrs. E. T. Newell.

PLATE 34, 5. 25.78.100. 1×2 cm.; th. 0.8 cm. Agate half barrel, brown with white markings. Persian warrior with quiver, bow, and staff.

PLATE 35, 1. 41.160.443. 2.1×2.6 cm.; th. 0.9 cm. Bluish chalcedony scaraboid. Wild boar running.

PLATE 35, 2. 41.160.429. 1.6×2.3 cm.; th. 1.7 cm. Bluish chalcedony scaraboid. Antelope running.

PLATE 35, 3. L 45.55.16. 2.4×3 cm.; th. 1.3 cm. Bluish chalcedony scaraboid. Griffin devouring hindpart of a deer. Anonymous loan.

PLATE 35, 4. L 46.35.1. 2.7×3.6 cm.; th. 1.5 cm. Bluish chalcedony scaraboid. Hound tearing deer. Anonymous loan.

It is helpful to recall the historical background of these stones. The Eastern Greeks had regained their freedom in 480-479 B.C. and henceforth their relation to the Persians was on a different footing. Doubtless the Persians themselves also became less rigid as time progressed. Theirs was a vast empire, and, like the Romans, they inevitably became influenced by association with their gifted neighbors. The Persian empire was divided into provinces, each with a Persian satrap at its head, who naturally employed local skills.⁸ We know from Xenophon's *Anabasis* the high standing of Greek mercenaries, and Persian patronage was naturally welcomed also by Greek traders, physicians, and artists, who helped to diffuse the Greek civilization.⁹ Though Greece proper had been saved from conquest by her victories at Marathon, Salamis,

⁸ In this connection Professor Arthur D. Nock reminds me of the Persians' acceptance of local law as a basis of administration in Judaea and Egypt.

⁹ See Furtwängler, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 116 ff.; Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks*, pp. 61 ff.; von Bissing, *op. cit.*, pp. 11 ff.; Christensen, "Die Iraner," in Müller's *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, III, 1, iii, 3, 1, 1933, p. 261 and *passim*; Schefold, *op. cit.*, pp. 73 f., and the references there cited; also Herodotos, III, 129 ff., and Diodoros, II, 32.

and Plataea, she too felt the influence of mighty and rich Persia. The latter intervened in the Peloponnesian war and her gold made possible Sparta's victory over Athens in 404 B.C. After the Peace of Antalkidas, in 387 B.C., the Persian suzerainty over the Greeks of Asia Minor was proclaimed. In 332 Alexander of Macedon in his turn conquered the Orient and the Persian power collapsed.

Do not these circumstances sufficiently explain the character of the later "Achaemenian" sealstones—their unmistakable Greek style with the pronounced Persian imprint? The art they illustrate is no longer the hybrid "palace" art of the Susa and Persepolis reliefs, produced by Orientals and Greeks for the "king of kings," they no longer show the archaic conventions observable in the reliefs of Persepolis and Susa, and in the earlier sealstones, but they are worked in the developed style evolved in Greece—and in Greece only—in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. Persians are represented in their favorite every-day occupations—hunting and fighting.¹⁰ The costumes and accoutrements are Persian—except in the case of the Greek foot soldiers who now and then appear in combats with Persian horsemen (and are always worsted); the breeds of the horses, with curving noses and receding foreheads, are Eastern; the animals—lion, bear, hyena, parrot (?), etc.—were known to Persians; and occasionally a Persian symbol like the winged disk is introduced. This is what one would expect in objects ordered, owned, and used by Persians. The "frozen" quality is sufficiently accounted for by the Persian preference for uniformity which the Greeks, always an adaptable people, had to satisfy. But where else but in Greek works of the fifth and fourth centuries do we find such spontaneity of movement and such naturalism in the renderings? It is true that one of the chief arguments advanced for Persian as against Greek workmanship is the alleged two-dimensional character of the representations in these stones, which corresponds to Oriental rather than Greek concepts.¹¹ This observation, however, is not quite correct. Three-quarter views do occur—for instance in Plate 32, 3 (the horse's head), Plate 32, 1 (bull's head and hind-quarters), Plate 34, 6 (further breast of woman)—and they are ably drawn, by an artist evidently used to such renderings, though employing them sparingly to suit the conservative taste of his client. The argument, therefore, advanced against the theory of Greek workmanship, becomes one in its favor.

There are moreover other cogent reasons that point to Greek execution. First the obvious resemblance of the Graeco-Persian stones to the contemporary Ionian ones (cf. Plates 35, 5, 6 – 36, 1-4). In both the prevalent shape is the scaraboid¹² in a relatively large size; the most popular material is the chalcedony, especially that of a

¹⁰ Xenophon in *Anabasis*, I, 2, 7 and *Cyropaedia*, I, 3, 14, describes *paradaisoi* in which wild animals were kept for hunting. According to Herodotos (I, 136) young Persians were taught three things only—to ride, to shoot, and to speak the truth.

¹¹ Cf. Maximova, *loc. cit.*

¹² On the derivation and use of this form see Furtwängler, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 61, 118; von Bissing, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

bluish tint; there is generally no framing border; and the style is often sketchy with frequent use of the round drill. In fact, when the subject is not specifically Persian—e. g., when animals or monsters are portrayed (see especially Plate 35, 3-4)—it is often impossible to distinguish between the “Graeco-Persian” and Ionian stones (except for a certain spontaneity in some of the Greek stones, as, for instance, in the doe looking round at the snake, Plate 36, 3).¹³ How can this marked similarity be explained except by a common authorship?

Furthermore, occasionally in the midst of the Persian subjects, executed if you will in a “frozen” style, there appears on the same stone an animal carved in pure Greek style. The plunging bull with one foreleg raised and head and hind-quarters in three-quarter views shown in Plate 32, 1 occurs not only on Greek gems of the last quarter of the fifth century,¹⁴ but also on the coins of Thourion and elsewhere of that period (cf. Plate 37, 5). And yet on the same stone is a Persian sitting on a Persian horse and shooting an arrow at a deer which speeds away, in the regular “Persian” gallop (Plate 31, 4).

And are not the “Graeco-Persian” sealstones comparable to the coins which were minted in several Persian satrapies during the fifth and fourth centuries? Here too the subjects are Persian—the portrait of a satrap (see Plate 37, 1, 3), or the king shooting an arrow (see Plate 37, 2)—but the style is Greek (contemporary or archaizing); and here the Greek inscriptions and the occasional additions of a purely Greek motive on the reverse of the coin—a kithara, for instance (see Plate 37, 4)—make the Greek origin certain.¹⁵

Moreover, the same combination of Greek workmanship and Persian elements is found on other monuments. We may call attention to the funerary stele from Tchaouch Keui in Phrygia (Plate 38), with its two representations—one a horseman in Persian costume spearing a boar—in the same attitude, with the same accoutrements, the same breed of horse, and carved in the same style as the hunting scenes on the “Graeco-Persian” sealstones—the other a funerary banquet scene in the familiar composition and style of fifth- to fourth-century Greek art.¹⁶ Surely these products are best explained as made by Greeks who on the one hand adapted their style to Persian requirements, on the other knew how to work in their own free,

¹³ The gems, for instance, recently discovered at Taxila in India, with a running deer and lions tearing deer, have been called both Ionian and “Persian”; cf. G. M. Young, *Ancient India*, I, 1946, pp. 33 f.

¹⁴ Furtwängler, *op. cit.*, I, pl. XI, 31.

¹⁵ Babelon, *Perses Achéménides*, pp. lxviii ff., and *Traité*, II, pp. 2 ff., pl. LXXXVIII; Head, *H. N.*², pp. 596 ff. I owe the photographs for Plate 37, 1, 3, 4 to the kindness of Mrs. Brett.

¹⁶ Hasluck, *J.H.S.*, XXVI, 1906, p. 26, pl. VI; Macridy, *B.C.H.*, XXXVII, 1913, pp. 355 ff., fig. 7; Mendel, *Catalogue des sculptures à Constantinople*, III, no. 1054. Note that the squire attending the Persian horseman, though in Oriental costume, has the free Greek stance. I owe the photograph from which my Plate 38 is reproduced to the kindness of Asiaf Ogan, the director of the Istanbul Museum.

naturalistic style? After all, we know that Greek artists worked for Lycians, Scythians, and other foreigners, changing their style as occasion demanded.¹⁷ What more natural than that they should have worked also for the rich Persians and that the Persians made use of the distinguished Greek talent ready to their hand.

The known provenances of the "Graeco-Persian" stones include Greece Proper, Asia Minor, Lydia, South Russia, Persia, Babylonia, and India¹⁸—all places where Greeks as well as Persians would be apt to sojourn or which they might visit in their travels. Sardes, was at one time, we are told by Herodotos (I, 29), the resort of "all the wise men of Hellas," and the American excavations there have brought to light objects in pure Greek fifth-century style. The recent discovery of a mid-fifth-century Greek tomb statue in Persepolis¹⁹ shows once again that Greeks lived and died in that region. In Southern Russia there were many Greek colonies. Alexander's conquests brought Greeks to India. Persians as rulers of Western Asia naturally travelled extensively and we know definitely that they occasionally visited Greece. The provenances of the stones, therefore, are not safe evidence for a centre of manufacture, for sealstones, being private possessions and easily transportable, would be apt to be carried hither and yon by their owners or makers. But if we assume Greek workmanship and Persian ownership, the provenances bear out the surmise.

All these considerations would seem to favor Greek workmanship for the "Graeco-Persian" stones. And what is the alternative? If they were carved by Persians where are the other Persian works of this period executed in a developed, naturalistic style? There are, it is true, a few comparable works called by some authorities Persian, for instance, the hunting scenes on the silver disc and on the gold sheath from the Oxus²⁰ and that on the gold sword-hilt from the tumulus of Chertomlyk in South Russia.²¹ But the Persian workmanship of these objects is open to question. If we claim them as Persian because they resemble the sealstones and the sealstones as Persian because they resemble these objects, are we not arguing in a circle? In Greek art, on the other hand, we have a vast amount of comparable works in different materials produced not only in Greece and Asia Minor but all over the ancient world. Naturally it is possible that the Greek designs were occasionally copied by indigenous Oriental workmen.²² "But, even if it could be proved that the makers of individual gems and other objects were non-Greek by birth, these products nevertheless belong to the history of

¹⁷ Cf. e. g. Rodenwaldt, *loc. cit.*; Schefold, *loc. cit.*, *passim*.

¹⁸ Furtwängler, *op. cit.*, III, p. 117; Maximova, *Arch. Anz.*, 1928, cols. 649 ff.; Butler, *A.J.A.*, XVI, 1912, p. 478, and *Sardis*, I, p. 85; S. Reinach, *Antiquités du Bosphore*, *passim*; Goetze, *Berytus*, VIII, 2, 1944, p. 97; G. M. Young, *loc. cit.* Mr. Beazley tells me that a number of the Graeco-Persian stones in the Ashmolean Museum are said to be from Persia.

¹⁹ Schmidt, "Treasury of Persepolis," *Oriental Institute Communications*, no. 21, 1939, pp. 65 ff., fig. 47. It is to be published in the near future by Mrs. Cleta Olmstead Robbins.

²⁰ Dalton, *The Treasure of the Oxus*, pl. X, no. 24, pl. IX, no. 22.

²¹ Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, p. 163, fig. 51.

²² I owe this suggestion to Miss Porada.

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Greek art, for stylistically they belong to the Greek tradition." (A. D. Nock). On the other hand, the sealstones with Oriental designs that, as we saw, were produced practically without change until the time of Alexander, can be safely assigned to Oriental workmen.

The picture of the ancient world that we obtain from our study of the fifth- to fourth-century "Graeco-Persian" sealstones is revealing. The world had become cosmopolitan. In the East the Persians, by their military prowess and administrative ability, had made themselves absolute masters. The artistic genius of the Greeks, however, their commercial enterprise, their fighting qualities, their adaptability gave them a special status in this world. They travelled, they traded, they fought other people's battles, and, above all, they adapted their art to the taste and requirements of their foreign patrons. As a result their culture spread far and wide. Finally, under Alexander of Macedon, they conquered the mighty East and extended their cultural frontiers to distant India.

STONES ILLUSTRATED ON PLATES 31, 1-3 AND PLATES 35, 5-38

PLATE 31

(From impressions, enlarged)

1-2. Chalcedony cones in a private collection, lent to the Metropolitan Museum, L 46.25.8, L 46.25.7. Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

3. Chalcedony cylinder in the Walters Art Gallery, 42.775. Courtesy of the Walters Art Gallery.

PLATE 35

(From impressions, enlarged)

Ionian Greek sealstones, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, V-IV century B.C. Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

5. Chalcedony scaraboid, 07.286.121.

6. Carnelian scaraboid, 21.88.40.

PLATE 36

(From impressions, enlarged)

Ionian Greek Sealstones, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, V-IV century B.C. Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

1-2. Chalcedony scaraboids, 25.78.99, 41.160.435.

3. Chalcedony seal, lent by a private collector, L 46.25.5.

4. Chalcedony scaraboid, lent by a private collector, L 46.25.13.

PLATE 37

(From casts, some enlarged)

1-2. Silver tetradrachm, Berlin. Tissaphernes (?) and Artaxerxes II. 1 = Lange, *Herrscherköpfe des Altertums im Münzbild*, p. 34; 2 = Babelon, *Traité*, II, pl. 88, no. 10.

3-4. Silver tetradrachm, London. Satrap and kithara. 3 = Hill, *Select Greek Coins*, pl. VII, 8; 4 = Babelon, *Traité*, II, pl. 88, no. 25.

5. Silver distater (?), American Numismatic Society. Bull about to toss. Courtesy of the American Numismatic Society.

PLATE 38

Stele from Tchaouch Keui, Phrygia. Courtesy of the Istanbul Museum.

GISELA M. A. RICHTER

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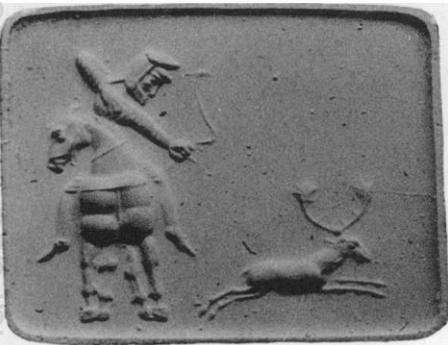
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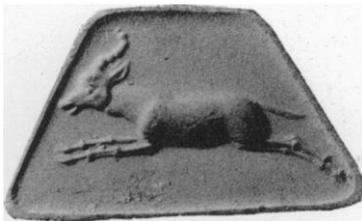
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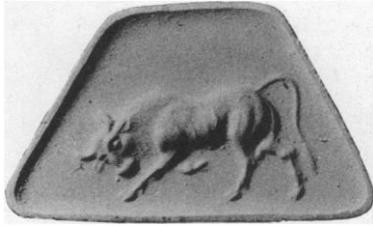
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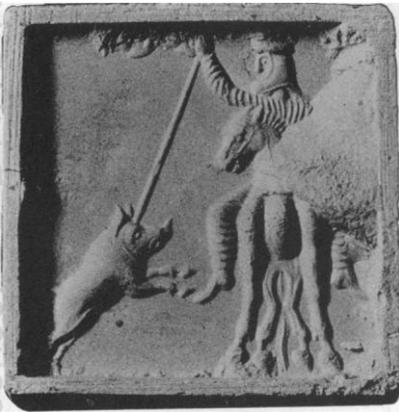
PLATE 32



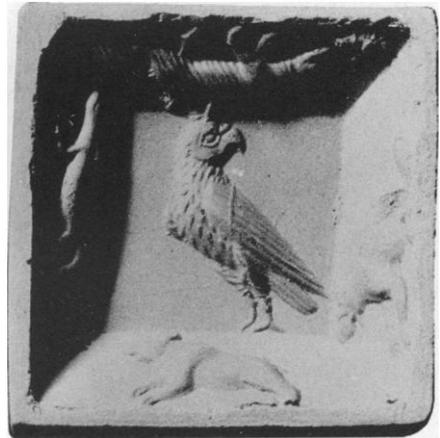
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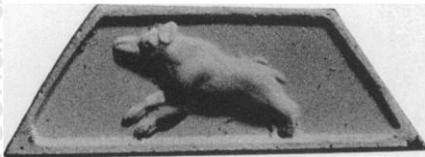
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8



1



2

G. M. A. RICHTER: LATE "ACHAEMENIAN" OR "GRAECO-PERSIAN" GEMS



1



2



3



4



5



6

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1



2



3



4



5



6

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1



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2



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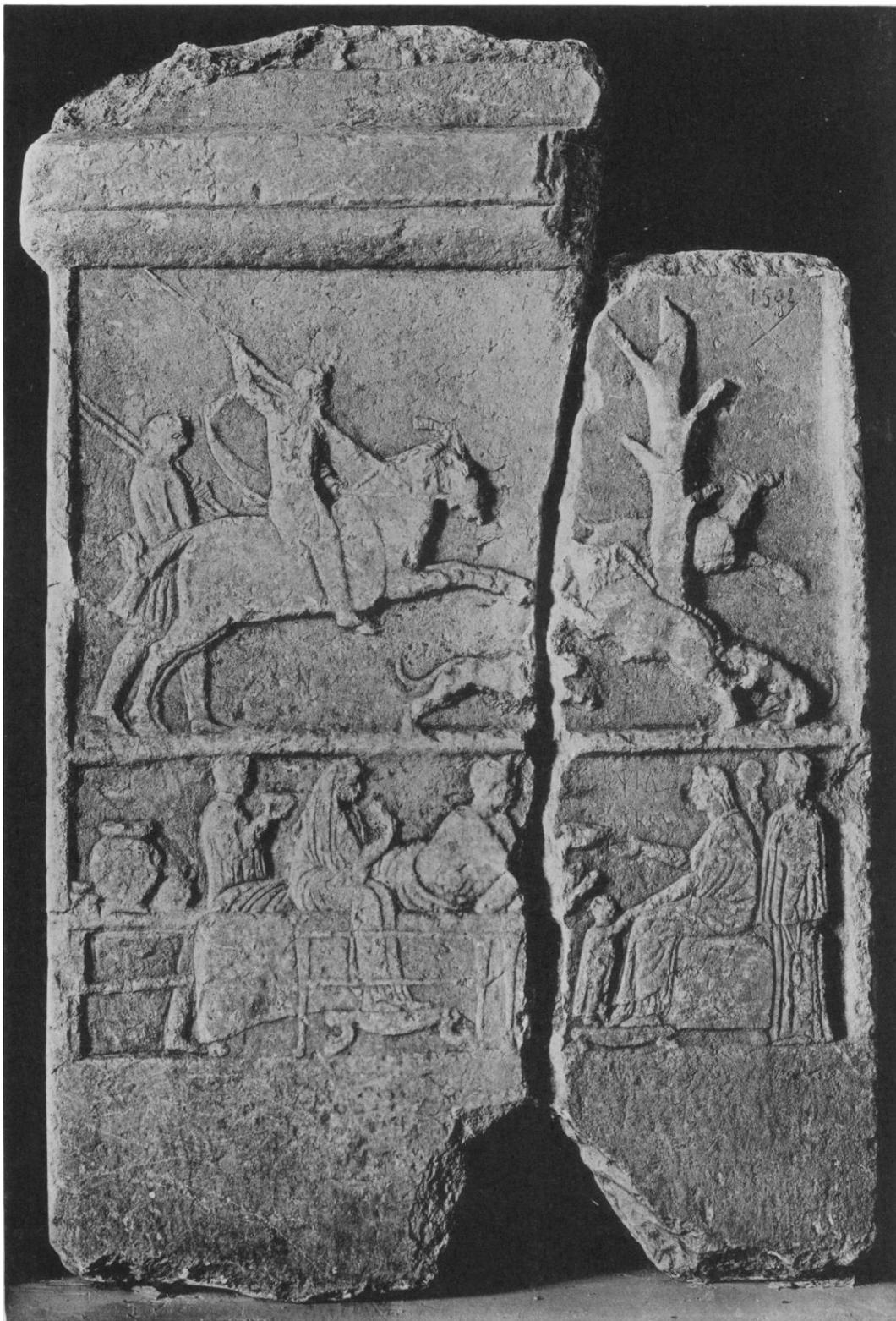
3



5

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G. M. A. RICHTER: LATE "ACHAEMENIAN" OR "GRAECO-PERSIAN" GEMS



Alexander the Great and the Oecumene

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Reviewed work(s):

Source: *Hesperia Supplements*, Vol. 8, Commemorative Studies in Honor of Theodore Leslie Shear (1949), pp. 299-304

Published by: [The American School of Classical Studies at Athens](#)

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ALEXANDER THE GREAT AND THE OECUMENE

LESLIE SHEAR often spoke of his special interest in Alexander the Great and of the diverse judgments that have been passed upon him. The difficulty of understanding Alexander has sprung, I think, in part from our handling and interpretation of the ancient sources and in part from the frequently unjustified belief that the Alexander-historians are entirely inadequate at certain vital moments and often contain statements that are projections backward of later thought; but in spite of this a new and more exact picture of Alexander has been forming in recent years. Indeed, it is the contention of this paper that the Alexander-historians,¹ when properly used, have within themselves sufficient information for a correct portrayal of Alexander, certainly not as full as one might wish and perhaps rather tame by comparison with some other sources, but reasonably complete nevertheless and above all sound.

We can test this, for example, by examining Alexander's attitude toward the *oecumene* or "inhabited world," the one thing in his entire life which doubtless has the greatest fascination and value for our mid-twentieth century society. We must ask ourselves, what was Alexander's motive in ordering his deification, what plans of world conquest did he have, what was his constitutional relationship to Greeks and barbarians, and what, especially perhaps, were his feelings toward race and race mixture and the idea that the world is one? The purpose of this paper, however, is not to become a catalogue, but rather to bring out, and at the earliest moment possible (where our sources are least suspect), significant and clear-cut policies which, when added together, reveal Alexander's attitude toward the *oecumene*. The result, I believe, will not only present Alexander in a new light, but will also offer a correction to Tarn's² estimate of Alexander's empire: "But the true unifying force was lacking; there was no common idea, or ideal."

1) Asia Minor. Alexander entered Asia in 334 B.C. with a commission from the Greeks to conduct a Panhellenic war of revenge to punish the Persians for the crimes of Xerxes a century and a half earlier,³ and though he carried the commission as *hegemon* of the Corinthian League, he was at the same time king of Macedon and responsible to no one but himself in military matters.⁴ He was able to emphasize the

¹ The Alexander-historians are conventionally called Arrian, Diodorus, Plutarch, Curtius and Justin, but the fundamental question is their source in each instance; for a discussion of the "stratification" of the sources, and the impossibility of appealing from Arrian when he bases a statement on the Ephemerides or Royal Journal, see my *Ephemerides of Alexander's Expedition*, 1932, pp. 11 ff.

² *C.A.H.*, VI, p. 433.

³ Arrian, II, 25, 3.

⁴ Strong though Alexander was in civil matters, the army assembly played a rôle.

Panhellenic nature of the expedition almost immediately, for at the battle of the Granicus he captured 2,000 Greeks who had been serving Darius and these he bound in fetters and sent to Macedonia to till the soil, because they had fought contrary to the decrees of the Corinthian League.⁵ But success very quickly changed Panhellenism into something quite different, for at Miletus, soon afterward, he allowed Darius' 300 Greek mercenaries to enlist in his own army.⁶

It may not have been apparent to others at the time that this represented a deliberate and radical change of policy, but there can be little doubt as to Alexander's line of thought when we observe that on the border of Caria, which he reached directly from Miletus, he permitted Ada, the native queen, to adopt him as her son.⁷ This he did in the hope of convincing the barbarians that his relation to them was to be more than that of a mere conqueror. Alexander further weakened Panhellenism by not adding the Greek cities of Asia Minor to the Corinthian League, but by uniting them to himself by treaty "as free and independent allies";⁸ and, moreover, as he advanced through the non-Greek districts of Asia Minor, he claimed the tribute which they had previously paid Darius.⁹ Thus, by the battle of Issus, the man who had crossed the Hellespont a year and a half earlier as king of Macedon and *hegemon* of the Corinthian League had become in addition the adopted son of a Carian queen, the "ally" of the Greek cities of Asia Minor, and the Great King of the native districts.¹⁰

Whatever kind of state Alexander may have had in mind at this time, we may be certain that he was not planning to substitute Hellenic for Oriental despotism, for how else are we to explain the assignment of two satrapies in Asia Minor to barbarians?¹¹ This fact is generally overlooked by scholars, when they maintain that Alexander's settled policy, later on, of appointing barbarians to big and little posts was motivated by a scarcity of Greeks and Macedonians.

2) Ecbatana. At Ecbatana, in the early spring of 330 B.C., we catch our first clear glimpse of Alexander's ideas for mankind. Though Darius was still alive, albeit in rapid and desperate flight, Alexander called a halt, for it was altogether unwise to continue into the unknown East without explaining his future plans to his men.

The fundamental problem before Alexander was the amalgamation of his new and vast empire of many races. We have already noticed that no sooner had the

⁵ Arrian, I, 16, 6.

⁶ Arrian, I, 19, 6.

⁷ Arrian, I, 23, 8.

⁸ Discussed on p. 299 of the study mentioned in note 25, below.

⁹ For example, Arrian, I, 17, 1.

¹⁰ Alexander subsequently became the suzerain of Indian rajahs, etc., but I have already said that I am not making a catalogue.

¹¹ Arrian, I, 23, 7; II, 4, 2. See my "Alexander the Great and the Barbarians" in *Classical Studies presented to Edward Capps*, 1936, pp. 298 ff.

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expedition set out than Alexander began to assert his independence of the Corinthian League. He had every intention of maintaining the League, and of dealing with it legally wherever he could, since it was a convenient instrument for governing the Greeks, but he now decided to make absolutely clear that Panhellenism had died with Gaugamela and the war of revenge, for the firing of the palace at Persepolis had merely signaled the end of the Achaemenid regime. Somehow he must now convince the barbarians that he was their king, too.

Thus, in a dramatic gesture designed to prove that the special partnership with the Greeks had ceased, Alexander dismissed the Thessalian cavalry and his other Greek allies.¹² Many availed themselves of the opportunity to reënlist, but henceforth, while they might be marshalled according to nationality, they marched as part of the imperial army and not as allies. Alexander's adoption not long afterward of a modified form of Persian dress,¹³ which was far simpler than the Median, was interpreted by hostile gossip as a surrender to Oriental luxury, but actually it was part of his plan to convince the barbarians of their equality within the empire, and it also served notice upon the Greeks and Macedonians that they were not to occupy a privileged position.

But none of this, Alexander saw, went far enough. Daring as was his conception of equality for different peoples, united by various means to himself as ruler, nevertheless some additional bond was needed, the idea of a common fate, or perhaps the ideal of the brotherhood of man. To supply this bond was his hardest task. Since, however, he was convinced of the superiority of Greek culture, Hellenism might in time serve as the vehicle; its own spread would be facilitated by his new foundations, whose primary purpose, to be sure, was to garrison the countryside. World union, common aspirations and ideals, based on a common culture and perhaps even on a common blood, were dreams that could not be realized in a day—nor were they dreams that we would expect to find in one who had been brought up in Plato's theory that all barbarians were enemies of the Greeks by nature, and in that of Aristotle that all barbarians were slaves by nature, especially those of Asia.

But Alexander had been able to test the smugness of the Greek by actual contact with barbarians, on the battlefield and off, and experience had apparently convinced him of the essential sameness of all people. It was back in Egypt, according to Plutarch,¹⁴ that Alexander had accepted the teaching of Psammon, the philosopher, that all mankind are under the kingship of God, since in every case that which gets the mastery and rules is divine. Still more philosophical, continues Plutarch, was Alexander's own opinion that although God is a common father of all mankind, still, He makes peculiarly His own the noblest and best of them. Accordingly, it is hardly surprising that during a banquet at Opis in the year before his death Alexander should

¹² Arrian, III, 19, 5.

¹³ Arrian, IV, 7, 4; Plutarch, *Life*, 45, 1.

¹⁴ Plutarch, *Life*, 27, 6.

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have prayed for partnership in the empire¹⁵ and for unity and concord in a joint commonwealth where all peoples were to be partners rather than subjects. This dream of peace and union between Greek and barbarian, a prayer for the brotherhood of man, was simply a clear and ennobling restatement of his considered policy these many years, that mankind should contemplate not exclusive, "national" societies, but universalism, the idea of the *oecumene*, where all men are indeed sons of one Father. And in this connection we should recall Eratosthenes' statement¹⁶ that Alexander believed he had a kingly mission from the deity to be the harmonizer and reconciler of the world, mixing men's lives and customs and marriages as in a loving cup.

3) Bactria-Sogdiana. The two years (329-27 B.C.) of fierce guerrilla warfare in eastern Iran witnessed, in outline at least, the completion of Alexander's ideas toward the *oecumene*. Early in the first year he established his frontier on the Jaxartes, which he mistook for the Tanais or Don, and even crossed it to make his power known among the tribes on the other side, as he had already, long ago, crossed the Danube and journeyed across the Egyptian desert to the oracle of Ammon. Then, that winter, Pharasmanes, king of the Chorasmians, came to Alexander and offered to help him conquer the districts near him which, he claimed, bordered on the Black Sea. Alexander thanked him, but said that his mind was now engrossed by the desire of conquering the Indians, for when he had subdued them, he would possess the whole of Asia. He added that when Asia was in his power he would return to Greece and thence make an expedition to the Black Sea; he desired Pharasmanes to reserve the fulfillment of his present promises until then.

Here we have Alexander's ambition for world conquest, revealed now for the first time, as far as we can tell, in a simple passage of Arrian.¹⁷ To Alexander, as to everyone else, the world meant essentially the Persian empire; that is to say Asia, an Asia which ended not far beyond the Indus river, where one meets Ocean, the eastern limit of the world. In Turkestan Alexander proposed to complete the conquest of Asia, as he understood it, and then turn to the small, and as yet unconquered, areas that remained. His ideas developed as his expedition progressed, and in India¹⁸ the knowledge of a larger world brought him other ideas, but ideas that were still relatively simple and, perhaps, a little naïve.

¹⁵ Arrian, VII, 11, 9; Tarn, "Alexander the Great and the Unity of Mankind," *Proceedings of the British Academy*, XIX. The subsequent controversy between Fisch (*A.J.P.*, LVIII, 1937, pp. 59, 129 ff.) and Tarn (*A.J.P.*, LX, 1939, pp. 41 ff.), though Tarn comes off handsomely, supports my belief that these matters should be decided, first and chiefly, in the Alexander-historians.

¹⁶ Strabo, I, 66; Plutarch, *De Alexandri Fortuna*, 329 B f. The loving cup refers to the great krater used during the banquet at Opis.

¹⁷ Arrian, IV, 15, 5.

¹⁸ Arrian, V, 26, 1. In other words the fact of Alexander's ambition for world conquest does not depend on the unhistorical, though famous (and fantastic), Memoranda found on his death (Diodorus, XVIII, 4, 1). See my paper, "Alexander's Plans," *A.J.P.*, LXI, 1940, pp. 402 ff.

The terrible guerrilla warfare forced Alexander, in 328 B.C., to a decision of the utmost importance. If he really was to be king of the barbarians, as well as of the Macedonians, he must permit them to enter into full responsible partnership with him and have their own stake in his success. He therefore took the dramatic step of adding large numbers of Bactrians, Sogdians and other Asiatics to the army.¹⁹ His confidence was fully rewarded, for it was these Asiatic soldiers who pressed the enemy so hard that they cut off Spitamenes' head and sent it to Alexander. Alexander carried his policy of cooperation with the barbarians even further, when a few months later he ordered that 30,000 native youths should be taught the Greek language and trained in the use of Macedonian weapons.²⁰

Early the next year (327 B.C.) Alexander captured the Bactrian baron, Oxyartes, and his daughter Roxane.²¹ Alexander fell in love with her at sight, so the legend goes, and married her, but in reality it was a political marriage, designed to placate eastern Iran and take it into full partnership with him, as it surely deserved. He was motivated in part, too, by the desire of placing his stamp of approval on the fusion of races, which was the chief reason for his marriage to a daughter of Darius at Susa in 324 B.C.²² He hoped that fusion might be accomplished by example and persuasion, for he planned neither a deliberate Hellenization of the East nor a barbarization of the Greeks and Macedonians. Those who wished were free to pursue their own national life—and they would inevitably represent the overwhelming majority—but beside this there was to develop a new life based on an interchange and mixture of customs and blood. Here was to be the driving force of the empire,²³ a new attitude toward the world.

Finally, in this momentous year of 327 B.C., a proposal was made to deify Alexander,²⁴ which hostile gossip turned into a desire for unbridled despotism. Alexander's motive, however, is easy to find. Although he had regularized his position in the barbarian world by becoming the Great King of the former Persian empire, there remained the pressing problem of his relation to the Hellenic world. He intended to solve this by becoming a god for a people who had many gods and who had raised men to the ranks of the gods not only in the legendary past, but also in this very century. His motive, then, was purely political, a simple and direct way by which to make possible the efficient administration of a divided land, if other, more normal, methods failed. Alexander was thwarted in his plan at this time, but shortly before his death he carried it through for the Greeks, if not for the Macedonians.²⁵

¹⁹ Arrian, IV, 17, 3.

²⁰ Arrian, VII, 6, 1; Plutarch, *Life*, 47, 3.

²¹ Arrian, IV, 19, 5.

²² Arrian, VII, 4, 4.

²³ Cf. Tarn's estimate, note 2, above.

²⁴ Arrian, IV, 10 f.

²⁵ See my paper, "Alexander's Deification," *A.J.P.*, LXIV, 1943, pp. 286 ff.

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It would be possible, though needless, to elaborate upon each point that has been made. The essential fact is that we have here a rounded, coherent picture of Alexander, rooted in Arrian, and that every important idea he had concerning the *oecumene*—ideas on world conquest and his own relation to a world state, the use of barbarians in administration and army, a common culture, universal brotherhood, the fusion of races, and personal deification—is discernible long before his return to Mesopotamia, when all sorts of stories began to circulate and, becoming ultimately entangled with Stoicism and later thought generally, have produced endless, albeit frequently profitable, debate ever since. Alexander's dreams, of course, never received a full test,²⁶ but they have remained a challenge to humanity to substitute the idea of the solidarity of the world, and with it the dignity of the individual and his labor, for Aristotelian narrowness and strife.

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²⁶ Except among the Bactrian Greeks; Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, 1938, chaps. IV-VI and Conclusion.



The Robinson Collection of Greek Gems, Seals, Rings, and Earrings

Author(s): David M. Robinson

Reviewed work(s):

Source: *Hesperia Supplements*, Vol. 8, Commemorative Studies in Honor of Theodore Leslie Shear (1949), pp. 305-323+475-480

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THE ROBINSON COLLECTION OF GREEK GEMS, SEALS, RINGS, AND EARRINGS

(PLATES 39-44)

WHEN I was asked to write an article for the memorial volume of *Hesperia* dedicated to Theodore Leslie Shear, a Ph. D. of the Johns Hopkins University and a loyal friend of mine for more than forty years, with whom I was associated in the excavation and publication of Sardis and on many other projects, I decided to publish in honor of the great archaeologist and philocalic humanist, a teaching collection of gems extending from 4000 B.C. to the second or third century A.D. I have built up the collection in recent years by purchase from a well-known numismatist and from several others. Dr. Shear was interested in gems and coins as well as vases, terracottas, and sculpture. He spent much time looking at my gems and appreciated the beauty of some of them as well as the historical and mythological importance of the collection. Dr. Shear often spoke of the great beauty of Greek gems and reminded me that a collection of gems satisfies one's aesthetic feelings in many ways. J. H. Middleton¹ says: "Fine Greek or Graeco-Roman engraved gems are among the most beautiful works of art that exist. They combine noble design and exquisite, but not too minute, finish with the greatest beauty of material, such as the rich, brilliantly colored sard or the sapphirine chalcedony with its exquisitely soft, milky lustre."² Professor N. Story-Maskelyne, writing in 1870 in his catalogue of *The Marlborough Gems*, said, "If we could but assemble in one collection the still extant gem-signets of the different ages . . . we should have a more complete representation of the objects which stirred the minds and ruled the hearts of men through all those many ages and changes of circumstance, than would be afforded by any other single form of their arts . . . indeed, we may perhaps with justice say, than by all the other forms of these that remain to us combined." Miss Richter³ says: "The inherent

¹ *The Engraved Gems of Classical Times* (Cambridge, 1891), p. 97, still one of the best books on the subject.

² Cf. the two sards (Nos. 25, 33) and three chalcedony gems (Nos. 3, 18, 22).

³ *The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Catalogue of Engraved Gems of the Classical Style* (New York, 1920), p. xv. Some of the important books on our subject besides those of Middleton and Richter cited are: C. Alexander, *Jewelry. The Art of the Goldsmith in Classical Times* (Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1928); J. D. Beazley, *The Lewes House Collection of Ancient Gems* (Oxford, 1920); Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Department of Classical Art, *Engraved Gems* (Gallery Book, Boston, 1939); E. Fontenay, *Les Bijoux* (Paris, 1887); P. Fossing, *The Thorvaldsen Museum. Catalogue of the Antique Engraved Gems and Cameos* (Copenhagen, 1929); A. Furtwängler, *Die Antiken Gemmen, Geschichte der Steinschneidekunst im klassischen Altertum*, I-III (Leipzig, 1900); *Königliche Museen zu Berlin, Beschreibung der geschnittenen Steine im Antiquarium* (Berlin, 1896); K. Hadaczek, *Der Ohrschmuck der Griechen und Etrusker* (Vienna, 1903); F. Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller, *Tier- und Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen und Gemmen des klassischen Altertums* (Leipzig, 1889); C. W. King, *Antique Gems and Rings* (London, 1872);

beauty of the material, with its rich and varied colors, its lustre and brilliance, gives us pleasure at first sight. The hard and durable quality of the stones has made for unusually good preservation, so that we can appreciate in many cases the artist's work in its original state—a rare opportunity in classical art. Moreover, the smallness and preciousness of the gems invited exquisite workmanship, and in certain periods when the art was at a high level the achievements in this field were very notable. The best ancient gem engravers combined extreme minuteness and accuracy of detail with a largeness and simplicity of style that are indeed remarkable. A gem engraving of this class possesses the nobility and dignity of a marble or bronze sculptural work, though it is often confined to the space of less than half an inch square." These are samples of modern aesthetic criticism, and the ancients themselves attached immense importance to seals, rings, gems, and other jewelry.

Gems are mentioned in Genesis,⁴ in the laws of Solon,⁵ in Aeschylus,¹² Sophocles,⁶ Euripides,⁷ Aristophanes (see below), Isocrates,⁸ and numerous other writings.⁹ Gems were frequently used to send impressions which would give authenticity to messages or serve as pledges for some business transaction.¹⁰ So Sophocles, in the *Trachinians*,⁶ says: *καὶ τῶνδ' ἀποίσεις σῆμ', ὃ κείνος εὐμαθὲς | σφραγίδος ἔρκει τῶδ' ἐπὸν μαθήσεται.* Receptacles and packages were thus protected from unauthorized tampering with them. Householders thus protected their larders against slaves and even the women of the family.¹¹ Travellers thus protected their baggage.¹² Letters, wills, contracts, etc., were tied with thread and sealed so that the thread could not be broken without breaking the seal.¹³ Many of our gems show the hole through the gem for such a

G. Lippold, *Gemmen und Kameen des Altertums und der Neuzeit* (Stuttgart, no date); F. H. Marshall, *Catalogue of the Finger Rings, Greek, Etruscan and Roman in the Departments of Antiquities, British Museum* (London, 1907); F. L. J. Matz, *Die Frühkretischen Siegel* (Berlin, 1928); A. S. Murray and A. H. Smith, *A Catalogue of the Engraved Gems in the British Museum* (London, 1888); D. Osborne, *Engraved Gems* (New York, 1912); G. M. A. Richter, *Ancient Gems from the Evans and Beatty Collections*, Metropolitan Museum (New York, 1942); D. M. Robinson, *Excavations at Olynthus*, X (Baltimore, 1941), pp. 132-158; B. Segall, *Museum Benaki, Athen. Katalog der Goldschmiede-Arbeiten* (Athens, 1938); Southesk, *Catalogue of the Collection of Antique Gems, formed by James, ninth earl of Southesk, K. T.* [edited by his daughter, Lady Helena Carnegie] (London, 1908, 2 vols.); H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Engraved Gems and Cameos, Greek, Etruscan and Roman in the British Museum* (London, 1926).

⁴ XXXVIII: 18, 25.

⁵ Diogenes Laertius (I, 57) says that Solon forbade the *δακτυλιογλύφοι* to preserve an impression of any gem sold, for fear of duplication.

⁶ *Trachin.*, 614; *Electra*, 1222 (to attest a spoken message).

⁷ *Hippolytus*, 862; *Iph. Aul.*, 155, "Keep thou this seal, whose impress lies on the letter thou bearest" (Loeb).

⁸ *Orations*, XVII, 33, 34.

⁹ Cf. Middleton, *op. cit.*, pp. 3 f.; 22 f.

¹⁰ Cf. Plautus, *Pseud.*, II, 2, 55; IV, 2, 44; Pliny, *Epist.*, X, 74; Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, XII, 4.

¹¹ Xenophon, *Resp. Laced.*, VI, 4; Aristophanes, *Thesm.*, 415 f.; *Lysistrata*, 1195.

¹² Aesch., *Agam.*, 609.

¹³ Thuc., I, 132; Euripides, *Iph. Aul.*, 321; Lucian, *Timon*, 22.

thread. Gneist¹⁴ in criticising Becker's *Charicles* says that the idea of a seal as a confirmation of the signature is foreign to the Greeks and Romans. But the seal and even the cross used by the Saxons as the seal of God (whence the mark of the man who cannot write and signs with the cross) did serve in France and England as a signature and in common law today a deed needs only a seal and no signature.¹⁵ As the late Robert Bonner, who published an important article on the subject of "The Use and Effect of Attic Seals" in *Classical Philology*, III, 1908, pp. 399-407, said (p. 407), "The Greek seal then corresponds exactly to the common-law seal which was not accompanied by a signature."¹⁶

Other gems and rings are talismanic with magic or prophylactic devices. Aristophanes¹⁷ even alludes to gems as a protection against poisonous snakes, when he describes the Just Man's ring as a protection against the poison of the informer :

οὐδὲν προτιμῶ σου· φορῶ γὰρ πριάμενος
τὸν δακτύλιον τονδὶ παρ' Εὐδάμου δραχμῆς.¹⁸

The art of engraving gems flourished in Babylonia in the fourth millenium B.C., and was practised in Crete from 3000 B.C. and earlier. The first seal (1) here published is from Crete and may go back to 4000 B.C. and be the earliest known European sealstone. In Greek lands gems were manufactured continuously from early Minoan times to late Roman days, and the Robinson collection has gems from most of the different periods.

In Late-Minoan gems we have animal scenes. The best Greek gems of the sixth to the fourth century B.C. follow the styles prevalent in sculpture and on vases of the same periods. The subjects are mostly from mythology and daily life. They also show the development of classical types, a few types repeated but with infinite variety. One can learn much about the different phases of Greek art and can acquire a comprehensive picture of the whole of Greek art, both style and content. The gems were executed like great pieces of sculpture and meant not only to be practical but beautiful. The color of the precious stones added as much to the beauty of gems as color did to sculpture and paintings. Pliny (*N.H.*, XXXVII, 1) says, "Nature is nowhere displayed in a more admirable form . . . some gems are regarded as beyond all price . . . so much so that, in the case of many, it is quite sufficient to have some single gem or other before the eyes, there to behold the supreme and absolute perfection of Nature's work." Miss Richter, *Ancient Gems*, p. 4, at the end of her introduction says, "The best gems are not only lovely trinkets but great works of sculpture." In the Robinson collection, care has been taken to exclude all such pieces as were cheap gems in their

¹⁴ *Die Formellen Verträge*, p. 457.

¹⁵ Pollock and Maitland, *History of English Law*, I, pp. 94, 508; II, p. 223.

¹⁶ Signature in the modern sense does not occur till Roman times, *Oxyr. Papyri*, I, 105.

¹⁷ *Plutus*, 883.

¹⁸ Such rings costing only a drachma must have been paste rings, not real gems.

own day, and no ancient "pastes" or glass pastes, such as were so often substituted for genuine gems in antiquity, are in the collection. There is thus nothing of the mere "cast" intaglio type, but every specimen is actually engraved. The outstanding pieces are No. 1 (because of its great antiquity), Nos. 15, 16, 17 (with Cybele), No. 18 (a remarkable Selene), No. 19 (an onyx gem with the Chimaera), No. 21 (a beautiful gold ring set with a magnificent ruby-like stone), Nos. 27-28 (exquisite gold peacock earrings) and No. 35 (a fine gnostic gem or amulet). The collection has six items of the Bronze Age, five of the Geometric Age (900 to seventh century B.C.) when soft steatite was used and so gems could be cut freehand, and at least ten of the classical period when hard beautiful stones such as carnelian, onyx, chalcedony, ruby-like anthrax, and sard were cut with the rotating drill. Nine pieces are from the Hellenistic period; the gnostic seal is of Roman times.

I have tried to follow the now normal custom of illustrating the rings and stones in their actual size, but the impressions half again as large so as to make details clearer. The three cameos are also shown half as large again.

NEOLITHIC AND BRONZE AGE SEALS (Plate 39)

(*Ca.* 4000 to 1300 B.C.)

1. Cretan neolithic brown steatite¹⁹ sealstone dating probably as early as 4000 B.C., the earliest known European seal.²⁰ Length 0.029 m. Greatest breadth 0.019 m.; smallest breadth in middle 0.006 m. Thickness 0.005 m. to 0.008 m. From Rethymo, Crete.

In early prehistoric times savages and primitive people must have worn on a string round their necks actual human finger-bones with rough magical designs engraved on each end. But here some simple Cretan made a facsimile of such a bone in more durable brown steatite. On the small end are vague scratchings which suggest a bird or animal, on the large end a rough human being in front view with feet turned out and holding in either hand a stick, that in the right hand resembling the thunder-bolt. The seal is pierced with a large round hole for suspension round the neck, just as early signet scarabs were worn on a string around the neck. The shape would be the ancestor of later signets with handles such as Middleton discusses, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-10 (cf. No. 11 below).

2. Cretan Bronze Age gray steatite, of the rare three-sided type. Length 0.015 m. Thickness 0.008 m. Early Minoan II-III, *ca.* 3000 B.C. From Eastern Crete. The three-sided seal is a Cretan variant of the common Mesopotamian type of

¹⁹ On the material cf. Middleton, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

²⁰ In Egypt scarab-signets go back to 3700 B.C. and even earlier; cf. Middleton, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

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cylinder seal²¹ and is pierced longitudinally in a similar manner. The engraved types are a thunderbolt-like object, possibly meant to signify a human being, the figure of a man with arms raised like wings, and the heads of four birds over a fence or grating, resembling Egyptian works of art which represent irrigation ditches. They are early hieroglyphic signs such as occur frequently on early Cretan seals.²²

3. Cretan Bronze Age chalcedony,²³ of the rare four-sided type. Length 0.02 m. Thickness, 0.008 m. Middle Minoan I, *ca.* 2500 B.C. From northeast of Cnossus.

This is an important gem on account of the three remarkable figures. On one side are two star fish, on another side a Cretan soldier with a large shield,²⁴ on another side a Cretan priest with an animal's head as mask, hands on his hips,²⁵ on another side a large-breasted, narrow-waisted woman leaning backwards and holding a skirt-like object.²⁶

This again is a Cretan variant of a Mesopotamian cylinder and is pierced longitudinally in similar fashion. It is interesting also to note that a tubular drill was employed to make the bodies of the starfish.²⁷

4. Cretan Bronze Age carnelian,²⁸ of glandular shape.²⁹ Length 0.019 m. Greatest breadth 0.014 m. Greatest thickness 0.007 m. Late Minoan I, *ca.* 1500 B.C. From near Cnossus in Crete.

The gem is pierced longitudinally and is of a fine color. The type is a bull with arched neck and head turned back.³⁰

5. Cretan Bronze Age red jasper,³¹ of lenticular shape.³² Greatest diameter 0.015 m. Greatest thickness 0.007 m. Late Minoan I-III, *ca.* 1500 to 1300 B.C.

²¹ Cf. Middleton, *op. cit.*, p. 3. For a good Cretan example of light greenish steatite in Berlin, a stone with three almost rectangular sides, engraved in a similar crude fashion, *cf.* Osborne, *Engraved Gems*, pl. 1, 7, a-c.

²² Cf. Bossert, *Alt-Kreta* (Berlin, 1923), fig. 327. I know of no exact parallel but *cf.* *J.H.S.*, XIV, 1894, pp. 338-339, figs. 56, 57, 59, 60, 62; p. 344, fig. 68c; Evans, *Scripta Minoa*, I, p. 132, fig. 70b; Matz, *Die frühkretischen Siegel*, Pls. XVII, 2b, 6b, 7a, XVIII, 1a (a wall like ours), 3c, 5a (a parallel to the human figure), 8a, XX, a.

²³ On the material *cf.* Middleton, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

²⁴ Like Bossert, *Alt-Kreta*, fig. 325 h.

²⁵ Cf. Bossert, *op. cit.*, fig. 324 k.

²⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, fig. 323 b. Perhaps it is an animal or fish such as is seen in Osborne, *op. cit.*, pl. II, 10.

²⁷ Cf. Middleton, *op. cit.*, p. 108, fig. 23.

²⁸ On Minoan carnelian *cf.* Middleton, *op. cit.*, pp. 21, 108, fig. 23.

²⁹ On the shape *cf.* *ibid.*, p. 18, fig. 14.

³⁰ Cf. for bulls Bossert, *op. cit.*, p. 318; for a gem showing a bull with its head turned back, *cf.* *British Museum. A Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, pl. A, 107.

³¹ On red jasper *cf.* Middleton, *op. cit.*, p. 145; Richter, *Metz. Mus. Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, p. lvi. The occult virtues attributed to it in Roman times were probably also credited to this stone in early times. Pliny, *N. H.*, XXXVII, 118, says: *totus . . . oriens pro amuleto gestare eas traditur*. In the Metropolitan Museum is a beautiful glandular red jasper gem with a hunted ibex; *cf.* Richter, *op. cit.*, p. 9, no. 6.

³² For the shape see Middleton, *op. cit.*, p. 18, fig. 15.

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The type is a wounded Cretan wild goat,⁸⁸ perhaps thought of as struck by a spear (see line above back) and dying. Hunting wild animals was a favorite sport with the Minoans as seen on the frescoes, the gold Vaphio cups, and engraved gems. The Minoan artist would take a part of such a scene and execute it with great skill and effectiveness.

Sealstones of this shape were usually worn upon the wrist, in the manner of a modern wrist-watch, as appears from certain passages in the Old Testament, in Genesis, XXXVIII: 18, 25; Canticles, VIII: 6 ("set me as a seal upon thine arm"). This is confirmed by the contemporary famous fresco representing the cup-bearer who wears on his wrist such a lenticular sealstone with a cord passed through the piercing (see Plate 39, 5 b).

6. Mycenaean Bronze Age dark steel-gray or black haematite⁸⁴ of lenticular shape.⁸⁵ Greatest diameter 0.02 m. Greatest thickness 0.008 m. Late Minoan III, ca. 1300 B.C. From the Argolid.

The device shows two lions and two bulls arranged in a pleasing pattern. The style and subject are common in Late Minoan art.⁸⁶ Such shapes with fine careful carving are frequent and have two animals, a lioness or lion and a bull⁸⁷ or two lions or two bulls, but I know of no other such gem with four animals.

The gem was evidently considered a thing of beauty and preserved for future generations. The Geometric golden loop ring proves that the gem was still worn in the Geometric Age.

GEOMETRIC SEALS AND RINGS (Plate 40)

(Ca. 900 to 700 B.C.)

7. Large Geometric sealstone of whitish-green basalt. Length 0.038 m. Breadth 0.028 m. Thickness 0.02 m. 850-750 B.C. From a Geometric tomb southeast of Athens, found inside the Attic Geometric cup here illustrated (Plate 40, 7 a).⁸⁸

This is an early import from Phoenicia into Athens, and the shape, pierced longitudinally for a string, is that of "a false scarab" since the back, instead of showing the shape of a beetle, is carved as a facing bearded head. On the bezel are two stylized

⁸⁸ Cf. Bossert, *op. cit.*, figs. 315 f, 316 f, h.

⁸⁴ For much-valued haematite, cf. Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, p. lx; Middleton, *op. cit.*, p. 151, but he fails to note that haematite is sometimes black, as in our gem.

⁸⁵ For the shape see Middleton, *op. cit.*, p. 18, fig. 15, and for the normal way of wearing, Plate 39, 5 b.

⁸⁶ Cf. Bossert, *op. cit.*, figs. 316 b, 319 a, b; 325 c, 326 b.

⁸⁷ Cf. Beazley, *op. cit.*, p. 1, no. 3, pl. 1; Furtwängler, *Die Antiken Gemmen*, III, p. 51, fig. 31, pl. III, 32; Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, no. 3, pl. 2 (two bulls lying side by side).

⁸⁸ Diameter over handles 0.18 m. The design is the same on both sides.

hawks, feathers between them, and below is a large winged scarabaeus.³⁹ The graceful designs are of great beauty and delicately rendered. The minute workmanship and fine finish and decorative skill show that the Phoenicians were not merely traders but excellent artists.

8. Geometric button-seal of gray steatite. Greatest diameter 0.013 m. Greatest thickness 0.006 m. Pierced for a string. 900-800 B.C. From Rhodes.

The design consists of two large eyes and is not Minoan, as Bossert⁴⁰ says. It really is of the class called "Hittite" by Middleton,⁴¹ but while there may be oriental and even Hittite influence, I prefer to classify the gem as Rhodian Geometric.

9. Geometric button-seal of green steatite. Greatest diameter 0.014 m. Greatest thickness 0.007 m. Pierced for a string. Found with No. 8 at Rhodes. It dates about the same time.

The type is a continuation of that seen on Cretan seals illustrated in Matz, *Die Früh-kretischen Siegel*, pl. III. It consists of circles made with a tubular drill within a rough square.⁴²

10. Geometric finger-ring of bronze. Greatest height 0.029 m. Outer diameter of ring 0.021 m. 900-800 B.C. From Rhodes.

Bronze and iron rings were often used in antiquity⁴³ but it is rare to have a carved monkey's head instead of a bezel with an intaglio design. There is a little bronze monkey from Thessaly of the Geometric Age in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge⁴⁴ and I have seen in the Gallery of Fine Arts at Yale University a bronze ring with a draped bust of a man which looks a little like our monkey.

11. Geometric handled signet of bronze. Height 0.035 m. Diameter of base 0.012 m. 900-800 B.C. From Thessaly.

The seal⁴⁵ is hollow and was filled with some composition, mostly vanished, over which was a piece of stout gold leaf which is still present, though its design, if there is any, is indistinguishable. There is a circular hole in the top of the handle, and on each of the four sides a circle has been made with a tubular drill.

³⁹ For similar Egypto-Phoenician types cf. Middleton, *op. cit.*, p. 14, fig. 13, pl. 1, 3 and 4.

⁴⁰ *Op. cit.*, fig. 314 e.

⁴¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 11-12.

⁴² Cf. Middleton, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

⁴³ Cf. *Olynthus*, X, pp. 132-158.

⁴⁴ Neither this nor my gem is in W. C. McDermott, *The Ape in Antiquity*. For bronze apes cf. *ibid.*, pp. 192-205.

⁴⁵ For related shapes cf. Middleton, *op. cit.*, p. 10, and Matz, *op. cit.*, pl. XXIV (Hittite).

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CLASSICAL GEMS, EARRINGS AND RINGS (Plate 41)

(Ca. 550 to 300 B.C.)

12. Scarab-gem of green jasper, pierced longitudinally as in Nos. 13 and 14, for mounting on a ring. Length 0.011 m. Width 0.008 m. Thickness 0.006 m. *Ca.* 550 B.C. From Tharros in Sardinia.

The bezel is very fine, and the gem and design are characteristic of the sixth century B.C. Such scarabs are characteristic of Tharros, and there is a fine collection of them in the British Museum. They are often of green jasper and have a guilloche border pattern.⁴⁶ The design is a lion attacking a stag, a favorite device on gems and coins,⁴⁷ especially such silver didrachms of Velia⁴⁸ as that illustrated in Plate 41, 12 *b*, though it dates much later, from the fourth century B.C. One is reminded of the beautiful engraved sealstone from Gela in Sicily which shows a lion attacking a bull as on the relief from Lorymna.⁴⁹ One is reminded of the coins of Acanthus and the sculptured relief from Acanthus,⁵⁰ not mentioned by Miss Richter.

13. Scarab of sardonyx,⁵¹ mounted in its original gold ring. Greatest length 0.017 m. Width 0.012 m. Thickness 0.006 m. *Ca.* 500 B.C. Found in a grave near Patras.

This is a neat little scarab mounted in a pretty gold ring.⁵² The design is a running stag, blocked out with a bow-drill,⁵³ which was often used on Etruscan gems, but our gem is rather rough Greek work. Moreover its provenience from the Peloponnesus suggests a Greek origin. A number of scarabs⁵⁴ formerly supposed to be Etruscan are nowadays realized to be of Greek manufacture.

14. Scarab carved from a carnelian⁵⁵ of blood-orange red, mounted in its

⁴⁶ Cf. Middleton, *op. cit.*, pp. 14, 15, 145.

⁴⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 28, 30, fig. 18; Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, p. 47, no. 52; p. 137, no. 244; Furtwängler, *Die Antiken Gemmen*, pl. XIII, 36.

⁴⁸ Cf. Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 89, fig. 48; p. 731, fig. 323 (Tarsus).

⁴⁹ Cf. Richter, *Bull. Metr. Museum*, IV, Nov., 1945, pp. 93-96. The marble group in the Metropolitan Museum is sixth century as is the Lorymna relief (*A.J.A.*, XVIII, 1914, pl. IV). Cf. also Lippold, *Gemmen und Kameen des Altertums und der Neuzeit*, pl. LXXXV, 7, 9, 11; Walters, *Cat. of Engraved Gems and Cameos in the Brit. Mus.*, pl. IX, 538, 540.

⁵⁰ Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler der gr. und röm. Sculptur*, pl. 231 b. For Acanthus coins cf. Richter, *Animals in Greek Sculpture*, pl. V, and for the gem in the British Museum representing a lion attacking a deer, cf. pl. VII, 21 (fifth-century gem).

⁵¹ On sardonyx cf. Middleton, *op. cit.*, p. 145; Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, p. lvii.

⁵² On the method of mounting scarabs cf. Middleton, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

⁵³ Cf. Middleton, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 107, fig. 22.

⁵⁵ On method of mounting cf. Middleton, *op. cit.*, p. 2; for carnelian cf. *ibid.*, p. 143; Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, p. lv.

original silver ring. Greatest height 0.014 m. Width 0.011 m. Thickness 0.008 m. Height of ring 0.025 m. Width 0.025 m. Found in same grave as No. 13, near Patras.

This is a beautiful gem in the form of a scarab or beetle in a fine clear and translucent carnelian of a pretty reddish color. The design represents Cerberus as a two-headed dog with six legs. It is rough Greek work blocked out with a bow-drill, like No. 13.

Cerberus in early days was not represented with two heads. Bloomfield for this reason in his nice little book, *Cerberus*,⁵⁶ traced the origin back to the two Hindu dogs of Yama; the Sanskrit Çabalas = *Κέρβερος*. In Homer Cerberus is simply "the dog of Hades," "the hound of Hell," as Spencer says in his *Faerie Queen*. In Hesiod⁵⁷ he is first named Cerberus, and is the flesh-devourer, brazen-voiced, the fifty-headed dog of Hades, shameless and strong.

*Κέρβερον, ὠμηστήν, Ἄϊδεω κύνα χαλκεόφωνον,
πεντηκοντακέφαλον, ἀναιδέα τε κρατερόν τε.*

In Pindar⁵⁸ Cerberus has a hundred heads, but on Attic black-figured vases of the sixth century he always has only two heads.⁵⁹ Cerberus can have only one head, as on a Corinthian scyphus from Argos,⁶⁰ and three heads are rare in early times.⁶¹ Three heads become common first on red-figured vases and in the Greek tragedians.⁶² Well known is the statue in the Villa Borghese of Pluto, with the three-headed Cerberus by his side.⁶³ On a Greek scarabaeus⁶⁴ is a three-headed Cerberus, but on a bronze in Naples, Cerberus is two-headed.⁶⁵ Apulian vases of the fourth century show a three-headed Cerberus.⁶⁶ In later Greek and Roman poetry and art the number of heads varies until the time of Vergil, who seems to have fixed the number at three.⁶⁷ Whether the historic type of such a dog developed from the one-headed Minoan monster,⁶⁸ or from the Sanskrit conception of two dogs, the friendly guides of souls, the messengers of Yama (death), is difficult to decide. Personally I believe that,

⁵⁶ *Cerberus, The Dog of Hades*, Chicago, 1905.

⁵⁷ *Theogony*, 311 f.; 769 ff.

⁵⁸ Frag. 249. So Horace, *Odes*, II, 13, 34, *belua centiceps*.

⁵⁹ *A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, pp. 192-199.

⁶⁰ Roscher, *Kerberos*, II, p. 1122, fig. 1.

⁶¹ Walters, *J.H.S.*, XVIII, 1898, pp. 296-297, has a list of 36. Only four, including two Caeretan hydriae (*Mon. Ant.*, VI, p. 36; Buschor, *Greek Vase Painting*, pl. XLIII, fig. 81) show Cerberus with three heads.

⁶² Sophocles, *Trach.*, 1098; Euripides, *Herc. Fur.*, 611, 1277 (*τρικάρανος*). Cf. also Lucian, *Philop.*, 42, 51; Seneca, *Herc. Fur.*, 784 ff.; Apollodorus, II, 5, 12, 1.

⁶³ Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, I, fig. 690.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, fig. 415.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, fig. 721.

⁶⁶ Walters, *loc. cit.* (6 vases).

⁶⁷ On the traditions of Cerberus cf. Highbarger, *The Gates of Dreams*, pp. 86-89.

⁶⁸ Cf. Mylonas, *A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, pp. 198-199.

though influenced by Minoan and Oriental elements, the two-headed monster, as we have him on our ring and on earlier or contemporary black-figured vases, was evolved in Greece itself. In any case Cerberus came into Greek mythology as an Indo-European and not an Oriental.

15. Scaraboid of black steatite, mounted in a small ancient gold hoop.⁶⁹ Length 0.017 m. Width 0.012 m. Thickness 0.006 m. *Ca.* 450 B.C. From the island of Melos.

The gem is of unusual shape and with a transverse instead of longitudinal piercing. The design is a bull moving to left and lowering his head. It can be compared with the bull on coins of Thurii dating about 430 B.C.,⁷⁰ but it is more spirited. A slightly later scaraboid of sapphirine chalcedony (*ca.* 400 B.C.) with a similar plunging bull has come to the Boston Museum⁷¹ from the Lewes Collection.

16. Scaraboid of burnt onyx with its original gold hoop.⁷² Length 0.014 m. Width 0.011 m. Thickness 0.005 m. Discovered in a grave near Olynthus and sent without my knowledge to Paris but not found in our excavations. Attic importation, *ca.* 430 B.C.

Fifth-century Attic gems are rare, as Middleton says.⁷³ So our Nos. 15-17 are lovely treasures of the best Greek art. This is perhaps the most delicate and refined piece in my whole collection, though the most beautiful would probably be No. 21. It has been engraved with a diamond point,⁷⁴ which is rarely found used before Hellenistic times. Our gem is similar to that published by Beazley, *The Lewes House Collection of Ancient Gems*, pl. 4, no. 76, also a scaraboid from northern Greece (Thessaly). It is a black agate streaked with gray, showing a bull-calf to right, with lowered head. It came from the Tyszkiewicz collection (Sale Catalogue No. 269) and is now in the Museum of Fine Arts at Boston.⁷⁵ Somewhat similar calves, but of rougher workmanship and in different attitudes, occur in chalcedony scaraboids in Lecce, at Bowdoin College,⁷⁶ and in Berlin.⁷⁷ The design is as well rendered as the sculptured bronze walking cow at Delphi⁷⁸ (*ca.* 500 B.C.) or that in Paris, con-

⁶⁹ On method of mounting cf. Middleton, *op. cit.*, p. 2; on such small hoops, *ibid.*, p. 32.

⁷⁰ See Plate 41, 15 *b*, where a silver didrachm of Thurii of the fifth century B.C. is illustrated.

⁷¹ Beazley, *Lewes House Collection*, no. 79 = Richter, *Animals in Greek Sculpture*, pl. XXXII, 97, now in Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (*Gallery Book, Engraved Gems*, p. 19, no. 7. Cf. also p. 18, no. 1 *Lewes Coll.* 78, both of late fifth cent.).

⁷² Cf. Middleton, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

⁷³ *Op. cit.*, p. 27.

⁷⁴ Cf. Middleton, *op. cit.*, p. 111. Miss Richter, *op. cit.*, p. LI, says that the diamond point "was apparently used hardly at all in the earlier Greek period but on Hellenistic and Roman gems." Cf. Pliny, *N.H.*, XXXVII, 76, *ferro includuntur*.

⁷⁵ Cf. Richter, *Animals in Greek Sculpture*, pl. XXXIII, 99.

⁷⁶ Cf. Beazley, *op. cit.*, pl. B 5.

⁷⁷ Furtwängler, *op. cit.*, pls. VIII, 47 (a steer); XI, 16.

⁷⁸ Perdrizet, *Fouilles de Delphes*, V, 1908, pl. XVI, p. 53.

temporary with our gem,⁷⁹ or marble cows in Cincinnati and elsewhere. Possibly this is the influence of Myron's famous realistic bronze heifer⁸⁰ which stood on the Athenian acropolis and to which nearly two scores of epigrams refer.

17. Gold ring. Height 0.02 m. Width 0.022 m. Bezel 0.017 m. by 0.01 m. Second half of fifth century B.C. From Attica.

This beautiful gold ring was obtained in Berlin from the Schiller collection. Dr. Zahn⁸¹ told me that he considered it the oldest representation on gems of Cybele in a chariot drawn by two lions. It is probably the oldest representation of Cybele in any form of art after that on the Siphnian treasury.⁸² One is reminded of the nearly contemporary lid of a silver toilet box found at Olynthus on which Cybele is also driving a chariot drawn by lions. Representations, especially in terracotta, of Cybele (not in a chariot) are frequent at Olynthus in classical times. I have discussed them with parallels in the various volumes on Olynthus.⁸³ In Hellenistic and Roman times Cybele is frequently represented in her chariot on bronzes, sculptures, and vases but rarely so on gems. Generally she is seated on a throne or riding on a lion.⁸⁴

18. Large intaglio of milky chalcedony⁸⁵ with tapering sides and flat back. Length 0.027 m. Width 0.02 m. Thickness 0.007 m. 400-375 B.C. From the island of Salamis.

This is a remarkable and important gem of a beautiful semi-translucent color. The engraving was done with a diamond point⁸⁶ and is extremely fine. The design is a facing head of the moon goddess Selene (who also appears in the east pediment of the Parthenon). Her hair is in good fourth-century style with many S-shaped ringlets as on Chalcidic coins.⁸⁷ Above her head are four rays, below three. The rays are similar to those round the head of Helios on coins of Rhodes (see the tetradrachm of Rhodes illustrated in Plate 41, 18 b).

CLASSICAL GEMS AND RINGS (Plate 42)

19. A gray-green onyx.⁸⁸ Length 0.021 m. Width 0.017 m. Thickness 0.004 m. Ca. 350 B.C. From Sicyon.

⁷⁹ Cf. Richter, *Sculptors and Sculptures of the Greeks*, p. 209.

⁸⁰ Babelon-Blanchet, *Catalogue des bronzes de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, no. 1157; Richter, *Animals in Greek Sculpture*, pl. XXXII, 98.

⁸¹ Cf. Zahn, *Sammlung Baurat Schiller*, Berlin, pp. 13, 25, no. 2, pl. 51.

⁸² *Fouilles de Delphes*, IV, pls. XIII-XIV.

⁸³ Cf. especially *Olynthus*, IV, pp. 21, 48, 57-58, 63, 65, 92 ff.; X, pp. 160-162.

⁸⁴ For example cf. Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, nos. 366, 367. On the whole subject cf. Rapp in Roscher, *Lexikon*, s. v. Kybele.

⁸⁵ For chalcedony cf. Middleton, *op. cit.*, p. 144; Richter, *op. cit.*, p. lvi.

⁸⁶ Cf. Middleton, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

⁸⁷ Cf. for examples, *Olynthus*, IX, pl. XVIII.

⁸⁸ On onyx cf. Middleton, *op. cit.*, p. 146; Richter, *op. cit.*, p. lvii.

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The design is the chimaera with lion's head, goat's head in the middle, and a serpent's tail. On coins, vases, sculptures, terracotta reliefs, and mosaics the Corinthian story of Bellerophon slaying the chimaera is frequent.⁸⁹ I illustrate (Plate 42, 19 *b*) a silver didrachm of Sicyon which is contemporary in date with the gem. The chimaera was the coat-of-arms of Sicyon. Perhaps some official of the city wore a ring from which this stone comes. In any case it is a unique very life-like rendering of the chimaera, a rare subject on fourth-century gems, though the chimaera appears on earlier gems.⁹⁰

20. A bronze finger-ring. Greatest diameter 0.023 m. Height 0.023 m. Bezel 0.021 m. by 0.013 m. Thickness 0.003 m. *Ca.* 330 B.C. From Boeotia.

This is a nice bronze ring with a pretty greenish-black patina. Bronze rings were much used in sections of Greece less wealthy than Athens. We found some three score of them at Olynthus.⁹¹ But they are rare in Boeotia and so this specimen which was used as a signet-ring,⁹² is interesting not only for the subject but also for the unpublished inscription. On the bezel is a girl in long musician's costume, a long-sleeved chiton, holding a wreath in her left hand, and the double flute in her right. Her general pose resembles that of the Victory on contemporary gold staters of Alexander the Great (see Plate 42, 20 *b*).

The inscription says ΑΡΧΕΛΑΙΣΧΑΙΡΕΚΑΙΚΑΛΛΙΑΣΟΝΣΩΜΑ. Ἄρχελαΐς, χαίρε, καὶ καλλίασον<σὸν>σ(ῶ)μα. The reading is clear but the interpretation uncertain. Archelais is a foreign name, the feminine of the Macedonian Archelaus and the name of a place in Palestine⁹³ as well as in Cappadocia.⁹⁴ So Archelais is a slave or flute-girl or hetaera and the inscription may be an insulting or obscene remark. One would like to read κάλλιστον σῶμα "Greetings, Archelais and O most beautiful body." καλλιᾶζω is not found as a verb in the sense of beautify, and even καλλιζω is not in the dictionaries. Moreover we should expect the present and not the aorist imperative, but in poor Boeotian Greek, where we have ο for ω in σῶμα, perhaps there was a verb καλλιᾶζω and we should translate, "Archelais, greetings; and beautify thy body," or possibly καλλία σὸν σῶμα (beautify thy body). There is a late word of Roman times, καλλιᾶζω, used in Cagnat, *Inscriptiones ad res Romanes pertinentes*, IV, 153,

⁸⁹ Cf. the Olynthus mosaic and my remarks in *Olynthus*, V, pp. 5-6; also the still unpublished Johns Hopkins dissertation of Robert Caldwell.

⁹⁰ For example, Beazley, *Lewes Coll.*, pl. A 9; Osborne, *op. cit.*, pl. III, 14; Furtwängler, *op. cit.*, pl. V, 16, 18, 39 a; cf. also for the chimaera on gems and rings, *ibid.*, pls. XXXI, 7 & XLVI, 14; Marshall, *Finger Rings*, pl. XXVI, 1009; Lippold, *Gemmen und Kameen des Altertums und der Neuzeit*, pl. LXXXII, 3; Imhoof-Blumer and Keller, *op. cit.*, pl. XXV, 39, 40; Reinach, *Pierres Gravées*, pl. LVI, 34, 1; LXXII, 94, 1.

⁹¹ *Olynthus*, X, pp. 132-158.

⁹² Cf. Middleton, *op. cit.*, pp. 50 ff.

⁹³ Ptolemaeus, V, 16, 7; Josephus, XVII, 13, 1; XVIII, 2, 2.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, V, 6, 14.

157 (from Cyzicus), where the idea is to become a member of some board, called *κάλλιον*. In Athens too there seems to have been a court or sacred place or temple called *κάλλιον*.⁹⁵ But *καλλιᾶζω* or *καλλιᾶώ* (= beautify) is possible. Perhaps the present imperative, *καλλία σὸν σ(ῶ)μα*, is more dramatic and insulting. Cf. *A.J.P.*, LIX, pp. 41 f.

21. Gold finger-ring set with a magnificent ruby-like anthrax or garnet. Total height 0.021 m. Width 0.022 m. Stone 0.016 m. by 0.012 m. *Ca.* 300 B.C. From the island of Leucas.

This is for color perhaps the most magnificent example of an anthrax yet discovered. Engraved on it is an exquisite design of Hermes cut with a diamond point. The god stands with one foot on a round stone drum. He wears a cloak fastened round his neck and wrapped round his left forearm. He wears winged sandals and holds a caduceus in his right hand. The design is a copy of a statue⁹⁶ of the School of Lysippus and closely resembles the Lansdowne statue, now in Copenhagen and here reproduced (Plate 42, 21 *b*).

22. Sapphirine chalcedony. Length 0.015 m. Width 0.011 m. Thickness 0.004 m. *Ca.* 300 B.C. Found near Athens.

This transparent stone of great beauty has that much desired "exquisitely soft, milky lustre" referred to by Middleton.⁹⁷ It is most delicately engraved with a diamond point. The design is a facing head of the bearded Zeus Ammon with ram's horns. It is unusual to have on gems a full front view of Zeus Ammon, though Serapis appears thus.⁹⁸ Generally Zeus Ammon appears on gems in profile or three-quarters front.⁹⁹ The face is mild and not animal-like as in many representations of Zeus Ammon. The outlines of the eyebrows and lids are sharply marked. The horns spring from above the temples and grow downwards. They are curled around the ears. The thick locks of hair look as if plaited and hang down the sides of the face. The type goes back to the second half of the fifth century and reminds one of the many sculptured heads of Zeus Ammon such as that in Berlin, Stockholm, and the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.¹⁰⁰ A similar but more realistic type with flying hair is used on Greek coins of the Cyrenaica from the sixth century B.C. on.¹⁰¹ See our Plate 42, 22 *b*.

⁹⁵ Cf. *C.I.G.*, II, p. 921; *Ath. Mitt.*, XXVI, 1901, p. 125.

⁹⁶ Middleton, *op. cit.*, p. 42, points out that gems with representations of Greek sculpture are of exceptional value and interest. On p. 99 he says that on fine Greek gems (copying statues) "the design is exactly suited to the very stone it is cut upon, seldom looking like a reduced copy of some larger work and still less like a reproduction of a statue."

⁹⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 97.

⁹⁸ Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, no. 77.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, nos. 125-129; Furtwängler, *Die Antiken Gemmen*, pl. XLI, 3; *Berl. Kat.*, nos. 2637 ff.

¹⁰⁰ Caskey, *Catalogue of the Greek and Roman Sculptures*, pp. 136-138, no. 66; Arndt in text to *Einzelaufnahmen*, 398; Furtwängler, *Über Statuenkopien*, I, p. 40; *Beschreibung der Glyptothek*, no. 225.

¹⁰¹ Head, *Historia Numorum*, pp. 866 ff.

HELLENISTIC AND GRAECO-ROMAN GEMS, EARRINGS, AND RINGS (Plates 43-44)

23. A cameo in sard.¹⁰² Diameter 0.009 m. Thickness 0.005 m. *Ca.* 250 B.C. From Thessaly.

This cameo has the facing head of a Gorgon, resembling the "man in the moon." Streaks of white in the stone have been left so as to emphasize brows, nose, and mouth. The earlier type, seen even on fourth-century silver coins of Neapolis in Macedonia (see Plate 43, 23 *a*), has the open mouth and lolling tongue. By the third century this type, as in our gem, had been generally abandoned.

24. A cameo in onyx. Height 0.028 m. Width 0.023 m. Thickness 0.005 m. From the island of Delos.

This is a unique gem of layered onyx.¹⁰³ On the transparent smoky white background layer is a head in profile in chestnut brown, and the uppermost layer, representing the light locks of hair and cheek, is a rich golden ivory color.

Portraits are frequent on Hellenistic coins and do occur on gems after the time of Alexander, who employed Pyrgoteles to engrave his portrait on gems, using emerald for the purpose.¹⁰⁴ Demetrius Poliorcetes, Eumenes I, Mithradates and others occur.¹⁰⁵ Heads of Socrates occur, and portrait heads of Greek philosophers were worn by Romans in their rings. Cicero¹⁰⁶ makes fun of the Epicureans who wear a signet with the head of their leader on it. If Socrates and Epicurus occur on gems, it is tempting to identify the head on our gem as Plato. It can hardly be a tragedian such as Sophocles (see Poulsen, *op. cit.* in note 107, p. 30, 2) or Euripides but must be a philosopher. The face resembles somewhat the famous Vatican bust¹⁰⁷ which may be a copy of a portrait by Silanion of the fourth century. The head is surely not that of a god, since he wears the plain head-band of a mortal. The peculiar type with flowing locks and curly beard may have originated on coins of Arcadia of about 370 B.C. and was transferred from Zeus to portraits of mortals (see Plate 43, 24 *a*). There probably were many types of Plato¹⁰⁸ and this is somewhat different or even a fanciful creation. I find difficulty in getting parallels for the white side locks, but

¹⁰² For cameo gems, cf. Middleton, *op. cit.*, pp. 59 ff.; for sard, *ibid.*, p. 143; Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, pp. lv-lvi.

¹⁰³ For such cf. Middleton, *op. cit.*, pp. 59 ff.; for portrait heads on gems, *ibid.*, pp. 40-42; Richter, *op. cit.*, pp. xxii-xxiii.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Pliny, *N.H.*, XXXVII, 8.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Middleton, *loc. cit.*

¹⁰⁶ *De Finibus*, V, 1, 3; Richter, *op. cit.*, p. xxiii.

¹⁰⁷ On portraits of Plato cf. Poulsen, *Greek and Roman Portraits in English Country Houses*, pp. 32-33, where Poulsen regards the Holkham head as a copy from an original by Silanion; a second type is derived from a contemporary sepulchral portrait. Cf. also Delbrück, *Antike Porträts*, pl. 15; Hekler, *Greek and Roman Portraits*, pls. 22-23; Boehring, *Platon, Bildnisse und Nachweise* (1935).

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Wilamowitz, *Platon*, I, p. 702, where he begs archaeologists to look for the type of Plato known in the Renaissance.

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they may be due to the imagination of the gem engraver. They do not occur in the usual busts of Aristotle¹⁰⁹ but one is reminded of the bronze bust of Aristotle and the Ashmolensis copy of Cyriacus' drawing of a Samothracian Bust, where such locks fall from the head-band. Professor Lehmann has rediscovered on Samothrace the bust of the blind seer Teiresias (460 B.C.) which was later interpreted as Aristotle and gave the type for portraits of Leonardo.¹¹⁰ Our gem then seems to represent a Greek philosopher, Plato, or Aristotle, or another. With present evidence I am unable to make a final identification.

25. A cameo in onyx. Height 0.017 m. Width 0.013 m. Thickness 0.004 m. *Ca.* 250 B.C. From Alexandria in Egypt.

This is another example of layered onyx. The background is an opaque milky-white and the head of the negress a deep purple-brown. Some of the finest early cameos of Hellenistic times were made in Alexandria and include portraits of the Ptolemies like the famous cameo in Vienna.¹¹¹ Negroes¹¹² occur on gems, but it is rare to have a negress,¹¹³ and one so beautifully and realistically carved. Another interesting example of Greek work from Alexandria is an agate in my collection carved to represent three conjoined heads, one being that of a negress in black.¹¹⁴

26. An iron finger-ring.¹¹⁵ Height 0.024 m. Width at top 0.025 m. 250-200 B.C. From a tomb at Pagasae in Thessaly.

The portrait on the bezel closely resembles that of Queen Berenice of Egypt, or Cleopatra, or some other Ptolemaic ruler,¹¹⁶ but it can hardly be Berenice herself. It probably is some important personage of Thessaly of the third century B.C. A similar melon-like coiffure is found on gems¹¹⁷ and coins of that century such as the gold coin of King Pyrrhus minted in Sicily *ca.* 270 B.C., illustrated in Plate 43, 26 *b.*

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Studniczka, *Das Bildnis des Aristoteles* (1908), pls. I-III (but see pl. I, 4, Sophocles).

¹¹⁰ Lehmann-Hartleben, *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, pp. 115-134, especially pl. VII.

¹¹¹ Delbrueck, *Antike Porträts*, pl. 58, 15.

¹¹² Cf. for example Furtwängler, *Die Antiken Gemmen*, pl. VIII, 67; XV, 83.

¹¹³ Cf. Furtwängler, *op. cit.*, pl. XII, 43 (reference wrong in index); same as Beazley, *The Lewes House Collection of Gems*, pl. 3, 52 (p. 49 the reference to Furtwängler, pl. 12, 23, is wrong). This is now in the Warren Collection of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, a sard scarab with the fine head of a negress from the fifth century B.C., cf. *Gallery Book, Engraved Gems*, p. 17. In general on negroes, cf. Mrs. Beardsley, *The Negro in Greek and Roman Civilization* (Baltimore, 1929); for gems pp. 74-75.

¹¹⁴ Cf. Beardsley, *op. cit.*, p. 109, fig. 21. Cf. also Smith, *Engraved Gems, British Museum*, p. 181, no. 1663.

¹¹⁵ Middleton, *op. cit.*, p. 51, says, "Iron rings have usually perished from oxydization," but cf. *Olynthus*, X, pp. 132-158.

¹¹⁶ Cf. Seltman, *Greek Coins*, pl. LVIII, 8.

¹¹⁷ Delbrueck, *Griechische Porträts*, pl. 58, 10. For the rear hair cf. Osborne, *Engraved Gems*, pl. XX, 11.

27 and 28. A beautiful pair of gold earrings. Length of dove 0.017 m. Width 0.01 m. Height 0.038 m. End of fourth or third century B.C. From Macedonia.

Earrings of bronze, silver, and gold were known from the earliest times in Greece, and I have discussed sixty-seven earrings found at Olynthus (13 pairs), eighteen varieties in seven groups, with parallels and citation of much literature in *Olynthus*, X, pp. 79-93. Earrings were called ἐνώτια, ἐνωιδίω or ἐνώδια by Aeschylus, the treasure-lists, and others.¹¹⁸ The early earrings were of the form of a disc, leech, or simple pendant of acorns or peppers, or of the pyramid shape. On the Athena Parthenos, as shown by the Aspasio gem (now in Rome) and the Kul Oba medallions, occurs the rosette disc with dangling inverted pyramid.¹¹⁹ In the fourth century the pendant takes the form of a flying Victory¹²⁰ and even of a winged Victory in a chariot driving a pair of spirited horses.¹²¹ The rare Robinson pair of gold earrings consist of a circle decorated around the inner edge with filigree, with a convex garnet in the center. Above was a smaller hollow circle from which the stone is lost, and above that what looks like the double crown of Egypt. To the back is soldered a gold hook with a good clasp. From a loop is suspended the hollow figure of a dove with feet indicated in beaded wire, as are also the feathers of the wings, in which a pretty ruby is set. The dove rests not, as usually in this type, on a square base but on a Corinthian capital with rounded beaded base. The work is extremely delicate. It is so fine that its beauty is enhanced through a magnifying glass. It is diminutive sculpture of great beauty despite disregard of naturalism and shows what exquisite and magnificent jewelry the Greeks had after Alexander's return from the East and luxury in jewelry increased. This pair of earrings from Macedonia is the best so far discovered, though I have noticed some unpublished examples in museums and the general type of a dove on a square base is well known.¹²²

29. Iron finger-ring. Height 0.025 m. Length of bezel 0.02 m., width 0.014 m. *Ca.* 200 to 150 B.C. From a tomb at Pagasae.

¹¹⁸ Cf. Aeschylus, frag. 102; *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 310, no. 28, line 3; XIII, 1944, p. 195; *I.G.*, I², 288, line 229; *I.G.*, II², 1388, line 17; *Addenda*, 1424 a, line 52; 1428, line 27.

¹¹⁹ Cf. Dinsmoor, *A.J.A.*, XXXVIII, 1934, p. 104, fig. 4; Robinson, *Olynthus*, IV, no. 410.

¹²⁰ Cf. Marshall, *Catalogue of the Jewellery, Greek, Etruscan and Roman in the British Museum*, pl. XXXII, 1846-1852.

¹²¹ Fowler-Wheeler, *Handbook of Greek Archaeology*, p. 348, fig. 263 (Boston). There it is said to have the style of Attic sculpture of the latter part of the fifth century.

¹²² Cf. Marshall, *op. cit.*, nos. 1917-1928, pl. XXXIII. From Egypt, Collection Goluchow, pl. VIII, 43; from Ithaca, *Antike Denkmäler*, I, pl. XII, 13; from Eretria in Athens National Museum, showcase 198, nos. 3456, 3871, 10332, not published; in Louvre, Fontenay, *Les Bijoux*, pp. 108-109; *Arch. Anz.*, IX, 1894, p. 35, no. 46 (Dresden); Hadaczek, *Der Ohrschmuck der Griechen und Etrusker*, p. 50, fig. 91; Alexander, *Metropolitan Museum, Jewelry*, no. 73 (fourth cent.); Berlin, Antiquarium, 30219, 398, 399; Zahn, *Ausstellung von Schmuckarbeiten*, no. 39 a, b (*Führer*, nos. 40-41); Paris, C. d. M., Bassermann-Jordan, *Der Schmuck*, fig. 30; Pollak, *Die Goldsachen der Sammlung Nelidon*, pl. 10, 175; Segall, *Museum Benaki*, no. 55; Bloesch, *Antike Kunst in der Schweiz*, 1943, pp. 84, 85, 180, 181, no. 22, pl. 46; a fine pair in the Edward Gans Collection, New York.

On the bezel are two winged cupids wrestling. The scene is similar to that on a gold ring in the British Museum,¹²³ but that is late Roman and ours is Hellenistic.

30. Iron finger-ring. Height 0.024 m. Length of bezel 0.02 m., width 0.013 m. *Ca.* 200 to 150 B.C. From same tomb as No. 29.

The design represents Aphrodite standing with both arms raised and probably lifting her chiton over head and disrobing. A little cupid is watching her in front. Possibly Aphrodite is fastening or drying her hair as in the well-known type of Aphrodite Anadyomene, which is found in so many statues and gems.¹²⁴

31. A nicolo. Length 0.011 m. Width 0.008 m. Thickness 0.002 m. *Ca.* 100 B.C. From Athens.

This is an interesting gem because of the material and because of the subject. It is of nicolo, a variety of onyx, much used under the Roman Empire, the word being a corruption of the Italian diminutive *onycolo*. But our example is of Republican times, from the first century B.C. The stone has a whitish-blue layer superimposed on top of a blackish-brown background of opaque jasper or sard. It is probably the Egyptian gem, called Aegyptilla by Pliny,¹²⁵ who says Aegyptillam . . . intellegit . . . volgus nigra radice, caerulea facie.

The design is cut through the light layer into the dark background and represents a head of Herakles in lion-scalp cap. When the face of Herakles is turned downwards, the cap proves to be the face of the frightened King Eurystheus, his hair on end. The neck-piece is the head of the Erymanthian boar which Herakles brought back to terrify the king.

This is the type known as a *gryllus*, which signifies a composite device ingeniously made by joining masks and heads of various human beings or of animals.¹²⁶ Probably these fantastic devices were more than fancies and meant to help in averting the evil eye. They are talismanic and prophylactic.¹²⁷ There is an early example on an electrum coin of Lesbos, here illustrated (Plate 44, 31 *b*, right half), having a calf's head to left with the neck truncation to represent some other animal. I believe that I found at Olynthus the earliest known such gryllus gem. It is from the fifth century and is a bronze finger-ring with a combination of heads of Silenus (comedy), Dionysus (tragedy), and a lion.¹²⁸

¹²³ Cf. Marshall, *Catalogue of the Finger Rings*, pl. XV, 515. For gems cf. Lippold, *Gemmen und Kameen des Altertums und der Neuzeit*, pl. XXVI, 2, 3.

¹²⁴ Cf. Bernoulli, *Aphrodite*, pp. 284 ff.; Furtwängler, *Berl. Kat.*, no. 2387; Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, p. 156, no. 316, pl. 71.

¹²⁵ *N.H.*, XXXVII, 148; Middleton, *op. cit.*, pp. 147-148; Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, pp. lvii-lviii (wrongly spelled Aegyptella), 88, 122-123, 175, 188, 202-203.

¹²⁶ Cf. Middleton, *op. cit.*, p. 55; Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, pp. 91, 142-147.

¹²⁷ Cf. Plutarch, *Quaestiones Convivales*, V, 6, 681 F ff.

¹²⁸ Cf. *Olynthus*, X, pp. 134-135 (pl. XXVI, 446), and parallels and literature cited there.

32. An intaglio sard. Height 0.015 m. Width 0.013 m. Thickness 0.002 m. First century B.C. From Athens.

This is a brilliant transparent red-orange stone. The design is a lively satyr beating time with his foot and lifting up in his hands a pretty little winged cupid to make him dance.¹²⁹

33. A red sard gem. Length 0.013 m. Width or height 0.01 m. Thickness 0.02 m. First century B.C. From Athens.

This gem has a good red color, but its main importance is in the inscription showing that it was a gift from one man to another.

ΚΡΑΘΙCΝΕΙΚΑCΙΤΤΤΩΙΧΑΙΡΕΙΝ
Κρᾶθις Νεικασίππῳ χαίρειν.

These were previously unknown names in Athenian prosopography and do not occur in Kirchner, *Prosopographia Attica*. Crathis is the name of a river near Sybaris in South Italy but a river in Achaea also has that name.¹³⁰ It is the name of a Sybarite in Aelian, *De Natura Animalium*, VI, 42, but if Themistocles could name one of his daughters Sybaris, there is no reason why a later Athenian should not have the name of Crathis. It is interesting that Nicasippus was also the name of the transmitter of Pindar's odes to Sicily.¹³¹

34. A nicolo. Length 0.01 m. Width 0.008 m. Thickness 0.003 m. Second century A.D. From the Peloponnesus.

This is a beautiful little gem which at first I dated in the first century B.C., but after careful study I decided that the cutting as well as the stone was probably as late as the beginning of the second century A.D. The design is a pretty parrot holding in its beak a pair of cherries. There are few representations of parrots in ancient art. An interesting parrot on a fifth-century Graeco-Persian gem is pictured in Miss Richter, *Animals in Greek Sculpture*,¹³² who also illustrates¹³³ a bronze Hellenistic statuette of a parrot.

35. Gnostic gem-amulet of black haematite. Length 0.033 m. Width 0.023 m. Thickness 0.004 m. Early third century A.D. From Athens.

This is one of the best specimens of this type of amulet. The type is a common one. Almost all collections have one or more examples. Several are in the British

¹²⁹ Cf. the gem in similar style showing a satyr playing with a satyr-child illustrated by Lippold, *Gemmen und Kameen des Altertums und der Neuzeit*, pl. XV, 3.

¹³⁰ For references cf. Pape, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*, s. v.

¹³¹ Pinder, *Isthm.*, II, 68.

¹³² Pl. LXII, fig. 210; cf. also Walters, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems and Cameos in the British Museum*, nos. 2478-2482.

¹³³ Pl. LXII, fig. 211.

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Museum. The class of amulets to which my Rider haematite belongs will be discussed and fully illustrated in Professor Campbell Bonner's coming book *Studies in Magical Amulets*. Professor Bonner calls my attention to the fact that many of these amulets originated in Syria, where the Pennsylvania archaeologists found at Beisan a bronze amulet with a similar Rider on the obverse in a stratum which cannot be dated later than 325 A.D. These bronze amulets are certainly later by a century than the better haematites, which belong to Roman rather than Byzantine times. My gem may possibly be Christian because Solomon seems sometimes to have served as a type of symbol of Christ. The point was made by Perdrizet in his *Negotium Perambulans*, and Professor Bonner will deal with it in his chapter on Palestinian and Syrian amulets.

The material is identical with the ancient *αίματίτης*, which was supposed to have magical properties.

The normal type is that of a rider-saint,¹³⁴ with nimbus round his head, galloping to the right, wearing a chlamys clasped on his right shoulder, kilt, boots, and perhaps trousers. The spear is usually held in the rider's hand at the level of the neck. The long-haired prostrate figure pierced or about to be pierced (as in our example) is female, her hands raised in supplication. She is the nameless symbol of evil or perhaps disease. There is a star in front of the horseman's face, and the inscription above is *COΛOMΩN*, *Σολομών*, as on our gem and many others. The snake with tail in mouth used to enclose the design is common in other specimens.

The inscription on the reverse (see Plate 44, 35 a) is *CFPA | ΓICΘ | EOY | ☩☩☩ σφραγίς θεού*. It is seldom absent from specimens of this type, although once in a while *εἰς θεός* can be substituted.¹³⁵ The sign below the inscription, however, is rare on Solomon types, but it is often found on the so-called Chnoubis (or Chnoumis) or Agathodaemon type. It is characterized by a serpent with a lion's head and ray around the head. It often appears with long reversed curves instead of the three strokes forming a kind of three-barred sigma. On the Robinson gem occurs the latter. I have no satisfactory explanation to offer for its meaning.

Examples of this design are described and illustrated in many books.¹³⁶

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¹³⁴ On the Thracian rider and the rider-cult (the origin of St. George and the dragon), cf. my remarks in *Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.*, LXIX, 1938, pp. 75-76, pl. XXIII, 34, where a boar, not a snake, symbolizes the evil power. For a snake on such a relief at Amphilopolis, cf. *Anth. Pal.*, IX, 336.

¹³⁵ Cf. Erich Peterson, *Εἰς Θεός*, pp. 91 ff.

¹³⁶ Cf. for example, Furtwängler, *Die Antiken Gemmen*, pl. LXVII; *British Museum, Guide to the Third and Fourth Egyptian Rooms*, 1904, p. 242, no. 87; De Ridder, *Collection Leclercq*, Vol. VII, *Pierres Gravées*, nos. 3491, 3493; King, *The Gnostics and their Remains*, pl. 7, no. 7.

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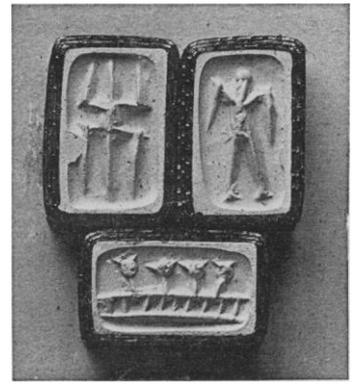
1



1a



2



2a



3

3a



4



4a



5



5a



6



6a



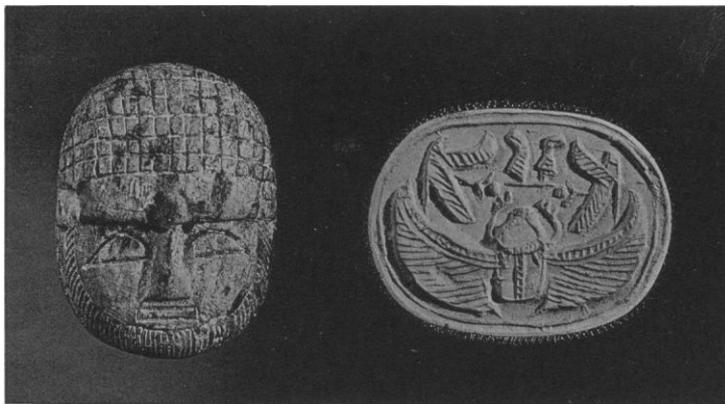
5b

Neolithic and Bronze-Age Seals and Gems. *Ca.* 4000 B. C. to 1300 B. C.

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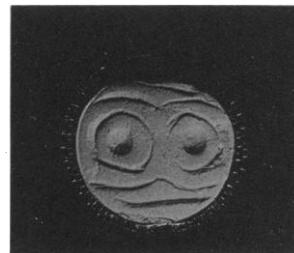
PLATE 40



7



8



8a



9

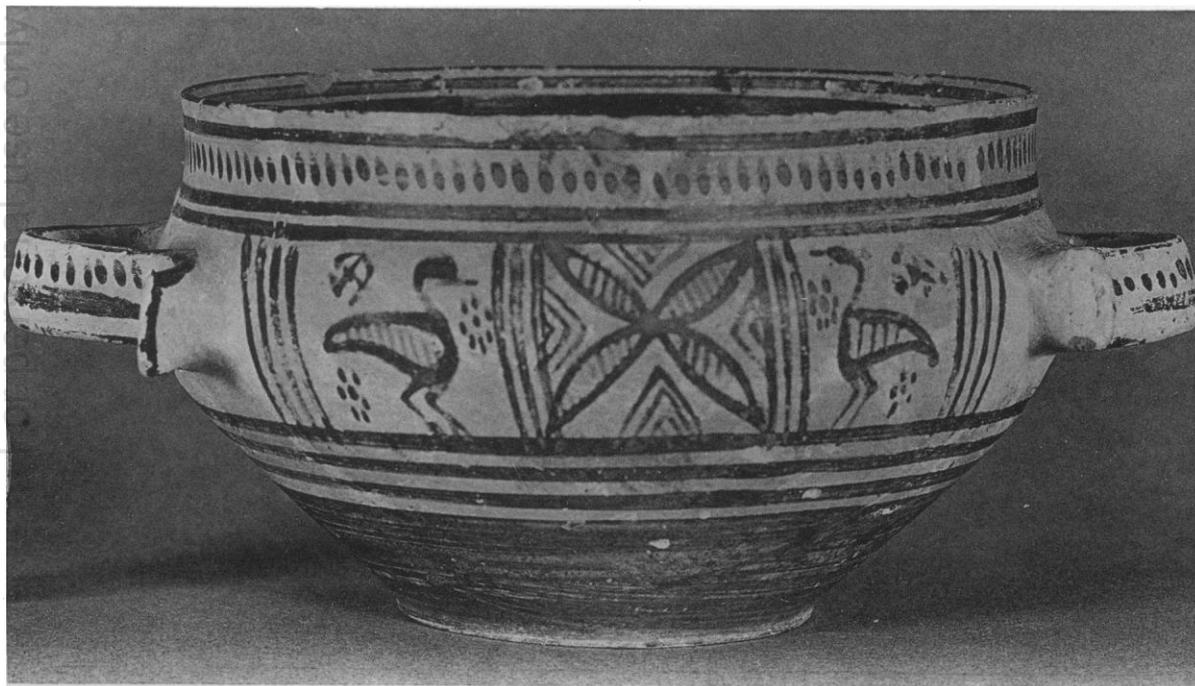


10



11

7a



Geometric Seals and Rings. No. 7a, Geometric Bowl in Which No. 7 Was Found

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12



12a



12b



13



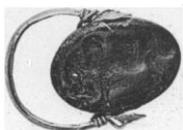
13a



14



14a



15



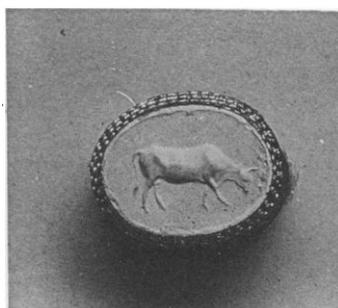
15a



15b



16



16a



17



18



18a



18b

Classical Gems and Rings. *Ca.* 550 to 375 B.C.

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19



19a



19b



20



20a



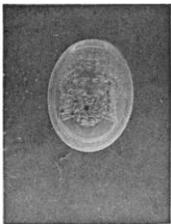
20b



21



21a



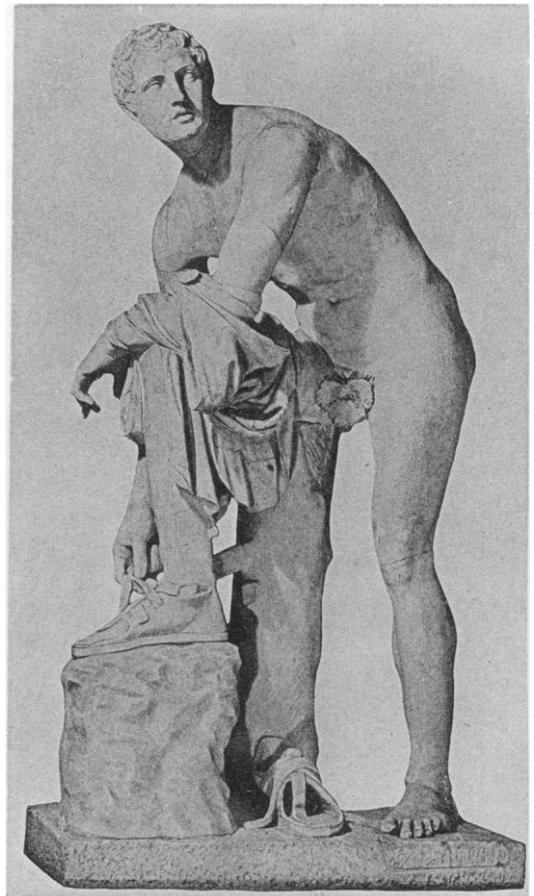
22



22a



22b



21b

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Classical Gems and Rings. *Ca.* 375 to 300 B.C.

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23



23a



24



24a



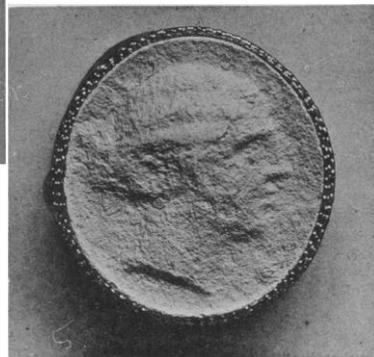
25



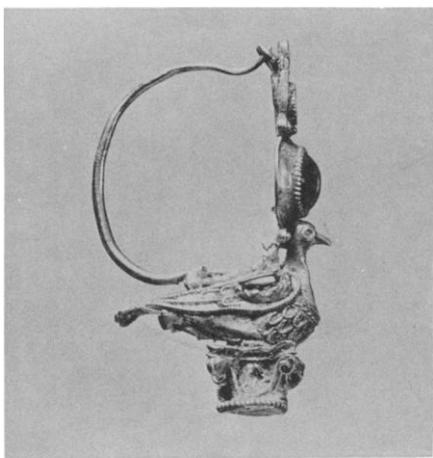
26



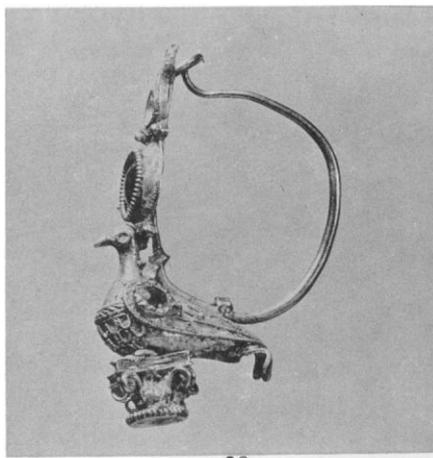
26b



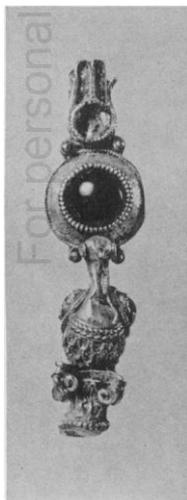
26a



27



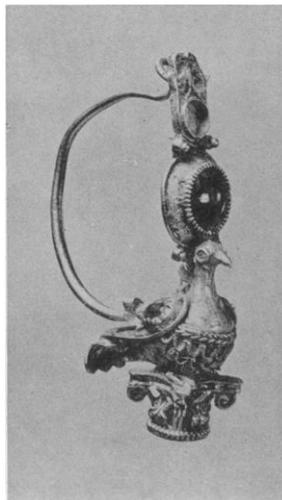
28



27a



27b



28a



28b

Hellenistic and Graeco-Roman Gems, Earrings, and Rings. *Ca.* 250 B.C. to 200 A.D.

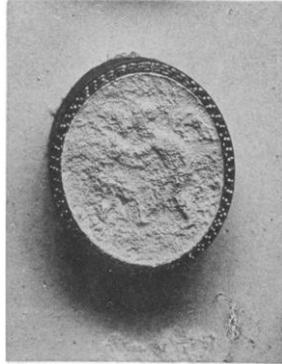
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PLATE 44



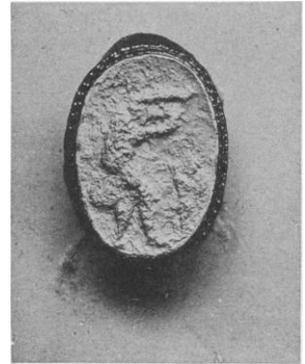
29



29a



30



30a



31



31a



31b



32



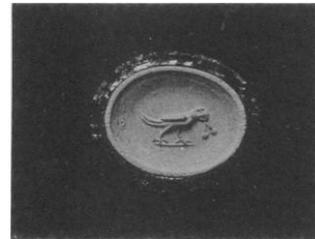
32a



33



34



34a



35



35a

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Hellenistic and Graeco-Roman Gems and Rings. *Ca.* 250 B.C. to 200 A.D.

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The Athenian Currency Decree and the Coinages of the Allies

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Reviewed work(s):

Source: *Hesperia Supplements*, Vol. 8, Commemorative Studies in Honor of Theodore Leslie Shear (1949), pp. 324-340

Published by: [The American School of Classical Studies at Athens](#)

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THE ATHENIAN CURRENCY DECREE AND THE COINAGES OF THE ALLIES

I

THE discovery of a further portion of the decree by which Athens sought in the fifth century to regulate the currency circulating within her empire, and the evidence thus provided for fixing its date in the early forties, calls for a fresh examination of its problems. What was its scope and how far did it achieve its objects? It is an inquiry which we may think would have had a special interest for the distinguished archaeologist to whose memory this volume is dedicated. The new fragment, cut in Attic, not Ionic, writing, was unearthed in Cos and published by Segré, *Clara Rhodos*, IX, 1938, pp. 151 ff. He gives a detailed commentary with full references to previous literature, which there is therefore no need to repeat, and a text incorporating the earlier fragments from Smyrna, Siphnos, and Aphytis with much new restoration.¹ As he points out (pp. 167 ff.), the absence of Caria in the enumeration of the districts (para. 11 = p. 217, lines 30-33) implies a date either before 446 or after 438; and the style of the Attic lettering definitely calls for the earlier period. He shows some reason for regarding 449 as the most probable year. The purpose of the decree is twofold, as appears succinctly enough in the addition to the oath of the Bouleutai (para. 15 = p. 217, lines 42-48). It was to prevent: (i) the striking of *silver* coins in the cities; (ii) the use of currency, weights, and measures other than Athenian. Both objects would require not only immediate but also subsequent and more or less continuous action; and it may be doubted, in view of the sequel, whether the far-reaching implications of this policy, and especially of its drastic second clause, were fully grasped at the time of its promotion. First it should be noted that only silver coinage is affected. While Cyzicene staters of electrum figure in the totals of the first Treasury list of 454/3 and again with other gold coins in inscriptions recording payments after the Peace of Nikias, the carry forward in the building accounts unchanged from year to year between 447/6 and 433/2 of certain small sums of electrum staters unspent, might lend colour to the idea that their circulation was not recognized in the interval.² The decree however specifies ἀργύριον (para. 15 = p. 217, line 44),

¹ Reproduced by Meritt, Wade-Gery, and McGregor, *Athenian Tribute Lists*, p. 579, T69. I refer to it by the paragraphs into which it is there divided and by the lines of the composite text in *I.G.*, XII, Supplement (Berlin, 1939), pp. 216-217, the most recent publication.

It will be obvious that the discussion of the coinages of the allies which follows in the second section owes much to the previous work of Weil, Cavaignac, P. Gardner, and E. Babelon (cited by Segré, p. 171), though none of them has given a detailed survey of the coinages as a whole. I am also greatly indebted to Professor Meritt for many helpful suggestions towards the proposed restoration of the decree, to Professors Ashmole and Jacobsthal for long and patient discussion of the dating of individual issues, and especially to my colleague, H. Mattingly, for advice and criticism throughout.

² *A.T.L.*, p. 128; Tod, *Gk. Hist. Ins.*, p. 185, no. 75 (= *I.G.*, I², 302), line 13; and p. 112, no. 52 and note on p. 114.

and there is no noticeable break in the electrum coinage of Cyzicus, Mytilene, or Phocaea which could be referred to such an embargo.³

The first object of the decree, to close the mints of the cities which up till now had issued coins, would be a comparatively straightforward operation. Among the lists which the Hellenotamiai must draw up under penalty (para. 1 = p. 216, lines 4-5) were perhaps lists of such mints, while the task of watching that they were not re-opened would most naturally fall among the duties laid upon the archons on the spot (paras. 3-4 = pp. 216 f., lines 9-15). But the second clause, to enforce the use of Athenian currency and prevent the use of any other, would be a much more complicated undertaking. In the first half of the fifth century the currency circulating within the area of the League must still have been of a very heterogeneous nature, with a preponderance, steadily diminishing, of non-Athenian money. Of this non-Athenian money a certain proportion will have originated outside the area, e. g., in lands subject to Persia, in Crete, Boeotia, etc., but the bulk must have been the product of local mints and above all of Aegina,—within the area, but till 457 not within the League. The mass of Aeginetan money still circulating was a continual reminder of Aegina's recent greatness, a continual irritation to Athens, and perhaps a considerable factor in promoting the decree. Here again not only short but long-term measures would be required to establish and maintain Athenian money as the exclusive silver currency of the area. First a time-limit must be set and meanwhile an immediate effort made, and on an enormous scale, to exchange or recoin the floating currency of non-Athenian into Athenian coins; then permanent regulations would be necessary for dealing in the same way with any subsequent non-Athenian money that might appear later from hoards within the area or by import from without. The coins of such states as were members of the League, must of course be melted down for recoinage, but it might be more profitable to exchange and re-export the coins of non-members from outside. Unfortunately the fragmentary nature of the record still leaves us largely in the dark as to the exact terms of the decree and the details of its administration. Segré has bravely sought to elucidate some of them, especially by his restoration of the crucial passages in paras. 6-8 (= p. 217, lines 17-24), but several of his proposed readings seem open to the grave objections discussed below. Let us briefly summarize the points which directly touch the currency, leaving aside any questions of law, constitution, or finance in general. The Hellenotamiai are to draw up lists (of monies?, of cities that have been striking coins?). The archons in the cities, preferably Athenian, but, failing them, native, have also certain duties to carry out: perhaps to see that the mints are closed, and remain closed. It looks as if it was to be their task in addition to arrange for the collection of public monies held by the cities in non-Athenian currencies and for their transfer to Athens for recoinage. For immediately after the paragraph dealing with the penalties to be incurred by these officers if they fail in their duty, we find ourselves in the Mint at Athens (paras. 6-8).

³ See further below in the review of the coinage of these cities, pp. 330-332.

So far only the exchange of public money appears to be in question. After some paragraphs covering administration, etc., we pass in paras. 16-7 = p. 217, lines 48-55, to the exchange of money in private hands.

Segré restores the earlier and crucial passage (paras. 6-8 = p. 217, lines 17-20) as follows (I have lettered the lines A-H for convenience of reference):

- A. ἐν δὲ τῷ] ⁴ ἀργυροκοπίῳ τὸ ἀργύ[ριον
 B. ν τὸ νῦν ὑπάρχον κόψασθαι μὴ ἔλ]αττον ἢ ἤμισυ καὶ ἀ[πὸ
 C. τούτου ὅσον οἱ ἄρχοντες καὶ αὐτὰ]ὶ αἱ πόλεις πράττ[ω
 D. σι καταλλάττει, διδόντας ἑκατον] δραχμὰς ἀπὸ τῆς μν
 E. [ἀσ. τοὺς ἐπιστάτας τὸ ἀργύριον κατ]αλλάττει ἢ ἐνόχο
 F. [υς εἶναι κατὰ τὸν νόμον. ὃ δὲ ἂν περιγ]ίγνηται ἀργύριον
 G. [ν, κόψασθαι μὲν αὐτίκα καὶ ἀποδίδο]σθαι ἢ τοῖς στρατ
 H. [ηγοῖς ἢ κ. τ. λ.].

According to this, not less than half the existing bullion in the mint is to be coined and used to give in exchange, at the full rate of a hundred drachmas to the mina, for as much as the cities, acting either through Athenian archons or their own, require. The resulting non-Athenian money left in the mint is to be recoinced and handed to the strategoi, etc. I venture, though without epigraphical competence, to point out certain objections to Segré's restorations and to suggest alternatives. The most important concerns the phrase in line D, --- δραχμὰς ἀπὸ τῆς μνᾶς which he rightly refers to the rate of exchange. But though he points out the analogy with the μνᾶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ταλάντου of the *apararchê*, he supplies ἑκατον for the missing number. Athens, he thinks, tried to recommend an unpopular measure to the allies by giving a highly favourable rate of exchange. They would receive weight for weight of bright new Athenian coins for any old silver turned in, without even deduction for the expenses of striking. A well-known passage in the *Poroi*,⁵ though dealing with the fourth century, shows what a concession this might have been even in 449. But it is hardly in accordance with the temper of Athens at this time, or (may we add?) with its grammar. For surely ἀπὸ τῆς μνᾶς in this connexion cannot but imply a deduction. The local currencies to be tendered were by no means always of the high purity of the Athenian and in the circumstances a deduction of say three drachmas per mina to cover possible losses of this nature, and the expenses of recoincing, does not seem unreasonable. The preceding lacuna will then have contained some formula expressing this deduction; and it is possible, and much more appropriate, to complete the verb *πραττ* --- in the preceding line C in this sense instead of so as to describe the requirements of the cities. The tone of *πράττειν* belongs to the suzerain rather than to the subject. Working still further back we come in line A to the mention of certain ἀργύριον, not less than half of which is in some way to be dealt with. Segré has worked this up into an

⁴ τῷ]ι, *I.G.*, XII, Supplement, p. 217, line 17.

⁵ Καὶ οἱ ἀργύριον ἐξάγοντες καλὴν ἐμπορίαν ἐξάγουσιν, ὅπου γὰρ ἂν πωλώσω αὐτὸ πανταχοῦ πλείον ἢ τοῦ ἀρχαίου λαμβάνουσι, [*Xenophon*], *Poroi*, III, 2.

elaborate provision to ensure quick exchange of money brought in: elaborate and unnecessary. There is no reason to suppose that the epistatai kept large stores of bullion uncoined in the mint. Why should they? Anyhow, to coin any bullion that might be in hand to meet an expected emergency is surely too obvious a precaution to be specially prescribed; and even if not, why “not less than half”? Should we not rather give ἀργύριον here its natural reference to the monies of the cities to be brought in for exchange? I suggest the procedure was as follows: The public monies that have been collected and transferred to Athens on behalf of the cities are to be exchanged at the mint there, weight for weight, less say 3%, into Athenian currency; not less than half as soon as possible so as to provide for their immediate needs, and the remaining half within a fixed period. Any sums not already dealt with are to be recoined and paid out to the strategoi, etc. This last provision would dispose of the 3% deducted for expenses. The passage might then run *exempli gratia* something as follows:

- A. ἐν δὲ τῶ]ι ἀργυροκοπίῳ τὸ ἀργύ[ριον
 B. ν δεξαμένους εὐθύς κόψαι μὴ ἔλ]απτον ἢ ἡμυσυ καὶ ἀ]πο
 C. δόσθαι ὡς ἂν νόμισμα ἰκανὸν ἔχωσ]ι αἱ πόλεις. πράττ[ε
 D. σθαι δὲ αἰεὶ ἐπικαταλλαγὴν τρεῖς] δραχμὰς ἀπὸ τῆς μν
 E. [ἀς· τὸ δὲ ἄλλο ἡμυσυ πέντε μηνῶν κατ]αλλάττεν ἢ ἐνόχο
 F. [υς εἶναι κατὰ τὸν νόμον, ὃ δὲ ἂν περιγ]ίγνηται ἀργυρίο
 G. [ν τοῦ πεπραγμένου κόψαι καὶ ἀποδό]σθαι ἢ τοῖς στρατ
 H. [ηγοῖς ἢ κ. τ. λ. ---]

Line A. Here where the context requires it and also later (paras. 13 and 17 = p. 217, lines 39 and 51) I take ἀργυροκόπιον to refer to the Mint at Athens, for (1) in both the latter cases it is mentioned in conjunction with ἐπιστάται, which we know to have been the name of the mint officials at Athens and by no means necessarily elsewhere: (2) by no means all the cities appear to have possessed mints of their own at any time: see the lists in the next section: (3) though para. 13, which lays down that the decree is to be set up “in the agora of each city and in front of the Mint” might at first sight suggest the local mint, is it likely that two copies of the same inscription would be set up in the same city? (4) If this were really so there would be no visible provision for setting up the decree in Athens at all.

Line B. The Cos and Aphytis fragments overlap at this point and the text of the former is slightly shorter, leaving a gap of sixteen letters between the certain end of ἀργύ[ριον and beginning of μὴ ἔλ]απτον. δεχσαμένος κόψαι, omitting εὐθύς, would fill it. Segré restores here and in line G the middle κόψασθαι. The stone (para. 15 = p. 217, line 44) prefers the active in this context and I have put it back.

Line D. Some word such as ἐπικαταλλαγὴ (for which cf. Theophrastus, *Charact.*, XXX, 15) would fit the context, but it is not essential and it might perhaps be better to bring in the epistatai here, e. g., πράττ[εσθαι δὲ τοὺς ἐπιστάτας αἰεὶ τρεῖς] δραχμὰς κ. τ. λ.

Line E. A longer period would be possible.

Line G. The final transaction has been restored to cover the 3% deduction only, the second half of the monies transmitted for exchange being dealt with in line E, but it might also have included an amount equal to the Athenian currency held in the mint at the beginning of the operation. For the active *κόψαι*, see above, note on line B.

The following sections (paras. 9-15 = p. 217, lines 24-48) contain nothing relevant to this particular inquiry, except the addition to the oath of the Boule already mentioned, the gist of which is clear and certain. With clause 16 we pass apparently to the exchange of money in private hands, but here again the stone becomes too fragmentary to inform us of the procedure in detail. The text as originally restored is quite unreliable, and I understand that a new version is soon to be published by Meritt, Wade-Gery, and McGregor in the second volume of their *Athenian Tribute Lists*.

So much for the strictly monetary terms of the decree as far as we can make them out. How did they work out in practice? Were the mints in fact closed, and was Athenian currency in fact substituted for the various local currencies? In the remainder of this article I propose to try to answer the first question by examining the fifth-century coinages of the *archê* district by district, and to collect what little evidence there may be bearing upon the second.

II

The tables which follow contain, district by district, lists of the cities in the *archê* which coined during the fifth century. The interval between Mykale and Aigospotamoi is divided into fifteen-year periods with a column to each period, and a further column at either end; and in each column is recorded the nature of the coinage, if any, issued. A stroke (—) indicates small change only; a cross (+) that larger pieces were issued as well. Where gold or electrum⁶ was issued, this has been noted; otherwise all coinage is of silver. Doubling of the sign means a specially abundant coinage. Occasional dates have been inserted in the columns within the periods: when such a date precedes the sign, it means the beginning of a coinage; when it follows the sign, its end. Thus 432 + denotes the beginning of the Chalcidian coinage at Olynthos, ++ 457 the end of the coinage at Aegina. Dating has necessarily rested almost entirely on style, and, though with the development of Attic art to help us, this perhaps involves less uncertainty in the second half of the fifth century than at most other times, few dates would not admit a shift of some years either way. After each district I have added a few notes and references on doubtful points, particularly where I diverge from the current view.

⁶ The early electrum coinages not continued into the 5th century and that of the Ionian revolt have been omitted as their attribution to individual cities is usually quite uncertain and in any case they are hardly relevant to the present inquiry.

ISLANDS	Before Mykale	479-465	465-450	450-435	435-420	420-405	4th. cent.
Aegina	++	++	++ 457				++
Andros	+						+
Chalkis	++*						+
Delos	++*	++*	++*				+
Eretria	++*	++*				411 +	+
Iulis	+	+					
Karthaia	+	+	+				
Karystos	++*	++*					+
Koresia	+	+	+				
Melos	+	+	+	+	+	+ 416	+
Naxos	++						++
Paros	++	+	—*				+
Seriphos	+						
Siphnos	+	+	—*				+
Tenos	+						+
Thera	+						

* denotes Euboic standard.

ANDROS. E. Babelon, *Traité des Mon. Gr.*, LX, 1; other and to me less likely attributions are to Keos, Imhoof-Blumer, *Gr. Münz.*, p. 13, 22, and to Athens by Seltman, *Athens*, p. 7.

CARIA	Before Mykale	479-465	465-450	450-435	435-420	420-405	4th. cent.
Aspendos	+	++	++	++	++	++	++
Astypalaia		+					+
Chersonesos	+						
Halikarnassos		—	—				—
Ialysos	+	+	—			—* 407	
Iasos	+						+
Idyma						+	+
Kalymna	+						+
Kamiros	+	+	—			— 407	
Karpathos	+						
Kaunos	++?						—
Kelenderis			+	+	+	+	+
Knidos	++	++	++			412 +	++
Kos	+			++*	++*	?	+
Lindos	+	+	—			—* 407	
Lykia	++	++	++	++	++	++	++
Phaselis	+	+	+				+
Rhodes						407 +*	++
Termera	+						
Uncertain, Mylasa?	+	+					+
“ Karo-Lykian		+	+	+	+	+	+

* denotes Euboic standard.

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ASTYPALAIA. *Traité*, XIX, 5-7. These coins reading $\text{Ἀστ}(v)$ are usually attributed to the Carian Astyra, but this Astyra does not occur in the tribute lists as might have been expected if it were of sufficient importance to strike money. The fifth-century coinage is on the same standard ("Babylonian") as neighboring Kalymna. That of the fourth century (*Tr.*, CXLV, 7-12) is equally appropriate to Astypalaia and follows Rhodes.

HALIKARNASSOS. At the time of the Lygdamis inscription (Dittenberger³, no. 45, just before mid-century) staters and twelfths were current: this can only mean Cyzicene electrum. B. Keil (*Hermes*, XXIX, p. 256) has concluded that silver of the Persian standard (which he calls "Babylonian") was in use then, and continued until the change of standard recorded in a later inscription (Dittenberger³, no. 46). A coin of siglos standard (*Tr.*, CXLVI, 15) shows this to be correct, though his premise is faulty, for there is no immediate relation between the weight of the electrum and the silver. Another drachma of this period but of Aeginetic weight alleged by Babelon to be of Halikarnassos (*Tr.*, XVIII, 8) is rather of Knidos. In the fourth century, the standard is certainly Rhodian, a standard which did not come into use in this quarter of the Aegean till about 400. If, then, the inscription recording the change is as early as Dittenberger thinks, the change must have been to Euboïc-Attic, followed later by another change to Rhodian. This is not impossible, *pace* Keil, for we find the same standard about this time at Rhodes and Cos. The usual dating of the inscription, however, which Keil adopts, towards the end of the fifth century or later, permits us to regard the change as one from Persian weight to Rhodian (according to Keil, "Phoenician").

IONIA, etc.	Before Mykale	479-465	465-450	450-435	435-420	420-405	4th. cent.
Assos			—				+
Chios	++	+	++	+ El +	+	++	++
Ephesos	+	+	+			\overline{N} + \overline{R} ++	++
Erythrai	+	+					+
Gargara					—	—	—
Klazomenai	+	—	—				+*
Kolophon	+	+	+		430? +	+	+
Kyme	+	—	—			412 +	—
Miletos	—	—	—	—?	—?	—* —	+*
Phokaia	El + — \overline{R} —	El — —	El — —	El — —	El — —	El — —	El — —
Samos	++	++	+	+	++	++	++
Teos	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

* denotes Euboïc standard.

EPHESOS. The stylised type makes the dating of this coinage peculiarly hard. The defection of the city in the teens was followed by a plentiful silver coinage with

some gold staters of daric weight. Head (*Coinage of Ephesus*, p. 20) also places a scanty coinage of Samian standard between 450 and 415, but this is quite uncertain and a date either just before or just after those limits would be equally possible for it.

KOLOPHON. The standard is Persian. J. G. Milne in his detailed study of this mint (*Num. Notes & Mon.*, no. 96) ranges the coinage in groups spread more or less evenly over the century, his group C ending about 450. His groups F and G, however (for which compare the latest coins of Leontini, *ca.* 425), seem rather to precede than to follow D and E (for which compare still later heads at Catana). It looks like a stop at *ca.* 450 (after the reorganization of I.G., I², 14-15?) and a resumption after the revolt of 430.

KYME. The drachma (*Tr.*, CLVII, 9), which I put to the revolt of 412, is usually dated later, in the fourth century. It is however of Aeginetic weight like the contemporary coins of Teos which abandons Aeginetic for Rhodian weight in the fourth century.

MILETOS has only small change in the fifth century. Head (*B.M.C. Ionia*, p. 185) calls the little pieces Attic diobols and dates them all after Mykale. They seem rather to be twelfths of the Milesian stater and to begin in the sixth century (cf. the hoard Egypt 362: Noe, *Num. Notes & Mon.*, no. 78), thinning out, if not disappearing, in the third quarter of the fifth century, and resuming at its end, at a weight now approximately that of an Attic trihemiobol, to be followed some years later by Attic hemidrachms (*B.M.C.*, *ibid.*, nos. 12-13) and the pieces struck for Hekatomnos and Maussolos on the same standard (*ibid.*, nos. 36 ff.).

SAMOS. The rare tetradrachms of Attic weight (*Tr.*, CL, 26) are shown by style and the use of monograms to be the immediate precursors of the series of Rhodian weight which begins about 400 (*Tr.*, CLI, 4-10): they belong therefore not to the period just after the revolt but to the very end of the war, the period of the sympolity. There is a marked break in style and fabric between them and their predecessors, the series lettered from B-Ξ. In this gap of ten years or so falls a unique tetradrachm with Athenian types and ethnic, but Samian symbol (Seltman, *Greek Coins*, pl. XXX, 4), which reflects the conditions of 411. The lettered series has fifteen varieties as well as one or two more, unlettered, on the same pattern. Whatever the precise significance of the letters it is not unreasonable to regard each issue as being that of a year. This takes us back to 430, if not earlier, so that coinage must have been resumed surprisingly soon after the crushing of the revolt.

LESBOS AND THE AKTE	Before Mykale	479-465	465-450	450-435	435-420	420-405	4th. cent.
Methymna	+ *				+		+
Mytilene	El — —	El — —	El — —	El — —	El — —	} 427	El — —
	℞ +	℞ +	℞ —	℞ —	℞ —		AR +
Antandros			+				
Pordosilene					427 — *	—	—

* denotes Euboic standard.

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METHYMNA. The isolated issue on the Samian standard (*Tr.*, CLXII, 28-33) *might* be after the revolt of 412, but looks earlier. I suggest the time of the revolt of Mytilene, when Methymna remained loyal, for the Athena head is very Attic and has a crescent on the helmet. Cf. the relief of Athena on the decree of *ca.* 427 for Mytilene (*I.G.*, I², 60; *A.M.*, XXXV, p. 12).

MYTILENE. The electrum coinage falls into two parts, the earlier with incuse reverse type, the later with reverse type in relief. There is a definite break between the two which falls well on in the second half of the century. Occasional bullion or silver issues go down to the same point, which can only be the reduction of the city in 427. The unique electrum stater (*Tr.*, CLIX, 1: all the other electrum coins are hektai) with head of Apollo Maloeis? is of this date. The later electrum coinage is resumed about the time of Aigospotamoi if not before. Was this resumption the occasion of the monetary convention with Phokaia (Collitz, *Dialekt-Inschr.*, I, p. 83)?

ANTANDROS. (*Tr.*, CLXIII, 2-7). Persian standard: the resumption was presumably after 412, and in connexion with the shipbuilding carried on here by Sparta and her allies (Xenophon, *Hell.*, I, 1, 25, etc.).

PORDOSILENE. (*Tr.*, CLXII, 44), a single issue on the Euboic-Attic standard, which by its style, should have been struck immediately on the liberation from Mytilene in 427 rather than after 412.

HELLESPONT	Before Mykale	479-465	465-450	450-435	435-420	420-405	4th. cent.
Abydos	—	—	—			411 <i>A</i> +	+
Astakos			+	<i>ca.</i> 440 +			
Byzantion						Iron —	+
Chersonesos	+	—	—			—	—
Dardanos			+				—
Kalchedon		—*	—*			—*	+
Kebren	+	—	—			—?	—
Kyzikos	El ++ <i>R</i> +	El ++ <i>R</i> —	El ++ <i>R</i> —	El ++ R —	El ++ R —	El ++ R —	El ++ R ++
Lampsakos	El + <i>R</i> +	El + <i>R</i> —	El + <i>R</i> —			<i>R</i> —	<i>A</i> + <i>R</i> —
Neandria						—	—
Parion	—	—					—
Prokonnesos						—	—
Selymbria		—	—			411 —	—
Skepsis		+	+				—
Tenedos	+						+

* denotes Euboic standard.

ASTAKOS. The date of the later issue (*Tr.*, CLXXXI, 4-6) can be fixed by comparison with the similar nymph's head in sakkos at Syracuse (Boehringer, *Syrakus*,

pls. 26 and 27, "450-439 B.C."). It must belong to the period between the "absence from full panel" of the Tribute list of 443 (*A.T.L.*, p. 238) and the Athenian colonisation of 435/4.

BYZANTION. Silver coinage on the Persian standard and model, in conjunction with Kalchedon, does not appear to have begun here till after Aigospotamoi. Small change was previously provided by a purely local currency of iron (Aristophanes, *Clouds*, 249, and schol.; Pollux, IX, 78; Hesychius *Σιδάρεοι Θεοί*).

DARDANOS. I cannot follow the interpretation adopted by Babelon of the rider type (*Tr.*, CLXVII, 17-19) as Mania, wife of Zenis, with its consequent dating. The figure is male and the date mid-century (*B.M.C. Troas*, p. xlii).

KYZIKOS. The electrum coinage runs without obvious break throughout the fifth century and reflects in due course the Parthenon and subsequent styles, some types, especially in the last quarter (Erichthonios, Gaia, the Tyrannicides), bearing special reference to Athens. The silver (small change only) thins out considerably after 450.

THRACE, etc.	Before Mykale	479-465	465-450	450-435	435-420	420-405	4th. cent.
Abdera	++	++	++	++	++	++	++
Aineia	+*			—	—		—
Ainos		++*	++*		++*	++*	++
Akanthos	++*	++*	+*	+*	+*	+	+
Aphytis				ca. 440 —*	—*	—*	—
Dikaia (of the Eretrians)	+*	+*	—*		ca. 430 —*		—
Dikaia (by Abdera)	+	+					
Kapsa (Skapsa)			—*				
Kithai (Skithai)	+*						
Maroneia	+	+	+	++	++	++	++
Mende	++*	++*	+*	ca. 440 +*	+*	+*	+
Neapolis (by Antisara)	+	+	+	—	—	—	—
Olynthos (Chalcidians)		—*			ca. 430 ++	++	++
Olynthos					ca. 432? —		
Peparethos	+*						—
Potideia	+*	+*	—				—
Samothrace	+*	—					+
Sermylia	+*	+*					
Skione	+*	—*	—*		424? —		—
Skyros	+*	+* ca. 470					
Stageira	+*	+*	+*				
Terone	+*	+*	—		424? —		—
Thasos	++	++ 464			+	+; 411 AV —	++
Tinde?	+						

* denotes Euboic standard.

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AINEIA has two isolated issues of small change in the fifth century, no longer Euboïc but probably of the " Babylonian " standard of Thasos. The first (Gaebler, *Ant. Münz. Nord-Gr.*, III, 2, Taf. V, 37) by its style, goes most comfortably after 450, though it might be just before; the second (*ibid.*, Taf. V, 38 and VI, 2) is so close in types and style to early issues of Thurium as to be easily confused with them; therefore round about 430.

AINOS. (Strack, *ibid.*, II, 1, 128). I adopt the dating of Mr. J. F. May, whose study of this mint will appear shortly and who has kindly discussed his results with me. The first issue ends with the tetradrachm of Antiadas (*ibid.*, Taf. IV, 11) about 450; there is then a break, and resumption, with small change only, about 435. This is augmented a few years later by a steady issue of tetradrachms going over into the fourth century.

AKANTHOS. Euboïc staters were struck without obvious interruption from Mykale down to the thirties, if not beyond, and pass smoothly into the " Phoenician " staters of the next period. The later Euboïc staters (which are inscribed) bear symbols (*ibid.*, III, 2, Taf. VII, 1-5) and show analogies with the Parthenon frieze. With these go sixths often so light in weight that they might be taken for tetrobols of the following period (as in fact they are by Gaebler, *loc. cit.*) were it not for the correspondence of the symbols. Other small change shows, like that of Aineia, striking analogies to early Thurium; therefore, again round about 430.

APHYTIS. Occasional small change, but Gaebler's date for the earliest (*ibid.*, p. 44), 450, is a decade or more too early, as comparison with the Antiadas tetradrachm of Ainos shows (*ibid.*, II, 1, Taf. IV, 11). Also the standard is Euboïc, not Phoenician as he states.

DIKAIA of the Eretrians. The latest issue, *ca.* 430 (*Tr.*, CCCXL, 1-4) is currently given to the other Dikaia, by Abdera, but the type is more appropriate here (a nymph's head and bull appear in conjunction on fourth-century bronze, *Tr.*, CCCXII, 14) while the standard is Euboïc, native in this city, unknown in the other. For the dating compare the contemporary heads at Thasos and Neapolis by Antisara (*Tr.*, CCCXXII, 2-3, and CCCXXIV, 4-6).

MENDE. Our knowledge of this mint is mostly derived from the Kaliandra hoard published by Noe, *Num. Notes & Mon.*, no. 27, and also discussed by Regling, *Z.f.N.*, XXXIV, p. 11. Gaebler's treatment of the series (*op. cit.*, p. 72) is vitiated by his erroneous belief that the greater part of the hoard consisted of forgeries. Regling (*loc. cit.*) gives a methodical arrangement of the varying types which though logical does not fit the facts of the die-couplings as revealed in Noe's study and must therefore be disregarded. The coinage falls into two groups, with, and without, reverse type. Both are represented in the hoard. This was almost certainly buried during the siege of 423 and shows that the bulk of the coinage of Euboïc weight was already struck by that time, a considerable proportion quite recently before. The style is uneven, but

analogies with Parthenon sculpture abound on the fine pieces. There is general agreement that the earlier series with the donkey and incuse reverse comes to an end about mid-century; and it is usually thought to pass straight into the later series with Dionysos and vinestock. This view is really based on the crudeness and rough style of the pieces placed at the head of the series. It is clear however from a glance at Noe's plates that these characteristics are to be found not only on the earlier pieces but also on others which are linked typologically with some of the latest and finest in the hoard. Further the change from the reverse with incuse only to the reverse with full type is abrupt: there is no transitional stage as at Akanthos or Abdera where the ethnic appears first in the incuse without accompanying type. Finally the ethnic itself changes between the two issues; on the earlier it is *Μινδαίον*, on the later invariably *Μενδαίον*. I have accordingly assumed a gap of ten years or more between the end of the first and the beginning of the second issue.

NEAPOLIS by Antisara. For the dating of the abundant coinage of the twenties, see Gaebler, *Ant. Münz. Nord-Gr.*, III, 2, p. 80, and compare contemporary heads at Dikaia of the Eretrians and Thasos. Gaebler (*loc. cit.*) ends the earlier coinage with incuse reverse in mid-century, but half-staters on the Thasian pattern sometimes with an initial appear later on, probably in the thirties.

OLYNTOS. The issues of this mint bear two inscriptions: the scarce first issue and the abundant later ones *Χαλκ. Χαλκιδέων*, the scarce intermediate ones *Ολυν*. (See Robinson and Clement, *Excav. at Olynthus*, IX, for the coins in general, and *ibid.*, pl. XXXIV, for the issues before 432). The later coinage with *Χαλκιδέων* on the "Phoenician" standard begins soon after 432 and carries on till the destruction of the city by Philip: the earlier, on the Euboic standard, soon after the city was handed over by Artabazos to the Chalcidian "clan." The series inscribed *Ολυν*, though of the same types as the earlier issue, is struck on the standard of the later, and largely for this reason has been taken to be after the revolt of 433/2. This is not conclusive. This standard is by no means the sign of rebellion that it is sometimes held to be, for it occurs e. g. at Aineia ten to twenty years earlier, and on style the issue might have been made ten years earlier.

SAMOTHRACE. The coins of this island have only recently been identified by Schwabacher (*Trans. Int. Num. Congress*, 1936, p. 109) and most of our knowledge of them comes from the Kiourpet hoard, buried about 470, which he there describes.

SKYROS. (*Tr.*, CCCII, 18-27). These coins have been condemned en bloc as modern forgeries; some at any rate (e. g., no. 18) appear to me to be genuine.

THASOS. See A. B. West, *Num. Notes & Mon.*, no. 40, p. 10, for a full study. I would begin the gold and the silver of "Phoenician" standard, with the new types, after Aigospotamoi⁷ rather than after the revolt of 411, as he does. To the latter,

⁷ Cf. *Num. Chron.*, 1934, p. 253.

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however, may belong some scanty gold and silver small change (*Tr.*, CCCXXII, 10-12, etc.). Otherwise after a break which should coincide with the first revolt, there is a resumption from the thirties onwards with pieces reflecting Parthenon style, and having a maximum density in the twenties.

TINDE. The "Babylonian" stater inscribed ΤΥΝΤΕΥΟΝ (*Tr.*, XLIX, 14) strongly suggests the Τινδαῖοι of the Tribute lists (*A.T.L.*, p. 555) and comes from the same area.

EUXINE	Mykale	479-465	465-450	450-435	435-420	420-405	4th. cent.
Apollonia Pontica			—*	—*	—*	—*	+
Apollonia-Pantikapaion			+	+?	+?	+	++
Nymphaion						+	
Sinope	+	+	+	+ 440?		++	++

* denotes Euboic standard.

APOLLONIA PONTICA has a continuous coinage on a light and falling Euboic standard as at Ainos. Is this really the Apollonia of the tribute lists (*A.T.L.*, p. 469)? See next note.

APOLLONIA-PANTIKAPAION. Pantikapaion, like Amisos-Peiraeus across the water, appears to have borne an alternative name in the later fifth century, for the first coinage actually to be inscribed Παν ("Babylonian" standard, *ca.* 400, *Tr.*, CCCLIII, 5-12) is immediately preceded by another, slightly earlier in style, but identical in type, fabric, and weight, either inscribed Απολ (*ibid.*, nos. 2-4), or, earlier still, without ethnic (*ibid.*, XVII, 9-16). May not this, rather than Pontica, be the Apollonia of the ninth assessment, which seems to omit other cities of the East Euxine coast, e. g., Mesembria and Kallatis, but to include several Crimean ones—Nymphaion, Patrasys, etc.?

What picture do the tables yield us? In the Island district the course of the coinage is clear enough. With two exceptions output slackens after Mykale, till in mid-century it stops completely. The exceptions are Aegina which rather intensified her coinage in the second quarter, and just before the end, in 457, was actually experimenting with a reverse type instead of the incuse, and Melos which carried on undiminished till 416. Apart from the Euboean cities and Delos which use the Euboic standard, and Melos, which has the so-called Phoenician, the prevailing standard is Aeginetic, at Paros and Siphnos the smaller pieces being perhaps modified at the end into Euboic-Attic. Towards the end of the century Eretria resumes coinage in the name of the Euboeans, no longer on the native Euboic, but on the Aeginetic standard which prevailed throughout Boeotia and the Peloponnese. This can only be the immediate result of the rebellion of 411.

In the Karian district things are much about the same, with a couple of exceptions to be discussed later: only at Aspendos and Kelenderis, and in Lykia and up-country

Karia—i. e., on the outskirts of the empire and where Athenian writs did not really run—was coinage freely issued throughout the second half of the century. The resumption at Knidos must, like that at Eretria, be the immediate result of the revolt in 412, for the style of her coins is very close to that of the earliest issues of Rhodes after the synoecism (cf. *Tr.*, CXLV, 15, 17-18, with CXLVII, 20-22), and in the interim the cities of Rhodes appear to have followed her. It may be even that some of their small change which, like the earliest federal issue, is assimilated to the Attic standard, was issued earlier. Kos provides us with the first serious problem. Here (*Traité*, CXLVIII, 9-13) beginning about 450 was struck a sparse series of tetradrachms of Attic weight, perhaps in connexion with a local agonistic festival⁸ which, though they show no great progress to late fifth-century style in the athlete of the obverse, to judge by the development of their reverses must have continued down to 420 or even later. Segré has justly pointed out (p. 172) that the fragmentary copy of the decree recently found in Kos was cut in Athens and so presumably set up in the island by Athenian officials in accordance with the terms of para. 14, because the local authorities had failed in their duty to do so. It looks, therefore, as if, in the beginning at any rate, the Koans had deliberately flouted the ban on coining, though later, like some Thracian cities which we shall meet, they may have obtained a concession.

In the remaining districts the picture is less clear. Electrum coinage indeed, which is native to N. W. Asia Minor, is only to be expected, for its function was to supplement the silver currency, and it was by implication excluded from the scope of the decree. Nor is it perhaps very surprising to find the coinages of the major, ship-providing allies, Chios, Lesbos, Samos, continued after, as before, 450; nor cities in revolt reopening their mints, as did Abydos, Kolophon, and Olynthos, and perhaps Skione and Terone. Even occasional and scanty issues of small change obviously for local use, as, may be, at Aineia, Kalchedon, Dikaia, Gargara, Miletos, etc., might be winked at.

What does require explanation is the steady and not inconsiderable coinage which was put out by a few towns principally in Thrace, but also in Asia Minor, in the second half of the century. This was most abundant from, say, the outbreak of hostilities in 432 onwards, and some of it may have been due to war conditions, for example at Methymna or Pordosilene during the revolt of Mytilene; or it may have been convenient to the Athenians during the campaigns of Brasidas to allow the mints of Mende and Thasos to meet sudden and urgent needs for currency which could not be conveniently supplied from Athens. But in general these coinages, though most abundant in the twenties, appear either to have carried right through without a break from the first half of the century (Teos, Abdera, Akanthos, Maroneia) or, more often, to have resumed again about 440 or soon after (Ainos, Aphytis, Mende,

⁸ Not the Triopian, Herodotus, I, 144, for which Knidos would be the obvious mint.

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Neapolis, Thasos). It may even be that a closer study, by dies, of those mints which appear to carry through, would reveal a break in the forties such as I have concluded here for Mende and Ainos, where also up until now, coinage had been held to be continuous.

The point, in any case, is that whereas there was a sudden and practically universal stoppage during the forties, by the thirties certain cities were coining again freely and their coinage was tolerated, even, perhaps, as at Mende, encouraged. One of the most remarkable cases is that of Samos where very soon after the crushing of the revolt in 439 the mint was busy again issuing tetradrachms not only of the old types but on the old local standard. About the same time the coinage of Thasos which had ceased after the revolt in 464 is similarly resumed on the old pattern. It looks as if after (perhaps as a result of) the Samian revolt Athens somewhat modified her currency policy and restored or confirmed their individual right of coinage to a certain number of cities, most of them lying near the important sources of silver in Thrace.⁹

But, to sum up, apart from such limited concessions, and apart from the free coinage of electrum, from occasional issues of small change and from the more important issues of nominal allies on the fringes of the empire, the ban on coinage within the *archê* between 450 and the last decade of the century was complete. How complete indeed can be seen by contrast. As the Peloponnesian War drew to a close, and city and city revolted, still more in the early fourth century, there is a sudden outburst of coinage up and down the shores of the Aegean, and particularly on its northern and eastern coasts, of remarkable richness and variety.

The conclusion that from the forties onwards, at least, the ban on coinage, though general, was not absolute, provides an automatic answer to our further question. Athens was *not* successful in forcing the exclusive use either of her standard or her coins on the allies, and the attempt seems to have been tacitly abandoned. Aristophanes' joke in 414¹⁰ about the decrees of Cloud-cuckoo-land need have no more significance than might a reference nowadays in an English pantomime to the periodically revived project for an English decimal coinage, which is still in abeyance though the first abortive step to it was taken a century ago.

⁹ Cf. the provision in the second decree for Methone (Tod, *op. cit.*, no. 61, lines 41-47) exempting the city from general decrees affecting the allies unless specifically named. This presumably would have given her the right to open a mint though she does not seem to have profited by it. Meritt has suggested that the right of coinage might have been restored to certain cities by a decree of the late twenties (*Hesperia*, XIV, p. 120), but this is too late for most of the cases under consideration.

¹⁰ *Birds*, 1040, with Cobet's and Bergk's emendations. Like our decree, Aristophanes speaks in the same breath of *μέτροισι καὶ σταθμοῖσι καὶ νομίμασιν*. The first two are outside the scope of the present article nor do I know of any certain evidence bearing on them, but the revised dating of the decree brings fresh support to the view that the metric relief of just before 450 at Oxford, certainly from within the *archê* and perhaps from Samos (*J.H.S.*, 1883, p. 335, pl. XXXV), belongs in this connexion, especially if Michaelis is right in his suggestion that the Attic foot has been subsequently engraved alongside the embodied Samian fathom.

A glance at the tables above shows that the use of the Attic standard was far from general among those allies who coined in the second half of the century. True it appears to have spread for a while, as we have seen, in an area in S. W. Asia Minor, embracing Rhodes, Cos, perhaps Halikarnassos and other cities, where it survived into the fourth century at Miletos and Klazomenai; and when Tissaphernes engaged himself to support the Peloponnesian fleet in this quarter the terms were arranged in Attic drachmae.¹¹ On the other hand, further north in Chios payments for the same purpose were made in the local currency, expressed in terms of the Aeginetic mina, the normal unit of the Peloponnese¹² and the contribution of certain philo-Lakonian Chians to the Spartan war-chest during the Peloponnesian war was also paid in Aeginetan staters (*I.G.*, V, 1, no. 1, line 9). In the Thraceward district also the native standards of the coinages still tolerated were not interfered with. True that for many, though by no means all, of these, this standard was already a form of Euboic; but it was often irregular in weight and sometimes, as at Ainos, deliberately light. By Gresham's law bad money drives out the good, and such staters, circulating side by side with good Athenian tetradrachms can only have been a nuisance. But they were left alone. At Samos (and Thasos), as we have seen, coinage was actually permitted in the old non-Athenian standard even after the rebellion.

As for Athenian coins taking the place of the existing currency in general circulation in the cities, what evidence there is goes to show that such a result was never in sight, even before the Dekeleian War brought the familiar silver issues to an end and replaced them by gold and token bronze. If the calling in and recoinage of non-Athenian currencies envisaged in the decree had been seriously carried through, we should hardly have expected the lists which we find in the Treasury accounts of the Other Gods (*I.G.*, I², 310, of 429/8), containing such entries as Aeginetan staters, Chian didrachms, silver of Akanthos (lines 110 ff.) and ξενικὸν ἀργύριον σύμμεικτον ἐπίσημον (line 301), etc.

The hoard evidence, though scanty and unsatisfactory, points in the same direction. Had the decree resulted in any large scale replacement of the currencies in daily use by Athenian coins, we should expect to find a much higher proportion of the latter in the hoards of the second half of the fifth century (and in the early fourth, for there is always a time-lag in such matters), whatever the political fortunes of the places where they were found. At Olynthos, which has been fully excavated, two, perhaps three, hoards, mostly consisting of small coins, fall within this period.¹³ Between them, in addition to Chalcidian issues, they contain only one Athenian coin, as against 16 of Akanthos, 4 of Terone, 1 of Skione, 2 of Olynthos (before the Chal-

¹¹ Thucydides, VIII, 29.

¹² Thucydides, VIII, 101, with Gardner, *Hist. of Gk. Coinage*, p. 251, and Xenophon, *Hell.*, I, 6, 12.

¹³ Robinson and Clement, *ibid.*, p. 161, Hoards V, VII; also VIII which I should guess was earlier than the date there given to it.

cidian issues began), and 15 of Perdiccas. In the area generally, for the same period, S. P. Noe in his *Bibliography of Coin Hoards* (*Num. Notes and Mon.*, 78) gives the following silver hoards: Aidonochori (no. 23), Chalki (no. 234), Chios (no. 244), Euboea (no. 406), Kaliandra (nos. 521 and 522), Melos (no. 672), and Seres (no. 960).¹⁴ The Euboea and Seres hoards consisted exclusively of Attic tetradrachms, but among the rest is only one Athenian coin, a triobol in the Chalki hoard.

It may be, indeed must be, that the proportion of Athenian to non-Athenian coins in circulation was considerably higher than appears from existing hoards; that this picture is in fact somewhat distorted, and would look different if we had more hoards from the heart of the *archê*, and more hoards containing the larger pieces. Otherwise with so many mints closed down, and so much, and such increasing, movement of persons and goods within the area, great inconvenience must have been caused. None the less it is obvious that owls were by no means the only silver coinage whose use among the cities was tolerated by Athens in the half century following the decree, and that, whatever the original intention, they came perforce in the end to supplement more than to replace. Where hoards *do* show Attic owls to have been very largely used, and put away, during this same period, is in the further Levant and Egypt.¹⁵ It is possible that this steady draining away of Athenian silver outside the *archê* was not without effect in preventing that complete predominance within it originally aimed at by the decree.

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BRITISH MUSEUM

¹⁴ Mouchmov, *Bull. Soc. Arch. Bulgare*, IV, p. 274, no. 64. I assume his "second period" refers to the 5th century tetradrachms and not to the "new style."

¹⁵ The Al Mina hoards (*N. Chr.*, 1937, p. 186 etc.), Maragh, Noe, *ibid.*, 647, and his numerous Egyptian hoards.

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Dark Stone in Greek Architecture

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Reviewed work(s):

Source: *Hesperia Supplements*, Vol. 8, Commemorative Studies in Honor of Theodore Leslie Shear (1949), pp. 341-352+481-482

Published by: [The American School of Classical Studies at Athens](#)

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DARK STONE IN GREEK ARCHITECTURE

(PLATES 45-46)

IT HAS been observed more than once that certain characteristic elements of Periclean Athenian architecture have their origin or inspiration in Peisistratean architecture of a century earlier. One of these architectural practices of which the history and development has not been perhaps as much noticed as its importance in the history of Greek architecture would warrant is the use of dark stone for certain details in an otherwise completely white marble structure. Most of the several very distinctive uses of Eleusinian dark stone by Periclean architects are noted from time to time, but their relation to the use of dark stone elsewhere and in other periods has not, to my knowledge, been emphasized, and one example of particular interest has rather generally escaped the attention it well merits. It may then be not unfitting to note, in a volume dedicated to the memory of the contributions of T. Leslie Shear to archaeology, some observations made during the years of study of architectural detail during which the author was greatly assisted and stimulated by the generosity of Mr. Shear in offering her the opportunity to study details in the Agora excavations.¹

The dark stone most widely used in conjunction with white marble was the almost black limestone from Eleusis.² That Athens learned its use from Eleusis itself is not

¹ It is with hesitation that some of the following notes are written without the checking on the spot that is necessary in several cases. Since however this has been impossible recently, suggestions are made even when the author is very conscious of the need of further study, in the hope that they may serve as a basis for further investigation and increased observation of color contrast and its meaning in Greek architecture.

² In answer to an inquiry, Mr. John Travlos has very kindly sent me the following note on the location of the quarry from which the stone was cut:

I think it is entirely certain that the beautiful, compact, dark Eleusinian stone which is used in great quantity for the buildings of Eleusis does not come from the hill of the Sanctuary and the city of Eleusis. The rock of the Sanctuary as it was quarried in antiquity over a large area for the extension of the Sanctuary toward the west is entirely different. It is the usual limestone of a color from red to gray and shows different characteristics which do not permit of smooth working. In the building inscriptions of Eleusis the stone is usually called τῆς Ἐλευσινιακῆς πέτρας or ἐκ τῆς ἐν Ἐλεύσει λιθοτομίας but also Ἐλευσινιακὸν λίθον and in addition there is στυλοβάτην Ἐλευσινιακόν. All these prove clearly the origin of the stone, but the hypothesis that it comes from the Sanctuary hill is not inevitable. In fact, that in the inscriptions a large sum is paid to transport the Eleusinian stone into the Sanctuary shows that the stone comes from an area some distance from the Sanctuary. A possibility for such a place is the small hill to the north of the Sanctuary near Magoula shown in Kaupert, Map XXVI, under the name Zumakaziki. On this hill in 1817 The Dilettanti found traces of an ancient quarry (*Unedited Antiquities of Attica*, p. 5). I must, however, confess with shame that I have not visited this place and so cannot be sure whether actually it was from this hill that the Eleusinian stone came. About the dark stone which is used in the Propylaia and Erechtheion of the Acropolis it is possible to say with certainty that it comes from the quarry of Eleusis because it is very similar to the Eleusinian stone of the buildings of the Sanctuary at Eleusis.

surprising, but it is of value to note the use to which it was first put at Eleusis as early as the time of the extensive building in the sanctuary under Peisistratos. The entire peribolos wall³ was built of this locally quarried material obviously because of its convenience, but there must be another reason for making the blocks of the mouth of the sacred well⁴ of Eleusinian stone when the adjoining blocks are of poros. The hardness of the limestone would better withstand wear and so serve a practical purpose. Did the effect of the color contrast also enter into consideration at this point? The alternation of the two materials in the surrounding paving suggests that it did.

It must have been the striking color contrast between the dark of the Eleusinian stone and the brilliance of the Parian marble that dictated the combination of these materials in the semicircular statue pedestal⁵ dedicated by the Athenians in the poros Temple of Apollo in his sanctuary on Delos at this very same period. The base is known today from its reuse in the Periclean Temple of the Athenians, but the excavators offer convincing evidence that it belonged originally to the Peisistratean embellishment of the original poros temple.⁶ Here the base course of the pedestal is of Parian marble, but the orthostates and crowning moulding on which the statues stood are of Eleusinian stone. Obviously the purpose of the dark stone is to set off effectively the statues above by affording a contrast between the dull gray base and the bright bronze statues. The Parian base course must have fused with the lighter color of the floor, whatever its material, in the poros temple as it did with the Parian pavement in the fifth-century temple.

This use of Eleusinian stone combined with white marble for statue bases and pedestals begun at Delos (so far as our present evidence shows) was repeated several times in the ensuing century, chiefly by Athenians but also by others. It was the Chians who used it next for their altar at Delphi,⁷ where the main mass of the high pedestal is all of what is called "black marble" by the excavators, but the crowning moulding and the two base steps are of white marble. It should be recalled that the altar, set at the east end of the main temple terrace, is rectangular in plan and must be adjusted in its north to south length to the steep slope of the hillside and so is set lower, on the two white steps, at the south end, but with the regular black courses directly against the ground at the north end. It will then be realized that the difference in color of the steps at the south end helps to adjust the level by making the eye see the

³ It is a pleasure to acknowledge Mr. Travlos' kindness in sending me an account of the materials used at Eleusis, with a complete list of occurrences of Eleusinian stone.

⁴ K. Kourouniotes, *Eleusis, A Guide to the Excavations and the Museum*, translated by Oscar Brooner, p. 44.

⁵ F. Courby, *Exploration Archéologique de Délos*, XII, *Les Temples d'Apollon*, pp. 189-194, Figs. 244-250, Pls. XII, XVII, XVIII, XXIV.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 194, 210, 213-4.

⁷ F. Courby, *Fouilles de Delphes*, II, *La Terrasse du Temple*, pp. 123, 124, 126, Figs. 90, 92, 96, 101, 104.

more nearly horizontal line of the bottom of the black courses. Here then are suggested the possibilities of color contrast in solving the problems of level which are ever among the knottiest and most provocative for Greek architecture. The use of a white crown contrasting with the black core is a variation on the Delos theme. The reason is clear: here no statues to which attention is to be drawn stand above. On the contrary, this pedestal is by its size and location an independent architectural unit with its crowning element set against the sky even as the *sima* of a building. It needs emphasis as such. As a crowning decorative element it can be distinct from the mass below and the effect of the whole is improved if it is emphatically a capping course.

Whether a date at the beginning of the fifth century or in the second quarter be accepted,⁸ the altar of the Chians at Delphi probably forms the transition from the Delos base to the first of the bases for Pheidias statues which make use of the color contrast of the two materials. In *ca.* 460–450 B.C. Pheidias' colossal bronze Athena, the Promachos, was set up on the Acropolis at Athens on a base with a die of Eleusinian stone crowned with a Pentelic marble moulding.⁹ It is reasonable to suppose that Pheidias was familiar with the advantageous effect of the darker duller base for the statues set up by the Athenians in the Temple of Apollo on Delos and realized that for a statue of brilliant bronze and of colossal size set out in the open the base of the dark Eleusinian stone would give just the solidity and strength of a firm foundation needed and at the same time direct the concentration of attention to the statue above. It was also evidently felt that the immediate juxtaposition of black stone and bronze as at Delos was not desirable, that glistening white marble would form a better base line for the bronze above. Let it be noted also that the only *outdoor* predecessor of this two-toned base, the Altar of the Chians, had also used a white crowning moulding above a dark base. The use of the top and the scale of this monument are different to be sure, but was there nevertheless some connection between them?

It was in the next few years after the erection of the Promachos that Athenian architects discovered several new and quite different possibilities in the use of Eleusinian stone; in fact the widest and most varied use of the material at any time in Greek architecture is by Periclean architects. It would be more accurate, furthermore, to say *a* Periclean architect, for, of the numerous innovations and experiments of that most ingenious of Periclean architects, Mnesikles, none perhaps is more indicative of his imagination and his daring than his use of Eleusinian stone. Of the five different uses he devises for the Propylaia, three are repeated or adapted frequently in the fourth century, but almost no new uses are developed by other or later architects. Mnesikles is the master of black stone architecture.

It is clear, however, that Mnesikles as well as other Athenian architects are

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 136; Shoe, *Profiles of Greek Mouldings*, p. 55, to which conclusion I still hold.

⁹ W. B. Dinsmoor, *A.J.A.*, XXV, 1921, p. 128; B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 373; A. E. Raubitschek and G. P. Stevens, *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 113.

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indebted to Eleusis for the idea of dark stone. Eleusis itself seems to have first indicated the possibilities of its local stone a hundred years earlier, as has been noted.¹⁰ Again now in Periclean times the extensive use of the dark stone at Eleusis must have impressed Athenian architects. It would be difficult if not impossible to attempt to say who was responsible for the wide use of the dark stone in the Telesterion designed by Iktinos, according to Vitruvius (VII. Prae., 16) and Strabo (IX, 1, 12), but built under the supervision of Koroibos as architect, according to a building inscription which provides for the beginning of the work in the years 446-440 B.C., probably nearer to 446 B.C.¹¹ If Iktinos did not suggest dark stone, he was apparently perfectly receptive to the idea if it came from the local Eleusinians. The whole krepidoma as well as both orthostates and all the upper courses of the wall are of Eleusinian stone, as also the plinths on which rest the poros columns of the interior.¹² Further, latest investigations at Eleusis have convinced Travlos that both the Eleusinian stone parastades or antae of the prostoön and the Eleusinian steps and stylobate of that stoa belong to the Iktinos building. Kourouniotes commented on the suitability of the dark stone exterior to "the solemn and mysterious character of the rites that took place within."¹³ It is at least worthy of note that in Peisistratos' time, although the precinct wall was built entirely of Eleusinian stone and the mouth of the sacred well was of the same material, not a block of it was used in the contemporary Telesterion. The extensive use of dark stone in the Periclean Telesterion for the whole wall and stoa steps and floor is a new use for the stone. Was there no contrast? The interior columns were light, of poros, as was the exterior entablature, probably also the stoa columns if they were ever set in place. Kourouniotes then is probably right in noting what seems to be a religious symbolism for the dark walls contrasted with the light crowning members and columns within. If so, it is one more of the unique characteristics of the Telesterion designed specifically for the unique cult it served.

In spite of the extensive use of Eleusinian stone in the Telesterion of the Periclean period it is used only for the four lowest courses of the precinct wall of this period¹⁴ instead of for the whole wall as in Peisistratean times. The light poros courses above may have been an economy; but certainly the Eleusinian courses at the base give the effect of a dark orthostate such as Mnesikles used in the Propylaia.

Of the five uses of Eleusinian stone in the Propylaia, those that have a future are well known, but it may be worth while to note their value, their reason for being. As one climbs the west slope of the Acropolis to the Propylaia (Plate 45, 1) the main part of the building lies before one with six Doric columns rising from the top of a four-stepped krepidoma. Projecting westward at right angles at both the north and

¹⁰ *Supra*, pp. 341 f.

¹¹ K. Kourouniotes, *Eleusiniaka*, I, 1932, pp. 173-189.

¹² Travlos; Kourouniotes, *Eleusis*, p. 56.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 64, fig. 22.

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the south sides of the central portion are small wings,¹⁵ their small-size plan dictated by the very scant space available. The size of the plan automatically dictates the size of the columns of the prostyle. The fixed proportions of the Doric order at any given period or in any given building in turn determine the size of the whole order, which is of course much smaller than that of the central portion. Yet the wings are attached to the main element of the design and all must be set on the same krepidoma. The four steps that are in proportion to the central order would be badly out of proportion to the small order of the wings. This was one of the chief difficulties that faced Mnesikles in his daring combination of scales. Much is made of the roofing problems he faced and solved, but it should be remembered that he had to begin with a serious difficulty of harmonizing his varying scales to an unchanging base. Black stone was his answer. It had been used before for the effect of the contrast of light and dark. He would make that optical effect serve the cause of proper proportion. The four-stepped krepidoma had actually to continue under the wings, but if the lowest of the four courses was made of dark stone, only the upper three courses would appear to form the krepidoma of the smaller order of the wings, and the height of three courses would be properly proportioned to the height of that order. Another desirable end was also served: the uniform ground level which is so essential to Greek orders had to be emphasized and presented the first problem in Mnesikles' attempt to make his Doric architecture go up hill. Deep bastions of foundation had had to be erected on which to set the wings (the one to the south had been in place previously of course). The horizontal level of the bottom of the krepidoma of the order had to be emphasized to distinguish it from the foundations and to emphasize the unity of the center and the wings. The black lowest step of the wings, then, both emphasizes the uniform ground level of the building and sets off from itself what rests above it.

These same two purposes explain the second use of Eleusinian stone in the Propylaea. Used as a string course under the windows of the northwest wing¹⁶ (Plate 45, 1), it calls attention to the change to something different above it in the wall, namely, the opening, and it emphasizes the uniform level of the bottoms of the two windows set in different walls with a door between. As far as we know, windows had not been commonly used in monumental public buildings previously. In making them a part of the traditional architectural forms, Mnesikles was concerned to give them proper emphasis but also to keep them definitely in harmony with the whole building.

Both of these uses are essentially structural in their emphasis. The third use is undoubtedly also intended to emphasize the structure of the wall, but it is also probably practical and perhaps decorative. The orthostates of the walls of the west part of

¹⁵ F. C. Penrose, *Principles of Athenian Architecture*, p. 63, pl. 27; W. Hege and G. Rodenwaldt, *Die Akropolis*, pl. 56.

¹⁶ Bohn, *Die Propyläen*, p. 24, pl. IX; H. A. Thompson, *The Tholos of Athens and its Predecessors*, p. 51, fig. 43.

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the central portion of the building (Plate 45, 2, and Plate 46, 1-2) are of Eleusinian stone¹⁷ and it is believed that a bench of Eleusinian stone was set against them.¹⁸ Attention is thus called to the socle of the wall which is structurally distinct in both origin and actual construction from the courses above. In simpler Greek walls of mud brick and rubble construction coated with white plaster it had become customary to paint the lower portion red, probably both for the structural reason of emphasizing the difference in material between the socle and the wall above and for the practical purpose of protecting the plaster from the wear it would show if left white clear to the ground. The use of Eleusinian stone in the Propylaia must be an attempt in an all stone building to get both the effects that the red paint gave to a plastered wall. When it is recalled further that statues were set in the Propylaia, it will be realized that the decorative effect of a dark background for them may also have been in the architect's mind. The value for the exhibition of sculpture of color contrast first marked by a dark base is here adapted to another position. Probably, however, the structural and practical purposes were the main considerations.¹⁹

It must have been the decorative effect of color contrast often used for exhibition of sculpture but now adapted for paintings that prompted Mnesikles to make a string course of Eleusinian stone serve as a base line above which the paintings were hung in the northwest wing (Plate 45, 1).²⁰ There had been a clear cut string course over the orthostates of the old Propylaia above which the paintings of Polygnotos were originally placed. This was probably of wood over the marble orthostates and so afforded a striking color distinction, which Mnesikles would have been expected to furnish for the new gallery, regardless of the medium of painting intended. He would turn naturally to Eleusinian stone and since dimensions and proportions made it possible, he allowed the string course under the windows to go through into the interior and to continue around the other three walls of the wing on the same level.

The fifth use of Eleusinian stone in the Propylaia is frequently overlooked, yet it may have one of the most interesting explanations of all the uses. The topmost of the five steps which mark the transition from the lower west level to the upper east level, on which rises the wall of doors which are the actual gateways of the building, is of Eleusinian stone²¹ (Plate 45, 2 and Plate 46, 1-2). The four steps below, the adjoining pavement in the east porch, and the wall of doors set on this top step are all of shining white Pentelic marble. Why set off the top step so distinctly? It cannot be a matter of proportion here as in the case of the lowest step of the wings; it is

¹⁷ Penrose, *op. cit.*, p. 63, pl. 30; Hege, *op. cit.*, pls. 60, 62.

¹⁸ G. P. Stevens and others, *The Erechtheum*, p. 159, note 5.

¹⁹ If the location of the statues as proposed by Stevens (*Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 446-456) be accepted, none of those mentioned specifically by Pausanias stood in the west porch.

²⁰ Penrose, *op. cit.*, p. 59; Dinsmoor in Swindler, *Ancient Painting*, p. 424, note 14a.

²¹ Penrose, *op. cit.*, p. 63, pls. 29, 30; Hege, *op. cit.*, pls. 56-57, 59-62.

unlikely that one would wish to distinguish structurally one step from the whole flight of which it is an integral part; there is surely no special need of emphasizing by color contrast the uniform level of all the doors as the level of the windows of the wings was stressed, for the continuity of the steps is sufficiently obvious. In fact, one might stand for some time in the west porch as one enters the Acropolis and wonder at that top black step if one noticed it at all (many do not as they enter). But it is another matter when one leaves the Acropolis. The reader must at this point in the argument transport himself, in memory, to the Acropolis. It is a typical sunny Athenian day, in midwinter. He has walked about the Acropolis and prepares to leave. As he walks toward the Propylaia the brilliance of its façade glistening in its whiteness dazzles him; he moves on into the brief shadow of the shallow east porch; his eyes feel the sudden change to darkness but hardly adjust to it in the few steps across the shadowed floor; and all the while before him through the open doorways the brilliance of the light outside of the west porch (deep as it is) penetrates, is reflected from the white pavement, and strikes his eyes. But suddenly a warning note is struck. A dull dark mass below his feet does not glisten but marks clearly an edge of the pavement and tells him just in time that the level is changing, that there is a step below. Guided by it he is able to distinguish the other four steps one from the other because he now knows they are there, in spite of the fact that they tend to merge in the light as he looks on them. Mnesikles then, always the unpredictable, the innovator, the careful engineer as well as the imaginative designer is here the safety engineer, even though Periclean Athenians might not have recognized that modern appellation. Another example of his common sense, of his provision for convenience and comfort, they probably said. In any case it seems to be another first for Mnesikles, the first safety engineer we have as yet recognized among the world's architects.

A curious fact is that this last, in many ways most ingenious, use of Eleusinian stone in the Propylaia is never, to my knowledge, copied or tried again in exactly this way (although we may find it the inspiration of variants on this use), whereas the first three inaugurate a line of examples. The use to which Mnesikles puts the stone in his other Acropolis building, the Erechtheion, also remains unique although it must have been suggested by the earlier uses of dark stone to contrast with and so to emphasize sculpture. No followers are known of the Eleusinian frieze²² to which white marble figures are dowelled. Clearly here the dark stone served the purpose of the paint regularly applied to the background of friezes with relief. Mnesikles may have thought in terms of permanence and so considered a permanently colored ground

²² G. P. Stevens and others, op. cit., pp. 181, 239. It should also be recalled that the Commissioner's report of 409 B.C. (*Erechtheum*, Inscription VA, line 26, pp. 191, 319) lists two blocks of a size which precludes their belonging to the frieze but the use for which has never been determined. Thompson's suggestion (*Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 47, note 1) that they had some connection with the base of the cult statue seems highly probable.

an improvement on the painted one. Evidently either the effect was not as satisfactory as anticipated or no real saving of labor was achieved; probably the dowelling of the figures carved separately proved more time consuming and so more costly than painting the background, and if the results were not an actual improvement, there would have been no reason to repeat the experiment.

Meanwhile other Athenian architects have seized upon the possibilities opened by the Propylaia uses of dark stone.²³ The architect of the Stoa of Zeus in the Agora, dated *ca.* 430 B.C., has already been shown to be in considerable debt to Mnesikles, if not actually Mnesikles himself.²⁴ Among the many elements of plan, elevation, proportion, and detail of the Stoa which seem inspired by the Propylaia, the use of a four-stepped krepidoma has been noted.²⁵ The use of the dark stone for the lowest step for the purpose of emphasizing the horizontal level where the ground level falls off has also been explained.²⁶ The two observations would seem to belong together; undoubtedly the idea of the dark lowest step as well as the number of the steps was borrowed from the wings of the Propylaia. Here it is used extensively for leveling if not also for proportion. A real innovation now is the material. For both the lowest step and probably also the orthostates²⁷ of the wall (also following Propylaia example) Hymettian blue marble has replaced the black Eleusinian limestone, and from now on throughout the fourth century it will be more generally used whenever color contrast is desirable.²⁸

It was probably the use of Hymettian marble for the full length of the lowest step in the Stoa of Zeus that suggested the use for the whole krepidoma of two steps of the west Stoa in the Asklepion²⁹ very shortly after. The dark accent stresses clearly the horizontal level on which the columns are set, in fact, apparently two dark steps will do the same thing for a krepidoma that the more usual three whites ones do, as far as weighting of the design is concerned. Although the purpose of the dark stone is probably chiefly decorative here, it may still serve the interests of proportion. Nor is it too much to suggest that the architect had liked the idea of a dark stylobate suggested by the dark top step in the Propylaia and had carried its possibilities further.

²³ There is one possible pre-Propylaia use of Eleusinian stone which is as yet hypothetical but if proved correct will have great significance as a probable impetus to Mnesikles' imagination. I refer to the conjecture of H. A. Thompson that the threshold of the Hephaisteion, which must be dated early in the forties, was of Eleusinian stone (W. B. Dinsmoor, *Observations on the Hephaisteion*, p. 54). Thompson bases his conjecture on the evidence of queer cuttings inexplicable for ordinary blocks and in September, 1946, still considered the suggestion possible.

²⁴ H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 41, 53.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 22, fig. 34.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

²⁸ Thompson treats this material. *Ibid.*, pp. 46-47.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 45; W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*², p. 322; R. Martin, *B.C.H.*, LXVIII-LXIX, 1944-1945, pp. 351, 438.

Undoubtedly the Asklepion Stoa architect knew, in addition, of the uses to which Eleusinian stone had been put in the Telesterion at Eleusis, for the krepidoma of the whole building, cella and prostoön alike. His interest, however, in the effect achieved by the contrast of material makes the Athenian uses more likely prototypes than the Eleusinian.

While Mnesikles was discovering new structural uses for dark stone, the old practice of using it for color contrast in statue bases continued. For his chryselephantine statue of Zeus at Olympia⁸⁰ Pheidias not only provided an all Eleusinian base, but had a large section of the floor before the base repaved with Eleusinian stone. Evidently he had learned from the Promachos the advantage of a dark dull base for a brilliant statue, but here there were different conditions. The combined gold and ivory would be shown off to better advantage by a dark base complete with dark crown (not with a white crown as for the Promachos). Further the size of the statue was so great in proportion to the cella that it was desirable, even necessary, to make the dark base proportionate to it. Only by increasing the dark area by making the pavement before it also dark could this be done. When it is recalled, furthermore, that the base was not plain dark stone but covered with figures in gold fastened to it,⁸¹ glistening against its dark ground, it will be realized that it was essential to make the floor serve as the dark base from which the half dark and half brilliant pedestal and thence the all brilliant statue rose. The purpose here then is primarily decorative, to give a dark basis for a glittering statue, but also to assist adjustment of proportion to serve that decorative end.

It has been noted above⁸² that in the rebuilding of the Temple of the Athenians on Delos, ca. 425-417 B.C., the Eleusinian statue base from the Peisistratean temple was set up again. The Parian marble socle and adjoining pavement contrast strongly with the dark of the pedestal and would have given a very different effect from that of Olympia. This use, however, is clearly archaic.

A few years later, probably in the last decade of the fifth century,⁸³ the Tholos at Delphi combined several uses of dark stone, both new and old. In the peristyle a low projecting course of Eleusinian stone serves as the toichobate for the cella wall.⁸⁴ On it rests the white marble cyma reversa moulding with its unique carved pattern from the top of which the orthostates rise. Clearly the dark stone which acts as a base fascia to the cyma reversa is used to call especial attention to the carved moulding by

⁸⁰ W. Dörpfeld, *Olympia*, II, pp. 11-15, figs. 4, 6, 7, 8, pls. IX, XI.

⁸¹ Pausanias, V, 11, 3.

⁸² *Supra*, p. 342.

⁸³ Combination of the evidence of numerous details still seems to me to incline more strongly to this date than to the later one which the restoration of the columns in *B.C.H.*, LXII, 1938, pp. 370 ff. would suggest.

⁸⁴ J. Charbonneaux, *Fouilles de Delphes*, II, 4, 2, p. 10, figs. 15, 22.

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setting it off sharply from the white paving of the peristyle; the purpose here then seems purely decorative. Within the cella the pedestal³⁵ which runs around the wall is completely of Eleusinian stone, base, orthostates, and crowning moulding. The probability that the all-dark base of Olympia inspired this one by its success is heightened by the use here also of a dark pavement in front of the base.³⁶ The whole floor is of Eleusinian stone save the single central circular slab which is white to heighten the effect, to emphasize the center of the circular plan.

Although the use of dark stone continues into the fourth century, no new position is occupied or purpose served by it, and in general the somewhat lighter colored blue Hymettian marble tends to be more popular when dark stone is desired than the Eleusinian limestone.

In the rebuilding of the Tholos in the Agora at Athens at about the turn of the fifth to fourth centuries, the use of dark material for a string course under the windows³⁷ which had been one of Mnesikles' inventions in the Propylaia was repeated. This time the Hymettian marble first used a few years before in the near-by Stoa of Zeus replaces Eleusinian stone.

Another of the Propylaia uses of dark stone, for orthostate, is repeated again in the Pompeion of ca. 394 where the Hymettian marble which had served also for orthostates in the Stoa of Zeus is used once more.³⁸

The advantages of a dark orthostate were recognized outside of the Athenian area at Epidauros where Polykleitos the Younger uses the more conveniently accessible black marble of Argos for the interior orthostate of the Tholos.³⁹ Since the intent is to distinguish the base of the wall above, it is obvious that the toichobate (since one exists here) must also be of dark stone. The idea of a dark orthostate undoubtedly came from Athens, but in the absence as yet of any Athenian prototypes for the light and dark lozenge-patterned floor of Pentelic and Argive marble,⁴⁰ we must assume a more likely inspiration in the similarly planned Tholos at Delphi where the possibilities of contrasting colors in the floor were suggested. There the dark is a solid mass designed in relation to the dark pedestal, following the Olympia example. But the contrast of the central white disc must have suggested the effectiveness of a harlequin pattern, and here it is frankly the overall decorative pattern of light and shade that is the aim.

At about the same time as the building of the Tholos the contrast of dark and

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 19, fig. 25, pls. XX, XXII, XXVI.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 19, figs. 25, 27, pls. XXI, XXVII.

³⁷ H. A. Thompson, *The Tholos of Athens and its Predecessors*, pp. 50, 51, 53, figs. 39-42.

³⁸ Karl Kübler, *Ath. Mitt.*, LIII, 1928, p. 171; Thompson, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 46.

³⁹ P. Cavvadias, *Fouilles d'Épidaure*, p. 13; A. Defrasse et H. Lechat, *Épidaure*, p. 110, fig. on p. 107.

⁴⁰ Cavvadias, *op. cit.*, p. 14, pl. IV, 2 and 5; Defrasse et Lechat, *op. cit.*, p. 108, pl. X.

light stone was still being exploited in Athens, in one notable case by one of the leading architects of the day who was himself an Eleusinian. Yet so completely has Hymettian marble now replaced Eleusinian limestone that even Philo agrees to use Hymettian rather than Eleusinian for the threshold and jambs and interior lintel of the Arsenal in the Peiraeus.⁴¹ The inscription provides specifically for a Hymettian threshold, a Pentelic lintel on the façade and a Hymettian lintel in the interior⁴² but allows a choice between Hymettian and Pentelic for the jambs. The material of the walls of the building into which the doorways break is light buff colored Akte poros. Marble for the doorways is an embellishment. Why the dark threshold? Dark stone is now familiar for stylobate and interior floor, why not the threshold of a doorway between the two? Here of course there is no peristyle, therefore no exterior stylobate; the thresholds of the doorways at each end serve a comparable purpose both in regard to the appearance of the façade in which the vertical jambs and metopon rise from a dark base and in regard to walking over a dark instead of a light floor. Put into these latter words, this use suggests an occurrence of dark stone which seemed primarily designed to offer a dark walking surface, for the specific advantages it would give optically and so in the interests of safety. I refer of course to the top step of the Propylaea stair at the wall of doors, which we have already suggested may have been one of the contributing factors to the first use in Athens of a continuous dark stylobate (Asklepieion, West Stoa). The restriction to the threshold which is essentially a foot passageway may certainly be suggested directly by that top step in the Propylaea; but we must also recall that Philo's predecessor, as architect of the Telesterion in his own Eleusis, had already used Eleusinian stone for the stylobate as for all the steps in the building as constructed according to Iktinos' design. Further the antae of the prostyle are of Eleusinian. Perhaps they suggested the Hymettian possibility for the jambs of the Arsenal, since there is no apparent Athenian prototype for such vertical dark elements. The provisions of this inscription may very literally represent an agreement between the Athenian people and the Eleusinian architect in regard to more details than have yet been generally recognized.

The last use of dark stone to be mentioned in these notes belongs to about the same period as the Arsenal, probably a few years later, but still in the third quarter of the fourth century. In the East Stoa⁴³ of the Asklepieion on the slope of the Acropolis at Athens several of the uses previously noted are combined. Hymettian marble is again the material as elsewhere in fourth-century Athens. The stylobate is Hymettian, but the one other step is of poros; in other words, it is no longer the bottom step that does the emphatic levelling as in the Stoa in the Agora, nor the whole krepis-

⁴¹ *I.G.*, II², 1668, lines 33, 60.

⁴² *Ibid.*, line 31.

⁴³ G. Allen and L. D. Caskey, *A.J.A.*, XV, 1911, pp. 33-39.

doma as at Eleusis or in the West Stoa in this sanctuary; it is frankly the stylobate on which the columns rise that is emphasized. Is there also some interest in a dark threshold or top step? The floor within was probably of pounded earth unpaved. On a level with the stylobate are plinths of Hymettian marble for the interior row of Ionic columns and the orthostates of the back wall are Hymettian. Of the same material is the bottom step of the stair leading up to the pit room where the plinths for the four columns surrounding it are again of Hymettian. All these uses follow and extend earlier uses of dark stone. Their accumulation here may sound a bit excessive if contrast with lighter stone is still the dominant reason for the darker material. When we read further that both column drums and epistyle blocks of the original Greek form of the first storey order are of Hymettian, we incline to ask whether the Hymettian stone is no longer used primarily for effective color contrast. That the cornice is still Pentelic and the walls above the orthostates light-colored poros reminds us that the feeling for a light crowning element still holds and suggests that there may also be an idea of contrast between solid wall and columns. If so, it must be purely for the decorative effect, for variety, no longer to emphasize structure, level, or proportion or to deaden glare and foster safety if we have granted that purpose to Mnesikles.

If we look back over the two centuries in which we have followed the use of dark stone in chiefly light-stone structures, the purposes it serves seem to have come full circle. From what could be called a decorative effect originally in the second half of the sixth century when the color contrast was used to set off sculpture, the Eleusinian stone begins to be used to clarify levels in the early fifth century. It is the Periclean Mnesikles who first sees the numerous possibilities dark stone offers for emphasis of structure as well as level, for adjusting proportion, for safety devices. His contemporary architects, both in Athens and elsewhere, are quick to follow his lead both copying and adapting further his innovations. The Hymettian marble they substitute for the original Eleusinian limestone continues to serve similar purposes in the fourth century. By the third quarter of the century, however, the dark stone is used more freely and often without obvious reason unless it be merely decorative again.

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1. Propylaea at Athens, Northwest Wing and West Porch

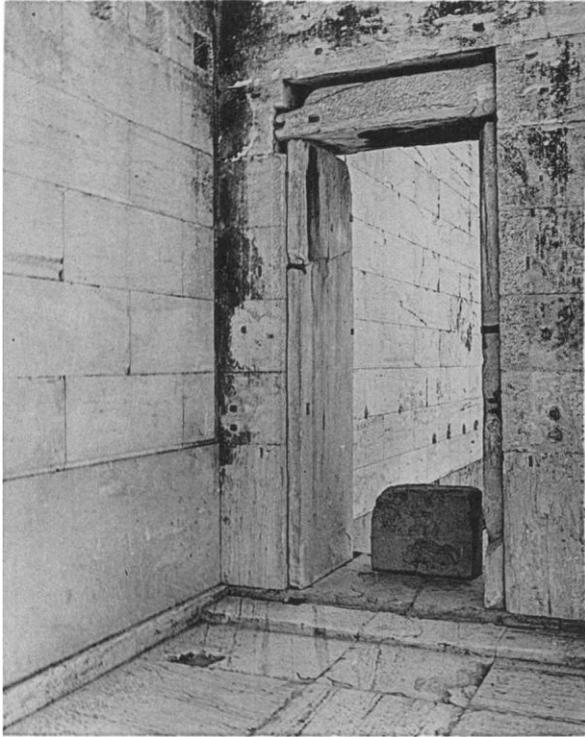


2. Propylaea at Athens, West Porch

L. T. SHOE: DARK STONE IN GREEK ARCHITECTURE



1. Propylaia at Athens, Interior of West Porch Showing Stairway Leading to East Porch



2. Propylaia at Athens, South Doorway from East Porch

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A Goddess from Lebadeia

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Reviewed work(s):

Source: *Hesperia Supplements*, Vol. 8, Commemorative Studies in Honor of Theodore Leslie Shear (1949), pp. 353-360+483

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A GODDESS FROM LEBADEIA

(PLATE 47)

THE following tribute to the memory of Theodore Leslie Shear is a slight study of an almost tiny object. But, however feebly, it expresses strong feelings: admiration of his leadership and achievement, gratitude for unforgettable kindness. Such fitness as here may be is in the thing itself, a terracotta at Berkeley (Plate 47, 1-3) from Lebadeia. Greek and sculptural, it belongs to Shear's favorite field; its charm, the special and rare charm of work hardly archaic yet barely classical,¹ would have pleased him, and I think he would have allowed the piece, in perhaps more than one respect, some importance.

At any rate, it can help us to mark off (Plate 47, 1-7: cf. Plate 47, 8) a new local species²—certainly Boeotian, probably Lebadean—in a vast genus of religious terracottas which a series of increasingly suggestive discoveries³ has made very

¹ Phase-marking: the broad U-shape of the face in front view, the run of the hair (arched, without a parting, over the brow: then falling quite steeply). Work of about 480 B.C. Contrast (more fully classical): Charbonneaux, *Terres cuites grecques*, pl. 26, no. 28 (in front view, Pottier, *Diphilos*, pl. 9, no. 198); Goldman and Jones, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pl. 16, group C; Heuzey, *Cat. des figurines du Louvre*, pl. 19, 3 (truer than Winter's drawing, *Typen*, 1, p. 246, 3), this last from Lebadeia like the Berkeley protome. Of the same stage as the Berkeley piece but a contrast in style, the Siceliote protome *Mon. Linc.* 32, pl. 66, 2; it brings out what this Boeotian terracotta shares with Attic sculpture of its time (cf. especially kore 688, Payne, pl. 89, and the male head from Eleusis, *Εφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1889, pl. 4).

² (1) *Berkeley*, University of California, Museum of Anthropology, 8.2348; given by Mrs. Phoebe Apperson Hearst; from Lebadeia. H., 10.8 cm.; w., 8.6 cm.; thin fabric, light brown clay; traces of white slip (not confined to flesh surfaces); the lips were certainly once red. In contrast to the crisp rendering of the stephane, hair and features, there is only faint suggestion of veil and earrings. Suspension hole: but the piece, carefully proportioned for balance, can stand upright. Plate 47, 1-3. (2) *Munich*, Museum antiker Kleinkunst (?); from Greece. H., 12.5 cm.; clay brick-red. Sieveking, *Terrakotten der Samml. Loeb*, 1, p. 9, pl. 13, 2 (shows a white slip?). Suspension hole. Plate 47, 4, after Sieveking. (3) *Berlin*, Antiquarium, 8185. H., 8.5 cm., color and dressing of clay not reported. *A.A.*, 1889, p. 91, no. 14; Winter, *Typen*, 1, p. 242, no. 9. Suspension hole. Plate 47, 5, after Winter. (4) *Cambridge*, Harvard University, Fogg Museum, 16.317, fragmentary; bought in Athens; "from Thebes" according to the vendor. Present h., 7.5 cm.; w., 6.1 cm. Its clay has in section a more decidedly red tinge than the clay of no. 1, but on the surface resembles it. No trace of slip or of red paint. Suspension hole. Plate 47, 6 and 7.

Related: *Hamburg*, Mus. f. Kunst u. Gewerbe, 1908. 326. From Lebadeia. H., 12.5 cm., traces of a white slip and of red painting. Suspension hole. Von Mercklin, *A.A.*, 1928, 373, no. 69, fig. 87 = my Plate 47, 8. Already compared by v. Mercklin with the Munich head, but its type is less matronly. Headdress (with plastic rendering of folds) an ample coil (cf. *Mon. Linc.*, 17, 331, fig. 243) rather than veil or shawled mantle, face less demure and expressionless.

³ *Funerary protomes with significant co-deposits*. SAMOS. Boehlau, *Necr.*, 48, gr. 50 (pl. 13, 7 with pl. 14, 6 and 8, pl. 15, 16; cf. terracotta found with mask of similar type in Heraion of Delos, Plassart, *Délos*, 11, figs. 121, 126); the mask-type decidedly early (see Knoblauch, *Studien*, p. 167). RHODES. Jacopi, *Cl. Rh.*, 2, 131, fig. 12 (late, early fourth cent.); 3 (Ialysos), figs. 119, 194; 4 (Kameiros), figs. 80, 83, 85, 108, 110, 137, 181 (very early, 540-520 B.C., Cook in *B.S.A.*, 34,

interesting: the mask-like protomes of a veiled goddess, a goddess who is wife or mother if the veil is characteristic and expressive.⁴ This great class—to be dis-

p. 26), 193, 203, 221, 223 (with Attic plastic vase of Marseilles Group, Beazley, *A.R.V.*, 898), 234 (with Fikellura ware of ca. 530 B.C., Cook, p. 24), 250, 256, 269, 290 (with Fikellura, Cook, p. 50), 323; 6-7 (Kameiros), fig. 184 (mask and cup omitted, Corinthian pottery alien to this grave inserted: see Jacopi's text); Laurenzi, *ibid.*, 8 (Ialysos), figs. 38, 97 (late fifth cent.), 179 (some objects intrusive?). NISYROS. *Cl. Rh.*, 6-7, fig. 25. SARDIS. Butler, *Sardis*, 1: 1, fig. 124 (together with "satellite" mask, girlish, as in Rhodes often). NYMPHAIION (Eltegen, Crimea). *C.R.*, 1877, pl. 6, nos. 2-10. OLYNTHOS. Robinson, *Ol.*, 11, graves 115, 191 (late types, high and "detailed"): not published, the masks reported for gr. 88, 90, 303 (archaic, in fourth cent. gr.), 366, 370, 510. RHENEIA. Tomb A, "Trench of Purification," Rhomaios, *Δελτίον*, 12, 199, fig. 6 (dates an advanced type before 426 B.C.). HALAI (Lokris), Goldman and Jones, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pls. 4-5; cf. pp. 380, 384, 389, 390, 397, 403, 413. Protomes (very late) *applied* to tombs, Walker and Goldman, *A.J.A.*, 1915, 429, fig. 5. MYKALESSOS (Rhitsona). Grave 18: Burrows and Ure, *B.S.A.*, 14, 287-298; Ure, *Aryballoi*, pl. 18, no. 265 (protome of conservative type in a grave of the first or second decade of the fifth century); *ibid.*, pl. 17; Ure, *Sixth*, pls. 15 ff.; Haspels, *A.B.L.*, 109-110. For girlish "satellites" see graves 26 (*B.S.A.*, 14, pl. 7) and 46 (*J.H.S.*, 29, fig. 12). SICILY. Hyblaeon Megara: Kekule, *T. v. Sicilien*, 8-9, fig. 2, grave dated ca. 500 B.C. by shape of a lekythos (cf. Haspels, 98): the fragments of Early or Middle Corinthian pottery seem to be alien (disposition in grave not given, though everything else is accounted for); Orsi, *Mon. Linc.*, 1, 804-806, grave 16 (third quarter of sixth century, Payne, *Necr.*, 323, no. 1328). See also graves 23, 126, 167, 175, containing (unpublished) masks (the published mask of gr. 88 is only of "satellite" type). CARTHAGE. Douimès: two grave deposits yielded Greek protomes (Delattre, *Mem. soc. ant.*, 56, 259-262, 308-309, figs. 1, 2, 35; cf. Berger, *Mus. Lavignerie*, pl. 13; codeposits from one of the graves in pl. 15, figs. 1-6). SARDINIA. S. Avendrace, grave 147, pr. Ibba, Taramelli, *Mon. Linc.*, 21, 1912, 125, fig. 35, 216 (for a later type at Nora, see *ibid.*, 14, pl. 18, 1, middle). *Votive protomes, the cult ascertained.* DELOS. Hera: Plassart, *Délos*, 11, 177 (inscribed mask), cf. 164-167, figs. 122-126, fig. 126 of very early type (cf. grave 50 at Samos). No clear evidence that this is a chthonic, "Telchian" Hera (Ergane?), but two inscriptions, vi and xv, pp. 181-182, call for investigation. SELINUS. "Malophoros," consort of a certainly infernal Zeus Melichos, Gabrici, *Mon. Linc.*, 32, 379-384, 400-406 (cf. pls. 27-29). The protomes of Selinus are very important for study of differentiation within the *koine* (see especially pls. 40, 49, 56, 58, 61, 65, 66). *Votive protomes, the cult less surely ascertained.* NAUKRATIS. Aphrodite probably, Hogarth and Gutch, *B.S.A.*, 5, 38, 72, 75 ff., pl. 10. CHRYSOVITZA (Aetolia). Qylia, a brook nymph? Rhomaios, *Δελτίον*, 6, 77, fig. 10. HALAI (Lokris). Athena? Found just to the East of her temple on the akropolis (Goldman, *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, 430 ff., 462 ff., figs. 152, 153, 155). MEDMA (Rosarno, Calabria). Athena? Orsi, *Not. Sc.*, 1913, Suppl., figs. 77-78. SYRACUSE. Found near the Athenaion, Orsi, *Mon. Linc.*, 25, 564, fig. 152. TERRAVECCHIA-GRANMICHELE (Sicily). Demeter and Kore? Orsi, *Mon. Linc.*, 7, 215, 225, fig. 12. AKRAGAS. Demeter and Kore? Rizzo, *Röm. Mitt.*, 12, 1897, 304. BITALEMI-GELA. Demeter and Kore? Orsi, *Mon. Linc.*, 17, 727, pls. 49-50. *Votive protomes, cult ambiguously evidenced.* LINDOS. Athena (Blinkenberg, *Lindos*, 1, 7, 18, 36, pls. 114 ff.; cf. pl. 1, G; not within, nor very near, her temple) or "the Damateres" (cf. Nilsson, *Arch. f. Religionsw.*, 32, 1935, 87, note 5). KOTILON (Arcadia). Aphrodite? Artemis? Kourouniotes, *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1903, 167, fig. 5, 2 and 7, cf. 171. PALMA DI MONTECHIARO (Sicily). Cult of a nymph (or of Demeter and Kore?) at a sulphurous spring, Caputo, *Mon. Linc.*, 37, 609 ff., figs. 16-18. *Votive protomes, no clue to the cult served.* AKRAGAS. From altars of the so-called temple of the Dioskouroi, Bovio, *Not. Sc.*, 1930, 77-78, figs. 4-6. PTOION. Goddess associated with hero Ptoios, Guillon, *B.C.H.*, 60, 1936, 418, fig. 1, 425-427. On the finding of veiled protomes in *houses* at OLYNTHOS, see Robinson, *Ol.*, 11, p. 197 (cf. *ibid.*, 7, pp. 17 ff.).

⁴ Plassart, *Délos*, 11, 162, Bieber, *R.E.*, 11, 2, 1692 (Robinson, *Ol.*, 4, 4, does not sufficiently

tinguished, and provisionally to be separated, from a satellite type that seems more girlish (unveiled or lightly veiled)⁵—is evidently something like a *koine*: not quite universally popular (in a provisional map of it, the Peloponnesos would be almost a blank, and Attica less important than Lokris or Chalkidike), but widely manufactured (by East Greeks and by Siceliotes, also in central and in Thraceward Greece), with local differences less remarkable than the uniformity of development.⁶ And still more widely used: as votive or funerary offerings, these veiled masks were in demand from Cyprus to Italiote Kyme,⁷ from Cyrene to the Crimea, and even beyond the limits of the Greek world; Sardis, Gath,⁸ Carthage and Sardinia have yielded them.

What, on the whole, this sort of protome meant in Greek worship and eschatology (not to puzzle over its borrowed use, in the religion of Lydia, Carthage, and Palestine) is thus no narrow or simple question. But there is enough evidence to make the problem tempting: (a) certainty that the veiled masks sometimes portray a consort of Zeus (on Delos, some aspect of Hera: in a joint chthonic cult at Selinus, the “Malophoros”); (b) likelihood that at Naukratis Aphrodite was meant; (c) at Halai and Lindos some appearances paradoxically suggesting Athena; (d) at Ialysos and Kameiros rich opportunity for studying the funerary vogue of protomic masks, both the veiled masks and their girlish (Kore-like?) satellites.⁹

On their *origin*, the thorough excavations of the Italians and the Danes in Rhodes, in various cemeteries and on the acropolis of Lindos respectively, seem to have thrown some light.¹⁰ The Rhodian finds, and others to which these give significance, suggest that the protomic mask was invented by East Greeks in the last third

distinguish stephane and kredemnon). In the earliest literature (*Od.*, vi, 100), and in early archaic art (see Athena, *C.V.A.*, Berlin, 1, pl. 47) the veil or shawl is no special mark of status. Again, on Attic stelai of “Roman date,” mere children sometimes wear it. But in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. it belongs especially to the bride or matron.

⁵ E. g. *Cl. Rh.* 4, fig. 141. See my note 3.

⁶ Moulds in Sicily: Rizzo, *Röm. Mitt.*, 12, 263, 300 ff. On manufacture at Olynthos, see Robinson, *Ol.*, 4, 4.

⁷ Distribution: see Winter, *Typen*, 1, 236-237, 240-245, 249-250, besides my notes 3, 6, 8. For Kyme, *Mon. Linc.*, 22, pl. 72, 8: but the veiled protomes, so abundant in Sicily, are astonishingly rare in Italy; an especially disappointing blank, the Heraion of Capaccio (Montuoro and Zanotti-Bianco in *Not. Sc.*, 1937, 206 ff.). The unpublished Boston mask (Museum of Fine Arts, 01.7914, gray clay), from “near the Dardanelles” marks no extension of the range of these protomes, but is worth special note for its very close resemblance to a Sicilian type (*Mon. Linc.*, 7, 225, fig. 12). Boston 84.169 is from Assos. [Add for Italy, Aurigemma², pl. 48 (Comacchio)].

⁸ If Gath is Tell es Safi (Bliss and Macalister, *Exc. in Palestine*, 35, 38-39, fig. 13, p. 140, over forty specimens). Sardis: Butler, *Sardis*, 1: 1, figs. 79 and 124; four veiled protomes in the Metropolitan Museum of New York (26.164.8, 23, 24, 31, the last very much like one from Myrina in Istanbul, Mendel, pl. 5, 2). Carthage and Sardinia: see Taramelli's bibliography, *Mon. Linc.*, 21, 128, and cf. Pace, *Mon. Linc.*, 30, 168-169, figs. 15-16. The Douimès finds, Punic and Greek, are of exciting interest: see my note 12.

⁹ See my note 3.

¹⁰ *Cl. Rh.*, and Blinkenberg, *Lindos*, 1 (see my note 3).

of the sixth century B.C., suddenly and spontaneously¹¹ (without influence from Egypt,¹² or Cyprus, or Syria). Some circumstances of its first appearance in Rhodian graves are especially interesting. It begins to occur not very long after a remarkable break in local burial custom, the introduction of the almost house-like *tomba a cassa* and the giving up of cremation, a change that seems to coincide with an innovation of perhaps more importance, in religion. At any rate, in graves of the early sixth century, whether cremation burials or primitive inhumations (mere chamber-tombs), there are few offerings that are unmistakably religious,¹³ tokens of consecration or gifts to propitiate the powers of another world. But with one of the very earliest "casse" (*Cl. Rh.*, 3, grave 220, pp. 229 ff.) were found two terracotta statuettes of veiled goddesses enthroned (p. 239, fig. 227)—such statuettes as often accompany the veiled protomes when these, somewhat later, begin to appear (e. g., *ibid.*, 4, p. 176, fig. 181, p. 219, fig. 234). The conjunction would be less arresting if we could still hold, with Orsi, that the Greek funerary protome is an imitation of the Egyptian

¹¹ All-important, the negative evidence furnished by the Italian excavations—in the long series of early Rhodian graves that have no masks, nor anything exotic that foreshadows them. For the conjunctions or stratifications that date the earliest veiled protomic masks in the last third of the sixth century, see note 3: especially significant, graves in Samos, Kameiros, Megara Hyblaia, and votive deposits at Delos, Lindos, Gela.

¹² The theory of Egyptian origin (Orsi, *Mon. Linc.*, 1, 935-936, 17, 687-688; Rizzo, *Röm. Mitt.*, 12, 301) is bound up with the mistaken notion that the protomes in Greek graves represent the dead: that is the worst of it. Whether it also sins by anachronism is a question for Egyptologists. I find some less convinced than Petrie and Brunton (*Sediment*, 1, p. 6, sect. 12) of the death-mask's abeyance during the Saïte period. The protomic masks of Greek religion seem to be the development of something by no means proximately exotic, the decorative use of plastic heads which began in the "Daedalic" period or even earlier (Jenkins, *B.S.A.*, 33, 66 ff.). At any rate, such Greek objects as the earliest antefixes (Poulsen, *Orient*, figs. 176, 185) can save us recourse (anachronistic?) to the sarcophagus of Eshmunázar (Hamdy-Reinach, *Nécropole à Sidon*, figs. 52, 52 bis; cf. Cooke, *N. Semitic Inscr.*, pp. 27, 38, 403) or to Cyprus masks (Blinkenberg, *Lindos*, 1, 37, fig. 3, Cesnola, *Atlas*, ii, pl. 26). Very curious evidence, which could perhaps be applied to a *reductio ad absurdum* of the least untempting hypothesis of exotic origin, is furnished by Punic cemeteries. If there is anything un-Greek that is fit, in the abstract, to have been the germ of the Greek protomic mask, it is the "Egyptianizing" type of Punic mask (Delattre, *Mém. soc. nat. des antiquaires*, 56, 340, fig. 36; Taramelli, *Boll. d'arte*, 8, 1914, 251-272, figs. 15-17; Antonielli, *Notiziario*, 1922, pp. 53-54). At Douimès (Carthage), to judge by "context" (Delattre, p. 343, fig. 58), this type precedes imported Greek masks of the second half of the sixth century (Delattre, figs. 1, 2, 35), but cannot possibly be their direct ancestor. Had the Douimès finds occurred in Rhodian graves, they would have told a very different story.

¹³ There are distinctions to be made: (1) in the "mourner" type of terracotta (*Cl. Rh.*, 6-7, fig. 77), and in the merely artistic figuring of most plastic vases (e. g., *ibid.*, 4, fig. 346), there is nothing religious; (2) one may not assert that so confidently of the imported figurines in faïence (e. g., *ibid.*, 6-7, fig. 31) and the homemade mannikins (e. g., *ibid.*, 4, fig. 313), but there is no clear sign that they are to be distinguished from the absolute property of the dead; (3) only in a very few graves of the earlier series (*ibid.*, 6-7, tomb 27, fig. 91; cf. 3, tomb 19) are there objects which seem to represent, and to be consigned to, the deities afterwards propitiated in the "tombe a cassa"; even these show almost no anticipation of the types later specific.

mummy mask. But—whether there be outright anachronism in Orsi's theory, or not—it is plain that the masks in Rhodian graves are in no sense portraits, for they have no regular correlation with the age or sex of the dead. Whatever may be the meaning of the similar and contemporary protomes from the acropolis of Lindos in the same island (a disputed matter, on which I touch below), those from the cemeteries of Ialysos and Kameiros belong as certainly as the statuettes to a new practice in the religion of sixth-century Rhodes, a funerary cult *expressly* addressed to some chthonic power or powers.

Expressly, recognizably: perhaps the novelty is only there. The truth after all may be that the faïence trinkets and "mudladies" of some earlier graves in Rhodes, the masks, statuettes, eggs and other patently chthonic tokens of the later graves, are different modes of the same worship. But at any rate, the innovation of which the first funerary masks are part is highly curious and interesting, whether it begins or only transforms a practice of treating the grave as chapel of gods of the dead.

That change—revolutionary at Rhodes, influential to a great distance beyond Rhodes, affecting even Punic customs of burial¹⁴—suggests questions that cannot be duly discussed, or even formulated, in this mere note. The most I can do is to state the chief of them, and leave it to imply the rest. How are the two uses of the masks, the funerary use and the simply votive, related?

Dedicated below ground, the veiled masks served a cult assuredly chthonic, however risky to name (especially at Rhodes, with its vague "Damateres"¹⁵ and its Telchianian Hera¹⁶). Are the dedications above ground, in sanctuaries, addressed to a chthonic aspect of the goddess represented? In some particular cases, this is certain or probable, certain for the protomic masks dedicated to the Selinuntine Malophoros, consort of Zeus Meilichios, probable with respect to the Siceliote masks generally; it is not unlikely for the Naukratis masks, if these represent Aphrodite (the veil then expressing her relation to Hermes Chthonios); not impossible for the Delian masks of Hera. The rub comes with the veiled goddesses of Lindos, Medma, and Halai; if they are Athenas, must we not look at the whole class differently? Can it be altogether chthonian, and moreover (on the head of an unchallengeably virgin goddess) does not the "wifely" veil begin to lose meaning?¹⁷

I dare not risk a general answer, and here can only put my "Berkeley Group" in evidence, for the students of Greek religion to consider and apply. It is not known

¹⁴ See note 12.

¹⁵ Nilsson, *Arch. f. Religionsw.*, 32, 1935, 87, note 5.

¹⁶ Diodorus, V, 55 (Ialysos and Kameiros!). Cf. Maiuri, *Cl. Rh.*, 2, 27 ff., figs. 12-13; Kruse, *R.E.*, 5A: 1, 224 f.

¹⁷ See note 3.

whether the masks of this group are from graves or a sanctuary; but it may be that this does not quite deprive them of all bearing on the problem stated.

Two of them, the typical Berkeley mask and the Hamburg specimen of a related by-type, are "from Lebadeia." The Munich as well as the Hamburg mask has the brick-red color to which Lebadean clay is said to tend,¹⁸ and (barring the abbreviated and otherwise peculiar piece last mentioned) one must acknowledge in the group a special resemblance to some types of Lebadeia's neighbor, Locrian Halai—in the uncommonly emphatic swelling of the breast.¹⁹ Against all these indications, "Thebes," the provenience recorded (on the word of a dealer in Athens) for the Harvard head, cannot count for very much. If the Berkeley Group of protomic masks belongs to Lebadeia, home of a remarkable nexus of chthonic cults,²⁰ there is no doubt on what side of the present question the new material tells. For either it is funerary and in that case of chthonic application anyhow: or, if it is not funerary, most of the public cults of Lebadeia which it might fit are chthonic—that is the nature (apparently) of almost all the attested goddesses²¹ of this place, Herkynna, Kore, Demeter Europe, Hera Henioche or Basilis.

To none of these would the typical veil be out of character, for neither Kore nor Herkynna²² are altogether virgin deities. Their ambiguous status does lend special interest to the atypical Hamburg protome (Plate 47, 8), found at Lebadeia like the Berkeley head and evidently of the same ware, but (in expression as well as in head-dress) less matronly—a relation to the main group that is easy to parallel in chthonic deposits of masks; types Kore-like occur with types Demeter-like both in Rhodian graves and in the sanctuary shared at Selinus by the Malophoros and Zeus Meilichios.²³

It is a commonplace that a peculiar difficulty of Greek religion for its students is combined of the Greeks' passion for distinguishing and their lack of zeal for distinctions established. It is dangerous to set any dogmatic limit to their tolerance of conflation, in theology or theography. At Lebadeia, with its Trophonios who is or is not Zeus, its Herkynna who is the playmate of Demeter's daughter or Demeter herself, its charioted Hera who has perhaps absorbed its "hunted" Kore, there is quite enough of cautionary confusion. But the place can offer a bit of discrimination that is notably to the point in a question vexed by the veiled "Athenas" of Lindos and

¹⁸ Heuzey, text to his pl. 19, 3: confirmed by Eugene Vanderpool, after an enquiry which he kindly undertook for me in Greece.

¹⁹ See note 3. For a profile view of a Locrian protome see Charbonneaux, pl. 26, no. 28.

²⁰ Pausanias, IX, 39; Lycophron, *Al.*, 152 f., and Tzetzes *ad loc.*; Livy, XLV, 27 (cf. Strabo, IX, 414, 38); *I.G.*, VII, 3077, 3080 f., 3081, 3090, 3092 f., 3096 f. On Trophonios' neighbors, see Radke, *R.E.*, 7A: 1: 691-695.

²¹ The exceptions: Tyche (Paus., *loc. cit.*), Artemis (*I.G.*, VII, 3100 f.).

²² Identified with Demeter by Tzetzes, *loc. cit.*; cf. Hesychius, *s. v.* Ἑρκύνια.

²³ E. g., *Cl. Rh.*, 4, fig. 323; *Mon. Linc.*, 32, pls. 56, 66.

Halai. Lebadeia, at least, knew how to distinguish a protome of Athena, if Heuzey was not mistaken in assigning to it the piece he published in *Cat. Louvre*, pl. 19, 3 (cf. Winter, 1, p. 246, 3).

Characterized by an aegis, that protome is a sure Athena and (in the issue between Laurenzi and Blinkenberg) is some test of the dubious ones of Lindos. Soundly, Laurenzi²⁴ has insisted that the Danes cannot have been right in taking the veiled protomes of that site for mere token "worshippers" of Athena Lindia.²⁵ But if the Danes' interpretation proceeded from a scruple about the veiling—as scarcely appropriate to Athena after the earliest archaic period—the Louvre protome is on their side, for it is unveiled.

If the Lebadean Athena in the Louvre does not resolve the Lindian crux, at least it can suggest a third line of speculation. Athena was not the only goddess worshiped on the acropolis of Lindos, which had a cult of "Damateres," associated with Zeus Damatrios in a chthonic trinity.²⁶ In the veiled Lindian masks the very attribute that seems incongruous, or at best pointless, for Athena,²⁷ would be tellingly apt for the consort of an infernal Zeus. There is no evidence (that I know of) fixing the site of this chthonic cult in the very hollow where the masks were found. But (as Kjellberg's plan²⁸ shows) their finding place can scarcely have belonged to Athena's temenos.

The whole curious topic needs much deeper probing—beyond the level of τῶ Θεῷ to the level of ὁ Θεός.²⁹ No chthonic queen in Greek religion is an absolute power; the veil of the protomic masks is itself a reminder of this, having *per se* no chthonic meaning whatever, yet eloquent of the relation which gives the goddess of the underworld her right to commend and mediate.

Mediation: in no Greek writing does that function of the Queen of Hades come into really sharp focus; even in the "Orphic" tablets there is only shy allusion (πρόφρων πέμψη, Kern, 32 d-e). On the Olympian plane of theology, Greek literature and Greek art deal quite candidly with petticoat influence—I can pardon myself the phrase, for it is no jauntier than the Phrynos Painter's expression of Athena's role before Zeus, as sponsor and eager usher of a hero's apotheosis. That lively work³⁰—the richest possible illustration of πρόφρονα πέμπειν—prompts me to a last word of

²⁴ *Cl. Rh.*, 8, pp. 16 f.

²⁵ *Lindos*, 1, 34, 590. I must thank Dr. A. Merlin, Conservateur at the Louvre, for photographs of the Paris Athena.

²⁶ See note 15.

²⁷ Incongruous or pointless if "the dogma that maidenhood was essential to her nature was rooted in myth and popular feeling" (Farnell, *Cults*, 1, 303). Farnell was perhaps not quite sufficiently guarded: in the cult of an infernal Zeus at Koroneia (Pausanias, IX, 33, 1; cf. Strabo, IX, 411, 29) Athena Itonia has slipped into the place of Persephone.

²⁸ *Lindos*, 1, pl. 1, G.

²⁹ To use Eleusinian language (*I.G.*, I², 76, 38-39).

³⁰ Beazley, *Attic Black-Figure*, pl. 1, 1; *J.H.S.*, 52, 1932, pl. 5.

qualification, in justice to Athena. It would be rash to lay down that nowhere in Greece was her cult assimilated to Kore's. I have doubted it for Lindos, where there is a plausible counterclaim to the masks that seem chthonic. But I must respect the evidence of finds at Halai and Medma (note 3), veiled Athenas less disputable, though one might dispute their importance: a purely external assimilation, in thoughtless analogy (or merely parsimonious "making-do")? Strabo's testimony for Koroneia³¹ is perhaps our only hint that Athena's Olympian privilege of commendation might be extended in an infernal direction. There she took the place (did she share the prerogatives?) of Persephone.³²

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³¹ See note 27.

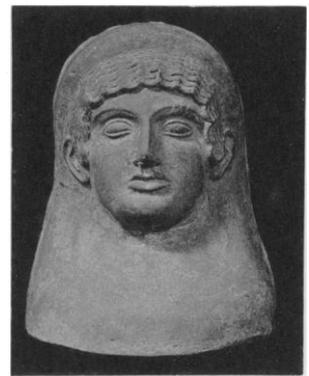
³² For leave to publish protomes in their charge, I heartily thank Professor E. W. Gifford, Curator of the Museum of Anthropology at the University of California, and Professor G. M. A. Hanfmann, Curator of Classical Art in the Fogg Museum of Harvard University. Dr. Hetty Goldman most obligingly supplemented for me her already full and exact account of the masks from Halai. The Committee on Research of the University of California assisted me in this investigation (and other studies) by a generous grant in aid of travel and photography. Miss Victoria Johnson measured and helped to clean the Berkeley mask.



1



2



3



4



5



8



6



7

1, 2, 3: Berkeley
4: Munich
5: Berlin
6, 7: Cambridge
8: Hamburg



An Inscribed Kouros Base

Author(s): David M. Robinson, Gorham Phillips Stevens and Eugene Vanderpool

Reviewed work(s):

Source: *Hesperia Supplements*, Vol. 8, Commemorative Studies in Honor of Theodore Leslie Shear (1949), pp. 361-364+484

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AN INSCRIBED KOUROS BASE

(PLATE 48)

IN THE periodical *Polemon*¹ the late Professor A. S. Arvanitopoulos published a metrical inscription on the base of an archaic kouros which he knew from a rough copy supplied him by a peasant interested in selling the base. The block was reported to have been found somewhere in the Attic midlands and was said to go with one of the kouroi which had been found in the same area at about the same time, those now known as the New York and Anavysos kouroi. Professor Arvanitopoulos believed that on stylistic grounds it could be assigned to the latter.

Miss Richter in her recent book *Kouroi* (pp. 193 f.), has discussed the inscription. She feels that it could well belong to the Anavysos kouros and does not even consider the possibility of its belonging to the New York kouros (*ibid.*, pp. 63 ff.).

There is now a little new information to add. Early in 1947 an unknown man appeared at the American School of Classical Studies in Athens and said that some friends of his had the base of the New York kouros, which they were prepared to sell in return for a fantastic sum of money. On being questioned he produced a sort of combination squeeze and tracing² of the inscription which proved to be that published by Professor Arvanitopoulos. This "squeeze" is much more accurate than the rough copy originally published, and from it a good idea of the inscription can be obtained and a correct text can be established. On being further questioned the man supplied the length and height of the base accurately: he could only guess at the depth (0.40-0.50 m.). Further, he said the base was of white marble, not of poros as originally stated. He mentioned some cuttings in the top, but was unable to give any measurements of them or to describe them accurately. He mentioned that the two sides have finished surfaces. Whether or not the rear face was well dressed, cut with anathyrosis, or broken across its whole length, he could not say. The only other information which could be obtained from him was that the letters and the punctuation points were painted red. From his "squeeze" one can see that the lettering is delicate, the width of the strokes being between 0.002 and 0.003 m. only, while the height of the letters is about 0.035 m. The tracing also shows horizontal lines between the lines of letters, and the man reported that they were painted red. Using the data derived from the "squeeze" Mr. Stevens has made the drawing which appears below (cf. Plate 48, 1).

¹ Vol. II, fasc. 2, pp. 81-88. This fascicule was published in 1938 and was the last to appear before the war. Publication has been resumed by some of Professor Arvanitopoulos' former students and collaborators, particularly Mr. Papayannopoulos-Palaios, and the first fascicule of Volume III appeared early in 1947.

² Apparently made by pressing a piece of damp paper against the inscribed face of the stone, but not beating it with a brush. The result is that faint impressions of the letters can be made out on the back of the paper. When this "squeeze" had dried the man pencilled in all the letters with a red pencil on the front of the paper.

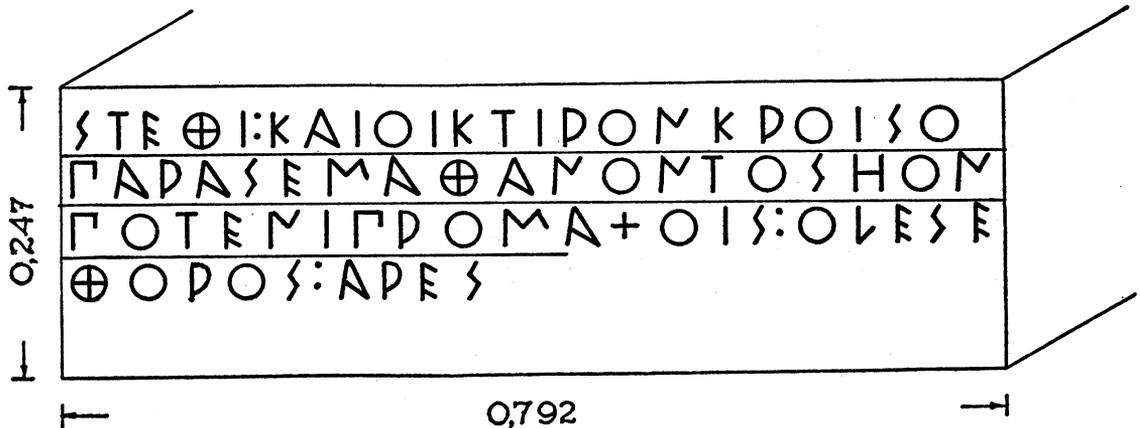


Fig. 1

*στῆθι : καὶ οἴκτιρον Κροῖσο παρὰ σῆμα θανόντος
 ἴόν ποτ' ἐνὶ προμάχοις : ὄλεσε θῆρος : Ἄρες.*

“Stay and mourn at the monument of dead Kroisos,
 whom furious Ares destroyed in the front ranks.”

(Richter)

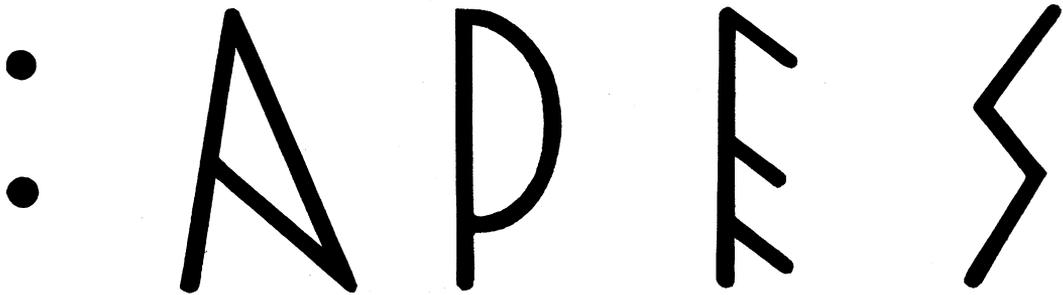


Fig. 2. Full Size Detail

Too much reliance cannot be placed on the man's statement that the base belongs to the New York kouros, although he repeated it emphatically several times and also said equally emphatically that it was *not* the base of the Anavysos kouros. It will be remembered that he was trying to sell the base to Americans who might be supposed to be more interested in buying it if they believed it to belong to the statue in New York.³ As we have seen, Professor Arvanitopoulos and Miss Richter both concluded

³ Actually the reverse was the case. If the price had been at all reasonable, the School might have considered buying the base and presenting it to the National Museum in Athens. In this event it would obviously have been better if it belonged to the Anavysos kouros, which is now there, so that the statue could be mounted on its original base.

that the base probably belonged to the Anavysos kouros which they date around 540 B.C. This certainly seems a better date for the inscription than about 600 B.C. which it would have to be if it belonged to the New York kouros. We have so little certain knowledge of the development of letter forms in the sixth century B.C., however, that the earlier date perhaps cannot be excluded. When the base finally makes its appearance, and the cutting that must exist in its top can be measured, we will probably be able to decide with certainty to which statue it belongs. We will thus gain an important fixed point for letter forms of the sixth century B.C., since the chronology of the kouroi is now well established by Miss Richter's study.

GORHAM PHILLIPS STEVENS,
EUGENE VANDERPOOL

AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES

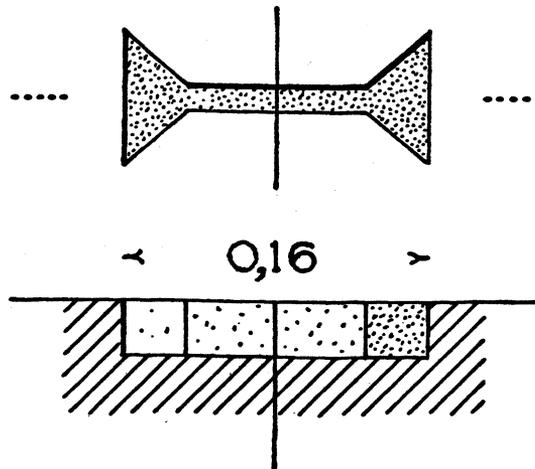


Fig. 3. Clamp Cutting

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE

(By DAVID M. ROBINSON)

I am now in position to add new data to what is known about the kouros base published above by Stevens and Vanderpool, since no other archaeologist has seen the stone. I took three squeezes (Plate 48, 1), a poor photograph, and made a copy.

The approximate location of the stone is correctly given by Arvanitopoulos (*loc. cit.*), not far from the modern village of Keratea.⁴ Several other blocks were found

⁴ I saw at Keratea a grave monument of the fourth century with a sculptured relief representing a seated bearded man in front of whom stands a female figure. The inscription reads 'Αμφιχάρης Κεφαλῆθεν and 'Ιερόκλεα. The names are new in Kephale, but the inscription further confirms the location of the deme (A. Koehler, *Ath. Mitt.*, X, 1885, p. 110; J. Kirchner, note on *I.G.*, II², 6345).

with the inscribed base, and one is said to have fitted on top of the base; unfortunately these other blocks have been destroyed. The inscribed block is of Parian marble. The surface on which the inscription is cut is well dressed, and there are slightly depressed horizontal lines between the four lines of letters; in lines and letters there is red paint.

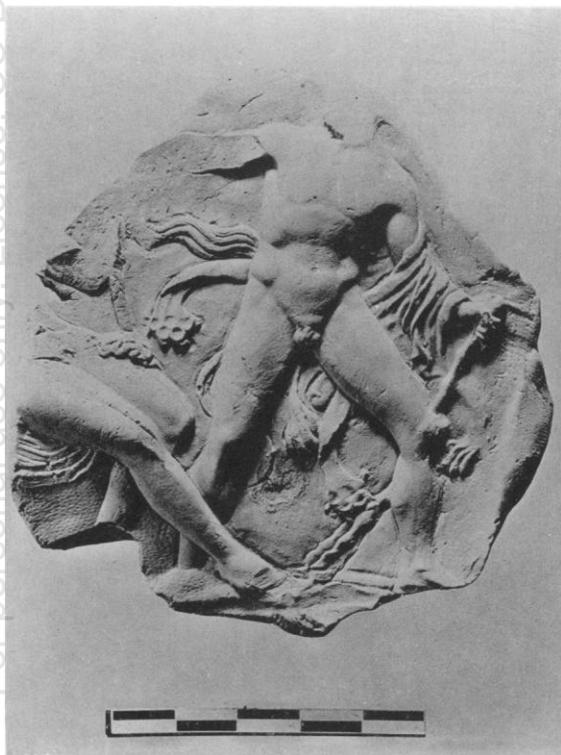
The base is 0.51 m. thick, 0.24 m. high, and 0.81 m. wide. At the rear edge, on top, 0.43 m. from the front and 0.22 m. from the right side, is a cutting for a clamp (0.08 m. long and 0.03 m. deep—Fig. 3). Distant from the front 0.44 m. and from the left side 0.17 m. is another clamp cutting. The cuttings are for only half of the two clamps which joined another stone to the rear of the inscribed block; the rear stone was, perhaps, 0.30 m. thick, to make a base 0.81 m. square. The back of the block is cut with anathyrosis, which in addition to the clamp cuttings shows that there was a block at the rear of the inscribed block. The bottom is dressed as an unexposed surface, indicating that the block was placed upon another block. The top has a well-dressed smooth band 0.11 m. wide on the front, left, and right sides; it does not appear at the back. This band is marked off from the middle of the stone by a well-cut depressed line, and on the surface of the area of stone within the line there are no holes or other traces of the attachment of a statue; the dressing of the surface proves that another block was fitted on the top, within the line. The inscription, then, was perhaps on the middle block of a three-block pedestal.

It is not certain that the monument borne by the pedestal was a statue, though I am inclined to believe that it was. It is to be noted that the inscribed base itself supplies no evidence for its connection with the Anavysos kouros as Arvanitopoulos and Miss Richter (*loc. cit.*) suggest. According to several witnesses the base was found far from the place where that statue was unearthed, but near the place where the New York kouros was discovered. A further element of uncertainty is added by the testimony that two kouroi, not merely one, were found near the inscription.



1. The Inscription on the Base. Photograph from a Squeeze

D. M. ROBINSON'S SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE TO "AN INSCRIBED KOUROS BASE"



2. Relief from Corinth



3. Back of Relief

D. B. THOMPSON: OSTRAKINA TOREUMATA



Ostrakina Toreumata

Author(s): Dorothy Burr Thompson

Reviewed work(s):

Source: *Hesperia Supplements*, Vol. 8, Commemorative Studies in Honor of Theodore Leslie Shear (1949), pp. 365-372+484-486

Published by: [The American School of Classical Studies at Athens](#)

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OSTRAKINA TOREUMATA

(PLATES 48-50)

THE TWO pieces which form the basis of this study were found in Corinth, the scene of Dr. Shear's activity for many years.¹ Both objects are impressions in clay, obviously taken from metalwork, although one is preserved as a relief and the other as a mould. Presumably they both come from the metal-shops for which Corinth was famous.²

The relief (Plate 48, 2) was taken from a mould which had previously been made by pressing moist clay carelessly against a metal repoussé original.³ The artist evidently was interested only in preserving the torso of one figure, even neglecting the head, which is not broken away, but omitted, yet the detail of the rough surface of the panther skin and the pitting of the rock indicate that the original was of fine, careful craftsmanship. The scene in fairly low relief shows a figure on the left seated on drapery thrown over a rock and one knee. His right nude leg is extended. In his left hand, which was bent upward, he held a stick or thyrsos. Just in front of him a nude, horse-tailed silen moves right, looking back, and extending his right hand. Over his left arm a panther skin is thrown, which flies out behind. In his left hand he carries a knotted stick. The impression would appear to have slipped slightly (or to have been reworked) at the ground level. The modelling is vigorous. The subject, obviously Dionysiac, and the widely spread composition involving at least two figures are unsuitable for armour. The relief most probably decorated a sizable bronze vessel used for the mixing or consumption of wine.

Since the circumstances of excavation did not give any useful information for this piece, we must rely only on the style of the relief for its dating. The subject, as we have noted, appears to be drawn from the Dionysiac cycle. The effeminate legs of the figure to the left well suit Dionysos himself, who often sits in a similar pose upon drapery thrown over a rock. The silen is a lightly built figure, typical of his company. The composition is based on flying diagonals over which curved drapery swings to bind the scene together. This type of composition is a familiar scheme

¹ I owe the permission to publish this material, among many other kindnesses, to Dr. Shear. Dr. Carl Roebuck and Dr. and Mrs. Saul Weinberg most kindly gave me information regarding excavation and other help at Corinth.

² For similar pieces from the Athenian Agora, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 285-316; from the Pnyx, *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, p. 127, no. 103; from various sites, D. K. Hill, *Hesperia*, XII, pp. 97-114.

³ Corinth, from the Shear Excavations, 1925. T91-TC18. Athena trench, north extension, north end at a depth of 3 m., H. 0.091 m.; W. 0.084 m.; T. 0.023 m. of pinkish buff clay which was pressed in a thin layer into the mould and then thickened by additional wads of clay carelessly applied, Plate 48, 3. Preserved all around, except for slight chipping. Arm of Dionysos and silen broken away. Traces of a cloth having been pressed on the upper part of the relief while it was still damp. Traces of reddish paint along the edge of the right side.

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during the last quarter of the fifth century B.C. By the time of the Mausoleion frieze the figures have become more widely spaced and the diagonals, though still used, are not so assertively opposed into a close-knit group. Clearly the original metal relief must fall very near the turn of the century.

If we study the drapery of moving figures on vases, we can narrow our dating still more closely. Although the Kertch vases delight in scenes of revel, and indeed, a composition not dissimilar occurs on a Kertch vase from Cyrene,⁴ yet the style on the vases, both of drapery and of musculature, is obviously far more advanced. The drapery of our relief actually more closely resembles the varied, quick movement on the Nike Balustrade and related grave-reliefs. Likewise, the still clearly accented musculature of the torso is better paralleled at the Argive Heraion.⁵

Surviving bronze reliefs of this period are not uncommon, for instance, the Perseus pail or the Dionysiac situla from Boston, which are usually called South Italian.⁶ The detail on these works is rather duller than that of ours. An impression from a metal relief from Tarentum, now in the Metropolitan Museum,⁷ on the other hand, is as finely modelled as ours, with more varied drapery. It also shows a male figure, possibly Herakles, seated on a rock with one leg extended and one drawn back. A poorer version of this type has also been found at Praeneste.⁸ This motif appears again and again on metal reliefs of the fourth century.⁹

The silen's rapid movement forward, which is arrested by his glance backward, is best paralleled on metalwork of which impressions have survived, especially in Athens. An earlier example, of post-Pheidian character, serves to bring out by contrast the fourth-century spirit of the Corinthian piece,¹⁰ whereas a cheek piece from the Pnyx, in higher relief and more plastic in feeling, seems a little later.¹¹

Our clay relief, then, is closely related to a group of metal pieces which date *ca.* 400-380 B.C. and more probably at the beginning of that period. Since the clay in which the relief was made is not positively Corinthian, and since many parallels for composition and style come from Attica, we may wonder whether Corinthian metal-workers, like Corinthian potters of the period, were importing models or copying Attic pieces.

⁴ Schefold, *K.V.* 7a (360 B.C.).

⁵ Winter, *Kunstgeschichte in Bildern*, p. 288, 9.

⁶ W. Lamb, *Greek and Roman Bronzes*, pl. LXVII b; D. K. Hill, "Ancient Metal Reliefs," *Hesperia*, XII, pp. 97 ff., fig. 1.

⁷ *Bulletin Metropolitan Museum*, VII, 1912, p. 97, fig. 6; *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, p. 111, fig. 11.

⁸ *Hesperia*, *loc. cit.*, p. 113, fig. 13.

⁹ W. Züchner, *Griechische Klappspiegel*, Berlin, 1942, pl. 14.

¹⁰ *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 293 f., fig. 7.

¹¹ *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, no. 103 (probably of the second quarter of the 4th century B.C.); cf. the modelling of the animal paws and of the drapery as well as that of the muscles of the human leg.

The mould (Plate 49, 1 and 2) was taken from a most remarkable piece of metalwork, which, to judge from the exquisite detail shown even in a cast, must have been finer than anything else of its period that has survived. Fortunately the excerpt was well selected and is well preserved.¹²

As in the previous example, the metallic original is indicated by the extremely high relief, possible only in repoussé and difficult even in that technique. Delicate details, such as the points of furry skin, the down on the cheeks, and the veins on the arm, must be seen on a cast to be appreciated, and are equalled only on the finest coins in surviving metalwork of the period. The subject, involving a struggle between at least two combatants, is eminently suitable for the decoration of dress-armour, which was so popular at this period as to draw criticism from Sokrates himself.¹³ Actually, the scale of our fragment is very close to that of the famous "Siris bronzes," which adorned the shoulder clasps of a cuirass with pairs of fighting figures for the inspiration of the wearer.¹⁴ Our mould, which derives from a composition at least 0.14 metres in width, must have been even more splendid, and must have belonged to a young man of noble family. Armour decorated with gold or gilded relief is listed as an offering on treasure-lists.¹⁵

The subject is indeed one of struggle, interlocked and intense. A nude youth, over whose left arm a panther skin is lightly thrown, is hurling something at an adversary. Two paws of the skin fly out behind him and the panther head, seen in profile, leers down at a beast's head, seen in full-face, which appears to be biting the youth's left thigh. The young combatant is wild-looking, if handsome, with shaggy locks which grow down on his jaw into a sort of sideburns. Here, evidently, is another of those scenes from a Gigantomachy such as we have noted already on a cheek-guard relief from Athens of a somewhat earlier style.¹⁶

¹² Corinth, M.F. 8540. Found in 1938 by S. Weinberg in a manhole leading to a water-system west of the Museum at depth 7.10-8.80 m. in the lower part of a dry filling thrown in at the time of disuse. This dump contained 13 eponymous coins of Corinth, dating 400-146 B.C., many small skyphoi and cups of fourth-century Corinthian types, including "blister-ware" and two red-figure sherds from kraters (Plate 49, 3) of the late fifth century B.C. (cf. *C.V.A. Oxford* I, pl. XXXVII, 3-4). Mould: height 0.11 m., width 0.097 m., cf. S. Weinberg, *A.J.A.*, XLIII, 1939, p. 593, fig. 5 and p. 596. The pale yellow clay with a greenish tinge is certainly Corinthian. An ancient break through the centre is chipped along the lower part. Pared irregularly behind, showing abundant finger marks. The relief was so high (ca. 0.01 m.-0.025 m.) that the left side of the face was damaged by the removal of the clay impression. The background has a curvature, of which the radius was between 0.235 m. and 0.24 m.

¹³ Xenophon, *Mem.*, III, 10, 14.

¹⁴ The possibility that the relief decorated a vase, such as the Boston or Berlin situlae (diameter 0.253 m. and 0.21 m. respectively) must not be overlooked. All our present evidence, however, points to armour.

¹⁵ *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 314 f.

¹⁶ *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 296, fig. 9 (cf. figs. 10-11). It was, I believe, at a meeting of the Archaeological Club at Princeton that this identification was first made.

In this case, however, the Giant is probably hurling not a boulder but a stone, and he is not aggressive, but weakening, owing to the grip of the beast upon his thigh. The beast appears to be feline, either a lion or a leopard. Since no lion mane can be made out and since lions do not appear on Greek Gigantomachies of this period, we had best consider it a leopard. If so, it would doubtless be one of the pards of Dionysos' chariot, fiercely defending his master. On black-figured vases, indeed, they may be seen biting their adversaries.¹⁷

The Gigantomachy, like the Amazonomachy and the Dionysiac revel, was a favourite subject during the late fifth century. The frenzied spirit, rendered in violent curves, actually suggests several vase paintings of the period.¹⁸ Many details are paralleled on the great Melos amphora (Plate 50, 1). Here, too, we see the pose, not balanced, as on our earlier piece, in curve and countercurve expressed by angles, but forged into a single lunate curve with the head drooping far down against the shoulder. The body is now turning, not completely realistically, but with chest and ribs markedly dilated and the waist markedly contracted. These mannerisms are characteristic of many Giant figures on the Amphora, which seems to have been copied by someone at least familiar with the plastic styles. The musculature, the shaggy heads, and the wild glances on the vases are rather inept drawings of work which might have been splendid in its proper medium.

Returning, then, to the plastic work, we might note that even in marble sculpture the style was popular just after the turn of the century. Three good parallels should be noted. First, let us consider the state grave relief for 394/3 B.C. (Plate 50, 2).¹⁹ It shows a fallen warrior whose knees point in one way while his head turns upward in the opposite direction. The effect is that of a lunate curve, although the twist is not real torsion, but an angular turn at the waist, which is rendered as on our clay relief. This solution is again visible on a metope of the Tholos at Delphi. New evidence derived from resetting the columns suggests that the Tholos must be dated in the fourth century. Similar to the treatment on the grave relief is the handling of a small torso,²⁰ which, though more vigorously modelled, is turned abruptly at the

¹⁷ G. M. A. Hanfmann, "Studies in Etruscan Bronze Reliefs: The Gigantomachy," *Art Bulletin*, XIX, 1937, pp. 477 f., cf. Berlin No. 3375. Gilded. Dionysos in griffin-car fighting a snake-legged giant ca. 400 B.C., Neugebauer, *Vasen in Berlin*, p. 133; Jacobstahl, *Ornam. Gr. Vasen*, pl. 126. The head might also conceivably belong to the dog of Kybele, though it is not much like the dogs shown on vases. It is, rather, the snake tails of Dionysos' pards that threaten the Giant, but the heads of the steeds, had they been more aggressive and turned to fight, would have looked, from above, very like that on our relief.

¹⁸ Beazley, *Attic Red-figure Vase-Painters*, Oxford, 1942, p. 852, 6 (Suessula Painter, possibly early 4th century), F.R., pls. 96-7.

¹⁹ H. K. Süsserott, *Griechische Plastik des 4ten Jahrhunderts vor Christus*, Frankfurt, 1938, pl. 2, 2, pp. 40 ff.

²⁰ *Delphes*, IV, pl. LVII, no. 7; cf. *B.C.H.*, LXII, 1938, pp. 370 ff.

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waist in a manner that expands the chest and distorts the waist. Such a distortion, probably more visible in our piece before it was broken, would scarcely seem possible very far down into the fourth century. Similar twists, which are actually sidewise dislocations rather than true torsion, are visible among the fragmentary sculpture from the temple of Asklepios at Epidauros, especially in one example of which the ribs swell and the surface treatment is not unlike those of our own piece.²¹ The heads also glance upward with parted lips and the ends of the drapery curl in. This sculpture is now dated in the seventies of the fourth century.²²

For a more scrupulous study we must examine the metalwork of the period. The mirror-reliefs which have been recently gathered by Züchner²³ compose the largest body of such metalwork that has survived. Scenes from Gigantomachies are frequent, usually in two-figure groups in closely-knit diagonal compositions which certainly derive from famous fifth-century sources.²⁴ The two most closely related to our mould are both in Boston. The first (Plate 50, 3), Züchner's KS68, shows the same spirit in the composition of crossed diagonals over which curved drapery wildly sweeps. Züchner relates it to the Melos Amphora and dates it and the second, its more mechanical companion-piece, *ca.* 375 B.C. In this connection, it is interesting to compare it with the "Siris bronzes," which have been recently dated as early as the late fifth century²⁵ (Plate 50, 4). The treatment of these figures, which are on about the same scale as that of the Corinthian Giant, is sufficiently close to be compared with it. True, the flatter composition and more angular rhythm is a trifle less advanced and no one would question that the style of the warrior's head is earlier. But the plastic modelling of the chest and rib muscles, the turn, not torsion, at the waist, the quick curves of the drapery and even the deep setting of the lion eye—all are sufficiently alike to suggest that they derive from the same school. They are, indeed, the only works in bronze repoussé relief that are at all comparable with the Corinthian original.

One important point, however, emerges from our comparison. The Corinthian relief belongs to a later tradition—not only in the modelling of the body, but still more in the superb treatment of the head. It is a head so intensely "pathetic" in its quick movement, tossing flame-like locks, and up-glancing eyes that it becomes a perfect example of fourth-century emotionalism. It is the type of head, actually, which we see in a coarser form in the Tegea pediments—though on the mould the shape is more

²¹ A. Defrasse and H. Lechat, *Epidaure*, p. 69, no. 8.

²² G. M. A. Richter, *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, p. 45; cf. V. Müller, *Art Bulletin*, XX, 1938, p. 365.

²³ W. Züchner, *Griechische Klappspiegel*, Berlin, 1942.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, KS. 68-72, particularly pl. 10 and fig. 23.

²⁵ *British Museum Catalogue of Bronzes*, pl. VIII, no. 285; cf. R. Carpenter, *Memoirs of the American Academy at Rome*, XVIII, 1941, p. 29; D. K. Hill, *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, p. 102.

pointed at the chin, the forehead is equally low and furrowed; the parted lips and deepset eyes almost identical. The hair, too, is similar. It springs, like pointed petals, from the forehead, curling hither and thither with deliberate variation in direction. The sideburns, growing down on the jaw, are also worn by the Herakles from Tegea. This head dates after the first temple was burned in the nineties of the fourth century, whether or not the type may be the creation of Skopas, for which the evidence is conflicting.²⁶

From this survey of vase-painting, marble-sculpture and metal-relief, then, we are drawn to the conclusion that the original of the Corinthian mould, despite its rather baroque appearance in a photograph, was made some time during the late nineties or early eighties of the fourth century. It was certainly Greek and the highest probability is that it was a masterpiece of the famous Corinthian workshops.

Two questions now arise: why were these clay moulds taken and, even more, why were reliefs made from them? The suggestion has been made that they were merely work-pieces, to be used by the artist for study, re-working, or record.²⁷ That suggestion has recently been challenged and others put forth. The first, "it is equally probable that many of the objects made from them were of cast metal,"²⁸ seems impossible to one who has handled many fragments of moulds which were actually used for bronze-casting. For these are thicker, of different and coarser clay and almost always retain flecks of bronze. The mould now under consideration is of finely washed clay of the type used in the manufacture of figurines and in moulds for figurines. Its technical character makes the conclusion inevitable that it was used for clay or wax.

Another suggestion²⁹ that "the impressions were kept by the possessors of precious metal vessels as convenient means of identification and proof of ownership" like the *σύμβολα* kept of public seals, may indeed be plausible as regards fine examples like the Corinthian pieces, but seems scarcely possible where inferior work is considered.³⁰ It was evidently a common practice among metalworkers to take impressions in clay, usually in small sections, as excerpts. Possibly certain of these were kept by makers or owners as means of identification and it may be that collectors later came to seek these impressions as they sought the models by Arkesilaos which brought a higher price than the finished works of others.³¹

²⁶ Cf. C. H. Morgan, "The Style of Scopas," *Classical Studies* presented to Edward Capps, 1936, pp. 253 ff.

²⁷ *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 312 ff., cf. the illuminating study of similar, if later, plaster pieces from Egypt, O. Rubensohn, *Hellenistisches Silbergerät in antiken Gipsabgüssen*, Berlin, 1911, pp. 3 ff.

²⁸ Hill, *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, p. 110.

²⁹ O. Broneer, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 256, note 28.

³⁰ E. g. *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 175, fig. 21a (from the Pnyx).

³¹ Pliny, *N.H.*, XXXV, 155.

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But these could not have been the only, or even the primary reasons for making clay impressions of metalwork. Pliny's discussion of "Plastics" shows clearly that clay (as also wax and plaster) was used from earliest times as the sculptor's study medium. Clay models were used for bronze-work; wax was used for finer corrections and probably any artist about to do a repoussé relief had, if not before him, at least in his mind, a number of such clay studies.³² Perhaps this habit of handling clay perpetually for all sorts of purposes is what made the Greek sculptor think plastically.

Then, finally, it is also clear that certain of these relief pieces were used for making moulds—as the stamp-like grip on the back of various examples shows.³³ We have long known many varieties of clay imitations of metal originals. Not only was the Parthenos rendered on gold medallions, but the great Gigantomachy of her shield was repeated on armour, echoed on mirrors, and then again re-echoed in clay copies on vases or clay mirrors for grave or votive use.³⁴ In clay vases the reliefs, often carelessly selected, are applied in many forms: as plaques or as friezes. Many of these were gilded or silvered to make the imitation more acceptable to the slim purse.³⁵ But finer examples of clay relief vases were popular for a brief time before the mad collecting of metal vessels by imperial millionaires. Strabo tells us how the grave robbers of the first century B.C. looted Corinthian cemeteries of "ὄστράκινα τορεύματα."³⁶ From a recent study of the uses of the word "τορεύω,"³⁷ we learn that the word was used commonly in antiquity for repoussé relief work, normally in silver. It could also designate imitative reliefs, however produced, even in glass or clay. Payne³⁸ has assumed that the *τορεύματα* mentioned by Strabo were relief vases, which, indeed, is highly probable, though not necessarily the Hellenistic plaque hydriai or Megarian bowls which he proposes as candidates. Strabo, in the passage mentioned above goes on to tell us how the popularity of these "ὄστράκινα τορεύματα" soon faded, not only because the supply dwindled, but because of the scarcity of those of really fine quality, "οὐδὲ κατορθουμένων τῶν πλείστων." This remark is illuminating inasmuch as most surviving relief vases are of poor workmanship, nor do they seem to derive directly from metal originals. Rather they seem to have been made from moulds, possibly several times removed, which might well go back to metal vases of

³² Rubensohn, *op. cit.*, pp. 7 f. shows that, like modern goldsmiths, ancient silversmiths presumably made models which were valued and preserved.

³³ *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 175, fig. 21b.

³⁴ Züchner, *op. cit.*, pp. 105 ff.

³⁵ F. Courby, *Vases grecques à reliefs*, pp. 148 ff.; *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, p. 128.

³⁶ VIII, 6, 23, "τοὺς τάφους συνανασκάπτοντες εὕρισκον ὄστρακίων τορευμάτων πλήθη, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ χαλκώματα."

³⁷ M. J. Milne, "The Uses of *τορεύω* and Related Words," *A.J.A.*, XLV, 1941, pp. 390 ff.

³⁸ *Necrocorinthia*, pp. 348 f.

the same sort.³⁹ A comparable history has been traced for clay altars and reliefs from South Italy, which often became so much degenerated through frequent repetition, that they bear little resemblance to the originals.⁴⁰

But we have now evidence that at times clay copies were made of the very finest reliefs in metal. Though in general it seems clear that these clay impressions were used chiefly for study or record in the work-shop, they may well have also occasionally served as moulds from which to make clay vases with appliqué reliefs. We may, perhaps, permit ourselves to imagine that such fine selections as ours indicate the sort of *ἄσπράκινα τορεύματα* that briefly delighted the Roman connoisseurs.

DOROTHY BURR THOMPSON

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

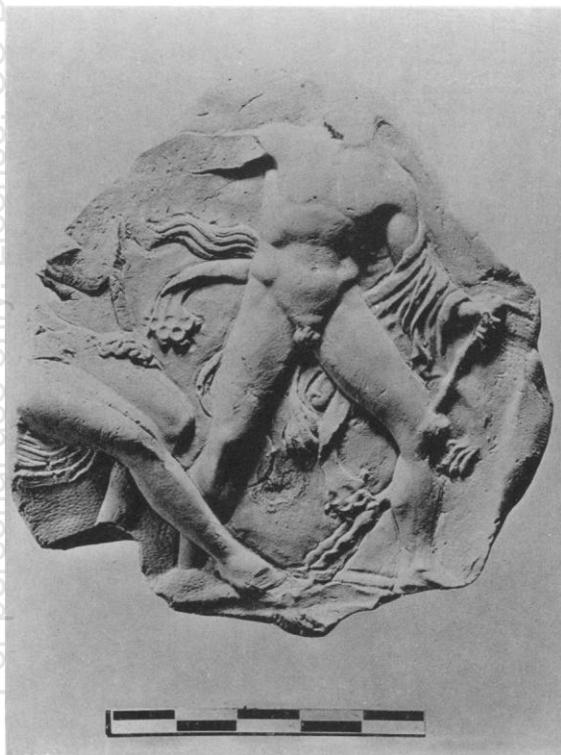
³⁹ Cf. a Corinthian celebe decorated with reliefs of the labors of Herakles, Courby, *Vases grecques*, p. 197, fig. 31.

⁴⁰ E. Jastrow, "Abformung and Typenwandel in der antiken Tonplastik," *Opuscula Archaeologica*, II, 1938, pp. 1 ff.



1. The Inscription on the Base. Photograph from a Squeeze

D. M. ROBINSON'S SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE TO "AN INSCRIBED KOUROS BASE"

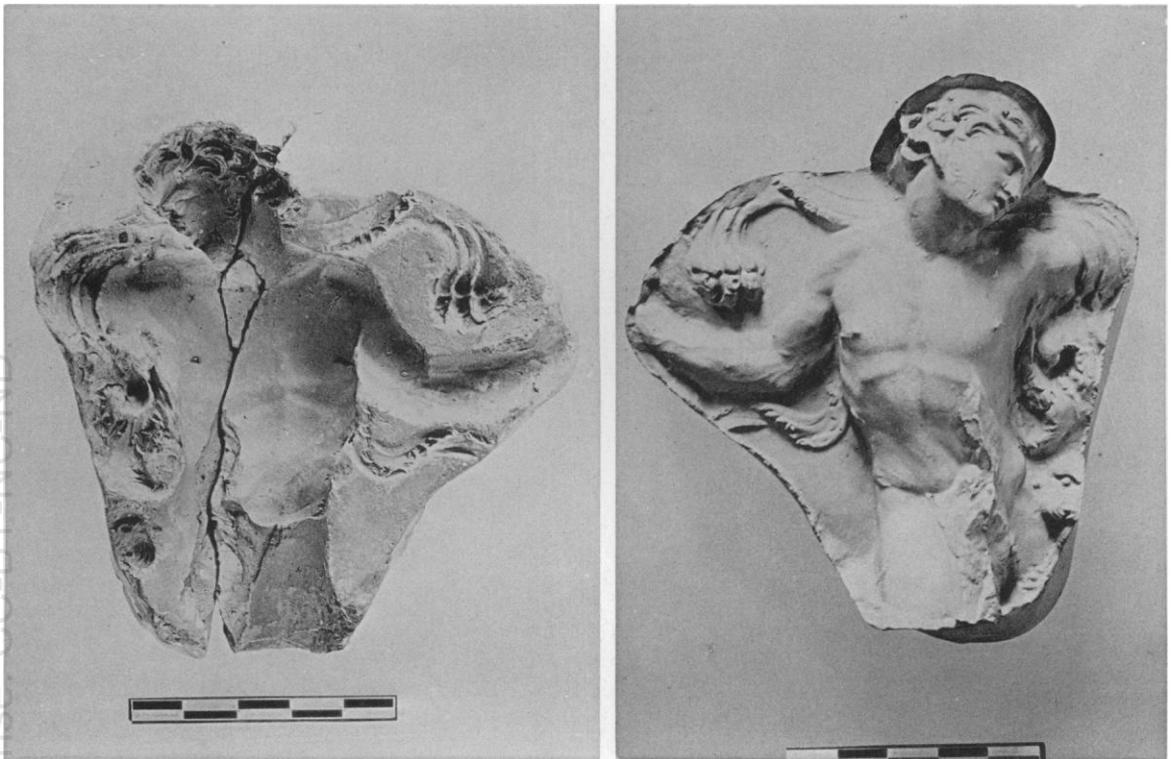


2. Relief from Corinth

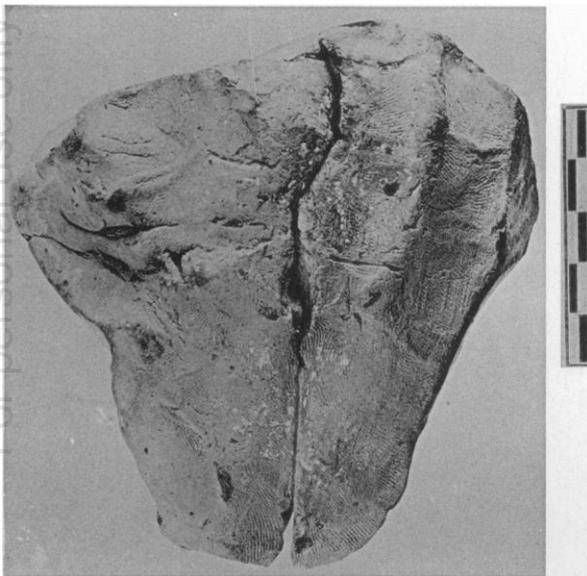


3. Back of Relief

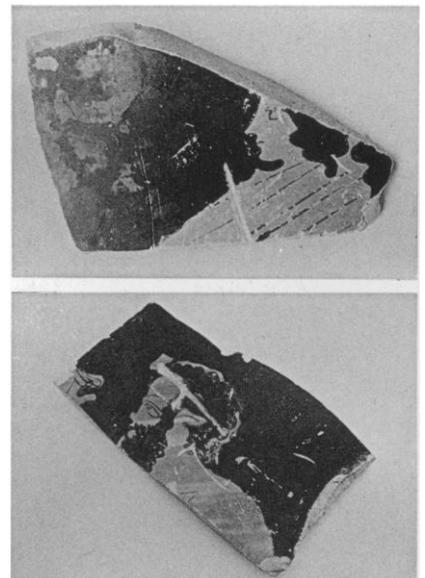
D. B. THOMPSON: OSTRAKINA TOREUMATA



1. Mould and Cast



2. Back of Mould



3. Red-Figure Sherds
from Corinth



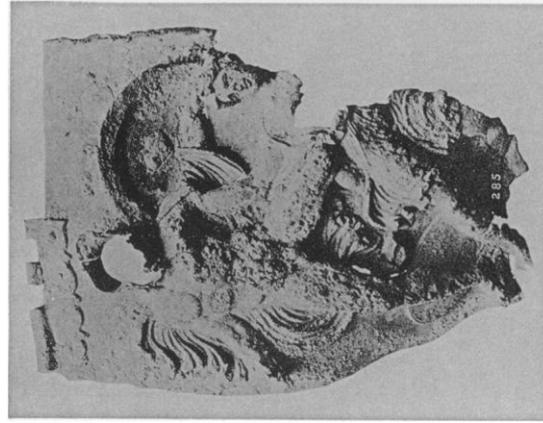
1. Melos Amphora (from F. R., pl. 96)



2. Grave Relief, dated 394/3 B. C.
(Süsserott, *Gr. Plastik*, pl. 2,2)



3. Bronze Mirror in Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Züchner, pl. 10)



4. "Siris Bronzes" (*Select Bronzes*, British Museum, pl. 31)



An Archaic Gravestone from the Athenian Agora

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Reviewed work(s):

Source: *Hesperia Supplements*, Vol. 8, Commemorative Studies in Honor of Theodore Leslie Shear (1949), pp. 373-377+487-488

Published by: [The American School of Classical Studies at Athens](#)

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AN ARCHAIC GRAVESTONE FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA

(PLATES 51-52)

DEEP beneath the shady garden-court in which Leslie Shear lived and worked through the most fruitful years of his scholarly career, there was found in the summer of 1947 a small fragment of a marble relief (Pl. 51, 1).¹ Though little more remains than the sandal-shod feet of a man, the piece is at once recognizable as part of a gravestone of the developed archaic type recently studied by Miss Richter and best known from the Aristion stele.² The monument may be restored as a tall, slender shaft, perhaps half as wide again as the preserved fragment and nine times as tall. Between the narrow ledge that supports the feet and the base there was undoubtedly a panel which may have been decorated either with carving or painting. The shaft was probably crowned by a palmette, part of which may have survived in a small scrap of marble found near by (Plate 51, 2 and 3).³ This piece will have come from low down on one side of the palmette. On the front face the petals were carved in low relief; on the reverse they were rendered in paint of which only the dark stain remains. A drilled hole, running vertically through the marble, presumably held a pin for the attachment of the palmette proper to the volute; the pin was leaded through a pour channel that opened in the back, i. e., the painted face.

The place of finding proves to have been the southwest corner of the Market Square, a point just north of the west end of the Middle Stoa.⁴ The larger marble was found incorporated in the curbing of a cesspool of the Turkish period, its sculptured face turned toward the earth; the fragment of palmette came to light in a disturbed context near by and may well have been used at a higher level in the curbing of the same pit. Such blocks may, of course, have been brought from some distance for re-use and the most probable original site of the monument is the Dipylon Cemetery, a half mile to the northwest.

How is the figure to be restored? The number of motifs employed on known Attic gravestones of the archaic period is limited. Most commonly the deceased is shown armed, normally with a spear, either for war or the chase. Again, he may be equipped for sport, carrying a discus or an oil flask. The motivation may be still simpler; the youth on the painted stele in the Louvre⁵ holds a flower in his raised left

¹ Agora Inventory S 1276. Height 0.34 m.; width 0.30 m.; thickness 0.22 m. Pentelic marble with some bluish veins. The left side is original; the other three edges are broken. There are traces of red paint on the carved sandal thong and possible traces of a painted thong leading down from the top of the foot to pass between the great and second toes.

² G. M. A. Richter, *Archaic Attic Gravestones*, Cambridge, 1944.

³ Agora Inventory A 1250. Height 0.077 m.; width 0.068 m.; thickness 0.053 m. Pentelic marble.

⁴ See Fig. 1, p. 386 of this volume.

⁵ Richter, *op. cit.*, p. 109, fig. 105.

hand; Lyseas, on his painted stele, clasps a bunch of laurel twigs in his left, a kantharos in his right hand.⁶ Occasionally two figures are represented on the same stele, two men or a man and a girl.⁷

The choice of subject is narrowed considerably by the type of footwear worn by our figure. When the deceased is represented on Attic gravestones in a military or athletic guise, he appears in bare feet. The light and comfortable but precariously loose-fitting sandals of the Agora stele would have been utterly unsuited to an active role.⁸ The best, perhaps the only parallel for them in the Attic series of gravestones is found on the Lyseas stele; and Lyseas, whatever his exact identification may be, is clearly marked not only by his footwear but also by his formal dress and attitude as in a quiet mood. We may be sure, therefore, that our figure is to be restored not as a warrior or athlete but as a man in a tranquil situation. Among the previously known Attic stones, however, none would appear to help us in the more precise definition of the theme nor does any provide a clue to the identification of the object between the man's legs.

If we look beyond Attica we shall find at our disposal a somewhat wider range of subject matter on the stelai of the late archaic and early classical period. The most noteworthy accretion is the dog-and-master theme which occurs on a group of tall stelai of the early fifth century, strikingly similar in the rendering of the theme but from widely divergent parts of the Greek world (Plate 52, 1). Most closely allied are the stone carved by the Naxian artist Alxenor of Boeotian marble and found at Orchomenos, the stele of Anaxandros found at Apollonia on the west coast of the Black Sea, and the Borgia stele of Parian marble but of unknown provenience now in Naples.⁹

⁶ Richter, *op. cit.*, p. 103, fig. 94.

⁷ Richter, *op. cit.*, p. 64, fig. 74, pp. 101-103, figs. 96, 97, 99. As Miss Richter points out, the stelai of figs. 96 and 97 may not be Attic.

⁸ Sandals are occasionally worn by warriors, but are then much more securely laced. See for example Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, fig. 418 (Sosias Cup), 435 (krater by Makron).

⁹ Alxenor Stele: Pappaspyridi, *Musée National*, p. 31, no. 39; Langlotz, *Bildhauerschulen*, p. 129, pl. 75a; Gerke, *Griechische Plastik*, no. 76.

Anaxandros Stele: Brueckner, *Jahrbuch*, XVII, 1902, pp. 39 ff., pl. I; Buschor, *Die Plastik der Griechen*, p. 53.

Borgia Stele: Ruesch, *Antichità (Guida del Museo Nazionale di Napoli)*, ed.², 1911, pp. 26 ff., no. 98; Langlotz, *Bildhauerschulen*, p. 139, pl. 75b.

Not of the group but related to it is the Agathokles stele from Thespieae, a somewhat later piece from the same site and a fragmentary stele from Delphi, in which, however, the principal character is accompanied by a boy as well as a dog.

Stelai from Thespieae: Pappaspyridi, *Musée National*, p. 131, no. 742, and p. 144, no. 829; *Jahrbuch*, XXVIII, 1913, pp. 315 ff., pl. 25.

Stele from Delphi: Langlotz, *Bildhauerschulen*, pl. 81; Gerke, *Griechische Plastik*, p. 240.

For general comments on the group see Brueckner, *Jahrbuch*, XVII, 1902, pp. 39 ff.; Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire*, VIII, 1903, pp. 132, 346; Buschor, *Die Skulpturen des Zeustempels zu Olympia*, 1924, pp. 35 f.

All three stelai of the man-and-dog group proper agree in representing the man in a leisurely, relaxed attitude. In all three he wears a short cloak and leans on a long staff; in two cases he wears light sandals and in one of these two the soles are secured by means of cross lacing identical with that on the new fragment. The dog regularly appears on the right side of the stele and in all three cases he is a big, rangy, long-tailed hound. Although the limits of space require him always to stand very close to his master's feet, the dog rests at one time on all four of his own feet, or leaps up to varying heights. In this group we appear to have a satisfactory and, indeed, among the now-known material, the only possible clue to the identification of the object between our man's legs: it would seem, that is, to be the tail of a dog that has leaped high up in front of his master. The actual rendering, a smooth, flat effect, agrees closely with that on the Alxenor and the Borgia stelai as well as on the most pertinent Athenian parallel, viz., the "Dog and Cat Base" from the city wall. The member on the Agora fragment is broader, to be sure, than on any of the three previously known stelai, but hounds are commonly represented on the contemporary Attic vases with equally heavy brushes.¹⁰

It remains to consider the date of the Agora stele. The old-fashioned placing of the feet, without any attempt at turning or twisting, at once associates the new piece with the sixth-century series of Attic grave stelai rather than with the familiar non-Attic man-and-dog stelai of the early fifth century. The simple stance, moreover, would suggest a date earlier than the "Cat and Dog Base" (ca. 510 B.C.) which, though a minor work, exhibits an evident desire to enliven the old formula by introducing front and back views of feet. In other respects too the Agora feet are clearly earlier than those of the "Cat and Dog Base," viz., in the greater height of the foot in proportion to its length and in the less detailed, presumably less knowledgeable articulation of the main mass of the foot as compared with the very great detail in the (anatomically) more easily legible toes. These same arguments might be used to place the new piece back of the Aristion stele, which is no doubt closely contemporary with the "Cat and Dog Base" (ca. 510 B.C.), back even of the Giants from the "Hekatompedon," (ca. 520 B.C. or earlier).¹¹ In its proportions, in the schematic modelling of foot and leg, in the emphasis on the toes and in the high arched set of the toes, the Agora feet find their best parallels in the middle and third quarter of the sixth century, in reliefs like that of the Metropolitan Museum stele probably by Phaidimos,¹² in the round in the battered feet of the Phaidimos Kore in the National

¹⁰ See, for instance, the neck amphora, Berlin 1716, attributed to Exekias' workshop (Technau, *Exekias*, pl. 27), and the Vatican amphora by Exekias himself (Technau, *Exekias*, pls. 20-21; Furtwängler and Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, pl. 132.

¹¹ Payne and Young, *Archaic Marble Sculpture from the Acropolis*, pp. 52 ff., pl. 38, 1, 2, 6.

¹² Richter, *Archaic Attic Gravestones*, figs. 62, 64 (just before the middle of the sixth century).

Museum at Athens,¹³ and in the Acropolis Kouros no. 596.¹⁴ The scrap of palmette, if it comes from the same monument as the feet, would indicate a date below the middle of the century, for this type of finial, as far as now known, first appears in Attica in the third quarter of the century.¹⁵ A date within the third quarter of the sixth century would thus suit all the evidence.

The new piece antedates by a generation the earliest of the previously known gravestones of the man-and-dog series and is the first-known occurrence of the theme in marble at Athens. The Attic vases, however, should have prepared us for this. The painters of the third quarter of the century, and above all Exekias, constantly depicted horse or dog as the worthy companion of man, fit to accompany him on his journeying, sorrowful at parting, joyous at home-coming. What more natural, therefore, than to associate man and dog in a memorial of the last great journey?

The question of where and in what medium the theme was first developed in a monumental way would be hard to settle in view of the paucity of our evidence. It is worth noting, however, that one of the earliest surviving representations in painting, viz., the Polydeukes and dog of Exekias' Vatican amphora, is decidedly sculptural in design and close to our marble in style. It cannot, of course, be a direct copy of this or of any gravestone, but it would seem more than likely that it owes its inspiration to some new and striking product of the sister art.¹⁶ The influence of such a work as ours may be detected also in several of the somber scenes of departing warriors painted by Euthymides and the Kleophrades Painter in the closing years of the sixth and the beginning of the fifth century.¹⁷ On these vases the central figure of the warrior, accompanied by his dog, retains the rigid formality familiar on the early gravestones long after the accompanying figures have loosened up in keeping with the changing style of the vase painters.¹⁸

¹³ Eichler, *Jahreshefte*, XVI, 1913, pp. 86 ff.; Richter, *op. cit.*, pp. 44 f., fig. 63.

¹⁴ Payne and Young, *op. cit.*, p. 43, pls. 97, 98, 123, 3 (soon after the middle of the sixth century); Richter, *Kouros*, no. 115 (early in the period 540-515 B.C.).

¹⁵ Richter's Type IIa (about 550-525 B.C.). The fact that the palmette was pinned to the volute suggests that our piece, like Theron's stele, is transitional between the early stelai in which the whole finial was cut in a separate piece and the later in which it is one with the shaft.

¹⁶ Furtwängler and Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, pl. 132; Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, fig. 230. Both Hauser (*F.R.*, III, p. 71) and Beazley (*Attic Black-Figure*, p. 20) have drawn the comparison between Exekias' group and the gravestones. The theme was employed at about the same time by Timonidas in Corinth for the decoration of his tall terracotta plaque (*Antike Denkmäler*, I, pl. 8; Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, fig. 182; Swindler, *Ancient Painting*, fig. 206). Had Timonidas before him an Athenian vase with a warrior's departure scene inspired by our stele? The costume looks like an ill-understood rendering of the Attic cuirass with shirt beneath.

¹⁷ See, for example, Hoppin, *Euthymides and his Fellows*, pls. VII, VIII, XII, XLI; Beazley, *Der Kleophrades-Maler*, pl. 7. For dogs in departure scenes on late black-figure see Wrede, *Ath. Mitt.*, 41, 1916, pp. 302 ff.

¹⁸ The Achilles Painter eventually sets the warrior (still accompanied by his dog) in a frontal pose. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, fig. 524. It is tempting to see the influence of a gravestone

A closer, yet much slighter echo of a great gravestone of the man-and-dog type occurs on a small black-figured lekythos of the early fifth century in the National Museum at Athens¹⁹ (Plate 52, 2). An elderly, cloaked man leaning on his staff holds a morsel at well nigh shoulder height, so that his dog in reaching for it has risen higher than on any of the previously known stelai, to a position, that is, which makes the disposition of the tail on the Agora stele more readily understandable. On the lekythos, however, the man has thrown back one leg so that he stands in the more relaxed posture of the Alxenor and Borgia stelai.

However influential it may have been among the vase painters, our stele seems to have left in Athens no direct descendants in marble, for it is hard to believe that either the deeply sorrowing hounds or the playful Maltese of the fourth-century monuments outside the Dipylon owe anything to the sixth-century stone. The break in the Attic tradition in marble was no doubt caused by the abrupt cessation at Athens in the making of costly carved gravestones toward the end of the sixth century.²⁰ But what of the relationship between our stele and the three previously known? The similarity in motif would seem too close to be accidental; the slight differences in disposition of man and dog are but variants of one theme. In view of the earlier date and the evidently high quality of the Agora stele, one is tempted to regard it as the prototype of the whole group. Alxenor the Naxian may well have seen and admired this work as he passed through Athens on his way to Boeotia. A similar story may lie behind the Borgia stele and Anaxandros' monument set up in distant Pontus, unless indeed, as Miss Richter has suggested,²¹ such stones as these were carved by Athenian artisans driven to such work elsewhere when monuments of this scale ceased to be called for at home.

HOMER A. THOMPSON

INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

like ours also in the medallion figures of some early red-figured cups, e. g., the van Branteghem cup by Euphronios (Hartwig, *Meisterschalen*, pl. IX) and the Hegesiboulos Painter's Cup in the Metropolitan Museum (Pfuhl, *op. cit.*, figs. 340 f.; Richter, *Attic Red-Figured Vases*, fig. 38). In both cases an elderly man, cloaked and staff in hand, stands with his dog, looking less happy in a circle than on the tall field of a stele.

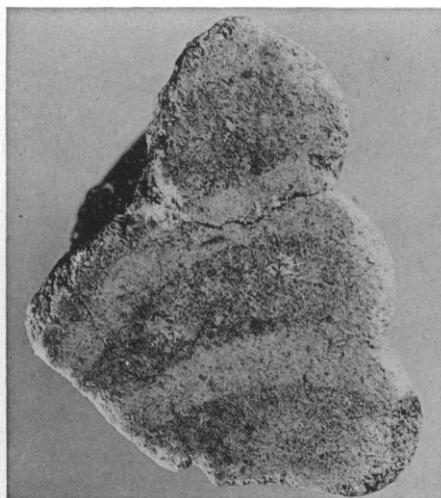
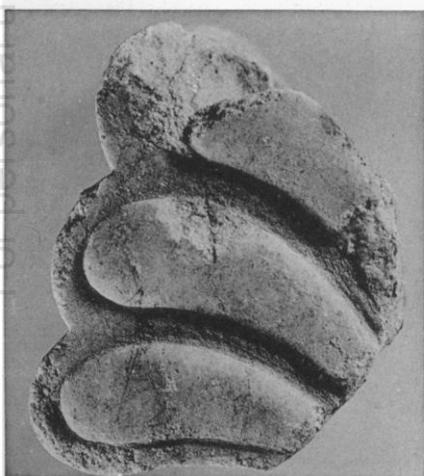
¹⁹ *Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς*, 1922, p. 60, fig. 6. I owe the photograph to the kindness of Mrs. Semne Papaspyridi Karouzou. The vase, though found at Eretria, appears to be Attic. Miss Papaspyridi pointed the parallel between the vase painting and the known gravestones. The type of the himation-clad man leaning on his stick is discussed by Miss Haspels, *Attic Black-Figured Lekythoi*, p. 151.

²⁰ Richter, *Archaic Attic Gravestones*, p. 119.

²¹ *Archaic Attic Gravestones*, p. 122.



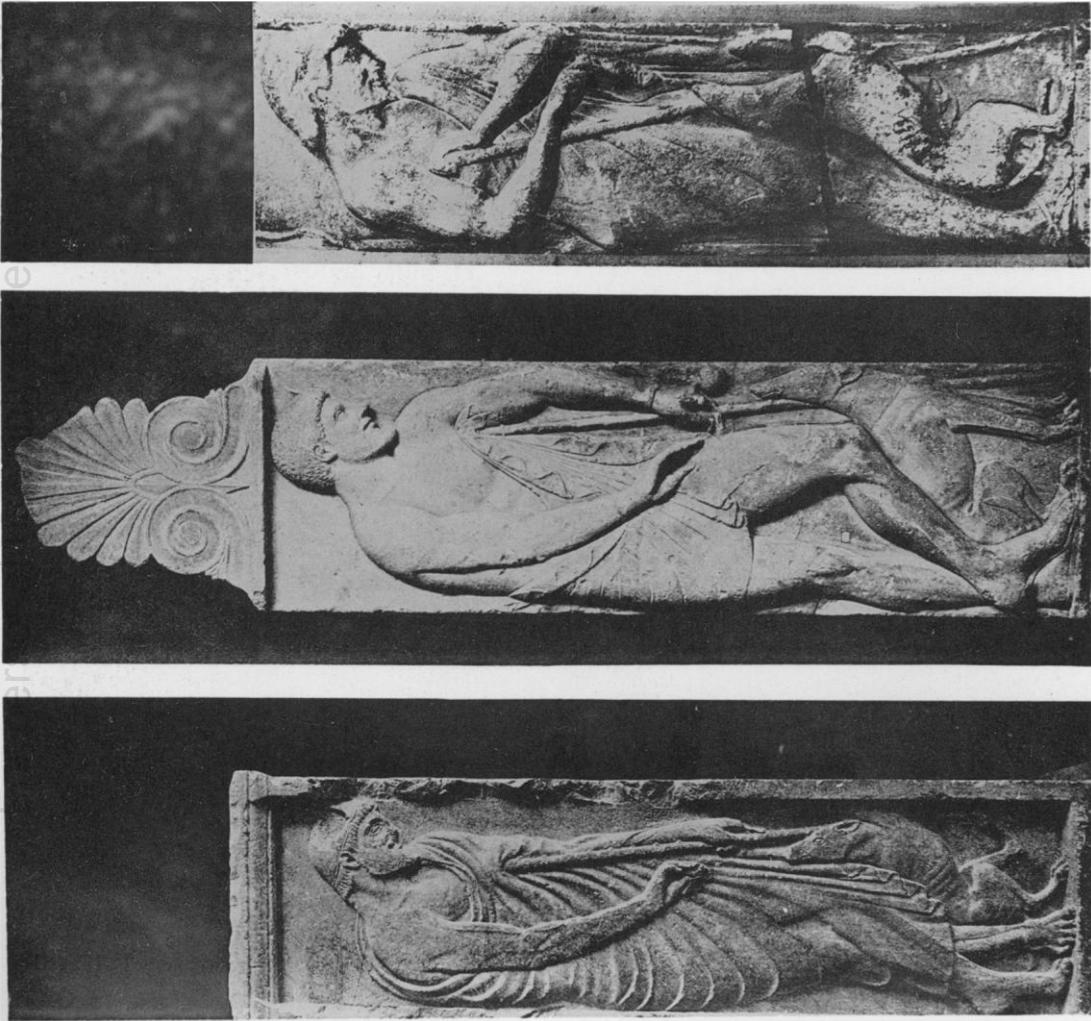
1. Fragment of a Sculptured Stele from the Athenian Agora



2-3. Fragment of a Marble Finial from the Athenian Agora



2. Black-figured Lekythos
National Museum, Athens



1. Man-and-Dog Stelai in Athens, Naples, and Sofia

H. A. THOMPSON: AN ARCHAIC GRAVESTONE FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA



A Hoard of Bosphorus Electrum

Author(s): Margaret Thompson

Reviewed work(s):

Source: *Hesperia Supplements*, Vol. 8, Commemorative Studies in Honor of Theodore Leslie Shear (1949), pp. 378-381+489

Published by: [The American School of Classical Studies at Athens](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1353912>

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A HOARD OF BOSPORUS ELECTRUM

(PLATE 53)

A COMPACT little hoard of 14 electrum coins was purchased several years ago from an Athenian dealer who had no knowledge of its provenience (Plate 53). All 14 pieces are inscribed with the name of Rhescuporis, one of the Bosphorus kings, and were struck by him between the years 212-223 A.D. (508-519 of the Bosporan Era ¹).

Practically without exception the coins are in an excellent state of preservation. Both obverses and reverses are clearly struck and in only a few cases does the careful lettering of the legends show pronounced traces of wear. In size and weight the coins are strikingly consistent. All measure approximately 19-20 millimeters, while the variation in weight between the lightest and the heaviest pieces is only .3 grams.

The metallic content of these issues is chiefly silver; ² only five specimens ³ have a visibly golden cast.

CATALOGUE

REVERSE: HEAD OF CARACALLA

NO.	OBVERSE	REVERSE	WEIGHT	
			IN GRAMS	DATE
1.	BACIAEΩC ΠHCKOVTTOPIΔOC Bust of Rhescuporis r., diademed; drapery on neck: border of dots.	Head of Caracalla r., laureate: border of dots. Beneath, ΗΦ; in front *.	7.65	212 A.D. 508 A.B.

REVERSE: BUST OF ELAGABALUS

	BACIAEΩC ΠHCKOVTTOPIΔOC Bust of Rhescuporis r., diademed; with paludamentum and cuirass: border of dots.	Bust of Elagabalus r., laureate; with paluda- mentum and cuirass: border of dots.		
2.	[BACIAEΩC]. In front, sword in sheath.	Beneath, ΕΙΦ	7.68	219 A.D. 515 A.B.
3.	In front, sword in sheath.	Beneath, ΕΙΦ	7.64	219 A.D. 515 A.B.

¹ This system of dating, originating in Bithynia, was reckoned from the autumn equinox of 297 B.C.

² This is verified by the analysis of a Rhescuporis stater of 223 A.D. made by Colonel Iwanoff (B. de Koehne, *Description du Musée de Kotschoubey*, II, pp. 410-411). It contained: gold 29.28, silver 40.10, copper 30.61. The issues of Rhescuporis were minted late in the Bosphorus electrum series which began with Cotys II (ca. 124 A.D.) and stopped with Cotys III (ca. 233 A.D.). They were then replaced by staters of silver or ones with only a trace of gold.

³ Nos. 1, 8, 9, 13, 14.

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NO.	OBVERSE	REVERSE	WEIGHT	
			IN GRAMS	DATE
4.	In front, sword in sheath.	Beneath, € Φ	7.5	219 A.D. 515 A.B.
5.	In front, sword in sheath.	Beneath, €|Φ	7.41	219 A.D. 515 A.B.
6.	[BACIAEΩC]. In front, sword in sheath.	Beneath, €|Φ	7.65	219 A.D. 515 A.B.
7.	[BACIAEΩC]. In front, trident.	Beneath, €|Φ	7.45	219 A.D. 515 A.B.
8.	[BACIAEΩC]. No symbol.	Beneath, €|Φ; in front, *	7.61	219 A.D. 515 A.B.
9.	[BACIAEΩC]. No symbol.	Beneath, €|Φ; in front, *	7.57	219 A.D. 515 A.B.
10.	[BACIAEΩC]. In front, sword in sheath.	Beneath, ς|Φ	7.53	220 A.D. 516 A.B.
11.	In front, sword in sheath.	Beneath, ς|Φ	7.5	220 A.D. 516 A.B.
12.	In front, sword in sheath.	Beneath, ς|Φ	7.51	220 A.D. 516 A.B.
13.	No symbol.	Beneath, Η|Φ; in front * ⁴	7.68	222 A.D. 518 A.B.

REVERSE: BUST OF SEVERUS ALEXANDER

14.	BACIAEΩC ΠΗΣΚΟΥΠΤΟΡΙΔΟΣ Bust of Rhescuporis r., diademed; with paludamentum and cuirass: border of dots.	Bust of Severus Alexander r., laureate; with paludamentum and cuirass: border of dots. Beneath, Θ Φ; in front, *	7.71	223 A.D. 519 A.B.
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REFERENCES: For all coins compare *B.M.C., Pontus*, pp. 70-71, nos. 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9. Also B. de Koehne, *Musée de Kotschoubey*, II, p. 302, no. 1; p. 305, nos. 10, 12; p. 306, no. 17; p. 307, no. 18.

⁴ As de Koehne points out (*Musée de Kotschoubey*, II, pp. 306-307), this may be the portrait of either Elagabalus or Severus Alexander. If it is the former the coin must have been struck between November 221 A.D. and April 222 A.D., allowing time for the news of his death on March 11 to have reached the Bosphorus. If the head is that of Severus Alexander, the coin was struck between April and November of 222 A.D. The reverse portrait on Coin 13 seems more closely related to that of Coin 10 which is undoubtedly Elagabalus than to the image of Severus Alexander on Coin 14.

In general this hoard presents no problem, consisting as it does of the dated issues of a single monarch whose name is clearly indicated on each coin. There is some doubt, however, as to whether it was Rhescuporis II, III, or IV who ruled the Bosphorus between 212 and 229 A.D. and minted this money.

The coins under discussion form part of a long series of dated aurei of the Bosphorus kingdom. When Augustus assumed the sole right to coin in gold and sharply curtailed local monetary privileges, the Bosphorus mint came under close Roman supervision. For a few years it ceased to operate, then in B.C. 9/8 it began to strike the dated gold and electrum issues which continued to be minted almost without interruption until late in the third century A.D.⁵

It was not until 80/81 A.D., however, that the royal monograms of the earlier gold issues were replaced by the full name and portrait of the ruling Bosphorus king.⁶ The first monarch to win this privilege was a Rhescuporis who struck *ca.* 79-93 A.D. Minns believes that this ruler was the first of his dynasty to bear that name; since our Rhescuporis is the next to appear on the coins, Minns lists him as Rhescuporis II.⁷

Sabatier makes no detailed study of the problem but attributes coinage to one Rhescuporis reigning for only one year in 14 A.D. and to another whom he dates between 17-38 A.D. According to this chronology the Rhescuporis of our coins would be the fourth king of that name.⁸

De Koehne in describing the collection of Prince de Kotschoubey attributes a series of gold coins inscribed with the monograms P and P to a Rhescuporis I reigning between 11 and 39 A.D.⁹ Warwick Wroth follows the same chronological outline, thus assigning coins similar to ours to Rhescuporis III.¹⁰ Until new historical evidence is forthcoming,¹¹ the problem cannot be definitely settled. Meanwhile the grouping of de Koehne and Wroth seems plausible and has accordingly been followed in this article.

⁵ E. H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, p. 595.

⁶ The exception is coinage of Mithridates III, 42-46 A.D. (Minns, *op. cit.*, pl. VII, no. 10).

⁷ E. H. Minns, *op. cit.*, pp. 590 and 606.

⁸ J. Sabatier, *Souvenirs de Kertsch*, pp. 57, 59, 63, 73.

⁹ B. de Koehne, *op. cit.*, pp. 202-206. Minns (*Scythians and Greeks*, pp. 599 ff.) reads P as a variation of P , the monogram of Aspurgus (*ca.* B.C. 8-A.D. 38), founder of the Aspurgian dynasty which took possession of the Bosphorus throne at the beginning of the Christian era. He interprets the change in monograms as indication that Rome had given Aspurgus the right to use the royal title, a privilege probably bestowed by Tiberius since it became traditional for the Bosphorus kings to prefix Tiberius Iulius to their names.

Minns attributes the monogram P to Gepaepyris (*ca.* 38/39 A.D.)

¹⁰ *B.M.C., Pontus*, pp. 50, 54, 70 ff.

¹¹ What little is known about Rhescuporis II and III is derived from the coins and from a few inscriptions (de Koehne, *Musée de Kotschoubey*, II, pp. 227-229 and 299-300). To the best of my knowledge there is no epigraphical reference to a Rhescuporis of the early first century A.D. He remains as "full of mystery" as the Persian connotation of his name.

The fact that the Roman emperors allowed the Bosphorus mint to issue money in gold and electrum, even though the coins were stamped with the imperial portrait as well as the image of the local ruler, is evidence of an exceptional monetary privilege. It is no doubt to be attributed to the conveniences of trade since the inhabitants of the Bosphorus region had long been familiar with the gold and electrum currency of Cyzicus. During the period under discussion the Bosphorus mint shared in the extensive economic activity of the Eastern provinces which was never more pronounced than in the reign of Elagabalus.¹² One factor contributing to the great abundance of local coinage may have been Elagabalus' stay in Nicomedia during the winter of 218/219 A.D., prior to his tour of the Danubian provinces. Although a visit to Panticapaeum, where our coins would logically have been struck, is not mentioned, the emperor's sojourn in the East might well have stimulated mint activity throughout the entire region.

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¹² *Cambridge Ancient History*, XII, pp. 53, 54.



M. THOMPSON: A HOARD OF BOSPORUS ELECTRUM



The West Side of the Athenian Agora Restored

Author(s): John Travlos and H. A. Thompson

Reviewed work(s):

Source: *Hesperia Supplements*, Vol. 8, Commemorative Studies in Honor of Theodore Leslie Shear (1949), pp. 382-393+490-492

Published by: [The American School of Classical Studies at Athens](#)

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THE WEST SIDE OF THE ATHENIAN AGORA RESTORED*

(PLATES 54-56)

THE year 1931, in which the excavation of the ancient Agora was begun by the American School of Classical Studies, marked also the 100th anniversary of the liberation of Greece from the Turks and the occasion when, for the first time, the question of bringing to light the ancient city was raised by two inspired architects, Stamatios Kleanthes and Edward Schaubert. Immediately after the signature in London (February 3, 1830) of the protocol through which Greece was recognized as a free and independent power, these two friends and fellow students came to Athens with the purpose of preparing a complete topographical survey of the city which would both serve those who wished to study the history and topography of Athens and would also form the basis for the laying out of the new city.

Kleanthes and Schaubert began the preparation of their plan in November, 1831, including in it the city as it then was together with the enceinte wall built in 1778¹ and a large area around the city with the roads leading to it. They took especial care to indicate on their plan all the preserved monuments or ruins of antiquity as also the monuments of the Middle Ages and of the Turkish Period. When in May of 1832 they received instructions from the provisional government of Greece to study the new plan for the city, they were already fully oriented on the subject and about the end of the same year they submitted to the government their plan accompanied by a very lengthy explanatory memorandum.

The original of the plan drawn up by Kleanthes and Schaubert has unfortunately been lost, and only copies of it have survived to our day;² yet these copies are so careful and accurate as to be of great value for the study of Athenian topography. Later the two architects published a somewhat simplified version of their plan in Munich, enframed, as was then the custom, with various views of the ancient and mediaeval monuments of Athens and accompanied by long lists both of those monuments and of the projected new public buildings. This plan is here republished for the first time from a copy preserved in the Library of the Archaeological Institute in Athens (Plate 54).³

* Translated from the Greek by H. A. Thompson.

¹ For the history of this wall see D. Kampouroglou, *Ai 'Aθῆναι κατὰ τὰ ἔτη 1775-1795*, Athens, 1931, pp. 58-60. Traces of this wall were found in the current excavations of the Agora between the "Theseion" and the Klepsydra.

² Kosta Biri, *Τὰ Πρῶτα Σχέδια τῶν Ἀθηνῶν*, Athens, 1933, p. 11.

³ Inventory Number τδ. 15, 11. Another copy of the plan is referred to by Mommsen in *Athenae Christianae*, Leipzig, 1868, p. 10, no. 6.

For our present purpose the chief interest of the town plan produced by the two architects lies in their recognition of the problems connected with the future excavation of the ancient city. These problems, as appears from their memorandum, gave them particular concern and formed one of their strongest arguments for building the new city to the north of the existing town. The relevant section of their memorandum reads as follows: ⁴

The shifting of the city northward in the plain has the additional advantage of leaving the area of the ancient cities of Theseus and of Hadrian free of modern buildings and available for excavation.⁵ Granted that the present condition of Greece may not permit immediate excavation, a future generation may nevertheless charge our contemporaries with lack of foresight if care is not taken for this problem at once. It would be especially desirable to have the north slope of the Acropolis cleared by degrees of the accumulations which have gathered through the centuries and which have risen everywhere to a depth of at least 8 to 12 feet and in most parts of 18 feet and more.

In this region one would come on incredibly rich discoveries, both in art treasures and in inscriptions of historical importance, as shown by some casual excavations undertaken in the course of house building in the neighborhood of the Prytaneum and the Tower of the Winds. One may expect, therefore, to find not only foundations but also considerable remains of ancient buildings as was the case by the Tower of the Winds. But even if the results for the political history, the art and topography of ancient Athens should not prove as rich as one has every right to expect, yet the existing antiquities (the ruins of the Prytaneum, the Monument of Lysikrates, the Tower of the Winds, the Gymnasium of Hadrian, etc.) deserve to be freed from the earth that surrounds them and from the encroachment of miserable shacks or modern houses whose proximity only hinders and disturbs the impression which the ancient buildings should make on the spectator; those antiquities deserve rather to be displayed in their full beauty to the admirer of ancient art as also to artists and scholars. Between these monuments the earth should be removed down to the ground level of the ancient city where without doubt one would still recognize the lines of the ancient streets and squares. Here and there one of the picturesque and ruinous little Byzantine churches might be left standing, a striking contrast to those works of the ancients. The space between these monuments could be filled with clumps of trees, green plots and other garden arrangements; through the placing of the trees, moreover, the most advantageous points of view for observing the monuments could be indicated and the whole might constitute a museum of ancient architecture, the like of which is not to be found elsewhere in the world.

The area that promises the greatest reward to the excavator is indicated on the plan by a special shade,⁶ and on the line where the last houses should stand, a board sidewalk

⁴ The only copy of the memorandum, which was drawn up in German, is to be found in the Museum of Breslau under the title "Erläuterung des Planes der Stadt Neu-Athen." See Kosta Biri, *Ἀθηναϊκὰ Μελέται*, Athens, 1938, vol. I, pp. 10-20, where the text of the document is given in a Greek translation. Hans Hermann Russack, *Deutsche Bauen in Athen*, Berlin, 1942, p. 177, gives the text in German.

⁵ In the plan published herewith (Plate 54) the two areas intended for excavation are referred to as follows: "Theseus' City, for excavation and park," and "Hadrian's City, for excavation and park."

⁶ In the preserved copies of their plan the area to the north of the Acropolis is actually marked by a special colour. This region, in which they rightly expected the most finds, comprised a great

is intended with steps leading down. A considerable part of this area, since it belongs to churches, mosques, Turkish schools, etc. is already national property. If, however, a start cannot soon be made with the excavations, or at least if the ground upon which the excavation should be made cannot be acquired at once by the state, then it is to be feared that in the future not only the difficulties but also the cost will be considerably greater, as has been shown by what happened in Rome.

From the just perceptions and opinions expressed by the two architects in the archaeological part of their work one infers that they were influenced by some specialist well acquainted with the topography of Athens. In my opinion this specialist was a man whose great work has received very little recognition thus far, the Athenian Kyriakos Pittakes, the first Greek archaeologist and a scholar to whose devotion Archaeology owes much. All the Athenian citizens, moreover, regarded the work of the two architects with enthusiasm and readily agreed to yield their landed property and their houses to make way for the founding of the new city and for the contemplated excavations.⁷ Since, however, the idea of the excavations was very soon abandoned, so too the first mistake which caused the postponement of the excavations for a hundred years also occurred very early. On December 1st, 1834, without any preparation and before the necessary buildings were secured for the installation of the various public services, these services began to arrive and to install themselves in every roofed area, even in the churches. In order to meet the situation, the Athenians began hastily to repair their damaged houses and to build new ones especially in the area intended for the excavations. This situation, in conjunction with the economic difficulties, nullified at that time the expropriations for the carrying out of the work.⁸ At every opportunity thereafter the question of the excavations was revived but, except for minor expropriations around the preserved monuments, no other serious work took place and the large-scale activity of the Archaeological Society was turned to the clearing of the Acropolis and to the excavation of the available land on its south slope.

Yet the idea was never abandoned of bringing to light the ancient city and in particular the most important part of it, viz., the ancient Agora, for the location of which, moreover, there existed clear indications. When, however, the Greek Government found itself unable to fulfil this great desire of the Greeks and of all the civilized

area of the ancient city toward the east and north of the Acropolis, extending from the Theatre of Dionysos to the "Theseion" and northward to the modern streets of Phrynichos, Hadrian, Philothea, Pandrosos, and Hephaistos.

⁷ The relevant document for the expropriation of the land where the excavations were planned as also the first agreement between the government and the residents for the turning over by the latter of their property for the needs of the new city and of the excavations were published by D. Kampouroglou in the *Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον*, XII, 1929, Appendix, pp. 1-32.

⁸ The questions of the scheme of the new city and the necessity for carrying out the excavations were dealt with by the distinguished archaeologist of that time, Lysander Kautazoglou in *Περὶ Μεταρρυθμίσεως τῆς Πόλεως Ἀθηνῶν Γνώμαι*, Athens, 1858, pp. 12, 22.

world and when it was faced by the just complaints of the residents in the zone designated for excavation who had in fact for so many years been deprived of the full enjoyment of their property, the foreign archaeological schools in Athens were invited to embark on the great undertaking.

This proposal was enthusiastically received by the American School of Classical Studies and, after the necessary negotiations, the excavations for laying bare the ancient Agora were begun on May 25th, 1931, under the direction of the late Dr. Theodore Leslie Shear.⁹ The results of these excavations have encouraged everyone and have led to the conviction that the whole question of the clearance of the ancient city may be solved.¹⁰

The Agora comprises only a small area in comparison either with the total extent of the ancient city or with the archaeological zone designated for excavation in the future. In view, however of the exceptional importance of the Agora in antiquity, forming as it did the most vital part of the city, the focal point of the social, political and commercial life of the citizens, the results of its exploration have been particularly gratifying and have contributed greatly to a better knowledge of the history and topography of the whole city.

The Agora excavations initiated a new period in the study of Athenian topography. Two other large-scale excavations were in progress at the same time under the auspices of the American School of Classical Studies: the first on the north slope of the Acropolis under the direction of Mr. Oscar Broneer, the other on the Pnyx in collaboration with the Greek Archaeological Service under the direction of Mr. Homer A. Thompson. The latter, indeed, extended also to the exploration and location of a long stretch of the walls of the ancient city between the Hill of the Nymphs and the Museum Hill (Monument of Philopappos). At the same time the Greek Archaeological Service began excavations to the east of the ancient Agora with the object of completely freeing two important buildings of the Roman period: the Roman Market Place and the Library of Hadrian.

If to these undertakings are added the most recent excavations at the Dipylon, the multitude of chance finds that have been made of late in digging the foundations of buildings, and, finally, the large-scale excavation for clearing the Academy of Plato that has been proceeding since 1930 at the expense of Mr. P. Aristophron, a veritable ring of excavations will be seen to have been carried out, the results of which give a completely new shape to our knowledge of the topography of ancient Athens.¹¹

In the general plan, Figure 1, are shown some of the more important results of

⁹ *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 100.

¹⁰ A very far-reaching extension of the excavation was envisaged by Kosta Biri in his study, *Σχέδιον Ἀνασκαφῆς τῆς Πρωτευούσης*, Athens, 1946, pp. 23-28.

¹¹ Judeich's *Topographie von Athen*, second edition, Munich, 1931, in which are incorporated the results of excavations up to 1931, is already in need of a radical revision and of extensive additions.

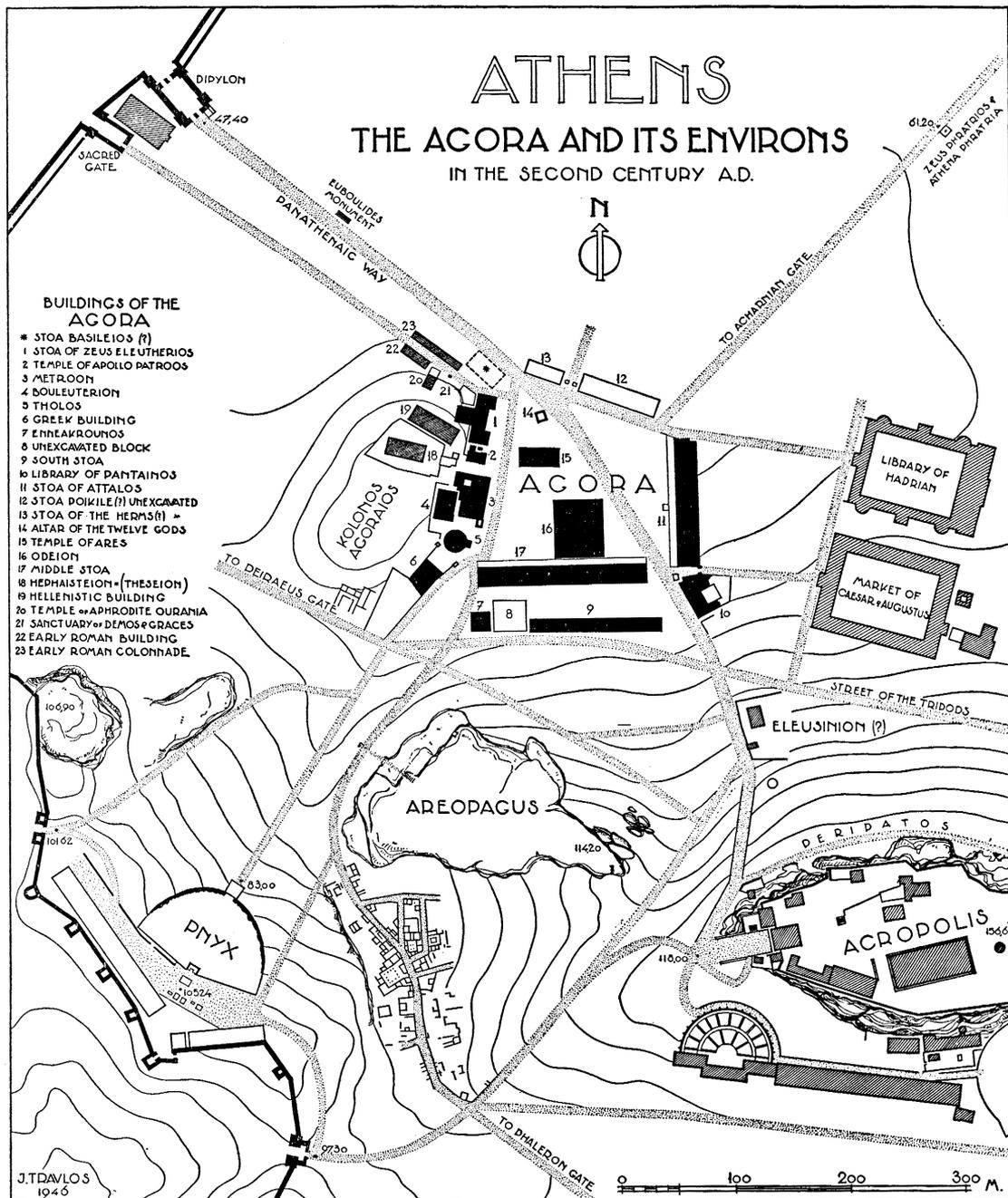


Figure 1

these recent excavations. This plan is much simplified and is freed of later buildings; its primary purpose is to show the position of the ancient Agora within the general scheme of the city.¹² Especial care has been taken to show on the plan the various roads which traversed the Agora in antiquity. The plan of the ancient city was greatly influenced in its development by the configuration of the terrain which has continued, moreover, to affect the development of the street system to the present day. So true is this that, despite all the brilliant plans made by both Greek and foreign specialists, the general scheme of the ancient city and in particular of the ancient thoroughfares has remained essentially unaltered. The natural thoroughfares that were used by the earliest settlers in the Neolithic Age continue to serve the needs of the modern city.

The most important road through all the ages has been that which provided communication between Athens and the rest of Greece (both the Peloponnesos and the mainland), viz., the Sacred Way, which even to this day constitutes the principal artery connecting Athens with the rest of the country. It was natural that this road should end at the entrance to the Acropolis, i. e., at the limits of the original settlement. One of the happiest results of the current excavations was the discovery of traces of this road sufficient to fix its line with accuracy. Because of the importance of the thoroughfare, the gateway through which it entered the city was the most important entrance, the Thriasian Gates or the Dipylon. This gateway also connected the two sections of the Potters' Quarter which, from the time of Themistokles, when the city wall was extended much beyond the limits of the older city, was divided into an Inner and an Outer Kerameikos.

In the Outer Kerameikos space was devoted to the principal cemetery and here, alongside the road leading into the city, were laid the graves of the most distinguished men of antiquity. The Inner Kerameikos included the Agora and with it the principal public buildings of the city. The section of the road within the walls, the "Dromos" or the "Panathenaic Way," measures 1,050 metres from the Dipylon to the entrance of the Acropolis. Approximately in the middle of this stretch the road cuts diagonally through the spacious Agora, the various buildings of which are set about the four sides of a great rectangle.

This site was the one obviously destined for the evolution of the Agora: cut through by the principal thoroughfare, it occupied the nearest area of relatively level land in the immediate vicinity of the Acropolis. The west side of the Agora square accomodated the following buildings: Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios, Temple of Apollo Patroös, Metroön, Bouleuterion, and Tholos, all of which lay at the foot of the gentle ridge, Kolonos Agoraios, the summit of which is crowned by the temple so miraculously preserved to our day, the Hephaisteion ("Theseum").

¹² The plan, Figure 1, is an extract from a new archaeological map of Athens which I am preparing and on which I am indicating all the surviving or known monuments and ruins of the various periods of antiquity.

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The south side of the square toward the Areopagus is closed by a great colonnade, the name of which is still unknown, and by the Enneakrounos, the famous fountain-house built by the Peisistratids, while the east side is bounded by the Stoa of Attalos, known already before the current excavations, and by the small structure, the Library of Pantainos.

On the fourth side of the square, toward the north, must have stood the buildings mentioned by Pausanias and other ancient writers: the Stoa of the Herms, the gate of Hippomachia, and the famous Painted Stoa. This side of the Agora, however, must be sought beyond the cutting for the Athens-Peiraeus Railway in the unexcavated area beneath the modern houses and Hadrian Street.

It is a simple matter, nevertheless, to find the exact position even of this, the north side of the square from the thoroughfare that certainly passed in front of the buildings and of which traces were found long ago within the cutting for the railroad beneath the northern end of the Stoa of Attalos.¹³

Within the square stood a multitude of monuments, statues by the most famous sculptors and various buildings such as the great Hellenistic Stoa which we call the Middle Stoa, the Odeion of Agrippa, and the Temple of Ares. Another monument of importance for the topography of Athens is the Altar of the Twelve Gods, the enclosure of which was fortunately discovered in the excavations. This lies near the entrance to the Agora, close, that is, to the presumed line of the pre-Persian Wall and its principal gate. The altar was founded by the younger Peisistratos at the spot where the most important of the ancient roads issued, because, as is known, the altar served as the starting point for the measurement of the roads.

Let us look in somewhat greater detail at the one side of the Agora, the western, the excavation of which has already been completed and its results published (Figure 2).¹⁴ The plan is based on the evidence already published supplemented by new measurements and observations which have been made possible by the long interruption in our excavations due to the War. During the same period I have also completed a restoration of the whole area together with its buildings (Plates 55-56). This restoration has been carried out in the form of a plaster model by Christos Mamelis, the very competent technician of the Agora Excavations; photographs of the model are presented herewith.

In our examination of the buildings we shall follow the same sequence as the ancient guide, Pausanias, with whose book in his hands the traveller of today can recognize one by one the buildings that have been uncovered.

Entering the city through the Dipylon and following the Panathenaic Way, Pausanias arrives at the entrance to the Agora where he leaves that road for the time

¹³ Πρακτικά τῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας, 1890, pp. 8 f., note 1.

¹⁴ H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 1-226 and *Supplement* IV, 1940.

being and follows another thoroughfare along the west side of the Agora. The latter roadway, shown by the excavations to be extremely ancient, runs from north to south and throughout the area of the Agora skirts the east foot of the hill of Kolonos Agoraios; farther on it passes round the western and southern sides of the Areopagus to end, like the Panathenaic Way, in front of the entrance to the Acropolis (Fig. 1). The road thus described is some 400 metres longer than the Panathenaic Way, but is also much gentler since the Panathenaic, in the upper part of its course above the Eleusinion, becomes very steep.

To these two roads must be referred the passage in Diogenes, *Epistulae*, 30: "Sokrates' companion . . . led us to the city and through it immediately to the Acropolis, and when we were drawing near he pointed out to us two roads leading up, the one rather steep and difficult, the other very level and easy."¹⁵

Pausanias, following the smooth and easy route, describes the buildings of the Agora as he sees them on his right hand beginning with the Stoa Basileios:

The place called the Kerameikos takes its name from the hero Keramos, . . . first on the right is the so-called Stoa Basileios, the seat of the royal archon during his tenure of the one-year office called the Kingship. On the roof of this stoa are statues of baked clay, Theseus hurling Skiron into the sea and Hemera bearing off Kephalos; . . . Near the stoa are statues of Konon and of Timotheos the son of Konon and of Evagoras King of Cyprus, . . . Here stands Zeus Eleutherios and the Emperor Hadrian . . . and there is a stoa behind with paintings.

This passage of Pausanias is not entirely clear, or at least it cannot be interpreted today with certainty because a large part of the entrance to the Agora has been destroyed in the cutting of the trench for the railway while another section, north of the railway, is still hidden beneath the undug area.

From this uncertainty has arisen the most difficult topographical problem of the Agora, a problem that developed immediately after the commencement of the excavations and the uncovering of the lovely Doric stoa with its two projecting wings which was destined to be called henceforth the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios. We shall not review the lengthy bibliography on this question nor the various opinions that have been expressed.¹⁶ According to the opinion prevailing today we are not to look for two separate buildings near one another, viz., the Stoa Basileios and the Stoa of Zeus, but to believe that there was but a single building with two names and that, consequently, the royal archon had his office in the Stoa of Zeus.

This problem, we believe, will be settled finally only through the excavation of the area to the north of the Stoa of Zeus. Meanwhile, however, I should like to make some observations based on the evidence already available.

¹⁵ Diogenes of Sinope, *Epist.*, 30 (*Epistolographi Graeci*, ed. Hercher, Paris, 1873, p. 244).

¹⁶ The whole relevant bibliography is given by R. Martin in his recent study "La Stoa Basileios: portiques à ailes et lieux d'assemblée" in *B.C.H.*, LXVI-LXVII, 1942-1943, Part 1, pp. 274-298.

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The most serious argument advanced by those who maintain that it is a case of one and the same building under two names is the lack of space for the construction of another stoa between the Stoa of Zeus and the Panathenaic Way. On the new plans which I have prepared with great accuracy, particularly with respect to the exact position and direction of the Panathenaic Way, the free space that remains between the Stoa of Zeus and the road can scarcely exceed 18 metres so that it is impossible for another stoa-like building to have existed there with the orientation which all scholars have expected, i. e., with its long side turned toward the Agora.

The Stoa Basileios might, however, have followed the line of the Panathenaic Way with its long flank adjacent to the roadway, with its long axis northwest to southeast and with its entrance, adorned by a porch in the form of a Stoa, turned toward the southeast, in the direction, that is, of the great square of the Agora. Such a building, of the type of the Roman basilica, would be more suited to the purpose for which it was traditionally intended. Such a placing of the Stoa Basileios would so agree more closely with Pausanias' description and with the references in later scholiasts and lexicographers all of whom are so persistent in distinguishing two buildings. With regard to the terracotta groups which Pausanias saw, these would have been placed on the peaks of the two gables in which the building would probably have terminated to northwest and southeast.

The identification of the other buildings is much simpler. The Stoa Basileios is followed by the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios and this in turn by the Temple of Apollo Patroös; between the latter two buildings stood the little Temple of Zeus and Athena.¹⁷ These buildings might be said to constitute a group entirely distinct from the next complex which comprises the Metroön, Bouleuterion and Tholos. The two groups of buildings are separated from one another by a broad street that passes between the Temple of Apollo and the Metroön and leads up to the great stairway by which we ascend to the highest part of Kolonos Agoraios where stands the Temple of Hephaistos. The Tholos, which, because of its scheme, is an indubitably fixed topographical point, completes the series of buildings described by Pausanias in the lower part of the west side of the Agora.

Pausanias next turns back and, following a course that keeps him within the square proper, mentions the monuments which he comes to and which are again on his right hand, viz., the statues of the Eponymous Heroes, the Temple of Ares, and the Odeion which rises in the very middle of the market square. Then once more he comes back close to the Tholos and at a little distance from it, in an area, that is, where there have been discovered traces of a large fountain house, he mentions the Enneakrounos (Fig. 1).

After this slight divagation Pausanias returns to complete his description with

¹⁷ This last temple is not mentioned by Pausanias. See *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 105.

YS
WEST SIDE

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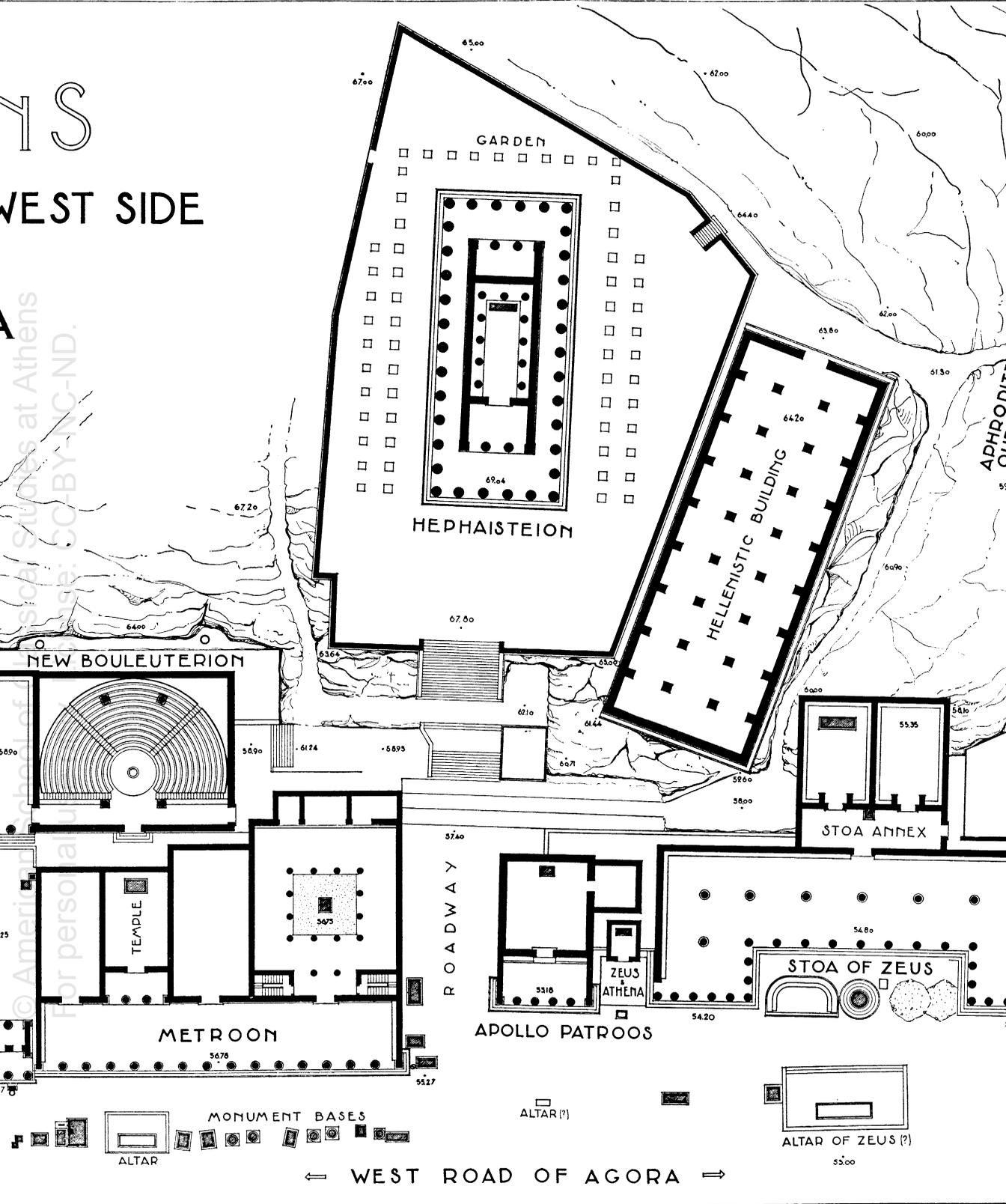
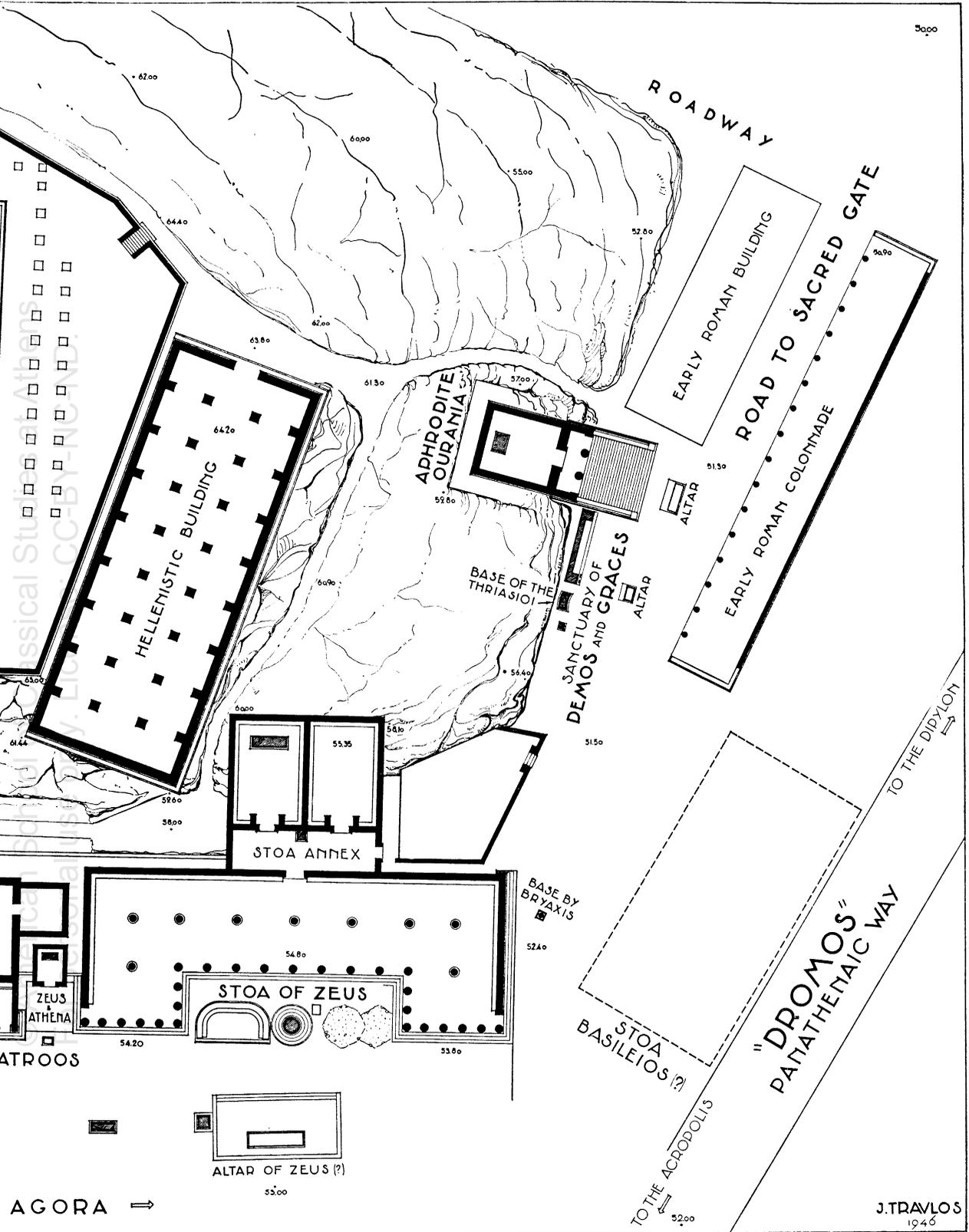


Figure 2



the monuments of the west side which stood on the ridge of Kolonos Agoraios. From the spot where he was now standing, i. e., near the Enneakrounos, the only road to the hill top, and the one that the periegete would seem actually to have followed, is the footpath which ran through the two small propyla to the south of the Tholos. Pausanias next mentions the Temple of Hephaistos¹⁸ ("Theseum"), then the Temple of Aphrodite Ourania to which he devotes the following few but characteristic words:

Above the Kerameikos and the so-called Stoa Basileios is a temple of Hephaistos . . . nearby is a sanctuary of Aphrodite Ourania . . . the statue that survives to our day is of Parian marble and is a work of Pheidias.

Through his references to the Stoa Basileios, which he mentions here for the second time, Pausanias defines for us both the beginning of his description of the Agora and also the end of his circuit, for he thus ends up at the entrance to the square whence he resumes his progress toward another part of it.

Before I finish my own account, however, I should like to add a few words regarding the buildings that have been discovered to the north of the Temple of Hephaistos.

The current excavations in this area have revealed a new and exceptionally interesting element for the study of the topography of the ancient city, a road running along the north foot of Kolonos Agoraios. This road, which leaves the market square at the north end of the Stoa of Zeus, runs approximately parallel to the Panathenaic Way and issues through the Sacred Gate to the southwest of the Dipylon (Fig. 1). It is at once apparent that the orientation of this road influenced the placing of the near-by buildings, even those well up on the slopes of Kolonos. On the north slope of the hill, moreover, has come to light a great building of the Hellenistic period, the identification of which has not yet been established; Pausanias failed to mention it just as he omitted to mention many other buildings of the Agora. In plan, however, this building is reminiscent of the Arsenal of Philo in the Peiraeus and we may suppose that its purpose was similar, i. e., that it served as a storehouse or as a building for commercial transactions. From its superstructure, to be sure, we might have drawn interesting conclusions, but, apart from its foundations, not a single architectural member of the building has so far been identified; for this reason we have kept the restoration as simple as possible.

Toward the same side of Kolonos, i. e., to the north of the "Theseum," we must look also for the Temple of Aphrodite Ourania.¹⁹ Scholars who had concerned themselves with this problem in the past had developed many hypotheses, among them the

¹⁸ W. B. Dinsmoor, *Observations on the Hephaisteion, Hesperia*, Supplement V, 1941. On the enclosure and garden that have been discovered around the temple see Dorothy Burr Thompson, "The Garden of Hephaistos," *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 396-425.

¹⁹ On the north slope of Kolonos during the current excavations was found a herm representing Aphrodite Ourania. See *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 238, fig. 37.

view that the so-called "Theseum" was the Temple of Aphrodite Ourania.²⁰ The whole north slope of the hill has now been examined in detail and no trace of a temple has been found unless it be the remains of a rectangular building with orientation from northeast to southwest, the northern part of which was cut away by the railroad. It is very probable in fact that the remaining foundations belonged to the cella of the Temple of Aphrodite Ourania and that the now missing part comprised a small porch and a great stairway of which retaining walls were found on either side. I have restored the building as a temple of the Doric order on the basis of a report by Homolle who at this very spot, within the railway cutting, observed many column drums of poros and one Doric column capital likewise of poros.²¹

Between the Stoa of Zeus and the stairway of the Temple of Aphrodite Ourania the rock of the hill has been cut to a vertical scarp which may even today be recognized because in the opening of the railway trench the rock face was fortunately left unharmed to serve as the southern bank of the cutting. In the limited area that lies between this scarp and the road leading to the Sacred Gate was established the Sanctuary of Demos and the Graces as may be inferred with certainty from the discovery during the cutting of the trench for the railway of many inscriptions which give as the place of their setting up the Sanctuary of Demos and the Graces, and also from the discovery *in situ* of the altar with its very instructive inscription.²²

The drawing of all the monuments found within the railway cutting (Fig. 2) has been based on the descriptions and valuable measurements made by Dörpfeld during the work on the railroad.²³ In this way it has been possible to fix the exact position of the Altar of Demos and the Graces, the Base of the Thriasians with the other pedestals to either side of it and, still further to the east, the enclosure wall of poros blocks which surrounds the triangular area formed by the Stoa of Zeus and its Annex, an area the identification of which has not yet been established. On the basis of the same measurements I have confirmed the placing of the Bryaxis Base in the position to which we had originally assigned it, i. e., close to and to the north of the Stoa of Zeus and not at the spot to which Dörpfeld himself lately tried to transplant it.²⁴

These in general are the topographical results from those parts of the Agora excavations thus far studied. These results, though certainly important and satisfactory, are not likely to appear so to the non-specialist who in visiting this archaeological area will perhaps be repelled by the prospect of nothing but foundations. It is hoped, however, that the restoration of this section of the Agora, photographs of

²⁰ Carl Robert, *Pausanias als Schriftsteller*, Berlin, 1909, p. 339.

²¹ Th. Homolle, "Inscriptions d'Athènes," *B.C.H.*, 1891, p. 344.

²² *Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον*, 1891, p. 126.

²³ Photographs and copies of Dörpfeld's sketches are filed in the offices of the Agora Excavations.

²⁴ W. Dörpfeld, *Alt-Athen und Seine Agora*, Berlin, 1939, 2. Heft, p. 190, pl. XVI.

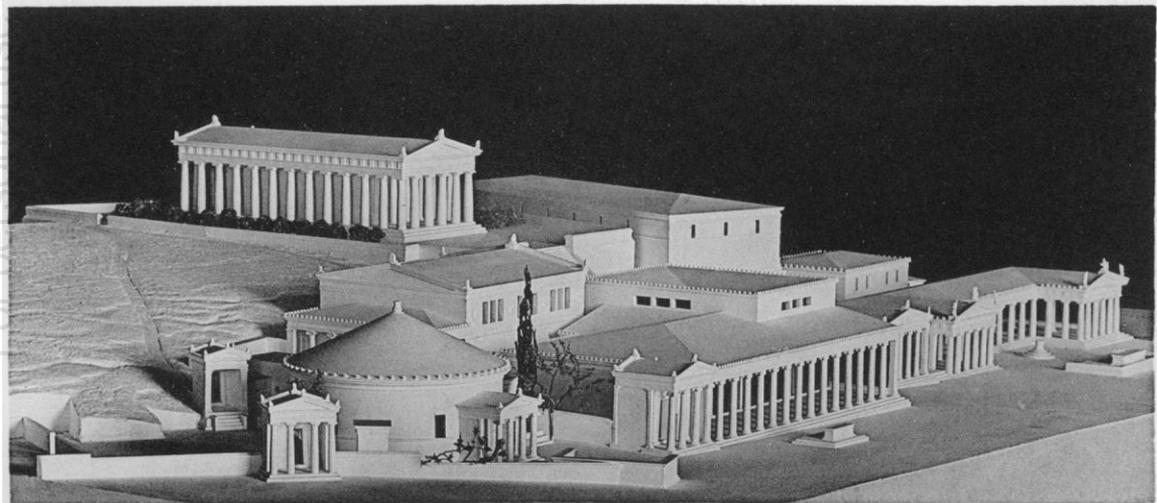
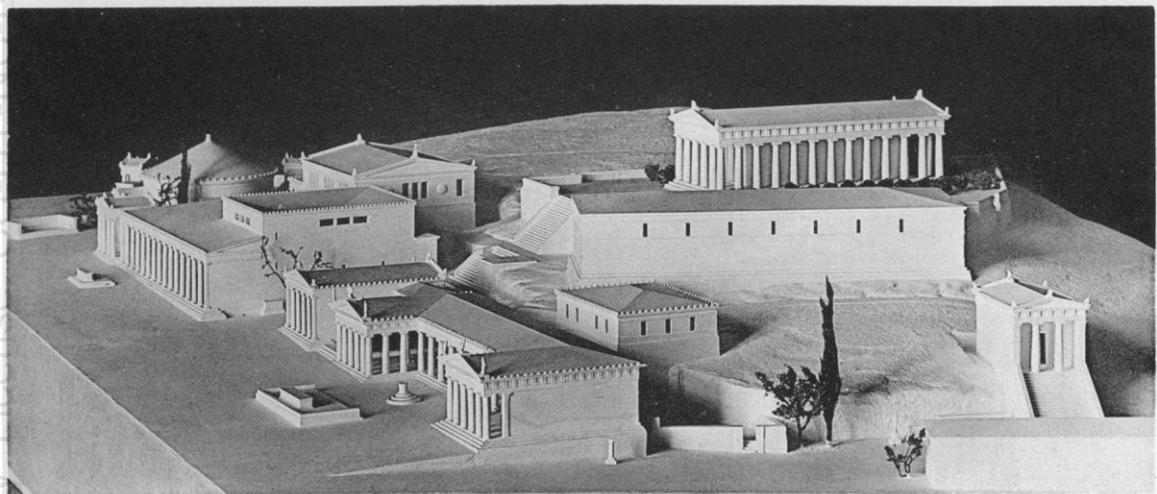
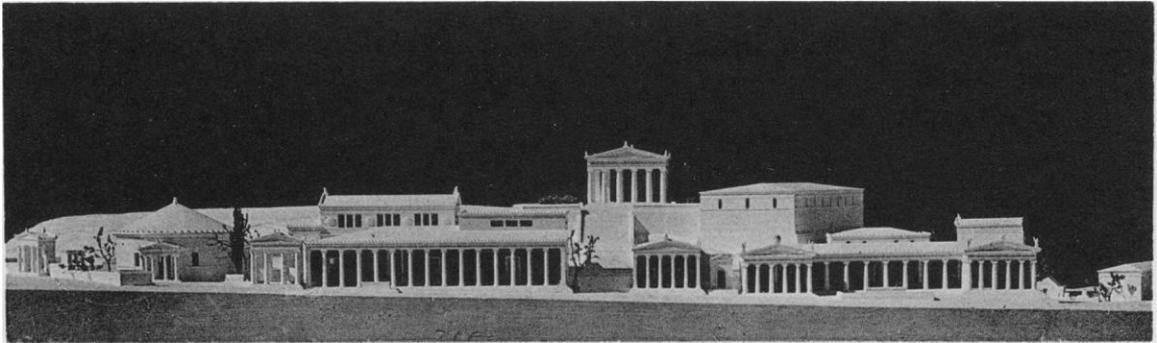
which are presented herewith, will enable one to recover something of the erstwhile splendour of the place.

The accurate reconstruction of ancient monuments has always, of course, been difficult, but in the present case the difficulties were especially great since only the lower foundations of the buildings remain in place and only very few pieces of the architectural members have been found in the excavations. The incursion of the Herulians (A.D. 267) caused serious damage to the city of Athens. The majority of the buildings in this part of the city were burned and thrown down. Everywhere in the Agora were clear traces of the disaster, which was supplemented a little by the inhabitants themselves who removed the blocks of the various buildings in many cases right down to the foundations in order to secure building material for the new inner enceinte, the so-called "Valerian Wall." Thanks, however, to the care with which the excavations were conducted, it has been possible with a high degree of certainty to attribute even the smallest fragments found in the earth to the appropriate buildings and consequently to identify also many architectural members incorporated in the "Valerian Wall."

By means of this evidence we have succeeded in fixing the order and the other architectural details of each building and we hope that, when the whole of the western section of the "Valerian Wall" has been exposed, still other architectural members will come to light; then we shall draw our final conclusions and shall complete in still greater detail the restoration and general study of the whole area of the Agora.

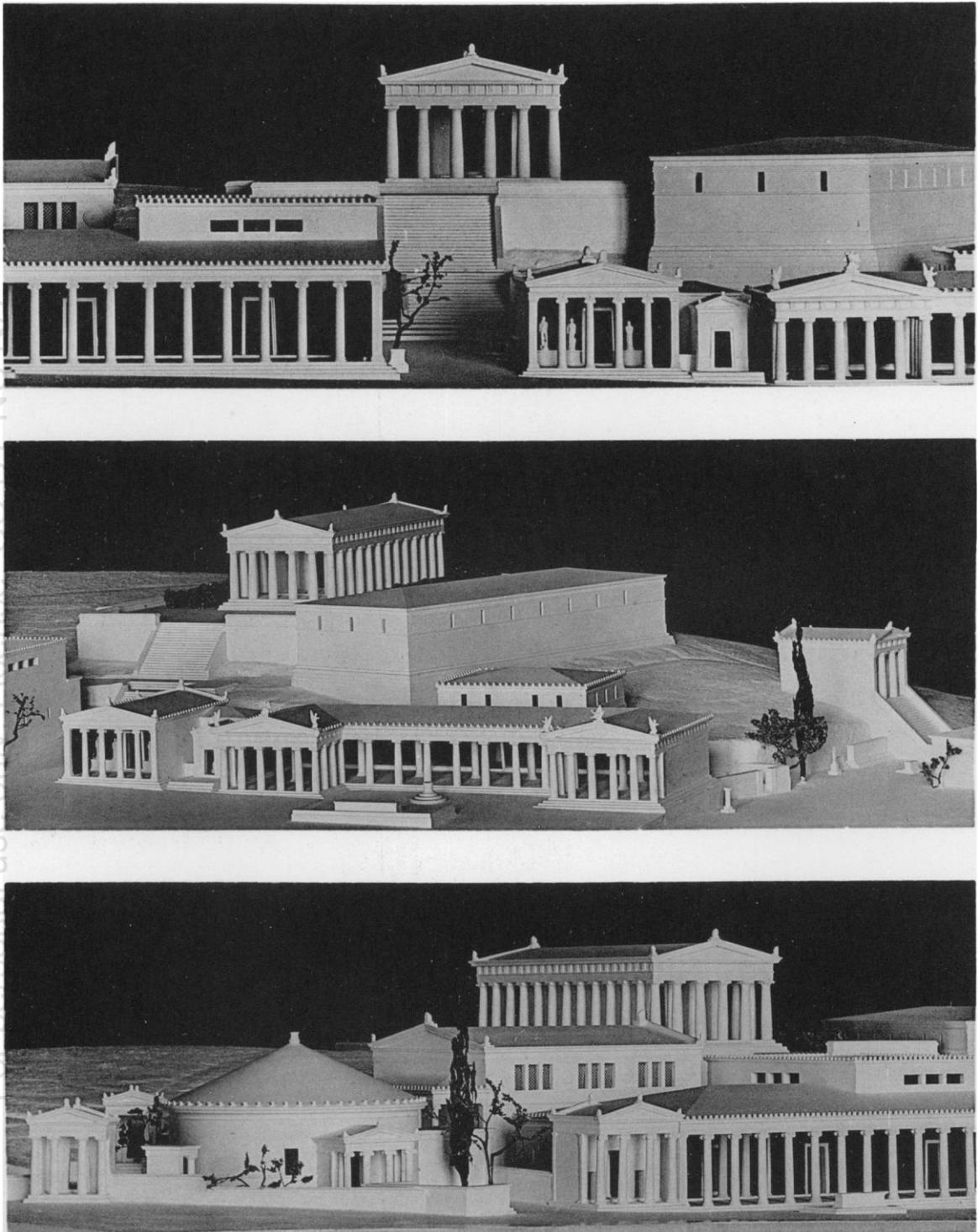
JOHN TRAVLOS

AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES
AT ATHENS



Model of West Side of Agora: Views from East, Northeast, and Southeast

J. TRAVLOS: THE WEST SIDE OF THE ATHENIAN AGORA RESTORED



Model of West Side of Agora: Details

J. TRAVLOS: THE WEST SIDE OF THE ATHENIAN AGORA RESTORED



Some Ostraka from the Athenian Agora

Author(s): Eugene Vanderpool

Reviewed work(s):

Source: *Hesperia Supplements*, Vol. 8, Commemorative Studies in Honor of Theodore Leslie Shear (1949), pp. 394-412+493-496

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SOME OSTRAKA FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA

(PLATES 57-60)

I

” **Ο**στρακον λαβὼν ἕκαστος καὶ γράψας ὃν ἐβούλετο μεταστῆναι τῶν πολιτῶν ---.
Thus Plutarch in his *Life of Aristeides*, chapter VII, begins his description of the process of ostracism. It has long been recognized that the Athenians were free to vote against anyone they wished at an ostrakophoria, and that while an ostrakophoria was often directed against one person or was a contest between two or more, in practice there was no obligation on the part of the voter to cast his ballot against any of them. He was free to “write the name of that citizen whom he wished to banish,” as Plutarch tells us. That he exercised this privilege is amply borne out by the ostraka that have been found at the Agora and in other parts of Athens, where, along with the names of the major “candidates,” we find a scattering vote against many other persons.

The major “candidates,” both those whose names are well known to us from history and those whose names are known only from ostraka (e. g., Kallixenos), have been frequently mentioned and discussed in various excavation reports and elsewhere, and so too have some of the lesser “candidates.” Most of the lesser “candidates,” however, have not been mentioned at all, or have only been referred to in passing and without any attempt to identify or date them. In this article I propose to publish and discuss the ostraka in the Agora collection which bear the names of these little known or hitherto unknown men against whom only a few votes appear to have been cast. As we shall see, it is possible in a few cases to identify more or less certainly the people named on these ostraka with people known to us from history. Even when this is not possible, however, it is worth while to record their names and their approximate dates, for the very fact that votes were cast against them is in itself evidence that the persons concerned were political men of some prominence in their day.

1. Acharnion Xypetaion.

This man is not otherwise known. His name is unusual and has hitherto been reported only once.¹ He was active in politics in the eighties of the fifth century B.C. Two ostraka bear his name.

a. Inv. No. P 5213. Max. dim. 0.106 m.
Plate 57, 1 a.

Found on March 28, 1935, in Section B' in the building fill of the Poros Building south of the Tholos.² The pottery from this fill was mostly of the early fifth century B.C., but there were also a few fragments as late as about 420 B.C. The fill was probably “Perserschutt” that was dug up in the last quarter of the fifth century and reused as fill in the Poros Building. It contained 56 ostraka, all but one of them

¹ *I.G.*, II², 7098.

² This is the large public building of the late fifth century B.C. which has not yet been fully investigated nor certainly identified, mentioned in *Hesperia*, Supplement IV, p. 44 and partly shown on the plan, *ibid.*, Pl. I, upper left corner, and marked number 6 on the plan on page 386 of this volume.

early, and the names of Themistokles (15), Kallixenos (7), Hipparchos (6), Aristeidēs (6), Xanthippos (5), Boutalion (3), Megakles (2), Hippokrates Alkmeonidou (2), Hippokrates Anaxileo (2), and Habron Hierokl[es], Kydrokles, Eratyllos, Dionysios, and Acharnion (1 each) are to be found among them. One fragment could be restored either Megakles or Kydrokles. One ostrakon of the later fifth century with the name of Charias Paianieus, which may well have been cast in the ostrakophoria of 417 B.C., was also found in a disturbed part of this fill.

The ostrakon is a fragment of a coarse unglazed pot, and the inscription is on the outside: Ἀχαρνίων | Χουφεταῖο|νον. See Addenda.

b. Inv. No. P 12218. Max. dim. 0.05 m. Plate 57, 1 b.

Found on February 25, 1938, in Section Z near the Great Drain east of the Tholos. Pottery found in the same layer was chiefly of the late sixth century B.C., but there were fragments that could equally well be early fifth, as this ostrakon must be. In the layer directly above, which contained pottery which surely runs into the early fifth century, were two ostraka of Melanthios Phalanthou and one of Phileas Derketou.

The ostrakon is from a coarse unglazed pot, and the inscription is on the outside: [Ἀχ]αρνίω[να] | Χουφε[ταῖο]|να.

2. Andronicho[s].

This person cannot be identified. The name Andronikos is not uncommon, especially in late times, but I know of no instance of it from the fifth century B.C. The name Andronichos has not been reported as far as I know. Raubitschek suggests that *I.G.*, I², 717, which has been restored [Soph]ronichos might equally well be restored [And]ronichos, and he calls attention to the chi in the last syllable as on the ostrakon. The circumstances of finding of the single ostrakon with this name show that the man was active in politics in the eighties of the fifth century B.C.

Inv. No. P 15647. Max. dim. 0.084 m. Plate 57, 2.

Found on June 12, 1939, in Section NN in a deposit of sand in a shallow channel in bedrock at the very bottom of the Great Drain, which is here following the bottom of the valley between the Areopagus and Kolonos Agoraios: cf. *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 301-2. This deposit contained 172 ostraka with names as follows: Themistokles (69), Kallixenos (45), Hippokrates Alkmeonidou Alopekethen (44), Aristeidēs (2), Kydrokles (2), Habron (1), Eratyllos (1), Andronichos (1), a son of Hippokrates (1), uncertain (6).

The ostrakon is a fragment of an unglazed open bowl. The name is written retrograde on the outside close to the edge of the fragment: Ἀν<δ>ρόνιχο[s]. The third letter is shaped like an Ionic gamma. Delta must surely have been intended here, however, and we may assume that the writer got off to a bad start and then failed to complete the letter.

3. Archenos Philoxenou.

This man is not otherwise known. The name Archenos has hitherto been reported only once (spelled Ἀρχεννος), and then only as a late corruption of Ἀρχερμος (see *R.E.*, s. v. Archermos). It is possible, in view of the fact that writers of ostraka are often bad spellers that some more common name such as Ἀρχέν<ε>ως or even Ἀρχ<ι>νος may have been intended. This man must have been active in politics in the eighties of the fifth century B.C. as the circumstances of finding of the one sherd bearing his name indicate.



Fig. 1. No. 3: Archenos

Inv. No. P 12196. Max. dim. 0.048 m. Fig. 1.

Found on February 21 1938 in Section Z imbedded in the foundation of the north wall of the archaic building north of the Tholos: Building F of *Hesperia* Suppl. IV, pp. 15 ff. On alterations in the plan of this building which took place in the late sixth and early fifth centuries B.C., see *ibid.*, pp. 27-33.

The ostrakon is a fragment from the wall of a large closed pot with thin red glaze on the outside. The inscription is scratched on the inside: *Αρχενος | Φιλοστένο{υ}.

4. Arist... -- Charop--.

Neither name can be restored with certainty. The man's own name seems clearly to have begun with Arist-, but what follows is very doubtful as the sherd is very worn. G. A. Stamires reads *Αρίσ<τ>ιπ[os].³ For the father's name Charopides, Charopinos, and Charops are possibilities. A date in the early fifth century B.C. is suggested by the letter forms and the circumstances of finding. It is probable but not absolutely certain that this sherd is an ostrakon. The name could possibly have been put on while the pot was whole and thus be the name of the owner.



Fig. 2. No. 4: Aristippos(?)
Charop--

³ The sixth letter may possibly be upsilon, the seventh and eighth lambdas, in which case *Αρίσ<τ>υλλ[os] might be restored,—but this is most uncertain.

⁴ Cf. *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 340, fig. 8, top row.

Inv. No. P 6044. Max. dim. 0.035 m. Fig. 2.

Found on June 11, 1935, in Section F, near the road leading to the southwest corner of the Agora, in mixed fill but in an area that produced many early fifth century B.C. ostraka.

The ostrakon is a fragment from the rim of a wide-mouthed porous water jar like *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 256 no. 334. The inscription is on the outside: *Αριστ... -- | Χαροπ--.

5. Arista[ichmos(?)] Timo[kratous].

Inv. No. P 9378. Max. dim. 0.042 m. Plate 57, 5.

Found on March 17, 1937 in Section ΔΑ in modern fill on the north slope of Kolonos Agoraios:

The ostrakon is a fragment from the rim of a skyphos of "Corinthian" type.⁴ Part of the pair of lines that encircled the vase just below the handles is preserved. The inscription is on the outside: *Αριστα[---] Τιμο[----], which is probably to be restored as *Αρίστα[ιχμος(?)] Τιμο[κράτος]. In the patronymic the writer anticipated the kappa before inscribing the omikron, so that this "double letter" is still visible. Aristaichmos(?) is to be identified as the brother of Kydrokles. For the name see A. E. Raubitschek, *Jahreshefte*, XXXI, 1939, Beiblatt, p. 23, no. III.

6. Charias Paianieus.

The name Charias is common but no Charles of Paiania is known. Possibly the Charias who was archon in 415-4 B.C. is meant. The shapes of the letters indicate a date in the second half of the fifth century B.C. for this ostrakon, and a *terminus ante quem* of around 420 is suggested by the circumstances of finding. It will of course in any case not be later than 417, the year of the last ostrakophoria and indeed may well have been cast in that year. One ostrakon bears this name.



Fig. 3. No. 6: Charias Paianieus

Inv. No. P 4808. Max. dim. 0.097 m. Fig. 3.

Found on February 27, 1935, in Section B' in a disturbed part of the building fill of the Poros Building south of the Tholos; see above on No. 1. It must be one of the latest objects from this fill. Mentioned and illustrated *A.J.A.*, XXXIX 1935 p. 179 fig. 6, third row, right.

The ostrakon is a fragment from the wall of a large coarse unglazed pot. The inscription is lightly incised on the outside: *Χαρίας Παιανιεύς*.

7. Dionysios -- onou.

This man cannot be identified. His own name is almost certainly to be restored Dionysios. His father's name must have been Antigonos or something similar,⁵ as there is clearly a blank after the second preserved omicron, which is therefore the last letter of the name. The circumstances of finding of two of the ostraka indicate a date in the eighties of the fifth century B.C. There are three ostraka which are probably to be restored with this name.

a. Inv. No. P 4896. Max. dim. 0.073 m.
Plate 57, 7a.

Found on March 4, 1935, in Section B' in

the building fill of the Poros Building south of the Tholos; see above on No. 1.

The ostrakon is a fragment of the base of a kylix similar to Broneer's type II.⁶ The inscription is on the under side: [*Δι*]ονύσι[ος].

b. Inv. No. P 6902. Max. dim. 0.052 m.
Plate 57, 7b.

Found on March 3, 1936, on Kolonos Agoraios (Section II@) in fill of the fifth to fourth centuries B.C. which had been disturbed in late Roman times.

The ostrakon is a fragment from the bowl of a black-glazed kylix, and the inscription is on the interior: [*Δι*]ύσι[ος | ---]όνο.

c. Inv. No. P 7106. Max. dim. 0.052 m.
Plate 57, 7c.

Found on March 27, 1936, in Section KK in a deposit of the early fifth century B.C. near the Hephaisteion. Eight other ostraka were found in the same deposit, and the names of Themistokles, Kallixenos, Hippokrates Alkmeonidou Kydrokles and possibly Megakles are represented. The deposit also contained a considerable amount of late black-figure and early red-figure pottery; see *Hesperia* VI, 1937, pp. 344-5, and Suppl. V, p. 126.

The ostrakon is a fragment from the body of a small vase, perhaps an olpe or a lekythos. The inside is unglazed. There is red glaze on the outside, and through this the inscription is incised: *Δι*ύσι[ος].

8. Eratyllos Kattariou.

This person is not otherwise known. The name Eratyllos is rare and has to my knowledge only been reported once.⁷ Bechtel⁸ records one instance of the feminine form, Eratylla. The father's name Kattarias has not hitherto been reported. Three ostraka bear this name. The letter forms and the circumstances of finding of two of the pieces indicate a date in the eighties of the fifth century B.C.

⁵ For other possibilities see F. Bechtel, *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen*, pp. 111, 307, 380, 455, 462.

⁶ *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 229.

⁷ Pape-Benseler, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*³, s. v.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 160.

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a. Inv. No. P 3558. Max. dim. 0.064 m.
Plate 58, 8a.

Found on April 17, 1934, in a well of the fourth century B.C. in the Square to the south of the New Bouleuterion (Section B).

The ostrakon is a fragment from the wall of a skyphos of "Corinthian" type.⁹ Part of the pair of red lines that encircled the vase just below the handles is preserved. The inscription is incised on the outside: Ἐράτυλλος | Καταρίο.

b. Inv. No. P 5205. Max. dim. 0.05 m.
Plate 58, 8b.

Found on March 27, 1935, in Section B' in the building fill of the Poros Building south of the Tholos: see above on No. 1.

The ostrakon is a fragment from the base of a kylix of a common type of the early fifth century B.C.¹⁰ The inscription is incised on the upper surface: [Ἐράτυλλος Κα]ταρίο.

c. Inv. No. P 15,835. Max. dim. 0.065 m.
Plate 58, 8c.

Found on June 9-12, 1939, in Section NN in the big deposit of ostraka at the bottom of the Great Drain: see above on No. 2.

The ostrakon is a fragment from the bowl of a black-glazed kylix, and the inscription is on the outside: [Ἐ]ράτυ[λλος] | Καταρίο.

9. Eukrates.

It is not altogether certain that the single sherd bearing this name is an ostrakon. The person cannot be identified with certainty, but possibly Eukrates the father of the Diodotos who spoke in defence of the people of Mytilene in 427 B.C. is meant (Thucydides, III, 42 ff.). The letter forms suggest a date in the first half of the fifth century B.C.

Inv. No. P 5509. Max. dim. 0.125 m. Plate 58, 9.

Found on April 20, 1935, in Hellenistic fill

⁹ *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 340, fig. 8, top row.

¹⁰ *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 229, fig. 60, I.

¹¹ He is not necessarily identical with the archon Hegesias as Kirchner, following Pomtow, assumes: *Prosopographia Attica*, no. 6309.

¹² *P.A.*, nos. 6286, 6287, 6285a; Sundwall, *Nachträge*, pp. 87 and 124.

near the west end of the Middle Stoa (Section K).

The ostrakon is a fragment from the wall of a large coarse unglazed pot of buff clay with a light buff slip on the outside. The inscription is neatly incised on the outside along one edge of the fragment: Εὐκράτες.

10. Hegestratos, son of Hasimion.

This man cannot be identified. The letter forms, and the circumstances of finding of one of the two ostraka with his name indicate a date in the early fifth century B.C. A certain Hegestratos was archon in 559/8 B.C.¹¹ As the name is rather a rare one, it is not improbable that our Hegestratos is a descendant, perhaps a grandson, of the archon. Whether he is to be connected with any of the persons of that name who lived in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. is uncertain.¹²

The father's name, Hasimion, which appears on a, has not hitherto been reported. Compare the names in Bechtel, *op. cit.*, p. 85. It is perhaps intended for Aisimos, but the fact that the ostrakon is written in a clear, confident hand makes any misspelling rather unlikely. The only uncertain point in the name is the ending, where it is not clear whether the last vertical stroke is intended to be separate (i. e., an iota) or connected with the N giving it an extra bar. In the former case, which is the less likely, the name will be in the dative, in the latter it will be in the nominative.

a. Inv. No. P 15,555. Max. dim. 0.071 m.
Plate 58, 10a.

Found on June 13, 1939, just west of the Panathenaic Way, about half way between the Agora and the Acropolis (Section BB), in broken bedrock fill with sherds as late as the fourth century B.C.

The ostrakon is a fragment from the rim of an unglazed bowl, and the inscription is on the

inside: Ἐγέστρατος | ἡασιμίο<ν>(ος). The second line is retrograde.



Fig. 4. No. 10 b: Hegestratos

b. Inv. No. P 15,379. Max. dim. 0.06 m. Fig. 4.

Found on June 5, 1939, in Section BB about 15 meters distant from the last item in a pocket in bedrock with sherds ranging from geometric to early fifth century B.C.

The ostrakon is a wall fragment of a large pot of non-Attic fabric: red-brown clay with white bits in it; outside, dark buff at surface and decorated with two broad stripes of thin, dull black to reddish glaze. The inscription is on the outside: Ἐγέστ<ρ>ατος.

11. Hierokl -- Herma --.

This person cannot be identified, and even his name cannot be restored with certainty. His own name was in all probability either Hierokles or Hierokleides. For his father's name Hermagoras and Hermaion are among the possibilities.¹³ Letter forms and circumstances of finding suggest a date in the early fifth century B.C., probably the eighties, for the single ostrakon with this name.

Inv. No. P 5006. Max. dim. 0.05 m. Plate 58, 11.

Found on March 12, 1935, in Section B' in the building fill of the Poros Building south of the Tholos; see above on No. 1.

The ostrakon is a fragment of a coarse unglazed pot. The inscription is on the outside: *hierokl -- | herma --.*

12. Kritias Leaidou.

This person cannot be identified. The circum-

stances of finding of one of the ostraka with his name show that he was active in politics in the eighties of the fifth century B.C. The name Kritias is not a common one and it has been reported from only two Athenian families, Plato's family on his mother's side (*P.A.*, no. 8791), and Kritias of Aphidnai, father of the Apollodoros who was one of the treasurers of Athena in 432/1 B.C. (*P.A.*, no. 8793). It does not seem possible, however, to connect our Kritias definitely with either of the above families. The name of the father is a curious one and has not hitherto been reported. It is perhaps formed from the name Leaios which occurs once (*P.A.*, no. 9030).

a. Inv. No. P 7894. Max. dim. 0.101 m. Plate 58, 12a.

Found on May 28, 1936, in Section Γ in a well of the early fifth century B.C. near the road leading from the southwest corner of the Agora.

The ostrakon is a fragment from the rim of a semi-glazed krater.¹⁴ The inside only is glazed red; the almost flat top, the outer edge of the rim with its unusual angular profile, and the exterior of the vase proper being reserved. The inscription is neatly incised through the glaze on the inside of the fragment: *Kριτίας | Λεαίδο.* The unusual form of the delta is worth noting.

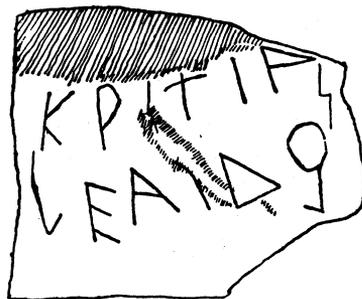


Fig. 5. No. 12 b: Kritias

b. Inv. No. P 5948. Max. dim. 0.055 m. Fig. 5.

Found on May 30, 1935, in late Roman fill in a cistern 58 meters south of the temple of Hephaistos

¹³ For others see Bechtel, *op. cit.*, pp. 163-6.

¹⁴ Cf. *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, pl. LXVI, nos. 304-308.

The ostrakon is a fragment from the shoulder of a coarse unglazed pot. The inscription is clearly incised on the outside: $\text{Κριτίας} \mid \text{Λεαῖδο}$.

13. Laispodias of Koile.

Several persons named Laispodias are known to us. The best known was a prominent figure in Athens in the late fifth century B.C.¹⁵ On a list of councillors of the first half of the fourth century B.C. the name has been plausibly restored,¹⁶ and it is open to question whether the same man or some younger person is meant. It has been suggested by Sundwall¹⁷ on rather slender grounds that this person belonged to the deme Peiraieus.

The Lais[podias] whose name has been restored on an archaic dedication from the Acropolis¹⁸ belongs to an earlier generation. Raubitschek is suggesting¹⁹ that this Laispodias is the father of the Spo[u]dis who made the dedication about 500 B.C. The Laispodias whose name appears on an ostrakon from the Agora will then be the son of the dedicator. While there is no external evidence for the date of the ostrakon, the letter forms indicate the first half of the fifth century B.C., and a date in the eighties would be quite in order.

Laispodias' deme is given as Koile on the ostrakon. If the various persons of this name are all of the same family, which is likely since the name is an unusual one, then we must restore $\epsilon\kappa \text{ Κοίλης}$ in *I.G.*, II², 1698, instead of Peiraieis. Since both demes belonged to the tribe Hippothontis, this restoration would be equally acceptable.

¹⁵ *P.A.*, no. 8963; *R.E.*, s. v.

¹⁶ *I.G.*, II², 1698, 65.

¹⁷ In his forthcoming work on the Acropolis dedications.

²⁰ A graffito sherd inscribed $\text{Μελανθίς} \mid \text{Νεοκῆ}$ published in *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, pp. 121-2 and 226, figs. 87 and 144, no. B 47 (cf. also *A.J.A.*, XXXIX, 1935, p. 179, fig. 6, second row right) might possibly be interpreted as an ostrakon of Melanthios. The sherd itself, a fragment of a tile, is nondescript and cannot be dated independently. The fill in which it was found contained sherds as late as the beginning of the fifth century B.C. (cf. No. B 39 published with it, for the date of which see *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, pl. XLV, no. 78) which fits exactly the requirements for Melanthios Phalanth[ou] who must have been a "candidate" in the eighties. If the sherd had only the single name Melanthios, one would not hesitate to claim it as an ostrakon of Melanthios, simply assuming

Inv. No. P 12,219. Max. dim. 0.04 m. Plate 59, 13.

Found on February 24, 1938, in Section Z east of the Tholos near the Great Drain in a layer that contained pottery chiefly of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., but with some fragments as late as the fourth century B.C.

The ostrakon is a fragment from the wall of a large coarse pot of brown, micaceous clay, non-Attic. The inscription is on the inside: $\text{Λαισιπ} \text{---} \mid \epsilon^{\rho} \text{ Κοίλης} \text{---} \mid \text{σιπουδι} \text{---}$. Two possible restorations suggest themselves. First, $\text{Λαισιπ}[\text{ουδίας}] \mid \epsilon^{\rho} \text{ Κοίλης} [\text{Λαι}] \mid \text{σιπουδί}[\text{ας}]$, i. e., with the man's own name repeated after the demotic as on an unpublished ostrakon of Boutalion (Inv. No. P 5004). Second, $\text{Λαισιπ}[\text{ουδίας}] \mid \epsilon^{\rho} \text{ Κοίλης} \mid \Sigma\{\iota\}\text{πουδί}[\text{δος}]$, i. e. with the father's name (slightly misspelled) placed after the demotic, as on an unpublished ostrakon of Themistokles (Inv. No. P 13,305) which reads Themistokles Phrearrios Neokleous. There is a variation in spelling from the usual literary form of the name Laispodias, an extra iota, and, if we accept the first of the two proposed restorations, there will be a second variation in the omicron lengthened to ou.

14. Melanthios Phalanth[ou].

According to Herodotos (V, 97) the leader of the Athenian fleet of twenty ships which went to Miletos in 498 B.C. in support of the Ionian revolt was a certain Melanthios. Three ostraka²⁰ of the early fifth century B.C. which bear the name of Melanthios Phalanth[ou] probably refer to this person.

¹⁷ *Klio*, Beiheft IV, 12.

¹⁸ *I.G.*, I², 616.

a. Inv. No. L 1873 bis. Max. dim. 0.068 m.
Plate 59, 14a.

Found on May 11, 1935, in Section B in the dug bedrock filling inside the porch of the New Bouleuterion. Pottery from this filling was chiefly of the seventh and sixth centuries B.C., but there were some fragments as late as the late fifth century B.C. A fragment of another ostrakon, No. 22 below, comes from the same fill.

The ostrakon is a fragment from the floor of a shallow skyphos of a type common in the early fifth century B.C.²¹ It was originally catalogued erroneously as a lamp fragment, hence the inventory number preceded by L. The outside of the fragment, which falls within the base-ring of the pot, is reserved and decorated with two large concentric circles, one small one, and a central dot, all in black glaze. The inside of the fragment is covered with fine black glaze, through which the inscription is incised: Μελάν[θιος] | Φαλάν[θο].

b. Inv. No. P 12,216. Max. dim. 0.052 m.
Fig. 6.

Found on February 25, 1938, in Section Z near the Great Drain east of the Tholos. Pottery found in the same layer was of the late sixth and early fifth centuries B.C. There were three ostraka in this layer, two of Melanthios Phalanth[ou] and one of Phileas Derketou. In

that the omicron had been inadvertently omitted. The presence of the second name, Νεοκκ, makes this interpretation difficult, for Νεοκκ can by no stretch of the imagination be read as any part of Phalanth[ou], nor will it fit any known deme. If we are to interpret the sherd as an ostrakon, we must assume either that there was another Melanthios, a son of Neok<1>e(s), or else that the voter became confused, in which case we might explain it somewhat as follows. Our voter wanted to vote against Melanthios Phalanth[ou]. He started to prepare his ballot and wrote Μελανθιος, forgetting only the omicron. The ostrakophoria at which he was voting was one at which the name of Themistokles was up. Our voter, having written Melanthi<o>s, was interrupted and drawn into a conversation in which Themistokles was being discussed. When he returned to completing his ballot, he hurriedly and absent-mindedly wrote, or started to write, the name of Themistokles' father Neokles. Such an explanation seems, however, rather far-fetched, and it is perhaps best to leave open the question of whether or not this sherd is an ostrakon. For the group to which it will belong if it is not an ostrakon, and for another example of a woman's name on a sherd (Deimeneia), see below, Part II.

²¹ Cf. P. N. Ure, *Sixth and Fifth Century Pottery from Rhitsona*, pp. 68-9, type K 2.



Fig. 6. No. 14 b:
Melanthios

the next layer lower was one of Acharnion Xypetaion, and three layers higher was that of Laispodias.

The ostrakon is a fragment of a rather thin roof tile with brown glaze on the upper surface. The inscription is on the unglazed under side: [Μελ]άνθιος: | Φαλ<ά>νθ[ο]. The second line is upside-down to the first

c. Inv. No. P 12,217. Max. dim. 0.065 m.
Plate 59, 14c.

From the same place as the last item.

The ostrakon is a fragment of a large semi-glazed krater with torus base. There is dull black glaze on the interior, and through this the inscription is incised: <Μ>ελ[άνθιος] | Φαλά<ν>θ[ο].

15. [Ph]a λ anthos [S]pintharou.

The first name clearly ended in -anthos, before which stood at least two and probably three letters. I assume that he is the father of Melanthios of no. 14, above. If this is correct, then both father and son were targets of ostracism.

The patronymic is probably to be restored [Σ]πι<ν>θάρο. This name has been reported twice from the fifth century B.C.²² and it is possible that the person named on our ostrakon is related to one or both of these. It is of course also possible, but I think less likely, that the name is complete as it stands and that there is nothing missing at the beginning, in which case we must read Πι<ν>θάρο, i. e., Πινθάρο,²³ a name not unknown in fifth-century Athens.²⁴

Fig. 7. No. 15: [Ph]a λ anthos [S]pintharou

²² *I.G.*, I², 928, line 76; a list of those who fell at Thasos in 465 B.C.: and *I.G.*, I², 950, line 102; a casualty list of the late fifth century. In *I.G.*, I², 648, where the name Spinth[arous] has been restored, Raubitschek now reads Spinthon: *Jahreshefte*, XXXI, 1938, Beilage, col. 51.

²³ Theta for delta occurs on inscriptions, though not until later times and then only in certain words. It has not yet been found on ostraka. See Meisterhans, *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*³, pp. 104-5. The doubtful sixth-century example which he cites (*C.I.A.*, I, 522 = *I.G.*, I², 837, = *Hermes*, 70, 1935, p. 461, and *A.M.*, 62, 1937, pp. 1-3) is non-existent as the new reading of the stone shows. On Thyphēthides, whom he mentions in note 936, see *J.H.S.*, LII, 1932, pp. 193-4.

²⁴ *I.G.*, I², 950, line 83.

²⁵ Cf. *P.A.*, nos. 14229-14248. Raubitschek points out that the "Phileas" of *I.G.*, I², 661 (= *P.A.*, no. 14229) is really a woman, Philea.

²⁶ Lines 1018-1036. Cf. also *P.A.*, no. 3245.

Inv. No. P 12,529. Max. dim. 0.075 m.
Fig. 7.

Found on March 4, 1938, in Section B in the area just north of the Tholos in a layer containing pottery as late as the fourth century B.C.

The ostrakon is a fragment from the wall of a heavy coarse pot with bands of dull black glaze on the outside and dull black glaze on the inside. A long narrow sliver appears to be broken off from the left side of the ostrakon near the top, so that we may perhaps restore one more letter in front of the first preserved letter in each line. The inscription is on the outside of the sherd: [Φ]ά λ ανθος | [Σ]πι<ν>θάρο.

16. Phileas Derketou.

This person cannot be identified, and no connection can be established with any known person named Phileas.²⁵ Nor is there any probable connection with Derketes, the farmer of Phyle, who appears briefly in Aristophanes' *Acharnians*.²⁶ The circumstances of finding of the one ostrakon that bears this name indicate that Phileas Derketou was active in politics in the early fifth century B.C.



Fig. 8. No. 16: Phileas

Inv. No. P 12,220. Max. dim. 0.092 m.
Fig. 8.

Found on February 25, 1938, in Section Z in the same layer as two ostraka of Melanthios: see above, No. 14, *b* and *c*.

The ostrakon is a fragment of a large unglazed flat tile. The inscription is very faintly incised: Φιλίας | Δερκέτο.

17. Thrasyklēs.

It is not entirely certain that the single sherd bearing this name is an ostrakon. The alpha with one curving leg looks early (see below, p. 407) and there was a certain amount of early pottery, back as far as geometric, in the fill where our sherd was found. The bulk of the pottery, however, was sixth and early fifth century B.C., and an ostrakon of Megakles was found with it. It seems well therefore to list our sherd tentatively among the ostraka. If it is an ostrakon, the man in question may have been the grandfather of the Thrasyklēs who was active during the Peloponnesian War.²⁷

Inv. No. P 4661. Max. dim. 0.096 m. Plate 59, 17.

Found on February 18, 1935, in Section B in the road south of the Tholos; see above. Mentioned and illustrated *A.J.A.*, XXXIX, 1935, p. 179, fig. 6, bottom row, right.

The ostrakon is a fragment of a thick coarse unglazed tile. The inscription Θρασυκλῆς is on the slightly concave face. The last letter is uncertain and could be sigma, iota, or another epsilon.

18. A son of Hippokrates.

Who this son of Hippokrates was is not clear. Megakles is the only one whose name has appeared on ostraka so far, but his name could hardly be read here by any stretch of the imagination. What name the voter had in mind I cannot make out. He was a poor writer in any case, as witness the way he wrote Hippo-

kratous. The ostrakon was prepared in the eighties of the fifth century B.C. as the circumstances of finding show.

Inv. No. P 15,594. Max. dim. 0.098 m. Plate 59, 18.

Found on June 12, 1939, in Section NN in the big deposit of ostraka at the bottom of the Great Drain: see above on No. 2.

The ostrakon is a fragment of a semi-glazed krater with black glaze on the inside through which the inscription is incised: ΜΑΤΙΣΤΗΝΣ | Λυφοχράτος. Raubitschek suggests reading the first line as μὰ τίσιν, equivalent in meaning perhaps to ἐς κόρακας. In this case the ostrakon refers to Hippokrates rather than to his son.

19. - . tos, son of Ergotimos, or Ergotimos, son of - . tous.

It is not certain whether Ergotimos is the name of the man himself or the name of the father. The position of the name in the second line suggests that it is the patronymic, and examples of patronymics in the nominative case are to be found on ostraka. On the other hand, one can also cite examples of ostraka on which the man's name is written along the lower edge of the sherd and the father's name is written in above. Without further evidence one cannot decide between the two possibilities.

Except for the potter, the partner of Klitias, who made the François vase in the second quarter of the sixth century,²⁸ and a man who died in battle in the late fifth century,²⁹ no Athenian of the name Ergotimos is recorded. The only indication of the date of our Ergotimos is the shapes of the letters on the single ostrakon bearing his name, which indicate the first half of the fifth century B.C. The sherd, to judge from its fabric, is sixth century.

Inv. No. P 14. Max. dim. 0.056 m. Plate 59, 19.

Found on June 17, 1931, in Section E in late fill east of the Metroön.

²⁷ *P.A.*, 7317; *I.G.*, I², 82.

²⁸ Furtwängler and Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, plates 1-3 and 11-13.

²⁹ *I.G.*, I², 950, line 39.

The ostrakon is a fragment of a lid whose original diameter was around 0.20 m. and whose top had cut-out openings. I can think of no parallel for the shape.³⁰ On the bottom, which is unglazed, a trace of the flange is preserved. On upper surface dull streaky black to brownish glaze through which the inscription is incised: -. τος | 'Εργότιμος. See also Addenda.

20. --s --okratou[s] [Rh]ᾶμνου[sios].

This person cannot be identified. Of his own name only the final sigma is preserved. The rather common ending of his father's name would permit a number of restorations.³¹ The restoration of the demotic as Rhamnousios seems probable. The shapes of the letters and the type of vase from which the ostrakon comes indicate a date in the early fifth century B.C.

Inv. No. P 3664. Max. dim. 0.047 m. Plate 59, 20.

Found on April 25, 1934, in Section OE in disturbed fill on the eastern slope of Kolonos Agoraios.

The ostrakon is a fragment from a cup-kotyle or shallow skyphos of early fifth-century B.C. type. On the under side part of the area within the foot ring is preserved. It is reserved and decorated with a large circle, a small circle, and a central dot, all done in black glaze. On the inside of the fragment is lustrous black glaze, and through this the inscription is incised: --s | --οκράτο[s] | [ʹP]ᾶμνό[σιος].

21. --on --agora.

Neither name can be restored with certainty. The man's own name was a short one ending

in -ων. His father's name ended in -agoras. The last letter is an incomplete sigma which the writer started to add, thinking of the nominative form, then left unfinished realizing he wanted the genitive. Letter forms suggest a date in the first half of the fifth century B.C. for the ostrakon.

Inv. No. P 6208. Max. dim. 0.08 m. Plate 59, 21.

Found on June 8, 1935, in Section II near the southeast corner of the Agora in mixed fill.

The ostrakon is a fragment of a semi-glazed krater, and the inscription is on the outside: --ων | --αγόρα{ς}.

22. --odoros --yrou.

Neither name can be restored with certainty. Names ending in -odoros are common. For the father's name Satyrou or Zopyrou might be restored. Several known names would fit the remains on the sherd,³² but none seems very convincing and none is at all close chronologically. One sherd bears this name. The shapes of the letters and the circumstances of finding suggest a date in the early fifth century B.C.

Inv. No. P 5917. Max. dim. 0.047 m. Plate 60, 22.

Found on May 11, 1935, in Section B in the same place as the ostrakon of Melanthios, No. 14 a, above.

The ostrakon is a fragment from the wall of a coarse pot, and the inscription is on the outside: --όδορος | --ύρο. Part of a diagonal stroke below the omicron of the father's name may be part of the demotic.

³⁰ The small thymiaterion covers (*Hesperia*, XV, 1946, pl. LXVI, nos. 300 and P 484) have similar cut-out openings, but our lid would have been much flatter than these, and of course much larger.

³¹ See Bechtel, *op. cit.*, pp. 256-260 for some possibilities.

³² E.g., *P.A.*, nos. 1409, 4290, 5139.

II

PEISISTRATOS

During the 1934 campaign at the Agora a sherd was discovered bearing the name Peisistratos. It has been listed among the ostraka in preliminary excavation reports³³ and has been the subject of some comments by Mr. Meritt³⁴ and Miss Guarducci,³⁵ but it has never been illustrated or adequately published.

The sherd³⁶ (Plate 60) is a fragment from the foot of a large Geometric vase. It was found near the center of the Agora, by the southwest corner of the Odeion, in a mixed fill containing late Roman, Hellenistic, and Geometric sherds. The inscription is incised retrograde on the inside of the fragment: Πεισί<τ>ρατος. It was obviously done on the sherd and not on the complete vase. The sherd appears to be complete as it was at the time it was inscribed. The breaks are evenly worn all around and there is no sign of any fresh break other than minor chips. We may therefore safely assume that the inscription is complete as it stands.

The name Peisistratos is one of the great names of early Athenian history. It was borne, as far as we know, by three persons: first, Peisistratos the archon 669/8 B.C.; second, Peisistratos the tyrant of the mid-sixth century; and, third, the younger Peisistratos, a grandson of the second, who was archon in the late sixth century. Which, if any, of these is the person named on our sherd?

It has been assumed in previous publications that Peisistratos the younger is meant, and that the sherd is an ostrakon which was cast in one of the early ostrakophoriai in the eighties of the fifth century B.C., the first three of which are known to have been directed against relatives and friends of the tyrants (Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 22). It is possible that this is the case. Although it is rather an unorthodox ostrakon, being written retrograde and lacking the usual patronymic or demotic, parallels for it can be found among undoubted ostraka.³⁷ It might be challenged on other grounds as well, for being written on a Geometric sherd, for having been found by itself in mixed late fill and not in early fifth-century B.C. fill with other ostraka, and also for being the only sherd with this name among the close to one thousand ostraka that have so far been found. Again, however, all these doubtful points can be paralleled among the undoubted ostraka. Several have been found that are written on Geometric sherds, many have been discovered singly in mixed late fills, and several persons who were

³³ *A.J.A.*, XXXIX, 1935, p. 179, and *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 361.

³⁴ *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 63.

³⁵ *Annuario della R. Scuola Archeologica di Atene*, III-IV, Nuova Serie, 1941-2, pp. 118-124. I have not seen this article. The reference was given me by Mr. Meritt.

³⁶ Inv. No. P 3629. Max. dim. 0.055 m.

³⁷ Compare for example the abortive Hippokrates ostrakon published in *Hesperia*, Suppl. IV, p. 38, fig. 30, d.

undoubtedly "candidates" for ostracism are represented in our modern collections by only one ballot, for example Perikles and Hyperbolos. One cannot therefore definitely eliminate the possibility of its being an ostrakon, but one can make a fairly strong case against it.

If it is not an ostrakon, however, what is it? Miss Guarducci, whose article I have not seen, has I believe suggested that it may have been written as a joke at one of the ostrakophoriai, meaning, I imagine, that someone wrote the name Peisistratos, the tyrant *par excellence*, as a general protest against tyranny rather than as a vote against a definite individual. This is perhaps possible. There is another interpretation, however, which seems to me more probable. The practice of writing names on sherds did not start with ostracism in the early fifth century. The Agora collection contains a number of sherds with a name scratched on them that come from fills that gathered and were sealed over long before the practice of ostracism began. I present here a few examples.

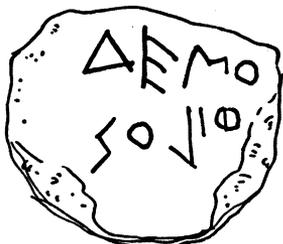


Fig. 9. Demophilos

a. Inv. No. P 6067. Max. dim. 0.039 m.
Fig. 9.

Found on April 13, 1935, in Section E in fill of the mid-sixth century B.C. between the Metroön and the Great Drain.

The sherd is a fragment from the wall of a large coarse pot with dull brown glaze on the outside. The inscription is on the inside: Δεμόφιλος.

b. Inv. No. P 10,159. Max. dim. 0.057 m.
Plate 60, b.

Found on May 6, 1937, in Section @@ just east of the Panathenaic Way, about half way between the Agora and the Acropolis, in fill containing proto-Attic and sixth century B.C. sherds.

The sherd is a fragment of the wall of a large seventh-century amphora with dull streaky black glaze on the outside. It has been cut in

the form of a disc: cf. *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 603-4, fig. 71. The inscription was incised on the outside after the sherd had been made into a disc: Ἀριστίον.

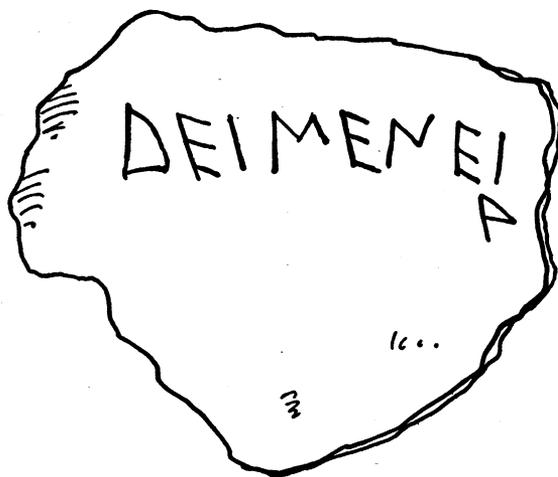


Fig. 10. Deimeneia

c. Inv. No. P 4794. Max. dim. 0.084 m.
Fig. 10.

Found on February 26, 1935, in Section B' south of the Tholos in a well of the early sixth century B.C.⁸⁸ Illustrated *A.J.A.*, XXXIX, 1935, p. 179, fig. 6, bottom left.

The sherd is a fragment from the wall of a large coarse pithos, unglazed. The inscription is on the outside: Δειμενεία.

⁸⁸ Well 1. For some of the pottery from this well see *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, pp. 125 and 136.

d. Inv. No. P 2030. Max. dim. 0.096 m.
Plate 60, d.

Found on May 22, 1933, in Section E in a layer of the early sixth century B.C. inside the porch of the Hellenistic Metroön.

The sherd is a fragment of a light roofing tile, slightly concave, covered on the concave side with dull reddish glaze. The letters were

scratched on the glazed side when the tile had already become a sherd. The upper left corner was afterwards broken away. The inscription is retrograde: *Γοργίας ἡο Σιβακίο.*

e and f. The Melanthis Neoke sherd discussed above in note 20, and the Thrasykles sherd, above, No. 17, will belong in this category if they are not ostraka.

These sherds have nothing to do with ostracism as practiced under the law of Kleisthenes. Some are probably the work of school children or of idlers writing their own name or the name of some friend, acquaintance or lover. Others may be connected in some way with politics as has been suggested in the case of two early sherds from the Acropolis.³⁹ Our Peisistratos sherd may well belong in this early category. Its date cannot be fixed with any certainty, but it is surely pre-Persian and probably sixth or even seventh century B.C. There is unfortunately no external evidence for its date. The circumstances of finding tell us nothing. The eighth-century Geometric sherd on which the name is written gives us only a general sort of *terminus post quem*. The only other evidence is from the shapes of the letters, and the only really characteristic letter is the alpha with one curving leg. This has a genuinely early look and parallels for it may be found among seventh-century vase inscriptions as R. S. Young points out.⁴⁰

If the graffito is as early as this, it may refer to the Peisistratos who was archon in 669/8 B.C. Our knowledge of the development of writing in this period is so slight, however, and there is so much of the personal element involved in graffiti (as contrasted with formal inscriptions on stone) that a date in the sixth century cannot be ruled out.⁴¹ I should like to think that our sherd belongs to the mid-sixth century B.C. and refers to Peisistratos the tyrant. This Peisistratos went into exile on two occasions, and it may be that he was banished by a vote of the Areopagus,⁴² the voting being done on potsherds.⁴³ It is perhaps a mere coincidence that the name Aristion

³⁹ *A.M.*, XL, 1915, pp. 22-24; *I.G.*, I², 913; Graef-Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen*, II, nos. 1316 and 1317. Cf. J. Carcopino, *L' ostracisme athénien*², p. 82, note 1.

⁴⁰ Cf. the Hymettos inscriptions, *A.J.A.*, XXXVIII, 1934, p. 12, fig. 2, and p. 25; and XLIV, 1940, p. 8, no. 8, fig. 10, lower right.

⁴¹ It may for example have been written in the sixth century by an older man who had learned his letters in an earlier generation.

⁴² On the occasion of his first exile, two opposing parties, those of Megakles and Lykourgos, united and drove him out (Herodotos, I, 60; Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 14, 3). This was probably done in some legal way as there is no record of any military coup. The logical body to do it would appear to be the Areopagus, which was charged under the Solonian constitution with the duty of guarding the laws and particularly with trying persons who conspired to overthrow the democracy (*Ath. Pol.*, 8, 4). It is unlikely that a special court was chosen as happened when the Alkmeonids were exiled (Plutarch, *Solon*, 12). On the occasion of his second exile Peisistratos appears to have left of his own accord to avoid being forced out.

⁴³ The method of voting deserves further consideration, but the use of sherds is here suggested as a tentative possibility.

appears on another early sherd, published above, but it is worth recalling in this connection that a man named Aristion was one of Peisistratos' supporters and that it was on his motion that the people voted Peisistratos the bodyguard which paved the way for the first tyranny (*Ath. Pol.* 14, 1). Such a supporter would surely have been exiled along with the tyrant.

III

When Jérôme Carcopino was preparing the second edition of his *L'ostracisme athénien* about fourteen years ago, he knew of only 62 ostraka. Since then the excavations at the Agora, the North Slope of the Acropolis, and the Kerameikos have uncovered rich deposits, and the total now stands at 973. Much of this new material has already been published,⁴⁴ but a great deal still remains unpublished, particularly at the Agora. The published material is scattered through several periodicals and books, and no adequate summary of it exists. As it will be some time before a general study of ostraka can be prepared, I am publishing below as a sort of interim summary a list of all names that have appeared so far on ostraka. This list, which is in alphabetical order, includes the sherds which are probably but not absolutely certainly ostraka and also the fragments on which the name cannot be restored with certainty. Opposite each name I give the number of examples found to date at the Agora, the number found elsewhere, and the total number. This is followed by a select bibliography, the emphasis in which is on publications of the actual ostraka. For discussions of the subject in general the reader is referred to Carcopino's book mentioned above and to O. W. Reinmuth's article "Ostrakismos" in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Real-Encyclopädie* (1942).

In the list below the full name of each person is given as far as it is known. Any part of the name which is known from other sources but has not yet appeared on an ostrakon is placed in round brackets. Where the number of ostraka under any name is less than that given in earlier publications, it means that some pieces have been rejected as doubtful or as admitting of more than one restoration.

LIST OF KNOWN OSTRAKA

NAME	Agora	Elsewhere	Total	SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY
Acharnion Xypetaion	2	0	2	Above, No. 1.
Alkibiades Kleiniou Skambonides (the elder)	3	1	4	<i>A.J.A.</i> , XLII, 1938, p. 13, and p. 15, fig. 20. <i>Hesp.</i> , VII, 1938, p. 359, fig. 50, pp. 361-2. <i>Hesp.</i> , IX, 1940, pp. 247 f., no. 296, fig. 51.
Alkibiades Kleiniou (Skambonides) (the younger)	1	0	1	<i>Hesp.</i> , X, 1941, p. 2.
(Ando)kides (Leog)orou	0	1	1	<i>A.M.</i> , XL, 1915, p. 16 and pl. IV. <i>I.G.</i> , I ² , 911, 3.

⁴⁴ For the North Slope see *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 228-243, and IX, 1940, pp. 247 f. For the Kerameikos see Werner Peek, *Kerameikos*, III, *Inschriften, Ostraka, Fluchtafeln* (Berlin, 1941), pp. 51-87: referred to as "Peek" in the bibliography below.

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NAME	Agora	Elsewhere	Total	SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY
Andronicho[s]	1	0	1	Above, No. 2.
Archenos Philoxenou	1	0	1	Above, No. 3.
Aristeides Lysimachou Alopekethen	55	0	55	<i>Hesp.</i> , V, 1936, p. 39, and p. 40, fig. 39, bottom, left; p. 346, fig. 14. <i>Hesp.</i> , XV, 1946, pp. 274 f., nos. 12, 14, 15.
Arist . . . -- Charop --	1	0	1	Above, No. 4.
Arista[ichmos (?)] Timo[kratous]	1	0	1	Above, No. 5.
Boutalion Ep -- Marathonios	7	0	7	<i>Hesp.</i> , XV, 1946, p. 272, No. 5.
Charias Paianieus	1	0	1	Above, No. 6.
Damon Damonidou (Oathen)	0	1	1	<i>A.M.</i> , XL, 1915, pp. 20-21, and pl. IV. <i>I.G.</i> , I ² , 912.
[D]ieitr[ephes Ni]kos[tratou]	1	0	1	<i>Hesp.</i> , Suppl. V, pp. 143 and 163-4.
Dionysio[s] -- onou	3	0	3	Above, No. 7.
Eratyllos Kattariou	3	0	3	Above, No. 8.
Eucharides Eucharous Thesmo(thetes)	0	1	1	<i>A.M.</i> , XL, 1915, p. 17, and pl. IV. <i>I.G.</i> , I ² , 911, 5.
Eukrates	1	0	1	Above, No. 9.
Habron Patrokleous Marathonios	7	0	7	<i>Hesp.</i> , VI, 1937, pp. 155-6. Habron was certainly a "candidate" in the eighties of the fifth century B.C., for one of his ostraka was found with the large group from the Great Drain in Section NN: see above on No. 2. Another comes from the building fill of the Poros Building south of the Tholos: see above on No. 1.
Hegestratos Hasimion(os)	2	0	2	Above, No. 10.
Hierokl -- Herma --	1	0	1	Above, No. 11.
Hipparchos Charmou (Kollyteus)	11	0	11	<i>A.J.A.</i> , XXXIX, 1935, p. 179, fig. 6, top right. <i>Hesp.</i> , V, 1936, p. 40, fig. 39, top left. <i>Hesp.</i> , XV, 1946, pp. 271, 273, nos. 4 and 10.
Hippokles Menippou	2	1	3	Peek, p. 86, no. 164.
Hippokrates Alkmeonidou Alopekethen	76	2	78	70 of these ostraka have the patronymic alone, 8 the demotic alone. None has yet been found bearing both patronymic and demotic. <i>A.J.A.</i> , XXXIX, 1935, p. 179, fig. 6, top left. <i>Hesp.</i> , Suppl. IV, p. 32, fig. 24, <i>d. Hesp.</i> , XV, 1946, p. 274, no. 13. Peek, pp. 85-6, nos. 162-3.
Hippokrates Anaxileo See Addenda.	7	0	7	<i>A.J.A.</i> , XXXIX, 1935, p. 179, fig. 6, second row, left and center. <i>Hesp.</i> , V, 1936, p. 40, fig. 39, center left. <i>Hesp.</i> , XV, 1946, p. 272, no. 6. Cf. Peek, p. 86.
Hippokrates (uncertain which)	11	0	11	<i>Hesp.</i> , Suppl. IV, p. 38, fig. 30, <i>d. Hesp.</i> , XV, 1946, p. 272, no. 7.
Hyperbolos Antiphanous (Perithoides)	1	0	1	<i>Hesp.</i> , VIII, 1939, p. 246, fig. 47. Cf. Peek, pp. 101-4.
Kallias Didymiou	2	0	2	<i>A.J.A.</i> , XXXIX, 1935, p. 179, fig. 6, third row, left. <i>Hesp.</i> , V, 1936, p. 40. <i>Hesp.</i> , Suppl. V, p. 141. <i>Jahreshefte</i> , XXXI, 1938, Beiblatt, pp. 47-9, no.

NAME	Agora	Elsewhere	Total	SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY
Kallias Kratiou	2	1	3	XIX. Cf. Peek, p. 78, note 2. One of the ostraka is <i>painted</i> , like the Hyperbolos one, which suggests that there was a concerted campaign against Kallias, son of Didymias, and further strengthens the view that he was actually ostracized, a point that some have doubted (Carcopino, <i>op. cit.</i> , pp. 118-120; <i>R.E.</i> , s. v. Kallias). <i>Hesp.</i> , Suppl. V, pp. 141 and 161. Peek, p. 78, no. 147. Peek's no. 148 is not necessarily to be restored Kallias and should be listed under fragments that admit of more than one restoration.
Kallixenos Aristonymou Xypetaion	87	1	88	<i>Hesp.</i> , Suppl. IV, p. 32, fig. 24, a. <i>Hesp.</i> , X, 1941, p. 3. <i>Hesp.</i> , XV, 1946, pp. 272 f., nos. 8 and 9. Peek, pp. 86-7, no. 165.
Kimon Miltiadou (Lakiades)	0	67	67	<i>Hesp.</i> , VII, 1938, pp. 241-2, fig. 71. Peek, pp. 51 ff., nos. 1-66.
Kleippides Deiniou Acharneus	0	24	24	<i>A.M.</i> , XL, 1915, pp. 12 ff. and pl. III. <i>I.G.</i> , I ² , 911, 2.
Kritias Leaidou	2	0	2	Above, No. 12.
Kydrokles Timokratous Kriiothen	8	1	9	<i>A.M.</i> , XL, 1915, p. 25 (fig.). <i>I.G.</i> , I ² , 914, 1. Graef-Langlotz, <i>Vasen der Akropolis</i> , II, no. 1318, pl. 92. <i>Hesp.</i> , Suppl. V, pp. 141 and 161. Cf. also Peek, p. 82, no. 153, which is possibly but by no means certainly an ostrakon of Kydrokles. One of the two pieces from the large group found in the Great Drain in Section NN (see above on No. 2) reads $\text{Κυδρο[κλῆς]} \mid \text{Κριώθε[ν]}$ and almost certainly refers to Kydrokles Timokratous. The fourth-century orator, Timokrates Antiphontos Krioeus (<i>P.A.</i> , no. 13772), may be a descendant. Cf. Arista[ichmos], above.
Laispodias of Koile	1	0	1	Above, No. 13.
Megakles Hippokratous Alopekethen	8	3	11	<i>A.M.</i> , XL, 1915, pp. 5-6, and pl. I. <i>I.G.</i> , I ² , 908. Graef-Langlotz, <i>Vasen der Akropolis</i> , II, nos. 1314-1315, pl. 92. <i>Hesp.</i> , V, 1936, p. 40, fig. 39, top right. <i>Hesp.</i> , XV, 1946, p. 271, nos. 1-3. Cf. <i>Hesp.</i> , Suppl. V, pp. 141 and 161. Peek, p. 83, no. 156. Peek has overlooked the fact that the ostrakon he publishes has the patronymic incised around the edge: see the preliminary publication of this ostrakon, <i>A.A.</i> , 1937, p. 195.

NAME	Agora	Elsewhere	Total	SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY
Melanthios Phalanth[ou]	3	0	3	Above, No. 14.
Menestratos	0	1	1	<i>I.G.</i> , I ² , 915.
Menon Menekleidou Gargettios	4	80	84	<i>Hesp.</i> , Suppl. V, pp. 142, 144, and 161-3. Peek, pp. 62-78, nos. 67-146.
Peisistratos	1	0	1	Above, Part II.
Perikles Xanthippou (Cholargeus)	1	0	1	<i>Hesp.</i> , X, 1941, pp. 2-3, fig. 2.
Phaiax Erasistratou Acharneus	2	1	3	Peek, pp. 78-80, No. 149.
[Ph]alanthos [S]pintharou	1	0	1	Above, No. 15.
Phileas Derketou	1	0	1	Above, No. 16.
Phileriphos	0	1	1	Peek, pp. 80-81, no. 150.
Philippos	0	1	1	<i>A.M.</i> , XL, 1915, p. 25 (fig.). <i>I.G.</i> , I ² , 914, 2. Graef-Langlotz, <i>Vasen der Akropolis</i> , II, no. 1319, pl. 92. Cf. Peek, p. 82, note 1.
Polytimos Prasi(eus)	0	1	1	<i>A.M.</i> , XL, 1915, pp. 25-6 (fig.). <i>I.G.</i> , I ² , 914, 3. Graef-Langlotz, <i>Vasen der Akropolis</i> , II, no. 1321, pl. 92.
(Tei)sandros (E)pilykou	0	1	1	<i>A.M.</i> , XL, 1915, pp. 16-17 and pl. IV. <i>I.G.</i> , I ² , 911, 4.
Themistokles Neokleous Phrearrios	189	195	384	<i>A.M.</i> , XL, 1915, p. 7 and pl. I. <i>I.G.</i> , I ² , 910. <i>Hesp.</i> , IV, 1935, pp. 368-9, fig. 25. <i>Hesp.</i> , V, 1936, p. 40, fig. 39, lower right. <i>Hesp.</i> , VII, 1938, pp. 228 ff. <i>Hesp.</i> , Suppl. IV, p. 32, fig. 24, b and c. <i>Hesp.</i> , XV, 1946, p. 274, no. 11. Peek, pp. 83-4, nos. 157-159.
Theotimos Kleainou	0	1	1	Peek, p. 85, no. 161.
Thrasykles	1	0	1	Above, No. 17.
Thukydidēs Melesiou (Alopekethen)	1	12	13	<i>A.M.</i> , XL, 1915, pp. 8 ff. and pl. II. <i>I.G.</i> , I ² , 911, 1. Peek, pp. 84-85, no. 160.
Xanthippos Arriphronos (Cholargeus)	15	2	17	<i>A.M.</i> , XL, 1915, pp. 6-7 and pl. I. <i>I.G.</i> , I ² , 909. Graef-Langlotz, <i>Vasen der Akropolis</i> , II, no. 1313, pl. 92. <i>Hesp.</i> , V, 1936, p. 40, fig. 39, center right. <i>Hesp.</i> , X, 1941, p. 3, fig. 3.
Fragments, including pieces which admit of more than one restoration See Addenda.	32	13	46	Above, Nos. 18-22. <i>A.M.</i> , XL, 1915, pp. 17-18. Peek, p. 78, no. 148; pp. 81-83, nos. 151-155; p. 87, no. 166 (very doubtful). <i>Hesp.</i> , Suppl. VII, pp. 31-2, No. 4.
TOTALS.....	560	413	973 ⁴⁵	

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⁴⁵ This article was completed in 1946 and therefore does not include the large number of ostraka (524 in all) found in the 1947 campaign. A preliminary notice of these has appeared in H. A. Thompson's general report on the season's work, *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948.

ADDENDA

1 a. The demotic is a confusion between the normal form *Ξυπεταιίων* and the alternate form with preposition *ἐκ Ξυπεταιίωνων*: cf. Steph. Byz. *s. v.* *Ξυπετή*.

19. In the first line at the very edge of the sherd is a mark which might be the tip of an Attic lambda. As the name in this line seems to have been a short one, we might restore it [^λΟ]λτος. The only known person of this name is a painter of red-figured vases active in the last quarter of the sixth century B.C. (Beazley, *A.R.V.*, pp. 34 ff.). Is it merely a coincidence that these two names appear together, or may we suppose that the painter Oltos, son of the potter Ergotimos, dabbled in politics late in life and that some opponent voted to ostracise him? It is generally assumed, for lack of evidence, that potters and other artisans took little or no part in the political life of the city. Many of them, however, were prosperous and wealthy (cf. Beazley, *Potter and Painter*, pp. 21-25), and many were no doubt citizens rather than metics. There is no inherent reason why they should not occasionally have entered public life, and indeed we have from the later fifth century the specific example of the lamp-maker-demagogue Hyperbolos.

TO LIST OF KNOWN OSTRAKA

Hippokrates Anaxileo: add O. Benndorf, *Griechische und Sicilische Vasenbilder*, p. 52, plate XXIX, no. 15; graffito on the foot of a black glazed vase in a private collection in Athens. This we may now identify as an ostrakon and restore [*Ἡπποκράτης*] *Ἀνασχίλιο*. The present whereabouts of this piece is unknown to me.

Kleippides Deiniou Acharneus: add the ostrakon *A.M.*, LI, 1926, pp. 128 f., fig. 2.

Thukydides Melesiou (Alopekethen): add the *painted* ostrakon *A.M.*, LI, 1926, pp. 128 f., fig. 1.

Fragments: add Benndorf, *op. cit.*, plate XXVIII, 18.

E. V.

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No. 1 *a*: Acharnion



No. 1 *b*: Acharnion



No. 2: Andronichos



No. 7 *b*: Dionysios



No. 5: Aristā-Timo-



No. 7 *a*: Dionysios



No. 7 *c*: Dionysios

E. VANDERPOOL: SOME OSTRAKA FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA

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No. 8 *a*: Eratyllos Kattariou



No. 8 *b*: Eratyllos Kattariou



No. 8 *c*: Eratyllos Kattariou



No. 9: Eukrates



No. 10 *a*: Hegestratos



No. 11: Hierokl— Herma—



No. 12 *a*: Kritias



No. 13: Laispodias



No. 14 a: Melanthios



No. 14 c: Melanthios



No. 17: Thrasykles



No. 18: A Son of Hippokrates



No. 19: Ergotimos



No. 20



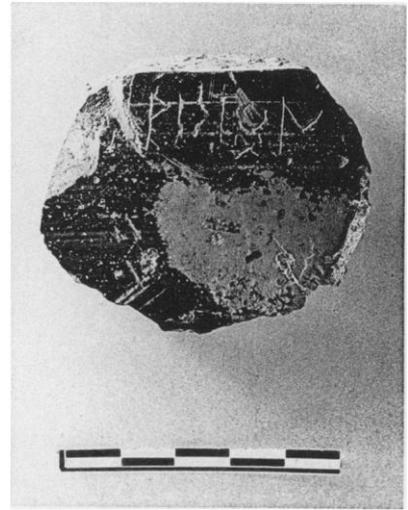
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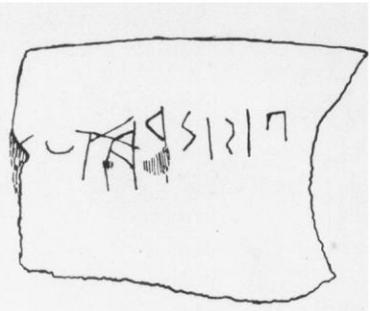
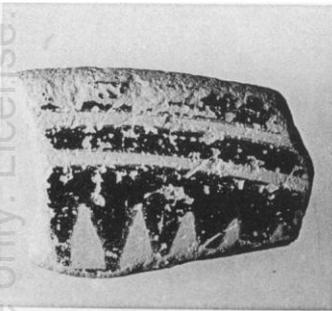
PLATE 60



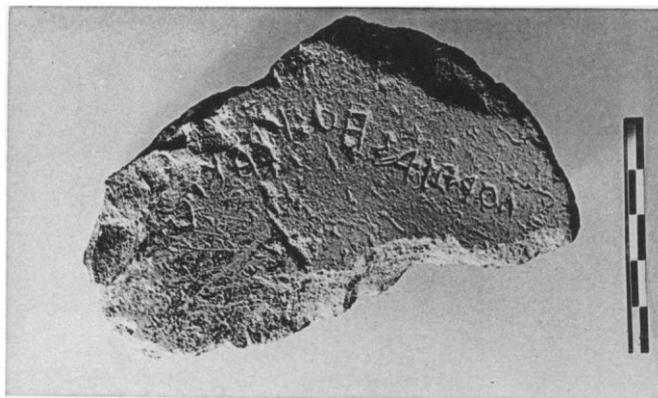
No. 22



Part II *b*: Aristion



The Peisistratos Sherd



Part II *d*: Gorgias ho Sibakiou

E. VANDERPOOL: SOME OSTRAKA FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA



On the Idiomatic Use of *Kapa*, *ΚΕΦΑΛΗ*, and *Caput*

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Reviewed work(s):

Source: *Hesperia Supplements*, Vol. 8, Commemorative Studies in Honor of Theodore Leslie Shear (1949), pp. 413-414

Published by: [The American School of Classical Studies at Athens](#)

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ON THE IDIOMATIC USE OF ΚΑΡΑ, ΚΕΦΑΛΗ, AND CAPUT

IN SOPHOCLES' *Antigone* the heroine addresses her sister in this affectionate manner, ὦ κοῖνον ἀντάδελφον Ἰσμήνης κάρα and Jebb, in his edition of the play, admirably gives the sense of these words, which here may not be literally translated, "Ismene, my sister, mine own dear sister." In his note on κάρα (which means literally "head") Jebb says: "the periphrasis (as with κεφαλή) usually implies respect, affection, or both (cf. Horace's *tam cari capitis*)."

In this study of this use of the words κάρα and κεφαλή it is my purpose to see whether it is true that "respect, affection, or both, are usually implied" when they are used of persons, or whether it is the accompanying complimentary or derogatory epithet that determines the meaning. Furthermore, is there a distinction in the meaning and in the use of these two words?

First let us consider κάρα. This designation of a person by κάρα is found, so far as I know, in Greek tragedy only; namely, seven times in Sophocles and once in Aeschylus. In Sophocles four occurrences are in the *Oedipus Tyrannus*, one in the *Antigone*, one in the *Electra*, and one in the *Oedipus at Colonus*. The sole instance in Aeschylus is in the *Agamemnon*. The exact wording is here given:

O.T., 40: Οἰδίπου κάρα (a respectful address), ὦ κράτιστον πᾶσιν Οἰδίπου κάρα ("Oedipus, king glorious in all eyes," as Jebb translates); *O.T.*, 950: ὦ φίλτατον γυναικὸς Ἰοκάστης κάρα ("dearest wife, Jocasta"); *O.T.*, 1207: the Chorus exclaim, ἰὼ κλεινὸν Οἰδίπου κάρα ("Alas, renowned Oedipus"); *Antig.*, 1 (see above); *Elec.*, 1164: Electra addresses Orestes, where the context shows warm affection, ὦ κασίγνητον κάρα ("O brother mine"); *Oed. Col.*, 1631: Oedipus to Theseus, ὦ φίλον κάρα; *Agam.*, 905: Clytemnestra to Agamemnon, φίλον κάρα.

Let us now study the word κεφαλή as a designation of a person. This usage is common in poetry and in prose beginning with Homer:

Il., VIII, 281: φίλη κεφαλή of Teucer; *Il.*, XVIII, 114: Achilles, addressing Thetis, says, "Now go I forth, that I may light on the destroyer of him I loved, on Hector" (φίλης κεφαλῆς); *Il.*, XXIII, 94: ἠθείη κεφαλή ("trustworthy, honored," thus Achilles addresses the spirit of Patroclus).

In *Odyssey*, I, 342 Penelope bids Telemachus silence the sad song of the bard, for "ever in memory do I long for such a head" (i. e., Odysseus), τοίην κεφαλῆν. Here the word κεφαλή, colorless in itself, is given affectionate meaning through τοίην and the context. So similarly in *Od.*, XI, 549, τοίην κεφαλῆν is used of Ajax.

It appears, then, that in Homer, in every instance, κεφαλή, used of a person, is a term of affection or respect. Likewise in later Greek literature there are a few

instances of such usage, as in Plato (*Phdr.*, 264a, *φίλη κ.*) and Julian (*Or.*, 7, 212, *τῆς θείας κ.*). Usually, however, in literature later than Homer, *κεφαλή*, with a disparaging or abusive epithet, is decidedly uncomplimentary. Thus Cambyses abuses the priests of Apis (*Hdt.*, III, 29), *ὦ κακαὶ κεφαλαί* ("blockheads"). So in Aristophanes (*Ach.*, 285) the Chorus address Dicaeopolis as *μιαρὰ κεφαλή* ("detestable wretch"). With Demosthenes the term *κεφαλή*, with abusive epithet, as applied to his enemies Aeschines and Meidias, is a favorite form of disparagement. So of Aeschines, *ἡ μιαρὰ κεφαλή* (18, 153) and *ὦ κακῆ κεφαλή σύ* (19, 313). Of Meidias we read, *ἡ μιαρὰ καὶ ἀναιδῆς αὐτῆ κεφαλή* (21, 117) and *ὦ μιαρὰ κεφαλή* (21, 135).

It is clear that in the light of the evidence we must revise Jebb's inaccurate note on *Antigone* 1 so as to read something like this: The periphrasis (or form of address or reference) with *κάρα*, or *κάρα* with a qualifying word, is a poetic usage, found exclusively in Attic tragedy, and always implies respect or affection, or both. *Κεφαλή*, however, although complimentary as used in Homer, in subsequent Greek poetic and prose literature is used as a term of affection *or* hatred.

So the Latin use of *caput* is precisely similar to the Greek usage of *κεφαλή*. Professor Shorey's note on Horace, *Odes*, I, 24, 2 is excellent: "tam cari capitis, for one so dear. This use of *caput* is warm with feeling, whether of love or hate. Cf. Shelley, *Adonais*, 'O weep for Adonais, though our tears Thaw not the frost which binds so dear a head!'"

See also Professor Knapp's note on Verg., *Aen.*, IV, 613: "infandum caput: freely, that monster, that wretch. *Caput*, as denoting a vital part of a man's physical nature, stands often for his whole being or existence, usually with an indication of strong feeling, affection, or the opposite."

Also in the *Aeneid* we find *capitis cari* (IV, 354). *Caput* is frequent in Roman Comedy, e. g. in Terence, with *ridiculum* (*And.*, 2, 2, 341), with *festivum* (*Ad.*, 2, 3, 8), and with *lepidum* (*Ad.*, 5, 9, 9).

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