

per cent. interest every month*," the sentence, when complete, being τῷ μηνὸς τῆς μνᾶς. In the same writer, we find, οἶσω δὲ σοι ἐννέ' ὀβολοὺς τῆς μνᾶς τόκους. "I will pay you one and a half *per cent.* every month." †

The Attic tetradrachms are of two kinds; the first, or more ancient, is of the rudest description, being of a globular form; the head of Minerva is covered with an ancient helmet; or sometimes there is only a radiated diadem. The face of the goddess is distinguished by the most striking deformity; a long neck and pointed chin, with an eye like that of a fish, are among the most remarkable features. The second or more modern is less rude, is much thinner, and the surface more extended; the helmet of the goddess is highly ornamented; the face is more graceful; and altogether it is executed in a much better style of work than the former; at the same time, it bears the most evident marks of neglect and bad taste. The variations to be met with in the tetradrachm of each of these divisions are numberless; but they are so very slight, and the agreement of the general characteristics of each so universal, that they are by no means sufficient to constitute any other class than the two already described; to one of which indeed they are all easily reducible. These observations are equally applicable to the didrachm and drachm, and may be extended to nearly the whole silver coinage of Athens. It is not improbable that the head on the older tetradrachms was copied from that most ancient and most holy statue of the goddess preserved in the double temple of Neptune and Minerva; it was formed of olive-wood, and was said to have fallen from Heaven in the reign of Erichonius. It is clear, however, that the superior beauty of the Minerva of Phidias proved more attractive than the age and sanctity of the wooden image; for on all the later tetradrachms we find precisely the same figures which adorned the head of that magnificent statue; although even in the more

* The common interest at Athens was one *per cent.* *per month.*

† See Schweig. in Athen. lib. xiii. c. 94.

recent coinage, instances frequently occur, where the inscription in ancient characters is still preserved.

One of the greatest problems in numismatical difficulties, is the cause of the manifest neglect, both in design and execution, which is invariably to be met with in the silver money of Athens; in which the affectation of an archaic style of work is easily distinguished from the rudeness of remote antiquity. Different attempts have been made to elucidate the subject; De Pauw affirms, that owing to a wise economy, the magistrates whose office it was to superintend the coinage of silver, employed none but inferior artists in making the design, as well as in other branches of the process; an hypothesis wholly inconsistent with the characteristic magnificence of the republic. Pinkerton asserts, that it can only be accounted for, from the excellence of the artists being such, as to occasion all the good to be called into other countries, and none but the bad left at home. It would be somewhat difficult to explain, how Athens came to be so long honored both by the presence and the works of Phidias and Praxiteles, Zeuxis and Apelles.

The Attic silver was of acknowledged purity, and circulated very extensively; the Athenian merchants, particularly in their commercial dealings with the more distant and barbarous nations, appear frequently to have made their payments in it. The barbarians being once impressed with these notions of its purity, the government of Athens in all probability was afraid materially to change that style and appearance, by which their money was known and valued among these people. A similar proceeding in the state of Venice throws the strongest light on the practice of the Athenians. The Venetian sechin is perhaps the most unseemly of the coins of modern Europe; it has long been however the current gold of the Turkish empire, in which its purity is universally and justly esteemed; any change in its appearance on the part of the Venetian government would have tended to create distrust.

Xenophon says, that the silver of Attica in foreign countries was more valuable than the coin of other nations, because it was finer, and

consequently was worth more than its own weight of any other silver, that had more alloy in it. (Davenant. See also the treatise, Πόροι.) And Zeno (Diog. L. in v.) in his allusion to the rudeness of the Attic tetradrachms, praises them at the same time, as superior in purity of metal to other coins, which were more beautiful in form and design:—

Ἐφασκε δὲ τοὺς μὲν τῶν ἀσολοίκων λόγους καὶ ἀπηρτισμένους ὁμοίους εἶναι τῷ ἀργυρίῳ τῷ Ἀλεξανδρινῷ· εὐσφάλμους μὲν καὶ περιγεγραμμένους, καθὰ καὶ τὸ νόμισμα, οὐδὲν δὲ διὰ τᾶντα βελτιόνας· τοὺς δὲ τῶναντίον ἀφωμοίου τοῖς Ἀττικῶις τετραδράχμοις, εἰκῇ μὲν κεκομμένους καὶ σολοίκους, κατέλκειν μεντοὶ πολλάκις τὰς κεκαλλιγραφημένας λέξεις. “He said, that the polished discourses of the learned resembled the Alexandrian money; they were beautiful to look at, and finished all round; but not the better on that account. Those of an opposite class were like the Attic tetradrachms; there was a rude and plain stamp about them; but they often outweighed the discourses of a more ornamented kind.” It is evident from the nature of the commercial transactions between the Athenians and the inhabitants of some of the shores of the Euxine, that a great quantity of Attic money must have been given to the latter, in exchange for what the Athenians most wanted; namely, corn. “No people,” says Demosthenes, “require so much imported corn as we do.”

C. Lept. Πλείστῳ τῶν ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐπείσασκ' ἵτω χράμεθα Leucon allowed them in the year 358 B. C. to carry from the Cimmerian Bosphorus, (now the Straits of Caffa,) and from Theodosia, 400,000 medimni of corn. (Vales. Harpoc. 38, and Barbeyrac Anc. Traitéz, p. 213.) The medimnus or six pecks of wheat cost five drachmæ at Athens in the time of Demosthenes; now allowing that the Athenian ships were laden with some manufactured articles to exchange for the corn, as well as with wine, which formed part of their export trade, it is certain that great payments must have been made in money.

Two different classes of officers superintended the public money at Athens; the ταμίαι were treasurers of the goddess Minerva; the ἑλληνοταμίαι had the care of the sums paid by the allies. The ταμίαι on one occasion had lent out the money of the republic to derive

some interest from it for their own advantage; those to whom they had advanced it became bankrupts; and the quæstors set fire to the opisthodomus in the Acropolis, to destroy all evidence of their misconduct. Ulpian in Demos. con. Timocr:—The sources of the Athenian revenue were, 1. The contributions from allied states; the sum demanded from them in the time of Aristides was 460 talents annually; Pericles exacted 600; Alcibiades doubled the original sum (Harpocr. Vales. p. 58.); and under Demetrius Phalereus, a further addition was made. (Diog. L. in v.) 2. Some revenue was also derived from the customs*; we find from the Etymologicon, Harpocraton, and Andocides, that a duty of two *per cent.* was demanded upon imported and exported goods; this was called Πεντηκόστη, and was hired or farmed by a corporation, the head of which was called Ἀρχώνης. (Valck. in Sluit. Lec. An. 159.) 3. We may mention the confiscation of the property of different individuals; the produce of sums arising from the sale of the marble in the quarries of Hy-mettus and Pentelicus†; the money deposited by such as had law-suits in court; that which was paid into the treasury by persons who worked the mines, and the capitation tax on the Μέτοικοι. ‡ Some of these different sources of revenue are very clearly pointed out in a passage of Aristophanes; and we learn from the poet, that at the time when the play of the Vespæ was performed, or 423 B. C., the revenue of the republic was 2000 talents, or 500,000*l.* sterling.

Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν λόγισαι φάυλως, μὴ ψήφοις, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ χειρὸς
 Τὸν φόρον ἡμῖν ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων ξυλλήβῃν τὸν προσίοντα.
 Καὶ ἔω τούτου τὰ τέλη χωρὶς, καὶ τὰς πολλὰς ἑκατοστὰς,

* De Myst The import and export duties were farmed during the Peloponnesian war at 36 talents, or 9000*l.* This was the 50th; if we add the profit of the farmers, we may estimate the whole foreign trade of Athens, at more than 400,000*l.*

† In what request the marble of Pentelicus was held by the Greeks may be conjectured from this circumstance; it was used at Lilæa, Stiris, Panopea, and Delphi, in Phocis; at Olympia for the roof of the great temple and for some statues there; it was sent into Achaia, Arcadia, and Bœotia, and other parts of Greece.—Pausanias.

‡ The annual tax on these persons, was 12 drachmæ for a man, six for a woman.—Menage in Diog. Laer. ii. 235.

Πρυτανεία, μέταλλ', ἀγορὰς, λιμένας, μισθοὺς καὶ δημίοπρατα.

Τούτων πλήρωμα τάλαντ' ἐγγυς δισχιλία γίγνεται ἡμῖν

Vespæ, 656.

The revenue in the year mentioned by Aristophanes seems to have been unusually great; for Xenophon, *Anab. lib. vii.*, speaks of 1000 talents as the income of the republic during the war derived from the citizens as well as foreigners. Προσόδου οὕσης κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἀπὸ τε τῶν ἐνδήμων καὶ ἐκ τῆς ὑπερορίας οὐ μείον χιλίων ταλάντων. In the time of Demosthenes, the sum was much smaller; the orator, *Phil. iv.*, says, it amounted to 400 talents.

The system of financial policy adopted by the Athenians (and Greeks in general) led them to amass considerable sums to meet the necessary expences of war. "The states of the ancient world," says Hume, "prepared for their contests by hoarding as much as they could. The mode adopted by modern Europe of anticipating the revenues of future generations was unknown to them." Thucydides, *lib. ii.*, has communicated to us some particulars respecting the state of the Athenian finances at the breaking out of the Peloponnesian war. There were 6,000 talents, or 1,500,000*l.* in the treasury; a sum which had been collected from the contributions of the allies; the uncoined * gold and silver found in the religious offerings belonging to the state and the citizens, and the vessels used in sacred ceremonies, amounted to 125,000*l.* The gold on the statue of Minerva, which could be taken off, if the public exigencies required it, weighed 40 talents of pure metal, and was, according to the ancient proportion of one to thirteen, worth 130,000*l.*† A passage in Demosthenes,

* Χρυσίου ἀσήμου καὶ ἀργυρίου. Thuc. *l. 2.* Ἄσημον in modern Greek is "silver;" it is found in this sense in Cedrenus: and in an epigram on a person who had placed at table before his guests some empty dishes of silver, "Seek," says the epigrammist, "for those who are fasting, if you want to make a display of your silver; you may excite *their* admiration by your empty dishes."

Ζῆται νηστεύοντας ἐς ἀργυρῆν ἐπίδειξιν,

Καὶ τότε θαυμάσῃ κούφον ἄσημον ἔχων.—*Cas. His. A. S.* 153.

† For 40 talents of gold multiplied by 13, give 520 talents of silver, or 130,000*l.* Barthelémy supposes that in the time of Thucydides, as of Herodotus, this was the proportion.

Περὶ Συμμ., gives the valuation of the property and wealth of the Athenians at 6,000 talents *; in Polybius, lib. ii. we find the sum stated at 5,750 talents. Winkelman, as well as Meursius and Leland, consider them as speaking of revenue; but it is contrary to all probability, that the Athenian finances should ever have been so flourishing as this statement would make them, and the passage I have already cited from Xenophon and Aristophanes is a sufficient confutation of that opinion. Mr. Wallace † supposes the sum to mean a valuation of *yearly* rents and profits, according to which a tax was to be imposed on the Athenians. Mr. Hume ‡ considers it as including the *whole value* of the republic, and comprehending lands, houses, commodities, and slaves; but if we calculate the slaves at only 200,000, and at two minæ each, the lowest value which was put on any of those belonging to the father of Demosthenes, the slaves alone were worth more money. § Some suppose the words τίμημα τῆς χώρας to be a valuation of land; Dr. Gillies applies them to the worth of lands and houses. The opinion of Heyne seems to be the most satisfactory, and to agree with the words of Polybius; it was, he says, an estimate, perhaps below the real value of the general property of Attica and Athens; and that on occasions, when an armament was to be equipped, or any contribution was required, a tax was laid on the different districts of Attica according to this estimate.

So long as the Athenians retained their command at sea, they could easily collect the tribute due to them, and protect their trade. In the commencement of the Peloponnesian war, they derived from their naval superiority a great advantage in this respect; while they obtained money from the islands and Ionia ||, the Spartans borrowed

* Τὸ τίμημά ἐστι τὸ τῆς χώρας ἑξακισχιλίων ταλάντων.

‡ Essay V.

† Numbers of Mankind, 289.

§ In Aphob. 1. — See Wallace, p. 189.

|| Προσοδὸν μεγίστην. — Thucy. l. iii.

it on interest from the sacred funds of Delphi or Olympia*. The result of the unfortunate expedition to Sicily is well known, and the encampment of the Lacedæmonians at Decelea, added to the distress and difficulties in which the Athenians were then placed. The supplies of provisions that were usually conveyed by land from Eubœa to Athens were cut off, and were therefore sent by sea. The works in the mines could not be carried on with their usual regularity, as the slaves deserted in great numbers to the camp of the enemy. Thucyd. l. 7. The poverty † of the republic increased; and in the twentieth year of the war, the Athenians were obliged to spend the thousand talents ‡, which they had hitherto scrupulously abstained from touching; and in four years afterwards the gold coin was debased.

This metal was procured by them from Macedonia and Asia Minor. The gold mines in the vicinity of the Strymon were explored first by the Phœnicians §; we have little information, however, concerning the wealth or produce of them before the time of Alexander the First, who received about the year 480 B. C. ||, the daily income of a talent from them. The revenue derived from these mines continued to be small ¶, until the reign of Philip the father of Alexander, when it amounted to 1000 talents annually. The district on both sides of the Strymon, and on Mount Pangeus furnished him with gold and silver; the former was found near Philippi. The astonishing quantity of her coin which still remains, were we even

* See the speeches of the Corinthians, and of Pericles.—Thucyd. l. i.

† Thucydides informs us, that about this time they adopted a plan from which they hoped to derive an increase of revenue, l. 7. Instead of exacting the usual tribute from those who were in dependence on them, they levied a duty of one twentieth of the value, *πάν κατὰ θάλασσαν*, or five per cent.; *τὴν εἰκοστήν τῶν κατὰ θάλασσαν ἀντὶ τοῦ φόρου τοῖς ὑπηκόοις ἐποίησαν*. As the Greek words mean literally, "goods carried by sea," we may apply them both to exports and imports.

‡ Called *Ἀβυσσον*, Lysis. 174.—See also Plato in Menon.

§ Clem. Alex. Stro. l. i. 363.

|| Mem. de l'Ac. des Ins. 47. Some of the Macedonian coins may belong to the sixth century B. C. Knight, Prol. in Hom. sec. 78.

¶ Diod. S. l. xvi.

without the evidence of ancient writers, would sufficiently attest the former abundance of it; in some of the more unfrequented parts of Greece the gold of Philip passes currently among the inhabitants at present. The value of one of these coins is 20 Turkish piastres, or about 25 shillings.*

In addition to the sums which the mines of Philip brought into circulation, we may state that Alexander, during his progress † through Asia, sent into Greece a large quantity of money for the purpose of erecting temples and public buildings; and when we consider how much a few years before had been taken from the consecrated wealth at Delphi in the Phocic war, how many statues and vases and ornaments of gold had been melted into specie, we may fix upon this time, as the period when money must have abounded in ‡ Greece. The increase in the prices of corn and meat at different successive intervals, may be stated from some authentic documents, and will show the diminution in the value of money:—

Wheat in 595 B. C. was	1 Drachma the Medimnus, or 6 pecks. §
— in 140 —————	2 Dr. or 4s. 6d. the coomb. ¶

* Many of the ancient coins found in Greece and Asia Minor are pierced, and through the hole a string is passed, by which they are hung, as ornaments, round the heads of women and young girls. This custom is not peculiar to the modern inhabitants of these countries; we find it mentioned by Chrysostom, who particularly refers to the coins of Alexander, tom. ii. 243. Ven. *Τί ἄν τις ἔποιε περὶ τῶν νομισμάτων χαλκᾶ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνης ταῖς κεφαλαῖς καὶ τοῖς ποσὶ περιδεσμούμενων.*—ED.

† Plutarch, Opp. Mor. "Virtue of Alexander."

‡ The dresses and robes of some of the statues of the ancient deities were of gold threads, woven or knitted; such was the *aureum umiculum* of Jove, which Dionysius stole. (Cic. de N. D. 111. Beckmann, 2.) In consequence of the robbery of the temples, which happened not unfrequently in the wars of Greece, many might say, as the veteran remarked to Augustus, "You see my fortune, Emperor; it was once the leg of a goddess."

§ Mem. de l'Ac. des. In. 48. 394.

¶ "The ancient markets," says Sir J. Steuart, "were supplied partly from the surplus produce upon the lands of the great men, laboured by slaves, who, being fed from the lands, the surplus cost in a manner nothing to the proprietors; and as the numbers of those who had occasion to buy were very few, the surplus was sold cheap." Pol. Econ. i. 404. This remark, though generally true, is not properly applicable to Athens; we have seen by a passage of Demosthenes already cited, that the quantity of corn imported by

Wheat in 393 B. C. was	3 Dr. the coomb.
— in 385 ———	5 Dr. Ditto.
An ox in 410 B. C. was	51 Dr. or 2 <i>l.</i> 2 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>
— in 374 ———	80 Dr.
— in the same year	75 Dr. (Sand Mar.)

It has been much doubted whether the Athenians at any period of their history ever coined money of gold; and when we consider the few original examples of this metal which have come down to us, in proportion to those evidently forged, it is not surprising that many should have been led to suppose the whole number spurious. At the same time it appears to admit of satisfactory proof, both from the testimonies of ancient authors, and from the gold coins which still remains, of the genuineness of which we can entertain no doubt, that the Athenians occasionally made use of this metal in their coinage, although it is very probable, only on few occasions, perhaps after some victory or other great event, and even then in small quantities.

Eckhel†, who has entered pretty much at large into this subject, labours to establish a different conclusion. He rejects that passage in the Frogs of Aristophanes‡, which mentions a new coinage as ironical, and not to be taken in its literal sense; and at the same time adduces another from the same writer in support of his own opinion: —

Ἀνέκραγ' ὁ κῆρυξ, μὴ δέχεσθαι μὴδ' ἄνα
Χαλκοῦν τὸ λοιπόν· ἀργύρῳ γὰρ χρῶμεθα.

Εκκ. 821.

the Athenians was very great; the number therefore of those who had to buy was not small. From particular circumstances, indeed, the price of corn may have been sometimes cheap; for instance, the ships which brought it from the Euxine to Athens, were allowed by Leucon to export it without paying any duty; ἀτελείαν δεδωκέναι, Dem. c. Lept. This was a great advantage to the Athenians; as the sum paid to Leucon by those who carried corn from his dominions was thirty *per cent.* There was also a law, which, in order to prevent corn rising above its ordinary price, prohibited, under pain of death, any citizen from buying more than a certain quantity. Lysias.

* Mem. de l'Ac. des Ins. 48. 356.

† Doc. Num. Vet. t. ii. 286.

‡ V. 720. Yet Corsini considers the passage as clearly pointing out the use of gold coin. The comedy was acted in Olym. 93. S. and the scholiast says, that gold money was introduced the year before.—See Corsini Diss. xii.

Pollux seems to doubt whether χαλκοῦν is here to be considered as money or not; but allowing that Aristophanes is really speaking of silver, it is by no means a consequence from this supposition that gold was unknown. A little attention to the true meaning and spirit of the passage will explain this.

He is alluding to the decree respecting the use of copper * money, against which, in common with a large proportion of the Athenians, he entertained a decided aversion; and he adds, "it was proclaimed that no one should receive it, for we use silver." The mention of gold coin was here perfectly unnecessary, for such was the disproportion in Attica between silver and any other species of money, that it might with propriety be called the circulating medium of the republic; in like manner, a person might say that in England paper notes had supplied the place of specie, but this would be merely in allusion to their great abundance, without meaning to assert that the use of the latter was unknown among us. There is also another reason which induced Aristophanes to oppose silver to the copper money, which is, that, by coining pieces of less dimension, they might be so reduced in value as not to exceed that of copper, and consequently render the use of the latter unnecessary. Accordingly in the silver money of the Athenians, we find some coins of incredible minuteness; several of which do not weigh more than two grains, nor were more than a farthing in value. It was obviously for these reasons that Aristophanes confined himself to the mention of silver in opposition to the latter.

The testimony of Pollux † is clear and decisive as to the existence of Athenian gold coin; he describes the weight and value of the

* The copper money, which was cried down this year, Olym. 96. 4. had been in circulation for nine years, for it was coined in Olym. 93. 3. as we learn from the scholiast on the *Ranæ*, v. 732. We find also that some copper money was in use in the time of Dionysius, in Olym. 84. 4.—See Corsini, *F. A. Diss.* xii.

† Pollux, ix. c. 6. Schol. in Equ. 1093. Another passage of similar import may be seen in the Schol. on *Aves*, 1106.

Pollux seems to doubt whether gold is here to be considered as money or not; but allowing that it is money, is really speaking of silver, which he means to oppose to it in his supposition that gold was not used. A little attention to the true meaning and scope of the passage will explain this.

It is alluding to the decree respecting the use of copper, [†] passed against which is common with a large proportion of the Athenians, as entertained a decided aversion; and he adds, "it was resolved that no one should receive it, for we use silver." The mention of gold coin was here perfectly unnecessary, for such was the distinction in Athens between silver and any other species of money, that silver might with propriety be called the circulating medium of the republic; in like manner, a person might say that in England paper notes had supplied the place of specie, but this would be merely in allusion to their great abundance, without meaning to assert that the use of the latter was unknown among us. There is also another reason which induced Aristophanes to oppose silver to the copper money, which is, that, by coining pieces of less denomination, they might be so reduced in value as not to exceed that of copper, and consequently render the use of the latter unnecessary. According to the silver money of the Athenians, we find some coins of incredible minuteness; several of which do not weigh more than two grains, nor were more than a farthing in value. It was obviously for these reasons that Aristophanes confined himself to the mention of silver in opposition to the latter.

The testimony of Pollux [†] is clear and decisive as to the existence of Athenian gold coin; he describes the weight and value of the

[†] The copper money, which was tried down this year, Olyn. 94, [†] had been in circulation for nine years, for it was coined in Olyn. 93, [†] as we learn from the scholiast on the *Rane*, [†] 1. 1. We find also that this copper money was in use in the time of *Demosthenes* in Olyn. 82, [†] 1.—See Corn. [†] A. *Di* xii.

[†] *Demosthenes* [†] c. c. 6. Schol. in *Pol.* 1. 1. 1. Another passage of similar import may be found in the Schol. on *Alex.* 1. 1. 1.

golden Attic stater. The scholiast on the Knights of Aristophanes, although mistaken as to the place whence the Athenians procured the metal, plainly refers to a coinage from gold.

Notwithstanding there appears to be no reasonable cause for doubting the mere fact of a coinage, yet the quantity of the material applied to this purpose in every æra of the republic was so inconsiderable, as to render the singularity of the practice scarcely less striking, and equally requiring some explanation. De Pauw attempts to elucidate the difficulty in this manner. *

Herodotus, lib. iii., in enumerating the tributes paid to Darius, makes the relative value of gold to silver as one to thirteen, and Plato in the dialogue entitled Hipparchus, as one to twelve. Now the Athenians, having to purchase their gold in Lydia, would evidently be losers in every such bargain; an Athenian merchant wishing to buy fifty pounds weight of gold at Sardes, would necessarily pay for every pound so bought one pound of silver, in addition to the price borne by the same article in his own country; and consequently could not be repaid without altering materially the nature of the gold.

We must here observe, that Herodotus is speaking of the relative value of gold to silver in the sixty-seventh olympiad, after the conquest of Babylon by Darius, and before his invasion of Greece, from which period to the birth of Plato in the eighty-seventh olympiad, there is an interval of eighty years. We cannot suppose that the value of gold at Athens should have been stationary during so long a time; nor is it credible that the circulation given to the immense quantity of this metal acquired by the plunder of the Persians, should not have operated the smallest change. Of this we may rest assured, that gold, of which there was so little in Greece before the Persian invasion, must necessarily have fallen very considerably in value after that event, and have suffered a diminution from the time

* Recherches, t. i. 366.

in which Herodotus wrote to the age of Plato, when we find it as one to twelve.

According to the testimony of Xenophon the ratio in his time was that of ten to one.* A great alteration, as we are informed by Athenæus, had taken place in consequence of the plunder of the temple of Apollo at Delphi, in 358, and a prodigious quantity of offerings was then turned into specie. The decuple proportion seems to have continued a long time unchanged.† Menander, who lived a century after Xenophon, states the value of the two metals to be in that ratio. (Pollux, lib. ix. c. 76.) And the Ætolian league, a century later, proves the same thing.‡

But there is another reason, in addition to the fluctuating price of gold, which renders De Pauw's explanation of this subject inadequate. For supposing that in Lydia the Athenians would have purchased gold at a disadvantage, we are by no means to conclude that they were necessarily obliged § to repair to that market; on the contrary, the gold mines of Thasos and of Thrace in the neighbourhood of their own colonies were always ready, and to a certain degree able to afford them supplies. Besides, if this disadvantage in the purchase

* Mem. de l'Ac. des In. xlvii. 202.

† There is an error in the text of the third volume of Gibbon's Misc. Works, p. 420., which should be corrected. He there says that the proportion of gold to silver in England and Spain, is as one to fifteen: in France and the rest of Europe as one to fourteen and a half. "*Parmi les anciens la proportion la plus commune étoit celle d'un à un.*" It should evidently be "*d'un à dix.*" Perhaps in Mr. G.'s manuscript it is written "*1 à 10;*" and the cypher, being erased, the proportion appeared to be *1 à 1.*—E. The difference in the proportions between the two metals in the ancient and modern world arises from the greater quantity of gold possessed by the former. See Mr. Gibbon's examination of this subject, p. 422.

‡ See Clarke on Coins, 251.

§ In addition to what is said in the text, we may observe this fallacy in De Pauw's reasoning; he considers Herodotus, when speaking of the exchange of thirteen to one, as alluding to Asia; but there is no proof that the ratio of the two metals in that country was referred to by the historian; his observations may apply to Greece.—See Larcher, Her. i. 269. and Barthélemy (Anach.) c. 12. note, and c. 22. note.

of gold existed at all, it must equally have operated against their procuring the metal for any purpose whatever; whereas, this was so little consonant to their practice, that we cannot estimate at less than an hundred thousand pounds, the value of the gold which composed the ornaments of a single statue. There must then have existed some cause other than the difficulty or disadvantage in procuring the metal which influenced the Athenians in their determination of so rarely coining money from gold.

Perhaps we may look for the cause of this practice in the mode adopted of managing the silver mines of Laurium. Every citizen of Athens wishing to become a proprietor in the mines belonging to the republic, first purchased from the state a permission to commence his operations, and ever after paid the 24th part* of the annual produce of his labour into the public treasury. Hence it was manifestly the interest of the government, that nothing should impede the progress and vigour of those employed in this pursuit†; and Xenophon, who wrote at length on the means of improving the administration and produce of the silver mines, recommended the number of permissions to be very much increased‡, and approves of the conduct of the state in allowing foreigners, denizens of Athens, to enjoy in this respect the same privileges with their own citizens.

The currency of the silver money of Athens was almost universal, owing to the deservedly high reputation for purity which it possessed;

* Meurs. Them. Att. ii. c. 26. — Suidas, Ἀγρ. μετάλλου δίκη.

† We find from Demosthenes (in Phænipp.) that income arising from the mines was not considered as property, which obliged a citizen to contribute to the expenses of the state. Some fortunes derived from this source were considerable; Nicias let out to an adventurer in the mines 1000 slaves; for whom he received 1000 oboli a day, or 166 drachmæ, nearly 7*l.* — E.

‡ “Xenophon’s work on the improvement of the revenues of the state is a chef-d’œuvre of its kind, and from it more light is to be had in relation to the political economy of the Greeks, than from any thing I have seen ancient or modern.” Steuart’s Political Econ. i. 460. — The object which Xenophon had in view in that work, is pointed out by Casaubon: “Librum ab eo hoc potissimum consilio scriptum esse, ut Athenienses ad fodiendas strenuè argenti fodinas hortaretur.” Stanley ad Persas, 236. v. — E.

and on this account we find several cities of* Crete copying precisely in their coins the design, weight, and execution of the Attic tetradrachms, in order to facilitate their intercourse with the barbarians. It is possible that the general use and estimation of the produce of the Attic mines contributed to render the Athenians averse from a coinage of another metal, which, by supplying the place of silver money at home, might in some degree tend to lessen its reputation abroad.

Having attempted to explain the circumstance which occasioned the scarcity of Athenian gold, it now remains to specify the nature of those coins which really did exist in that metal, or passed current at Athens. †

The Attic stater ‡, according to Pollux, was equal in weight to two drachmæ, but in value to twenty. This would agree with the relative proportion of gold to silver in the later times of the republic. The following citation from the same writer has occasioned some to imagine, that no other gold coin existed: *ἐἰ μὲν χρυσοῦς ἔιποις, προσυπακούεται ὁ στατήρ*. We are by no means justified in concluding from this remark, that because the stater by way of pre-eminence acquired the name of the golden attic, no other coin of this metal was in use. In the silver money we find that drachmæ, by which the Athenians usually reckoned, were frequently called, simply, attics; yet no one for an instant would suppose that because the characteristic appellation is omitted, they did not possess silver coins of various descriptions. Indeed, if we consider the observation fairly, it would appear to indicate the existence of some other species of gold money, which rendered it necessary for the author in some measure to explain this peculiar mode of expression. A coin of this metal was found in the immediate vicinity of Athens, attended by such circumstances, as

* Eckhel. in num. Gortyn. Hieropyt. Cydon.

† The reader may perhaps be inclined to agree with the Editor, in considering the remarks of the Earl of Aberdeen, respecting the rude coinage of silver money at Athens, and the scarcity of gold money among the Athenians, as affording a more satisfactory explanation of those subjects, than any which has been hitherto offered.

‡ There is a stater, undoubtedly genuine, in Lord Elgin's possession; there is one also in the Hunter collection; it weighs 134 grains English.

to leave no room to entertain any reasonable doubt of its being genuine.*

The stater of Cyzicum was current at Athens, but we do not know what the value of it was; at the Bosphorus it was worth 28 Attic drachmæ. (Demosth. adv. Phorm.) A stater of Cyzicum is engraved in the Thes. Brand. Beger. part. i. 490.

The golden staters of Phocæa are mentioned in one of the Athenian inscriptions published by Chandler, Part. ii. Ins. iv. 1.

Of the Macedonian money, we find, that the golden staters of Philip and Alexander, called *φιλιππίαι* and *αλεξανδρείαι*, (Pollux. 9. 1024.) weighed 134, 132, and 131 grains. The *δίχρυσος*, or *τετραάδραχμον χρυσοῦ* of Alexander and Lysimachus weighed 266 and 265 grains; the *τετραστατήρ* of the latter 540 grains. An engraving from a golden tetradrachm of Alexander is produced by Liebe, p. v.

REMARKS ON THE AMYCLÆAN MARBLES.

LETTER FROM LORD ABERDEEN TO THE EDITOR.

DEAR WALPOLE,

ARGYLL HOUSE, May 26, 1817.

ACCORDING to your request I send you a representation of the Amyclæan marbles. They are sufficiently interesting in themselves, but they acquire an additional importance from being instrumental in the detection of daring imposture; and in this point of view I shall first consider them. We may, it is true, presume that few persons

* Respecting the value of the talent of gold, see Corsini, Diss. xii., and Hemsterhusius on Pollux, l. ix. 57., and Knight's Prol. on Hom. sec. 55. The ancient globular gold coins of some of the Asiatics, are the Talent of Homer, struck and stamped, and weighing about 260 grains. Among the gold coins in circulation at Athens, we may mention the Darics, worth, as well as the stater, 20 silver drachmæ. There is no doubt respecting the value of this coin among any of the ancient writers.

4
MARBLES BROUGHT FROM THE
NEIGHBOURHOOD OF AMYCLAE
BY THE EARL OF ABERDEEN.

3 Feet 6 Inches

2 Feet 8 1/2 Inches



2 Feet 10 Inches

2 Feet 11 Inches



Engraved by E. W. Tomkins

LONDON

Published Oct. 1st 1847, by Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown, Paternoster Row.

are at this time the dupes of the literary frauds so extensively practised by the Abbé Fourmont. Mr. Knight has so ably exposed the nature of his pretended discoveries, and from the internal evidence afforded by his inscriptions, has so satisfactorily refuted all their claims to authenticity *, that in England it would be difficult to find a competent judge who should now hesitate an instant in forming his opinion respecting them. But as the inventions of the Abbé have imposed on many estimable and learned persons, and as in France a reluctance still exists to view them in their proper light, it is fortunate that we are furnished by these marbles with additional proofs of his falsehood, still more indisputable if possible than those already produced. The Abbé Barthelemy †, M. d'Hancarville, Count Caylus, and others, have received these forgeries as authentic, and have inconsiderately adopted notions, constructed systems, and published dissertations concerning them, which of course can have no foundation, thereby holding out a salutary lesson of the necessity of caution and prudence in the explanation of objects connected with remote antiquity.

I should observe, that, according to the Abbé Fourmont, the marbles in question were to be seen in a temple which he discovered near Amyclæ, of the goddess Oga or Onga, to whom, according to an inscription on the edifice, it was dedicated by King Eurotas about fifteen hundred years before Christ. Count Caylus ‡ has published an engraving of these marbles from a drawing preserved among the papers of the Abbé in the king's library in Paris. In this drawing it is not very easy to recognise the originals. The subjects supposed to be represented by the sculpture are human limbs, arms, hands,

* Analysis of Greek Alphabet.

† It is to be lamented that in the recent editions of the *Voyage d'Anacharsis*, the same idle and groundless speculations are still permitted to disfigure that admirable work. Larcher and Valckenaer had been deceived by the forgery of Fourmont (see *Theocr.* 275.); but in the late edition of *Greg. de Dial.* by Schaefer, we find the following remark:—“Notandum est harum inscriptionum Fourmontianarum fidem esse sublestissimam.” P. 496.

‡ *Recueil d'Antiquités*, tom. ii. pl. 51.

feet, and legs, with knives and other instruments, denoting the sacrifice of human victims; a circumstance which very naturally puzzles the Count, considering that the inscriptions are not written in a character peculiarly ancient, and that the silence of historians is uniform respecting the existence of a worship in Greece at any period, which prescribed such rites. The temple, which the Abbé describes as composed of massive blocks of stone, and whose simple and solid construction had enabled it to stand until the middle of the last century, as well as the inscription on the front, which informed him of the fact of its dedication, have all unfortunately vanished. But I apprehend, that although the temple of the goddess has disappeared, the true building, when divested of this ancient and venerable character, still exists in the shape of a modern Greek chapel, in which M. Fourmont, if he was himself ever actually at Sparta, may have seen the marbles, and where I found them in the year 1803.

It cannot be necessary to detain you longer with the impudent frauds of this person. You will find them in the *Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions*, where they are supported by all the parade of learned disquisition. * For their full detection I refer you to the work of Mr. Knight.

Having now stated what these marbles certainly are not, we may proceed to enquire into their real nature and probable destination. The small and ruinous Greek chapel in which they were fixed, is near to the village of Slavochori. There seems no reason to doubt that this village, such as it is, was the situation of the ancient Amyclæ; its position relatively with that of Sparta accords perfectly with the accounts of Greek writers †; and if further proofs were requisite, it might be afforded by the circumstance of my having discovered in the course of conducting some excavations, several inscriptions, on one of which were the letters ΑΜΥΚΛΑ. The precise

* *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, tom. vii. xv. xvi. xxiii.

† Polyb. lib. v. c. 19. The place is still also καλλιγενρότατος καὶ καλλικαρπώτατος.

spot on which the temple of Apollo stood cannot now be ascertained from an inspection of the ground alone, and in the endeavours which I made in two or three places, by means of digging, no satisfactory information was obtained; indeed few of the remains appeared to be of an antiquity prior to the Roman conquest.

This temple is described by Pausanias as one of the most ancient and most celebrated in the Peloponnesus. The statue of the god was a curious specimen of early sculpture by some unknown artist; it was more than forty feet high, and of the rudest workmanship, resembling in some measure a column of bronze, to which a head, feet, and hands had been affixed. He mentions several of the votive offerings, and in common with other writers, he contributes to give a high notion of the magnificence and extent of the building.*

The question which now arises for our consideration, is, whether the marbles formerly belonged to this temple, or were in any degree connected with it; to which I am inclined to answer in the negative, and principally for this reason:—The subjects of the sculpture, as you will observe, are for the most part articles of female dress or ornament; combs, bodkins, mirrors, paint-boxes, &c. Round the edge of each marble is a wreath composed of the mystic plants sacred to Ceres or to Bacchus; ears of corn, pomegranates, cones of the fir, ivy, &c. In the centre of each is the representation of a patera, in one of which is inscribed

ΑΝΘΟΥΧΗ ΔΑΜΑΙΝΕΤΟΥ ΤΗΙΟΚΤΑΤΡΙΑ

and in the other,

ΛΑΤΑΓΗΤΑ ΑΝΤΙΠΑΤΡΟΥ ΙΕΡΕΙΑ.

Now I have not been able to find any authority for supposing that the custody of the temple of the Amyclæan Apollo was committed to women, or the rites performed by priestesses; and it is scarcely credible that Pausanias, who dwells so long on the subject, should omit to mention a circumstance in itself not of very frequent occurrence,

* Pausan. Lacon.

and which on other occasions of less interest he does not fail to record. The Abbé Fourmont, it is true, tells us, that he found at Amyclæ an inscription containing nothing less than a list of all the priestesses, inscribed at different periods, from the date of the foundation of the temple down to the time of the Roman conquest. Among the first of these ladies, or, as he calls them, the *ματρες και κεραι τε Απολλωνος*, we find the name of Laodamia, the daughter of King Amyclas, who, if she ever had any existence at all, lived before the Trojan war. The boldness of this forgery can only be equalled by the author's ignorance of the language in which he attempts to write, and even of the proper forms of the letters which he employs; for he has produced a jargon unlike the Greek of any dialect, and has given us the representation of characters which are not only unknown in Greek paleography, but many of which are entirely at variance with the principles which appear universally to have regulated the mode of writing pursued throughout the widely-extended settlements of this people in the most ancient times. The silence therefore of ancient authors, and especially of Pausanias, is almost decisive on this point; indeed, I fear that the inscriptions on our marbles offer the only argument, feeble as it is, to prove that priestesses had ever belonged to the Amyclæan temple. The Abbé Fourmont observed these inscriptions near to the probable site of the ancient Amyclæ; he at once appropriated them to the temple of Apollo, and followed up this decision by the brilliant invention of the catalogue which I have mentioned. Other antiquaries have also spoken of the priestesses of Apollo, but so far as I have been able to learn, on no other foundation than the pretended discoveries of this person.

Although the village of Slavo-chori appears indisputably to mark the situation of Amyclæ, and although these marbles were discovered in the immediate neighbourhood, I am inclined to believe that they originally belonged to a less celebrated spot. Pausanias speaks of a ruined town near Amyclæ, called Bryseæ, where was a temple of Bacchus and certain sculptures. He adds, that it was permitted only to women to enter the temple; and that women only performed the

sacrifices. * The plants sacred to Bacchus, which are represented on the marbles, indicate the connection, and it appears not improbable that they were brought from this temple, which could not have been distant, for it is evident they were not in their original position when discovered in the ruined Greek chapel of Slavo-chori.

It is not easy satisfactorily to explain the purpose of these sculptures, but they seem perhaps to have been a kind of votive offering on the part of the priestess when entering on her sacred functions. The practice among the Greek women was not unfrequent of dedicating their ornaments to some deity on particular occasions; and if a lady offers her mirror to Venus when no longer young, it is not unreasonable to imagine that these articles of female decoration should be thus ostensibly abandoned on the assumption of the priesthood. If we look to the inscriptions, with a view to a more clear explanation of the marbles, I fear that we shall obtain no real solution of the difficulty. One of these merely records the name of the priestess; the other I am not able wholly to explain. The word *υποσάτριά* is new to me; but although the precise meaning of the title has eluded my research, we may presume that it signifies some office connected with the temple. From the probable etymology of the term, it would appear to have a relation to *distribution* or *regulated measure*; this conjecture, however, is uncertain, and is liable to objections. Possibly you may be more fortunate, or are already better informed on the subject.

I remain very sincerely yours,

ABERDEEN.

We may, with Lord Aberdeen, consider the marbles as offerings made *by* the priestesses † Anthusa and Laoageta; or as consecrated,

* Pausan. Lacon. cap. xx.

† Caylus considers the word *ὑποσάτριά* in the lower marble as signifying *Sous-prêtresse*. The name *ΑΑΥΑΓΗΤΑ* is probably written for *ΛΑΟΑΓΗΤΑ*; as *ΛΑΥΔΙΚΗ* for *Λαοδίκη* in an inscription found at Smyrna.—See Boissonade in *Greg. de Dial. Ed. Schaef.* 179.

during the priesthood of these women. In the latter case they are presented as votive offerings by the ΚΟΣΜΗΤΡΙΑΙ, or ornatrices of some deity. The office of a κοσμητρια of any goddess, was to attend to the dress and ornaments of the statue; the *Specula* and *Pectines*, both of which are seen on the Amyclæan marbles, are mentioned by Apuleius*, as carried by women who were employed in that character. The word ΚΟΣΜΟΠΛΟΚΟΣ is used sometimes; we find it in an inscription quoted by Spanheim, Obs. in H. in Pall. Callim.

ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙ
ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΣ ΑΠΕΛΕΥ
ΣΕΒΑ ΚΟΣΜΟΠΛΟΚΟΣ
ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ

“To Hercules, King; Antonius Freed-man, ornator of Augusta, dedicated this.”

REMARKS ON SOME GREEK INSCRIPTIONS.

[BY THE EDITOR.]

SOME Greek inscriptions, most of which have never yet been published, are inserted in this part of the volume; and a few remarks are added by the Editor, for the purpose of illustration. Documents of this kind are of importance, when they fix the doubtful site of some city or town, or when they throw light on the paleography

* “Aliae mulieres quæ nitentibus speculis pone tergum reversis venienti deæ obvium commonstrarent obsequium, et quæ pectines eburneos ferentes.” Lib. xi.—See Tertull. de Jejun. c. xvi. Also Hesychius in v. ΣΑΡΑΧΗΡΩ.

and ancient dialects of Greece. * We may mention the Orchomenian inscriptions, as among the most important which have been lately discovered, if we consider them with reference to the dialect. The Elean tablet brought to England by Sir W. Gell may be added, as well as some of the Elgin inscribed marbles.

Many of the numerous inscriptions copied by Cyriacus, and found in the collections of Muratori, Gruter, Hesselius, and other writers, are incorrectly transcribed. Some of these have been emended by Valckenaer, Koehn, and Bentley; but as the original marbles have been frequently destroyed, it is impossible to compare the copies with them. Of the ancient inscriptions which are sculptured on rocks, we may mention that which was found by Professor Carlyle and Colonel Leake, in their route through Asia Minor; those also which are to be seen on Mount Anchesmus, and on the south-side of the Acropolis at Athens; the Latin words in the defile of Tempe, and the Greek characters sculptured on the rock near Jerusalem, by the early Christians. †

I.

TON AΘENEON AΘAON EMI

These words are written in very ancient characters reversed, on a vase ‡ found by Mr. Burgon, in Attica. Mr. Blomfield supposes that Αθηνέων is written for Αθηνῶν, and he refers to Homer, Herodotus, and Aristophanes, where this word is found. We may add two passages, one from Thales (Epist. ad Pherecy.); another from Xenophon, (see Greg. de D. ed. Schaefer. 381.) The inscription may therefore imply, as he has rendered it, "I am the prize given by Athens."

* An inscription found by Col. Leake in Thessaly may be here referred to as illustrating a passage in Plato: it commemorates an offering. ΑΠΛΟΤΝΙ; this is the Thessalian name of Apollo, who, as we learn from Plato, was called by the same people ΑΠΛΟΣ. — Craty.

† ΑΓΙΑΣΙΩΝ. — See Dr. Clarke's Travels, vol. ii.

‡ See Clarke's Travels, vol. iv. part 1.

Mr. Knight refers the words to a prize given at the Athenæa; *Ἀθηναια*, as we learn from Corsini, F. A. ii. Diss. 13. was a name applied to a festival once called *Πάνδημον*.

The use of E for AI is found in other Greek inscriptions; two instances may be observed in Chandler, Ins. xvi. p. 6. and Ins. xlviii. part I. In the *Diar. Ital.* of Montfaucon, *ΧΑΙΠΑΙ* occurs four times for *ΧΑΙΠΕ*. *ΧΕΡΕ* for *ΧΑΙΠΕ* was copied by Villoison; *ΚΕ* for *ΚΑΙ* may be seen in Dr. Hunt's Journal, p. 105. An inscription found on the confines of Attica, of the date of the second century before Christ, and of which a copy was given to the Editor by M. Fauvel, has the words *ΚΕ ΑΡΙΤΤΡΟΥΝ ΚΕ ΕΤΕΡΑ ΑΣΗΜΑ*.

In consequence of the similar sound given to AI and E by the Byzantine and Neoteric Greeks, the mistakes in manuscripts are numerous; but it is evident from what has been said that the substitution of one of these letters for the others is of an older date than is generally supposed. Notat Schol. Theocriti ad Id. i. v. 12. pro γᾶια antiquos dixisse γέα, unde γεωλόφος, ανωγέων, κατωγεών. Lucian Ed. Reiz. vol. iii. p. 20. The time when the confusion of these letters became more general is noted by Vossius:—"A Tiberii et Caligulae temporibus tam apud Romanos quam apud Græcos, mos obtinuit, ut dipthongus AI velut E simplex pronuntiaretur." Voss. in Catull. 291.

II.

Found at Carditza, near the ruins of Acroëphia, in Bœotia. From Mr. Hawkins.

ΗΠΟΛΙΣ
ΑΓΑΜΗΣΤΟΡΑ
ΖΩΠΥΤΟΥ
ΗΡΩΑ

"On trouve ces trois usages du mot de *ΗΡΩΣ*; l'un pour dire simplement un homme de valeur, ou un brave homme, et qui fait bien sa charge; l'autre pour un homme, qui par sa vertu et par ses bienfaits a été mis au rang des Dieux ou demi-Dieux après sa mort;

3. pour un mort à qui on rend quelque sort d'honneur, ou qu'on nomme ainsi κατ' εὐφημισμὸν." — Spanheim, *Cesars de Julien*, 115.

III.

Found in the island of Zante; see Chandler, *Ins. Antiq.*

ΑΡΧΙΚΛΗΣ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΜΕΝΕΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΛΚΙ
ΔΑΜΑ ΑΡΧΙΚΛΕΟΣ ΚΛΗΝΙΠΠΑΝΤΑΝΑΤ
ΤΩΝ ΘΥΓΑΤΕΡΑ ΘΕΟΚΟΛΗΣΑΣΑΝ ΑΡΤΕΜΙΤΙ
ΟΠΙΤΑΙΔΙ .

The statue of Clenippa, a priestess, daughter of Archicles and Alcida, is dedicated to Diana Opitais. * Similar forms of consecration are met with in Greek inscriptions; in Rein. xi. Cl. v. the statue of Minyra, a priestess, is dedicated by her brother to the celestial Venus.

APTAMYTI is seen in Chandler, Part. ii. Ins. cxlv.; and in another found in Muratori, and corrected by Ruhnkenius, in Greg. de D., we read ΑΤΡΕΜΙΤΙ, "To Diana."

IV.

Found on the altar of the new church at Sciatho. From Mr. Hawkins.

ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΑ
ΚΑΙΣΑΡΑ ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟΝ
ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΝ ΣΕΒΑΣ
ΤΟΝ ΟΛΥΜΠΙΟΝ
Θ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΥΣΑΠΟ ΠΑ
ΤΡΟΣ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ ΦΙΛΙΠ
ΠΟΥ ΑΖΗΝΙΕΥΣ ΕΚ ΤΩΝ
ΙΔΙΩΝ.

This inscription is given here, because in the copy made by Villoi-

* Chandler translates the words, "Quæ sacerdos fuit Dianæ Opitaidis." Θεοκόλος is explained in Hesychius, by ἱέρεια.

son, the word ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΝ is omitted. See *Mém. de l'Acad. des Ins.* xlvii. 314.

The word-ΘΑΥΝΗΙΟΝ is written in the same manner in other contemporaneous inscriptions. It occurs in some copied by Captain Beaufort on the southern coast of Asia Minor. We may remark, that it is also a very ancient form, as it is seen on the Elean tablet brought to England by Sir W. Gell.

Ὁ ἀρχ. α. π. “qui tient de son père la dignité du grand prêtre.” Villosion.

Εκ. τ. ι. answers to the form S. P. F. C. of the Latins,—Sua pecunia faciendum curavit.

V.

Found at Lyttus, in Crete. From Mr. Hawkins.

ΜΑΡΚΙΑΝΗΝ ΣΕΒΑ
ΣΤΗΝ ΘΕΑΝΑΥΤΟ
ΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΝΕΡΟΤΑ
ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ
ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ ΓΕΡΜΑ
ΝΙΚΟΥ ΔΑΚΙΚΟΥ
ΔΕΛΦΗΝ ΑΥΤΤΩΝ
Η ΠΟΛΙΣ ΔΙΑΠΡΩΤΟ
ΚΟΣΜΟΥ ΤΙ ΚΛΑΥΔΙ
ΟΥ ΒΟΙΝΟΒΙΟΥ.

In the inscriptions found at this place, and communicated by Mr. Hawkins, we read ΑΥΤΤΩΝ and ΑΥΤΤΙΩΝ Η ΠΟΛΙΣ; in those given by Van Dale the name is written incorrectly ΑΥΤΤΙΩΝ. (752. Diss.) The inscriptions of Mr. Hawkins establish the reading in Strabo proposed by the last German editors, Λύττον, instead of Λύκτον. The city, according to Stephanus, was so called from its lofty situation; λύττοι οἱ ὑψηλοὶ τοιοί. Hesych. Mr. H. remarks, that the situation is remarkably elevated.

The officer πρωτοκόσμος designates the chief of those magistrates, who were called Κόσμοι, and who are frequently mentioned in inscriptions. See Rein. Cl. vii. n. 22. and Chishull. Anti. Asi. 123.

VI.

In the church of St. George, at Apollonia, in Bithynia. From Mr. Hawkins.

ΓΑΙΟΣ ΙΟΥΛΙΟΣ ΚΕΛΕΡ ΕΚ
ΤΩΝ ΙΔΙΩΝ ΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥΑ
ΣΕΝΔΗΜΩ ΤΩ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ
ΑΤΩΝ ΤΗΝ ΥΠΟΧΩΡΗΣΙΝ
ΚΑΙ ΓΑΙΟΣ ΙΟΥΛΙΟΣ ΕΡΜΑΣΟ
ΚΑΙ ΜΕΡΚΟΥΡΙΟΣ ΕΣΤΡΩΣΕΝΕΚ
ΤΩΝ ΙΔΙΩΝ ΤΗΝ ΠΛΑΤΕΙΑΝ ΑΠΟ
ΤΟΥ ΖΥΓΟΣΤΑΣΙΟΥ ΜΕΧΡΙ
ΤΗΣ ΥΠΟΧΩΡΗΣΕΩΣ.

“Caius Julius Celer, built at his own expence for the people of Appollonia the recess or passage; and Caius Julius Hermas, who is called also Mercupus, paved at his own cost the broad court leading from the Zygostasium as far as the recess.” This is the only instance of the word ΥΠΟΧ· being applied to any building or part of a city. It is always used in reference to the human body.

ΕΣΤ.Π. line 6. and 7. We find in Lampridius, “Stravit plateas saxis Lacedæmoniis.” Heliog. 109. Salm.

VII.

Found at the Piræus, inscribed on a stone. From M. Fauvel.

ΟΡΟΣ ΜΝΗΜΑΤΟΣ

The meaning of these words is well explained by Van Dale de Cons. Ethn.: “Ut autem eo minus esset periculum profanationis, agri, luci, aut termini sive limites, aliaque loca dedicata aut consecrata, vel muris circumsepiebantur, vel aliter notabantur.”

On a sepulcral cippus, M. Fauvel found also

ΟΡΟΣ ΣΗ
ΜΑΤΟΣ Ο
ΝΗΣΙΜΟΥ.

VIII.

Found in the ruins of the temple of the Didymean Apollo. From the Earl of Aberdeen.

ΑΓΑΘΗ ΤΥΧΗ
 ΗΒΟΥΛΗ ΚΑΙ Ο
 ΔΗΜΟΣ ΕΤΕΙΜΗ
 ΣΕΝ ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΝ
 ΠΟΣΙΔΩΝΙΟΝ Ε
 ΡΜΙΟΥ ΝΙΚΗΣΑΝΤΑ
 ΤΑ ΜΕΓΑΛΑ ΔΙΑΤ
 ΜΕΙΑ ΠΑΛΗΝ ΤΡΙΣ
 ΤΩ ΙΕΡΩ ΤΟΥ ΔΙ
 ΔΥΜΕΩΣ ΑΠΟΛ
 ΛΩΝΟΣ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΑ
 ΓΡΑΦΕΝΤΑ ΑΥ . .
 ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ Α
 ΝΑΣΤΑΘΕΝΤΟΣ ΤΟΥ
 ΤΟΥ ΑΝΔΡΙΑΝΤΟΣ
 ΥΠΟ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ
 ΑΥΤΟΥ ΑΥΡ ΕΡΜΙ
 ΟΥ ΕΠ ΑΥΡ . . .
 ΑΓΑΘΟΠΟΔΟΣ
 ΤΟΥ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ .

“ The senate and people honour Aurelius Posidonius, the son of Hermias, (who bore away the prize three times in wrestling in the great Didymean games,) in the temple of the Didymean Apollo, according to the decree proposed; the statue being raised by his father Aurelius Hermias, in the magistracy of Aurelius Agathopus, son of Apollonius.”

IX.

Found near the temple of the Didymean Apollo, on the thigh of a statue. From the same.

ΞΑΤΝΑΙΩΔΝΑΣΟΤ

Some more letters were found written in the Boustrophedon

character on the thigh of the same statue; those we have printed contain distinctly the words *τοὺς ἀνδριάντας*. If they relate to the person who made this or other statues, we see an additional proof of the custom of inscribing the name of the artist on the thigh of the figure. Cicero, in one of the Verrine orations, mentions an Apollo, on whose thigh was written in letters of silver the name of Myron.

There are also representations of Etruscan Athletæ, which bear characters inscribed on this part of their body. There is one of a Greek wrestler, on whose thigh are written the words *ΚΑΦΙΣΟΔΩΡΟΣ* and *ΑΙΣΧΡΑΜΙΟΥ*. It would appear therefore that inscriptions placed on this part of the body designated the persons bearing them to have been successful combatants or conquerors. Montfaucon has introduced on this subject the following remark in his great work: — “ S’il est permis de mêler la sacré avec le profane, ceci a quelque rapport avec ce passage de l’Apocalypse, où il est dit de notre Seigneur victorieux, qu’il portoit écrit sur sa cuisse, et sur son habit, *le Roi des Rois*. Cette écriture sur la cuisse étoit donc une marque d’honneur et de victoire.” Vol. iii. part ii. 269. An. Ex.

X.

Found at Daulis, by the Earl of Aberdeen. On the other side of the same stone is an inscription of equal length, which was copied by Col. Leake. That which is subjoined contains a decree pronounced by Titus Flavius Eubulus respecting some portions of land, which are assigned to the city of Daulis, and to Memmius Antiochus. The date of the inscription is 118, anno Christi. Fuscus Salinator is mentioned in the letters of Pliny, book vi. lett. 26.

ΑΓΑΘΗΤΥΧΗ

ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΙ ΤΡΑΙΑΝΩ ΑΔΡΙΑΝΩ ΚΑΙ

ΣΑΡΙ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩ ΤΟ Β ΓΝΑΙΩ ΠΕΔΑΝΙΩ ΦΟΥ

ΣΚΩ ΣΑΛΕΙΝΑΤΟΡΙ ΥΠΑΤΟΙΣ ΠΡΟ Θ*

* ΠΡΟ ΘΚ: this is the date, *πρὸ ἐννέα Καλ.* A similar form occurs in some inscriptions published by Montfaucon, *Diar. Ital.* and in Theophanes Chron. we find *πρὸ ἑξ ἰδων Φεβ.* and *πρὸ τεσσάρων νώνων Σεπ.*

Κ ΝΟΥΕΝΒΡΙΩΝ ΕΝ ΧΑΙΡΩΝΕΙΑ
 ΖΩΠΥΡΟΣ ΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΜΕΝΩΝ
 ΖΩΠΥΡΟΥ ΟΙ ΕΓΔΙΚΟΙΤΗΣ ΔΑΤΑΙΕΩΝ ΠΟ
 ΛΕΩΣ ΕΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΠΟΙΗΣΑΝΤΟ ΑΠΟΦΑΣΙΝ *
 ΑΝΤΙΓΕΓΡΑΦΘΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΔΟΘΕΙΣΑΝ ΥΠΟ Τ ΦΛΑΟΥ
 ΙΟΥ ΕΤΒΟΥΛΟΥ ΤΗΝ ΥΠΟΓΕΓΡΑΜΜΕΝΗΝ
 Τ ΦΛΑΥΙΟΣ ΕΤΒΟΥΛΟΣ Ο ΔΟΘΕΙΣ ΚΡΙΤΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΟΡΙ
 ΣΤΗΣ ΥΠΟ ΚΑΣΙΟΥ ΜΑΞΙΜΟΥ ΑΝΘΥΠΑΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΡΗ
 ΘΕΙΣ ΥΠΟ ΟΥΑΛΕΡΙΟΥ ΣΕΟΥΤΗΡΟΥ ΑΝΘΥΠΑΤΟΥ ΜΕΤΑ
 ΞΥ ΖΩΠΥΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΜΕΝΩΝΟΣ
 ΤΟΥ ΖΩΠΥΡΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΜΜΙΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΑΣ
 ΑΜΦΙΣΒΗΤΟΥΜΕΝΗΣ ΑΚΟΥΣΑΣ † ΕΚΑΤΕΡΟΥ ΜΕΡΟΥΣ
 ΕΦΟΣΟΝ ΕΒΟΥΛΟΝΤΟ ΚΑΙ ΕΠΙ ΤΗΝ ΑΥΤΟΨΙΑΝ ΕΛΘΩΝ
 ΚΕΛΕΥΣΑΝΤΟΣ ΜΕ ΑΠΟΦΗΝΑΘΑΙ ΚΛΩΔΙΟΥ ΓΡΑ
 ΝΙΑΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΚΡΑΤΙΣΤΟΥ ΑΝΘΥΠΑΤΟΥ ΚΡΕΙΝΩ ΚΑΘΩΣ
 ΥΠΟΓΕΓΡΑΨΤΑΙ ΑΓΡΟΥ ΔΡΥΠΠΙΟΥ ΟΝ ΗΨΟΡΑΣΕ
 ΠΑΡΑ ΤΩΝ ΚΛΕΑΣ ΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΩΝ ΜΕΜΜΙΟΣ ΑΝΤΙΟ
 ΧΟΣ ΚΑΤΑΛΑΒΟΜΕΝΟΣ ΕΚ ΤΩΝ ΕΠΙΜΕ ΚΟΜΙΣΘΕΝ
 ΤΩΝ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣΗΚΕΙΝ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΩ ΠΛΕΘΡΑ
 ΦΩΚΙΚΑ ΥΛΕ ΟΣΑ ΑΝ ΕΥΤΡΕΘΗ ΠΛΕΙΩ ΤΟΥΤΩΝ
 ΚΡΕΙΝΩ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΔΑΤΑΙΕΩΝ ΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΟΜΟΙ
 ΩΣ ΑΓΡΟΥ ΕΥΞΥΛΕΙΑΣ ΠΛΕΘΡΑ ΤΑ ΚΡΕΙΝΩ
 ΕΙΝΑΙ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΤΑ ΔΕ ΛΟΙΠΑ ΤΗΣ ΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΕΙ
 ΝΑΙ ΧΩΡΙΩΝ ΠΛΑΤΑΝΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΜΟΣΧΟΤΟΜΕΩΝ
 ΠΛΕΘΡΑ ΞΑΚΡΕΙΝΩ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΤΑ ΔΕ ΛΟΙ
 ΠΑ ΤΗΣ ΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΤΗΝ ΔΕ ΑΡΧΗΝ ΤΗΣ ΜΕΤΡΗΣΕΩΣ
 ΚΡΕΙΝΩ ΓΕΝΕΣΘΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΧΩΡΑΣ ΟΘΕΝ ΑΝ ΒΟΥ
 ΛΗΤΑΙ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΣ ΕΝ ΕΚΑΤΕΡΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΡΩΝ
 ΔΡΥΠΠΙΩ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΞΥΛΕΙΑ ΕΝ ΔΕ ΠΛΑΤΑΝΩ
 ΚΑΙ ΜΟΣΧΟΤΟΜΕΑΙΣ ΜΙΑ ΕΠ ΑΜΦΟΤΕΡΟΙΣ ΑΡ
 ΧΗ ΤΗΣ ΜΕΤΡΗΣΕΩΣ ΕΣΤΑΙ ΜΕΤΡΟΥΜΕΝΩΝ •
 ΑΠΟ ΤΗΣ ΔΟΘΕΙΣΗΣ ΑΡΧΗΣ ΤΩΝ ΕΦΕΞΗΣ ΜΗ
 ΕΛΛΟΓΟΥΜΕΝΩΝ ΤΑΙΣ ΜΕΤΡΗΣΕΣΙΝ ΑΠΑΣΑΙΣ
 ΜΗΤΕ ΡΕΙΘΡΩΝ ΜΗΤΕ ΟΣΑ ΤΡΑΧΕΑ ΟΝΤΑ ΚΑΙ
 ΜΗ ΔΥΝΑΜΕΝΑ ΓΕΩΡΓΕΙΣΘΑΙ ΥΠΕΡ ΔΕΚΑΣΦΥ

* 'Αποφασίς, or ἀποφάνσις, as the word was sometimes written (Wytt. Plut. Anim 206.) is applied also to the Amphictyonic decrees. Diod. S. xvi. c. 24.

† The letters in the copy are ΑΚΟΥΣ; Mr. Elmsley proposes ΑΚΟΥΣΑΣ.

ΠΑΣ ΕΣΤΙΝ·ΠΑΡΗΣΑΝ * Τ ΦΛΑΥΙΟΣ ΕΥΒΟΥΤ
 ΛΟΣ ΑΠΕΦΗΝΑΜΗΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΣΦΡΑΓΙΣΜΑΙ ΑΜΕΣ
 ΤΡΙΟΣ ΣΩΚΛΑΡΟΥ ΚΛΕΟΜΕΝΗΣ ΚΛΕΟΜΕΝΟΥΣ
 ΝΕΙΚΩΝ ΣΥΜΦΟΡΟΥ ΛΑΜΠΡΙΑΣ ΝΕΙΚΩΝΟΣ
 ΖΩΠΥΡΟΣ ΑΝΤΙΠΑΤΡΟΥ ΣΩΣΙΒΙΟΣ ΔΡΑΚΩ
 ΝΟΣ ΝΕΙΚΩΝ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΛΕΩΝ ΘΕΟΔΟ
 ΤΟΥ ΚΑΛΛΩΝ ΦΥΛΑΚΟΣ ΚΑΣΣΙΟΣ ΜΑΡΤΙΑΝΟΥ
 ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΙ ΤΗΣ ΠΟΛΕΩΣ

“ The Emperor Trajan Hadrian Cæsar Augustus, second time Consul, and Cnæus Pedanius Fuscus Salinator being also Consul, on the 24th October, at Chæronæa, Zopyrus, son of Aristion, and Parmeno, son of Zopyrus, the magistrates of the city Daulis, testified that the underwritten decision, which was made by T. Flavius Eubulus, has been copied. ‘ I, T. Flavius Eubulus, who was appointed judge and arbiter by Casius Maximus, Proconsul, and Valerius Severus, Proconsul, between Zopyrus, son of Aristion, and Parmeno, son of Zopyrus, and Memmius Antiochus, concerning the land that was disputed; having heard each side, as far as they wished, and having come to an examination of the land, Clodius Granianus, the chief Proconsul, ordering me to declare my opinion, I decree as is underwritten:—Judging from the writings brought to me, 436 Phocic Plethra of the field called Dryppius, which Memmius Antiochus bought from the heirs of Clea, belong to Antiochus; whatever more than these, be found, I decree shall belong to the city of Daulis. Also of the field called Euxyleia, 430 Plethra belong to Antiochus; the rest is the property of the city of Daulis. Of the places called Platanus and Moschotomiæ, 230 Plethra, I decree to belong to Antiochus; the remainder is the property of the city. The beginning of the measurements in each of the fields called Dryppius and Euxyleia shall commence at the spot where Antiochus may wish; but in the Platanus and Moschotomiæ the two parties shall have the same beginning for their measurements, which shall

* Παρήσαν. A similar form with the names of the persons present, is seen in an inscription in p. 604. Marm. Oxon. ed. Maitt.

take place from a given point, the following parts not being reckoned in the measurements; namely, no stream, nor whatever piece of ground there be, that is rough and incapable of tillage. * * * There were present (I, T. Flavius Eubulus declared my opinion, and affixed my seal); Lucius Mestrius, the son of Soclarus; Cleomenes, the son of Cleomenes; Nico, the son of Symphorus; Lamprias, the son of Nico; Zopyrus, the son of Antipator; Sosibius, the son of Draco; Nico, the son of Alexander; Leo, the son of Theodotus; Callo, the son of Phylax; Cassius, the son of Marcianus.' By the decree of the city."

XI.

Copied by the editor at Geyra, the ancient Aphrodisias.

ZH.

Ο ΒΛΜΟΣ ΚΑΙ Η ΣΟΡΟΣ ΕΣΤΙΝ ΟΥΑΠΙΟΥ ΧΑ
 ΡΙΤΩΝΟΣ ΙΑΤΡΟΥ ΙΣΗΝ ΣΟΡΟΝ ΤΕΘΗΣΕ
 ΤΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΦΛΟΑΣΙΑ Η ΓΥΝΗΑΥΤΟΥ
 ΚΑΙ ΟΥΑΠΙΟΥΣ ΑΠΕΛΛΑΣ Ο ΥΙΟΣ ΑΥΤΩΝΕ
 ΠΕΙΘΟΘΑΨΑΣ ΕΤΕΡΟΝ ΑΠΟΤΕΙΣΕΙ ΕΙΣΤΕΙ
 ΜΑΣ ΤΩΝ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩΝ Χ.

The word ZH (*vivat*) occurs at the beginning as well as at the end of inscriptions; see Chishull. *Ant. Asiat. Append.* Sometimes Ζῶσιϛ is used.

There is nothing remarkable in this epitaph except the mode of writing I for EI, and the reverse. We may observe instances of this in other inscriptions; see Falcon. *ad Athlet. Inscr.* H, I, OI, EI, and Y have been for many centuries written one for the other, and the same sound given to them by the Neoteric Greeks. This remark applies also to AI and E. "*Tam captiosa pronuntiatio mendis infinitis libros opplevit.*" (Bentl. *ad I. Millium.*) What was the real power of these different letters we shall never know; we may, however, say with Ramirez de Prado, "*frustra distinctæ essent literæ η, ει, οι, υ, ι, si nihil different sono.*" *Pentec. c. 34.* The corrupted sound of some of them is as early as the second century of the Christian æra. We find ι for ει in the time of Tiberius, *Mont. Palæ. 155*; ε for ε in an

inscription at Ancyra of the year 180, (ib. 163.) η for υ in an epitaph on the wife of Julius Severus, who lived about the year 155. Montfaucon observes, that few instances occur of the change of η and ι , before the seventh century. (Pal. 139.)

XII.

At Gheumbrek, on the Troad. See Dr. Hunt's journal, p. 104.

"The young men honor Asclapon, the son of Callippus the Gymnasiarch, called - - - ." The words refer to some mark of respect paid by the young men who were instructed in their exercises for the public games by the Gymnasiarch. The word $\chi\rho\eta\mu\alpha\tau\iota\varsigma\alpha\tau\alpha$ applies to the title or name which had been given to Asclapon. In Lord Aberdeen's copy, we find $\alpha\sigma\kappa\lambda\iota\mu\iota\omega\tau\alpha$.

XIII.

Found on a sarcophagus on the European shore of the Propontis, near Boyuk Chekmagee. Communicated by Dr. Hunt.

ΑΥΦΑΙΑ ΒΛΟΥΚΙΑ ΖΩΣΑ ΚΑΙ ΦΡΟΝΟΥΣΑ ΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥΤΑΣΕ ΤΟ
ΛΑΤΟΜΙΟΝ ΣΤΗΝ ΘΗΣΘΑΪΗΜΕΜΑΤΤΗ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΓΑΥΚΥΤΑ
ΤΩΙ ΜΟΥ ΑΝΔΡΙ ΣΑΤΥΡΩΝΙΔΩΙ ΥΠΟΜΝΕΙΑΣ ΧΑΡΙΝ ΖΗΣ
ΑΝΤΙ ΕΤΗΤΡΙΑΚΟΝΤΑΜΕΜΗΤΩΣ ΜΗΔΕΝ ΔΕΤΕΡ
ΟΝ ΕΞΕΣΤΑΙ ΒΑΘΗΝΑΙ ΕΣΑΥΤΟ ΕΙΜΗ ΤΑ ΤΕΚΝΑ ΜΟΥ
ΕΙΔΕΤΙΣ ΚΑΤΑΘΗΤΑΙ ΕΤΕΡΟ ΠΤΩΜΑ ΔΩΣΕΙ ΤΗ ΠΟΛΕΙ
ΧΑΦ. ΧΑΙΡΕ ΠΑΡΘΕΝΑ.

It is unusual to find the term $\lambda\alpha\rho\acute{o}\mu\iota\omega\upsilon$ used to express the stone-tomb on which the body of the deceased is placed. $\Sigma\acute{o}\rho\omicron\varsigma$ is generally applied in sepulchral inscriptions. We may here observe the difference between the Alexandrian use of $\Sigma\acute{o}\rho\omicron\varsigma$, and that of the European and Asiatic Greeks. In the Septuagint, where mention is made of the death of Joseph, it is said his body was placed $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \tau\grave{\eta}\ \Sigma\acute{o}\rho\omicron\varsigma$, "in a wooden chest;" this was done in reference to the custom of the Egyptians. "When Joseph died," says Michaelis, "his brethren did not bury him; but, as was not unusual among the Egyptians, let him remain embalmed in his coffin, until their descendants, at their departure from Palestine, carried his remains along

with them. The Egyptians kept the bodies of their deceased friends in an erect posture in a coffin; in some such chest were Joseph's unburied bones preserved." — On the Laws of Moses, vol. i. p. 162.

Injunctions similar to those mentioned in this inscription, forbidding the sepulchre to be used by any other persons than members of the same family are not uncommon. Fines were levied, if the prohibition was not regarded, and the money was paid to the public treasury. D. F. C. *dabit fisco centum*, is a Latin form which we sometimes meet with. Soroï and Sarcophagi were broken open for the sake of the ornaments of gold, or the money frequently placed in them with the deceased. This practice seems to have been prevalent in the fourth century of the Christian æra: "*Quarto seculo hæc impietas grassata.*" Dorv. Char. i. 109.

XIV.

[See p. 103. of this Volume.]

The inscription is of the date of the year 196 B. C.; at that time Seleucus the Fourth was with his father Antiochus the Third on the banks of the Hellespont: "*Bello Asiatico cum patre adfuit.*" Vaillant. His. Regum Syriæ, p. 112. and p. 153. The inscription was also copied by Dr. Clarke.

L. 10. The name of the city of which Metrodorus was a native is not discernible in the copy of this inscription.

L. 17. Some of the honours which are bestowed on Metrodorus are mentioned in this and the two following lines. Κτᾷσιν γὰρ καὶ οἰκᾶν occurs in the Byzantine decree in Demos. de Coron. In an inscription copied at Delos, we find ἐκκτασιν γὰρ καὶ ο. "*libertatem emendi fundos et domos:*" see Dorville in his account of Delos. In an inscription brought from the Levant by George Dousa, (Van Dale. Diss. 744.) we read, ἐροδον ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον πρῶτοις μετὰ τὰ ἱερά, "*admitti statim post sacrificia:*" and on a marble belonging to Burmann, we find, ἐφοδον ἐπὶ τὰμ βόλλαν καὶ δάμομ μετὰ τὸν χρηματισμὸν τὸμ περὶ τῶν ἱρῶν. Metrodorus, therefore, was allowed admission to the senate and people immediately after the sacrifices were performed.

In an Orchomenian inscription printed in the *Classical Journal*, Vol. xiii. p. 332, we read ΓΑΣ ΚΗ ΕΥΚΙΑΣ ΕΠΑΣΙΝ; the last word evidently should be ΕΚΤΑΣΙΝ, the form of expression already referred to.

Valesius (Emen. 110.) says, the difference between κτήσιν and ἔγκτησιν is pointed out by Ammonius; κτήσις τῆς γῆς is "*possessio in terra propria*;" ἔγκτησις is possession "*in aliena terra*."

XV.

See Dr. Hunt's *Journal*, p. 128.

"From his revenues derived from land, Cleostratus, adopted son of the state, but by nature son of Apellico, left for the purpose of ornamenting the city - - - ." A mode of expression similar to that which we find in this inscription occurs in others; as, Φίλων Ἀγλάου, φύσει δὲ Νικάνος; see *Mem. de l'A. des Ins.* xxi. 413.

XVI.

Captain Light, in his *Journal* of a route through Upper Egypt and part of Nubia, says, that at Gartaas there are not less than a hundred Greek inscriptions; five were copied by him; and each contains a memorial of the act of homage and worship, τὸ προσκύνημα, paid by persons who visited the place with their wives, children, friends, and brothers: ΜΕΤΑ ΤΗΣ ΣΥΜΒΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΤΕΚΝΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΦΙΛΩΝ. In another inscription, a person is mentioned, who ΕΠΟΙHCΕΝ ΤΗΝ ΚΑΤΙΤΡΥCΙΝ (*sic*) ΤΟΥ ΙΕΡΟΥ. In the fourth inscription a priest is spoken of, Ω ΟΥΔΕΙΣ ΤΩΝ ΙΕΡΕΩΝ ΣΥΝΚΡΙΝΕ. . . "with whom no other priest is compared." In two of them, the month, Φαμενώθ*, is mentioned, in which the visit was paid by the persons coming to the temple and worshipping. The date is usually expressed, as we find from the inscriptions on the Mem-

* Answering to March.

nomium, and from one copied by Captain Light and Mr. Legh at Dukkey, in which we find the word * ΦΑΩΦΙ.

The following inscription was copied by Captain Light at Galabshee:—

ΕΠΑΓΑΘΩ ΚΥΡΙC
ΤΟ ΠΡΟΚΥΝΗΜΑ ΟΑ ΓΑΙΟΥ
ΚΛΕΙΟΥ ΚΕΛΕΙΡΟC ΠΙΠΕΟC
ΧΩΡΤΗC ΘΗΒΑΙΩΝ ΠΙΠΙ
ΚΗC ΤΥΡΜΗC ΚΑΛΛΙCΤΙ.Υ
ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΙΔΙΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ
ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΑΒΑCΚΑΝΤΩΝ
ΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΑΥΤΟΥ
ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΤΩ Α ΤΩ ΚΥΡΙΩ
ΔΟΥΛΙΚΤΟΥ ΠΙΠΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ

“ The homage of Caius Cleius Celer, horseman or knight of the horse-troop of the Theban cohort; of Callistius and of his child, and of the Abascanti brothers; and of all who were there with the same master,—and of Hippolytus.” In the six inscriptions copied at Dukkey by Captain Light, mention is made of the god Hermes; in that which is printed in Mr. Legh’s travels, p. 85., relating to Apollonius, the words ΘΕΟΝ ΕΡΜΗΝ should be added after ΠΡΟC. Captain Light’s copy has ΘΕ - - ΕΡΜ - -

XVII.

Found at Ciparissia, in the Morea. From Mr. Hawkins.

ΤΟ ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟΛΑΚΩΝΩΝ
ΓΑΙΟΝ ΙΟΥΛΙΟΝ ΛΑΚΩΝΑ ΕΥΡΥΚΛΕΟΥC
ΤΙΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΙΔΙΟΝ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΝ ΔΑΜΑΡΜΕΝΙ
ΔΑC CΤΡΑΤΗΓΩΝ ΕΠΕΜΕΛΗΘΗ.

This inscription occurs also in Reinesius, Cl. iv. n. 120. Van Dale, Diss. 295., transcribes it, but he omits the Σ in the word ΕΥΡΥΚΛΕΟΥC.

* Ός ἐστὶν ἐκτώβριος. Arat. Schol. Phænomen. 462. See also Jablonski Gloss; Vocum Ægypt.

The form ΕΠΙΜΕΛΗΘΕΝΤΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΥ occurs in many inscriptions. For the meaning of ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΣ, see Van Dale, Diss. 416.

XVIII.

Copied at Sunium. "On a fallen stone of the architrave of the temple of Minerva, some Greek had inscribed a short testimony to the memory of his sister." Hunt's Journal.

ΟΝΗCΙΜΟC
ΕΜΝΗCΘΗ
ΤΗΣ ΑΔΕΛΦΗΣ
ΧΡΗCΤΗΣ

Similar inscriptions, written by persons visiting temples or celebrated places, and commemorating their friends and relatives, are not uncommon. In Egypt we find on the Memnonium the following words:—

ΗΑΙΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΖΗΝΩ
ΝΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΙΑΣ ΠΑ
ΝΙΑΔΟΣ ΗΚΟΥΣΑ Δ ΚΑΙ
ΕΜΝΗΣΘΗΝ ΖΗΝΩΝΟΣ
ΚΑΙ ΑΙΑΝΟΥ ΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ

D'Orville, Charit. ii. 533. proposes in the last line, γαιανού, or αἰλιανού. "I heard four times (the vocal statue), and remembered my brothers Zeno, Ælianus."

We may transcribe in this place part of another inscription on the Memnonium*, correcting one of the verses in D'Orville's copy of it. Charit. ii. 532.

* On the same statue of Memnon are the following lines:—

Ω ΠΟΠΟΙ Η ΜΕΓΑ ΘΑΥΜΑ - - - - -
Η ΜΑΛΑ ΤΙΣ ΘΕΟΣ ΕΝΔΟΝ - - - - -
ΗΥΣΕΝ ΦΩΝΗ ΚΑΤΑ ΔΕΞΧΕΘΕΛΑΟΝ ΑΠΑΝΤΑ
ΟΥ ΓΑΡ ΠΩΣ ΑΝ ΘΗΗΤΟΣ ΑΝΗΡ ΤΑΔΕ ΜΗΧΑΝΟΩΤΟ

These are parts of the Iliad and Odyssey applied by the writer. See Il. N. 99. Od. Ω. 529. Od. Π. 197.

ΕΚΑΤΟΝ ΑΥΔΗΣΑΝΤΟΣ ΕΓΩ ΠΥΛΙΘΩ ΒΑΛΒΙΝΑ
 ΦΩΝΑΣ ΤΑΣ ΘΕΙΑΣ ΜΕΜΝΟΝΟΣ Η ΦΑΜΕΝΩΘ.
 ΗΛΘΟΝ ΥΜΟΥ ΔΕΡΑΤΑΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΗΙΔΙ ΤΥΙΔΕ ΣΑΒΙΝΝΑ
 ΩΡΑΣ ΔΕ ΠΡΩΤΑΣ ΑΛΙΟΣ ΗΚΕΔΡΟΜΟΣ.

In the third line, ὁμῶν and τῇδε are inserted improperly in the copy of D'Orville; ὑμῶν and τύιδε are doubtless the proper forms, and are given in Pococke and Hamilton's *Ægyptiaca*. There are many instances in which the later Greeks * affected the archaisms and dialects of ancient Greece; this is one, ὑμῶν is written for ὁμῶν; *Æoles, quod vulgo notum, o in u commutant.* (Nuhnes. ad Proclum; see Gaisford's Hephæst. 451.) And τύιδε is the Doric word, signifying, "Here or hither;" τῦι, ὦδε, Κρητες, τύιδε, Sappho. v. Maillaire.

XIX.

See p. 104. Dr. Hunt's Journal.

ΙΑΙΕΙΣ. κ. τ. λ.

The same term of honor, Θεός, was also applied, as we learn from Athenagoras, by the Ilcians to Hector: 'Ο μὲν Ἰλίου θεὸν Ἐκτορα λέγει. Legat. pro Xtianis.

In the same page of this volume is an inscription relating to the people of the tribe Panthois, who commemorate Sextus Julius, magistrate of the city, præfect of the Fabian cohort, who had also been gymnasiarch, and had been the first to grant some donation of oil, and had discharged the office of Aliptes. With respect to the expression ΠΡΩΤΟΝ ΤΩΝ ΑΠΑΙΩΝΟΣ, see Muratori, Ins. ii. 632.

* In another inscription found in Egypt, of the time of the Cæsars, we read ΤΑΙΔΕ ΦΥΛΑΙ ΦΩΝΕΥΝΤΙ, speaking of Philæ. *Ægypt.* 52.

XX.

1. From Orchomenus.

In the Elgin collection. See also Dr. Clarke's Travels, vol. iii.

ΘΥΝΑΡΧΟ ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ ΜΕΙΝΟΣ ΘΕΙ
ΛΟΥΘΙΩ ΑΡΧΙΑΡΟΣ ΕΤΜΕΙΛΟ ΤΑΜΙ
ΑΣ ΕΤΒΩΛΥ ΑΡΧΕΔΑΜΩ ΦΩΚΕΙΙΧΗ
ΟΣ ΑΠΕΔΩΚΑ ΑΠΟ ΤΑΣ ΣΟΥΤΓΡΑΦΩ
ΠΕΔΑΤΩΝ ΠΟΛΕΜΑΡΧΩΝ ΚΗ ΤΩΝ
ΚΑΤΟΠΤΑΩΝ ΑΝΕΛΟΜΕΝΟΣ ΤΑΣ
ΣΟΥΤΙ ΓΡΑΦΩΣ ΤΑΣ ΚΙΜΕΝΑΣ ΠΑΡ ΕΥ
ΦΡΟΝΑΚΗ ΦΙΔΙΑΝ ΚΗ ΠΑΣΙΚΛΕΙΝΟΝ
ΚΗ ΤΙΜΟΜΕΙΛΟΝ ΦΩΚΕΙΑΣ ΚΗ ΔΑΜΟ
ΤΕΛΕΙΝ ΛΥΣΙΔΑΜΩ ΚΗ ΔΙΩΝΥΣΙΟΝ
ΚΑΦΙΣΟΔΩΡΩ ΧΗΡΩΝΕΙΑ ΚΑΤ ΤΟ ΨΑ
ΦΙΣΜΑ ΤΩ ΔΑΜΩ

2. From Orchomenus.

ΘΥΝΑΡΧΩ ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ ΜΕΙΝΟΣ ΑΛΑΛ
ΚΟΜΕΝΙΩ ΦΑΡΝΩΝ ΠΟΛΥΚΛΕΙΟΣ
ΤΑΜΙΑΣ ΑΠΕΔΩΚΕ ΕΤΒΩΛΥ ΑΡΧΕ
ΔΑΜΩ ΦΩΚΕΗ ΑΠΟ ΤΑΣ ΣΟΥΤΓΡΑ
ΦΩ ΤΟ ΚΑΤΑΛΥΤΙΟΝ ΚΑΤ ΤΟ ΨΑΦΙΣΜΑ
ΤΩ ΔΑΜΩ ΑΝΕΛΟΜΕΝΟΣ ΤΑΣ ΣΟΥΤ
ΓΡΑΦΩΣ ΤΑΣ ΚΙΜΕΝΑΣ ΠΑΡ ΣΩΦΙ
ΛΟΝ ΚΗ ΕΥΦΡΟΝΑ ΦΩΚΕΙΑΣ ΚΗ ΠΑΡ
ΔΙΩΝΥΣΙΟΝ ΚΑΦΙΣΟΔΩΡΩ ΧΗΡΩΝΕΙ
Α ΚΗ ΛΥΣΙΔΑΜΟΝ ΔΑΜΟΤΕΛΙΟΣ ΠΕ
ΔΑΤΩΝ ΠΟΛΕΜΑΡΧΩΝ ΚΗ ΤΩΝ ΚΑΤΟ
ΠΤΑΩΝ - - - - -

3. From Orchomenus.

ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ ΕΝ ΕΡΧΟΜΕΝΥ ΘΥΝΑΡΧΩ ΜΕΙ
ΝΟΣ ΑΛΑΛΚΟΜΕΝΙΩ ΕΝ ΔΕ ΦΕΛΑΤΙΗ ΜΙ
ΝΟΥΤΑΟ ΑΡΧΕΛΑΩ ΜΕΙΝΟΣ ΠΡΑΤΩ ΟΜΟ
ΛΟΓΑ ΕΤΒΩΛΥ ΦΕΛΑΤΙΗΤ ΚΗ ΤΗ ΠΟΛΙ ΕΡ
ΧΟΜΕΝΙΩΝ ΕΠΙΔΕΙ ΚΕΚΟΜΙΣΤΗ ΕΥΒΩ
ΛΟΣ ΠΑΡ ΤΑΣ ΠΟΛΙΟΣ ΤΟ ΔΑΝΕΙΟΝ ΑΠΑΝ

ΚΑΤ ΤΑΣ ΟΜΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ ΤΑΣ ΤΕΘΕΙΣΑΣ ΘΥ
 ΝΑΡΧΩ ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ ΜΕΙΝΟΣ ΘΕΙΑΥΘΩ
 ΚΗ ΟΥΤ ΟΦΕΙΛΕΘΗ ΑΥΤΥ ΕΤΙ ΟΥΘΕΝ ΠΑΡ ΤΑΝ
 ΠΟΛΙΝ ΑΛΛ ΑΠΕΧΙ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΠΕΡΙ ΠΑΝΤΟΣ
 ΚΗ ΑΠΟΔΕΔΟΑΝΘΙ ΤΗ ΠΟΛΙ ΤΥ ΕΧΟΝΤΕΣ
 ΤΑΣ ΟΜΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ ΕΙΜΕΝ ΠΟΤΙ ΔΕΔΟΜΕ
 ΝΟΝ ΧΡΟΝΟΝ ΕΥΒΩΛΥ ΕΠΙΝΟΜΙΑΣ ΦΕΤΙΑ
 ΠΕΤΤΑΡΑ ΒΟΥΕΣΣΙ ΣΟΥΝ ΙΠΠΥΣ ΔΙΑΚΑ
 ΤΗΣ ΦΙΚΑΤΙ ΠΡΟΒΑΤΥΣ ΣΟΥΝΗΓΥΣ ΧΕΙ
 ΛΙΗΣ ΑΡΧΙ ΤΩ ΧΡΟΝΩ Ο ΕΝΙΑΥΤΟΣ Ο ΜΕΤΑ
 ΘΥΝΑΡΧΟΝ ΑΡΧΟΝΤΑ ΕΡΧΟΜΕΝΙΥΣ ΑΠΟ
 ΓΡΑΦΕΣΘΗ ΔΕ ΕΥΒΩΛΟΝ ΚΑΤΕΝΙΑΥΤΟΝ
 ΕΚΑΣΤΟΝ ΠΑΡ ΤΟΝ ΤΑΜΙΑΝ ΚΗ ΤΟΝ ΝΟΜ.
 ΝΑΝΤΑ ΤΕΚΑΥΜΑΤΑ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΒΑΤΩΝ ΚΗ
 ΤΑΝΗΓΩΝ ΚΗ ΤΑΝ ΒΟΥΩΝ ΚΗ ΤΑΝ ΙΠΠΩΝ Κ.
 ΚΑΤΙΝΑ ΑΣΑΜΑΙΩΝ ΟΙΚΗΤΩΝ ΠΛΕΙΘΟΣ ΜΕΙ.
 ΑΠΟΓΡΑΦΕΣΘΩ ΔΕ ΠΛΕΙΟΝΑ ΤΩΝ ΓΕΓΡΑΜ
 ΜΕΝΩΝ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΣΟΥΤΧΩΡΕΙΣΙ Η ΔΕΚΑΤΙΣ

There are on the stone a few more lines, in which many of the letters are erased.

REMARKS.

The digamma occurs in the Orchomenian inscriptions; and as the Bœotians appear to have used it to a late period on marbles, their copies of Pindar probably continued to have this character inserted in those parts, where the poet's verse required it; as *Pyth. iv. 40, ἐπί Φοι*; 65, *Χείρι Φοι*; 159, *ἐπ' ἄλτα Φαναξ*. As the sound of the digamma could not have been the same in every district or colony of Greece, it is impossible* to say in what manner it was pronounced. Sometimes it appears as γ (in the coins of Velia†); sometimes as β (among the Lacedæmonians); sometimes we see it expressing the power of S, as in ζ, Φε whence comes the Latin *se*.

* The difficulty of arriving at any certainty on this subject is stated by Heyne:—"In linguis quæ usu populorum frequentari desierunt, de pronuntiatione aliquid tuto statui ac decerni posse, nondum mihi persuadere potui."—*Excurs. ii. ad lib. xix.*

† In Lucania, the colonists of which, being Phœceans from Ionia, used the form familiar to their countrymen.

As the following remarks of D'Orville, Valckenacr, and I. Vossius, are omitted in the works which treat of the sound and power of this letter, we may here transcribe them.

"*Æolicum illud digamma in AFTTON,*" says D'Orville, speaking of the Delian inscription, "*videtur nonnihil favere hodiernæ pronunciationi Græcorum, ἀφτὸς, ἀφθέντης.*" Mis. Obs. vii. 27. — The Bishop of Llandaff, in his *Horæ Pelasgicæ*, considers the sound of the letter to be similar to that of F; Larcher, Herod. vol. iv. l. v. 192, says, that the digamma was pronounced sometimes as ou, and sometimes as v. It is impossible to understand how the word Σοφος should approach to Σοφὸς, unless the digamma had the sound of F. "*Ad vocem σοφὸς propius accedit Σόος, imprimis si vox Æolico more Laconum scribatur ΣοΓ'ος.*" Valck. ad Theoc. 271.

The Latin *infra* and *infera*, according to Vossius, are derived * from ἰν Φέρρα, *id est*, ἐν ἔρρα; ἰν Φέροι, *id est*, ἐνέροι. "*Veteres Atticos et complures Græciæ gentes δασυντικὰς fuisse, et ἔρρα seu Φέρρα dixisse pro ἔρρα, satis constat.*" (In Catull. 331.)

Daps of the Roman, according to the same writer, is derived from the δᾶις of the Greeks; the Æolians said δᾶφις, and in a contracted form δαφς, or δᾶψ. — Id. 203.

1st Inscrip.

Line 1. The Boeotian month, Theluthius, should be added to the list in Corsini. F. A.

Ib. ΜΕΙΝΟΣ is used for ΜΗΝΟΣ; we find ΕΠΟΦΙΣΕΝ for ΕΠΟΙΗΣΕΝ in the Sigean inscription, and ΔΕΕΙΣΗΙ for δέησῃ in Test. Dorico. Gruter. ccxix. *

* Pro ἐν ὄρο, Macedones, Cyprios, et alios Asiæ populos ἰν dixisse constat ex Hesychio, et aliis grammaticis." — Vossius, 391.

† On referring to Gruter's Collection, p. 1036. we find an inscription given from the island of Chios. The copy, which I made on the spot, enables us to correct some of the errors. Instead of the word ΑΜΠΑΔΑ read ΛΑΜΠΑΔΑ; and in another line, instead of ΑΡΤΙ ΔΕ ΦΗΒΕΙ ΘΑΛΛΩΝ, read ΑΡΤΙ ΔΕΦΗΒΕΙΑΙΣ ΘΑΛΛΩΝ.

Line 5. AI is written H; we find instances of this change also in some of the contractions in the Doric infinitive moods; as διψῆν, for διψᾶν, ἀγαπῆν, and ὀρῆν. Greg. 228. Ed. Schaefer.

3d Inscrip.

L. 1. γ for Ω, as χελύνη in Sappho for χελώνη; the ancient Romans also wrote *funtēs* and *frundes*, for *fontēs* and *frondes*.

L. 5. I is written for ε, as in ΔΑΜΟΓΕΛΙΟΣ in the second inscription; and for ει, as in ἐπίδει. The Cretans, and some of the Dorians, said θιδς for θεός. Valck. Theoc. 286.

L. 9. Ὀφέλω δ' οὐδενὶ οὐθέν. Diog. Laer. Platonis, v. i. 189.

L. 10. The sense of ἀπέχει is explained by Suidas; ἀπέχω αἰτιατικῇ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀπέλαβον· καὶ αὐθις ἐν Ἐπιγράμματι, τὸ χρέος ἀπέχεις.

L. 11. ΑΠΟΔΕΔΟΑΝΘΙ, the common termination would be ANTI; as ἐστάκαντι for ἐστήκασι, Valck. Theoc. 374: and ἴσαντι for ἴσασι, Greg. 324.

L. 14. ΣΟΥΝ for ΣΥΝ. “*Illud ου pro υ in multis scriptum est.*” Valck. Theoc. 279. The Lacedæmonians said ἀπέσσουα for ἀπέσσουται. Palm. Exerc. 60.

Id. Πέτορες Æol. pro πέττορες, τέτταρες, unde et petorrita. Hemsterh. note 59. Pollux. ii. 1059.

L. 15. ΦΙΚΑΤΙ, ΒΕΙΚΑΤΙ Hesychius, ΕΙΚΑΤΙ, Marm. Heracl.

Translation.

1.

In the archonship of Thynarchus, in the month Theluthius, I, Archiarus, son of Eumelus, quæstor*, paid the undermentioned sums belonging to a contract, cancelling†, according to the decree of the people, with the polemarchs and inspectors‡, the writings in the hands of Euphron, and Phidias, and Pasiclinus, and Timomelus,

* If the word in the third line of the original is ΧΗΟΣ, it is probably written for ΧΑΙΟΣ, ἀγαθος.—Constant. Lex.

† Ἀναιρεῖσθαι τὴν συγγραφὴν, syngrapham irritam facere.—Bud. 153.

‡ Κατοπτῆς, ἐπιτηρητής.—Const. Lex.

Phocians, and Demoteles, son of Lysidemus, and Dionysius, son of Cephisodorus of Chæronea. (Here the sum is stated.)

2.

In the archonship of Thynarchus, in the month Alalcomenius, Arnon, son of Polycles, quæstor, paid to Eubulus, Phocian, son of Archidemus, the undermentioned sums belonging to a contract, being the remainder which was due to him; cancelling according to the decree of the people, with the polemarchs and inspectors, the bonds which are in the hands of Sophilus, and Euphron, Phocians, and Dionysius the Chæronean, son of Cephisodorus, and Lysidemus, son of Demoteles. (Here the sum is stated.)

3.

In the archonship of Thynarchus at Orchomenus, in the month Alalcomenius, and in the archonship of Mencetas, son of Archelaus at Elatea, in the first month, an agreement is made between Eubulus of Elatea and the city of Orchomenus. Since Eubulus has received from that city all the money that was due to him, according to the contracts made while Thynarchus was archon in the month Theluthius, and nothing now is owing to him from the city, but he has received every thing; and those who are in possession of the contracts have returned them to the city, — it is agreed that for a given time, Eubulus should have the yearly right of pasturage for four cows, two hundred mares, twenty sheep, and a thousand she-goats. The beginning of this time shall be the year following* the archonship of Thynarchus, at Orchomenus, and Eubulus shall give an account to the quæstor and to the - - - of the produce of the sheep, and goats, and cows, and mares; and - - - - - an account also shall be taken of any number more than those which are written down in the agreement granted to him; or ten times - - - - -

* A similar form of date occurs in the Corcyrean inscription, p. 415. Montf. Di. Ital. μηνι Ευκλείῳ τῷ μετὰ πρῶτῳ Ἀριστομένῃ.

XXI.

From the Troad. See Dr. Hunt's Journal, p. 106.

Temples and altars were raised in the provinces by the Greeks, not only to the Emperors, but also to the governors of them. (Mém. de l'Ac. des Ins. xviii. 455.) Even Verres in Sicily had his temples and annual festivals. This inscription commemorates Agrippa, and names him ΤΟΝ ΠΑΤΡΩΝΑ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΝ; these words occur also in a Corycean inscription published by Spon. Agrippa is styled συγγενής; the word applies to that relation which the inhabitants of the Troad supposed to exist between themselves and the Romans. Van Dale, Diss. 312. "*Ilicienses maxime sibi gloriæ ducebant Romanos à se ortos fuisse.*"

It is not difficult to determine the period of Agrippa's life to which the inscription refers. He went into Asia for the first time in the year of Rome 731, and having remained governor there ten years, he returned in 741. (Joseph. lib. xvi. c. 4.; Mém. de l'Ac. des Ins. lxii. 40.) During his residence in Asia, he remitted, at the intercession of Herodes, to the inhabitants of Ilium, the payment of the sum of 100,000 drachmæ, a fine imposed on them as a punishment for the danger which, in consequence of some negligence on their part, his daughter Julia had incurred. She was passing by night the Scamander to go to Ilium; the river had swollen suddenly, and she was with difficulty saved. (Nicol. Damas. in Excerpt. Vales. 416.) It is probable that other people of the district of the Troad might on this occasion have expressed their gratitude to Agrippa.

We may close our remarks on these Greek inscriptions by observing, that the Morley marbles brought to England from Sedgikeui, near Sliverna, in 1732, and relating to Crato, son of Zotichus, are now in the vestibule of the public library at Cambridge. A copy of them is given by Maittaire at the end of the Mar. Oxon., and he supposes them to be of the date between 158 and 151 B. C.

ON THE TOPOGRAPHY OF ATHENS.

[BY MR. HAWKINS.]

THE public buildings of Athens are often mentioned in the writings of the ancients, but for the most part, in so cursory a way, as to afford us very little information about their relative position. Nor is it possible, I believe, to supply this deficiency without the aid of Pausanias.* For although it be true, that there are many passages in those writings, which point out the situation of two or more buildings in respect to each other, or their general bearing from one central point, the Acropolis; yet, it is Pausanias alone, who gives us the arrangement of the whole, and conducts us in a regular succession from one object to another.

Pausanias, therefore, (whose professed purpose it was to describe *the antiquities* of Athens,) must be regarded as our safest guide; and the work of Meursius, who has collected under one point of view all that relates to this subject, will prove a very useful commentary on that author.†

* Of the works of Heliodorus Periegetes, who gave an account of the Acropolis; of Menecles or Callistratus, who described Athens; and of Philochorus, who wrote on Attica, nothing remains but the citations that are given us by Suidas, Harpocration, Hesychius, Pausanias, and others.

† There are few passages in ancient authors illustrative of the history and antiquities of Athens and Attica which have escaped the diligence of this critic; but those who consult him must exercise their own judgment in the use which they make of these materials; in proof of which I need only mention, that Meursius has quoted indiscriminately the passages which relate to the three temples of Jupiter Olympius, and that he seems never to have suspected that the temple of Bacchus, which is mentioned by Pausanias, was the same as the temple of Bacchus in Limnis. The same want of discrimination is manifest in his account of the Ὀδῆα.

But even Pausanias requires every assistance which can be afforded by modern information, and particularly by the best plans that have been taken of the locality of Athens; while on the other hand, these plans derive almost all their interest from the details with which he has filled them. How far they both agree, in all those points where they can be compared, or rather, with what accuracy they usually coincide; will appear in the course of the following remarks, which accompany the progress of Pausanias through Athens, and are written under a conviction of the necessity of pointing out the ill consequences of deserting such a guide.

To render this view of the subject more clear and intelligible, it may be proper to give a preliminary account of the various attempts that have been made to lay down an accurate plan of Athens.

The first regular plan of Athens was published in Fanelli's *Atene Attica*, about the year 1704. It appears to have been engraved from an actual survey made in 1687, by the engineers who were employed at the siege of the Acropolis. The situation of the principal ruins is laid down in this plan with a tolerable degree of accuracy; and it has been copied with a few corrections and additions by Dr. Chandler, in the 2d volume of his travels, as well as by Le Roi, in his *Antiquities of Athens*.

The second was composed by Stuart, on the basis of a regular trigonometrical survey, made during his stay there in the years 1751, 1752, 1753; but it was not published till many years after his death.

The atlas to the travels of Anacharsis has supplied us with a third, constructed by Mon'. Barbiè du Boccage, after the observations which were made on the spot by Mon'. Foucheron in 1781.

And lastly, we have a fourth by Fauvel, published in the atlas to the travels of Olivier, which is by far the most accurate of all. The long residence of this last-mentioned gentleman at Athens, (a period of seventeen years,) had enabled him not only to make the necessary trigonometrical observations for such a work; but even to introduce most of those details which had been omitted by other topographers, (for instance the streets of the modern city;) and from the examina-

tion which I made of the MS. drawing of this plan when I was last at Athens, I have no hesitation in bearing testimony to its superior merit. I shall here however beg leave to observe, that although both Stuart and Fauvel have laid down what they conceive to be the remains of the old city walls, as far as they were able to trace them with any degree of precision; yet when we consider the account which Thucydides gives of the hasty construction of these * walls, the long interval which has since elapsed, together with the various revolutions that have taken place, we can hardly expect to find any indisputable remains of them. Modern times, too, have witnessed a succession of walls built round the present city, the last of which consumed even the few remaining materials of the old; as I had an opportunity of ascertaining, by a comparison of Stuart's plan with the ground it represented.

In the two plans of Athens, which I have pointed out as best qualified to assist our enquiries, we shall find the relative position of those ancient buildings which still subsist, together with the form and position of the Acropolis, and the monuments of antiquity within it; all which may be regarded as so many fixed points, by the aid of which, and of Pausanias, we may be able to ascertain the names of such buildings, as are too mutilated and imperfect to afford any internal evidence of their destination; but unfortunately, *data* of this description are wanting to ascertain the position, extent, and figure of that most important part of the city, the Ceramicus; for of all the public buildings which once adorned it, and which were so venerable on account of their antiquity, and so interesting in respect to the history of the arts, scarcely a vestige remains. †

We must have recourse therefore, in this instance, to written authorities alone; and we shall find that Pausanias, with the help of

* Ἡ οἰκοδομία κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐγένετο. κ. τ. λ. lib. i.

† I have used this qualified expression, because the single column of white marble which is marked in Stuart's plan still remains here, and is said by M. Fauvel, who has dug to its foundation, to be in its right place. He found two or three other columns in the same line with it, and is of opinion that they belonged to a Stoa or portico.

some occasional information from other writers of antiquity, will to a certain extent supply the deficiency.

Pausanias describes the approach to the city in two different directions.* After mentioning very briefly what deserved notice on the road from Phalerum, he speaks of the ruins of the long walls, (that had been rebuilt by Conon,) on the road from the Piræus; and he arrives at another gate of the city, which we can have little doubt must have been the Piræan. Here it is that Pausanias begins his description of Athens, and as it is a point of so-much importance in respect to what follows, I shall endeavour to ascertain its true position.

It is evident that the line of the northern long wall must point out the direction of the gate here noticed, both in respect to the Piræus and the Acropolis; and it is fortunate that so much of this wall as will serve to ascertain its general direction is still in existence. The foundations of the wall may be traced to the extent of a mile and a half along the modern road, and this portion of it is perfectly straight and nearly level. From the western end of this wall, which butts against a hill near the Piræus, I observed that the Parthenon bore precisely over the eastern end of the line, the Propylæa appearing to the left of it. If we advance in the same direction from the eastern end of the wall towards the Acropolis, we shall arrive by a gradual ascent at a hollow between the hills of the Museum and Pnyx, which is the modern way from the Piræus to the Acropolis: and here are still to be seen some small vestiges of a gate and of the city-walls. We must therefore regard this as the Piræan gate, which in fact it is admitted to be by many who have published their remarks on the topography of Athens; and the question next to be considered, is, in what new direction, Pausanias advances by the Stoæ which he de-

* The long walls having been destroyed a century before the time of Pausanias, that traveller probably alludes to a more direct line of road from Phalerum, otherwise he would scarcely have noticed two separate roads.

scribes, towards the Ceramicus. * It is in vain to attempt ascertaining this by any remains of the public buildings which formerly stood in that quarter, for, as I have already observed, they no longer exist: but there is one natural feature among the objects which engaged the attention of Pausanias beyond the Ceramicus, which may be recognised without difficulty; I mean the fountain which he calls Enneacrunos, and which Thucydides identifies with Calliroë; a name which, after a lapse of more than 2,000 years, it still retains. † A little way too farther on, in the same direction, were the remains of the Eleusinium, when Stuart visited Athens. These have since been wholly removed, and it is no small obligation which we owe to that traveller that he had previously measured and described them with so much accuracy. These objects suffice to ascertain the general bearing of the Ceramicus from the Piræan gate, which is south-easterly, and in some measure too its extent; but the breadth of the Ceramicus, as it is limited on one side by the walls of the city, and on the other by the buildings immediately under the Acropolis, could not have exceeded one half of its length. We are not informed by Pausanias whether it extended as far as the walls, but as he notices a gate near the Stoa called the Poikile, and as it appears by a passage in Æschines ‡, that the Poikile was in the public square, and from another in Lucian, that it was in the Ceramicus, it is evident that the walls of the city must have been very near, if not contiguous to the Ceramicus. Nor have we the means of knowing from Pausanias,

* Στοιὰ δὲ εἰσιν ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν, εἰς τὸν Κεραμεικόν. The Ceramicus, therefore, could not have been far from this point.

† Stuart is the first who notices this very remarkable fact, and he speaks of Calliroë as a copious and beautiful spring which flows into the channel of the Ilissus. The Albanian women of Athens wash their clothes here, and the water is collected in a small circular bason or pit for that purpose. Near it there is a fall of several feet, in the bed of the Ilissus, and some perforations may be perceived in the face of the rock, which are supposed by Fauvel to be the traces of Enneacrunos.

‡ In Ctesiph. — in Pîscat. both quoted by Barthelémy. — The words of Lucian are, Ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ἐν Κεραμεικῷ ὑπομενοῦμεν αὐτήν· ἡ δὲ ἤδε που ἀφίξεται, ἐπανιῶσα ἐξ Ακαδημίας, ὡς περιπατήσῃ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ποικίλῃ.

whether the Phaleric gate opened directly into the Ceramicus, although it is not improbable that one of the gates in this quarter was so designated in the following passage of Philostratus, quoted by Meursius: Παρῆλθεν εἰς τὸ τῶν τεχνιῶν βουλευτήριον, ὃ δὲ ὡκοδόμηται παρὰ τὰς τῷ Κεραμεικῷ πύλας.

Thus much may be said in regard to the breadth, extent, and direction of the Ceramicus, which comprised the Agora or public square. Pausanias, indeed, omits all mention of the latter, until he has finished his account of the Ceramicus (if we except those allusions to it which are observable in the epithet he gives to the bronze Hermes on his way to the Poikile); but as it appears from various passages of Æschines and of Lucian already quoted, that the Poikile Stoa was in the Agora as well as in the Ceramicus, we must necessarily draw the conclusion that the Agora likewise was in the Ceramicus. Barthelmy observes, that, according to Æschines, the Metroum was in the Agora, and he proves by a passage of the same author, as well as by the authority of Plutarch, Suidas, and Harpocration, that the palace of the senate, βουλευτήριον, was there likewise. * The Hermes, or a Stoa so called, is moreover placed by Barthelmy in the Agora, first on the authority of Mnesimachus (*apud Athenæum*), who said in one of his comedies, "Go you into the Agora, to the Hermes!" and on that of Xenophon (*de Mag. Equit.*) who says, — "At certain festivals it is proper that the horsemen render the homage which is due to the temples and the statues which are in the Agora. They will commence at the Hermes, make the circuit of the Agora, and return to the Hermes."

The Agora, therefore, although not expressly named by Pausanias in his account of the public buildings which were situated in the Ceramicus, must be understood as comprehended in its periphery, and as occupying a part of the ground which he passes over.

The proofs already given of the Ceramicus having been situated to the south of the Acropolis, may be regarded as conclusive; and I

* Æschin. in Ctesiph. Plut. x. Rhet. Vit. t. ii. Suid. in Μητρᾷ.

ATHENS

of the remains of
ancient buildings
 as they are, still remain there
 after an original survey by
Major Pitt Rivers

- 2 Parthenon
- 3 Propylaea
- 4 Gymnasium of Ptolemy
- of Lycurgus
- 6 Entrance of the new Agora
- 7 Anthesmus



have only farther to observe, that this idea of its position coincided with all that we know of the early history of Athens, and the local circumstances which seem to have decided the choice of the first settlers. To illustrate this remark, I shall quote at length the words of Thucydides on this subject: — “Before this period (that is, before Theseus had prevailed upon all the scattered population of the borough towns of Attica to remove to Athens), that which is now the citadel, and particularly that part which lies to the south of it, constituted what was called the city. This is proved, as well by the temples of the deities that are within the citadel as by those which are erected without it on this side of the city; such as the temple of the Olympian Jupiter, and the Pythium; the temple of Terra, and that of Bacchus in Limnis, in honour of whom the more ancient Bacchanalian festivals are celebrated on the twelfth day of the month Anthesterion; which custom is still retained by the Ionians of Attic descent. Other ancient temples are built in the same quarter. The public fountain too, which, since it has been fitted up* in the manner we now see by the tyrants, has been called Enneacrunos, but which formerly, when the springs were open, bore the name of Callirroe, being situated near, was preferred for use upon most occasions. And even now, in compliance with ancient custom, they think it necessary to make use of this water previous to the connubial rites, and upon other religious occasions. And further, it is owing to this their ancient residence in the Acropolis, that it is called the city by the Athenians to this very day.”

Now, the temple of the Olympian Jupiter, which is here noticed by Thucydides, must have been that which Pausanias says was built by Deucalion, and which appears from his narrative to have stood somewhere near, if not absolutely within the peribolus of Hadrian's Olympium. An image, too, of the Pythian Apollo is noticed by Pausanias in the same quarter, although the temple itself seems to have no longer existed; and the temple of Terra (Γῆ) I suspect to be

* Ὅτιω κατασκευασάντων, conjectura Dukeri ex Hesychio prolata et tribus Codd. Pariss. confirmata.

the same as that which Pausanias denominates the temple of Γη Κουροτρόφος and Δημήτηρ χλόη*, and places under the southern flanks of the Acropolis, between which and the Olympium, if we follow the order of his description, he fixes the position of the temple of Bacchus in Limnis. By the other ancient temples which stood in the same quarter, Thucydides must have meant several more of those which are placed by Pausanias on the south of the theatre, or in the Ceramicus; for instance, the Metroon, the temple of Venus Urania; &c. as well as the Leocorium, the Æacontéum, and others, which he does not notice. †

Having now proved both from the text of Pausanias, and other historical evidence, compared with existing monuments and local circumstances, that the interior Ceramicus was on the south side of the Acropolis, it follows that Barthelemy and other writers are mistaken in placing it on the north side, on the authority of a single passage in Plutarch's Life of Sylla; and it is unfortunate that this mistake has led the former to misplace almost every monument of antiquity in his plan of Athens ‡, and involuntarily to mislead his readers. But as the reputation of such a man as Barthelemy is not to be impeached upon light grounds, or without a hearing, and the authority upon which he relies is very specious, I shall devote some time to its examination.

The passage to which I allude is as follows:—After describing the slaughter which took place when Athens was taken by assault, Plutarch adds, “for besides those who fell in other parts of the city, the blood which was shed in the Agora alone covered the whole Cera-

* Κουροτρόφος, Γῆ. Suidas. But Γαῖα and Δημήτηρ were originally the same, “Nec sine causa Terram eandem appellabant matrem, et Cererem.” Varro.

† The Leocorium is placed on the authority of Demosthenes in the Ceramicus; Demosth. in Conon:—and the Temple of Æacus, on that of Herodotus; Lib. v. c. 89.

‡ Barthelemy, in acknowledging his obligations for the able assistance of M. Barbié de Boccard, takes upon himself the whole responsibility for these errors:—“Comme nous différons sur quelques points principaux de l'intérieur, il ne doit pas répondre des erreurs qu'on trouvera dans cette partie du plan.”

micus as far as Dipylon; nay, there are several who assure us, that it ran through the gates and overspread the suburbs." Now, the position of the gate here mentioned is ascertained by the following passage in Livy: — "*Ab Dipylo accessit. Porta ea, velut in ore urbis posita, major aliquanto patentiorque quam ceteræ, est; et intra eam extraque latæ sunt viæ, ut et oppidani dirigere aciem à foro ad portam possent: et extra limes mille fere passus, in Academiæ Gymnasium ferens, pediti equitque hostium liberum spatium præberet.*" Lib. xxxi. c. 24. And its vicinity to the Academy is confirmed by the testimony of Cicero: — "*Sex illa à Dipylo stadia in Academiam confecimus.*"

The gate, therefore, called Dipylon, must have stood on the north or the north-west side of the Acropolis, for it was in this direction that the Academy was situated. And there is a gate of the modern city in the same quarter, which leads to a spot still distinguished by the name of Καθήμια * or Ακαθήμια.

* The following extract from my Journal, Nov. 1794, relates to this curious fact: — "The weather being dry and cool in consequence of the north-easterly wind, we took a walk this evening to a spot about one mile north from the city walls, which, from the circumstance of its being called Ακαθήμια (Acathymia) by the peasants of Attica, must have been without doubt the site of the celebrated Academy. It is situated near two little hills or rather knolls of ground, one called "Άγιος Μιλανός, and the other "Άγιος Νικόλαος, from two chapels which stand on them.

"All antiquarians have agreed in placing the academy on this side of the city, and at this distance from it; but as there existed no remains of the buildings which once adorned it, its position was not known with any degree of certainty: for the present Athenians are too ignorant of their own history, and too inattentive to the researches of curious travellers, to have been struck with this coincidence between the ancient and the modern name of this interesting spot.

"It was a mere accident which threw it in my way, and led to the discovery, for M. Fauvel appears to have been ignorant of it.

"The Consul (Procopius) not being thoroughly acquainted with the topography of the plain, we enquired of several peasants whom we met the position of the spot called Ακαθήμια, and were thus enabled to ascertain it with more precision.

"It is rather extraordinary that the spot should still be distinguished by any particular name, since it is now an open piece of ground, and presents nothing remarkable in its appearance. The name is confined to an area not exceeding five acres in the lowest and most stagnant part of the plain. The soil here is a stiff loam, which being naturally too tenacious of moisture, has been improved by drainage. A few scattered olive trees

Unfortunately, however, for the credit of Plutarch *, on whose authority so much reliance is placed, the rise of the ground on this side of the Acropolis, towards the spot where this gate stood, points out very clearly the impossibility of the occurrence which he mentions.

This alone would lead us to suspect that the Dipylon had been substituted by mistake for some other gate which lay more to the south; and there is a story told by the same writer in his *Moralia*, which countenances this supposition. He is treating of the following question, — Which have the most natural sagacity, land or water animals? “When Pericles,” says he, “built the Hecatompedon in the Acropolis of Athens, it so fell out, that the stones were to be fetched, every day, the distance of many stadia; and a number of carriages were made use of for that purpose. Among the rest of the mules that laboured hard in this employment, there was one that, although dismissed on account of age, would still go down to the Ceramicus, and meeting the carts that brought the stones, would be always in their company, running by their sides, as it were by way of encouragement, and to excite them to work cheerfully,” &c. &c. Now it is highly improbable, that the road which leads to the Propylæa from the northern part of the city, and which is naturally so much more steep and difficult, should have been made use of for this purpose; the Ceramicus, therefore, which is here spoken of, could not have been on the north side of the Acropolis, but on the south; where the ascent in fact is very gradual and wide.

grew on it, and some paces farther west we saw a number of gardens and vineyards which contained fruit trees of a more exuberant growth than in any other part of the plain. These gardens, in fact, chiefly supply the market of Athens with fruit and vegetables, and they are distinguished by their superior verdure from several distant points of view. This is attributed to the moisture of the soil here, from which cause the air is said to be very unwholesome in the summer months. The air of the Academy is recorded to have been of this description, and Plato on that account was advised to remove from it.”

* The passage is given by Meursius: — Ἀυτὸς δὲ Σύλλας τὸ μεταξὺ τῆς Περαικῆς πύλης καὶ τῆς Ἱερᾶς κατασκευάσας καὶ συνομαλύνας - - - ὁ περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν φόνος ἐπίσχευε πάντα τὸν ἐντὸς τοῦ Διπύλου Κεραμεικόν. The gate Ἱερὰ, or Sacred, was probably no other than the gate

Having made the tour of the Ceramicus, which, in every point of view, first deserved the notice of an antiquary, and having led us back to the point where he began it, Pausanias proceeds to describe the remainder of the city, before he visits the Acropolis.

I have had occasion to remark, that Pausanias has in no part of his description of the Ceramicus expressly mentioned the Agora. He now however conducts us to one, which from its contiguity to other buildings which stood there, viz. the Gymnasium of Ptolemy and the Theseum, appears to have been situated on the north of the Acropolis. The position of this Agora in the plan of Athens is ascertained by a Doric portal, which both from its plan and proportions, and an edict of the Emperor Hadrian regulating the price of oil, inscribed on the jamb of a door-case which forms a part of the original structure, is supposed to have been the entrance into it.

This I think, must be the same Agora that is incidentally mentioned by Strabo, in the account which he gives of Eretria: — Ερετρίεας δ' οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ Μακίσεως τῆς Τριφυλίας ἀποικισθῆναι φασιν ὑπ' Ἐρετρίεως· οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀθηνησιν Ερεβρίας, ἣ νῦν ἐστὶν ἀγορά. And it is not improbable that it had been removed from the Ceramicus, where it had been polluted with the blood of so many citizens, to a part of the city which was at this period in every respect more central and convenient for it; and it is remarkable that the market of the modern Athenians still continues to be held here to the present day.

From this Agora, which, on the authority of Strabo, I shall call the new one, and which Pausanias seems to have noticed, merely on

Dipylon (see a subsequent part of this enquiry). If some word, τῶν Ἡρίων for instance, could be substituted in the room of Ἰεράς, referring to the gates, called Ἡραί by the Etymolog., and probably near the Piræan, there would be little difficulty in the passage of Plutarch. The fall of the ground here would have permitted the blood to have flowed in this direction, supposing the fact stated by Plutarch to have literally happened, and not to have been an exaggeration. The slight alteration also of τῶν δύο πυλῶν (referring to the two gates just mentioned), for τοῦ Διπύλου, would contribute to establish the writer's consistency.

account of the altar of pity which was in it, we pass on to the Gymnasium of Ptolemy, which he tells us was not far distant. The situation of this building is determined by some actual remains of it which were found by Stuart, compared with an inscription which had been removed from thence, recording the dedication of a statue to Ptolemy the son of Juba. Farther proofs of this appropriation have since been discovered by Fauvel and others, in the plan and dimensions of the building.

In the same direction, too, πρὸς δὲ τῷ γυμνασίῳ, was the temple of Theseus, upon which Pausanias dwells with pleasure. There can be little doubt, that this is the fine temple which is still in existence on the N. W. of the Acropolis, both on account of its vicinity to the preceding building, and the subjects of some of the sculptures on it. It is true, that Pausanias omits all mention of a ναὸς, calling the building simply ἱερὸν and σηκός; but this is not unusual with him, nor is he very consistent with himself in the use of any of the terms which he applies to temples*; besides, the pictures of Micon which he here notices, imply the existence of a Naos, on the walls of which they must have been painted. "Why," (to borrow the words of

* The following, however, is an instance of his discrimination: — Τέμενος καὶ ἱερὸν καὶ ναὸν Ἀρτέμιδι ὠκαδομήσατο. Lib. v. c. 6. — My readers will be glad to see how these terms are explained in Lennep's Etymologicum Linguae Græcæ: —

“ Ναὸς sive Νεῶς,

commodè Hesychius interpretatur οἶκος, ἔνθα θεὸς προσκυνεῖται. — Ἱερὸν autem et ναὸς, sive νεῶς, quando connectuntur, veluti apud Thucyd. lib. iv. § 90.; περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τὸν νεῶν (ubi plura notavit Dukerus) ita distingui debent, ut ἱερὸν significet τὸ τέμενος sive totam aream deo consecratam, humanisque usibus exemptam, τὸ ἱερὸν χωρίον: ναὸς vero ipsum fanum vel templi ædificium. Ἱερὸν autem intelligendum relinquit δῶμα, et sæpius adsciscit ἄγιον, &c. &c.

Σηκόν,

----- Porro σηκόν in templis deorum eximie dictam fuisse cellam, in qua dei sedes esset, quæ pp. etiam ναὸς vocaretur, observavit cel. Valck. ad Herodoti, lib. vi. 338. p. 446. — Proprie ναὸς & ἱερὰ sunt deorum; heroum σηκοί, ut docuit Pothus, lib. i. segm. 6. Ammonius et Thomas Magister in voce. Eam differentiam, etsi plerumque negligatur, sæpe tamen observavit Pausanias.” Conf. omnino cl. D’Arnaud, Animadv. Græc. p. 1—3.

Stuart) “ the labours of Hercules should make so considerable a part of the ornaments of this temple will appear the less extraordinary, when we recollect the respect and gratitude which Theseus professed towards that hero, who was his kinsman ; had delivered him from a tedious captivity, and had restored him to his country ; on his return to which, he consecrated to Hercules all the places that the gratitude of his citizens had formerly dedicated to himself, four only excepted ; and changed their names from Theséa to Heracléa. V. Plut. in vit. Thes. Nor could it be esteemed a slight compliment to Theseus, when on building this temple to his honour, their labours were thus placed together.” *

We are now led back by Pausanias to the foot of the Acropolis, where he places the Anacéum or ancient temple of the † Dioscuri ; and just above this temple he places the sacred enclosure, Τέμενος, of Aglaurus. Here it appears from what he says, that the rock was very precipitous, ἐνθα ἦν μάλιστα απότομον, although it was here that the Persians had scaled the Acropolis. The passage of Herodotus which relates to this exploit, speaks not of a Τέμενος, but of a temple, ἱερὸν, of Agraulus, leaving us in doubt, however, whether it was above or below the declivity, or whether it was within or without the Acropolis ; and although it was evidently the intention of that writer to point out with some degree of precision the situation of this temple, and the spot where the Persians ascended, yet there is an ambiguity in the expression which has given rise to two very opposite and contradictory explanations ; the words ὅπισθεν δὲ τῶν πυλῶν, καὶ τῆς ἀνόδου, being supposed by Chandler, Larcher, Barthelemy, and others, who are supported by the authority of Ulpian, to refer to the vicinity of the entrance ; while a more recent critic, Mr. Wilkins, is of opinion, that they apply to the other end of the Acropolis.

* Meursius seems to be of opinion that there were several temples dedicated to Theseus, but all the passages which he quotes evidently refer to one and the same temple.

† Lucian alludes in Timone to the destruction of this temple by lightning : — ‘Ο δὲ θεραυνὸς εἰς τὸ ἀνάκειον παρασκήψας, ἐκείνο τε κατέφλεξε.

Whatever may be the decision of grammarians in regard to the literal meaning of this expression of Herodotus, it is certain that the latter interpretation of it is more consistent than the former with the general sense of the passage; for how, when the army of Xerxes is stated to be encamped directly in front of the entrance to the Acropolis, and so near it as the Areopagus, could this end of the citadel be supposed to be so negligently guarded as to be taken by surprize in the way here described?

We may be allowed therefore to place that part of the precipice, by which the Persians ascended, at the eastern end of the platform of the Acropolis, where in fact Pausanias evidently understood it to have been; the Prytanéum, which he says, was not far from it, being unquestionably on this side of the hill. It follows, that what Herodotus says of a temple, Ἱερὸν of Aglaurus, must be applied to the Τέμενος of that personage, which Pausanias places on the eastern declivity of the hill.

We come next to the Prytaneum, which was hard by, πλησίον δὲ Πρυτανεῖόν ἐστιν, and on the lower slope of the hill; for according to Pausanias, you passed from hence into the lower part of the city, ἐν τεύθειν ἰούσιν ἐς τὰ κάτω τῆς πόλεως, to the temple of Serapis; near which, he adds, was the temple of Ilythia. All this is perfectly consistent with the natural form of the ground on the eastern side of the Acropolis, where the soil, as I was informed, had accumulated to the depth of 18 feet.

The two last-mentioned temples must have been in the way from the Prytanéum towards the Olympium, to which we are now conducted. Here Pausanias seems not to distinguish between an Ἱερὸν and a Ναός, for he applies both terms to this temple. Within its peribolus, he says, were a temple of Saturn and Rhea, and a Τέμενος of this goddess, who is styled Olympia. All the particulars which he, as well as Vitruvius, give us of this temple, impress us with a high idea of its magnificence. We have little difficulty therefore in appropriating to the Olympium those gigantic columns of the Corinthian order, which attract the notice of travellers on the south-