

## LACONIA.

### II.—TOPOGRAPHY.

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#### § 2.—TAENARUM AND SOUTHERN MAINA.

WRITING in the year 1817 Sir William Gell<sup>1</sup> says: 'The southern district of Maina has never been thoroughly explored by any English traveller except Leake.' After nearly a century has elapsed this remark is still practically true. Pouqueville, Boblaye, and Le Bas have, among others, given us accounts of their travels in French. German research is represented by such names as Bursian, Curtius, Weil and Philippon, but with a single exception no account of the district has appeared in English since Leake's. The work in question was published in 1869, and is an edition of a selection from the diary kept by Lord Carnarvon on his travels in Maina and other parts of Greece, in the year 1839. References to archaeology are, however, few and far between in its pages, and it does not profess to aim at completeness, since Lord Carnarvon, who penetrated, it is true, as far as Taenarum, returned, as he went, by the track on the west coast, leaving the east coast of the peninsula unvisited. In connection with the survey of Laconia by the British School I travelled in Maina in April, 1907,<sup>2</sup> and in the follow-

<sup>1</sup> *Itinerary of the Morea*, p. 238.

<sup>2</sup> I wish to record my thanks to the following for their hospitality and other services: Professor Gregorakes of Gythium; Messrs. Prasitakos and Kyriakoulakos of Pyrgos, Perimenes of Geroliména, the light-house superintendent at Cape Matapan, the demarch of Lagia, Mr. Manolakos of Kótrones, and especially Mr. Stathios Malevrés of Kouloumi, who gave me much interesting information about the customs, traditions, and dialect, as well as the antiquities of his neighbourhood.

ing notes attempt to describe the geographical features and remains of antiquity, of the district south of an imaginary line drawn across the peninsula from Areopolis on the west to Skutari on the east coast.

# I.—GEOGRAPHY.

Southern Maina<sup>1</sup> from Gythium to Cape Matapan, the ancient Taenarum, is a peninsula about twenty-five miles in length and nowhere more than ten in width. Its backbone is formed by a continuation of the main chain of Taygetus, which terminates on the south in Cape Matapan itself. In several places its peaks are more than 3000 ft. in height, but several low passes lead across it. The most practicable of these tracks leads from Gythium to Areopolis and the harbour of Liméni, crossing the river Turkovrysi close to Fort Passava and bearing thence west-south-west. Another easy route leads from Kótrones on the east coast to Kávalos, the site of Pyrrhichus, where it splits into two; that on the northern side of the wide ravine, at the head of which Kávalos stands, leads in a north-westerly direction to Areopolis, while that on the south side leads south-west to Pyrgos. There are other, less frequented tracks further south. The aspect of the country on the western slope of the chain differs considerably from that on the eastern; on the former there is a flat shelf of cultivated land varying in width between one mile and two, and ending abruptly in cliffs perhaps three hundred feet high, intersected in places by narrow bays. Typical of these is Liméni, a fair harbour, at which several Greek steamers touch every week, and in former times the port of the town of Oetylus. On the eastern slope, however, the hills run down to the water's edge; vegetation is sparse, and the soil very full of stones. There is no harbour worthy of the name between Kótrones and Porto Quaglio,<sup>2</sup> a distance of fully twelve miles. Between the former place and Gythium two rocky spurs run out eastward from the main chain; the southerly one terminates in Cape Stavro, that to the north in Cape Paganía; the former constitutes the northern and eastern side of the bay of Kótrones, the latter does the same for the bay of Skutari. North of Cape Paganía the character of the east coast changes; the spurs of the main chain of hills do not come down so close to the sea, and one finds fertile plains thick with oaks, olives, and fruit-trees reaching to the water's

<sup>1</sup> See map: the coast-line and contours are taken from Philippon's map of the Peloponnesos.

<sup>2</sup> On Greek maps it appears as Πόρτο Κάιο.

edge, well-watered by the rivers Dhíkova, Turkovrysi, and Passava, and separated from each other by rocky promontories. Except for a few acres of vines close to Kyparisso (the site of Kainepolis, *vide infra*), this is the only part of southern Maina which produces wine. The entire district along the east coast between Skutari and Cape Matapan is really wild, with the exception of a rich upland plain of corn-land to the south of the village of Lagia, and the tracks deserve all the hard words said of them by Frazer,<sup>1</sup> Philippson,<sup>2</sup> and others. In this southern part the country is badly off for water ; every village has its wells and an occasional cistern, but all the river-beds were dry and springs seemed very scarce.

Travelling in Maina is not so bad as it has been painted by those who have never done any ; on the west coast, the road from Liméni as far as Geroliména and for a mile or two beyond has been made with considerable care, but is not intended or used for wheeled traffic ; in fact, there is no wheeled vehicle of any sort to be found in Maina south of Gythium. But on the east coast, with the exception of a driving road leading from that place for about three miles in the direction of Passava, the roads are apparently left to take care of themselves. Hospitality, however, is no less ready than elsewhere in Greece ; *Κακοβουλία*,<sup>3</sup> as far as I could see or hear, is nowadays an undeserved description of the extreme south of the peninsula ; certainly there was no trace of evil intention towards strangers. I gathered that the vendettas are practically things of the past, and though the Mainiote towers are still prominent in every village, a man's house is no longer his castle in the literal sense. Bloodshed is probably no commoner than elsewhere in Greece, though the roughness of the country enables many of the guilty to escape justice.

## II.—ANCIENT SITES.

The most satisfactory method will probably be to describe these in the order in which I visited them. From Gythium I travelled via Kosiári to Areopolis, and after a brief visit to Oetylus, back to Areopolis again and thence via Kávalos to Pyrgos. Mr. E. S. Forster had covered this ground three years before and nothing fresh had turned up at any of these places since his visit.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Apud* Pausanias, iii. p. 396.

<sup>2</sup> *Der Peloponnes*, i. p. 224.

<sup>3</sup> There is some doubt as to the origin of the name, which is given sometimes, incorrectly, I think, as *Κακοβουλία*, *vide* Leake, *Peloponnesiaca*, p. 171.

<sup>4</sup> *B.S.A.* x. p. 158.

## PYRGOS.

This does not seem to have been an ancient site: the inscription (*vide infra* p. 260) partially copied by Leake in 1805 and apparently unnoticed since, was probably brought from elsewhere.

## KOULOUMI.

About four miles south of Pyrgos is the village of Kouloumi, consisting of a few scattered houses close to the main road from Areopolis to Geroliména. Here was undoubtedly an ancient site, as there are several traces of antiquity to be found among the terraced cornfields which descend to a shallow ravine to the south-west of the modern village. In the north wall of the church of "Αγιος Ταξιάρχης, which stands in this depression, I saw a grave-inscription (*vide infra*, No. 1, p. 259); there were also several small worked marble fragments built into this church, and lying near it; none were *in situ*, but they seem to have belonged to the sill-course of some ancient shrine. In the fields close to the church were several fragments of ancient bricks and tiles, and I was shewn a small votive vase, from the same part of the site, in coarse reddish clay with dull brown slip, similar in style and purpose to those found in such numbers at Sparta in 1907, but interesting as being of 'hydria' shape, which is unknown there. On the bare stony plateau to the west of this depression there were a number of sculptured fragments<sup>1</sup> indicating the existence of one or more sanctuaries, but I could see no walls. A few minutes' walk southwards from here brings one to a large round opening in the ground, due to natural causes, measuring perhaps fifty metres across and twenty to thirty deep. It apparently has no outlet and the bottom is planted with fine trees. This is alluded to by Aldenhoven.<sup>2</sup> Almost on the lip of the hole on the north-west is a rock-cut relief, 67 m. high, representing Herakles (Fig. 1). Its attitude resembles that of the rock-cut relief near Gythium described by Mr. Forster (see p. 227), but the proportions are slenderer and the workmanship more careful. In both cases we have the cult of Herakles close to a

<sup>1</sup> (a) Broken male torso life-size: local marble (white, with grey veins and patches); round dowel hole for head, r. arm missing, and l. arm below elbow; upper l. arm covered with cloak hanging from shoulder in front and behind, roughly rendered in deep folds. From proportions and muscular type probably a Herakles, standing with the body inclined slightly to r. Surface much weathered by exposure, date probably 3rd century B.C. (b) Fragment of drapery, similar treatment in similar marble, badly damaged, possibly legs of standing female figure, life-size. Other fragments were of similar marble and even less recognisable.

<sup>2</sup> *Itinéraire de l'Attique et du Péloponnèse*, p. 343.

natural cleft in the ground, and it seems as if he were worshipped as a god of the nether world, to which these holes were regarded as entrances: the prominence of Herakles in the myths of Taenarum, 'the mouth of hell,' is too well known to need more than a passing allusion in this connection. I saw no remains of buildings on the site, and the only other object of interest was a small sculptured slab (probably funerary) in high relief, at the house of Mr. Malevrés; this represents a standing male figure clad in a long garment reaching below the knees, but it is broken away above

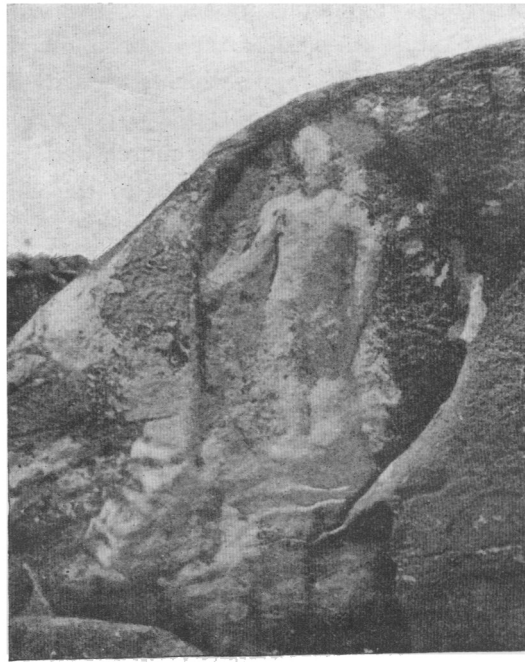


FIG 1.—HERAKLES-RELIEF AT KOULOUMI.

the hips: height originally about 25 m. of whitish-yellow (not local) marble, probably Roman work.

Close to Kouloumi is the village of Vámvaka, about a mile to the east of the road; here is an inscription (*vide infra*, No. 9, p. 265) copied by Leake, which may well have been brought from the site at Kouloumi. We get no clue to the name of this site from any classical author: even Pausanias fails us here, as he seems to have travelled from Caenepolis to

Oetylus by sea ; so its name must remain a problem, and, apart from its interest for us owing to its cult of Herakles, we cannot claim for it any great importance.

#### MESSA.

Two miles to the south-west of Kouloumi is the striking little promontory of Tigani, the 'frying-pan': the 'pan' itself is crowned by a little Venetian fort, and the 'handle' joins the mainland a bare mile to the west of the modern village of Mézzapo. In this neighbourhood Leake<sup>1</sup> places Messa, one of the earliest settlements in Maina, whose existence we hear of in Homer (*Il.* ii. 582), where it is described as *πολυτρήρων*. Pausanias also would lead us to look here for Messa, as he locates it between Hippola (for the site of which *vide infra*) and Oetylus. He must, however, be mistaken in saying that it is 150 stades from Messa to Oetylus, and there was probably some confusion in his mind. Distance by sea is much harder to estimate than distance by land, and there seems little doubt that Pausanias went from Caenepolis to Oetylus by sea. Strabo<sup>2</sup> somewhat surprisingly says that Messa cannot be identified, that possibly there never was such a place, and that the name may be merely an abbreviation for Messenia. Further evidence is afforded by the name of the modern village Mézzapo, for it is not unusual to find the ancient name surviving almost unaltered, as we do at Oetylus, at Hippola (the modern Kipoula), and at Taenarum itself. And *πολυτρήρων* is to-day the correct description of the cliffs in this neighbourhood, which are honeycombed with holes in which nest countless pigeons and sea-fowl. Of the ancient Messa I saw nothing : there are some ancient blocks built into the Venetian fortress at the end of the promontory, and Leake<sup>3</sup> thought he saw traces of an ancient road descending beside the bed of the stream which runs into the little bay close to the modern village, but I failed to see where this was, and the exact site must remain uncertain. Not improbably the Homeric fortress stood where the Venetian one now is, and the town on the bay to the east of the little headland.

About two miles south of the stream just mentioned stands the town of Kitta, now the capital of a deme and famous in Mainiote song and legend as *Κίττα Πολύπυργος* ; it still boasts more towers than any other village in the district and travellers in the early part of the

<sup>1</sup> *Travels in the Morea*, i. p. 287.

<sup>2</sup> viii. 5. 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Loc. cit.* i. p. 307.

last century all heard that in it the blood feud raged more fiercely than elsewhere in Maina. It possesses no antiquities, but in a ruined church at Nomia half a mile to the west, I saw some inscriptions (*vide infra* Nos. 10, 11, p. 265); these however probably came from Hippola, which is only about two miles to the west, as Nomia does not seem to have been an ancient site.

#### HIPPOLA.

On the top of the narrow rocky ridge which on the west descends abruptly into the sea in the cliffs of the 'Thyrides,' and on the east to the plain about 150 feet below, are a large number of rough walls of the local stone, a coarse kind of grey marble, which contain many roughly squared blocks. These are especially noticeable a short distance to the north of the highest point of this ridge, which is called 'στῆς ὠραιᾶς τὸ κάστρο.' Some of these blocks may be ancient, but I could see no trace of ancient foundations. At a point almost due west of the modern village of Kipoula I found a number of potsherds lying on the surface of the soil. The peasants told me that they turned them up in large numbers when they dug on the spot. A handful or two collected at random proved on examination to contain Geometric Laconian sherds of the Orientalising style, black-figured sherds (of which 3 belong to Kylikes), and Hellenistic pottery of good quality, as well as black-glazed fragments common to all these periods, but there were none at all which seemed to be of the Roman age. Here then we have good evidence of a sanctuary site, in more or less constant use for the whole period from the Geometric down to the Hellenistic age. The local name for the site is Ἄνω Πούλα, and it is in all probability the site of Hippola. Pausanias tells us that it was in ruins in his time, but the cause or date of its overthrow is unknown. It appears on an inscription found by Mr. Forster at Leuctro (*B.S.A.* x. p. 177) as a member of the Eleuthero-Laconian League, but otherwise its history is a blank. We read in Pausanias that there was a shrine of 'Athena Hippolais' here, and it may well have been her sanctuary that stood on the Acropolis; if the inscription at Nomia also came from here (No. 11), we have evidence that Hippola also possessed a cult of Eileithyia. There seems to have been a settlement of some sort here in Roman times, in spite of Pausanias' evidence to the contrary. In the modern village of Kouno, close to Kipoula, I was shewn several coins found in the

neighbouring fields, which included specimens of the Laconian series of the first century B.C. and of Antoninus Pius, and Roman coins of Faustina, Lucius Verus, and Constantine the Great. There were also fragments of brick and tile in the fields near the village, but no architectural remains or inscriptions. If the ancient town was overthrown by an earthquake, for instance, a new settlement may quite well have sprung up in the plain below, and Pausanias coming round by sea, would only have seen the ruins on the Acropolis.

The imposing rock-wall known to antiquity as 'Thyrides' terminates to the south in the cape now called *Κάβο Γρόσσο*; this projection shelters on the west the insecure harbour where there has recently sprung up the busy little village of Geroliména.

#### CAENEPOLIS.

About two and a half miles to the south-east is the site of Caenepolis. There is no doubt about its identification; the distance from Cape Taenarum agrees well with that given by Pausanias (*loc. cit.*) of forty stades, and there are numerous inscriptions recording dedications by 'the city of the Taenarians' and the Eleuthero-Laonian league, of which we know from Pausanias it was a member. The site consists of a hill rising sharply from the beach to a height of about 100 feet; on the west side it descends steeply to a dry river bed which runs nearly due south and ends in a little creek, and on the north to the plain, in terraces built up with enormous walls of loose stones sometimes four feet thick and eight high, not used to enclose anything in particular, but chiefly, it would seem, to baffle progress and clear the soil for cultivation. On the west bank of the river bed and close to the beach is the ruined church of *Ἁγία Παρασκευή*, of which the east end consists of ancient blocks; here, I think, we may locate the temple of Aphrodite mentioned by Pausanias as *ἐπὶ θαλάσση*.<sup>1</sup> In the west end stands a statue-base with a dedication to the Emperor Gordian (*C.I.G.* 1322). On the top of the hill is the ruined church of *Κοίμησις τῆς Παναγίας*, by the west entrance of which are the inscriptions in honour of Lakon and Tanagros (*C.I.G.* 1389, 1394). Into the south wall is built a fine cornice block from, apparently,

<sup>1</sup> This identification is uncertain, no two writers agree on the point; Bursian puts the *μέγαρον* of Demeter here and the temple of Aphrodite on the top of the hill. Weil puts the latter at the church of *τοῦ Σωτήρος*, which I could not find at all.



an Ionic shrine: length 3·20 metres. This may well have been the site of the 'μέγαρον of Demeter' alluded to by Pausanias: there are no ancient foundations visible, but it is hard to believe that such a large block of marble could have been carried far, for building into a church in later times. Weil says that he saw distinct traces of a theatre cut out of the hill on its east side, but I was unable to see them. North of the church last mentioned, is that of Ἅγιος Πέτρος, now likewise in ruins; buried among its débris I was able to see the inscription to Lysicrates.<sup>1</sup> Whether there are other ancient blocks here it is impossible to say. Leake saw numerous inscriptions built into the walls on the hill, but after considerable search I could only see one (*C.I.G.* 1321); the only other traces of antiquity, apart from a few minor inscriptions, all previously published, are an old road leading up the hill from the river bed, and a small Ionic capital built into the chapel of Ἅγιος Χράλαμπος.

There seems no doubt that Caenepolis, or the 'city of the Taenarians,' does not date further back than Roman times. Pausanias<sup>2</sup> tells us that it was formerly called Taenarum; this may be a mistake on his part, for we know that the town on the cape itself, the site of the temple of Poseidon, was called Taenarum, and there are hardly likely to have been two towns of the same name so close together. If he is right, we must suppose that the older Taenarum beside the temple was more or less abandoned, and that a new town was built and called Caenepolis subsequently, though at first Taenarum. In any case Taenarum is not one of the towns in the list of members of the Eleuthero-Laconian League; which lends colour to the view that the ancient town had lost its importance by the time of Pausanias. Caenepolis shews us by its inscriptions that it continued to flourish during the first three centuries after Christ.

#### VATHIA.

From the little village of Kyparisso at the eastern end of the site of Caenepolis I went to Vathia, to enquire for the two inscriptions said, by Bursian, to have been brought here from the temple of Poseidon at Taenarum. Unfortunately they have disappeared, and I could see or hear nothing of them. The only object of antiquity to be seen was a small relief of grey marble built into the church of Ἅγιος Σπυρίδων over the

<sup>1</sup> Collitz-Bechtel, No. 4596.

<sup>2</sup> iii. 25. 9.

door. Its height is about 20 m., breadth about 12 m., and it represents Athena standing facing, her right hand on her spear, the left hanging by her side. She wears a crested helmet and long chiton, but no breastplate or aegis. The workmanship, as far as I could tell from the badly weathered surface, is poor, and may be Roman.

From Vathia the distance is about two miles to the isthmus separating the actual promontory of Taenarum from the rest of the peninsula. The aspect of the rocky hill side, rent into fantastic shapes by some great upheaval of nature, cannot fail to impress anyone who sees it, but one soon passes through this wild spot and emerges on to the grassy ridge which separates the modern harbours of Porto Quaglio and Marinari; the actual isthmus is little more than half a mile across at its narrowest part, and at its highest point rises to 445 feet.

#### ACHILLEUS AND PSAMATHUS.

The literary evidence as to these two harbours is considerable, though somewhat confusing, but I think that there is no doubt that the former is to be identified with the modern Marinari, the latter with Porto Quaglio. Strabo<sup>1</sup> says: 'after Taenarum on the way to Malea comes Amathous,' by which he must surely mean Psamathus, and Scylax<sup>2</sup> says that they 'are back to back and between them the sanctuary of Poseidon runs out into the sea.' The scholiast on Ptolemy is utterly confused, and Pausanias is not clear, but with the aid of Strabo and Scylax it is hard to see how they could be otherwise identified with any degree of probability. Pouqueville is the first to place them correctly, and he is followed by Bursian and Curtius: Leake, followed by Gell, put Psamathus correctly at Porto Quaglio, but Achilleus at Vathy, an unsafe little creek between Porto Quaglio and the site of Taenarum: Aldenhoven and Kiepert follow Boblaye in putting Achilleus at Marinari, but Psamathus at 'Kisternais,' and the French map puts the former at Porto Quaglio and the latter at Vathy.<sup>3</sup> These can in no sense be described as 'back to back.' Achilleus does not seem to have been an important harbour at any time,<sup>4</sup> but may have been convenient for anyone who wished to sail from Taenarum into

<sup>1</sup> viii. 5. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Periplus*, c. 46.

<sup>3</sup> Frazer in his note on Pausanias iii. 25. 4, cites all the references and gives the correct identification.

<sup>4</sup> I was told on the spot that it is very little used now, and quite unsafe in westerly winds.

the Messenian Gulf without rounding the cape, no easy task in certain winds. We gather from Stephanus of Byzantium,<sup>1</sup> quoting Artemidorus, that there was a city named Psamathus as well as a harbour: no remains of it can be seen, though Boblaye saw broken columns and other traces of antiquity<sup>2</sup> on the south side of the bay; but a feature of considerable interest is a row of tombs high up on the ridge of the isthmus to the south-west of Porto Quaglio. These, of comparatively recent discovery, date from the Hellenistic period, and consist of a long row of small holes cut horizontally into the rocky hillside, running roughly south-east and north-west; the largest measures perhaps two metres high and three wide, with an entrance large enough to enter if one stoops; the smallest is less than half this size and could only contain a skeleton in a contracted position. They numbered about twenty to twenty-four in all, and approximated generally rather to the smaller than the larger of the two sizes. One, however, was different in style, being built of regular courses of grey poros stone, with internal measurements of about 2·80 metres in length, 70 in width, and 2 in depth; its style and shape resembled the tomb excavated by Mr. Dickins at Sparta in April, 1907 (*B.S.A.* xiii. p. 155). From the sherds lying about in some earth not completely excavated, one must attribute them to the Hellenistic age; more accurate dating is unfortunately impossible under the circumstances, as I was unable to see the majority of the small objects found in them. One broken inscription was visible (*vide infra*, No. 4(a), p. 260), which has no particular value, and I heard of, but could not see, another, which was said to be on a marble slab with two roses in relief on the top, and to read below *Κισσάβος Κύπριος*. I do not publish it among the inscriptions below, as my informant was uncertain as to the spelling of the name and ignorant of the letter forms. The pottery<sup>3</sup> does not call for a lengthy description. These graves may well have been those of some of the mercenaries whose presence in the promontory of Taenarum is often brought into prominence

<sup>1</sup> *s.v.* *Ψαμαθοῦς*.

<sup>2</sup> *Recherches*, p. 89.

<sup>3</sup> I saw no complete painted vase: one, with neck missing, was a tall-necked, wide-bellied jug with ring foot, with yellow bands round the top of the shoulder and a design like an Irish harp in yellow on the shoulder, all on a fine matt-white slip. For these vases see Zahn's list in Wiegand-Schrader, *Priene*, pp. 399, 400. There is also one in the museum at Chalkis, and one in the Château Borély at Marseilles, both unnumbered. One striking sherd was of good black glaze with a white band across it and on this band a crimson meander pattern. The unpainted ware, which predominated, was typical of Hellenistic sites.

in the events of the third and second centuries B.C. That a Cypriote should be among them would not surprise us.

Less than a mile to the south of these graves one sees on the left the creek of Vathý, and a mile further on is the site of Taenarum.

#### TAENARUM.

From the head of the creek at Vathý to the lighthouse at the extreme point of the cape, is a distance of two miles, all but 250 yards; almost exactly halfway between these two points is the little bay which was the harbour of the ancient Taenarum. It is known both as Porto Kisternais and Porto ton Asomáton, the former from the number of rock-cut cisterns on the site, the latter from the little chapel 'Τὼν Ἀσωμάτων,' the only prominent feature of the site. The bay measures at a rough guess a quarter of a mile across; a low rounded hill some fifty feet high projects a short distance into the bay on the north and is crowned with the chapel in question. Along the sides of the bay, and extending as much as 300 yards to the south-west, are traces of the ancient city. The large number of rock-cut houses, as well as of rock-cut cisterns testifies to the importance of the site in antiquity. There is no masonry preserved in any of the houses, which probably consisted of unbaked brick. Thirty or forty metres north-east of the chapel, I found a small staircase cut out of the rock, with steps (measuring 1·10 m. in width, depth ·35 m. from back to front, height about ·30 m.) leading from one room up to another. On the western slope of the hill are traces of a rock-cut road with a width of 1·80 m. extending for a distance of several metres. Close to this, and not far above the water's edge, are some of the larger houses, one of which was at least 12 metres in length. In the matter of domestic architecture the most interesting find was a mosaic floor, in a large room about six metres square, situated 200 metres or so to the south-west of the bay. It consists of a geometric design in dark blue marble tesserae with a white background, edged with small red bricks set vertically in mortar. It is slightly damaged, but the design can be reconstructed. Other tesserae of different colours were lying about the neighbourhood.

#### *Temple of Poseidon.*

The principal evidence from ancient authorities as to the temple is briefly this: Strabo tells us that 'Taenarum has a Temple of Poseidon in

a grove ; near to it is a cave through which Herakles, they say, dragged up Cerberus from Hades.’<sup>1</sup> Pausanias says ‘on the cape is a temple resembling (ἀπειασμένος) a cave, in front of it is an image of Poseidon. . . . Herakles drew up the hound of hell here . . . . but no road leads underground from the cave.’<sup>2</sup> From Thucydides<sup>3</sup> we gather that the temple was in two compartments, or more, for when Pausanias went to Taenarum to see his servant, who had fled here for sanctuary after giving information against him, their conversation was overheard by the Ephors hidden in the other part of the building. Finally Pomponius Mela<sup>4</sup> says ‘the promontory of Taenarum has on it a temple and cave of Neptune, similar to what was described as the Acherusian in Pontus, both in appearance and in its legend.’ Various emendations have been suggested for the word (ἀπειασμένος) in Pausanias, and certainly, a ‘temple like a cave’ is not easy to understand or to bring into relation with the other passages. We may in any case infer that the temple and cave were close together, and alike sacred to Poseidon. Now in the west side of the small shallow ravine which runs into the harbour to the east of the chapel-crowned hill, there is a natural cave in the rock, of irregular shape and measuring perhaps ten metres from back to front, and rather more in width. It is dark, damp, and dirty, and as Pausanias says, has no path leading downwards through the floor. Close to this cave it seems we must look for the temple. Curtius,<sup>5</sup> thinking that the north wall of the little chapel consisted of ancient blocks *in situ*, would identify it with the site of the temple ; but Bursian,<sup>6</sup> who points out that the jointing of the stones is comparatively modern, would locate the temple in the ravine itself. All the joints of the stones of the north wall that I examined had mortar in them, and this, coupled with the fact that the church is thirty or forty metres at least away from the cave, leads me to agree with Bursian’s view. For a view of the wall see Fig. 2. In the ravine itself, and immediately west of the entrance to the cave, are distinct traces of an oblong building of good Greek masonry, almost buried in the shingle of the beach, for the blocks which are visible are not more than two metres above the sea-level. At the north end alone are there any blocks *in situ* ; these consist of the remains of two courses of wall built of poros

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, viii. 5. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Pausanias, ii. 25. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Thucydides, i. 133.

<sup>4</sup> ii. 3. 49.

<sup>5</sup> *Peloponnes*, ii. p. 283. Leake, *op. cit.* i. p. 297, had come to the same conclusion.

<sup>6</sup> *Ueber das Vorgebirge Taenaron*, p. 777.

blocks. The only stone which I could measure was of these dimensions: length 1·05, breadth '90, height '40 metre. Of the south wall nothing remains, but there are loose blocks of the same material lying scattered about the east side. Both sides of the building seem to have abutted on the rocky sides of the ravine, which have been cut away perpendicularly for a few centimetres above the ground-level. Bursian, who saw more of the walls than is visible to-day, gives the dimensions at 19 × 16 metres; but the inner walls to which he alludes have quite disappeared. If, as is not improbable, there was an opening in the west wall of the temple leading directly into



FIG. 2.—ANCIENT BLOCKS IN WALL OF CHAPEL AT TAENARUM.

the cave, this might have given Pausanias the impression that the temple resembled a cave. I could see no traces of pottery or votives of any kind, but it appears that about fifty years ago peasants found a deposit of bronzes here;<sup>1</sup> if the cave and temple site were completely cleared it would not be surprising if other small objects came to view, though the depth of the soil is very small. I could see nowhere any traces of columns or other architectural marbles that might have belonged to the temple, but

<sup>1</sup> *Bull. dell' Inst.* 1857, p. 155. Frazer (*apud* Pausanias, iii. 25. 4) has no authority for saying that one represented Arion.

it should be mentioned that one or two of the blocks in the north wall of the chapel resemble in material and in dimensions those *in situ* in the ravine; the majority of those visible in the photograph are much larger. Excavation might prove that some of the blocks at its western end, now very much overgrown with brambles, were those of an ancient building *in situ*, and Bursian<sup>1</sup> says that in front of the church he saw traces of polygonal foundations.

#### *A Shrine in Antis.*

The only other ancient masonry I could see, consisted of an oblong building of large poros blocks, on a terrace of the hill to the extreme west of the site. Some of the stones were of considerable size, one measuring over two metres in length; in no case are there more than three courses of masonry in position, and as the terrace has collapsed at one corner, bringing down the foundations with it, it is impossible to tell exactly what its plan was. It is built of irregularly-laid squared blocks and is apparently to be attributed to a later date than the best period of Greek architecture. It may very well have been a shrine *in antis*: excavation might enable one to reconstruct its ground-plan, but there are no remains of columns or entablature to be seen. We have no clue to the identification of this building in any ancient writers; in fact the only building at Taenarum, except the Poseidon temple, which is alluded to at all is the *ψυχοπομπεῖον*,<sup>2</sup> which, if indeed it was a building at all, we may imagine was close to the mouth of Hades.

#### *Inscriptions.*

All the inscriptions seen at various times at Taenarum have absolutely disappeared, but I saw one (apparently unpublished) cut roughly on a boulder on the beach on the west side of the bay, recording a dedication to Dionysos (*inf.* No. 3 (a), p. 259). This is of interest as giving us a new cult at Taenarum, but of no great value; it does not seem to have been a base of any sort, and to dedicate a boulder, particularly in Maina, involves no great act of sacrifice. The building last mentioned may have been sacred to Dionysos, but it is not warrantable to attribute it to him on the strength of the inscription alone.

Returning from Taenarum, after a stiff half-hour's climb uphill from the north end of the isthmus, one finds a spring of good water and beside

<sup>1</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch, *De sera numinum vindicta*, c. 17.



it, a square rock-cut room measuring six metres each way. This may be the spring alluded to in Pausanias<sup>1</sup> 'in which one could see reflected the ships and the harbours,' but probably not, though one gets from it a fine view over the harbours of Psamathus and Achilleus; he seems to have meant some spring near the actual temple, but I was unable to find one. After one-and-a-half hour's ride, mostly through a rich upland plain of corn-land, one reaches Lagia, the capital of the deme of the same name. Here there are no antiquities to be seen, but about two miles to the north-west are rich quarries of *rosso antico*, first identified by Bursian<sup>2</sup> who saw undoubted traces of their having been worked in antiquity, in particular a rock-cut road near to them high up on the steep slopes of the hill of the Prophet Elias. They are opened again and are being worked, but not regularly, by the 'Marmor' company. Two miles and a half to the north of them, is the interesting site of Kourno, first discovered by Boblaye.

#### KOURNO.

With Mr. Forster's kind permission I include his notes made when he visited the site three years ago.

'The site lies on a rocky edge of a promontory overlooking the Laconian Gulf, rising to a height of about three hundred metres above the sea, three-and-a-half kilometres south of the village of Nymphi. The nearest habitation is the now half-ruined monastery of Kourno, remarkable for the copious stream which gushes out of the rock immediately below it. In front of this fountain are what appear to be the remains of an ancient cistern, built of large blocks of the local marble and still standing to the height of several courses. It was probably the source of the water supply of the ancient town to the south.

The plateau on the top of the promontory is covered with ancient remains, which are far more numerous than the French explorers imply; the most important are the two temples (Fig. 3 *a, b*) of which elaborate plans and elevations are published by Le Bas.<sup>3</sup> These two temples both lie to the

<sup>1</sup> iii. 25. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Bursian (*op. cit.*) discusses the problem whether these are the quarries alluded to in ancient writers; see also Philippson's geological note on them: *Peloponnes*, i. p. 267.

<sup>3</sup> *Bibliography*; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 89; Curtius, *Pelop.* ii. p. 277; Bursian, *Geog.* ii. p. 149. *Plans*: Le Bas, *Voyage archéologique*, Architecture, II. i.-ii. (*N.B.* Apparently Curtius merely copies the account given by the French explorers.)



north of the ridge which forms the backbone of the promontory and intersects the plateau on which the site lies. The most numerous remains lie to the south of this ridge, but it is difficult to distinguish the separate buildings: the ground-plan of what seems to be a small shrine *in antis* (3·17 by 3·04 m.) is noticeable; the walls are ·27 m. thick, and a block of the threshold is 1·04 m. in length, ·55 m. in height, and ·45 m. in depth. To the south-east of this is a large structure, about 15 m. square. The masonry is preserved to a height of five courses at the south-east corner.

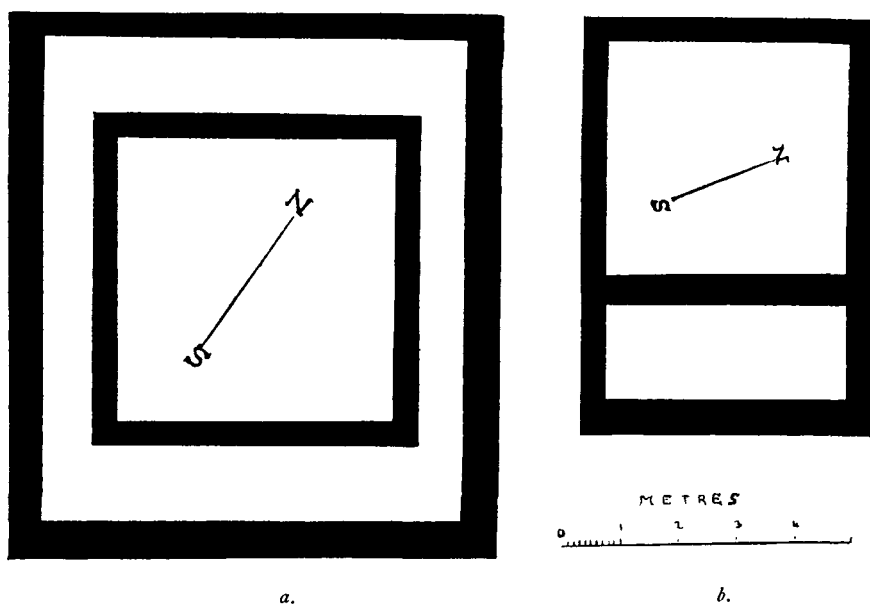


FIG. 37, b.—GROUND-PLANS OF TEMPLES AT KOURNO.

At the north-west corner of this building is a hole two-and-a-half metres square, apparently a cistern.

Just west of the small shrine is the rock-cut relief figured, but not described, by Le Bas (*Mon. fig.* pl. 96). The face of the rock on which it is cut measures ·44 m. in height, 1·0 m. in length, divided into three panels respectively ·22, ·24, and ·28 m. broad. The right hand panel represents a male figure, ·33 m. in height, standing on a pedestal ·05 m. high. He is clad in a chiton, which is fastened over both shoulders and extends almost to the knee; in his right hand he holds a staff with a large head, his left

arm is bent at the elbow and the hand rests on the hip. The central panel represents a headless seated female figure, '36 m. high, holding a large cornucopie with both hands against the left breast. The third panel has been completely destroyed.

It is difficult, owing to the roughness of the work, to decide the subject and the date of this relief. It seems to me most probable that the male figure represents some Roman Emperor, while the female figure is perhaps a Tyché. The third panel contained quite a small relief, perhaps a shield or a trophy of arms. A small open space surrounds the relief, partly rock-cut and partly of masonry. Behind is a shaft running at right angles into the ground, apparently a tomb. To the south there appear to be the remains of some houses.

As regards the probable date of the site, the relief seems to point to Roman times; there are, however, no traces of either brick-work or mortar. Hence it would seem to go back to Greek times, or, if it was a purely Roman settlement, the abundance of material supplied by the bluish marble of which the rocks are made, and the inaccessibility of the place, prevented the importation of the usual building materials of the Roman epoch. The temples, according to the French explorers, 'belong to the time of the decline of Greek architecture.'

It is difficult to imagine why such a site should ever have been chosen for a town. It is possible that the temples were built first, perhaps in connection with the fountain of Kourno, and that the town afterwards grew up round them.

No inscriptions on the site give any clue to its name: it might possibly be the town of Aegila, which is mentioned by Pausanias (*iv. 17. 1*) in another connection, while Pliny (*N.H. iv. 8*) mentions a 'Sinus Aegilodes' on the Laconian Gulf. Further, while Pausanias states positively that Aegila was in Laconia, he did not himself visit it, and we know from his *Laconica* (Bk. III.) that he did not visit the coast between Taenarum and Teuthrone.

Owing to the fact that there is practically no soil, it is unlikely that excavation on the site would be of any use.'

E. S. F.

Le Bas' elaborate restorations of both temples cannot be accepted without hesitation; in the first place his measurements appear to be inaccurate in almost every case, and secondly, Bursian, who visited the site soon after, questions his restoration of the larger temple as peristyle, and is of opinion that, like the smaller one, it was *in antis*. My own measurements support Mr. Forster's as against either those of Bursian or Le Bas. Complete accuracy in details is impossible, owing to the mass of fallen material that covers the stylobate everywhere. Only if this is all cleared and examined are we likely to be in a position to make satisfactory attempts at restoration, or even to determine for certain to what period the building belongs. I do not doubt that Le Bas is right in attributing it to the decline of Greek architecture; if we are to differentiate at all, I should say that the smaller temple shews the more careful workmanship of the two.

#### TEUTHRONE.

Rather more than five miles north of Kourno is the village of Kótrones, on the bay of the same name, which Leake (*op. cit.* i. p. 277) is no doubt right in identifying as the site of Teuthrone. We know from Pausanias that it was on the sea-coast, distant 150 stades from Taenarum, and that he embarked here after visiting Pyrrhichus. It never seems to have attained to much importance and its name is not found in any other classical author. He tells us (iii. 25. 4) that it possessed a shrine of Artemis Issoria and a spring. The small rocky promontory called Skopá which runs out into the middle of the bay is covered with mediaeval masonry, evidently, from the scale of the walls, a castle of some importance. It has one or two ancient blocks built in, one having a large 'A' cut on it, probably a mason's mark, beside the chief entrance. Close to the southernmost point is a small basin cut out of the rock (measuring 2'06 × 1'385 × 1'10 metres deep); at the bottom it is cut out into a narrow channel, and the upper edges have traces of mortar round the outside. Possibly it was built up with courses of brick to give extra depth when used as the reservoir for the fortress in Byzantine or Venetian times. This may be the actual spring (now dry) to which Pausanias alluded, and it welled up through the rock. Close to the beach, N.W. of the spit of shingle separating the promontory from the mainland, peasants found several years ago the remains (to judge from local descriptions) of a brick hypocaust; this

had all been covered up again and not destroyed. Near this spot I was shewn a marble relief representing Artemis, dug up by a native a few days before my visit. The stone is '64 m. high, '30 m. in width; the height of the goddess herself is '33 m.; she stands facing, her right hand hanging by her side, her left arm bent at the elbow, and holds some object at the level of her breast. Behind her is a hound vigorously rendered, with his right fore paw raised, lifting his head towards her left hand. She wears a long clinging garment reaching to her feet, with a short peplos over it ending in carefully rendered folds which run across from her waist on the right to the left hip; her left knee is slightly bent, and her weight evidently thrown on to her right foot. The relief is low and the surface flattish; her face is weathered away and one cannot distinguish what she holds in her left hand. In style it seems to belong to the third or second century B.C. It is interesting to remember that the shrine of Artemis Issoria is the only one mentioned here by Pausanias; this might be a further guarantee if any were needed, that we had here a representation of that goddess. The inscriptions seen here at various times have all disappeared, and the only other object of antiquity to be seen was a slab from a Doric entablature, consisting of a triglyph and metope<sup>1</sup> built into the wall of a house at the E. end of the village.

## SKUTARI.

About 3 miles north of Kotrones, after crossing the steep ridge which terminates on the south-east in Cape Stavro, one descends through a forest of pine and oak, and reaches the village of Skutari, delightfully situated at the head of the bay of the same name, which marks the northern limit of the area described in these notes.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY OF ANCIENT AUTHORS.

(1) *Geographical and Topographical References.*

Messa. Homer, *Iliad*, ii. 582; Strabo, viii. 5, § 3; Pausanias, iii. 25, § 9.  
Hippola. Pausanias, iii. 25, § 9.

<sup>1</sup> The dimensions were: metope, '13 m. wide; triglyph, '14 m. wide, '22 m. high, '285 high from bottom of 'guttae' over all. The building this came from, whether it was the shrine of Issorian Artemis or not, must have been on an unusually small scale, for these measurements are very little more than half those of the entablature from the smaller temple at Kourno.

Thyrides. Strabo, viii. 2, § 2; 4, § 4; 5, § 1; Pliny, iv. § 56. Pausanias, *loc. cit.*

Caenepolis. Pausanias, *loc. cit.*; Ptolemy, iii. 16, § 9.

Taenarum. Scylax, *Periplus*, c. 46; Strabo, viii. 4, § 4; viii. 5, §§ 1, 2, 7; viii. 6, § 14; Pomponius Mela, ii. 3, §§ 49-51; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* iv. §§ 15, 16; v. § 32; Statius, *Thebais*, ii. 32 *sqq.*; Pausanias, ii. 33, § 2; iii. 14, § 7; iii. 21, § 7; iii. 25, § 4; Ptolemy, iii. 16, § 9.

Psamathus. The above, and Stephanus, *s.v.* Ψαμαθοῦς.

Teuthrone. Pausanias, iii. 25, § 4.

## (2) References to Cults and Myths.

Taenarum. *Homeric hymn to Apollo*, ll. 411-413; Pindar, *Pyth.* iv. 44; Herodotus, i. 23, 24; Euripides, *Cyclops*, 292; Eupolis, *frag.* 140; Aristophanes, *Frogs*, 187, *Acharnians*, 509 (and *schol.*); Lycophron, *Cassandra*, 1106; Apollonius, *Argonautica*, i. 102 (and *schol.*); Palaiphatus, *Περὶ ἀπίστων*, p. 59; Apollodorus, *Βιβλιοθήκη*, ii. 5, § 12; Pediasimus, § 30 (these three in *Mythographi Graeci*); Scymnus, *Periegesis*, ll. 512-514; Vergil, *Georg.* iv. 467; Seneca, *Hercules Furens*, 662; Plutarch, *De sera numinum vindicta*, c. 17, *Sept. Sap. conviv.* c. 17; Pausanias, *loc. cit.*; Dio Chrysostom, *Orationes*, xxxvii. p. 297; Aulus Gellius, xvi. 19 (for story of Arion<sup>1</sup>); Stephanus, *s.v.* Ταίναρος.

## (3) Historical Allusions to Taenarum and District.

Thucydides, i. 128, i. 133, vii. 19; Polybius, iv. 34, v. 19, ix. 34; Diodorus Siculus, xvii. 108, xviii. 19, xx. 104; Plutarch, *Lives*, *Phocion*, c. 29, *Cleomenes*, c. 22, c. 38, *Antony*, c. 67, *Pompey*, c. 24, *Agis*, c. 16; Polyaeus, vii. 47; Suidas, *s.vv.* ἀπέρπασσε, Ταίναρον.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MODERN AUTHORS.

Meursius, *Miscellanea Laconica*, pp. 289 *sqq.* (contains nearly all the above references), Amsterdam, 1661; Coronelli, *La Morée*, pp. 41 *sqq.* 1687; Stephanopoli, *Voyage dans la Grèce*, pp. 256 *sqq.* 1800; Pouqueville, *Travels in Morea, Albania, etc.* pp. 112 *sqq.* (English translation) 1813, *Voyage dans la Grèce*, v. pp. 599 *sqq.* 1827; Walpole, *Memoirs*, pp. 33 *sqq.* 1817; Cockerell, *Diary*, pp. 91, 96; Leake, *Travels in the Morea*, i. pp. 294 *sqq.* 1830, *Peloponnesiaca*, pp. 156 *sqq.* 1846; Boblaye, *Recherches*, pp. 89 *sqq.* 1835; Bory de St. Vincent, *Expédition Scientifique*, pp. 435 *sqq.* 1836; Fiedler, *Reise durch Griechenland*, i. pp. 340 *sqq.* 1840; Aldenhoven, *Itinéraire de l'Attique et du Péloponnèse*, pp. 342 *sqq.* 1841; Curtius, *Peloponnes*, ii. pp. 277 *sqq.* 1852; Bursian, *Ueber das Vorgebirg Tainaron*, pp. 773-795 (*Bayrisch. Akad. Sitzungsber.* 1855), *Geographie von Griechenland*, ii. pp. 148 *sqq.* 1872; Lord Carnarvon, *Reminiscences of Athens and the Morea, passim*, 1869; Le Bas, *Voyage Archéologique*, ii. part 1, pp. 52, 518; part 2, p. 111, 1856-1870; Wide, *Lakonische Kulte*, pp.

<sup>1</sup> I have not thought of trying to collect all references to Arion.

43, 44, 1893; Philippson, *Der Peloponnes*, pp. 225 sqq. 1891; Frazer, *Commentary on Pausanias*, iii. pp. 392-399, 1898; Weil, *Ath. Mitt.*, i. pp. 158-172, 1876, *Bull. dell' Inst.* p. 154, 1857.

### III.—INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE MAINA.

#### INSCRIPTIONS HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED.

1 (a). In north wall of church of Ἅγιος Ταξιάρχης at Kouloumi, one-and-a-half hours south of Pyrgos, on rectangular block .63 × .22 m. Letters 6.5 cmm. high.

ΕΡΑΤΩ  
ΧΑΙΡΕ

Ἐρατὼ  
χαῖρε.

2 (a). Lying in the churchyard of Ἅγιος Παντελεήμων at Nomia. Poros block broken on all sides, 27.5 × 15 cmm. Letters 2.5 - 3 cmm. high.

ΙΞΞΤΟΤΕ  
Α Ξ

Perhaps [Ἄρ]ισσοτοτέ[λης]  
[ζήσ]ας [ἔτη]

- - -

The reduplicated σ occurs frequently in such names: cf. Ἄριστοφάνης in *C.I.G.* 1638, Ἄριστοκλῆς *C.I.G.* 1211. For Ἄριστοτέλης as a Laconian name cf. Roehl, *I.G.A.* 83, *S.M.C.* Nos. 204, 212, 446.

3 (a). On a boulder about 80 × 40 cmm., on the beach at Kisternais, the ancient Taenarum. Letters 7-9 cmm. high, roughly cut, and surface much worn.

ΕΛΗΞΙΗΞ  
ΔΙΟΝΥΞΩΙ

[Μ]ελησίης  
Διονύσωι.

Ἐλησίης is not a known name, whereas Μελησίης (*i.e.* Μελησίας), an easy restoration, gives us a common name: there is plenty of room for an Μ on the stone, and the opening letters of both lines are very faint, so it may

quite likely have disappeared. This gives interesting evidence of a cult of Dionysos at Taenarum, hitherto unknown.

4 (a). From a grave of Hellenistic date on hillside above Porto Quaglio. Marble slab complete on left side and beneath. Height '28, breadth '24, thickness '074 m. Letters about 2.5 cmm. high.



Καλ - - -

χαίρετ[ε.]

The shape of the  $\rho$  is striking, but the reading is unmistakable.

#### PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED INSCRIPTIONS.

The following is, I believe, a complete list of the published inscriptions from Southern Maina: references are given to the works in which they are most easily accessible. The majority of the stones are no longer visible. I could only find seven of all those seen at various times on the site of Caenepolis (*infra*, Nos. 14, 15, 16, 18, 21, 22, 35). Of the inscriptions from the Poseidon temple at Taenarum, all seem to have disappeared except two (Nos. 46 and 47) which are in the British Museum, and two in Athens (*infra*, Nos. 49 and 50). Those from other sites in Maina have fared better, though at Kotrones I could hear nothing of those seen there by Le Bas (*infra*, Nos. 52-55). The inscriptions are arranged according to the sites to which they belong, or the places where they were last seen, described in the order in which I visited them. Those still existing are marked with an asterisk.

At Pyrgos:

1. Le Bas-Foucart, 278 e.

2.\* Leake, *Travels in Morea*, vol. iii. No. 29. This stone had not apparently been seen since Leake saw it. His copy runs as follows:—

'At a church near Pyrgo, in Mesa Mani.

ΩΝΕΦΟΡΩ . . . . ΠΟΝ  
ΑΠΟ . . . ΧΑΙΡΕΝ  
ΝΑΤΟΣ . . . . ΗΜΙΝΥΠΕΡ  
ΤΟΑΝΤΙΓΡΑΦΟΝ . . ΕΡ  
. . . ΜΕΝΙΔΑΣΟΠΟ  
. ΕΛΕΥΤΗΚΕΝΥΟCΕ  
. . ΜΕΝΕΠΙCΗΜΩΝ  
. ΑΤΑΔΕΔΕΙΞΑCΕΝΟ  
ΤΗCΖΩΗCΕΩΦΡΟCΥ  
ΤΟΥΤΟΜΟ . ΟΝΙΑΙ  
ΟΤΙΤΟΚΟ . ΙΟΝΤΟ

followed by about twenty lines much defaced.'

When I found it, it was built into the church of Ἅγιος Ταξιάρχης (rebuilt since Leake's day out of the material of the ruined Ἀγία Μαρίνα, which had stood on the same site), and served as lintel over the door. I had it removed, and it now lies inside the church, which is about a mile S.E. of the village of Pyrgos. Both sides have been cut away and on one has been cut a Christian cross in relief. Leake's copy is full of mistakes and omissions.

Total length of stone 1.30 m., width .18 m., depth .27 m. Letters on grave-inscription above, .015-.03 m. high; on long inscription .01-.015 m. high.

Λ Ε Ρ Ο  
Γ Α C Τ Ο Τ  
Χ Α Ι Ρ  
Ξ Π Π  
Λ Ι Ε Υ C Ι  
Θ Ν Ο Υ C  
Χ Α Ι Ι

--- ερο ---  
-- τας τοτ --  
χαίρ[ε].  
-- σιππ --  
-- λεις --  
-- θνους --  
χαί(ρ)[ε].

1



- 5  
 10  
 15  
 20  
 25  
 30  
 35  
 40  
 45
- ΑΤΩΝ ΕΦΟΡΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΑΠΟΛΙΣ ΠΙ  
 ΑΠΟΛΕΙ ΧΑΙΡΕΙΝ ΤΟΥΣ  
 ΜΑΤΟΣ ΠΑΡΗΜΙΝΥΠΟΣ  
 ΤΩΝ ΤΙΓΡΑΦΟΝ ΕΡ  
 ΜΑΡΜΕΝΙΔΑΣ ΟΠΟ  
 ΤΕΛΕΥΤΗΚΕΝ ΤΟΥΣ  
 ΝΑΜΕΝΕΠΙΣΗΜΩΝ  
 ΜΑΤΑΣ ΔΕ ΔΙΕΑΣΕ ΝΟΙ  
 ΤΗΣ ΖΩΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΡΟΣΥ  
 ΤΟΥ ΤΟΜΟΝΟΝ ΒΑΡΥ  
 ΟΤΙ ΤΟΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΠΟΛΙ  
 ΗΡ ΠΑΣΤΑΙ ΑΛΛΟΤΙ  
 ΑΘΟΝΕΡΜΑ ΜΕΝ ΠΟΛΕ  
 ΟΝΟΥΣ ΓΟΝΕΩΝ ΔΙ  
 ΜΟΣ ΕΓΕΝΝΗΘΗΝ  
 ΕΠΙ ΤΥΓΧΑΝΟΜΕΝ  
 ΑΙΩΝΑΠΟΠΡΟΤΗ  
 ΙΔΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΒΙΟΥΝΗ ΠΙ  
 ΜΕΝ ΔΟΚΙΝΕ ΣΤΗΡΗ  
 ΕΛΠΙΔΙ ΠΟΛΙΤΟΥ ΠΑ  
 ΙΑΝ ΕΛΚΙΝΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ  
 ΙΜΕΛΙΑΝ ΜΑΛΛΟΝ Ο  
 ΤΟΝ ΕΥΓΕΝΗ ΚΑΙ  
 ΑΔΟΥ ΚΕΛΑΧΙΣ ΤΟΝ  
 ΟΣ ΠΙΚΡΟΥ ΠΟΤΕΡ  
 ΑΜΑΣΗΝ ΗΕΥΑΜ  
 ΣΑΓΟΥΣΙ ΤΕ ΤΟΝ ΕΑ  
 ΕΡΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΙ ΚΑΙ ΙΔΙΑ  
 ΡΙΥΟΝ ΟΥΤΩΣ ΠΟΥΔ  
 ΓΑΛΚΕΝΗ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΤΑ  
 ΤΗΝ ΕΛΠΙΔΑ ΠΟΛΙΤ  
 ΕΚΑΣΤΟΝ ΓΑΡ ΜΕΡΟΣ  
 ΑΞΙΟΝ ΠΛΗΝΗ ΜΙΣΑ  
 ΝΤΟΝ ΑΜΑΡΞΑΝΤ  
 ΜΑΡΑΝΘΕΝΤΑΤΟΝ  
 ΝΟΝΤΟΝ ΑΡΜΗΝΙΑ  
 ΝΟΝΤΟΝ ΕΝΙΡΑ Α  
 ΞΑΝΤΑΤΟΝ ΤΟΥΛ ΤΟ  
 ΥΣ ΜΕΝ ΤΟΥΣ ΠΑΙΝ  
 ΝΑΙΜΕΘΑ ΠΟΙΗΣΑΣΘΑ  
 ΚΑΙ ΟΥΣ ΔΙΟΕΔΟΞΕ  
 ΑΝΤΑΜΕΝΑ ΜΑΘΙΝΑ  
 ΓΡΑΦΗΝΕΧΟΝΤΑ Ο  
 ΜΕΝΙΔΑΝ ΕΥΑΜΕΡ  
 ΤΑΤΕΝΑ ΑΝΑΚΗΡΥΞΑ  
 ΙΝΑ ΤΟ ΣΥΝΠΑΘΕΣ  
 ΕΝΗΤΑΙ
- (ε)ατῶν ἑφοροὶ καὶ ἀ πόλις Π - - [ων ἐφόροις]  
 [καὶ τ]ᾶ πόλει χαίρειν. τοῦ γ(ε) -  
 - ματος παρ' ἡμῖν ὑπογε[γρα] - -  
 - (ν) τὸ ἀντίγραφον ἔρ[ρωσθε.]  
 - [Δ]αμαρμενίδας ὁ πο[λίτης] - 5  
 - [τε]τελεύτηκεν ὡς Εὐ(α)[μέρου] -  
 - [τ]ῶν μὲν ἐπισήμων (ἀ) -  
 - ματα δὲ δίδας ἐν ὄ(λ)  
 - τῆς ζωῆς σωφροσύ(ν) -  
 - τοῦτο μόνον βαρυν[όμεθα] - - 10  
 - ὅτι τὸ κοινὸν πολ(ε)[ίτην] -  
 - ἤρπασται ἀλλ' ὅτι -  
 - [ἀγ]αθὸν ἔρμα μὲν πόλε[ως] -  
 - οὐκ οὐκ γονεῶν δι -  
 - μος ἐγεννήθη ν - 15  
 - . ἐπιτυγχάνομεν -  
 - α . . . ἰων ἀπὸ πρώτῃ[ς] - - -  
 - δίας καὶ βίου νηπ[ίου] -  
 - μὲν δοκίμῃ ἐστηρ(η)[μένον ?] -  
 - ἐλπίδι πολίτου πα - - 20  
 - (ῆ) ἀνέλκιν εἰς τὴν - -  
 ἐ(π)ιμελίαν μᾶλλον ο - -  
 - τὸν εὐγενῆ καὶ (ε) - -  
 - α δ' οὐκ ἐλάχιστον - -  
 - (ν)ος πικροῦ πότερο - - 25  
 - ἄμα Σ . . Η Η Εὐαμ(ε)[ρο] - -  
 - ς ἄγουσί τε τὸν ἑα - -  
 - [π](ε)ρ καὶ πόλι καὶ ἰδία - -  
 - [?πε]ρὶ ὅν οὕτω σπουδ[αῖον] - -  
 - [ἔσ](τ)αλκεν ἢ πόλιν τα - - 30  
 - τὴν ἐλπίδα πολίτ - -  
 - ἕκαστον γὰρ μέρος - -  
 - ἄξιον, πλὴν ἢ μισά[νθρωπος τύχη] - -  
 - ν τὸν ἄμα ἄρξαν(α) - -  
 [ἄμ](α) μαρνανθέντα τὸν - - 35  
 - νον τὸν Ἀρμηνία - -  
 - νον τὸν ἐν . ρ - α(ν)[τα] ? - - -  
 - (σ)αντα τὸν τοῦ Α . το - -  
 - υς μὲν τοὺς ἐπαίν(ο)[υς οὐκ ἂν] - - - -  
 - [δυ](ν)αίμεθα ποιήσασθα[ι] - - 40  
 - [δε]καίους διὸ ἐδοξε (τ) - -  
 - [ἀνδρ]ίαντα μὲν ἄμα οἰνά[νθη] ἐστεφανωμένον ? - - - -  
 - [ἐπι]γραφὴν ἔχοντα οὐ[τω] - - -  
 - [Δαμαρ]μενίδαν Εὐαμέρο[ν] - - -  
 - τατενα ἀνακηρύξα(ι)  
 - ἵνα τὸ σύνπαθες - - [φανερὸν ?]  
 (γ)ένηται. 45

Of the names in the grave-inscription I can make nothing. The lettering is rough and uneven, and it may be considerably later than the long inscription which is below. Owing to the mutilation of the stone very little restoration is possible: we are unable to tell its original width and have no evidence for the exact length of any line. The stone contains apparently a short letter from one city to another, occupying the first four lines and covering a long enclosure, which is a copy (ἀντίγραφον) of a resolution passed by a town council or similar body, on the occasion of the death of an illustrious citizen. The name Damarmenidas is only known in one other instance, *C.I.G.* 1389, where he is mentioned as ἐπιμελούμενος at the erection of a statue at Caenepolis to Caius Julius Laco by the Eleuthero-Laconian Confederacy: this may well be the same man, in which case this inscription would belong to the first half of the first century A.D. (*vide* my note in *B.S.A.* xii. p. 372). Nothing in the letter-forms goes against this conclusion.

*Notes.*

The inscription presents the unusual feature of a change in the letter-forms: in line 12 and subsequently (except for  $\zeta$  once in line 29)  $\zeta$  becomes  $\Sigma$ ; in line 11  $\epsilon$  becomes  $\Xi$ ; and in line 14  $\omega$  becomes  $\Omega$ . This may be due to a change of engravers. The substitution of  $\iota$  for  $\epsilon\iota$  in δέξας (l. 8), δοκῖν (l. 19), ἀνέλκιν (l. 21) etc. may be paralleled in inscriptions of every period, though it becomes more common in texts of the Roman age: *vide* Jannaris, *Hist. Greek Grammar*, § 34. Further  $\Lambda$  and  $\text{H}$  are used indifferently in feminine terminations; in lines 21 and 31 we have τήν, in lines 1 and 2  $\acute{\alpha}$  and τᾶ.

Line 1. Unfortunately the names of both the cities are irrecoverable. I think there are traces of an  $\epsilon$  before - - ατῶν, in which case our choice is not very wide; it might be Γυθεατῶν or Ἀβεατῶν. The recipient city might be Pyrrhichus, which was only about three miles distant from where the stone was found: the second letter of the name is quite uncertain however. It seems certain that the letter opened thus—ατῶν ἔφοροι καὶ ἡ πόλις Π - - ων ἐφόροις καὶ τᾶ πόλει χαίρειν (cf. *S.M.C.* 241, 262.).

L. 4.  $\epsilon\rho$  may be abbreviated for, or may be the beginning of, ἔρρωσθε, which closes the letter, the sense of which is 'we are sending you the enclosed copy of our proceedings on the occasion of the vote of sympathy

passed on the death of Damarmenidas.' (For this use of ἔρρωσθε cf. Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup> 253, l. 15, 278 l. 19, etc.)

L. 6. Εὐαμέρου can be restored from l. 44. As a Spartan name it occurs in *C.I.G.* 1260, *S.M.C.* 205, 206, 207 and Εὐήμερος in *C.I.G.* 1244.

L. 10–13. The general sense probably is οὐ περὶ(?) τοῦτο μόνον βαρυνόμεθα ὅτι τὸ κοινὸν πολεῖτην οὕτω σπουδαῖον (in private life) ἤρπασται, ἀλλ' ὅτι οὕτως ἀγαθὸν ἔρμα πόλεως [*i.e.* 'in his public capacity'].

For ἤρπασται cf. Euripides, *Androm.* 661: in l. 11 after πολ I seem to see traces of the ε on the stone: πολ(ε)[ίτην] as object of ἤρπασται seems a satisfactory restoration. Ἐρμα πόλεως is borrowed from Homer, where it occurs *Il.* 16. 549, *Od.* 23. 121: cf. also Plato, *Legg.* 737 A.

L. 14–17. Restoration seems impossible. In l. 17 we perhaps have some participle, but the first four letters are practically undecipherable.

L. 26. Of the middle of the line I can make nothing, but the Σ after ἄμα and the two Η's are certain.

L. 28. - ερ is probably ὅπερ or ὥσπερ: καὶ πόλι καὶ ἰδίᾳ is an unusual variant for καὶ κοινῇ καὶ ἰδίᾳ.

L. 32. The general sense would seem to be: 'for each part [of his life] was worthy of [admiration], but that misanthrope fate snatched away from us one who no sooner had begun his career than he withered away, one who not only' . . . .

L. 35. \ is almost certain to be the end of ἄμα to balance ἄμα in the previous line.

L. 36–38. Seem to contain a catalogue of his achievements. NON may be the ending of μόνον or of the accusative of an aorist participle middle. AIMHNIA - - or AIMHNIA - - or APMHNIA - - are the only possible variants: the first letter is not Δ, and the second seems to be Ρ. It is hardly likely to be an allusion to Armenia, which is written Ἀρμενία in Greek.

L. 37. Seems to be an aorist participle active, but here, as in the next line, the surface is too damaged to restore safely.

L. 39–41. Evidently the sense is 'we could not praise him in sufficiently high terms.'

L. 41-47. The ending ran somehow as follows: 'wherefore it was resolved . . . both to set up a statue crowned with vine-shoots, with this inscription: "to Damarmenidas son of Euameros (for his many virtues)", and also to communicate this our resolution [? to his children] in order that our sympathy towards them may be manifested.'

L. 42. - *αντα* is almost certainly *ἀνδριάντα*, and *οἶνα* - - , which is quite certain, is presumably *οἶνάνθη* or *οἶνάνθαις*: the inscription perhaps ran 'ἡ πόλις Δαμαρμενίδαν Εὐαμέρου ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα' . .

L. 45. *τατενα* is unintelligible, unless conceivably [*πρὸς*] τὰ τέκνα from which the *κ* has been omitted by mistake.

L. 46. *φανερὸν* or some such word may safely be supplied.<sup>1</sup>

At Charouda, S.W. of Pyrgos:

\*3. Le Bas-Foucart, 278 b (= Collitz-Bechtel, 4585), *vide* note in *B.S.A.* x. p. 159.

\*4. *Ibid.* 278 a ( = " " 4586).

\*5. *Ibid.* 275 ( = " " 4587).

At Kavalos (Pyrrhichus):

\*6. Le Bas-Foucart, 249 ( = " " 4580).

\*7. *Ibid.* 250 ( = " " 4581).

\*8. *B.S.A.* x. p. 167, No. 3.

At Vamvaka:

\*9. Le Bas-Foucart, 278 f.g. This is, as Leake said, all on one stone, though Le Bas edits it as two separate inscriptions.

At Nomia:

\*10. Collitz-Bechtel, 4583. (Weil in *Ath. Mitt.* i. p. 162.)

Though the stone is badly weathered, my squeeze showed that Weil's copy is not correct. I reproduce the two copies for comparison.

<sup>1</sup> I wish to thank Mr. M. N. Tod for much valuable assistance in the elucidation of this inscription.

(1) *Weil*.

ΠΕΡΙΛΑΛΕΧΟΙΠΡΑΞΙΟΝΜΙΛ  
 ΛΑΒΙΠΑΛΕΧ - - - -  
 ΠΑΝΙΡΑΠΔΑ - - - -  
 ΧΑΙΡΕ - - - - -

(2) *A. M. W.*

ΠΕΡΙΛΑΛΕΧΟΙΠΡΑΞΙΟΝΧΑΙΡΕ  
 ΝΑΒΙΠΑΛΕΧ ΧΑΙΡΕ  
 ΠΑΝΚΡΑΤΙΔΑ  
 ΧΑΙΡΕ . . . ΛΕΧΑΙΡΕ

Περίλα Λεχοῖ Πράξιον χαίρε  
 Ναβίπα Λεχ[οῖ] χαίρε  
 Πανκρατίδα  
 χαίρε . . . λε χαίρε.

*Ναβίπα* (= *Ναβίππα*) is the undoubted reading, though not a known name.

\*11. Collitz-Bechtel, 4584 (*Weil, loc. cit.*).

Above the heads of the figures in the relief I read ΕΧ . . . . / ΙΟΣ. Weil does not transcribe them, otherwise his copy is correct.

At Cyparisso (Caenepolis) :

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 12. <i>C.I.G.</i> 1315.                           | 23. <i>Ibid.</i> 267.                             |
| 13. <i>Ibid.</i> 1317.                            | 24. <i>Ibid.</i> 268.                             |
| *14. <i>Ibid.</i> 1321.                           | 25. <i>Ibid.</i> 269.                             |
| *15. <i>Ibid.</i> 1322.                           | 26. <i>Ibid.</i> 270.                             |
| *16. <i>Ibid.</i> 1389.                           | 27. <i>Ibid.</i> 271.                             |
| 17. <i>Ibid.</i> 1393.                            | 28. <i>Ibid.</i> 272.                             |
| *18. <i>Ibid.</i> 1394.                           | 29. <i>Ibid.</i> 273.                             |
| 19. <i>Ibid.</i> 1483.                            | 30. <i>Ibid.</i> 273 a.                           |
| 20. Le Bas-Foucart, 256 a (= <i>C.B.</i> 4595).   | 31. <i>Ibid.</i> 273 b.                           |
| *21. Le Bas-Foucart, 257 (= <i>C.B.</i> 4596).    | 32. <i>Ibid.</i> 263 b.                           |
| *22. <i>Ibid.</i> 266 (= <i>C.I.L.</i> iii. 492). | 33. <i>Ibid.</i> 259.                             |
|   | 34. Leake, <i>Travels in Morea</i> , iii. No. 30. |

At Alika (North-west of site of Caenepolis) :

- \*35. Le Bas-Foucart, 264.
36. Pouqueville, *Voyage de la Grèce*, Vol. v. No. 9 (= *C.I.G.* 1510).

At Vathia, N.E. of Caenepolis :

37. Le Bas-Foucart, 255 a (= *C.-B.* 4590).      38. Le Bas-Foucart, 255 b (= *C.-B.* 4592).

At Kastraki, S.E. of Vathia :

39. Le Bas-Foucart, 273 c.      41. *Ibid.* 273 e.  
40. Le Bas-Foucart, 273 d.

At Kisternais (Taenarum) :

42. *C.I.G.* 1412.      Museum [*vide* Newton, *Gk. Inscr.* in *B.M.* 146].  
43. *C.I.G.* 1486.      48. Collitz-Bechtel, 4589 (= Le Bas-Foucart, 255 c).  
44. *C.I.G.* 1493.      \*49. Collitz-Bechtel, 4591. Now in Athens [*vide* *B.C.H.* iii. p. 96].  
45. Collitz-Bechtel, 4574 (= *Ath. Mitt.* xvi. 140).      \*50. *Ibid.* 4593. Now in Athens.  
\*46. Collitz-Bechtel, 4588. Now in British Museum [*vide* Newton, *Gk. Inscr.* in *B.M.* 139].      51. *Ibid.* 4594 [*vide* *A.E.M.* 1897, p. 88].  
\*47. *C.I.G.* 1498. Now in British

At Kotrones (Teuthrone) :

52. Collitz-Bechtel, 4582 = (Le Bas-Foucart, 255).      54. *Ibid.* 243 d.  
53. Le Bas-Foucart, 254.      55. *Ibid.* 253.

ARTHUR M. WOODWARD.