

that the wall, in its third phase, was given a footing and a facing (each still only one course deep) of much bigger blocks, approaching in size those of our Argive Platform. But this, of course, was around 600 BC, when serious Hellenic architecture, like Hellenic sculpture, was at last improving by leaps and bounds. And in any case all the Smyrniote walls were still structures mainly of mud brick.

Taking the Hellenic Age, one finds that many items of the Mycenaean builders' stock-in-trade were never to reappear—for instance, the reverse taper of the columns or, even more significantly, the placing of door-leaves on the thresholds, or the elegant H-Plan of the door jambs between them. And the new Hellenic buildings, down to a date well down in the sixth century, nearly all appear to me very flimsy. As for the lightness of the structures built in the 'interregnum' between Mycenaean and Classical Greece, I feel my opinions reinforced, if anything, by the recent discoveries of Mervyn Popham at Lefkandi.

I am strangely perplexed, I confess, by the complete silence of Blegen on the nature and even the find-spots of the Geometric sherds which he says he found. To quote p. 20 of his *Prosymna*: 'Our fourth and fifth holes, however, yielded some Geometric fragments at so great a depth from the face of the terrace, that it seemed to me impossible that they could have reached their place after the making of the wall.' Despite, I suppose, its loose jointing and wide cavities. Amazingly, there seems to be nothing else in the book, or even a clear diagram showing the trial-holes.

Therefore, I still like to believe that at the Argive Heraeum there was a considerable interval between the actual platform, on the one hand, and the earliest Hellenic temple built upon it. Perhaps, too, the pavement of flat stones, which surrounds the temple, should be associated with it, rather than with the platform. But here I am open to persuasion. Finally, it seems possible that the platform is built as a massive front wall, retaining a fill behind it. In such a case, it would resemble the Mycenaean wall round the Acropolis of Athens. And then, too, it could have been filled with a packing of loose materials, including sherds, some time before the first Hellenic Heraeum was built on top of it.

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New ΝΙΣΥΠΙΟΙ from Physkos (Marmaris)

(PLATE 1e)

In April 1983, the inscription published below was seen outside a house among the cafes along the harbour quay in Marmaris, Turkey, near the Customs House. The block had disappeared in September 1983, and it seems therefore unlikely that the inscription will be published elsewhere.

The inscription is carved upon a square block which was either of the distinctive grey Rhodian stone, *Lithos Lartios*, or else of a very similar local stone found in the area of Marmaris: height c. 0.25 m, width c. 0.275 m, depth c. 0.28 m. The text, read with difficulty from stone, squeeze, and photograph (PLATE 1e) is carelessly

carved in three lines with irregular letters and uneven spacing. Date: second to third centuries AD.

Μενεσθε<υ>ς Ξίνιος Νισύριος
Ἀριστάριον Μενεκλείδα Ἀρ--
Ἀθαναγόρας Μενεσθέου Νισύρ[ιος]

Line 1 Μενεσθέου lap.: Μενεσθεύς Rice

(Here lies) Menestheus, son of Xeinis, Nisyrios, Aristarion, daughter of Menekleidas, Ar-- , Athanagoras, son of Menestheus, Nisyrios.

Some of the readings are less than certain owing to the bad quality of the carving and the worn surface of the stone. Since the names at the beginning of the second and third lines are in the nominative case, one would expect a nominative in the first line as well, especially given the unmistakable nominative demotic *Νισύριος*. However, in line 1 the termination *-εου* seems clear, and we are left with the reading *Μενεσθέου*, which creates two problems. The first is the genitive form *Μενεσθέου* in place of *Μενεσθέως* or *Μενεσθέος*, correct genitives from the common name *Μενεσθεύς*. I am not aware of an example of a name *Μενέσθεος* which would produce the genitive *Μενεσθέου* which appears here. The patronymic in line 3 provides no clarification, since although it appears to be the same name in the same case, its reading is only inferred from certain prominent letters, and the ending is not at all clear. Despite the incorrect genitive form, the frequency of the name *Μενεσθεύς* over the anomalous *Μενέσθεος* suggests that the former name is to be understood here; the error in inflection may be attributed to the late date of the inscription. The use of the genitive case for the name in line 1 is itself the second problem. After a genitive in this position, the article *τοῦ* and the demotic *Νισυρίου* would be expected. The omission of the article before the patronymic after a name in the genitive case is nevertheless not uncommon at this late date, and it appears that the lapicide began to carve in the genitive case but switched to the nominative by the end of the first line. The demotic at the end of line 2 cannot be read beyond *Ἀρ--*. Because of the uneven line length, there is probably room for either the demotic *Ἀρία* (a deme of the Rhodian city Kamiros) or *Ἀργεία* (a deme of the Rhodian city Lindos).

The trochilos moulding and anathyrosis on the top of the stone show that the block is a square base for a cylindrical funerary altar.¹ Cylindrical altars on square bases are the most common Hellenistic funerary monuments on the island of Rhodes;² they are also common throughout dependent Rhodian territory in the late Hellenistic period.³ This monument conforms to the more usual type in that the inscription is carried on the base, not on the altar itself.

The inscription commemorates a family (probably father, mother, and son, or, less likely, father, son, and wife), whose male members were demesmen from the

¹ For a discussion of this type of funerary monument, see P. M. Fraser, *Rhodian Funerary Monuments* (Oxford 1977) 25 ff., figs 59(c), 60(a-c). The epigraphical publications mentioned in n. 5 below are explained *ibid.* 83.

² Fraser 25.

³ Fraser 33. Fraser, *ibid.* and n. 183, mentions that neither he nor G. E. Bean was aware of any published examples of these cylindrical altars from the Peraea, and it is therefore particularly unfortunate that the altar belonging to the Marmaris base has disappeared.

Rhodian island of Nisyros who had died in the Rhodian Peraea.⁴ Menestheus and his son Athanagoras are styled *Νισύριοι*, the appropriate Rhodian demotic. If Athanagoras is the son, not the husband, of Aristarion of the deme Ἀρ--, his demotic shows the invariable practice that any child of an inter-deme marriage becomes a member of his father's deme.

The importance of this inscription lies in its late date and provenance. Relatively few inscriptions of a comparably late Imperial date have been found on the island of Nisyros,⁵ and of these only one, *IG* xii (3) 164, contains the demotic *Νισύριος* (etacised to *Νεισύριος*). This use of the demotic *Νισύριος* in Nisyros itself is an exception to the usual Rhodian rule that demotics were only used to describe people who were outside their own demes but still in Rhodian territory. Anyone commemorated at home in his own deme was only given a patronymic, his demotic being taken for granted, but a Rhodian from another deme was given both a patronymic and a demotic. (Foreigners, on the other hand, were given ethnics but not patronymics.) The Marmaris inscription preserves the normal, correct use of the Rhodian demotic since Rhodian demesmen from Nisyros are being commemorated in the Rhodian deme of Physkos. The use of patronymics in this inscription proves beyond any doubt that both Nisyros and Physkos were still Rhodian territory in the late Imperial period; had the Physkioi considered the Nisyrioi as foreigners, not as fellow Rhodians, they would only have been given their ethnics here.

Nisyros, along with the other Dodecanese islands Telos and Kasos, and the part of the Rhodian Peraea known as the Subject Peraea,⁶ became Rhodian territory at different dates within the third and second centuries BC. In this respect these islands differ from the other islands which passed into Rhodian control earlier in the fourth century BC, namely Chalke, Syme, Megiste, and Karpathos, along with the greater part of the Rhodian Peraea known as the Incorporated Peraea. All the territory in the second category was divided up among the three old cities of Rhodes (Lindos, Ialysos, and Kamiros), and was incorporated through them into the deme structure used throughout the island of Rhodes.⁷ The inhabitants of this second group of islands and the Incorporated Peraea thereby became full Rhodian citizens on a par with Rhodians living in Rhodes itself.

The interesting suggestion has been put forward by

⁴ One may safely suppose that this monument was set up in Physkos, the only Rhodian deme center in the vicinity of Marmaris. Amos, a few miles away across the Bay of Marmaris, is the nearest deme center to Physkos, but there is no reason to think that the altar and base had been moved from the lofty, inaccessible site of Amos to Physkos.

⁵ *IG* xii (3) 164; *Cl. Rh.* vi/vii (1932-3) 544, nn. 1-4; W. Peek, *Griechische Versinschriften* (Berlin 1955) i no. 925; *id.*, *Inscr. dor. Ins.* nn. 72, 74; *id.*, *Inscr. Nis.* 377, no. 4.

⁶ For a discussion of the dates and circumstances of the incorporation of the Rhodian islands, see P. M. Fraser and G. E. Bean, *The Rhodian Peraea and Islands* (Oxford 1954) 138 ff.; see *ibid.* 53 for the definition of Subject and Incorporated Peraea and the explanation of the difference between them.

⁷ For the notoriously complex problem of Syme, which is an exception to this group in that it was undoubtedly Rhodian but evidently not a deme, see *Rhod. Per.* (n. 6) 139-41, and J. M. Cook, *JHS* lxxxii (1961) 59-60; cf. S. Hornblower, *Mausolus* (Oxford 1982) 128 n. 177.

Dr J. Ch. Papachristodoulou (the Ephor of Antiquities of the Dodecanese) that Nisyros, Telos, and Kasos, which became Rhodian at a later date, may not have been assigned to one of the three old cities of Rhodes, but were somehow part of the structure of the Rhodian state through a special arrangement for which no evidence exists.⁸ The view, however, that Nisyros, Telos, and Kasos were treated differently because of the later dates of their respective incorporations seems untenable. Although the Subject Peraea (which like the above islands also became Rhodian in the Hellenistic period) was treated differently as actual subject territory in that the inhabitants of the cities there were not ranked equally with Rhodian citizens, there is no evidence that the three islands were distinguished from the other islands which had become Rhodian in the fourth century. Indeed, the evidence points to the opposite conclusion since Nisyrioi, Telioi, and Kasioi were Rhodian demesmen, which Papachristodoulou himself accepts.⁹ Given that the Rhodian deme structure originated from, and was inextricably tied to, the three old cities of the island, it follows that the islands could only have become demes by being assigned to one of the three old cities. Since there is no evidence of any special arrangement whereby Nisyros, Telos, and Kasos could participate in the Rhodian state without belonging to the demes of the cities of the island (and it is indeed difficult to conceive what form such an arrangement could have had), the obvious conclusion must surely be that these islanders, as full Rhodian citizens, were demesmen of one of the old Rhodian cities and equal in status to all other Rhodian demesmen.

It is not, however, certain to which of the old cities Nisyros was assigned. Fraser and Bean suggested that it may have been Kamiran on the grounds that the eponymous magistrate of Rhodian Nisyros was the Damiourgos, which is also the eponym found at Kamiros.¹⁰ This view may be strengthened on the geographical ground that Nisyros lies on the Kamiran side of Rhodes and would seem to come naturally within this city's sphere of influence. The nearby islands of Chalke and Telos similarly lie off Kamiran territory; Chalke was certainly, and Telos probably, a Kamiran deme.¹¹

The date of the incorporation of Nisyros into Rhodian territory has been widely disputed, although it is agreed that it was Rhodian by the end of the third century BC.¹² I may note here in passing that Fraser and Bean's view that the pivotal inscription *Syll.*³ 673, = *IG* xii (3) 103, (which records honours given to a Nisyrian *stratagos* of Rhodes in 'the Cretan War') should be dated to the second, not to the first, Cretan War seems certain to be right (in which case Nisyros need not have been Rhodian during the years of the first Cretan War, 205-1 BC, as has often been maintained).¹³ They should perhaps have put greater emphasis upon the fact that the

⁸ Συμβολή στην ιστορική και αρχαιολογική έρευνα των δήμων της αρχαίας Ῥοδιακής πολιτείας i: Ἰαλυσία (Diss. Ioannina 1983) 71.

⁹ Papachristodoulou (n. 8) 44, 68, 71.

¹⁰ *Rhod. Per.* (n. 6) 147 n. 1, 152.

¹¹ For Chalke, see *Rhod. Per.* (n. 6) 144 ff.; for Telos, 147 n. 1.

¹² The status of the island at the end of the third century is fully discussed at *Rhod. Per.* (n. 6) 147-52; see also M. Holleaux, *REG* xxx (1917) 95 ff. (= *Études* iv 169 ff.).

¹³ *Rhod. Per.* (n. 6) 148-51.

dedicatory statue of the *stratagos* in question was signed by Epicharmos of Soloi, whose earliest known signatures cannot be dated before the middle of the second century BC.¹⁴ Although the dates of artists' signatures may in some cases be relative ones, it is hardly likely that Epicharmos the elder was working half a century before his earliest datable signature, that is, near the time of the first Cretan War. The fact that Epicharmos' *floruit* was in the second half of the second century BC seems to be a decisive reason for dating *Syll.*³ 673 to the second Cretan War in 155–3 BC; if this is correct, there is no evidence that Nisyros was Rhodian before c. 200 BC, when the unnamed Nisyrian *stratagos* in his earlier career served under Rhodian nauarchs known to have been active from 200–190 BC.¹⁵

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The Portland Vase again

In Euripides' *Iphigeneia in Aulis* the chorus at lines 1036–97 compares the wedding of Peleus and Thetis (1036–79) with the fate of Iphigeneia, brought to Aulis by the deceitful promise of marriage to Achilles in order to be sacrificed to Artemis (1080–97).¹ Of the two scenes on the Portland vase (FIG. 1), one has been persuasively identified as the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, with figures A, B, C and D representing respectively Peleus, Eros, Thetis and Poseidon or Zeus.² The interpretation of the second scene, however, has proved more difficult. Here J. G. F. Hind has recently stressed the importance of the lowered wedding torch held by the central reclining female figure F. He suggests Dido for this figure with Aeneas as figure E and Venus or Juno as figure G, so that the whole vase

¹⁴ G. E. Bean, *JHS* lxxiii (1953) 31; K. F. Kinch and Chr. Blinkenberg, *Fouilles de Lindos*, Pt 2: *Les Inscriptions* (Berlin/Copenhagen 1941) i 54, no. 74.

¹⁵ This is the conclusion reached by Fraser and Bean, *Rhod. Per.* (n. 6) 151; for the dates of the nauarchs in question, see 148 and n. 6. Neither Holleaux (n. 12) nor, more recently, W. E. Thompson, *TAPA* cii (1971) 615–20, saw the force of the argument about the date of Epicharmos. On the other hand, Nisyros cannot have been Rhodian much before 200 BC, because Philip V wrote to the island as an independent community (*Syll.*³ 573, = *IG* xii (3) 91) shortly before that date; see *Rhod. Per.* 151–2.

becomes 'an early imperial essay in adapting Hellenic legend to relate to Rome's past, and specially to Rome's Augustan present'.³ An alternative identification of figures E, F and G with Achilles,⁴ Iphigeneia and Artemis would give a simpler thematic unity to the vase's decoration and restore its character as a private object.

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¹ See further Lucr. i 84–100 for a developed contrast between the expected wedding and the actual sacrifice.

² J. G. F. Hind, *JHS* xcix (1979) 21–2, with B. Ashmole, *JHS* lxxxvii (1967) 5–7.

³ Hind (n. 2) 22–5.

⁴ See further Ashmole (n. 2) 9–11.

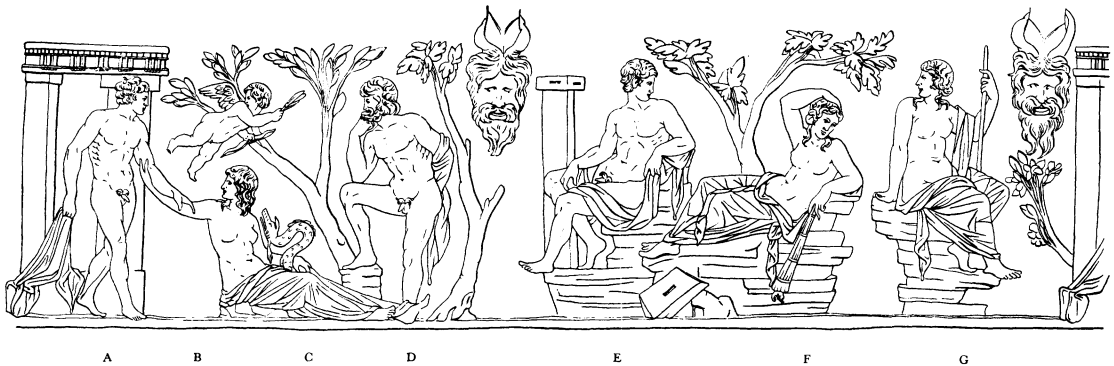
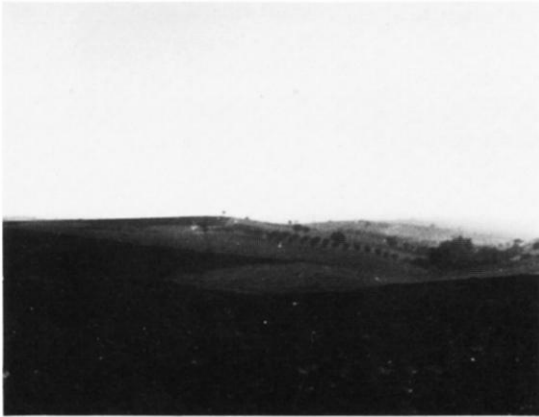


FIG. 1. The Portland Vase (Courtesy, the Trustees of the British Museum).



(a) View from below point 192 (Mt Olokros) down the ridge which culminates in point 43 (see MAP 3).



(b) View from Aemilius' position on point 51 (see MAP 2) with the *toumba* at 42 on the left (above the white house) and the salt-pans to the right. The first position of Perseus was between the two (see MAP 2). A major road is in the immediate foreground.



(c) View from the *toumba* at 42 towards Pydna with the Acropolis visible as a bluff overhanging the sea (just beyond and left of two trees in line, one behind the other). See MAP 3.



(d) View south from the same *toumba* with the alluvial plain of the Ayios Yeoryios in the right half, the main plain in the left half, and the ridge ending in point 51 in the background (see MAP 3).



(e) Squeeze of inscription from Marmaris (Physkos) (Photograph Bob Wilkins).

THE BATTLE OF PYDNA (a)-(d)
NEW ΝΙΣΥΠΙΟΙ FROM PHYSKOS (e)