

between Greeks (or more specifically Athenians) and barbarians in terms of political and military systems. Aeschylus' *Persae* seems to suggest that the Greeks are victorious not only because of the gods, not only because of Persian *hubris*, but also because of the values of democratic *collectivity*, embodied in Athens, as opposed to barbarian tyranny.<sup>33</sup>

If this is true, we see in the *Persae* the first written indications of what will become a major topic of fifth-century rhetoric, namely, the linked oppositions of tyranny and democracy, barbarian and Athenian. And typically enough, this is to be seen in the light of the developing *polis* ideology and the military values with which such ideology is necessarily linked. The narrative of the city's recent triumph may seem at first sight a surprising subject for a tragedy;<sup>34</sup> but in its interests in such a constellation of ideas the *Persae* may seem at least closer to other works written for the Great Dionysia.

To write a *kommos* for a defeated enemy (especially a *kommos* for the Persian invaders to be performed in a public Athenian festival) is in itself a remarkable event, and this is perhaps not sufficiently emphasized by critics.<sup>35</sup> (It is difficult to imagine anything similar in the years following the first or second world war, to take a perhaps tendentious example.) To insist that the fighting itself must be seen within a framework of a divine plan, a moral order and indeed a contrast of social and political systems is further evidence to suggest that the *Persae* is concerned to develop a complex understanding of the recent events of Athenian history, and to raise questions about a response to the victory. The *Persae* may not demonstrate the ironic questioning of a Euripides, but it is not hard to see it investigating attitudes within the *polis* to the recent victory, not least in the tension between the lauding of Athens and the values that led to triumph, and the extensive *mourning* for the enemy victims of that triumph. Nor is it hard to imagine a variety of reactions to its performance, as critics have reacted to it so variously since.<sup>36</sup> As such,

the *Persae* may be more easily appreciable as a tragedy for the Great Dionysia than has sometimes been suggested.<sup>37</sup>

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relations . . . does not seem to go much further than might be expected from an intelligent Greek of the time. Morally, it is a study in black and white, and so lacks subtlety.' For a somewhat simplistic view of a possible audience reaction to the play, see Gagarin (n. 2) 51–6.

<sup>37</sup> Thanks to Robin Osborne for all his help.

### A Monument from Sinope (PLATE VIa)

In the course of investigating the Pontic region under Byzantium, Anthony Bryer and David Winfield have rescued from oblivion a monument from Sinope of much earlier date.<sup>1</sup> 'Excavations for a gas pump not far west of the walls . . . brought to light an altar made of a stumpy fluted Doric column. A clean-cut inscription carved on two successive flutings reads:

ΔΕΛΦΙΝΙΟΣ

ΟΡΓΙΑΛΕΟΣ

The splayed sigmas suggest a late classical date. The inscription is not otherwise published and the whereabouts of the altar is now unknown.<sup>2</sup>

The object was evidently not very large (the authors elsewhere call it a 'pedestal'). Several indications show that it was not primarily an altar, though it may have been used for modest sacrifices, but a columnar funerary monument. These objects are best known from Hellenistic Athens, where they came into use after Demetrius of Phaleron's sumptuary legislation.<sup>3</sup> At Sinope in 1950 Peter Fraser and the late George Bean saw eighteen funerary monuments of early date. Eleven were columnar, the tallest being 68 cm high and 49 cm in diameter, the smallest 44 cm and 22 cm. Five were fluted with the names inscribed along the fluting, as here. This is the series to which the new stone belongs, and perhaps all come from the same early cemetery west of the city.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to several helpers. Anthony Bryer and David Winfield informed me about the circumstances of discovery of the stone to be discussed, and the latter also supplied the photograph shown here as Plate VIa. Peter Fraser generously gave me a full record of similar stones which he saw in Sinope in 1950 and discussed the names on this one. Homer Thompson guided me on some archaeological points.

<sup>2</sup> Anthony Bryer and David Winfield, *The Byzantine monuments and topography of the Pontos*, Dumbarton Oaks Studies xx (Washington, D.C. 1985), 87 with Pl. 25b (identical to Pl. VIa here).

<sup>3</sup> J. Kirchner, 'Αρχ. Έφ. (1937) 338–40.

<sup>4</sup> Information and several photographs kindly supplied by Peter Fraser; however, David Winfield tells me that he could find no other stones on the site. Of the eighteen stones, the earliest was published by E. Akurgal, *Zwei Grabstelen vorklassischer Zeit aus Sinope*, (Winckelmannsprogramm des Arch. Ges. zu Berlin cxi [1955]) 10–13, cf. H. Hiller, *Ionische Grabreliefs*, *Ist. Mitt. Beih.* xii (1975) 60, with Pl. 12.2; on the inscription, J. and L. Robert, *Bull. épigr.* (1956) 308, (1959) 430. A second, a plain column with the names again inscribed vertically, was illustrated by Bean in *Türk Tarih Kurumu Belleten* xxix (1965) 594 fig. 3 (*Bull. épigr.* [1968] 532).

<sup>33</sup> It is interesting to note that the battle's success is preceded by a trick (δόλον 361) by a single Greek man, which is concerning, if not in, the night; cf. P. Vidal-Naquet, *Le chasseur noir* (Paris 1983) 125–74. If the Persians and monarchy provide a contrast by which to understand the democratic, hoplitic collectivity, so perhaps the δόλος of an individual (though still unnamed) Greek provides a different contrast by which the military values of the play are developed.

<sup>34</sup> It was Wilamowitz (*Hermes* xxxiii [1898] 382–98) who first suggested—and then recanted—that it was so surprising, that we should consider the *Persae* to have been written first and foremost for production in Sicily.

<sup>35</sup> Though see the sensible comments of Gagarin (n. 2) 84–6. A complex model of weeping with (though not precisely for) an enemy is provided by the end of the *Iliad* in Achilles' tears for his father and Patroclus, shared with Priam's tears for Hector (*Il.* xxiv 471 ff., esp. 507–12). The *communitas*—and individualism—of mourning in Homer's scene in the tent and at night between two enemy warriors seems importantly different, however, from the public festival's representation of a *kommos* for a defeated invader and sacker of the (still ruined?) Athens. If sympathy for others is part of the 'tragic experience', it is none the less part of what I see as Aeschylus' boldness in this play to place an audience in the position of discovering tragic sympathy for such an 'other' as the Persian invaders. It is in the variety of possible reactions to such boldness—and what such variations imply for the self-definition of the Athenian audience—that a major part of the 'questioning' of the *Persae* lies.

<sup>36</sup> Winnington-Ingram (n. 2) 15 seems to me to show less than his usual awareness when he writes 'The interpretation of the East–West

With a total of only twelve different letters it is difficult to date the monument by the script, but the fourth century may be proposed because of the general layout and the form of sigma noted by Bryer and Winfield; the oval loop of the phi suggests a date later rather than earlier within this span. Whatever the exact date, the letters disposed along the flutings are a strikingly archaic feature. A number of columns so inscribed, though usually *boustrophedon*, have been found on the Athenian acropolis, in the Peloponnese, in the Cyclades and elsewhere, but almost all are dedications: I have noticed only one funerary monument in this form, from Assos.<sup>5</sup>

The nomenclature of the new stone is as striking as its form. The text is of the simplest and oldest type of Greek funerary inscription, with the name of the deceased in the nominative and his patronymic in the genitive, and must be articulated Δελφίνιος Ὀργιάλεος, 'Delphinios son of Orgialeus': the genitive termination -εος is characteristic of eastern Ionic, which was used by Sinope as a colony of Miletos.<sup>6</sup> The name Delphinios is theophoric, and derives from the cult of Apollo Delphinios. This is found in many parts of the Greek world, but is very prominent at Miletos, where the Delphinion was a central public building and the Molpoi, 'Musicians,' a guild quartered in the Delphinion, were one of the most important bodies in the early period of the city.<sup>7</sup> After Miletos the cult is best known from the Milesian colony of Olbia, where again the Molpoi held a conspicuous position.<sup>8</sup> The name Delphinios was already known at Sinope from amphora-stamps, and together with 'Molpagoras' it allows the inference that the cult of the god and probably the Molpoi were established there.<sup>9</sup> 'Delphinios' is also found in another of Miletos' Black Sea colonies, Gorgippia.<sup>10</sup> Elsewhere I have found the name only in a city of northern Ionia, Erythrai, which is known to have had its own cult of Apollo Delphinios. A recently published dedication from there of Hellenistic date was made by an Ἀπολλώνιος Δελφινῶδος, where Δελφινῶς must be a hypocoristic form of Δελφίνιος, so that both father and son had names connected with Apollo.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Columns: a recent, selective list in M. Guarducci, *Epigrafia Greca i* (Rome 1967) 451 n. 3. Assos: R. Merkelbach, *Die Inschriften von Assos* (Bonn 1976) no. 1, with bibliography.

<sup>6</sup> For this form, E. Schwyzler, *Griechische Grammatik* (Munich 1939) i 575; -εος could represent the genitive of a third-declension -ης only in names formed from nouns like Διογένης, Περικλῆς: cf. Schwyzler 579–80. For Sinope as a colony of Miletos, N. Ehrhardt, *Milet und seine Kolonien* (Frankfurt 1983) 55–8.

<sup>7</sup> On this cult generally, M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* i<sup>3</sup> (1967) 554–5; F. Graf, *Mus. Helv.* xxxvi (1979) 2–22; Ehrhardt (n. 6) 130. At Miletos: G. Kawerau and A. Rehm, *Das Delphinion in Milet, Milet i* 3 (Berlin 1914).

<sup>8</sup> E. I. Levi et al., *Ol'viia: Temenos i Agora* (Moscow and Leningrad 1964 [non vidi]); Graf, *Mus. Helv.* xxxi (1974) 209–15; Ehrhardt (n. 6) 139–40.

<sup>9</sup> Ehrhardt (n. 6) 136, with references, 431 notes 442, 443. The example of Delphinios cited from Panticapaeum by L. Zgusta, *Die Personennamen griechischer Städte der nördlichen Schwarzmeerküste* (Prague 1955) 372 no. 947 appears to be another amphora-stamp from Sinope.

<sup>10</sup> Ehrhardt (n. 6) 141.

<sup>11</sup> H. Engelmann and R. Merkelbach, *Die Inschriften von Erythrai und Klazomenai* (Bonn 1972–3) no. 379 (Delphinios), no. 209 (Apollo

The associations of 'Delphinios' perhaps explain the peculiar 'Orgialeus.' The name seems otherwise unattested, but this is not unusual with early inscriptions. An 'Orgaleus' is found on an inscription of imperial date from near Eumeneia in Phrygia, but here it is probably an ethnic, though no such city is known.<sup>12</sup> At Sinope such a name might be indigenous, like Ὀργασθος found at Amastris to the east,<sup>13</sup> but it is probably better to invoke the phenomenon of Greek onomastics whereby names connected in sense are given to members of the same family. At Erythrai Apollonios son of Delphinias has already been noted; precisely at Sinope there appears a Pythochrestos ('foretold by the Pythian') son of Apollonides.<sup>14</sup> The word ὄργια did not always have the meaning of 'ecstatic rites' which it usually bears in Greek, but is connected with ἔργον, ἔοργα, and at first meant only 'sacral acts'. Among the texts that attest this sense happens to be the inscription containing the regulations of the Molpoi at Miletos; this is prefaced by a resolution that the members 'shall record the sacred acts and place them in the sanctuary (of Apollo Delphinios) and shall observe the same' (τὰ ὄργια ἀναγράφαντας θεῖναι ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ χρῆσθαι τούτοις).<sup>15</sup> It may be suggested, then, that Orgialeus' name betokens devotion to the sacred acts, ὄργια, of the local Molpoi, whose existence at Sinope was already implied by the name 'Molpagoras': his son's name recalls even more directly the chief cult of Sinope, brought from its mother-city in southern Ionia.

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Delphinios), no. 349 (Delphinias: on the nature of this inscription, *Bull. épigr.* [1974] 479). E. Sittig, *De Graecorum nominibus theophris* (Diss., Halle 1911) 54, also cites *IG* iii 939 and 1037 from Athens, but while the name would be at home there it has disappeared in revision of both inscriptions (respectively *IG* ii/iii<sup>2</sup> 3725 and 1784 line 36).

<sup>12</sup> P. Paris, *BCH* viii (1884) 248 no. 14 (whence W. M. Ramsay, *Cities and bishoprics of Phrygia* ii [Oxford 1897] 393 no. 266), Πατίσας Ἀττάλου Ὀργαλεὺς Τάτα τ[ῆ] Ἰδία γυναικί, κτλ. On this problem, W. Ruge, *RE* xviii (1939) 1021–2.

<sup>13</sup> L. Robert, *Noms indigènes dans l'Asie mineure gréco-romaine* (Paris 1963) 449–57, discussing the inscription now republished by Donald W. Bradeen, *The Athenian Agora xvii: inscriptions: the funerary monuments* (Princeton 1974) no. 404 (cf. *Bull. épigr.* [1974] 219).

<sup>14</sup> M. Gramatopol and G. Poenaru Bordea, *Dacia* xiii (1969) 215 nos. 577, 578. On such 'parentés de noms', Robert (n. 13) Index s.v.

<sup>15</sup> Wilamowitz, *Sitzungsber.* Berlin 1904 619–40 lines 4–5 (Rehm [n. 7] no. 133; *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 57; Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées d'Asie mineure* [Paris 1955] 129–35 no. 50). Cf. Wilamowitz, 622, 'ὄργια bezeichnet noch einfach ἱερὰ δρώμενα ohne den Nebensinn des geheimen oder des orgiastischen; so wenden Aischylos (Sieben 180) und Sophokles (Ant. 1013, Trach. 765) das Wort noch an, nicht mehr Euripides und Aristophanes.'

## New Light on Priam's Wagon?

(PLATE Va–b)

ἐκ μὲν ἀμαξαν ἀειραν εὐτροχον ἡμιονεῖην  
καλὴν πρωτοπαγέα, πείρινθα δὲ δῆσαν ἐπ' αὐτῆς,  
κάδ δ' ἀπὸ πασσαλόφι ζυγὸν ἤρεον ἡμιόνειον  
πύξινον ὀμφαλόεν, εὐ οἰήκεσσιν ἀρηρός·



(a) Columnar funerary monument from Sinope.



(b) Carian Middle Geometric krater.



(c) Rhodian Late Geometric 'bird-kotyle'.



(d) Attic Late Geometric II tankard and Late Geometric I skyphos.



(e) Early Protoattic jug and mug.

(a) A MONUMENT FROM SINOPE

(b)-(e) MUSEUM BULLETIN: THE MANCHESTER MUSEUM