

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.⁵

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.⁶ 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.⁷ After Miletos the cult is best known from the Milesian colony of Olbia, where again the Molpoi held a conspicuous position.⁸ 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.⁹ 'Delphinios' is also found in another of Miletos' Black Sea colonies, Gorgippia.¹⁰ 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 Δελφινιδός, where Δελφινιδός must be a hypocoristic form of Δελφίνιος, so that both father and son had names connected with Apollo.¹¹

⁵ 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.

⁶ 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.

⁷ On this cult generally, M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion i*³ (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).

⁸ 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.

⁹ 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.

¹⁰ Ehrhardt (n. 6) 141.

¹¹ 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.¹² At Sinope such a name might be indigenous, like Ὀργασθος found at Amastris to the east,¹³ 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.¹⁴ 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 ἱερόν καὶ χρῆσθαι τούτοισιν).¹⁵ 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/iii² 3725 and 1784 line 36).

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

¹³ 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).

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

¹⁵ Wilamowitz, *Sitzungsber.* Berlin 1904 619-40 lines 4-5 (Rehm [n. 7] no. 133; *Syll.*³ 57; Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées d'Asie mineure* [Paris 1955] 129-35 no. 50). Cf. Wilamowitz, 622, 'ὄργια bezeichnet noch einfach ἱερά 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 ἄμαξαν ἄειραν εὐτροχον ἡμιονεῖην
καλὴν πρωτοπαγέα, πείρινθα δὲ δῆσαν ἐπ' αὐτῆς,
κάδ δ' ἀπὸ πασσαλόφι ζυγὸν ἤρεον ἡμιόνειον
πύξινον ὀμφαλόεν, εὐ οἰήκεσσιν ἀρρῶς

ἐκ δ' ἔφερον ζυγώδεσμον ἅμα ζυγῶ ἔννεάπηχυ.
καὶ τὸ μὲν εὖ κατέθηκαν ἐϋξέστῳ ἐπὶ ῥυμῶ,
πέζη ἐπὶ πρῶτῃ, ἐπὶ δὲ κρίον ἔστορι βάλλον,
τρὶς δ' ἑκάτερθεν ἔδησαν ἐπ' ὀμφαλόν, αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
ἔξείης κατέδησαν, ὑπὸ γλωχίνα δ' ἔκαμψαν.
ἐκ θαλάμου δὲ φέροντες ἐϋξέστης ἐπ' ἀπήνης
νήεον Ἑκτορέης κεφαλῆς ἀπρεῖσι' ἄποινα,
ζεῦξαν δ' ἡμίονους κρατερώνυχας ἔντεσιεργούς,
τοὺς ῥά ποτε Πριάμῳ Μυσοὶ δόσαν ἀγλαὰ δῶρα.

Iliad xxiv 266–78

Homer's description of the harnessing of a wheeled vehicle has puzzled commentators since antiquity because of the unusual technical terms used.¹ This note concentrates on one of these, drawing upon archaeological evidence.

The mule-drawn *apènè*—somewhat later described as four-wheeled (line 324)—is being prepared on Priam's orders for the purpose of carrying the ransom to Achilles in exchange for Hector's body, which is then brought back to Troy by the same conveyance. The wagon is driven by Priam's herald, Idaios, but the old man himself drives a horse-drawn chariot behind it. Clearly, a wagon is not the proper equipage for a king. And indeed, the heroes of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* commonly used chariots—fast two-wheelers pulled by horses—for ceremony and travel, as well as in racing and as conveyances to and from the battlefield.² But the *apènè* and *amaxa* (obviously synonymous in the epic poems)³ are more mundane vehicles, used as carriers (for timber, stone, laundry) and may be pressed into service to carry the dead.⁴ Apart from the passage under discussion, there is another, in the *Odyssey* (ix 241 f.) where the number of wheels is explicitly stated as four. In the other cases it is not clear whether four-wheeled wagons or two-wheeled carts are intended.⁵

The term with which we are here concerned, however, was only used in the Homeric poems in connection with a specifically four-wheeled vehicle. It is *zugodesmon*, which in Homer occurs only in *Iliad* xxiv 270: ἐκ δ' ἔφερον ζυγώδεσμον ἅμα ζυγῶ ἔννεάπηχυ 'and they (Priam's sons) brought forth the *zugodesmon*, nine cubits long, together with the yoke'. Taken in its literal sense of 'yoke binding' *zugodesmon* may be interpreted

as meaning the lashing by which the yoke was secured to the pole. It would be quite natural to mention it in this passage, since the yoke had been stored separately from the vehicle and the binding is often a feature of ancient yoke-and-pole harnessing. A problem arises, nevertheless, when the apparently excessive length (9 cubits or *ca.* 4 meters) is considered. Commentators have rightly found it difficult to accept so long a binding for one small area. Some, in order to explain it, have turned to chariot-harnessing in mainland Greece during the Iron Age. By adding the yoke-and-pole binding to the so-called pole-end support—a thong running out horizontally from the top of the front rail of the chariot box to the upward-curving forward end of the pole—they have attempted to find sufficient length to account for Homer's *zugodesmon*.⁶

Now the pole of a four-wheeler must articulate vertically in order to permit vehicle and draught team to adapt differentially to unevenness in the terrain, in contrast to the pole of a chariot or other two-wheeler which must be rigidly fixed so as to prevent it from collapsing. A pole-end support on Priam's *apènè* would only eliminate the necessary flexibility.

There was, however, another type of lashing on ancient poles and yokes that would have been considerably longer than even the pole-end-support-cum-yoke binding and that should be taken into consideration as a possible candidate for the *zugodesmon*. This was the lashing that was wound around the pole and protected it from splitting or breaking and that branched at some point before the pole end to run forward diagonally to either yoke arm. These 'yoke braces' prevented the yoke from swivelling on the pole, which could have squeezed the inside draught animal on a turn and caused him to kick the pole; they kept the team level and helped to distribute the pull along both pole and yoke. Yoke braces were a regular feature of Near Eastern and probably Aegean chariot harnessing of the Late Bronze Age. They also appear with ninth-century Assyrian chariots and seventh-century mule carts on Assyrian reliefs.⁷ Although not illustrated on the few representations of four-wheelers that we have, they would in no way have interfered with their functioning, as would the pole-end-support. And they would have been appropriate on a vehicle drawn by 'powerful-footed mules'. In mainland Greece the binding of the pole is often illustrated on Black-figure vases showing chariots in side view, while the actual yoke braces are visible in some frontal views, branching out from the pole quite near the yoke.⁸ The whole is well illustrated by the pole and yoke which are all that remain of a full-sized bronze chariot of Selene from third-century BC Etruria (PLATE Va–b).⁹

¹ We are most grateful to Mrs I. J. F. de Jong for her help with the textual material and to her and Professor Dr C. J. Ruijgh for comments upon a draft text. For discussion of the passage in recent times, see esp. W. Helbig, *Das homerische Epos aus den Denkmäler erläutert*² (Leipzig 1887) 147–55 with fig. 44; W. Leaf, *JHS* v (1884) 187–94 with fig. 3; W. Reichel, *Homerische Waffen*² (Wien 1901) 128–42 with fig. 69; J. Wiesner, *Fahren und Reiten. Archeologia Homeric F* (Göttingen 1968) 6–9, 16 f.; cf. E. Delebecque, *Le cheval dans l'Iliade* (Paris 1951) 178, 180.

² For Homeric chariots, see esp. Wiesner (n. 1) and Delebecque (n. 1).

³ See *Lex. des frühgriechischen Epos* I, s.v. 'ἀπήνη': the choice between ἀπήνη and ἄμαξα depends on metrical criteria.

⁴ Passages collected in Wiesner (n. 1) 5–11. We are not convinced that the *amaxa*, referred to by Hesiod (*Op.* 421–31), is a wagon rather than a cart, cf. N. J. Richardson, *JHS* ci (1982) 227.

⁵ Note that explicit representations of wagons in Iron Age Greece are rare, in marked contrast to those of carts, see J. H. Crowell, *Chariots and other means of land transport in Bronze Age Greece. Allard Pierson Series* 3 (Amsterdam 1981) 57.

⁶ See Helbig (n. 1) and Leaf (n. 1); cf. F. H. Stubbings in *A companion to Homer* (London 1962) 540 f.

⁷ See J. Spruytte, *Early harness systems* (London 1983) 25 and n. 5; M. A. Littauer and J. H. Crowell, *Wheeled vehicles and ridden animals in the ancient Near East* (Leiden-Köln 1979) 85, 113, 101 with fig. 52 (mule cart); *idem*, *Chariots and related equipment from the tomb of Tut'ankhamün. Tut'ankhamün Tomb Series* 8 (Oxford 1985) 79 f.; Crowell (n. 5) 97 f.

⁸ See Crowell (n. 5) 98, cf. 93 (profile views showing the binding from the side).

⁹ Reichel (n. 1) 131 f. with fig. 70; G. Piccardi, *Studi Etruschi* (1950–1) 249–60 with figs. 1–2; M. A. Littauer, *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, xiii (1977) 254 with pl. 19; Spruytte (n. 7) pl. 2: 1.

Were the ends of the yoke braces then brought inward to form the binding of the pole-and-yoke area, as the latter stage is described in Homer? We simply do not know.¹⁰ But if they were, it would account for both the length of the *zugodesmon* and its use here as a pole-yoke binding. The wooden peg that pierced both the yoke and the underlying pole and was often used in antiquity in conjunction with yoke lashings, may also have been present on Priam's wagon, as suggested by the word *hestōr*—'pin' (line 272).

Is it possible to reconcile this interpretation of Homer's *zugodesmon* with the term when it appears again almost a millennium later in Arrian and Plutarch? In the former's *Anabasis of Alexander*, ii 3, we find the story of how Alexander solved the riddle of the 'Gordian knot'. The question was 'who could untie the binding of the yoke of the wagon/cart?' (τοῦ ζυγοῦ τῆς ἀμάξης τὸν δεσμόν). The vehicle is described as having been ox-drawn and the binding as made of cornel bark; neither the beginning nor the end of the lashing could be seen. Arrian gives two versions of Alexander's solution. In the first, he simply cut the knot with his sword. In the second version 'he took out the pin (ἔστρωρ) of the pole, a wooden peg which was driven right through the pole, holding the binding together, and so removed the yoke from the pole'. Both versions are repeated by Plutarch (*Life of Alexander* xviii), who actually uses the word *zugodesmon*.

It would seem as if the sense of *zugodesmon* was by now restricted to mean simply pole-and-yoke binding. The vehicle, an ox-drawn *hamaxa*, was certainly not for fast driving and pole bindings and yoke braces would have been quite superfluous. Cornel bark seems a peculiar material for binding and would be difficult to tie, but it seems possible that the ends had been slipped under the binding when the material was wetted, to be pliable when applied. When it dried, the end would be invisible.

The same meaning may well obtain in the few other instances in which the term *zugodesmon* appears (either in the singular or the plural, diminutive or in the variant *zugodesmos*).¹¹ Two papyri from Egypt are of special interest. The relevant passage in one of these, a letter from a certain Sabinus to Geminus dated ca. 100 AD, reads: 'Kindly give Vestinus for his yoke a new, strong *zugodesmon*, which you will carefully grease, from those in the box of skins which you have with you . . . for his own is cut.'¹² The other passage, also in a letter, reads: 'Send to me at Aphroditopolis a *zugodesmon* for the oxen, strong and broad, as the one they have is cut.'¹³ Leather or hide would be a normal material for any kind of harness bindings and it is not clear from the first passage what type of vehicle or draught animals were intended. But in the case where oxen are mentioned, the binding would certainly have been restricted to the yoke and pole.

¹⁰ Lines 273–4 are hard to explain in detail, but they suggest that the *zugodesmon* was wound around both the yoke, which was fitted with a knob (τρίς δ' ἐκάτερθεν ἔδησαν ἐπ' ὀμφαλόν), and the pole (αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα ἐξείης κατέδησαν). Cf. Reichel's reconstruction (n. 1) fig. 69, and also Wiesner (n. 1) 16–18.

¹¹ *LSJ* s.v. 'ζυγοδέσιμον' etc.

¹² *P. Fayum* 121, 5, ed. B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, D. G. Hogarth (London 1900).

¹³ *P. Fayum* 115, 15.

It is possible to suggest that the word *zugodesmon* changed its meaning over the centuries or was used very loosely, the *zugodesmon* of a chariot or a fast mule team being more elaborate and including much more than that of a simple ox-drawn vehicle.

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Some ghost facts from Achaemenid Babylonian texts

The remarks below on UET 4 193 aim to correct the published accounts of that text in response to inquiries about its chronological implications. The long epigraphic comments are necessary to explain what might otherwise seem to readers unfamiliar with cuneiform script to be a suspiciously sharp discrepancy in interpretation. I take the occasion to append comments on two other 'ghost facts', a term meant as an analogy to 'ghost words'.

The Evidence of Cuneiform Texts for the Date of Xerxes' Death

The most exact known evidence for the date of Xerxes' death is the Babylonian astronomical text BM 32234, containing reports of lunar eclipses arranged in eighteen year groups.¹ The pertinent portion of the text, the beginning of column iv of the reverse, describes an eclipse on 5–6 June 465 BC, adding:

IZI 14(+x) *H*i(?)—*š*i(?)—*ár-š*ú DUMU—*š*ú GAZ—*š*ú

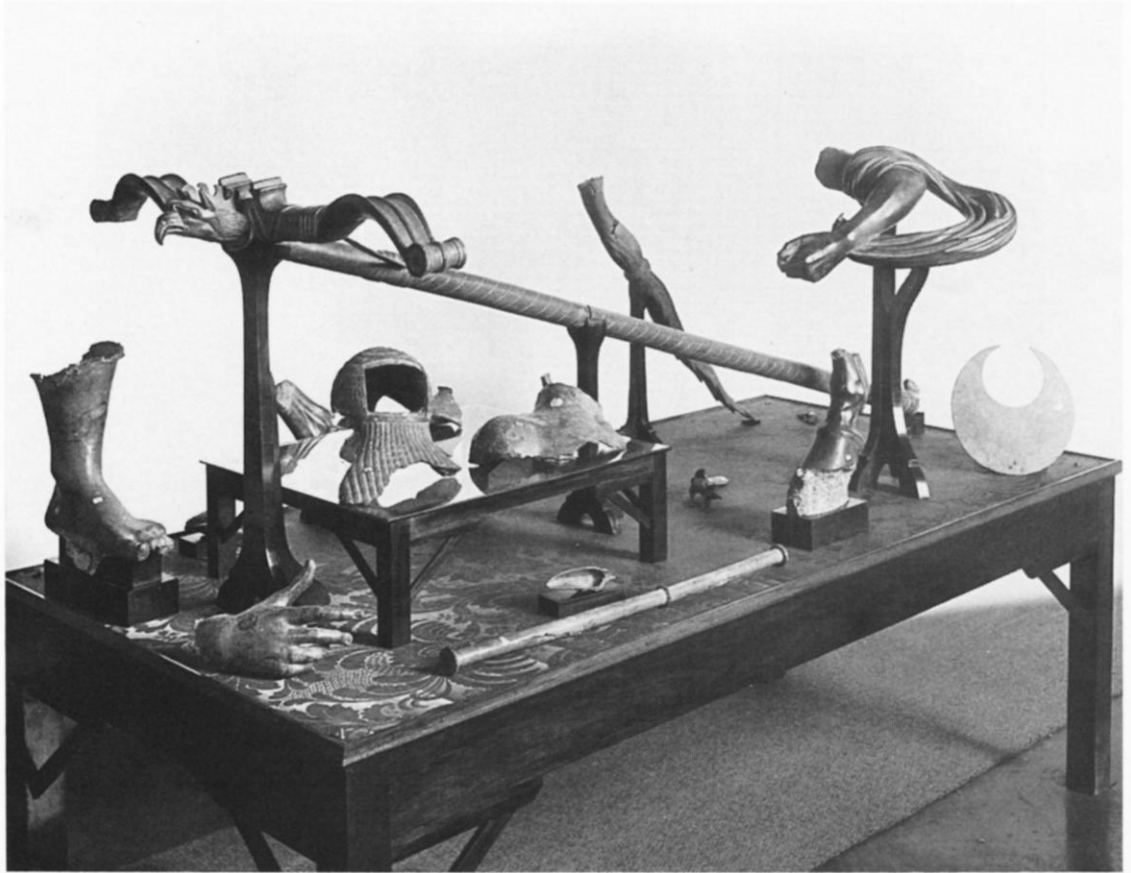
Abu (= month V) (day) 14(+x) Xerxes' son killed him

where 14(+x) may be any numeral between 14 and 18. This statement puts Xerxes' death between 4th and 8th August 465.

An apparent contradiction of this dating has been found in the Babylonian legal text UET 4 193, as interpreted by Figulla, UET 4, p. 15, and characterized and expounded by Horn and Woods, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* xiii (1954) 9. The text is a legal agreement recording the redistribution of parcels of land among four brothers. It was concluded in the thirteenth year of Artaxerxes I, but it refers to an earlier arrangement made in the twenty-first regnal year of Xerxes. On Figulla's reading, the earlier arrangement was made in Kislimu (Babylonian month IX), beginning 17th December 465.² If this reading were accurate, UET 4

¹ Cited by Parker and Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology* (Providence 1956) 17, described in Pinches et al., *Late Babylonian astronomical and related texts* (Providence 1955) xxxi, No. *1419 and still unpublished. The tablet was displayed at the British Museum in 1985 as part of the exhibition 'Halley's Comet in History.' I am indebted to C. B. F. Walker for the text of the excerpt given here.

² UET 4 = H. H. Figulla, *Business documents of the Neo-Babylonian Period*, Ur Excavations, Texts, vol. iv (London 1949). Horn and Woods (9 n. 24) acknowledge a translation of UET 4 193 supplied by Oppenheim without saying that Oppenheim endorsed Figulla's reading of the text's chronological information. Oppenheim's review of UET 4 (*Journal of Cuneiform Studies* iv [1950] 188–195) did not comment on the chronological issue.



(a)–(b) Fragmentary bronze chariot from Chianciano. Florence, Museo archeologico 76525 (a, photograph Alinari; b, Soprintendenza alle Antichità d’Etruria).



NEW LIGHT ON PRIAM’S WAGON?