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CLASSICAL AND SACRED PHILOLOGY.

I.

Greek Archæology and Topography.

MY DEAR SIR,

Herewith you will receive my remarks upon some questions of Greek archæology—the most important relating to disputed points, upon which my opinion, although controverted by authors of very high repute, remains still unshaken. When you transmit this paper to the Editors of the Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology, have the goodness to thank them for their courtesy in allowing me to make use of a medium of publication so exactly accordant with my wishes,

I remain, my dear Sir,

Very truly yours,

W. MARTIN LEAKE.

To the Reverend Canon Marsden,
Disney Professor of Archæology.

I.

In the first Volume of the Translation of Herodotus by Mr Rawlinson[1], the author remarks, in p. 217, note 1, in reference to

[1] The History of Herodotus by George Rawlinson, M.A., assisted by Sir Henry Rawlinson, K.C.B., and Sir J. G. Wilkinson, F.R.S., in four Volumes. Vol. I.—London, John Murray, 1858.

the soothsayers of Telmessus, consulted by Crœsus (Herodot. 1, 78), that "there were two cities of that name in Asia Minor, one in Lycia, on the coast; the other, called also Termessus, in Pisidia." This is very incorrect. There were two Telmessi and two Termessi; the former name was derived from τέλμα, marsh, the latter from τέρμα, boundary. The two Termessi were near to each other, the *Minor* at the pass leading from Pamphylia into Pisidia; the *Major* at the pass which conducts from Pamphylia into Milyas and the Cibyratis. The site of Termessus Minor is described in my "Journal of a Tour in Asia Minor, p. 134;" that of Termessus Major in the Travels of Spratt and Forbes (I. p. 240). The two Telmessi were not less appropriately named from the marshy nature of the vicinity, than the two Termessi from their position on the boundaries of Pamphylia, but, unlike the Termessi, they were situated very widely asunder. One was in Lycia at the extremity of the Sinus Glaucus, now the Gulf of Makri, the other in Caria on the coast of the Bargyliac gulf at a distance of sixty stades from Halicarnassus (Polemo ap. Suid., Phot., Etym. Mag. in τελμισσεῖς). This was the city, and not the Telmessus of Lycia, which was celebrated for its oracular responses, as I have already remarked in Numismata Hellenica, Asia, p. 64 (V. Cicero, de Divin. I. 41, 42, Arrian, I. 25). A coin of the Carian Telmessus in my collection presents on one side a radiated head of Apollo *adverse*, and on the other side Apollo seated on the *cortina* with a bow in his right hand and a quiver on his shoulder from which project two arrows; in the field is the legend ΤΕΛΕΜΗΣΣΕΩΝ. This we may presume to have been a local form of the name not generally used, to distinguish this Telmessus from that of Lycia. The form however was known to Aristophanes, who in his comedy styled ΤΕΛΜΗΣΗΣ (Attice for Τελμησεῖς) twice introduced the name in the form Τελεμησσεῖς[1].

Having submitted the ancient data on the site of Telemessus to Mr C. T. Newton, who is now engaged in exploring the ruins of Halicarnassus and who has already sent to the British Museum some valuable remains of sculpture from the Mausoleum, he has recently informed me that he has found vestiges of an ancient city at about 60 stades in a direct line to the N.N.W. of Hali-

[1] .....ὡς ἄν τις ἄνουν τι ποιήσας, ᾧ Τελεμησσεῖς.
Φέρε δὴ τοίνυν, ταῦθ' ὅταν ἔλθη, τι ποιεῖν χρή μ', ὦ Τελεμησσεῖς.
Aristoph. Dindorf. II. p. 656.

carnassus and near a harbour and village named Ghiul, a Turkish word of the same import as τέλμα, and where, it may be presumed, a marsh has always existed. That these are vestiges of Telemessus there can be little doubt, as the western side of the Halicarnassian peninsula was occupied by Myndus and the southern extremity by Termera[1].

Telmessus of Caria was annexed together with five other towns to Halicarnassus by Alexander the Great (Plin. 5, 29), nevertheless its prophetic fame was still undiminished in the time of Hadrian. I have a coin of Halicarnassus, the obverse of which is the head of that Emperor, the reverse representing a priest of Apollo with the lustral branch of bay in his right hand and the legend ΑΛΙΚΑΡΝΑϹϹΕΩΝ ΤΕΛΜΙϹΕΥϹ. This figure was probably meant for Aristandrus, the most celebrated interpreter of omens and dreams in the time of Alexander (Plutarch. Alex. 25, Arrian 3, 2—4, 4, &c.) Clemens Alexandrinus appears to indicate that even as late as his own time Apollo retained his prophetic credit at the altar in Telmessus[2].

II.

In page 219, note 1, Mr Rawlinson alludes to my having been mistaken in identifying the upper Hermus with the river of Ghiediz (Cadi). But Asia Minor was better known in the time of Herodotus, than when I began to frame my "Essay of a map of Asia Minor;" that map being nothing more than a first attempt to trace the direction of the ancient routes and to fix by approximation some of the ancient sites. No such operation indeed was practicable, until the correct survey of the Southern Coast made by the late Sir Francis Beaufort had enabled the geo-

[1] Of this city also, the position has been ascertained by Mr Newton. Its remains are found at a remarkable height on the coast of the Halicarnassian peninsula, named Tjifut Kalesi (Jew Castle), two miles to the north-east of the promontory anciently called Termerium. My attention was directed to this inquiry by a silver coin of Termera, which has lately come to light, and which is known to be of the time of Darius Hystaspes by its bearing, together with the name of the City, that of Tymnus, who according to the testimony of Herodotus (5, 37) was at that time king or tyrant of Termera.

[2] *οὐδε μὴν (ἄξιον παρελθεῖν) τὸν ἐν Τέλμισσῷ βωμὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ὃν μνῆμα εἶναι καὶ τοῦτον Τελμισσέως τοῦ μάντεως ἱστοροῦσι... ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐπιόντι μοι τοὺς προσκυνουμένους ὑμῖν τάφους... οὐδ' ὁ πᾶς ἂν ἀρκέσῃ χρόνος.* Clem. Alex. *Adm. ad Gent.* p. 29. Ed. Sylb.

grapher to employ the then imperfect maritime documents of the Northern and Western coasts of the peninsula, so as to produce a more true outline of the whole than had hitherto existed, and with that assistance to obtain some degree of correctness in the direction of the ancient roads, and the position of the ancient cities. No wonder that with such a mere approximation the mountains southward of the Olympene range are ill defined in that "Essay of a map." The Morad-dagh however is there marked as comprehending the ἱερὸν ὄρος τῆς Δινδυμήνης, the sacred summit Dindymum, whence the goddess Cybele was often known by the epithet Dindymene, as from Mount Sipylus she is named Sipylene on some of the coins of Smyrna. In mount Dindymum, according to Strabo, originated the river Hermus. We now learn from the researches of Mr W. J. Hamilton that the Turkish name Morad-dagh, though serving to designate generally the mountain-range to the southward of the Olympene summits, is applied specifically to the ancient Dindymum in which the Hermus commenced its course; probably therefore Mr Rawlinson is right in supposing that the stream proceeding from that summit is the true Hermus and not the Ghiediz or Cadoene branch of the same river. It is remarkable however that a coin of Cadi (V. Numismata Hellenica, Asia, p. 39) has a river-god on the reverse, with the legend ЄРМОС КΑΔΟΗΝΩΝ. We may infer from this perhaps, not that the river of Ghiediz is the true Hermus of the ancients, but that a portion of the true Hermus was in the Cadoene territory.

III.

In page 666, note 2, Mr Rawlinson in reference to the inscription on the monument of Midas, in the valley of Doganlu, in Phrygia, remarks that "it has long been known and has recently been copied *accurately* by Mons. Texier." The word "accurately" in italics seems intended to imply that the inscription had never before been accurately copied.

So long ago as the 27th of January, 1800, crossing Asia Minor in the way from Constantinople to Cyprus, I was one of a party who discovered this monument; another of the party was the late Archdeacon Carlyle, then Professor of Arabic at Cambridge. There are two inscriptions; one on the rock above the monument, the lower on the edge of the monument itself,

to the spectator's right hand, beginning near the base and ending near the pediment-shaped summit. In the upper inscription, from its being so much more distant than the lower, the form of some of the letters appeared doubtful, particularly those to the left or beginning of that inscription. In 1824 my "Journal of a Tour in Asia Minor" was published, wherein the circumstances of the discovery were related and copies of the inscriptions were given, one of which proved the monument to have been formed in honour of one of the kings of the Gordian or Midaian dynasty of Phrygia.

In the spring of 1837 Mr John Robert Steuart visited Doganlu and copied the inscriptions on the monument of Midas, differing not in the lower inscription in a single letter from the copy made by Mr Carlyle and myself, but in the upper adding the commencement of that inscription, which, in consequence of its great distance from us and the unfavourable position of the sun at the moment, was imperfect in our copy; even here however, after the two first words, all the letters and words are precisely the same in Mr Steuart's copy and in mine; and these are the important words which prove the monument to have been that of a Midas.

It is hardly worth mentioning that there is some reason to believe that one of the words of the lower inscription is more correct in my copy than in that of M. Texier. In M. Texier's that word is ΣΙΚΕΜΑΝ.. In my copy, which was revised on the spot by Mr Carlyle, as well as in that of Mr Steuart, the word is ΣΙΚΕΜΕΜΑΝ or ΣΙΚΕΝΕΜΑΝ.

IV.

In page 685, Mr Rawlinson dissents from my opinion, that the real inventors of the art of coining were the Greeks, being himself satisfied with the testimony of "Herodotus and Xenophanes of Colophon, his older contemporary, who both regarded the invention as Lydian." As Mr R. proceeds no farther upon the subject, I can do no more than refer to the note on the weights and measures of Greek coins in the appendix to Numismata Hellenica, where the question is fully considered.

The preference to be given to Greece over Asia as having originated the use of money stamped with a symbol for the purpose of accrediting its weight, is founded, like everything else

peculiar to Greece, on its position amidst the surrounding countries, on its geological construction and its consequent division into small independent communities, many of which were islands. Under such circumstances, it is much more likely that as commerce and civilization advanced, a weight imprinted with the ἐπίσημον of the city should have been used in European Greece than in Asia Minor, which at that time was under the Assyrian empire, or divided into semi-barbarous states deriving their degree of civilization from Phœnicia or Assyria, where, as far as present evidence extends, nothing existed in monetary transactions but the use of the precious metals by weight. Ægina was the port on the Western coast of the Ægæan, where maritime commerce with the islands and the coast of Asia chiefly flourished in the early ages, and the first therefore to which credit to the weight of its silver coins by its symbol would most readily be given. According to our great chronologer of Greece, Fynes Clinton, Pheidon of Argos, who established the Æginetan standard of weights and measures, and in whose reign Æginetan money was first coined, celebrated the 8th Olympic games in the year B.C. 748. Gyges, the founder of the Lydian monarchy, did not begin to reign in Lydia until 716 B.C. The utmost therefore that we can safely deduce from Herodotus as to the antiquity of symbolized money, is that the Lydian coinage preceded that of all the other peoples of Asia.

Since the preceding Notes were written, another work[1] has been published, upon which I beg leave to offer a few remarks.

Though interested in the highest degree by the narrative of a scientific traveller, so peculiarly qualified for a journey in the Peloponnesus as Mr Clark, and feeling greatly honoured by favourable mention from such a quarter, I must nevertheless confess, that I should be still more gratified, if travellers who criticize me by the aid of the French map were to advert to the fact, that when I first visited the Peninsula with a view to the elucidation of ancient history, its received littoral outline was widely different from that which maps of the Morea now exhibit;—that not a single point of the coast or of the interior could be relied on as astronomically certain,—that the Kata-

[1] Peloponnesus, Notes of Study and Travel. By William George Clark, M.A. Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. London, Parker, 1858.

vothra of Arcadia were unknown,—and that of the ancient sites none had been described by competent travellers, except those which had been visited by Chandler—consequently that I had to *make* my geography before I could understand Strabo or Pausanias. On the other hand, the French map of the peninsula is the work of a body of the ablest geographical engineers in Europe, executed by order of the French government. But in England geography to an individual is the most ungrateful of all scientific pursuits, requiring great labour and expense; the result of which must remain in the author's desk, or be *given* to the Public to serve as materials for the mercantile map-maker.

I shall not occupy your time with any remarks upon those questions in Mr Clark's work which are soluble only by conjecture; but confine myself to a few, which I cannot but wish him to reconsider.

I. p. 54.

My reasons for believing that the extant columns at Corinth belonged to the temple of Minerva have been stated in Travels in the Morea, III. p. 247. Mr Clark thinks "those columns may have belonged to a temple of Fortune, or to that of All the gods, or of Apollo." But the two former were assuredly buildings of Roman Corinth, and I have given reasons for supposing that the temple of Apollo occupied an artificial platform, which I discovered, together with some fragments of a great temple, on the brow of the cliff looking towards Lechæum. This temple and that of which the extant columns (seven in my time) formed a part must have been sacred to two of the great deities, because to them alone were the Greeks of those times in the habit of dedicating their principal sanctuaries. Venus occupied the Acropolis, and Neptune the Isthmus. If therefore the temple of Apollo stood on the edge of the Cliff to the right of the road from the Agora to Sicyon, as Pausanias indicates, the extant columns could hardly have belonged to any other temple than that of Minerva, who derived her epithet Chalinitis from having assisted Bellerophontes in putting a bridle on the winged horse Pegasus, the favourite mythus of Corinthian art. The great antiquity of the temple evinced by its proportions is

confirmed by its wooden or rather *acrolithic* statue of the goddess as described by Pausanias.

II. p. 63.

Mr Clark is of opinion that the artificial embankments which must have been made to convert the theatre-shaped recess in the heights of Nemea into a stadium were not carried away by winter rains as "Colonel Leake suggests," but that "they never existed." It is true that in the Stadia of Sicyon and Messene, the construction in stone *according to present appearances* was not completed to the rectilinear end; but it is difficult to believe that the Stadium of so noble a festival as the Nemeia, which was repeated every second year, was an exception to the generality of the Stadia of Greece. It could not have been to save expense, as Mr Clark suggests, Nemea having been a Hierum, dependent upon Argos, the most opulent city in the Peninsula.

III. p. 79.

No doubt was ever entertained by travellers of the early part of the present century as to the identity of the treasury of Atreus at Mycenæ; and the Greeks were grateful to the Englishmen, who then confirmed their own belief in a tradition, which had descended to them with their language from the earliest times. But the year 1833 was destined to lower the laudable pride, which the unfortunate Greeks derived from the most ancient and one of the most perfectly preserved monuments of their ancestors. With the German government, which devoured their borrowed resources or spent them in objects of no benefit to the Nation, came also many of those literary adventurers, whom the illustrious Bunsen has described as "young men of Germany, who make a reputation by doubting whatever has been said before them," and whose object is not so much truth as a professorship. One of these attained the object of his ambition by attempting to prove, that the Theseum of Athens was improperly so called and was in reality the temple of Mars. Another removed port Phalerum to the Eastern side of the Phaleric bay, thus totally changing the position of the Phaleric Long Wall and the course of all the walls on the Eastern side of Athens. This latter theory has been so successful that Professor Felton of Harvard

University, Massachusetts, in the article "Athens" of an American Dictionary, remarks, that these views of Mr Forchhammer "have been generally acquiesced in"—an assertion unhappily too true, as Mr Forchhammer's plan of Athens has been adopted by our great historian Grote, as well as by Dr Smith in his excellent dictionary of Greek and Roman geography. But there is still some hope that the German theory will not be so triumphant in America, where Greek literature now makes healthy progress, as it has been in Europe. Mr Felton is now at Athens[1], and is employed in investigating this question. Meantime there is consolation in the fact, that Mr Clark is not among the "generality" who have "acquiesced in the views of Forchhammer," though he joins Mure in believing the still existing ὑπόγαια οἰκοδομήματα of Pausanias at Mycenæ to have been tombs and not treasuries. Upon this subject I have nothing to add to what occurs in Peloponnesiaca, p. 255, though I consider it the most important of all questions relating to the history of Greece, believing as I do that the ruins of Mycenæ are undeniable monumental evidences of the reality of the Trojan War, and of the historical character of the Iliad (See my "Observations on some disputed Questions of Ancient Geography." 8vo. Murray, 1857.)

IV. p. 100.

"The elevation given by Colonel Leake of the pyramidal structure near Argos represents the stones as much smaller than they really are." I have always been sensible of the truth of this remark of Mr Clark, and that the *elevation* does not agree with the *text*, which describes the walls of the pyramid as faced with *large* polygonal stones. It might have been added that Mure has given a correct elevation, and a plan which differs not from mine in any of the dimensions, omitting however to distinguish the ruined parts of the walls.

[1] Mr Felton, in passing through London on his return from Athens to Boston, informed me that in company with Mr Finlay he traced the vestiges of the walls of Athens and found them as marked in my plan of the ancient city. They followed also Mr Forchhammer's line, as adopted by Mr Grote and Dr Smith, without being able to observe any traces of walls. This imaginary line was indeed a necessary consequence of the erroneous placing of port Phalerum at Trispyrghi on the Eastern side of the Phaleric bay.

V. p. 101.

I differ entirely from Mr Clark as to the rivers Stymphalus and Erasinus. I have no doubt that when the Peloponnesus was densely peopled, the exit of every river which entered a Katavothra was known with certainty. It is true that the distance between Stymphalus and the Argolic plain was greater than that of the course of any other subterraneous stream in the Peninsula, but this very fact would be likely to preserve the tradition which still exists as to the identity of the two rivers. Eratosthenes, Strabo, and Pausanias, all asserted that the river which entered the mountain of Stymphalus reappeared in the Argolis, where it was called Erasinus. Eratosth. ap. Strab. p. 389, Strabo, p. 275, Pausan. 8, 22.

VI. p. 136.

Mr Clark remarks that he found the diameter of the Theatre of Mantineia to be 150 feet, while my estimate of it was "about 240." This is easily accounted for. In Greek theatres the extremities are generally the parts which earliest gave way to the effect of time or masonic depredation. Gell, who measured the theatre in 1805, made it 213 feet. The theatre of such a city as Mantineia could hardly have been originally less than 250 feet.

VII. p. 150, note 3.

Mr Clark is proved to be right in translating ὑστέρῳ ἔτει the second year of the 96th Olympiad, and not the last year, as I, as well as Mr Clavier, have erroneously translated it, because Pausanias adds, that Diophantus was then Archon at Athens, which is true as to B.C. 395, the second year of the Olympiad. It was the year in which the old temple of Athene Alea was burnt, a fortunate accident, as it caused the building of a new temple of white marble in the most flourishing time of the great republics of Greece, among which Tegea was one of the most powerful. What Mr Clark proceeds to say of this building, of which some of the Doric columns in white marble remained in my time, gives rise to the most painful reflexions on the effects of our cruel and antichristian conduct in siding with the Turks against the Greeks in the Insurgent war and again in our war with Russia. In consequence of the poverty and misery and misgovernment

into which our policy threw the Greeks, they are still ignorant of the extent of that only national wealth which the Gothic governments of Europe have left to them, namely those remains of the works of their ancestors still buried in their ruins, which are second only in value to the κτήματ' ἐς ἀεὶ of the Greek language. Had Greece been really liberated when she held out her hands of supplication to Great Britain (not to Russia, be it remembered) thirty years could not have passed away without having brought to light some fragments at least of the temple of Athene Alea, which to an able architect would have afforded the means of explaining the description bequeathed to us by Pausanias of this great work of Scopas.

VIII. p. 203 seq.

Taking into account that the Iliad and Odyssey are poetical compositions of a time when nothing like a map existed, I cannot find any such difficulties as Mr Clark alludes to in pages 203 seq. We now possess maps of Greece, and delineations of its sea coast, by which the geographical knowledge of Homer may be securely tested.

1. The direct distance from Pylus to Pheræ is 26 English miles, that from Pheræ to Sparta 16, the latter for the most part mountainous. Vestiges of ancient roads are found in every part of Greece; and one can hardly suppose that when men fought in chariots, there were not good roads between the chief cities of Peloponnesus; but even if the distances between those places had been greater, the poet had a right to neglect such a trifle for the sake of poetical effect, or perhaps for that of shewing the friendship which existed between the houses of Nestor and Orsilochus and Menelaus.

2. Concerning the seven cities offered by Agamemnon to Achilles, I may be permitted to refer to Travels in the Morea, I. p. 452. Agamemnon was Commander-in-Chief, and on this ground felt himself authorized to make the offer, confident that he would be assisted in obtaining obedience from the Seven Cities, if necessary, by Menelaus and Nestor.

3. As to Ithaca, it appears to me, that no impartial person who visits this island, can leave it without being persuaded that the author of the Odyssey must have had a correct knowledge both

of the island and of its relative geographical position, when he put these words into the mouth of Ulysses:—

> Ναιετάω δ' Ἰθάκην εὐδείελον· ἐν δ' ὄρος αὐτῇ
> Νήριτον, εἰνοσίφυλλον, ἀριπρεπές· ἀμφὶ δὲ νῆσοι
> Πολλαὶ ναιετάουσι μάλα σχεδὸν ἀλλήλῃσι,
> Δουλίχιόν τε, Σάμη τε, καὶ ὑλήεσσα Ζάκυνθος.
> Αὐτὴ δὲ χθαμαλὴ, πανυπερτάτη, εἰν ἁλὶ κεῖται
> Πρὸς ζόφον· (αἱ δέ τ' ἄνευθε πρὸς ἠῶ τ' ἠέλιόν τε). *Od.* IX. 21.

"My home is Ithaca the renowned; in it is the mountain Neritum, leafy and conspicuous: around are many inhabited islands, very near to one another, Dulichium[1], Same, and the woody Zacynthus. Ithaca itself, low (compared with Same and Zacynthus) but superior to all (in fame and as the seat of my government), lies in the sea towards the west; the many[2] are away towards the east and the sun." These many were the Echinades, comprehending the islands, afterwards distinguished as the Taphiæ or Teleboæ; in short, all the islands between Ithaca and the mainland. The places here alluded to by the poet sent two squadrons to Troy, that of the Echinades was under Meges, that of Ulysses was manned by Zacynthus, Same, Ithaca and Leucas, which last had been conquered by Laertes, the father of Ulysses, and is described by the poet as Ἄκτη Ἠπείροιο. The Echinades were an insular confederacy at the head of which was Dulichium, and which became so wealthy by commerce and its usual companion in those days, piracy, as to send 40 ships to Troy when Ulysses led thither no more than 12. The superior opulence of the Echinades accounts also for the 52 suitors of Penelope from Dulichium when those from all the possessions of Ulysses were no more than 56. For the present representative of Dulichium, we have to choose between Petalá and Kalamo or Meganisí. Petalá is little better than a rock, but has an excellent boat-harbour well adapted to ancient navigation, and is divided by a very narrow strait from the fertile plain lying between it and Œnia, a part of which may have been then in the possession of the people of Petalá. Kalamo and Meganisí on the contrary are very fertile

[1] I was incorrect in saying (Tr. in N. Greece, III. p. 51) that Dulichium was nowhere mentioned as an island.

[2] αἱ δὲ refers to πολλαὶ, and as the poet had named no more than three, the "many" were evidently those which lie between Ithaca and the Acarnanian shore.

islands, and even in the present age their wheat is held to be the best in the Septinsular state (V. Tr. in N. Greece, III. p. 29). Thus the epithet πολύπυρος which Homer attaches to Dulichium is well adapted to either of them, and not less so the name Dulichium, supposing it to have been derived from δολιχός.

IX. pp. 316, 322.

The words ὁ Ἀπόλλων, εἰ Φενεατὰς ἀπόλλυσι τοὺς νῦν, ἐμφράξας τὸ βάραθρον καὶ κατακλύσας τὴν χώραν ἅπασαν αὐτῶν, &c. seem to prove that the whole plain of Pheneus was submerged in the time of Plutarch "if (as Mr Clark adds) Plutarch it be who wrote the treatise *De serâ numinis vindictâ.*"

Considering however this doubtful authenticity—considering also that in none of the other works of Plutarch, nor in those of Strabo or Pausanias, is there any allusion to such an occurrence in their days:—that Strabo refers to an example, mentioned by Eratosthenes, who lived more than two centuries before his time:—that in this instance an earthquake appears to have been the cause of the obstruction of the Pheneatic Katavothra; when so great was the inundation in the plain of Pheneus, that on the removal of the obstruction all the land around the temple of Jupiter at Olympia was submerged:—considering all these things, it can hardly be said that my doubt, in the year 1806, of the truth of a submersion of the plain of Pheneus "*to any great extent*" in the time of Plutarch was "unwarranted." The terrible visitation of 1821 was indeed a sufficient "commentary" both on Eratosthenes, and on Plutarch or Pseudo-Plutarch.

I cannot agree with Mr Clark in thinking that Pheneus and Stymphalus were anciently insignificant places. Pheneus was the chief town of Arcadia in early times and the most honoured of all in its mythology, as the fable of Arcas shews. The didrachma of Pheneus and Stymphalus are not inferior in beauty to any coins of the Peloponnesus.

X. p. 341.

Mr Clark says that "although there may have been walls connecting the tabular height of Vasiliká or upper Sicyon with the maritime town in the flourishing time of Cleisthenes" (*i.e.* at the beginning of the sixth century B.C.), "it is certain from incidents related by Xenophon in his Hellenica, that the seaport of Sicyon was not so connected with the upper city in the time

of Epaminondas." "In after times," adds Mr Clark, "neither Corinth nor the other states of Peloponnesus would have suffered a second-rate town, to which rank Sicyon soon after sank, to block up the road along the coast."

The history of Sicyon will hardly justify these remarks. The history of Greek art alone leaves little doubt that in early ages Sicyon rivalled Corinth and Argos and more than rivalled Athens. Maritime Sicyon was of very ancient date and bore the name of Ægiali (Strabo, p. 382, Pausan. 2, 5), which indicates that it was the chief town on the Corinthian Gulf, the whole of Achaia having been named Ægialeia. Thus situated and protected by its natural fortress, the hill of Vasiliká, Sicyon advanced to wealth and distinction with a pace, at least equal to that of Corinth. But probably as early as the 8th century before the Christian æra, the superior advantages of Corinth for commerce as well as for territorial influence and dominion had left Sicyon in an inferior position. This we may fairly presume from the numerous colonies of Corinth. Sicyon however preserved its commerce; its military marine was employed in the Persian and Peloponnesian wars, and its independence was maintained, chiefly perhaps by its alliances with Athens and Sparta, until the Roman conquest; when, during the century of Corinthian desolation, Sicyon was of such importance, as to have the management of the Isthmian games, and was the chief city of the Corinthian gulf. To this period we may attribute a large portion of that immense number of Sicyonian silver coins, which have been and still are to be found in Greece; the coinage of Corinth having of course ceased during the extinction of the city.

That Sicyon should have neglected to protect the communication between the upper city and its λιμὴν in the same manner, as Corinth, Argos, Patræ, and Megara is scarcely credible. In fact, among jealous republics, such as those of Greece, often warring with each other, Long walls were an indispensable part of their system of defence in places situated like those above mentioned. If Long walls are seldom noticed in history, unless when taken by an enemy, as in the instances of Athens and Argos, it is because, like all fortifications, they were seldom attacked, their existence affecting the policy of war, so as to render such attacks in the great majority of cases inexpedient.

The resistance which Epaminondas met with in entering the

Peloponnesus on two occasions (B.C. 368, 366) was either at the Isthmus or on the line from Cenchreæ to Lechæum. When he had overcome those obstacles, the Long walls of Corinth and Sicyon were of no effect in impeding his march into the Peloponnesus, as the road was open to him, to the Eastward of Corinth. On the former of those two occasions the Long walls of Sicyon are not mentioned as offering any obstacle to Epaminondas, because as soon as Sicyon was threatened by him, that city as well as Pellene, which latter he had attained by *turning* both Corinth and Sicyon, renounced the alliance of Sparta. The very passage of Diodorus, cited by Mr Clark[1], I am inclined to interpret as affording a proof of the existence of Sicyonian Long walls. Demetrius surprised Sicyon in the night; having passed over or through the wall: those who had guarded it retreated into the Acropolis, and thus Demetrius obtained possession of the city. From a sort of esplanade between the houses of the town and the walls of the citadel, he was preparing to attack the latter with machinery, when the garrison of Ptolemy capitulated and embarked for Egypt. The wall which gave possession of the city to Demetrius, appears to have been the Eastern Long wall; all the space included between this wall, and the parallel or nearly parallel long wall to the westward and extending in a southerly direction from the defences of the Acropolis to the sea, was considered a part of the city, though probably it was sparingly inhabited except towards the sea. But that such nominally was the extent of the city seems evident from the words of Diodorus, which follow. Demetrius, he says, having persuaded the Sicyonians to remove into the Acropolis, destroyed that part of the city which adjoins the port—(*τὸ μὲν τῷ λιμένι συνάπτον μέρος τῆς πόλεως*). The object of Demetrius in this destruction was probably that of extinguishing the naval power of the Sicyonians. For this purpose Demetrias, as the Sicyon of Demetrius was named, was confined by him to the cliff-bound height of Vasiliká, formerly the Acropolis, the upper platform of which became the Acropolis of Demetrias. But neither this name nor the ruined state of the *limen* long continued. Sicyon still retained its

[1] Νυκτὸς ἐπιθεμένος ἀπροσδοκήτως, παρεισέπεσεν ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους· εἶτα οἱ μὲν φρουροὶ συνεσέπεσον εἰς τὴν Ἀκρόπολιν· ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος τῆς πόλεως κυριεύσας τὸν μεταξὺ τόπον τῶν οἰκιῶν καὶ τῆς ἀκρᾶς κατεῖχε· μέλλοντος δ' αὐτοῦ μηχανὰς προσάγειν, καταπλαγέντες, &c. Diodor. 20, 102.

independence and its maritime commerce, and in the middle of the following century became a leading member of the Achæan league. The establishment of a Roman colony at Corinth was the beginning of its great decline. In the time of Pausanias it was in a very reduced condition, but he speaks of the limen as still in existence (Pausan. 2, 12) although at the end of fourteen or fifteen centuries from the time of Adrastus[1].

II.

Emendations on the Psalms.

In offering to students of the psalms the following emendations of the Hebrew text, I am anxious to guard against the imputation, which they might possibly suggest, of disparaging the high authority or impugning the general correctness of the Masoretic text of the O. T. scriptures. Of the marvellous correctness of that text (so far at least as the psalms are concerned—for I would not speak of that which I have not fully examined) I rest entirely certain; not however from any preconceived theory or prejudice; for how that extraordinary degree of correctness—extending, as I am convinced it does, to the vocalization and the division of the verses—is to be accounted for, remains as yet an unsolved problem. But at the same time, high as the authority of the Masoretic text may stand, it is not to be deemed absolutely faultless; nor can any just reason be assigned for rejecting such emendations as rest upon sufficient evidence, of whatever kind that evidence may be. Experience has now shewn that no very material assistance towards the critical correction of the text is to be derived from the Hebrew MSS. collated by Kennicott and De Rossi. The emendations which rest on manuscript authority are on the whole of a comparatively unimportant and trifling character; while in passages of real difficulty the MSS. afford us hardly any aid. They all represent too late a recension of the Hebrew text. Whether manuscripts

[1] Καὶ Σικυῶν', ὅθ' ἄρ' Ἄδρηστος πρῶτ' ἐμβασίλευεν. Il. B, 572.