VRG_Folder_0729

Dear Virginia,

I have just received your letter of December 9. You were so kind to write me in the hurried days before leaving Athens. I hope that when you receive this you will have had a speedy, painless trip home.

I am very much relieved, and not a little amazed, that you and Lucy approve of the sample of catalogue I sent you for comments. The changes you suggest are just right. I hadn't realized the ambiguity you mention, but I see it now. Since the stamps, rather than the objects as a whole, are the basis of the catalogue, I felt that the initial descriptive words should refer to them. But I see now that it is less confusing to refer to the object first, as you suggest.

You'll be pleased to know that two days ago I sent Mr. Thompson a letter describing the present state of my research and estimating the approximate size of my MS, if it turned out that the catalogue form was acceptable. I estimated the number of double-spaced typewritten pages at 250, and the number of plates at 50. As I have 1926 items to go into the catalogue, I figure that the catalogue will consume around 200 pages. With proper spacing and economy, I ought to be able to get an average of ten items onto each page, I think. Perhaps that figure is a little optimistic. Perhaps nine would be a better average. In any case, "around 200 pages" ought to do for the catalogue. I expect that the text will consume about thirty pages. It will be similar to the text of the preliminary report, but much longer (I think the text of the report was 12 pages). As for the plates: I have 905 photos of stamps. An average of 21 stamps to a plate would result in 43 plates of stamps. There would also be about seven plates of shapes. In other words, the approximate size of the MS would be 250 pages and 50 plates. [wie gesagt,]

Yes, I had about 17 photos made at the British Museum. Some of them were exactly actual size, but most were just slightly small. The trouble is that they try to get too many ~~photos~~ images onto one print. But in other respects their photos are extremely clear and well-done. You might be interested to know that for an 8½ × 6½ print they charged 12 s. Six stamps were on that print. The smallest-sized print they make is 6 × 4, which costs 7 s. 3 d. When Ashmole was there they didn't charge me for the photos, but now they do.

What you say about the shutting down of the Agora is most depressing. A part of my world is collapsing. I can only imagine what it means to you and the others. Do you plan to continue your work in Athens, or will you do it in Ancira?

I am getting only scattered postals from Mr. B. I assume he will let me know as soon as it's advisable for me to go there.

I don't know whether I told you that Mr. West actually sent me all of his photos and drawings: hundreds of them. If you see him, please tell him how very helpful I am finding the material. It includes objects which I would never have seen, otherwise.

We both send love, and many Christmas greetings.

Kelly

Fascicules trimestriels nos 27-28 Juillet-Décembre 1956

REVUE ARCHÉOLOGIQUE

DE L'EST ET DU CENTRE-EST

CONSACRÉE AUX ANTIQUITÉS NATIONALES D'ALSACE, BOURGOGNE, CHAMPAGNE, FRANCHE-COMTÉ, LORRAINE, LYONNAIS ET NIVERNAIS

TOME VII

Fasc. 3 4

EXTRAIT

Elizabeth Lyding WILL

LES AMPHORES DE SESTIUS

R. A. E.
12, rue Pelletier-de-Chambure
DIJON

For Virginia, with thanks
August, 1957

LES AMPHORES DE SESTIUS [1]

Depuis 1952, plus de 1.700 amphores romaines estampillées des lettres SES ont été retirées de l'épave d'un bateau antique sombré aux abords du Grand Congloué, près de Marseille (voir carte, fig. 77) [2]. Ces récipients, tous du même type, constituent l'une des plus amples, des mieux conservées et des plus importantes trouvailles connues d'amphores romaines. En raison de l'intérêt mondial soulevé par l'archéologie sous-marine et singulièrement par

1. [Il suffira, pensons-nous, de jeter un regard sur la carte qui illustre l'article de Mme E. L. Will, pour mesurer l'intérêt que nous portons aux amphores de Sestius. Tandis qu'une série de trouvailles s'égrènent au long des côtes méditerranéennes, depuis l'Italie centrale jusqu'à l'Espagne septentrionale, jalonnant de toute évidence la voie d'importation maritime, une autre série de découvertes témoignent d'une ample dispersion, en éventail, de ces mêmes amphores, au nord du couloir rhodanien. Une partie des cargaisons déchargées dans les Bouches-du-Rhône était destinée aux pays de la Celtique, reliés par la voie rhodanienne aux terres bénies du Midi. Nous avions donc un mot à dire, dans ce grand débat ouvert autour des amphores de Sestius. Et c'est pourquoi l'exposé de Mme Will, spécialisée dans l'étude des amphores, retiendra l'attention de nos lecteurs. Nous ne saurions trop la remercier d'une contribution où elle nous fait profiter d'une vaste documentation, accumulée pour la préparation d'un travail d'ensemble. Il nous a paru naturel, dans ces conditions, de communiquer à Mme Will les abondants renseignements que des confrères avaient bien voulu nous adresser. — La mise en œuvre de méthodes particulières, adaptées aux questions posées par les amphores, confère à son travail un intérêt qui dépasse la simple curiosité à l'égard de Sestius. Nous saisissons l'occasion de le redire : relever les estampilles, comme a fait le *Corpus*, est fort bien ; rectifier et compléter ce relevé est une louable entreprise. Cependant, de tels renseignements perdent une partie de leur efficacité, si l'on n'a pris soin d'indiquer en même temps la typologie des récipients visés, leurs caractéristiques et leurs mesures précises ; les indications relatives à la couleur de la pâte et de la patine, à la composition chimique de la terre peuvent également être utiles. Le progrès dans nos connaissances, encore si incertaines, est au prix de ces laborieuses recherches. C'est dire que la tâche à accomplir est considérable. Une monographie consciencieuse, du genre de la présente, qui fait grand honneur à l'auteur d'abord, aux Écoles américaines d'Athènes et de Rome ensuite, constitue un jalon lumineux dans le brouillard où se dérobe l'histoire économique de l'Occident gaulois, au premier siècle avant notre ère. Quand un certain nombre de semblables monographies auront pu être réalisées, alors seulement nous pourrons escompter des vues plus assurées sur les voies et modalités du commerce des denrées qui étaient logées dans les amphores. — Émile THEVENOT].

2. Les principales descriptions de ces amphores se trouvent dans deux articles de F. BENOIT, *L'archéologie sous-marine en Provence*, dans *Rivista di studi liguri*, t. XVIII (1952), p. 249-255, et *Amphores et céramique de l'épave de Marseille*, dans *Gallia*, t. XII (1954), p. 35-54.

les recherches effectuées dans les eaux françaises, les amphores de Marseille ont largement retenu l'attention, plus que ne le fait ordinairement la poterie grossière antique. Leur datation a été un sujet d'intérêt tout spécial, et aussi d'incertitude. Les dates envisagées, d'après les indications tirées d'autres objets découverts dans le même site et qui, peut-être, faisaient partie de la même épave, ont varié dans une large mesure [1]. Une méthode de datation de ces amphores, différente et peut-être plus raisonnée, pourrait, semble-t-il, consister à les comparer aux amphores du même type mises au jour en des stations terrestres. Une telle comparaison conduit à attribuer aux amphores du Grand Congloué une date plus récente qu'aucune des dates jusqu'à présent suggérées par les objets découverts dans le même contexte.

Une date plus récente a été proposée en premier lieu par M. Émile Thevenot, dans un article objectif publié ici même en 1954 [2]. L'au-

1. Dans le plus ancien des deux articles cités p. 224, n. 2, M. F. Benoit (p. 254, 307) suggère une date autour de 200 av. J.-C. pour les amphores et l'épave dont elles faisaient partie ; dans le dernier article (p. 38), il envisage une date comprise entre 200 et 175. N. LAMBOGLIA, dans *Rivista di studi liguri*, t. XX (1954), p. 225 et suiv. ; t. XXI (1955), p. 247 et suiv. propose de dater le naufrage et les amphores à 160-150 av. J.-C. Les descriptions de l'épave destinées au grand public suggèrent des dates échelonnées entre 230 av. J.-C. (J.-Y. COUSTEAU, *Fish men discover a 2200-year-old Greek Ship*, dans *The National Geographic Magazine*, CV, January 1954, *passim*) et 145 av. J.-C. (F. LALLEMAND, *Journal de bord de Maarkos Sestios*, Paris, 1955, p. 214, n. 13). L'échelonnement des dates assignées aux trouvailles donne à penser que plusieurs naufrages ont pu se produire dans l'antiquité au large du Grand Congloué, leurs cargaisons se trouvant en partie mêlées au cours des siècles. La côte sud de la France est semée d'épaves antiques, dont beaucoup ont sombré très près les unes des autres. Dans son article de la *R.S.L.* cité plus haut, M. Benoît mentionne (p. 259) deux épaves à 50 mètres de distance, au large de l'île Maïre ; plusieurs épaves au large des îles du Frioul ; trois monceaux d'amphores (c'est-à-dire autant d'épaves), à 100 mètres les uns des autres, au « Plateau des Chèvres » et (p. 263-264) plusieurs épaves dans les parages de la balise de la Chrétienne au large d'Anthéor. Apparemment certains points dangereux le long de la côte méridionale française étaient des cimetières pour les bateaux antiques. De semblables cimetières sous-marins ont été découverts ailleurs. Au large de la côte de Grèce, par exemple, au promontoire de Kynosoura près de Marathon, plusieurs épaves ont trouvé place à différentes époques de l'antiquité, leurs cargaisons se trouvant en partie mêlées par les courants marins (cf. F. BRAEMER et J. MARCADÉ, *Céramique antique et pièces d'ancres trouvées en mer à la pointe de la Kynosoura (baie de Marathon)*, dans *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, t. LXVII (1953), p. 139-154). Il serait sans doute surprenant que le Grand Congloué n'eût été la cause que d'un seul naufrage dans l'antiquité. Il appartient à la plus orientale du chapelet d'îles situées au sud de Marseille et ressemble à la pointe d'un cap. En ce lieu les vents passent pour changeants et perfides (cf. LALLEMAND, *ouvr. cité*, p. 200).

2. *La marque d'amphore Sesti*, dans *R.A.E.*, t. V (1954), p. 234-243. Le lecteur se reportera à cet article pour les illustrations et descriptions complètes des objets dont il est ici question. Je désire exprimer ici mes remerciements à M. Thevenot, qui m'a donné l'idée d'écrire cet article, et qui m'a très généreusement secondé par ses avis. C'est également lui qui s'est chargé de traduire le texte anglais du présent article.

teur comparait les estampilles relevées sur ces amphores avec les estampilles observées sur des récipients ou fragments du même type, provenant de sites terrestres ; il concluait, d'après des indices épigraphiques, que les amphores du Grand Congloué pourraient bien être rapportées au premier siècle avant notre ère. Les lettres SES sont apparemment une abréviation du *nomen* Sestius, et M. Thevenot relevait que des marques d'amphores offrant les lettres SEST et SESTI ont été trouvées au mont Beuvray et à Bâle,

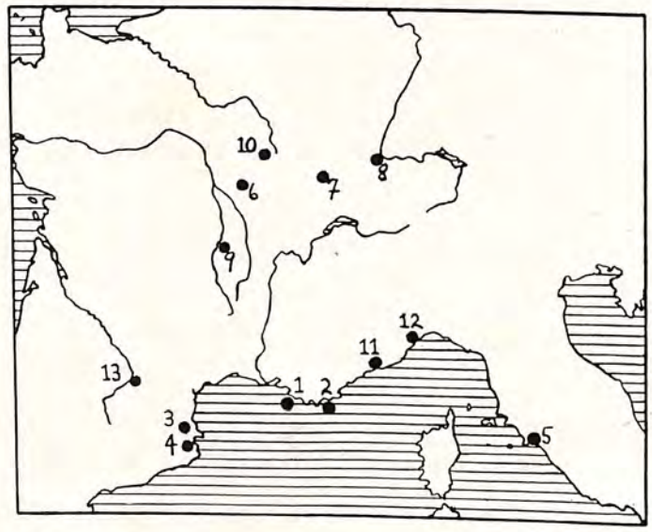


Fig. 77. — Distribution des estampilles de Sestius

1. Grand Congloué. — 2. Ile du Levant. — 3. Ruscino. — 4. Ampurias. — 5. Cosa. — 6. Mont Beuvray. — 7. Besançon. — 8. Bâle. — 9. Lezoux. — 10. Alise-Sainte-Reine. — 11. Vintimille. — 12. Vada Sabatia. — 13. Vieille-Toulouse.

dans des milieux archéologiques évoquant nettement le milieu du premier siècle avant J.-C. ; que la marque du mont Beuvray est presque identique, et sûrement contemporaine, à une marque de Besançon ; et que, dans le même gisement que ladite marque de Besançon, fut découvert un autre fragment avec une estampille qui reproduit presque l'une des deux variétés des estampilles SES imprimées sur les amphores du Grand Congloué [1]. Le témoignage

1. M. Thevenot distingue cinq formes générales des estampilles de Sestius : la forme A [SES suivi d'un signe en forme de trident] est l'une des deux variétés

présenté par M. Thevenot laisse peu de place au doute, et donne à penser que toutes ces marques sont en relation entre elles et plus ou moins contemporaines. Il y a dès lors, de solides raisons épigraphiques en faveur de l'observation suggérée, selon laquelle les amphores de Sestius trouvées en mer près de Marseille ont probablement été rapportées à une trop haute époque et pourraient bien être datées du premier siècle avant J.-C.

Il est maintenant possible d'apporter un témoignage épigraphique supplémentaire à l'appui d'une datation plus récente des amphores de Sestius. M. Thevenot m'a très aimablement envoyé des informations à ce sujet, et m'a priée de donner dans cet article la description de deux marques inédites provenant de sites gaulois. L'une d'elles (fig. 78, nº 2 et 79, nº 2), provenant de Ruscino (Pyrénées-Orientales), a été trouvée « dans des déblais, avec céramique « campanienne » B, à un niveau appartenant au – 1er siècle » [1]. Cette estampille, qui se trouve sur un fragment de lèvre d'amphore, offre les lettres S]E(ST) suivies d'un signe en forme de palme ; elle est très semblable, épigraphiquement, à l'estampille du mont Beuvray et à l'une des estampilles de Besançon [2] bien que les deux dernières offrent le signe de l'ancre. Il semble peu douteux que ces

de l'épave du Grand Congloué ; la forme B [SES suivi d'une ancre] est la seconde variété de l'épave, et un exemplaire de la même forme, mais de dimensions un peu supérieures, provient de Besançon ; la forme C [SE(ST) suivi d'une ancre] provient de Besançon et, dans un module un peu inférieur, du mont Beuvray ; la forme D [S(ET)S suivi d'une étoile à huit rais] vient d'Alise-Sainte-Reine ; la forme E [SES(TI)] a été trouvée à Lezoux et à Bâle. — Au sujet des exemplaires de Besançon nous parviennent en dernière heure des informations dont l'importance n'échappera pas aux lecteurs. Elles ont été communiquées par M. Lerat, doyen de la Faculté des lettres de Besançon, à M. Thevenot, qui nous les transmet. L'exemplaire de Besançon de la forme C, définie plus haut, n'a pas été retrouvé au musée ; par contre, on possède l'exemplaire de forme B, celui qui reproduit l'une des formes de l'épave de Marseille. Cet exemplaire conservé de Besançon est imprimé sur le rebord oblique d'un col d'amphore ; les proportions du cachet et des caractères sont légèrement supérieures (longueur du cachet : 0,027 m. ; hauteur des lettres : 0,01) à celles de Marseille (0,023 et 0,0085, cotes mesurées sur la reproduction donnée par F. Benoît, dans *R.S.L.*, p. 253, fig. 20), mais la disposition générale, le facies des lettres, assez grêles, et de l'ancre sont remarquablement identiques. Il est naturellement impossible de reconstituer une stratigraphie, mais on prendra bonne note d'une observation de M. Lerat qui nous écrit « le contexte des trouvailles (cf. *Mém. Soc. émulation du Doubs*, 1872, p. 501) autant que mon expérience du sous-sol bisontin, me semblent exclure un niveau antérieur à -50 ». Cf. la reproduction que nous donnons d'après le moulage adressé par M. Lerat et le dessin du col exécuté par Mme Françoise Blind (fig. 78, nº 1 et 79, nº 1).

1. Renseignements communiqués à M. Thevenot par M. G. Claustres, conservateur du musée de Perpignan. Ce fragment est maintenant au musée de Perpignan (nº d'inventaire 1675). Le site antique de Ruscino correspond à Castel-Roussillon, près de Perpignan (P.-O.).

2. Thevenot, *ouvr. cité*, fig. 105, nos 4 et 5 (forme C).

trois marques ne soient contemporaines. Une comparaison pourrait être opérée entre l'estampille de Ruscino et deux estampilles provenant de Ligurie, récemment publiées. Ces estampilles, qui toutes deux consistent dans les lettres SES suivies d'un signe en forme de palme ou de feuille de chêne, ont été trouvées à Vintimille et à Vada Sabatia. A Vintimille, la marque a été trouvée dans un milieu d'environ 70 avant J.-C. ; à Vada Sabatia dans un milieu d'environ 100 avant J.-C [1].

La seconde estampille communiquée par M. Thevenot (fig. 78, nº 3) existe sur la lèvre d'une amphore entière, trouvée en mer vers 1934, dans les parages de l'île du Levant, au large du littoral du Var [2]. Le récipient faisait partie d'une cargaison pour laquelle on ne possède aucune indication chronologique. La marque, offrant les lettres SES et un signe en forme d'ancre, est très analogue à l'une des deux variétés d'estampilles du Grand Congloué et à l'une des estampilles de Besançon [3]. M. Thevenot observe égale-



Fig. 78. — Estampilles de Besançon, Ruscino et l'île du Levant
1. Besançon. — 2. Ruscino. — 3. Ile du Levant.
Échelle : 1/1

ment que l'ancre figurée sur l'exemplaire de l'île du Levant présente des branches semi-circulaires rappelant certain exemplaire trouvé au mont Beuvray [4]. En dépit de l'absence de contexte daté

1. Cf. Lamboglia, *R.S.L.*, t. XXI (1955), p. 248 et fig. 6, 14. On se demande si les estampilles liguriennes ne pourraient pas, comme celle de Ruscino, offrir la trace d'une ligature du T avec le second S.

2. L'amphore est entrée vers 1935 dans la collection P. Mergier, à Paris ; on doit au propriétaire lui-même tous renseignements et cliché correspondant à cette pièce. L'attribution à Brégançon, commune de Bormes, Var, en face de l'île du Levant d'une autre amphore marquée SES (L. Casson, *Sea-Digging*, dans *Archaeology*, t. VI (1953), p. 227) n'est pas à retenir ; elle résulte en effet d'une confusion entre Brégançon et Besançon, selon une information aimablement fournie par l'auteur en personne.

3. Thevenot, *ouvr. cité*, fig. 105, nºs 2, 3 (forme B).

4. Il s'agit d'une ancre seule, reproduite dans Bulliot, *Fouilles du mont Beuvray, Album*, pl. 60, nº 42 ; non retenue par le *C.I.L.* Cette marque a été retrouvée au musée d'Autun et sera publiée dans une étude en préparation.

l'estampille elle-même, réunissant des particularités d'exemplaires du Grand Congloué, de Besançon et du mont Beuvray, ajoute un témoignage en faveur de la contemporanéité des estampilles de Sestius en provenance de tous les sites désignés.

Au poids des arguments qui militent en faveur d'une datation plus tardive des amphores de Sestius, on peut ajouter cinq estampilles sur lèvres trouvées au cours des fouilles de Cosa, près d'Orbetello, en Étrurie, exécutées par l'Académie américaine à Rome [1]. Deux d'entre elles (CB 967 et 1746 ; fig. 80) sont presque identiques et peuvent être issues du même sceau. Elles consistent dans les lettres SES suivies d'un signe en forme d'étoile à cinq rais. Une troisième estampille (CB 1673 ; fig. 80), dont la première lettre seulement subsiste, paraît pouvoir être reconstituée comme un autre exemplaire de la même marque. CB 1673 et 1746 ont été trouvées toutes deux dans un milieu auquel on a attribué une date comprise entre circa 110-100 et circa 40-30 avant J.-C. [2], et, par analogie, la même date peut être envisagée pour CB 967. Il est à noter que, pour la grandeur et l'aspect des lettres, ces trois estampilles sont analogues à celles du Grand Congloué, bien que les signes soient différents. Une étoile est également visible sur une estampille en provenance d'Alise-Sainte-Reine, mais cette estampille est supérieure en dimension aux exemplaires de Cosa, l'étoile offre huit rais et la seconde lettre présente une ligature de E et T [3]. Une quatrième estampille de Cosa (CB 1374 : fig. 80) consiste dans les lettres SE(ST) suivies d'un signe en forme de palme. Cette estampille est identique à l'exemplaire de Ruscino décrit plus haut et peut, en conséquence, être datée du premier siècle avant J.-C. La cinquième et dernière estampille de Cosa (CB 1582 ; fig. 80) offre les lettres SES et, sans doute, un signe dont on ne peut discerner la forme [4]. Cette estampille n'a pas été trouvée dans un-

1. Il est fait allusion à l'une de ces estampilles par Thevenot, *ouvr. cité*, p. 236, et par Benoit, *R.S.L.*, p. 254, n. 1 et *Gallia*, p. 44. Ces estampilles sont maintenant à l'Académie américaine à Rome. Je suis reconnaissante à M. Frank Brown de m'avoir accordé la permission de les publier, ainsi qu'à M. Brown, à Mlle Myra Uhlfelder et à Mlle Helen E. Russel pour la communication des photographies reproduites (fig. 80 et 82).

2. Je suis redevable à Mlle Doris Taylor des informations concernant la datation du milieu, un dépôt de céramique en dehors de l'enceinte de Cosa, et lui sais gré de m'avoir permis de prendre connaissance du rapport de fouilles.

3. Thevenot, *ouvr. cité*, fig. 105, nº 6 (forme D). Les photographies et dessins des estampilles du Grand Congloué donnent à penser qu'elles peuvent aussi offrir une semblable ligature. La fusion du T avec le E plutôt qu'avec le second S peut s'expliquer par la difficulté de réalisation d'une ligature de S et de T.

4. Des estampilles SES de dimensions analogues à la marque de Cosa, et dépourvues également de signe, ont été trouvées à Ampurias (cf. M. Almagro,

contexte datable, mais ses dimensions et l'aspect des lettres donnent à croire qu'elle est contemporaine de CB 1374.

Le bilan du matériel épigraphique révèle une variété peu commune dans les formes des estampilles de Sestius, d'autant plus que certaines formes se présentent sous plus d'une dimension. Aux cinq formes distinguées par M. Thevenot peuvent être ajoutées aujourd'hui deux formes supplémentaires, savoir : SE(ST) ou SES suivi d'une palme, et SES [ou S(ET)S] suivi d'une étoile à cinq rais. Pourtant, en dépit de la variété dans les dimensions et dans le choix des signes, il n'y a pas de fondement épigraphique valable pour justifier, de notre part, l'attribution de dates très différentes à ces diverses estampilles. En vérité, les aspects des

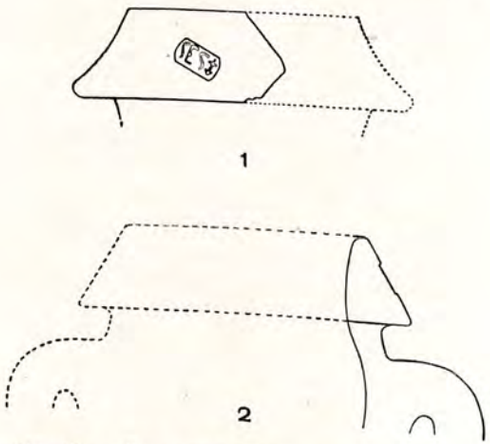


Fig. 79. — Cols de Besançon et de Ruscino
1. Besançon. — 2. Ruscino. — Échelle : 1/4

lettres sont remarquablement similaires dans toutes les variantes et, de même que la présence fréquente de ligatures et de signes, plaident en faveur d'une contemporanéité relative de l'ensemble des exemplaires. La similitude épigraphique de ces estampilles renforce les indications du contexte. Toutes les estampilles provenant de milieux datés (celles du mont Beuvray, de Bâle, de Ruscino et de Vintimille, ainsi que deux des estampilles de Cosa) peuvent être attribuées au premier siècle avant J.-C., celles de Cosa pouvant,

Monografías Ampuritanas, t. II : *Las Inscripciones Griegas, Ibéricas y Latinas* (Barcelona, 1952), p. 208, n° 205), ainsi qu'à Vintimille (cf. Lamboglia, *R.S.L.*, t. XXI (1955), fig. 14), cette dernière dans un milieu daté d'environ 70 avant J.-C. La date du milieu où fut découverte l'estampille d'Ampurias n'est pas connue (information aimablement fournie par M. Alberto Balil).

éventuellement, remonter jusqu'à 110-100. Étant donné que ces formes d'estampilles proviennent de milieux appartenant à la même époque générale et que, d'autre part, elles sont ou bien identiques ou bien étroitement apparentées aux exemplaires sans contexte datable, nous sommes fondés à attribuer à toutes les estampilles de Sestius une date de même époque, la première moitié du premier siècle avant J.-C.

Nous avons jusqu'à maintenant cherché à dater les amphores et fragments à la marque de Sestius d'après les seuls indices tirés des estampilles. Si nous en venons maintenant à considérer l'aspect

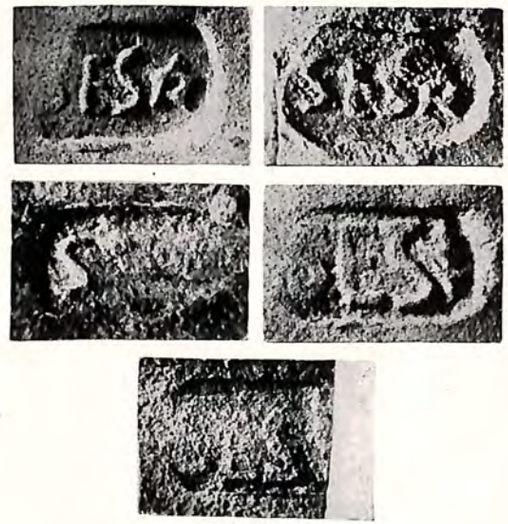


Fig. 80. — Estampilles de Cosa (Étrurie)
Numéros des fragments : en haut CB 967 et CB 1746 ;
au milieu CB 1673 et CB 1374 ; en bas CB 1582. — Échelle : 1/1

des récipients eux-mêmes, nous découvrons qu'ils sont également une source d'information chronologique. Les formes des amphores romaines sont aussi datables que celles des autres catégories de vases. Nous savons que les amphores grecques devaient être conformes à des normes définies et par conséquent être moulées ou manufacturées selon des spécifications précises et que ces normes et spécifications pouvaient subir une évolution graduelle [1]. Il y a

1. Cf. V. Grace, *Hesperia*, t. XXII (1953), p. 119-120 ; *ibid.*, suppl. X (*Small objects from the Pnyx*, t. II, 1956), p. 117-118. Je remercie chaleureusement Mlle Grace pour ses avis précieux et suggestions à propos de cet article.

lieu de penser qu'il en fut de même des amphores romaines. En tout cas, l'étude des amphores romaines qui s'échelonnent du second siècle avant J.-C. jusqu'au troisième siècle après J.-C. permet de reconnaître un certain nombre de types distincts, apparentés ou non, mais possédant tous des caractéristiques bien discernables, et tous attribuables à des périodes plus ou moins limitées. Un type unique pouvait, malgré les possibilités limitées de la production manuelle, être reproduit avec une exactitude surprenante à douzaines d'exemplaires, mais aucun type ne paraît avoir survécu inchangé au delà d'une ou deux générations, durée qui semble correspondre au temps moyen de vie de la poterie. Les dates auxquelles des types définis étaient en usage peuvent habituellement être fixées, d'autant plus que les amphores romaines paraissent avoir eu la vie courte et n'avoir pas été réutilisées comme récipients de transport, ni conservées bien longtemps comme récipients de stockage [1].

Les amphores SES trouvées au large du Grand Congloué montrent bien l'uniformité atteinte dans la production à la main des amphores romaines, bien longtemps avant les machines modernes et la mise en œuvre des méthodes de production en série. Les 1.700 (ou plus) amphores entières et fragments de cette catégorie peuvent être décrits en quelques mots, et nous pouvons trouver là un point de départ dans notre discussion sur la forme de ce type d'amphore en général, puisque cet ensemble est de loin le plus important et le mieux conservé. Les descriptions publiées [2] ap-

1. Leur solide contexture les rendait inestimables pour le transport des liquides par mer, mais une fois qu'elles avaient atteint le port de débarquement, leur valeur diminuait sans doute. Le fait que beaucoup d'entre elles étaient systématiquement brisées et que le contenu était transvasé dans des récipients plus légers dès l'arrivée au port paraît devoir expliquer la formation dans l'antiquité de ces amoncellements considérables de fragments d'amphores tels que le Monte Testaccio à Rome. Au lieu d'être brisées, quelques amphores étaient réemployées dans les constructions (puits, maisons, murs), dans les systèmes de drainage ou comme sarcophages. Quelques-unes, surtout (ainsi peut-on l'imaginer) celles qui contenaient des vins vieux ou rares, étaient utilisées comme vases de stockage par les marchands et les consommateurs. Par deux fois, HORACE (*Carm.*, 3, 21 ; *Epod.* 13, 6) parle de vin mis en amphores en 65 avant J.-C., l'année de sa naissance, et par conséquent vieux de 20 à 40 ans, selon la date que l'on attribuera à la composition des poèmes en question ; mais un tel âge paraît avoir été inhabituel, ainsi qu'il ressort des passages cités. Au sujet de la durée des amphores romaines, consulter, par exemple, O. BOHN, *Amphoren-Schicksale*, dans *Germania*, t. IX (1925), p. 78-85 ; A. GRENIER, *Archéologie gallo-romaine*, dans le *Manuel d'Archéologie préhistorique, celtique et gallo-romaine*, de J. DÉCHELETTE, t. VI (Paris, 1934), p. 613-614.

2. Cf. p. 224, n. 2. Les deux articles de M. Benoît décrivent les amphores en termes essentiellement identiques, en dépit de quelques différences de détail. L'article de *R.S.L.* donne la hauteur moyenne des amphores comme étant de 1,05 m. (p. 249), tandis que l'article de *Gallia* indique une hauteur moyenne de

prennent que les amphores varient en hauteur moyenne de 1 m. 02 à 1 m. 05. Les diamètres maximums, nous dit-on, varient de 0 m. 25 à 0 m. 27. Les diamètres extérieurs des lèvres varient de 0 m. 155 à 0 m. 175. Les lèvres, qui portent en général l'estampille sont de profil soit oblique, soit vertical, avec prédominance du profil vertical. Il y a une séparation nette entre les lèvres et les cols. Les cols sont très longs, comme les anses, qui sont assez droites et fixées très près du col. Les épaules, qui tendent à être plus ou moins inclinées, se joignent aux panses par angles obtus ; les panses sont étroites, avec tendance à une forme presque cylindrique, bien que parfois elles soient profilées plutôt en forme de toupie allongée. Les pieds sont courts, épais et cylindriques. La pâte est rouge brique, dure, et très résistante [1].

Les formes, quand elles sont connues, des amphores et fragments portant des estampilles SES et trouvées dans des sites terrestres sont étroitement similaires à celles des récipients du Grand Congloué. Examinons d'abord les formes du matériel décrit dans l'étude citée de M. Thevenot. On ne sait rien, malheureusement, au sujet de la pièce provenant de Lezoux. L'estampille retrouvée au Musée de Besançon est portée sur la lèvre très oblique d'un col, dont le diamètre intérieur à l'embouchure est de circa 0 m. 112 ; la pâte est rougeâtre [2]. Le fragment du mont Beuvray est un col à lèvre oblique de terre rougeâtre, ayant un diamètre intérieur, à l'embouchure, de 0 m. 14 et l'exemplaire d'Alise-Sainte-Reine est décrit comme un col à lèvre oblique, de terre rouge, ayant également un diamètre intérieur, à l'embouchure, de 0 m. 14. Les estampilles Sestius, dans les trois cas, se présentent sur la lèvre, comme le fait aussi la marque de Bâle, laquelle est imprimée sur la lèvre oblique d'un fragment de col, dont la pâte, chamois-rosé brillant, comporte de nombreuses parcelles rouges. Ce fragment fut trouvé parmi de nombreux autres fragments appartenant au même

1,02 m. (p. 37, 42). Les diamètres maximum et les diamètres à hauteur des lèvres sont donnés seulement dans *Gallia*. Dans *Gallia*, également (p. 37, 42), il est fait allusion à sept amphores qui ressemblent aux amphores estampillées SES et furent trouvées dans la même aire, mais qui portent une estampille différente : D(AV) (ATE) C et sont légèrement plus petites (hauteur 0,98 m.) et plus larges (0,28 m. – 0,30 m. en diamètre maximum).

1. La couleur superficielle de ces amphores n'est pas indiquée, mais la photographie en couleurs de plusieurs douzaines d'entre elles, reproduite dans l'article de COUSTEAU (cité p. 225, n. 1) p. 34-35, fait voir des surfaces de couleur uniformément blanchâtre ou jaunâtre. Sans doute, certaines de ces colorations résultent d'incrustations dues au milieu sous-marin ; cependant, beaucoup d'amphores paraissent relativement exemptes d'incrustations et présentent encore des patines blanchâtres, sous lesquelles, parfois, la pâte rosée se reconnaît.

2. Renseignements communiqués par M. Lerat et transmis par M. Thevenot (le diamètre extérieur est de 0,135 m.). Cf. ci-dessus, fig. 79, n° 1.

type [1]. Une reconstitution du type général d'amphore auquel appartiennent ces fragments, est ici reproduite (fig. 81, à gauche) [2] ; elle révèle que les fragments de Bâle appartiennent au même type

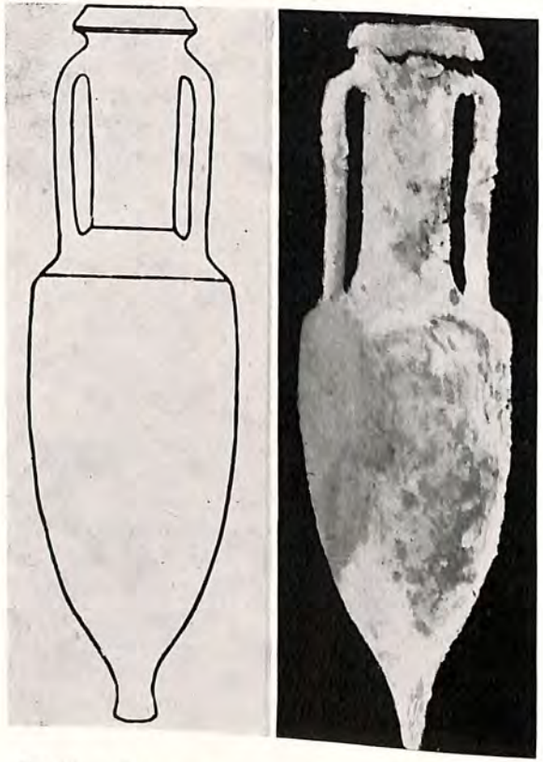


Fig. 81. — Amphores de Bale et de l'ile du Levant
Échelle : 1 /10

1. Ces objets ont été trouvés dans les fouilles de l'usine à gaz. Pour les descriptions des produits de cette fouille, voir surtout : E. Major, *Die prähistorische (gallische) Ansiedelung bei der Gasfabrik in Basel*, dans *Anzeiger für Schweizerische Altertumskunde*, t. XIX, 1917, p. 161-171, 230-251 (spécialement au sujet des amphores, p. 167-169). Cf. Major, *Gallische Ansiedelung mit Gräberfeld bei Basel* [Bâle, 1940], p. 39-41. Je remercie M. R. Laur-Belart, directeur de l'Institut de préhistoire et d'archéologie suisses, de l'amabilité avec laquelle il m'a fait voir la céramique découverte au cours de cette fouille (à présent entreposée au Musée historique de Bâle) et fourni d'utiles informations relativement à la fouille et à ses résultats.

2. Dessin reproduit d'après Major, *ouvr. cité*, p. 168, fig. 8 (cf. *Gallische Ansiedelung...*, p. 40, fig. 26). Les indications de mesure sont basées sur l'échelle du dessin, telle qu'elle est donnée par Major.

que les amphores trouvées près de Marseille. La hauteur de l'amphore reconstituée est d'environ 1 m. 04, son plus grand diamètre d'environ 0 m. 29, et le diamètre en haut du goulot est de 0 m. 14. Comme beaucoup des amphores du Grand Congloué, elle a une lèvre oblique et une panse en forme de toupie allongée ; comme la totalité des mêmes amphores, elle a un long col, des anses longues, droites et rapprochées du col, une épaule inclinée qui se lie à la panse à angle obtus, et un pied court et cylindrique. Certains fragments tirés du même site présentent des variantes : par exemple, les lèvres sont parfois de profil vertical, comme beaucoup de lèvres des récipients du Grand Congloué. La pâte des autres exemplaires de Bâle est de couleur jaunâtre, tanin ou rose, et de contexture particulièrement dure. Elle contient souvent de petites parcelles rouges, noires ou blanches et les amphores présentent généralement une patine blanchâtre ou jaunâtre.

L'examen des nouveaux fragments cités plus haut, ceux de Ruscino, de l'île du Levant et de Cosa, révèle qu'ils appartiennent aussi au type général des exemplaires du Grand Congloué, de Besançon, du mont Beuvray, d'Alise-Sainte-Reine et de Bâle. La lèvre du fragment de Ruscino (fig. 79, nº 2) présente un profil oblique et un diamètre d'embouchure évalué à 0 m. 125 - 0 m. 13 ; la pâte est rouge brique. L'amphore non brisée trouvée près de l'île du Levant (fig. 81, à droite) mesure 1 m. 02 de hauteur. Son plus grand diamètre est de 0 m. 30 et le diamètre à l'embouchure est de 0 m. 13. Comme l'amphore de Bâle et comme un grand nombre de celles du Grand Congloué, elle a une lèvre oblique bien détachée du col, un col allongé, de longues anses fixées près du col. Son épaule, moins inclinée que dans les exemplaires décrits précédemment, se lie à la panse par un angle obtus également moins sensible. La panse allongée, en forme de toupie se termine par un pied un peu plus effilé que ceux des amphores précédemment décrites. La pâte est chamois rosé très pâle.

Les aspects des fragments de Cosa sont figurés ici (fig. 82). Ce sont des fragments de lèvres, quelques-uns d'entre eux attenant à de faibles portions du col ; mais dans tous les fragments, la lèvre seule montre son profil conservé. Ce profil est dans tous les cas oblique, bien que chaque pièce diffère légèrement des autres quant à la hauteur et quant au diamètre évalué de l'embouchure [1]. La pâte est également uniforme : elle est micacée, contient un grand

1. Les diamètres à l'embouchure du goulot, pour les fragments de Cosa, sont évalués comme suit : CB 967 : 0,14 ; CB 1374 : 0,14 ; CB 1582 : 0,135 ; CB 1673 : 0,14 ; CB 1746 : 0,14. Je dois communication de ces évaluations à Mlle Helen E. Russell.

nombre de menues parcelles, offre une couleur de chamois rosé à chamois orangé [1], nuances qui ne doivent sans doute pas être distinguées des qualifications « rouge brique », « rouge » et « rougeâtre » employées pour décrire les exemplaires précédemment cités [2]. La pâte des fragments de Cosa contient également un grand nombre de menues parcelles. Deux fragments (CB 1582 et 1673) conservent des traces d'une patine couleur crème, semblable aux patines blanchâtres des amphores du Grand Congloué et de Bâle.



Fig. 82. — Fragments de cols d'amphores de Cosa
En haut : CB 967, CB 1746 et CB 1582 ;
en bas : CB 1673 et CB 1374. — Échelle : 1/4.

Les pièces provenant de Ligurie semblent appartenir au type général des autres amphores de Sestius. Il y aurait lieu de noter que la lèvre des amphores de Vintimille est oblique, tandis que

1. Les couleurs varient légèrement comme suit : CB 967, chamois rosé ; CB 1374, chamois orangé pâle ; CB 1582, rouille pâle dans la masse, plus clair vers la surface, crème foncé en surface ; CB 1673, chamois rosé, crème foncé en surface ; CB 1746 chamois orangé, beige foncé près de la surface.

2. Les expressions employées par les archéologues pour désigner les couleurs de la pâte varient dans une large mesure. Un système uniforme pour la désignation des couleurs aurait besoin d'être adopté, bien que l'efficacité de la couleur pour distinguer les pâtes est atténuée du fait que la couleur de l'argile cuite dépend de l'intensité du feu et d'autres facteurs. L'uniformité dans la désignation des couleurs de la pâte n'a pu être réalisée dans le présent article, étant donné que je n'ai pas été à même d'examiner la pâte des objets, autres que ceux provenant de Cosa, de Bâle, et des fouilles de l'Agora d'Athènes.

celle de l'autre provenant du même milieu, est verticale (la même alternance dans le profil des lèvres se rencontre au Grand Congloué et à Bâle). L'estampille de Vada Sabatia se présente sur une lèvre oblique apparemment plus haute que les lèvres des autres pièces connues de Sestius. Le profil du tesson d'Ampurias, fragment de lèvre en terre rougeâtre pâle, est inconnu [1].

La contemporanéité relative des amphores de Sestius est ainsi indiquée par les formes et l'aspect de la pâte, aussi bien que par les estampilles. Le fait qu'elles pourraient réclamer une datation aussi basse que le premier siècle avant J.-C. est confirmé, en dernier lieu, par deux amphores fragmentaires inédites trouvées au cours des fouilles de l'Agora d'Athènes, réalisées par l'École américaine d'études classiques à Athènes [2]. La première amphore, nº P 8106 (fig. 83, à gauche), fut utilisée dans la construction d'un puits construit dans les dernières années du second siècle avant J.-C. [3]. Elle apparaît similaire, quant à la forme et quant aux dimensions, avec les amphores déjà décrites. La hauteur de cette amphore, qui est entière à l'exception d'une anse, est de 1 m. 05 ; le diamètre maximum est de 0 m. 30 et le diamètre intérieur, à l'embouchure du goulot de 0 m. 15. La lèvre est oblique et séparée du col par une rainure profonde. Le col est long et étroit et les anses, longues et droites, sont disposées très près du col. L'épaule inclinée se lie à la panse par un angle obtus. La panse est en forme de toupie allongée et le pied est court, lourd et cylindrique. La pâte est de couleur orange pâle, micacée, et contient en grand nombre de minuscules parcelles noires et blanches. Cette amphore ne diffère que sur un seul point des récipients déjà décrits : elle ne porte pas d'estampille. Tous les autres caractères se retrouvent dans

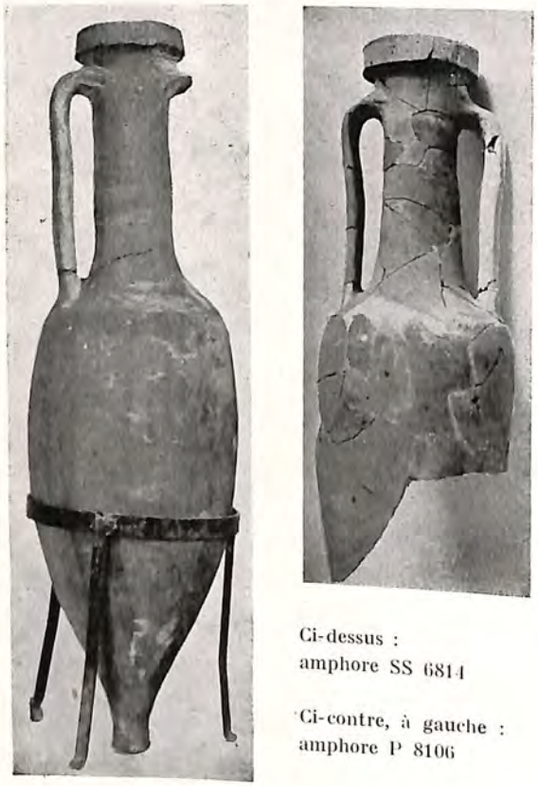
1. Au sujet des pièces provenant de Ligurie, cf. les références données ci-dessus, n. 1, p. 228 et n. 4, p. 229. Lamboglia (*ouvr. cité*, p. 248, 250) suggère que la pièce provenant de Vada Sabatia appartient à un type d'amphore différent et en même temps plus tardif que le type auquel appartiennent les amphores du Grand Congloué. Sur le fragment provenant d'Ampurias, voir n. 4, p. 229.

2. Je remercie M. Homer Thompson, directeur général des Fouilles de l'Agora, de m'avoir autorisée à faire état de ces amphores et secondée à plusieurs points de vue, à propos de cet article. Les photographies (fig. 83) sont dues à Mlle Alison Frantz.

3. La référence au quadrillage pour ce milieu est C 9 : 7. Le puits était creusé à travers le sol d'une citerne de Kolonos Agoraios, et les amphores étaient employées en remplissage autour de la maçonnerie du puits au-dessus du sol et jusqu'à l'orifice supérieur de la citerne. Trois autres amphores également employées dans la construction du puits sont semblables à P 8106 et appartiennent à un type contemporain, étroitement apparenté. Un grand nombre d'anses d'amphores grecques datant d'une époque aussi basse que la fin du IIe siècle avant J.-C. étaient employées en remplissage autour de la maçonnerie du puits et fournissent un *terminus post quem* à la construction du puits.

les amphores du Grand Congloué et dans les autres exemplaires portant les estampilles SES.

La seconde pièce provenant des fouilles de l'Agora, nº SS 6814 (fig. 83, à droite), fut trouvée dans une citerne comblée, dont le remplissage date du premier quart du premier siècle avant J.-C. [1]. Cet exemplaire consiste dans les deux tiers supérieurs d'une amphore



Ci-dessus :
amphore SS 6814

Ci-contre, à gauche :
amphore P 8106

Fig. 83. — Amphores de l'Agora d'Athènes
Échelle 1/10

qui a été partiellement restaurée au plâtre. La hauteur conservée est de 0 m. 775 ; le diamètre maximum de 0 m. 29 et le diamètre intérieur, à l'embouchure du goulot, de 0 m. 15. La lèvre est cette fois verticale et légèrement concave. Le col est très long et étroit ;

1. La référence au quadrillage pour ce milieu est M 20 : 1. Le matériel de ce remplissage provient de la destruction de l'Agora par Sylla en 86 avant J.-C.

les anses sont longues, droites et disposées près du col. L'épaule inclinée se lie à la panse par un angle obtus et la panse était manifestement très étroite et presque cylindrique. La pâte est de couleur chamois-jaune et contient beaucoup de parcelles noires et blanches et quelques grosses parcelles rouges. Pour les dimensions et les principaux caractères, cette pièce est apparentée à P 8106. Sa lèvre plus verticale peut être comparée avec la majorité des lèvres d'amphores du Grand Congloué, avec un certain nombre d'exemplaires de Bâle ainsi qu'avec l'une des lèvres provenant de Vintimille. Bien que la pâte jaunâtre diffère de celle des amphores de Sestius et de P 8106, il faudrait observer cependant que certaines pièces de Bâle présentaient une pâte jaunâtre. De même, l'estampille portée sur la lèvre de SS 6814 rappelle les amphores de Bâle. Elle consiste dans un cachet carré contenant l'unique lettre A, dont les deux jambages se prolongent en haut comme pour suggérer l'intention d'une ligature de AX ou AV. Cette estampille est similaire à plusieurs marques sur lèvre, consistant en une lettre, qui ont été observées dans les fouilles de Bâle, et spécialement à l'une d'elles (1915, 483), formée d'un X dans un cachet carré [1].

Les deux amphores des fouilles de l'Agora d'Athènes viennent ainsi renforcer l'impressionnant indice de la typologie en faveur d'une datation des amphores de Sestius à une époque aussi tardive que le premier siècle avant J.-C. On ne saurait trop insister sur le fait que la date la plus haute attribuable à une pièce tirée des fouilles terrestres ne peut remonter au delà des dernières années du second siècle avant J.-C. et il faut noter que la seule amphore susceptible d'une telle datation (P 8106, fouilles de l'Agora) est dépourvue d'estampille. De plus, les indications que nous possédons au sujet de l'estampillage des amphores romaines donnent à penser que l'estampillage ne peut avoir été pratiqué de façon usuelle avant le début du premier siècle avant J.-C. [2] : il en résulte que nous pouvons considérer P 8106 comme l'un des exemplaires les plus

1. Des estampilles carrées à une lettre, trouvées sur des amphores du « type de Sestius » et sur des fragments à Bâle, sont relatées dans l'article cité d'E. Major dans *A.S.A.* (ci-dessus, p. 234), p. 169 et fig. 9 (cf. *Gallische Ansiedelung*, p. 41, fig. 27), et dans un article dû à W. Molinier, dans *A.S.A.*, t. XL (1938), p. 161-184. Une estampille reproduisant la marque de Bâle 1915.483 a été également trouvée au mont Beuvray (J.-G. Bulliot, *Fouilles du mont Beuvray*, 1899, *Album.*, pl. LX, 48). Des estampilles carrées, consistant dans la lettre A et ressemblant à l'estampille imprimée sur SS 6814 ont également été découvertes au mont Beuvray (Bulliot, *ibid.*, pl. XI, nos 68 et 94) ; à Cosa, sur un fragment de lèvre de profil oblique, appartenant peut-être au « type de Sestius » (nº CB 1584) ; et à Azaila (Espagne), sur une lèvre analogue (J. Cabré Aguilo, *Corpus Vasorum Hispanorum* [Madrid, 1944], p. 23 et fig. 15 b, 1).

2. La plupart des amphores romaines connues de moi et clairement datables du second siècle avant J.-C. (amphores inédites provenant de milieux datés

précoces d'une amphore du « type de Sestius ». En tout cas, toutes les indications du contexte donnent à penser que les exemplaires estampillés de ce type devraient être datés de la première moitié du premier siècle avant J.-C.

* *

La question de l'identité de Sestius a soulevé beaucoup d'intérêt, et reçu une publicité correspondante, à la fois dans la presse et dans les publications érudites. Naturellement il est peu probable que nous puissions un jour savoir qui était Sestius. Le seul indice concluant que nous possédions à son sujet consiste dans les estampilles sur amphores, lesquelles présentent parfois trois, parfois quatre et parfois cinq lettres de son nom, suivies ordinairement d'un signe en forme d'ancre ou de trident, ou d'étoile ou de palme.

Les signes ne constituent probablement pas un fil conducteur susceptible de conduire à une identification de Sestius, attendu que les mêmes signes se rencontrent sur des estampilles apparemment sans relation avec les estampilles de Sestius [1]. Les signes ne paraissent pas avoir été employés communément sur les estampilles latines avant le second siècle après J.-C., époque où la palme en particulier fut un motif favori sur les estampilles d'amphores à huile exportées d'Espagne [2]. A l'occasion, cependant, à partir du premier siècle avant J.-C., les signes étaient utilisés sur les estampilles latines. Parmi les signes les plus anciens, également, la palme tenait une place de choix, mais d'autres motifs, tels que le caducée ou l'amphore ou ceux des estampilles de Sestius, se rencontrent aussi. Les signes sur estampilles d'amphores latines étaient probablement symboliques, dans le cadre général de l'utilisation des amphores en matière de commerce maritime. Mais que ces mêmes signes aient comporté, comme une marque commerciale, une référence spécifique à la personne ou à la maison désignée par l'estampille, cela est rendu improbable par le fait qu'un petit nombre

aux fouilles de l'Agora et à Corinthe) sont dépourvues d'estampilles. Elles seront décrites dans ma publication ultérieure sur les amphores romaines d'Athènes, Corinthe, Délos, et Alexandrie. Il convient d'observer ici, également, qu'à l'exception d'une seule, toutes les amphores romaines datées les plus anciennes, — elles sont publiées au premier volume du *C.I.L.* (celles qui portent des inscriptions peintes désignent des consuls de la fin du IIe et du début du Ier siècle avant J.-C.) — sont dépourvues d'estampille. Cf. *C.I.L.*, t. I², 2, 653, 697, 699-704. L'estampillage était sans doute pratiqué au second siècle avant J.-C. (cf. *C.I.L.*, I², 2, 425, 659), mais les témoignages connus à l'heure actuelle le donnent comme chose rare.

1. La palme se rencontre çà et là sur les marques d'amphores du *C.I.L.* Au sujet des autres signes, cf. par exemple *C.I.L.*, t. X, 8051,40 (étoiles) ; t. XIII, 10002, 539 (trident), au mont Beuvray ; *ibid.*, 540 (étoile). L'ancre se rencontre sur trois estampilles latines inédites provenant d'Alexandrie.

2. La série la plus importante de ces estampilles figure au *C.I.L.*, t. XV.

de signes étaient employés, par le fait aussi que ces mêmes signes peu nombreux sont observés sur des estampilles de dates différentes et sans relation entre elles. Il est probable que des considérations de pure convention inspiraient l'emploi de quelques signes commerciaux (peut être parce qu'ils avaient été rendus familiers par les estampilles grecques), sans que l'on se fût attaché à leur signification ou à leur symbolisme particulier. De tels signes ont pu être utilisés dans des cas où l'on souhaitait une interponctuation ou simplement un décor. Il est possible, aussi, que dans des ateliers importants, les signes aient pu répondre au dessin d'identifier les produits d'un travailleur particulier ; ou encore que, dans le cas où plusieurs ateliers appartenaient au même propriétaire, les signes aient pu servir à identifier les produits des différents ateliers.

On a, cependant, été tenté de voir dans les signes de l'ancre et du trident, observés sur les estampilles de Sestius, l'indice que Sestius était un expéditeur ou un négociant. Il a été suggéré qu'un certain Marcus Sestius, mentionné dans une inscription du début du second siècle avant J.-C., trouvée à Délos, pourrait avoir été le négociant en question [1]. Même si les amphores de Sestius pouvaient être rapportées à une si haute époque, leur appartenance à ce Marcus Sestius serait improbable. Ainsi que M. Thevenot l'a fait observer récemment dans cette revue, les amphores romaines de la fin de l'époque républicaine (et cela est probablement vrai de presque toutes les périodes) semblent avoir été marquées du nom du potier [2], et il n'y a pas de raison de penser que Marcus Sestius fût un potier. Il est beaucoup plus probable qu'il était un banquier ou un négociant, comme la plupart des Italiens à Délos [3] au cours du

1. Cf. BENOIT, *R.S.L.*, p. 254-255 ; *Gallia*, p. 45. L'inscription nommant Marcus Sestius est *I.G.*, t. XI, 4, 757. L'on a tenté d'établir une relation entre le trident et l'ancre figurant en mosaïque dans la « Maison du Trident » à Délos, et les signes du trident et de l'ancre des estampilles de Sestius, et parallèlement, d'identifier la « Maison du Trident » à la maison de Marcus Sestius. Cf. COUSTEAU, *ouvr. cité*, p. 36 ; LALLEMAND, *ouvr. cité*, p. 26 et 213, n. 5. L'invraisemblance d'une telle hypothèse s'accroît du fait que les traits en forme de S utilisés comme décoration entre les branches du trident de la mosaïque (traits qui, a-t-on proposé, constituent la première et la troisième lettre du nom de Sestius, tandis que le trident lui-même constitue le E) se rencontrent également entre les branches des tridents qui accompagnent le nom ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ, sur deux anses d'amphores de Cos trouvées à Alexandrie. Je suis reconnaissante à M. Loukas Benachi, à la collection de qui les dites anses appartiennent, de m'avoir signalé cette ressemblance et adressé des estampages de ces marques. Mlle Virginia Grace, qui est en passe de publier les marques d'amphores grecques de la collection Benachi, m'a aimablement fait tenir des photographies de ces marques, cataloguées sous les numéros KO ABC 45 et 158.

2. *R.A.E.*, t. IV (1953), p. 238 ; t. V (1954), p. 238-239.

3. Au sujet des occupations des Italiens à Délos durant cette période, voir surtout J. HATZFELD, *Les Italiens résidant à Délos*, dans *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, t. XXXVI (1912), p. 5-218.

second siècle. Le Sestius nommé sur les amphores, cependant, était presque sûrement le propriétaire d'une poterie, et de plusieurs générations plus jeune que Marcus Sestius.

A considérer le nombre des différents *Sestii* nommés sur des estampilles relevant de catégories variées de céramique et cataloguées au *Corpus inscriptionum latinarum*, c'est peut être une tâche impossible de chercher à identifier avec l'un d'entre eux le signataire des amphores de Sestius [1]. L'énormité de la cargaison d'amphores échouées au Grand Congloué, l'ampleur de l'aire sur laquelle sont dispersées les trouvailles d'amphores marquées SES indiquent cependant que le fabricant n'était pas un potier ordinaire, mais plutôt un potier opulent et important. Dans cette vue, il est intéressant de noter que le seul potier Sestius qui ait été identifié avec un personnage historique est un certain L. Sestius Quirinus (ou Quirinalis), qui était *consul suffectus* en 23 avant J.-C., et dont le nom se lit sur plusieurs *tegulae* provenant de Rome et de la région voisine [2]. Ce personnage était le fils d'un bon ami de Cicéron, P. Sestius, que Cicéron défendit en 56 avant J.-C. (*Pro Sestio*) et qui était sans doute préteur en – 54. Il est improbable que L. Sestius fût le fabricant des amphores de Sestius, puisque, s'il était né vers – 73 [3], des objets estampillés portant son nom pourraient difficilement être antérieurs aux environs de – 40. Mais la possibilité s'offre que la poterie dont L. Sestius fut propriétaire peut avoir été un établissement reçu par héritage. P. Sestius, lui-même, peut donc avoir possédé une poterie, et il faudrait noter que la chronologie de ce dernier personnage correspond bien avec les dates qui peuvent être attribuées aux amphores de Sestius et aux fragments trouvés dans les sites terrestres. S'il est vrai que P. Sestius était né vers 95 avant J.-C. [4], des objets estampillés portant son nom pourraient dater du second quart du premier siècle avant J.-C.

De plus, P. Sestius était un homme opulent et de grande influence, bien susceptible d'avoir possédé une ou plusieurs poteries pour fournir les récipients servant à exporter les produits de ses domaines, comme faisaient tant d'hommes importants de son époque. Il était

1. Pour la discussion relative aux principaux potiers qui portèrent le nom de Sestius, cf. KEUNE, dans la *Real-Encyclopädie*, s.v. *Sestius* (11).

2. Cf. *C.I.L.*, t. XV, 1445 ; ROHDEN and DESSAU, *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*, t. III (Berlin, 1898), n° 436.

3. Comme il est proposé par MÜNZER dans *Real-Encyclopädie*, s.v. *Sestius* (3). Si Sestius était questeur en 44 avant J.-C. (cf. T.R.S. BROUGHTON, *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic*, t. II [New-York, 1952], p. 326), il pouvait être né dès 75 avant J.-C., puisqu'il avait occupé probablement cette charge à l'âge de 31 ans ou d'environ 31 ans.

4. Cf. MÜNZER, dans *Real-Encyclopädie*, s.v. *Sestius* (6). Puisque P. Sestius était questeur en 63 avant J.-C., il peut être né en 94 avant J.-C.

également capable d'assumer le risque que pouvait comporter une cargaison de nombreuses centaines d'amphores emplies, et, à la lumière du nombre élevé des marques de Sestius trouvées en Gaule, il est intéressant de noter que P. Sestius avait des relations avec Marseille : il fit pour le moins un voyage en cette ville (*Pro Sestio*, 3, 7), afin de voir son père légal, L. Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus, le consul de 83 avant J.-C., qui vivait là en exil. S'il est vrai que Sestius avait des intérêts commerciaux en Gaule, la présence de son père légal dans cette contrée risquait de constituer une aide précieuse, et la visite de Sestius, dont Cicéron fait grand état, pourrait avoir été dictée par des considérations économiques aussi bien que par la piété d'un fils adoptif. Des considérations de même ordre pourraient avoir joué un rôle, lors d'un autre voyage en Gaule que fit Sestius en 58 avant J.-C., afin de rencontrer César en faveur de Cicéron (*Pro Sestio*, 33, 71). Ainsi existe-t-il des présomptions suivant lesquelles P. Sestius, en marge de ses activités politiques, pouvait avoir possédé une ou plusieurs poteries et l'on sait qu'il avait des relations avec la Gaule et qu'il visita la contrée par deux fois au moins. Enfin, il conviendrait d'observer que cinq estampilles SES ont été découvertes à Cosa, plus qu'en aucun autre site terrestre. Nous pouvons tirer de ce fait un indice que les amphores de Sestius, au moins certaines d'entre elles, provenaient de la région de Cosa [1]. Il est peut-être significatif, dans cette perspective, que P. Sestius possédait une villa à Cosa (CICÉRON, *Ad Atticum*, 15, 27, 1) [2]. Il peut avoir possédé en ce lieu une poterie pour loger le vin et l'huile que produisait son domaine.

1. L'analyse chimique de la pâte des exemplaires du Grand Congloué, de Bâle et d'Alise-Sainte-Reine a révélé, nous dit-on, la présence d'augite, constituant des roches volcaniques. Cf. BENOIT, *R.S.L.*, p. 254 et *Gallia*, p. 42 ; R. LAIS, *Ueber die Herkunft römischer Amphoren aus Latènesiedlungen am Hoch- und Oberrhein*, *Germania*, t. XXVII (1943), p. 50-52 ; THEVENOT, *R.A.E.*, t. V (1954), p. 238. Ces auteurs envisagent que la pâte contenant de l'augite provient vraisemblablement des parages du Vésuve ou de l'Etna. On se demande si l'augite ne pourrait pas également être présente dans l'argile provenant d'autres régions de l'Italie. Quant à la valeur indicative de l'augite, on retiendra l'observation suivante : M. Maréchal, ingénieur civil des mines, qui avait, en 1954, à la prière de M. Thevenot, analysé la pâte des tessons d'Alise-Sainte-Reine et du mont Beuvray, estimait que la présence d'augite « n'est pas caractéristique d'une région déterminée » et ne peut suffire à désigner telle provenance, à l'exclusion de telle autre ; cf. *R.A.E.*, 1954, p. 238, n. 2 et renseignements communiqués à M. Thevenot. Ce point de vue vient d'être confirmé par M. Maréchal (lettre adressée à E. Thevenot, janvier 1957), qui signale la présence d'augite dans des poteries de provenance rhénane. Ces constatations diminuent singulièrement la portée des indications que l'on pouvait espérer retirer de l'analyse chimique.

2. Le texte est le suivant : *Non enim ego tam illum* [*Sestium*] *exspectare dum de Cosano* [*praedio*] *rediret debui*...

Il y a donc un faisceau impressionnant de présomptions qui nous invitent à identifier P. Sestius comme le fabricant des amphores de Sestius, mais il faut bien insister sur le fait qu'il n'existe pas de preuve de cette identification. Nous savons si peu au sujet des amphores romaines et de leur fabrication que nous devons, pour l'instant, nous contenter de formuler des hypothèses. Mais à défaut d'examiner, puis d'accepter ou de rejeter des hypothèses, nous n'avons pas la possibilité d'atteindre les faits. Un jour notre connaissance des amphores romaines aura progressé jusqu'au point où non seulement nous disposerons d'une chronologie solide, mais encore nous saurons plus complètement où et par qui elles ont été fabriquées. De telles informations enrichiront grandement notre intelligence de l'histoire économique romaine.

Elizabeth Lyding WILL.

NOTE COMPLÉMENTAIRE

Au moment où le mémoire de Mme Will allait être livré à la composition nous parvient la nouvelle d'une récente découverte. M. Michel Labrousse, professeur à l'Université de Toulouse, nous apporte cette information, d'accord avec M. Georges Fouet, auteur de la trouvaille ; il nous communique aimablement la notice provisoire qu'il a consacrée à cette fouille et pousse l'abnégation jusqu'à nous autoriser à en faire état. Nous nous garderons d'abuser d'une confiance accordée aussi généreusement et d'anticiper par trop sur la publication à venir. Mais il nous est bien agréable, et nous en remercions MM. Labrousse et Fouet, de pouvoir consigner ici la mise au jour d'une estampille supplémentaire de Sestius. Elle offre les lettres SES suivies d'une étoile à cinq branches et répond donc à la forme de Cosa CB 967 et CB 1746. Cette marque est imprimée sur la lèvre oblique d'un col d'amphore, dont le diamètre intérieur à l'embouchure est d'environ 12 centimètres (d'après le dessin que nous fait tenir M. Labrousse ; dimension comparable à celle du col de Besançon). Elle provient du territoire de Vieille-Toulouse, à quelques kilomètres au sud de Toulouse, et d'un milieu qui daterait du 1er siècle et plus précisément des environs de 50 avant J.-C. Il serait superflu de souligner à quel point les diverses positions adoptées par Mme Will se trouvent confirmées par cet ultime document. Les indications chronologiques fournies par tous les exemplaires datables (au moins approximativement), c'est-à-dire par les estampilles provenant de Cosa, de Vintimille et de Vada Sabatia, de Ruscino, de Bâle, de Besançon, du mont Beuvray, de Vieille-Toulouse, concordent irrésistiblement en faveur de la première moitié du premier siècle avant notre ère. Cette remarquable concordance ne devra pas être négligée, quand on tentera d'assigner une date aux autres gisements, terrestres ou sous-marins, qui ont livré des amphores de Sestius d'époque incertaine. — É. TH.

3.01

Athens, December 9, 1956

Dear Letty,

So nice to have your letters of Nov.24 and Dec.1. I realized that Egypt must have seemed pretty uncertain, and previous advice no longer very ~~ir~~relevant. Maybe after a couple of months the situation will let you decide on a trip; I suppose the tourists are a felt need already in Egypt, and Greek tourists at least are well treated. Mr.Hadjidakis, director of the Benaki Museum has just come back from a good trip, only somewhat delayed at the end waiting for a boat, which gave him plenty of time to visit with poor lonesome Mr. Benachi in Alex. From there come dismal letters full of euphemisms by which he indicates that the English (relatives of Petro and his Swiss wife) and the French (connections of the Daux) are now an Exodos, also the Jews (friends of the Agora lychnologist). He will not feel more cheerful when he gets my letter saying that 25 Asteroskopeiou St. is to be vacated by New Year's, a large part of the staff dropped then (including my Andreas, but I shall ~~pay~~ keep him myself for at least half time, if he does not right away get a suitable job)(also all menders before the jars spinached by Mabel are reconstructed); and the rest of us laid off the end of June. He thinks of the Agora (even the Stoa) as Paradise; also, the Serpent infests it.

To revert to more cheerful subjects, I'm delighted that the translation turned out a success. How elegant for one's first publication to be in French. And fascinated by your amphora-experiences in England, including the revelation of the Augustan wine amphora so inadequately treated by C.C. Vermuele, however indeed his name is spelled.

Your pages of catalogue and covering letter I have duly shown to Lucy Talcott, and shall pass them on to H.A.T. Lucy thought you had planned very well. She had one or two small points to bring up: 1) plate references according to "Princeton practice" come regularly in the first line and to far right; this is in the catalogue proper of course, not when one refers to an illustration in the midst of a general description. 2) Two marginal stops are enough in the typing: i.e. one does not try to make an outline form, but ordinary paragraphing. (Probably the editor would fix this, but the simpler form of manuscript would be easier to type up.) In print, they subordinate by smaller print, and by putting catalogue into double columns. She suggests in the description that you omit the word

She and I were both a little bothered by ambiguity as to when you are speaking of pieces of pots, and when of stamp impressions, i.e. are the items 1-3 under 34 necks, jars, etc., or are they impressions? Reading along in the small piece of text that I have, I took them to be the former, so it was a little confusing to find them "set inverted." Connected with this difficulty perhaps is my wish that the reading as a whole were more isolated; this will be partly affected by putting the Plate nos. far to the right:

34. APH pot Pl.25, 34

1. (SS 7289). ~~Stamp inverted~~ Neck fragment, the stamp inverted on the rim.

etc.

(As you see, I try out various forms.)

Have you been able to make an estimate of the approximate number of plates and of pages for Mr. Thompson? He and the editor will be wanting that, I suppose.

I have a place on the TWA plane leaving a week from today. I shall be in Princeton probably more than once, but once is to be for the celebration of Hetty Goldman's 75th birthday, a dinner at the Oppenheimers, and the presentation of the Festschrift - she is supposed still not to know about the latter. This will be Wednesday the 19th. The Meetings being in Philadelphia, I shall probably attend at least some, as I shall be staying mostly, probably, with my sister in Germantown. Address me:

Care Dr. F.M.McPhedran
5321 Baynton Street
Philadelphia 44, Pa.

Fear I shall still have to be back early in February, despite later departure. We need some photos from the British Museum. Did you get some made? Could they be made actual size?

With best wishes to you both, and my love,

Yours

Tübingen, November 24, 1956

Dear Virginia,

Please forgive my having delayed so long to answer your letter of October 23. As a matter of fact, I did answer it, and at once, but I delayed until the next morning to mail the answer, and by that time the war in Egypt had broken out. So my letter, which was concerned mostly with when I should go to Egypt, was out of date before it was mailed. I kept the envelope, though, and I'm using it for the present letter (the envelope has been through a lot; thus the spots and wrinkles).

I said in the ill-fated letter that, as far as my own plans were concerned, it would be better for me to make the trip East in January and February, going perhaps first to Alex. and getting to Greece by the time you return from America. In that way, the catalogue would be in almost-final form by the time I left here. I suppose it isn't impossible that some such schedule could still be adhered to. But certainly it isn't possible to make definite plans now. Mr. Benachi said something several weeks ago about your possibly being able to go to Egypt with me. That would be magnificent beyond words, and if there were a chance of it, I would certainly delay the trip to Alex. until you had returned. Perhaps you would consider flying from New York to Cairo instead of to Athens.

It's excellent that you've decided to go home for a few weeks. When you can, please let us know how we can reach you.

The Stoa opening must have been very exciting. I'm glad to know that you were able to use my suggested contributions. I wish I could have been there to help you with the awful final days of preparation.

Back to Alex.: I have just received a recent card from Mr. B., so apparently communication with Egypt is again possible. I'm sure he will keep me posted about the best time for my trip. Thank you so much for your advice about travel, currency, etc., also for your mentioning me to Mr. Waltz. As for currency, if Marks aren't easily convertible, I can use dollars.

I'm glad to know that some better dates are resulting from the preparations for the new jar-storage. You mentioned that Type 22 (SS 11107) should perhaps be given an earlier date. I'm afraid my old preliminary report is quite out-of-date now. I have deleted and added types and changed several dates. We can go over all that together when I get to Greece.

Thevenot finished the translation of my article early this month and sent the MS to me before sending it on to RAE. I rather think he did a very good job. The translation is very literal, but it sounds like French. What more could one want? There were several small mistakes and mistranslations, and I sent him a list of them, but otherwise I was much pleased. I'm sure it was a difficult job for him. I hope the article will be coming out this winter.

I think I haven't yet told you that I found another Latin at the BM. Its number is 86 4-1, 1703 (BM 401). The stamp is " M PH BAL " (bordered). It is a microscopic rim fragment of Type 17 (Ostia-type). By the way, I have crossed off my list (I hope with your approval) the two Coans BM 333 and 419.

More about the BM: I have nothing but good to say about their treatment of me. Mr. Higgins was particularly nice. He escorted me down to the basement innumerable times and was very kind in other ways, despite the fact that he and Mr. Haynes have almost no time since Ashmole's departure. They are snowed under; and to make matters worse Mr. Higgins was expecting a baby almost hourly during the last two weeks of our stay in London (I hope they finally had it). I got a lot done there (no, I never had to spend the night in the basement; what an eerie place it is) and was able to find in the library most of the important amphora reports I haven't yet seen.

I had quite a number of other amphora-experiences in England. At the Gulidhall, I "exposed" a (published) fake, a genuine "Testaccio-type" neck attached to a cement belly that had been faked to look like clay. The shape of the belly was completely wrong, so I probed and found plaster with a thick cement covering. Much embarrassment for all concerned. At the Soane Museum in Lincoln's Inn Fields, I found a magnificent whole jar of Type 14. It has a beautiful long stamp on the rim, but no one had ever noticed the stamp, and the jar had been catalogued (by C.C. Vermuele, however his name is spelled) as a "water jar." The museum staff was astonished when I told them it was an Italian wine amphora (stamped!) of the Augustan period. It is the oldest whole Roman amphora I know to be in England. Other English amphora items: Maurice Callender very kindly gave me a "Viselli" handle from his collection (he thinks it came from Egypt). And one day in the BM Fred encountered a man holding an amphora neck and standing dejectedly near the main entrance. He went up to the man and offered his services. The man had been trying to give the neck to the museum but had been rejected. Fred summoned me from the library. The neck turned out to be (probably) from one of those long-toed jars. The man had found it in Sardinia, in the sea near an island named Calla Volpo off the NE coast of Sardinia. He said there were hundreds of other jars at the same spot. I think the museum was foolish not to take the neck, as they have nothing at all like it.

Many thanks for the photos of the Paige jar. From the photos, it looks, as you suggest, to be very close to, if not identical with, the Corinth jars, C-47-839, etc. It very probably belongs to the second century BC, perhaps the mid-second. I will, I swear, write to Mr. and Mrs. Paige on the subject <u>soon</u>.

We hope you have a really wonderful time in America. If you should see Dr. and Mrs. Meyer, please give them our regards.

For now, much love from us both,

Lelly

We are fairly well settled by now, and enjoying Tübingen tremendously. Our German continues to improve.

I enclose phots. taken on 4.VI.56 of a jar belonging to Mr. and Mrs. [Robert?] Paige (sic), then residing in Kephissia, and attached to our Embassy here. They were about to be transferred to Teheran, where I believe they now are. They were planning to give the jar to Vassar College. They had paid rather a lot for it. My heart rather sank, because it seemed to be just a Pig. But since the phots. have been developed and printed, I have the impression it is earlyish, maybe soon after the pre-Mummius Corinth ones? I promised them you would tell them all about it. The address is: Mr. and Mrs. Robert (I hope) Paige, USOM, Care American Embassy, Teheran, Iraq.

Athens, October 23, 1956

Dear Letty,

How nice you have finally emerged from addresslessness. Mr. Benachi hoped to get in touch with you before he left here, where he feels he can write more freely than from home. Your disappearance just about coincided with the beginning of a period when I could manage to write letters, if not seminary papers. So let's see what there is to be answered.

First of all, I was most grateful for your contributions to our exhibition. I think I put all your pieces into the vitrine except one, which, as you guessed it might be, was too large. Time did not permit the preparation of a publication text on our show, but I did have to write out a short explanation - 13 typed pages which was typed and placed in the room, eventually also in a Greek translation (gosh what a fuss that was: the style is a terrible problem in these matters, how high-style or how demotic, nobody will agree with anybody else, except that whatever way it is is terrible; when the archaeologists got through hashing it over, more or less, Miss Kokoni couldn't stomach their final text, so another struggle ensued). I sat up all night to manage the English text before the opening. The reason it had to appear was that the Achaia-Klauss Wine Co. had contributed to the cost, and had been promised a bronze plaque on the wall, which the Archaeological Symvoulion would not permit, thank God, so their name had to appear somewhere in evidence. The head of the company was right there on hand the first day, looking for it. This has some of your dope in it, but more will appear later, when the picture book of jars at the Agora comes out. We managed to get the MAP up and framed, but in the end did not put any of your sites in: I thought you would really prefer not, and we simplified it to Centers of the Greek Wine Trade, which was nicer also for Mr. Achaia-Klauss. Some changes were made in the selection of jars for exhibition. You will soon be here to see all.

It was terribly nice that my niece Margaret's parents-in-law made themselves

known to you, and that you liked them. (On the crowded "Italia.") I think she and they are very fond of each other. Margaret is expecting a baby, I have been delighted to hear. You seem to have had a very pleasant time in Oxford; I'm glad to hear you think Peter continues to benefit by his new marriage. Ruth is nice,don't you think. I'm glad you finally got the Cosa pictures. Frank Brown did not come to our celebration. I should not have been a very good envoy for you with him, as he is one person whom I do not like at all. I hope you liked the basement of the B.M.; look forward to hearing your experiences there, and whether you ever got stuck indide and had to spend the night.

Now about your trip to these parts, and related matters. I imagine you have written to Mr.Benachi at the same time you wrote to me, and he will be writing you his plans so far as he wants to share them with the censor. I find I am not entirely sure about the presently proposed date of his trip to India; but I think it has been postponed, and will now take place perhaps in January. He was hoping you would be able to come early in November. In a note of Oct.19th, just after his arrival in Egypt, he said he could see no reason why you should not come to Alex. as soon as you wanted to, and he asked me to pass on the information in case I got into contact with you before he did. This in connection with uncertain conditions there, and the fact that our consul in Greece has been rather discouraging Americans from going to Egypt. This of course they have to do to avoid making themselves responsible for any inconveniences that may arise. A friend who is U.S. consul, or vice-consul (certainly charge for a time), John Waltz, whom I saw about October 6, on his way back to Egypt, certainly encouraged your trip, if it is mainly for getting something done; I think he felt there might be restrictions or whatnot that would bring disappointments for pure tourists; or perhaps just that Egypt might not seem its most agreable self. But apparently Americans are being favored for the time (I have this also from other sources);

also (it must be admitted) Mr. Waltz thinks that their being there helps to steady the foreign population in the country - if they were to be advised officially to leave, they might start a panic which would be bad for everybody. He asked me to ask you to register at the consulate as soon as you got there, and to see him, or leave a personal message for him. He and his wife are both very nice, young. You would enjoy meeting them.

. . . . . ' ' ' . . . . . .

More communications turn up from Mr. Benachi

./' ./' ./' ./' ./' '). '). '). ').

He spells Walz without a T and he may be right. He says he has written to you and/or cabled to you. This business about getting your visa for Egypt in Germany was discussed here also. I shall see if I can find out anything about the ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ value here of marks. I think that you can make an official change of any money you get written into your passport on arrival in Greece; but perhaps there are exceptional currencies that are not wanted. Of course it's more convenient to make an exchange with somebody who wants to come to Germany. Mr. Caskey thinks the Hellenic Mediterranean Line, between here and Marseilles, gives a good discount to American School students, which he feels he could rate you, since you are coming here to work on School material. The British discount is a special thing, which they get because the son of some shipping magnate was a student in England and not terribly bright, at least I think that is how it came about, anyway it is not for us.

For my plans, I hope you can come in November, as I hope to go to America early in December, and will have to return by early in February. What a pity it isn't the year you and Fred will be there! But it will be three years, and I don't want to get too unacquainted with my family, even my country. When I actually go, and when I must return, depend on how we get on with the installation in the Stoa. The jars must go in before I leave, and I ought to be back before cabinets, files and furniture are moved.

I've been having quite a survey of Roman period jars in the last weeks, getting ready for the new storage, which is to be more generally by date and class than before. I think it's important for you to have a good look at these things. The date of your last type - is it 22 - I think is coming out rather earlier than was the guess in your old ms. There may be other modifications coming out in this wash.

The celebrations went off fine on the whole. The part I enjoyed most was the reception at Loring Hall (!) after the anniversary speeches for School and Gennadeion. Lots of people turned up that I was glad to see and that seemed glad to see me, lots of fun. I believe Corinth also was a great success (for most people) but I didn't get there, as I was sweeping up my vitrine - you'll see when you get here.

Which I hope will be soon.

Love,

Paiges
90 American Embassy
USOM Teheran
Iraq

30 761
~~Ext. 220~~
Ext. 832

Bei Grill
Olgastrasse 7
Tübingen, Germany
October 20, 1956

Dear Virginia,

Though we have been in Germany since October 1, we won't move into permanent quarters until next Wednesday, the 24th (address above). In other words, we have had a most difficult time in finding a place to live in Tübingen. The housing situation here is impossible, but we have succeeded in finding two fairly comfortable rooms "mit Küchenbenutzung." We will shortly be settled, thus, and able to resume normal activities.

I feel completely out of touch with you, and with the Agora in general. Your July letter was the last I have had. I hope no others have gone astray. We have had so many addresses recently. I hope all my letters reached you (the hurried one mailed from New York, one from Oxford, and perhaps two or so notes from Oxford and London). And I hope all is well with you, and that it was well with the Stoa opening. About that, we have heard not one word from anybody. To judge from the accounts in the London papers, it was a very successful affair. I imagine you were very glad when it was over. Mr. Benachi, in his last communication (a month ago, incredibly, but, like you, he has had no address for me since October 1), said you were working very hard on the arrangement of amphoras for the permanent Stoa exhibit.

I am most anxious to know your plans for the fall and winter. I am hoping that it will be possible for me to get to Greece (or perhaps I will go first to Alex.) by the middle of November. Are you going to be in Athens during November and December? I can't at the moment be sure that it wouldn't be better for me to postpone the trip until the beginning of January. My decision about that will have to be based partly on your plans, and on Mr. B's.

Mr. Higgins said something to me about the fact that (English) persons connected with the British School, or going to Greece for reasons archaeological, get half-price fare between Venice and Piraeus if they travel on Greek boats. I didn't express that very well, but I hope you understand. Do you think it would be possible for me to make such an arrangement? And would there be any way you could find out for me about the value of German marks in Greece? Would an American have any difficulty in cashing marks in Greece? Forgive my bothering you with these matters, but it would be most helpful to me if you could advise me about any or some of them.

London was magnificent, and I accomplished quantities at the BM. More later about that. And we are delighted with Tübingen and with what we have seen of the rest of Germany. We have been most cordially welcomed here, and our German is immer besser.

We both send greetings, regards, and love,

Letty

Hellin – Mediterranean
Marseilles

Edgware, August 29 7

1956

Dear Virginia,

The briefest note to let you know that I have just received the Cosa photos from Frank Brown; so, if he should be coming to Athens and if you should be seeing him, don't make any plea on my behalf. The photos, incidentally, are good (but if he had only noted the scale, and sent the measurements I asked for. My thank-you note to him will have to contain further requests). Now (except for the measurements) the article is completely ready. It has certainly incurred its share of delays.

I go to the BM on Friday to begin examination of the Romans there. Mr. Higgins has promised to guide me to the basement.

The Stoa celebrations are getting quite a lot of notice in the London papers. It all sounds very exciting.

Home for now -

Lucy

Oxford, August 25 8

1956

Dear Virginia,

We have decided to accept the Callenders' kind offer of their house for the coming week, while they are in Devon. So if you should want to reach me quickly between now and September 1, write % M. H. Callender, 5 Whitchurch Close, Edgware, Middlesex. Actually, that address will be a safe one for all of September, as we'll be seeing the Callenders frequently, though we probably won't stay there after they return. We have no idea yet where we will stay.

We've had two very pleasant encounters with Peter Fraser. We're struck by how relaxed and happy he seems (in contrast to 1951). He's been particularly kind to us, giving us, among other things, thorough tours of All Souls and Brasenose.

Best wishes for the coming ordeal. And let me know if I can be of any help. I have all (!) my notes with me.

Love, Lelly

(Still no thing from Frank Brown. Will appreciate whatever you can do).

Roman

3.01

Darbyshire House
18 Rawlinson Road
Oxford, England
August 17, 1956

Dear Virginia,

We have reached Oxford, and how excellent it is to be here. We hadn't remembered quite how delightful it is. How could we, as we were here for only a day last summer. We'll be here until the 27th, after which London, but our address there is as yet unknown. Mail sent to the above address will be forwarded meticulously, but I'll send you a note with our London address as soon as we have one. Though the Callenders have invited us to stay with them we probably won't do so, as they live way out in Edgware. I think I wrote you that we would be in England until the end of September. That reminds me to say that I will, of course, be delighted to do any and all tasks for you, at the British Museum and elsewhere.

We had a tiring trip. The Italia was very crowded. But we learned a lot of German. Most of the passengers and crew were German, so we feel as it were baptised. And let me tell you at once that two of our fellow-passengers were a Dr. and Mrs. Meyer. On learning that I had archaeological connections, they asked me if I knew you, and they said their son, Johann, is married to your niece. They said they had never met you but that they feel very close to you. As you probably know, they are returning to Germany for the first time since the late thirties. They seemed excited at the prospect. We liked them thoroughly.

I hope you got my letter of August 4, mailed from New York. I'm sorry it had to be sent in such a rush, and untyped, but your letter of July 20, which had to be forwarded from State College to Indiana, reached me as I was in the final orgy of packing. In any case, I hope what I sent you was satisfactory. I wish I were there to help you. Mr. Benachi wrote me that Agora conditions are rather frantic at the moment.

Let me turn to unanswered points in your last letter. About the Sestius article: I think it would be better, all things considered, if you kept my manuscript in your files until the article is published. It ought to come out in the next issue of RAE, but I'm not certain about that. Thevenot has finished the translation, but I have not yet received a crucial photograph of the Cosa fragments. Frank Brown said he would have it taken for me in Rome this summer, and I told him I needed it by July 1 (the date by which T. originally hoped to finish the translation). I haven't heard a word from him, though I have written him twice since July 1. I don't know quite what to do, unless I omit the photo (of rim profiles), which would rather maim the article. It suddenly occurs to me that Frank Brown might be coming to the Stoa celebration. If so, and if you should have an opportunity, I would certainly appreciate your reminding him that I am waiting for the photo, and also for certain measurements for which I asked him. You might also tell him a little about the article, in case he has decided it isn't worth bothering about.

I'm awfully glad that I was able to make a Sestius map for the article, for I believe it will clarify a number of points. The locations of the various sites are now clear, as are their probable interrelationships.

As for the photos of jars at the Brindisi Museum: I'm interested that you think the photo of No. 3 is better than yours. I don't agree at all, but I accept your recommendation that I use the new one. You are going to have to give me a lesson in "photographic criticism." You asked about the toe of No. 2. Yes, I'm sure it was not broken off. I forgot to include a cross-section of it in my last letter. There is a "false bottom": ⌣
Many thanks for the print of the Karystos jar reminiscent of P 14180. It certainly looks much closer to P 14180 than does No. 2 at Brindisi, which might be considerably later, though still earlier than the jars discovered at Corinth last summer.

British Museum: thanks for the correct BM number of 1955 9-20, 320. I have changed the BM number from 334 to 333. The list (a carbon) you sent me last fall gives 334. I note that Maria now considers 333 to be Greek. Does she consider BM 419 to be the same stamp and therefore also Greek?

Alexandria Museum: I am delighted to have the photos of AVG 825 and 1112 (old 521 and 569). I don't know how we happened to overlook those in 1951, when I collected your Alex. Latins.

As for SS 3248, which you thought might be Roman: it doesn't make sense to me at all. Couldn't the first letter be a digamma? As I've been through all the Agora Miscellaneous, I must have seen it, and rejected it as incomprehensible. The fourth letter is particularly mysterious. I'm keeping the rubbings you sent, but returning your file card. Let's keep SS 3248 in the Unknowns.

I'm glad to hear about the Mr. Stanley Slotkin. I will watch for him. I hope he doesn't turn into an American Lallemand.

I hope all goes wonderfully with the Stoa opening. The amphora-exhibit, as you describe it, ought to be of great interest.

Much love from us both,

Lucy

10.01

For Mrs Will

6.VIII.56

Roman stamps numbered in HSR manuscript:

SS 1865 : CTCΛT neck HSR. M116 early 3rd

SS 5945 : IIIIIO[jar HSR [M14] 1st half 1st cent.

SS 6817 : DO divine N fragment HSR K117 mid. of 3rd
AS ! VL from neck

10.02

17. XII. 55

? Kn'

Send the nibbing of SS 3748

(at present among διάφορα)

I don't see why it isn't

Rome, maybe slinged it

on last visit, but it's not

in the 1903 test.

10.03

LT

am I right in a recollection that HAT has written up something (perhaps not published?) treating the data of the Antikythera wreck?

LATIN STAMPS
FOR STOA SAH SHOW

August 4, 1956 11.01

Dear Virginia,

Your letter reached me in Indiana when I was in the midst of frantic packing; and while I had time to think about your most pressing questions, and prepare answers to them, before we left Bloomington, I wasn't able actually to write you before we left. Ergo, I find myself at the Penn Station in New York, two hours or so before we board the boat, writing you now because I'm afraid if I wait to mail the letter on August 13, when we get to England, it may reach you too late for the final Stoa preparations. This long preamble to explain my haste now, and my not answering any but "Stoa" questions. On the boat, I'll prepare an answer to the rest of your letter, which, by the way, I was delighted to receive. I'm so grateful for everything.

It's excellent that you want to include some Latins in the vitrine. Selection of same has been complex, for so many of the most interesting examples are too large for inclusion. I've finally settled on just seven, belonging to six different types ranging from early first B.C. to early third A.D. They are characteristic, and in general fairly well-preserved, datable, and interesting. They are in fact among the most interesting items in my catalogue; and no, I don't object at all to their being noticed before I "come out," as I assume no one will try to publish them before I do. You know what I mean.

Two things occur to me before I give you the list: as you know, a large proportion of the Roman pieces seems to have belonged to (or been, in the case of whole jars) oil jars, not wine jars. In fact, only Types 4, P 8106 I
SS 10072 SS 6179
(Doubly handled) 12, and 14 (in the prelim. report) sum certainly to have been for wine. Secondly, I include no Spe-type fragments in the list, because I have not yet settled on what to say about them. Anyway, only three Spe-type fragments are sufficiently small for the vitrine, and they are not very good examples of the type.

Here is the suggested list for the vitrine (arranged chronologically) with a few sentences about each object. If you use the sentences, change or polish them in any way you wish.

1. SS 8623 (VISELLI)
10496 (C.IVLI·BRVN[ )

Stamped handles of Roman oil amphoras, south Italian; early first century B.C. The type of amphora to which both handles belong is found more frequently than any other variety of Roman amphora in the eastern Mediterranean. The stamps on these handles name, in the genitive case, Viselius and Gaius Iulius Brundisinus, who were probably the owners of the estates on which both the jars and their contents were produced. Amphoras bearing the stamp of Viselius have been found from Spain to southern Russia.

2. SS 8506 (d V i c P.SVLLA)

Stamped handle of a Roman wine amphora dating probably from the middle of the first century B.C. Evidence indicates that this type of amphora originated in southern Italy, perhaps in the neighborhood of Mt. Vesuvius. The stamp bears the name of Publius Sulla, and may have identified ~~identify this~~ the jar as the product of one of the estates of Cicero's friend of that name, who was Consul Designate for 65 B.C.

3. SS 8605 (M HE PICEN)

Stamped fragment from the rim of a Roman wine amphora dating from the last half of the first century B.C. This type of amphora probably originated in central Italy. The stamp contains an abbreviation of the name Marcus Herennius Picens and indicates that the amphora and the wine it contained were products of an estate belonging to the Consul Suffectus of 34 B.C.

4. (But this may be just too large for the vitrine)

SS 2475 (T·V·P[ ) Neck of an oil amphora from Roman Africa; late first or early second century A.D. The stamp on the handle indicates that the jar was manufactured and filled in Tupusuctu in the province of Mauretania Caesariensis.

5. SS 11549 (M·E·EVPRO) Stamped handle of an oil amphora from Roman Spain. The type of amphora to which this handle belonged was manufactured between 150 and 250 A.D. in the area between Seville and Cordova. The stamp names the potter, Marcus Ennius (?) Euphrosynus (?).

6. SS 6817 (DO N / AS VL) Stamped fragment from the neck of a Spanish wine or oil amphora of the late second or early third centuries A.D. The stamp identifies the jar as a product of the important Asuleianenses potteries, which were probably located in southern Spain.

HSR K 117 (mid 3rd)

Of the whole jars you plan to use, only P 8108 and P 14618 are in my catalogue. Of P8108 you might say: Roman wine amphora dating from the last years of the second century B.C. This jar is one of the first amphoras known to have been exported from Italy to Greece. Like most Italian amphoras of the second century B.C., it is unstamped. (Note: probably best not to mention the dipinto)

P14618: Roman amphora for oil or wine. This jar probably came to Athenes from southern Spain in the late second or early third centuries A.D. The small circular incision on the neck is of uncertain meaning.

For the MAP: the only places I feel ready to release now are: Brindisi, Taranto, Campania, the Guadalquivir between Seville and Cordova, Tupusuctu (or Tubusuctu) in Mauretania Caesariensis, and southern Gaul. About Gaul and Campania, I can't be more specific. For my part, I would rather you didn't name specific sites for the Romans, but rather just

areas: central and southern Italy, southern Spain, southern Gaul, northern Africa.
Yes, I included a map in the Sestius article. I'm pleased with the results, but it was work to make.
Best of luck in your preparations. Wish I could be there. Hope from us both – Letty.

ROMAN

12.01

Athens, July 20, 1956

Dear Letty,

Mr. Benachi is in town and has visited us in the last couple of days, and reminds me that you will soon be setting forth. I hope this reached you well in time before you leave, as there are one or two things we need from you which you might find less easy to give us after you had started to travel - at least, if not informed beforehand of the need. Of those, see further below.

I was very glad to have your letters of May 31 and June 7, and have had all this material in a pile to write to you ever since, thinking daily that I would by another day have got over certain immediate hurdles, such as the tying up of my report on the dating of the Middle Stoa Building Fill (1500 handles, and vital for my chronology, especially Knidian, and GRE not prepared to accept the date that emerges, by about 30 years), also proof on proof of the article on Punic, etc., jars, also preparations for storage and exhibition in the Stoa, and finally the visit here of my nephew, which I must admit for its time was to me more important than any chores. I say <u>was</u>, because for the moment they are off on a trip, he and his cousin who joined him, and I shall see them again only briefly before they leave on Tuesday (24th).

For your letter of May 31: a MAP is just the right thing, and pleased HAT very much when I told him you planned to put one in; I hope it did not turn out to be impossible. I would not have wanted to know the Départements, but just the area, <u>central France</u>, which was not stated; it seems to me the ancient names would also be useful. . . . . Thanks very much for the kind words about the report on work in Alexandria; I have had them from some others, including Casson, but <u>not</u> from Mr.B., and I puzzle as to what his disappointment is; flatter him a little about it, if the occasion arises. I wish I could go to Egypt with you, but I fear it is not for this year; you must surely not stop at Alexandria.

12.02

On your of June 7: Thank you for the photos of lots of jars in Brindisi. It is good to have No.1 for restoration of P 498-500. I don't know what to say about No.2 as related to P 14180, as now I ~~xxxxxx~~ see P 14180 in other connections, as for instance with another jar from Karystos which I think I did not send you the other time and enclose here (print of Roll 370.7). But Br. No.2 might as you say precede the Corinth lot. The toe as described is odd: did you feel sure it was not broken off? As to No.3, indeed I think in most ways this photo is better than mine, it is only too bad they didn't turn it full front; I think I would use it rather than mine, and use also the others if you have nothing better, as a bad picture is loads better than none, and these are sharp.

On B.M. rubbings: sorry not to have indicated that 1955 9-20 320 is double. Note that you give it the wrong BM number - did that mistake originate here also? it is 333 not 334. As to language, ME does now consider it Greek; there is a better ex.

To gather up some odds and ends: Old Alexandria items: I enclose pictures of A VG 521 and 569, including side views. Additional Agora Roman(?): have you ever noticed SS 3248? surely you must have looked through the Miscellaneous here. I enclose rubbings and my file card which has a small phot. It seems to me now that is an F at the beginning. Does it make sense for you?

What we need your help for is in connection with the exhibition on jars in the Stoa (or S T O A). It is supposed to be essentially WINE JARS because of our I.E. they have put up for the installation of this room. Sponsor, the Achaia Wine Co. I think! However we will certainly put in other containers, explaining of course in the accompanying text. The room is to contain 1) a selection of jars; 2) a selection of stamped fragments; 3) a map on which will be shown places of manufacture of the jars, and a few sites of mass discovery, or particularly interesting discovery.

Mr. Thompson would be obliged if you would be willing to release, and would communicate to us, any or all of your places of manufacture, to add to the map. I don't know if this is too much to ask? Perhaps some of them are already published?

Naturally your contribution would be acknowledged in the short text which d.v. I shall assemble.

As to the whole jars, space being limited, my selection made in Nov. 1953 (you see we have been suffering over this for some time) rather skips through the ages, showing "contemporary variety at various periods, so far as possible by groups of jars found together." At present this touches you in a fine selection from ΠΘ cistern at 6/NE: P 8108 (no introd. needed), SS 6600 (Kn. pre-duov.), SS 6599 (Kn. duov.), P 6795 ("Corinthian" handsome yellow jar), SS 6598 (Punic). Do you consider P 8108 ~~xtx~~ (and its mates) to have been wine or oil jars? I have the impression you had an idea the narrower ones, like these, were for wine, but I do not know about the evidence; is there any, from dipinti or such like? I have no 1st BC group planned for exhibition, but will put 1st BC Rhodian, Knidian, Chian, etc. in the development series, on the opposite wall of the (not very large) room; some SPE jars had been assigned to cradles high up, like those at Herculaneum, i.e they would not be visible from the side; ~~xxxx

12.04

the chronology, items from particular dated fills. Though the vitrine is large, it is naturally not too large to explain all about 17000 handles and 700 years of stamping. I should be grateful, and I'm sure HAT would be also, if you cared to make a selection. They have to be small enough to get into the vitrine (ht inside 6" at the side), and they have to come from the Agora Excavations. Desirable are welldated items and beautiful items, and of course characteristic items.

For both jars and stamped fragments, as well as that MAP, a short text is to be prepared; myself, I would like to have it fully illustrated and published in Archaeology, because I have nothing to give people like Benoit; in any case I think the text will be printed and available to visitors. Also because I have to exhibit the Chian series (of above), and although my identification of these has been freely used (e.g. by Mabel) already in publication, I have not, actually, published it, nor of course has anyone else published it with the evidence.

Would you like to prepare a few sentences to be quoted on the fragments you may select, as well as on such jars in the above selection as concern you? Or for the jars, will you simply check the summary text which I will write? It seems to me we ought not to omit P 8108; but tell me frankly if you mind anything it being presented to this extent before your publication. Ar any of the others listed from the Roman groups. How I wish you were to be here to help me prepare this show; I do so envy Dorothy Thompson who has Clairewe Grandjouan, who is a showman.

Yesterday I was preoccupied with a Mr.Stanley Slotkin. Has he swum into your ken? He has dived for amphoras off Italy, bought many from fishermen there and in Spain, and carried them off to America (with official permission). Now he wants to do the same in Greece. Poor HAT dropped him in my lap, as was fair enough, but somehow I got involved in taking him to the Ministry, and Marinatos was polite to him because of the Agora, and he sounded off to M. about a 50 $ million project to revive the Dellian Festival as he described it in Los Angeles; he was

off to Delos right away (he told him) to find out all he could about that festival. He was glad it was Delos he told me, because he wanted to see that Sextus mosaic Mr.Costeau had written about; he had written to Mr.Costeau but never got any answer. I must admit that he was ready to accept that the mosaic was irrelevant, and even that there might have been more thanone wreck. Probably he is a good business man, also a good diver

(X) Jar cards have been made and photo attached

June 7, 1956

Dear Virginia,

Here are some views of the jars at Brindisi. I had hoped to send them to you months ago, but since the photos I took there last summer weren't very good and since Miss Sciarra said she would send me substitutes soon, I waited for the substitutes. Unfortunately, they didn't come until late in May; that is, negatives came, which I had developed here at 1:10 (with slight variations, as marked on the back of each print). I'm sorry that the background isn't white. I asked specifically for white, but Miss S. had a professional photographer take these, and he probably pooh-poohed the idea (ignoring at the same time that arresting light bulb or moon in the background; I hope it can be removed if I publish any of these). Here are comments:

1. The only complete example I have seen of Type 6. Shows P 498-500 had long, thinnish toe.
2. A fascinating jar. Do you think it might be between P 14180 (Type 1) and the Corinth jars we discovered last summer (C-47-839ff.)? If so, perhaps I should keep Type 1 in my typology (you may remember I talked with you about dropping Types 1 and 2). The Brindisi jar permits, I believe, a reconstruction of the toe of P 14180, for the former jar has no toe. The bottom is rounded, or rather looks rounded unless one feels underneath. One then discovers a hint of a "false bottom," which may have permitted the jar to stand unsupported. In cross section, the base looks like this:
3. Not nearly so good as your photo, but interesting. (Orig. Br. jar)
4. Another one of those long-toed jars similar to Dressel's Type 14.
5. This and the following are the two I mentioned as being between the Spe-jars and Type 14. Actually, they are Spe-jars with slightly baggy bellies.
6. The baggy belly here is somewhat more pronounced than in No. 5.
7. Apparently Spe-type, but incrustations conceal rim.

Please keep these prints. (X) Do you think the photos are publishable?

I have a few British Museum notes for you. BM 334 (1955 9-20, 320) turns out to be a double handle, though it wasn't so identified on the list you sent. I have received a photo of it. Apparently it is the same stamp, though not the same die, as BM 419: APATI. Are these definitely not Greek? You may be interested to have some changes which the photos permitted me to make in the readings I sent you. These are the changed readings: (BM 171) Q.ALLI; (BM 129) P ANT.OVI.F; (BM 80) MARVLAE.SVLLAE; (BM 84) M]ARVLAE.SVLLAE.

Many thanks for asking Mr. Herrmann to write me about the Latin stamps from Hermopolis Magna. All of them, apparently, are Brindisi-type, and one of the stamps is new. Another enables me to restore the reading of two fragmentary stamps.

I heard from Mr. West yesterday. He has finally found his large collection of amphora profiles and asks if I want them. Coincidentally, we are going to Princeton tomorrow. I will hope to see him and also, of course, to complete the Sestius footnotes.

A letter yesterday from Mr. Casson says he is reviewing Lallemand's book for L'antiquité classique. This makes me wonder if I should really ignore Lallemand in Note 29. L'ant. class. must be taking the book

Seriously, Casson seems to be disturbed at the thought of more than one wreck off the Grand Conglomé. I like Casson from his letters. He seems energetic and enthusiastic. But I am a little put off by the mistakes he makes. There are several errors of fact in his last letter, and I wrote you about the "Prégançon jar." All regards from us both — Letty

14.01

May 31, 1956

Dear Virginia,

I am grateful to you in so many ways for your letter of May 8. Your comments and suggestions have been of the utmost value to me. It's difficult, as you may know, to write something in complete isolation. Discussion with oneself is not so easy or so helpful as discussion with another. But though I couldn't discuss the Sestius article with you while it was being written, your post-composition comments have been a good substitute, and I am most grateful to you for them. Before your letter arrived, I had already sent a copy of the article to Thevenot for his comments, and so that he could make a start on the translation (which he will do. As you say, there will undoubtedly be some surprises in the French version, though T. seems to have a good reading knowledge of English. He says he will send me the proofs). Late last week, I sent him three pages of additions and corrections, based in good part on your letter. I have revised the discussion of devices on p. 12, making it clearer that they were of course generally symbolic. I have changed Note 23. I have urged T. to omit Note 29, all but the first two lines, but since he is attached to that note I have to be diplomatic. I'm awfully glad you discovered the mistake in my discussion of the heights of the Grand Congloué jars (p. 6). Yes, the figures which Benoit gives must be average ones, though he doesn't say so. As for Mont Beuvray and Besançon, it just hadn't occurred to me that they needed further identification, but of course you are right. They do. Since, though, both sites would be familiar to the readers to whom RAE is directed (Gallo-Romanists interested in just the area of central France in which those two sites are located), it would look odd to try to identify them by the départements (Doubs and Nièvre, which would probably anyway not mean much to non-French readers) or by the ancient names (Bibracte and Vesontio). I think the solution is to include in the article a MAP showing all sites at which Sestius stamps have been found. The map would also clear up doubts about Bâle and the Île du Levant. Thank you so much for pointing out that all those sites need further identification. I will make the map myself, having been victimized too often by French cartography.

Well, I won't list here all the ways in which your letter has been helpful. I'll say only that I have incorporated all your suggestions, except that I didn't change the text to explain the lapse of time between P 8106 and the objects from first century contexts. I feel the type could have persisted unchanged for, say, forty years. Dressel's Type 1 is found at Delos, and in Rome with dipinti of the 2nd BC, and it is also found in Augustan camps along the Rhine. It is a type closely related to the "Sestius-type." I'm still including them both, by the way, in Type 4, along with P 8105, 8107, and 8108, but I see now at least three subdivisions in that type (you asked whether I felt the other jars from C 9:7 belonged to a different type from P 8106). No, I don't know who made P 8106, but it was probably someone from the same area as the person who made the SES jars. I obviously don't feel certain that the latter was P. Sestius, but he is a better candidate than M. Sestius, and it is fashionable to include such hypothetical identifications in Sestius articles.

I didn't write Saul Weinberg for the proper reference to your Punic article, though I may still do it. Recently, I haven't been energetic about writing Sestius letters. Not counting ones to you, I have so far written 27 long ones and have certainly devoted more time and space to them than to the article itself.

To clarify the reason for the date given C 9:7, I made an addition to the end of Note 23. Please let me know if you think it should be changed. The addition reads: "Numerous stamped handles of Greek amphoras dating from as late as the end of the second century B.C. were used in the packing around the well-tiles and give a terminus post quem to the construction of the well." I made the addition since T. felt there should be some explanation for the date, and this statement was the best I could make on the basis of my notes.

I'm enclosing the two Demetrios Coan photos which you sent several weeks ago.

So much for Sestius. I delayed writing this letter because I wanted to include in it a sample of catalogue, for your suggestions. But same isn't ready yet. I'll send it very shortly, along with the sheets of Lucy's suggestions. After I hear from you about the catalogue sample, I can send Mr. Thompson an estimate of the size of my MS.

As you must know by now, I finally wrote Roger Edwards, as I told you months ago I would, asking him for information about the jars we discovered at Corinth last summer. I was delighted to have his answer, and will write him at once, but I hope you won't make a special trip to Corinth to look at the jars for me. I or we can perfectly well do that when I get to Greece. Speaking of trips, would you be at all interested in going to Alexandria with me?

Your report to the Am. Philosophical Society is excellent, and thank you so much for having a copy sent to me. What you say is so interesting. We both read it with fascination. By the way, I just got a letter from L. Casson, who also found your report fascinating, and who asks me more about Republican trade between Italy and Alexandria. (It was so kind of you to include so much of me in the report). He and I have been having a slight Sestius correspondence, as in his "Sea-Digging" article in Archaeology he mentions a Sestius jar found at Brégançon, and as I hadn't heard about that jar I wrote him to ask about it. Ultimately it turned out that he had made a mistake. By Brégançon he meant Besançon. It's fine to have established contact with him.

We have passage for August 5, and will probably spend six weeks in England before going to Germany about October 1. We might, though, go to Spain in September. There will be an aesthetics conference in Venice at the beginning of September, and Fred may want to attend that, after which we could go to Spain. I would feel much better if I could get there before the MS is published. The date of my (I hope our) appearance in Greece will be uncertain until we get to Tübingen. We must get settled there before either of us leaves.

For now, greetings and love,

Lotty

Far oth corresp. on
C 47-839-841, + C 47-848
see PNYX OFFPRINTS, VG 30.VIII.51
GRE 17.IX.51

ROMAN

15-a

Athens
21 May 56

Dear Letty:

Your letter provided a fine excuse for a Sunday excursion to Corinth. Many thanks!

The amphorae C 47-839 to 846 all come from one well in part excavated (top) by Oscar, in part (lower, from which the amphorae come) by Saul Weinberg. Mention has been made of it by both in Hesperia, XVI, p. 238, and XVIII, pp. 148-49, with illustrations of other types of finds from the well. It was located in the Southeast Building, which will be published by Saul, seems to have been in use until the time of Mummius, and apparently was filled up soon after the founding of the Roman colony, one assumes. I could not say if the jars were from the period of use fill or not, and I seem to recall that Saul's filling was mended up when he was away so that he was unable to differentiate the fillings, if there was more than one. But for your purposes it doesn't matter much, I guess. The other material, as far as one can see, is all pre-Mummius. From the same well came two stamped lagynoi, C 47-800 and 801, one of which is noted by VG, Supplement X, under No. 201. Also two stamphorae, C 47-838a and b, the latter Rhodian of the year of Autokrates.

C 48-232 comes from South Stoa Well XXII, fill 2, a mixture of Mummian and 1st AD material thrown in toward the end of 1st AD, I should think.

C 47-80 and 137 were included in Fill 2 of S. Stoa Well XXX, Mummian debris thrown in in early Roman times.

The pieces marked IX-1 through IX-7 are context material from Well IX of the South Stoa; uncatalogued, but can be catalogued sometime if you want to refer to them. They were all found in the lowest meter or so of the well along with the period of use material. Because of the concentration of amphorae at this level I would suspect they were in use before Mummius and not merely the first of the destruction material thrown in in Roman times.

XIX-1 and 2 are also uncatalogued pieces, from South Stoa Well XIX, fill 3, again Mummian debris, this time probably thrown in in the very early days of the Roman colony.

I am much interested that you think these jars can be pre-Mummius The excavation evidence could jump either way, as you see, i.e., pre-Mummius or post-J.C.

* I would prefer to refer the question of the relationship of the two series you distinguish to the lady most eminent in such matters, to whom I will give a copy of this, since I don't feel I can do this kind of thing very satisfactorily even with pots I know best. She will adore an excuse to go to Corinth, I know.

With all good wishes to you and pleasant thoughts for your next year's expedition.

Sincerely,

GRE

*(ore)

Note to VG:

Letty suspects that the jars grafted as follows are two different series and would like opinion:

1) C.47-839 to 845
C.48-232-
+unnumbered fragment
} Old Museum

2) C-47-80
C.47-137
IX-2 thru IX-7
XIX 1-2.
} New Museum upstairs workroom

ca. 30. IV. 56 ? 16

1701

V. G.:

I have done little more than acknowledge this MS, telling Lolly that I was turning it over to you for authoritative vetting.

H.M.T.

Athens, May 8, 1956

ur letter of April 25. I am so glad you finally found

I appreciate the notes on dates of early Latin stamps,

-stamped double handles.

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publication, and am not surprised that it took a

present state of readiness. I know how difficult

e proof of which is in one's next publication; on

ainly get an effect that way of latent power. I am particularly interested in the idea that a majority of the containers may have been junked at the ports. Did you notice the passage in P. Cintas, Cer. Punique, p.485, about boats in modern times ("barques kerkenniennes") fitted to take pointed jars, their mouths opening in a hole in the deck, their "tails" fixed in a corresponding hole below? However, there was certainly some inland travel, as you yourself show, with your jars found in Switzerland; and retailing was done from the jars, as we know from finds in Herculaneum and Pompeii. No doubt you will take this all up in your longer publication.

On your numbered queries:

1. I think I would omit all that about the "House of Sestius," It might be useful if you could do it much more lightly (without of course making fun of Cousteau, etc.), but I think it's not worth the time to fix.

2. No, I don't think it necessary to go into Greek devices. (Yes, there are plenty of stars among them.) Probably you would agree that the devices you list are symbolic in a general way of the uses to which the jars were put (trade by sea). On Greek jars they seem to be used for identification in various ways:

ca. 30.IV.56 ? 16

V. G.

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than acknowledge the
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I was turning it over
to you for authoritative
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H.M.T.

Athens, May 8, 1956

Dear Letty,

Thanks very much for your letter of April 25. I am so glad you finally found time to put it into prose. I appreciate the notes on dates of early Latin stamps, and on whole jars with Latin-stamped double handles.

I have read your article with much interest. I think it was a very good idea to do this preliminary publication, and am not surprised that it took a long time to bring it to its present state of readiness. I know how difficult it is to write statements the proof of which is in one's next publication; on the other hand, you can certainly get an effect that way of latent power. I am particularly interested in the idea that a majority of the containers may have been junked at the ports. Did you notice the passage in P. Cintas, Cer. Punique, p.485, about boats in modern times ("barques kerkenniennes") fitted to take pointed jars, their mouths opening in a hole in the deck, their "tails" fixed in a corresponding hole below? However, there was certainly some inland travel, as you yourself show, with your jars found in Switzerland; and retailing was done from the jars, as we know from finds in Herculaneum and Pompeii. No doubt you will take this all up in your longer publication.

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17.02

on Rhodian and Knidian jars, for the potter or man who endorses the jars; on early Thasian and Pontic, for the man whose name dates the jar; one can imagine they were a convenience for the illiterate. But they must have been for current identification, more like noughts and crosses than a coat of arms, the simpler ones being as you say used repeatedly by different persons. Sestius' various types would distinguish various parts of the output of his pottery or potteries, different years and/or as you say different workmen. It seems to me you can't ignore the possibility that various generations of Sestius stamped their jars. We certainly have successive generations of Rhodians named Aristokles and Damokrates, for instance, who used circular stamps with a rose.

3. Thank you for the nice acknowledgment in note 13. It seems to me the reference to my article in Suppl.VIII is irrelevant, at least I don't see the relevance. The other one is o.k. Possibly you might add one to Hesp. XXII, 1953, pp.119-120, on the development in the shape of the Rhodian jar. There is of course no reference there to changes in shape by direct order, but to the gradual change following a tendency in style, the pattern of which one learns by looking at a series of dated items in the same category, of the same provenance, studying amphoras as others study other kinds of pottery. Cf. your p. 5; but the text sounds a little as though the develppment proceded entirely by order. Do you think that?

Some miscellaneous notes:

Do say right in your text where all these sites are, as you have done for Ruscino. Bâle of course people have heard of, but they may doubt that it can be that one (I did, and had to check in the footnotes that Switzerland is being talked about.). Mont Beuvray and Alise-Sainte-Reine I had never heard of, and I don't know where Var is, though the name is vaguely familiar. I realize it makes a difference that the article is coming out in a French publication, still

I'd think you'd want everything in the text (as distinct from the footnotes) to have a clear meaning to anybody interested in amphoras, ancient wrecks, Roman history, etc. The offprints are more useful that way, aren't they?

I have not in general checked references, of course, but wonder if the statement on p.6 on the variation in heights between 1.02 and 1.05 is quite right; note 15 seems to day rather that these are vtwo shots at the average, and the variation may have been greater?

On p.7, first sentence in the paragraph, there is a funny construction which in my youth used to be called the "and who" construction; it would come right, wouldn't it, if you left out the words "which have been." But of course since you are being translated it doesn't matter much. Are you going to see the French version before it goes to press? From my experience in that line, I think you will find it rather startling. They don't make "une vraie traduction."

Further down on p. 7, I think I would put the whole gasworks into note 17, as the rest of us won't find it a familiar landmark.

References to P 8106 and its companions on p.11 and in note 23 surprised me a little, as I did not know you regarded the others (8105 etc.) as belonging to a distinct type.

The description of the well in note 23 seemed not quite clear; could you say something like: "The well was dug through the floor of a cistern . . . and amphoras were used as packing around the well tiles above the floor to the mouth of the cistern." Incidentally, I am in press with two Punic(?) jars one from C 9: 7 and the other from M 20: 1; if you want to refer to the publication, write to Saul Weinberg for the proper reference - he is the editor; as I have them, they are Plate IV, 3 and 4, in that order, but of course the plate numbers will be different.

17.04

I am a little bothered by the lapse of time between C 9: 7 and P. Sestius' heyday, to find so little change in shape. Who do you think made P 8106? A less travelled forbear of P.S. ? The identification certainly makes very pleasant reading, and the article in general reads pleasantly, and shows, I am sure, the results of the various revisions you mention. I like that part on p. 6 that makes the uniformity vivid by saying that 1700 pieces "can be described in a few words."

The points I have brought up, whether or not they have question marks attached, are not meant to have answers in a letter to me, but just to show that the article in its present state can leave a reader bothered at these points. You think about them, and act on them or not as you decide, but don't bother to justify your decisions to me by correspondence. The text decided on should justify them.

My best to you both. I shall be writing to Fred. I carry his poem about Delos about with me, and coming back from Aigina the other day, read it with the Immerwahrs, who were impressed, and will be remembering it in a day or so when they visit the island.

On EL W's ms. on Sestine jars

Interesting pts.:

1.) I dear that big jars were grinded at port (liquid transferred to lighter vessels) hence potting hills such as M. Test.

2.) Roman stamps those of potters (cf note 30 c. text) in period of Late Republic

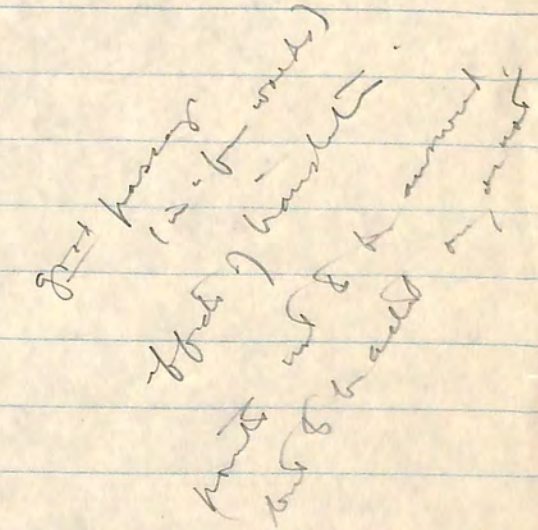
did not get this in

40 yrs seems a long time for shapes to have stayed so close

Who made P8106? S. not Pam

What about ll's dating in 1st BC (cf Casson)

good passage (in a few words) effects of translation points not to be answered but to be acted on, or not



19.01

April 25, 1956

Dear Virginia,

Thank you so much for your letter of April 9. In answering it, I want also to finish replying to your letters of February 21 and March 20. I hope you will forgive my slowness about writing recently. I've found it difficult to apply myself to anything but the Sestius article, which, though "finished" three weeks ago at least, was after that subjected to two more revisions of a very difficult sort. My main trouble with the article, I now realize, stemmed from the fact that it should have been written after my main publication. Since it wasn't, I had to take up such basic questions as the longevity of amphoras - most difficult to treat within the scope of such a short article. Well, in any case, the article is now typed in what I hope will be final form, and I sent off two days ago to Mr. Thompson a copy for you and him to see. Unfortunately, it lacks all illustrations, since I am still waiting for most of them, but I hope to have them at any moment. I hope you will find it possible to comment on the article without them. If not, as I told Mr. Thompson, I can send drawings of most of the stamps and profiles, and also a reprint of Thevenot's article in the 1954 RAE. My article is also incomplete in that it is full of blank spaces, many of which will contain references to plates or figures. I also lack certain details about the dimensions and clay of some of the new objects which I describe. And I need to get several exact page references and check other references: all of which can be done only by my going to Princeton, which I plan to do in a few days. I will be most interested to know what you think of the article. I might mention here some details about which I particularly want to know what you think:

1. Do you approve of note 29, or should I overlook the "House of Sestius" altogether? Thevenot seemed to want me to say something about it.
2. How about my references to devices on pp. 11-12? Would it be a good idea to say something more about Greek devices? I'd rather not go into the subject, unless you think I should. If you do, could you give me some help? I've found anchors on Greek stamps in several of your articles, and palm branches, and there are the Coan tridents, but I haven't been able to find any stars on Greek stamps.
3. Do you approve of my references to you in note 13? I felt it was not quite the right place to express thanks to you, but I couldn't discover a better spot. I hope the note doesn't seem to imply that you approve of the sentiments expressed in the text to which it refers (though I do hope you approve!).
4. In note 2, I didn't thank you for the BCH reference, because I discovered I had read that article at Dartmouth, though I took no notes on it, since it doesn't mention Roman amphoras, and I wasn't at that time interested in superimposed wrecks. I made a note saying "Braemer & Marcadé" (the authors?), but didn't take down the title, which I will get at Princeton. Even if I hadn't seen the article, it would have been too embarrassing to express thanks for a BCH reference!

Note 26 answers in part your question of April 9 about the earliest datable Latin stamps. No, I know of none datable as early as 200 B.C. The earliest datable Latin is probably CIL I^2.2.425, which Dessau and others believed dated from the 160's B.C. (It reads

TR.LOISIO, and is thought to refer to a Trebios Loisios who is mentioned in a Delian inscription of the 160's). I myself have a few reservations about the date, partly because the stamp has been found at Carthage and partly because I don't know what type of jar it occurs on. I have just a suspicion it may occur on double handles, which would certainly make so early a date questionable. Apart from that stamp, there is C 47-80, C.CAR, from Well XXX of the South Stoa. It seems very likely that that stamp is pre-Mummian. CIL I^2.2.659 (CINA), from Fiesole, bears a dipinto which names the consuls of 121 B.C. Those are the earliest datable Latin stamps I know of. Most second century jars seem to have been unstamped. I really can't comment at all about the proposed date for the C.S stamps. I will say, though, that there doesn't seem to be any reason why Latin stamps couldn't be as early as 200, particularly when they occurred on amphoras which were apparently completely unrelated to types normally not stamped in the second century.

I appreciated so much your measuring SS 6814 for me. The revised measurements were a godsend, as they prove that the piece originally had the same dimensions as P 8106. Before the new dimensions reached me, I had had a difficult time rationalizing about the petiteness of SS 6814 in the article. I think probably I had better check all the measurements which I have taken from the catalogue cards, as there have been restorations and there may also have been mistakes. Thanks so much also for commenting on the date of SS 6814.

What I told you a month ago was true: I was preparing a reply to your letter of Feb. 21, but I just didn't take the time to put it into prose. Let me make an inadequate reply now. I'm very glad to have Lucy's suggestions about the publication form for the catalogue. I will return it to you as soon as I have prepared a sample of catalogue for you all to see. I'm awfully glad you mentioned the "publication index." I'm not sure how complete my records on such things are. I need particularly to recheck previous publications of the objects from Corinth.

The double handles with apparent Latin names in Greek letters are very interesting. I will ponder them. Thanks so much for the photos. Do you want me to return them? You asked also in your letter of 2/21 whether I know of a Latin-stamped double handle on a whole jar. I judge that double-handled whole jars with Latin stamps have been found at Pompeii. CIL IV.5951 is said to occur on handles of the jar-type reproduced as Type 12 in the back of that volume. It (the stamp) is probably = to Benachi's C.LIVI stamps, also on doubles. Other Type 12 jars from Pompeii with Latin stamps are IV. 5833 and 5988, but both are stamped on the neck. None of the double-handled jars in CIL XV have stamps on the handle. All are stamped on neck, shoulder, belly, or toe. They are Dressel's types 2, 3, and 4.

I have written Mr. Crowfoot. His LEV.GEN stamp is the eighth example of that stamp known to me. They are found all the way from the Guadalquivir to Samaria, if his is from Samaria. Yes, I knew about the examples from Alba Fucens. Last year I had a beautiful correspondence with their excavator, who promised to send me photos of them but never did.

Thanks so much for checking to see whether you had photos of the Alex. Mus. stamps of which I never received photos. I'm sure the fault was Mr. Benachi's, as I asked for all. Maybe I can do something about the photos if I get to Alex. No, I had no record of old 521 and 569 (now AVG 825 and 1112), so didn't know you recorded them in 1939. If you have photos of them, I would love to have them.

I haven't half finished a list of things to tell you, but will stop for now. We don't yet know when we will sail, but probably not before August 5. I doubt that I will get to Greece before November or December, but I ought to come with the MS in final form, so that I can devote all my time to checking what still needs to be checked. Furthermore, I will know by then what still needs to be done. En route to Germany, I will spend as long as is necessary at the Br. Mus. // Thanks so much for sending the large photos from Mr. Benachi. They have just come. I can't imagine why he sent them to you. // I will return the Corn ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ photos in my next letter. Much love from Letty

22.III.56

FOR ELW'S ARTICLE ON S E S JARS (N.C. & HAT, answering questions she wrote this)

Measurements of SS 6814:

Ht. 0.775; diam. 0.293; diam. of mouth opening 0.15; of rim (outside) 0.175

(The height which she had, 0.625, was evidently taken before the last restoration was done.)

Scale prints needed:

She does evidently need new prints of both jars. I attach my copies which are presumably duplicates of what she has, together with measures for the heights of the jars at a tenth. These are used by Niko. SS 6814 is much out, because of the error in the height. P 8106 is also out, though not quite so much as she thought, since the height seems to be 1.04 rather than 1.055 as she probably has it.

Date of M 20:1

Attached are notes on this deposit, result of consultation with GRE. He dates the material in the deposit in the 1st quarter, as HSR does. Incidentally, the stamps agree.

VG

Athens, March 20, 1956

Dear Letty,

My letter of February 21 must have reached you just after you wrote on the 25th. I do hope it will work out that you and Fred can come over in the summer; let me know when you get the news. You'd want to be in Alexandria before July, to get there while Mr.Benachi is there.

I enclose photographs of the two Benachi Coan of Demetrios with trident (Ko ABC 45 and 158) together with the rubbings you sent for identification. I have a feeling I have seen some other stamp types with this kind of trident, but in the Thasian files I don't find anything very good; unfortunately a lot of device cards are not at the moment on file. I think I would try to preserve some lightness of tone in regard to that mosaic. You note that it is not used by the archaeologists, it is just a fancy of the amateurs. M. Lallemand has no doubt worked hard on the project of his book, and "shows his reading", but the book is not to be judged, I'm sure, as having pretensions to being a learned work. Have you a copy? Let me send you one, if not, because certainly you should see it, especially if you intend to notice it in print. M.Benoit I know feels it part of his job to encourage interest in archaeology on the part of these divers, so that they will take care of the things they find, and keep as good records as they can.

On heaped wreckage from various periods, see B.C.H. 1953, pp.139, ff., especially p.142, under II.

I enclose also a photograph Mr.Benachi for some reason sent to us to be forwarded to you, a handle with a stamp having an amphora as device. Also a couple of other Benachi pictures, sent previously, of a "Brindisi neck" which were perhaps intended for you.

Now there is something about which I should like an answer as soon as you can manage. I cannot remember whether we have ever discussed two Agora handles, SS 1450 and SS 12705, which each read C·S , the former in a sqame stamp, the latter in a somewhat larger circular stamp. These are two-thirds of all the stamped handles we have at the Agora, which by their fabric apparently belong to an eastern series, Phoenician, or Punic, or whatnot. The other third consists of a handle of which the stamp has no letters, but a crescent with disk, which is in fact a Punic device.

1) Would you mind if I include these two in my pending article on eastern jars at the Agora? (and a few other places) Naturally you could use them again, in your own framework.

2) Have you information on these which you would be willing to have me use, with acknowledgment, of course? The finding-place of SS 12705 was called Middle Stoa Building fill, datable certainly before 150, and I think nearer say 190; seeing the Latin letters, it was considered by some whether this was not a disturbed place, but there was a big group of handles, o.k. except for this.

In considering what production center of jars of eastern type might have come into Roman administrative control at this time, I wonder if Spain is not a possibility? Certainly there were Roman vistories there in the late 3rd century, as set out in CAH Vol.VIII.

Have you any evidence as to what C·S is likely to mean? Is there anything comparable? At least what <u>kind</u> of thing it is likely to mean?

Love to you both,

February 25, 1956

Dear Virginia,

I have just received Mr. Thompson's letter of February 16, which I will answer as soon as I can form an estimate of the size of my finished MS. I am delighted to know that you both approve of my projected SES article and also to know that you have discussed and approved provisionally the idea that Roman amphoras might become part of the Agora amphora publication. In that connection, I am rather startled to learn that my fascicule, if approved, might be the first part of the amphora series to appear. I thought your Cnidian volume would probably come first, making questions of format, etc., not nearly so complex as they will be if you don't precede me. Actually, I have only general impressions of your plans regarding scope, bibliography, and format, so I will be eager to know more about them and to have suggestions as to how I might fit in with them. To do all this by letter will be something of a headache, but a deus ex machina may be in the wings. Fred has learned that he is on a recommended list to receive a research Fulbright to Germany for the coming year. We expect to know the final news sometime next month, since he has applied for a definite opening at a definite university (Tübingen), and it doesn't seem likely that the decision on his application will be delayed by the necessity of finding a suitable place for him. In any case, if he should be so fortunate as to get this grant I will have an opportunity to get to Greece before my MS goes to press; well before, since conceivably I could get there this summer, and Mr. Thompson suggested that my fascicule could appear by the end of the year. I should think, them, that a great many points which will require discussion might be postponed with the idea in mind that we might really be able to discuss them face to face before long. But meanwhile you will certainly be able to give me advice about which discussion won't be necessary. I will welcome any and all suggestions.

As you know, there are many other reasons why I ought to get to Greece soon again. Fred and I think, too, that I might even be able to go to Alexandria this time, which would be a godsend. One can't be quite at ease publishing 750 objects which one has never seen.

I'm sorry to say that I have to ask your help concerning one point in the SES article. Mr. Benachi has two Coan handles of which he sent me rubbings* about a year ago because the devices on them are like the so-called "Sestius" monogram on the floor of what is now being called the "Maison de Sestius" (officially, "House of the Trident") at Delos. Don't you think it would be a good idea if I put a phot. of one or both of those handles into the SES article? If you agree, could you or Maria send me a note giving me their numbers, and would you by any chance have a phot. of one or both which you would let me use? If not, I could ask Mr. Benachi for one, depending on whether you think I should refer to those stamps. They seem to me to be an excellent argument against the hypothesis that the mosaic at Delos is a monogram of Sestius' name. Do you happen to know of other, similar trident designs to which I might refer? I would guess that they were rather common. The other nautical design on the floor of the House of the Trident, a dolphin entwined around an anchor, is also being associated with Sestius by Cousteau and the rest; yet I'm sure the ancients used that design commonly. It is also the trademark of Doubleday Anchor Books! By the way, does Mr. Kondoleon know that the House of the Trident is being defamed this way in France? Cousteau isn't the only culprit. I understand from Thevenot and Mr. Benachi that one F. Lallemand, a pupil of Benoit, has just published a book, Le journal de bord de Maarkos Sestios, giving even the portraits of Sestius and his wife (sic). And I have just heard that Lallemand dates the wreck in 145 BC, though the Delian inscription naming his Sestius dates unquestionably from the 190's. When they were giving the wreck a date of 230, they still associated it with the same M. Sestius.

Ill stop for now. Love from us both — Letty

*{ I enclose the Coan rubbings referred to above.

If you know of any bibliography on multiple wrecks, please tell me. Didn't you say there is evidence for several wrecks off Marathon?

Athens, February 21, 1956

Dear Letty,

The enclosed photo of a handle stamped LEV.GEN has been sent me by Mr.Crowfoot who is publishing Samaria. There were twp orthree other fragments (not Latin) and his covering note says, "I shall be most grateful if you can throw light on any of these; I don't think Mrs. Lake mentioned them in her list - at least I can't recognize them!" Mrs. Lake worked on the handles from Samaria found in the post-Reisner excavations, most of which were Rhodian. There were a lot. I have photostats of her minuscule readings, made before the war; these were of the Rhodian, or those she thought were Rhodian. I also saw, in 1947, a manuscript she prepared for Mr.Crowfoot to publish, of all the stamps from those later excavations, and I have notes on this, including statistics. I have had no notice up to now, so far as I can see, of any Latin found in her lot. So I cannot verify this object as found in Samaria, and you note there is no documentation on the picture. However probably Mr.Crowfoot will be able to confirm the provenance. And quite soon.
Do send him something to put in his book, not too long. I note we have this stamp in our Agora collection, and on the card it says it has been found"at Alba Fucens (Antiq. Classique, XX, 1951,p.68 - no illustration, no evidence for date given)". Is this your note or Henry's?

It was nice to have your long letter of Jan.24; I should have answered it but have been trying to write an article which should have been finished by Xmas. We have not been back to the EM, and I don't know when we will start there again. Very interesting about the Eumachus family. I had always thought of jars like P 12468-9 as illustrating the Cato passage, but of course they are not stamped. Have you ever found a Latin stamped double handle on a whole jar? I think you should try hard to do so, and try also to make sure you are not assembling very disparate shapes under a single type there. As for further needs in the Alex. Mus.: two of those you list, 825 and 1112, are repeated numbers, had already been recorded by me in 1939, but were listed again by Mr.B's zeal; they are old 521 and 569, and were photographed when first recorded. Maybe you have prints of them under these numbers. No photographs were taken of the rest in your list, and there is no record that they were requested. Is this some slip of Mr. B.'s?

Can't after all go on one page.

The Egyptian trip was in the main successful, and mostly very enjoyable, but breathless, as these things are. I'm afraid I couldn't have managed your additional Latin photographs even if I had known you wanted them, since I had to leave 16 much-needed Knidian for the next time, whenever that is to be. The Fayoum was very broadening; I had never even known where it was before, but thought it was in the Delta. It has remained very vivid in my memory. The Frasers have been in Greece for the past two-three weeks, but mostly on an Odyssey to get to Samothrace for him to make some checks of inscriptions for his article; they spent 13 days in the harbor of Lemnos, icy gales, huge waves, heavy snow - the engine froze, after a while. So did they, I believe. But they seem to have kept up their spirits.

Of course I think it's fine that HAT suggested your publication become an Agora volume. He and I had some correspondence about it before he came back, and I told him of course that I was delighted he wanted to do it; after all, the Agora items are not such a large proportion, and it was perhaps stretching a point on his part, and inspired I'm sure by his good impression of what you will produce. It will certainly be better for you to put the jars and the stamps in the same publication, which this will make possible. He has not yet discussed with me the subject of his third paragraph, on uniformity between your publication and mine, and I don't know how possible or desirable it will be; certainly I would not be prepared to promise now what would be the scope of volumes to be written, d.v., in years to come. However, it is certainly desirable that within the volume the plan and the presentation of detail be clear and consistent. You would be surprised how much time and effort this takes, how much reconsideration at a later time, or advice from other people. Because of unfortunate experience, Homer has a rule that he must see before publication any manuscript publishing Agora material. Some people also turn in outlines and samples before they start writing in earnest, to avoid being torn about afterward. I think it would

be a good idea for you to send over at least some good damples of stamp catalogue text, that is a couple of pages, planned with a view to consistency throughout at least your material. Also, possibly, a photograph of an assembled plate. I enclose a couple of pages of notes jotted down by LT as suggestions. I think it has become de rigeur to put illustration references at the beginning; these are ~~things~~ matters where for the convenience of readers it is a good idea to conform. Another convenience which has come to be expected (perhaps because Beazley provides it - see his latest ATTic Black Figure) is a "publication index", that is a concordance from previous publications to your numbers covering the same thing. It is nice to look ahead to these things, because one often had one's own rather scrappy record, and it may as well be kept in order to appear in public. (We have, for instance, been writing Knidian type numbers into a spare copy of Dumont.)

Have you actually assembled any text on the stamps? I find I am not very clear as to how near you are to being ready to present the whole material. You will probably want to come out here again before it actually appears, since you must have many things to check.

MΣ sends you the enclosed photos of Ko EM 101 and 102, and ABC 809, to ask if you don't think they are Latin in Greek, Po(plius) Sabi(, Po(plius) Anta(, Po(plius) Mikk(. I think the first was noticed by Fraser, and you may have heard of it from Mr.B.

Must stop!

Love to you both,

24.01

79. Term of Σκύμνος Διάφης. Pl. 60 and Fig. 3

SS 2760. H 7:3. Rim preserved; fine buff clay, little mica. W. 0.047 m.; T. 0.023 m.

Reading

Restored from Herm. 42, 127-8. Another example in Nat. Museum, Athens.

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79. Term of Σκύμνος Διάφης. Pl. 60 and Fig. 3.

Clay light buff to reddish buff; little mica.

Reading

Restored from Herm. 42, 127-8

79-1 (SS 2760). H 7:3

2. (SS 3542). Pl. 60 and Fig. 3

3 (SS 3579) O 16:1; Hesperia, XX1, 1942, pl. 6, no. 2

4 (PN 346) Hesp. Suppl. X, no. 319, pl. 62

5 (NM)

6 — Herm., 42, 127

7 — Herm, 42, 128

Letter 1 ? 24.02

object

probably you will use a type form too, won't you?

36. Pl. 21

(SS 7228). M 18:1. Complete except for tip. Light buff clay. PH 0.805 m.; diam. 0.37 m.; capacity 24.440 l.

(Reading)

Similar to CIL, XV, 2, nos. 3059, 3740, 3782, 3783, 4022, 4092, 4083.

37, (SS 7229) M 18:1

38.

---

the new grid references (in place of our dear old friends ΠΘ, cistern at 6/NE etc.)

M 18:1, Well.

deposit

a) Construction filling (jars used as packing: Hesperia VIII, 1939, p. 76, fig. 32); Agora IV, Pt 1, p. 672: early 1st century B.C.

(cat. nos.)

b) Dumped filling; Agora IV, loc. cit.: 2nd century A.D.

(cat nos)

A list of relevant deposits, with items like this, goes with each volume. I think the description could be done by LT if you wanted; She would also arrange from you to have ~~[illegible]~~ the new seamus for your old ones.

Sample for deposit summaries

H 7:3 Filling inside the foundations of the Temple of Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratria (Hesperia, VI, 1937, pp. 88-90; XXIV, 1955, p. ~, under no. 28; and cf. Agora III, p.). Second quarter of 4th century B.C.

79, 83

↑ catalog numbers of your publication, which we now always put in boldface. In a manuscript, boldface is indicated by underlining the number and then putting a squiggle below the underline. Check this with Lucy Shoe

37/m

February 16, 1956

Mrs. Frederick Will
525 West Foster Ave.
State College, Pa.
U. S. A.

Dear Letty:

I would say by all means go ahead with your article on the SES jars and not only refer to the relevant material from the Agora but illustrate it as freely as the situation may require. Normally, to be sure, it has seemed best to have Agora material appear first in Hesperia so that the scholarly world knows where to look for it, but exceptions have been made in special cases of which this would appear to be one. I have spoken with Virginia about the matter, showing her your letter; she heartily concurs. I assume that you either have adequate photos of the Agora pieces or that you will write for them letting us know just what you want.

I have also spoken with Virginia and with Lucy Talcott about the proposal to bring out your Latin material as a fascicule of the Agora amphora publication to cover one of the series of geographical groups. We all feel that in principle this would be a fine arrangement, and I shall be glad to bring the proposal to the attention of the Publications Committee.

Since your fascicule, if this arrangement is approved by the Publications Committee, will be the first part of the Agora amphora series to go to press, I would urge you to confer very seriously with Virginia on the question of format in the hope that a reasonable degree of uniformity can be achieved for the whole series. In this I am thinking not merely of the layout of the page and the plate but also the scope of the discussion and of such other matters as bibliography about which Virginia is concerned.

In order that I may sound out the Publications Committee could you give me before long an estimate of the size of your MS in double-spaced typing and the number of your plates of the size used in Evelyn Harrison's Book on sculpture?

With warm greetings to you and to Fred,

Sincerely,

Homer A. Thompson

cc: V. Grace ✓

HAT/ak (This is the letter we said had been written in Princeton.)

26.01

January 24, 1956

Dear Virginia,

Please forgive my having delayed three weeks to answer your letter of December 13, which was forwarded to me in Indiana, where we spent the holidays. I take it that Alison (?) mailed the letter from Princeton, although I didn't suspect she might have done so until I heard from Lucy that she was in this country. In any case, the letter arrived in fine condition about the end of December, and in my ignorance I wrote Alison at once in Athens to thank her for the photographs. I would have written you at once too, except that you were in Egypt, and I knew you wouldn't want a long report on the EM and BM. I meant, though, to have this letter waiting for you on your return from Egypt, but I have been occupied with some other jobs and in addition underestimated how long it would take me to prepare to write this letter. Quite a task, since you sent so much. And how delighted I am to have everything.

First, about the EM phots.: they are excellent, and I couldn't be more grateful to you for giving me so much time and energy. I'm awfully glad the Agora was able to make the prints. And I will expect to hear from you how much the film cost. It's such a relief to have the EM phots. Except for odds and ends (especially Benachi), they were my only photographic gap. I have gone over them carefully, and have been able to improve several readings and to identify certain stamps with stamps at the Agora and at Delos, something I couldn't have done otherwise without taking all my files to the EM. If you are ever photographing there again, I would very much like to have views of EM-L 3, 97, and 127, though I suspect 127 is with the Miscellaneous, as Mr. Benachi sent the rubbing in an envelope marked "odds and ends from 7 drawers." By the way, I still have some EM headaches of other sorts which I might as well mention here in case someone should be going over there soon: I need descriptions and clay of EM-L 119-128, which were found after I left, and I would be delighted to have rubbings of 62 (to confirm a startling implication in the phot.), and of 85 and 89, if possible. But 85 may not be accessible, as it is behind that fence in the SAH room. I can do without a rubbing of it, unless you are going in there for other reasons. I am also hesitant about the clay of 85, as I had to look at it by match-light.

Thank you so much for the rest of the British Museum rubbings. I have added them to the list, of which I enclose a copy. So that I could tell you I had done so, I have just written Mr. Ashmole, enclosing another copy of the list. I had a very nice letter from him two or three days ago. He is sending me photographs I had requested, and he has discovered or is trying to discover the proveniences of the few of which you weren't sure. In my letter to him today, I also asked about the provenience of the 1925 1-19 series, and I asked for five more phots. from that group. By the way, since I haven't yet gotten around to writing up for you what I know about double-handled jars with Latin stamps, I might tell you now a little about BM 635, which is one of the most interesting of same. I am very glad that chance allows me to include a phot. of the stamp in my discussion of the type, because this stamp occurs more frequently than any other Latin on a double. Over 40 examples of it were found in the earlier of the two walls of amphoras at Carthage (43-15 BC), and, to my knowledge, the stamp also occurs in France (Alise-Sainte-Reine) and at Ampurias. The same name in the genitive, L. Eumachi, occurs on about 25 roof-tiles found at Pompeii and vicinity, and a fuller form of the name, with the cognomen Eros, occurs on 8 tiles from Pompeii and Herculaneum. I have a note that Tenney Frank

in ESAR, V, 266, names a certain L. Eumachius Eros as owner of a Pompeian villa. I think his evidence is probably dipinti on pottery found in the villa, but I can't at the moment find my notes on the subject. Thevenot has a note on this stamp in rev. arch. de l'Est, etc., IV, (1953), 236ff., where he publishes the Alise-Sainte-Reine example. He doesn't know about Frank's villa-owner, but he does note that a Pompeian inscription mentions one L. Eumachus as the father of Eumachia, a priestess and the mother of a certain M. Numistrius Fronto. Since another inscription names Numistrius Fronto as duovir at Pompeii in 3 AD, Thevenot puts the floruit of his grandfather, L. Eumachus, at 50 BC, and identifies this Eumachus as an important potter responsible for all these amphoras and tiles. T's circumstantial evidence about the identity and date of L.E. seems to me fairly convincing, but in any case the existence of so many Campanian tiles with the same stamps (including ligatures) as those on the amphoras seems to indicate that both tiles and jars came from the vicinity of Pompeii. There is also evidence connecting two other men named on Latin doubles with Pompeii. They are P. Sulla and G. Rabirius Postumus, both mid-1st BC and both friends of Cicero. I wonder if these Coan-type jars with Latin stamps could have contained the Italian imitation of Coan wine mentioned by Cato. Coan jars have such distinctive and unusual characteristics, and the fact that the Latin-stamped jars copy them so closely (though with completely different clay) indicates that they might have been imitating them. Don't you agree that this is a possibility?

A side-issue raised by all this is the familiar question: does the stamp name the potter or the grower, or whom? There are quite a lot of other tile stamps in CIL X which give names similar to those on amphoras: Viselli, Vehili, C. Iuli Brundis., and others. Maybe potter and grower were the same. Maybe stamping practices varied from place to place and time to time.

I am very glad to have the further Alex. Museum phots. You were right: they were among those of which I never received copies. Maybe it would be efficient if I did now something I should have thought to do last summer - give you the numbers of the remainder of which I never received phots., in case you might run across them on odd rolls. They are AVG 731, 825 (double), 1112, 1148, 1149, 1151, 1193, 1206, 1207, 1212, 1221, 1223. There is also a whole jar, AVG 2167, of which I would love to have a phot. if you have one.

Thank you for the phot. of the Ensérune neck. It is the one published in Gallia. Thank you also for returning the Callipolitis phot. I am also glad to have the profile of Thasos 533. You had already sent me a phot. of the stamp.

I am returning your file card for BM 532.

Benachi didn't send many details about your Egyptian trip, but I gather it was successful and enjoyable. I'm awfully glad you brought back such good Latins from the Fayum, especially a valuable Type 17 stamp.

I didn't send the blouse with Mrs. Blegen, because I couldn't find a single one either here or in Bloomington. Apparently Christmas depleted stocks, but I have been promised that spring will bring a full selection again. When one is available, I will send it to Evelyn, to be sent with the next Agora suitcase.

I'm looking forward to your reaction to Mr. Thompson's suggestion that I might do a volume instead of an article. When is he expected to arrive in Athens?

Fred is sending you a copy of his long Delos poem by surface mail.

Much love from us both,

Letty

Have you any record of TD 5620? Is it certainly Greek?

Pub. 1956

27

J. WITH LATIN STAMP

210. (AH 66). Fragment of rim and neck of jar, with handle attachment. Ht. of fragment, 0.019 m.; ht. of rim 0.045 m.; length of stamp 0.035 m. (shown at a little under actual size). Pls. 75 and 80.

210-212 come from isolated pockets of Roman deposit behind the curved retaining wall of Period III of the Assembly Place, the immediate context being of the second century after Christ. See *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, pp. 297-299.

ZIṚA

Fine light red clay, reddish buff surface.

I owe the reading and a comment to Mrs. Elizabeth Lyding Will, who is preparing a publication of Latin stamps. She notes that her restoration of the third letter is based on a better-preserved example of the same stamp found in Delos (TD 1937), which is also set vertically, a very uncommon position. The shape of the rim has led her to give the fragments a tentative date in the first century after Christ.

Sent via Manuel Tavares who went Dec. 20. Stuff handled by E. Smithson

28

Athens, December 13, 1955

Dear Letty,

Here are the rest of the British Museum rubbings of your category, so far as I noticed them. Also most of the stamps you wanted from the National Museum, and a remnant from the Alexandria Museum which must have been on a different film from all the others, and hence never got sent. (I had got to thinking they were duplicates, and then the other day a letter from Mr.B. mentioned one of them that you had never received, because, he said, they were in a tight-locked case so we were not able to photograph it.) All these prints were made by the Agora darkroom. It would be nice of you to make some acknowledgement of them to MAF. I'm sending back the British Museum lists to be filled out from the rest of the rubbings. Then why don't you send one direct to Mr. Ashmole? In asking for pictures, or information requiring the finding of handles there, note that of my BM series, BM 1-91 are now stored in Case 37, 92-196 are in Case 36, 197-269 are in Case 39, 271-340 are in Case 40, 341-403 are in Case 41, 404-496 are in case 42, 497-649 are in Case 43, and 650-669 are in another Case which should be marked 44.

Mr. Kallipolitis' jars are very interesting. I return the phot. I must go there some time. Odd that none seems to be "Corcyrean."

Thanks for the publication reference for the Ensérune "Iberian" neck; it must be the one I saw.

How wonderful Mr. West is. I can't imagine what his book will be like.

I'm toying with the idea of another couple of weeks or less in Egypt over Christmas, this time to take advantage of a chance to tour the Fayum with a group including Peter Fraser, who is doing a historical work on the Hellenistic period in Egypt. What with trying to decide on this and various other matters, I couldn't sleep last night, so you must forgive this letter if it has any strange gaps or anything.

Fred's poetry magazines have come. I am bewildered but fascinated. Thank him very much for me.

With love to you both,

Lists of photos and rubbings also enclosed.

Added Iberian (?) neck from Ensérune (Roll 371.25)

13. XII. 55

Repeat rubbing requested
also enclosed – BM 91 (1955 9-20 91)

Remaining rubbings of British Museum
Latin (Roman) stamps being sent to ELW

BM registration			VG. no.	
1925	1-19	163	BM 503	
		387	527	
		(397 or 327	532)	(By error, spare rubbing not made, I enclose our card for you to see)
		695	631	
		696	632	(long stamp, 2 rubbings)
		699	633	
		700	634	
		(701	635	Coar-Latin, again, I forgot to ask for second rubbing of this evidently, you ask for it yourself, and meanwhile it says L·ENACH'
		702	636	
		703	637	
		704	638	
		705	639	
		706	640	(large, two rubbings)
		707	641	" " "
		708	642	
		709	643	
		712	645	

(x) Except BM 91, which is the last frag. in Case 37.

All (x) the above are now stored in Case 43 (in case you want to ask for photos, etc.)

I think that the 1925 1-19 series (registered by one Miss Hulton) come from Rhodes, but perhaps not all, and you may wish to inquire.

All in duplicate except final item.

13. XII. 55

Roman stamps (in Nat'l Museum mostly)

Photographs being sent to Mrs Will

	film no.		film no.
EM L 4	377.37	EM L 61	378.16
8	38	62	17
9	39	63	18
11	40	64	19
19	41	83	20
21	42	84	21
23	43	90	22
25	44	91	23
26	45	92	24
27	1	94	25
30	2	95	26
31	3	100	27
32	4	101	28
33	5	102	29
37	6	103	30
38	378. 6	105	31
40 a	7	109	32
40 b	8	115	33
41	9	124	34
45	10	125	35
52	11		
52	12		
56	13		
58	14		
60	15		

In Alexandrin Museum (a remainder)

A VG 1231
2140 (2 sets of photo.)
2148
2149

In Thasos

Thasos 533, side view (Roll 288.26)

December 12, 1955

Dear Virginia,

We returned from Princeton last night. We stayed three nights with the Thompsons, who took care of us since we were unable because of some Princeton celebration to find a room in town. They treated us with the utmost kindness. Yesterday Mr. Thompson made a suggestion which he asked me to consult you about. He wondered what you would think of having Roman amphoras as a fascicule in the Agora amphora publication rather than as an article in Hesperia. He seemed to think that the number of objects and photographs I now have might warrant such a shift in plans. I agree that a catalogue and bibliography as weighty as those I now have might be more appropriately housed in a separate publication than in an article, and I would be really delighted if this poor unloved subject were treated as I know it deserves to be treated. I think too that I might feel less restricted in scope if I were not writing an article. HAT feels it would be appropriate to include all the material - Delian, Alexandrian, and the rest, along with such historical and economic comments as I could make. I will be eager to know your reaction to all this. I'm very much excited about it.

We both accomplished a lot in the Princeton library. We worked like machines, scarcely pausing to nod as we passed each other in the stacks. I looked up the Antikythera jar. It's certainly strange. The belly is much longer, and the neck much shorter, than on any Spe-type of which I have a phot. The jar reminds me most, I think, of Type 6 (P499, etc.), at least in the proportions, but the rim is entirely different. I know five whole jars of that type (3 Agora; 1 EM; 1 Brindisi). All have strikingly wide rims, but the Antikythera rim looks, unless it is broken off at the top, as narrow as a few very narrow ones on Spe-jars. In general, I would certainly agree with you: that the jar looks earlyish 1st BC. So vertical a rim would look strange on an earlier jar, and the form as a whole is closer to the Sullan jars than to any others.

I looked up J.L. Stoddart's 1850 amphora article, and was overcome to find in it a lengthy discussion of the Br. Mus. 48 7-31 Alexandrian stamps, the ones that are also in CIL III. I don't know what you think about JLS. I think he was a raving maniac. He tries to show that most of those handles were made (they are Br's) in Corinth, except for BM 472, which he feels was not only from Parium but had the distinction of bearing the name of Velleius Paterculus; that despite the fact that the stamp clearly says Vevei, not Vellei. Really, I have never read such an irrational article. Will my opus be read with the same distaste in 2050?
But I brought this up for bibliographical, rather than critical, reasons.

Evelyn has told me that a suitcase for the Agora will be leaving with Mrs. Blegen in early January. I will hope to have at least one dacron-cotton blouse in it for you.

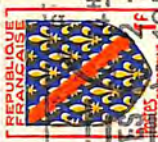
For now, much love from

Letty

Did the poems arrive?







Miss Virginia Grace
American School of Classical Studies

Athens
GRÈCE

PAR AVION

Paris — June 29, 1955

Dear Virginia,

We are going to reach Athens a week later than we wished to, because we can't get a boat from Marseille to Piraeus before July 18. It arrives on the 22nd. The total length of our stay, though, will be the same. We had a good, if somewhat frantic, crossing: frantic because our tickets were cancelled as a result of the strike, but we got passage on the Q.E. [illegible], and are two of four "cancel-ees" who did! I had a good talk with Maurice Cellier in London, and have seen Émile Thevenot here. Am learning much about amphoras from the collections in French museums. Love, Letty

NATIONAL GALLERY CARD No. 1167

CLAUDE: LANDSCAPE: ÆNEAS AT DELOS (1018)

Printed in Great Britain for the Trustees under the authority of
Her Majesty's Stationery Office by Henry Stone & Son (Printers) Ltd., Banbury Wt. P. 1838

[31-b]



4. A Roman Oculist's stamp. *Translation:* left "scented ointment against roughness"; right "tincture against bleariness".





32-b

AIR MAIL

POST CARD

GUILDHALL MUSEUM, E.C.2

PAID

Miss Virginia Grace
American School of Classical Studies
Athens
GREECE

VIA AIR MAIL

at sea, between Southampton and Le Havre
September 9, 1953

Dear Virginia,

I have very much to tell you, but a postcard must suffice for now. Our ship, the Scythia, is close to Le Havre, whence this card will be sent back to England and then I hope on to you. We had a fine trip to Brindisi, though regrettably we couldn't find Mr. Kallipolites at Corfu, and the museum there was shut tight during our mid-afternoon stay. At Brindisi, Miss Scavia was charming and very helpful. The jars there were a revelation to us (a beautiful whole one, stamped, like P498-500, two baggy-bellied Spes, and others of which I will send photos). I got two photos of each, including the alabaster jar. Miss S. says I can publish all the Roman jars. I also got useful information at Taranto and Rome and at the Guildhall in London. More on all this. For now, this brings greetings and love from us both. Kelly

December 6, 1955 33.01

Dear Virginia,

Thank you so much for your letter of November 10. But I must say that with these stacks of new material you are contributing almost as much as Mr. Benachi to my delinquency. In this case, though, I profit from delinquency. I am delighted to have the fine phots. of the Corinth jars (may I copy your underlining system?) and news that Roger will let me use them. One of my next projects is a letter to him, as I have also to ask about the objects in the upper workroom at the museum and some other things. I do agree that the Corinth jars must belong to the same series as the Marseilles "Greek" jars and the PASI-jar. I will have more to say about this shortly, when I send you a phot. of the Marseilles jar here (Matson has been away, and I haven't been able to get a phot.). By the way, I hope to have for you shortly also better prints of the Brindisi phots. I took.

Thank you for the phots. of the Karystos jars. The smaller one does resemble the Corinth jars. The Ensérune neck which you think looks like it may be one published in Gallia I (1943), p. 13. That neck, which I didn't see in the museum at Ensérune but of which I have a drawing taken from a phot. or drawing in Gallia, also has a very strongly outflaring rim, short neck and handles, and what is called an Iberian stamp, 𐌉𐌔𐌉𐌍 . As to whether or not those are unquestionably Iberian characters I couldn't say. One has to know so many alphabets in this business. And the Corinth-type jars may be Spanish, for all I know. I must say the possibility had occurred to me, even when C-47-80 was the only Corinthian example of the type I knew about, for the publications of Numantia and of Azaila in Spain include whole jars of this type. I will have to think about this quite a lot more. Another disquieting Iberian note is this: certain Brindisi-type jars at Azaila bear what the excavator identifies as Iberian letters incised in the wet clay. The letters look to me, though, as if they could equally well be Greek or Latin. There seems to be a tendency among Spanish and French archaeologists to interpret any rough letters and symbols as Iberian.

The other Karystos jar ("Mrs. Leonidou's jar") doesn't seem to be like any other jar I have seen. The rim reminds me somewhat of your "Corinthian" jars and also of jars like P20021 and 3189 (IVLI PAVLINI). Thank you so much for its phot. and also for the Auja photograph. Actually, you gave me another copy of the same phot. last summer. Would you like me to return this second copy? I appreciate so much also your sending the National Museum rubbings I asked for and the rubbing of the new stamp, EM-L 128. I'm so sorry to hear about the floods at the EM. By the way, if you are able sometime to take the phots. for me there, L3 should probably be added to the list The new rubbing, compared now with phots. and rubbings, proves it can't be the stamp I tried to rationalize it into being. It is a Testaccio, so is mildly important, since I have rather few.

No, I have done nothing on the Antikythera publication. I knew of it, but have not gone completely through Ephemeris. I will check it at once, and thank you for mentioning it.

You will see I am enclosing two copies of a numerical list of the British Museum Roman stamps. I didn't know from your letter whether you wanted me to send Mr. Ashmole's copy to you first or directly to him. I've decided to send it to you, since you may want to make some changes. For example, I've included the GB's on the list, $though you may think they should not be there. And BM 191, of which there is a rubbing, isn't included on the numerical list you sent me, so I can't be positive that the number I've assigned it is correct. I'm embarrassed not to be able to give

better readings of BM 91, 171, and 388, but those stamps are both obscure and completely new to me. Incidentally, I have to correct the figure I gave for Brindisi stamps at the BM. There are 30, not 34. You sent me a total of 53 stamps. A final note on the BM: the stamps numbered 48 7-31, 334-343 (BM 465-472) are all published in CIL III, 85, 1-9, where they are said to have been found at Alex. and to be stored in the BM. Of these stamps, only #6 (SAL) is not in your 48 7-31 group. By the way, two additional BM Latins, on whole jars and therefore not from the cases you examined, are published in the BM's Guide to the Antiquities of Roman Britain, (1951), p. 34 and fig. 17.

Miss Sciarra has sent the measurements of the Brindisi alabaster jar: height, 0.68; circumference, 0.72.

I have heard from Bartoccini in Rome, who sends two perfectly horrible phots. which I had requested. The backgrounds consist of a satinish fabric full of folds, and the jars were photographed at a slant, so that very little can be seen of their shapes. A crucial jar isn't included, and two I didn't want are. Now I don't know how to go about getting the phots. I need. Bartoccini writes that he is indeed publishing the Taranto stamps, as part of a Corpus of Tarantine inscriptions. He doesn't say when it will appear.

I have also heard from Mr. Callipolitis, who sends the enclosed phot. which I think you ought to see. Is it clear enough so that it could be copied on the Agora copier? If not, I'm sure he would send us another print. He says the five jars represent almost all the forms at Corfu. The jars at left and right look as if they might be between, say, the small jar at Karystos and the Corinth jars. They are also reminiscent of P14180 (formerly my Type 1), which could also, I suppose, be part of this series. Callipolitis seems to have just one Latin stamp. Fortunately, it restores a former headache at Corinth. I have no details on the jars in the phot.

We are leaving tomorrow morning to spend three days in the Princeton library. I would rather not work on bibliography at the moment, but Fred needs to go there, so I will take this opportunity. I ought to have time to look at much of what I still haven't seen. We were at Princeton the day after Thanksgiving, which we spent with Fred's aunt in Phila. We spent most of the time in Firestone, but managed to have lunch at the Institute with Evelyn and the Thompsons, all of whom it was very good to see. HAT was delighted to know what you did for me at the BM. In Firestone, I talked with Mr. West for an hour and a half. He looks better than I have ever seen him look, and he was most cordial. I am always inspired by his amphoristic zeal. He is convinced that there is no other field left in Roman archaeology, and he seems to feel I should devote my life to the subject ("Think how much more important it is than the imagery of Aristophanes" - I don't know why he chose that subject, though it is just the sort of thing that fascinates me). He promised to send me his bibliography and a collection of over two hundred amphora shapes. He doesn't know when his publication will appear, as he hasn't had time to go by the printer's to ask about it.

I had another amphoristic encounter over Thanksgiving. Maurice Callender announced suddenly that he was coming to this country on behalf of the Ministry of Defence, his present employer. It happened that he was able to spend one of his six days with us while we were in Phila. We are by now very good friends with him. Coincidentally, he has a cousin who teaches at Penn State. Maurice, also, doesn't know when his amphora publication will appear.

Also ran into Marian Welker in the Firestone stacks. She looks wonderful and seems to be happy, though she says she is studying at Rutgers to be a librarian, having given up hope of earning a living archaeologically

What are your Christmas plans? Love from us both — Lilly

Athens, November 20, 1955

Dear Letty,

Nice to have your letter of November 10; sorry to hear (from two different sources) about your bronchitis.

Thank you for your analysis of the British Museum Romans. Will you make a list of these, with proper readings, for Mr. Ashmole, with a copy for me? We have sent him the carbon copy of our readings of the whole lot recorded, so far as the rubbings have as yet been received, but our versions of the Roman are likely to be something like I/-\\ , less useful than they might be, and he will probably set an assistant to enter this stuff in their inventory books, as least I should have thought so. Do not suppose that a couple of afternoons in the Museum would have gathered up this stuff for you. There were some 3500 handles, in 36 cases, mostly thick with black dust. It is not at all impossible that I missed some Roman; the light was pretty dim too. I only recorded 669 items, selected. These have not been sorted by kind, except within case-lots when they had not been previously registered, in which case I gave them numbers by kinds; they lie in cases marked 37 through 43, in the order of our B.M. sequence. I have explained this, in somewhat more detail, writing to Mr. Ashmole, so I expect they will be able to find things you want pictures of. I'll be writing to Carolyn Arthur. Her Oxford exams begin tomorrow, after which she'll probably be able to go back to the Museum.

I'm glad you sent us a complete list of the National Museum Romans, as it cleared up several points. I enclose rubbings of L 3 and L 104 as requested, also of L 128, which turned up among those which had been sorted out as Chian, when Maria came to record the Chian. L 127 we have not found, and I fear it may have remained with the Miscellaneous, from which you or AB will have to come and rescue it. We keep the number for it. I note the pictures that you need, and hope we can get around to taking them. The last time we went down to photograph, the whole floor down there had several inches of water on it, from the deluges that have been pouring down of late, and have done terrible damage in the country. The Stoa Project lent us a pump, but there was no good place to put the water, so very likely it has all seeped back. Anyway, the clouds have returned after the rain, as the Psalmist says, or whoever wrote that book. We have a lot of Knidian to photograph.

I enclose enlargements of the Corinth jars. Roger, who is expected next Tuesday, wrote that you may certainly use this material. We should have had a white background for these pictures: it is hard to see the profile under the rim. However, they are certainly fascinating, and do link the Marseille "Greek" jars with say P 6761 and SS 9396 (PASI). Wouldn't you say so? I mean that these make a series, not of course that they are contemporary, the Corinth jars being pre-Mummian, as I think we agreed. Must ask Roger what he thinks about the date.

Do you think this series is Spanish? I enclose photographs (Roll 369.43,44,1) of a little jar in the Pharmakeion Mangapha in Karystos. Does it seem to you possibly an ancestor? At Ensérune I saw a neck of a jar which I think looked like this (but prints have not been made for me yet, and I don't remember well enough); on the handle of that there was a stamp in characters which they said were Iberian. (These and the Corinth prints were made in the Agora darkroom, and if you find time, write a note some time to thank Alison. Perhaps she will do the National Museum ones also.) I enclose also a print made some time ago for you, 197.37 of another jar in Karystos. Also a photograph of two Roman stamped handles from Auja, Palestine, which has been waiting to go to you. General clean-up.

Time to go home.

Love,

P.S. I have a note of last July to check whether you include the pig jar in the Antikythera publication Ee. 1902, pl.H, 4. I have a feeling you do refer to it, but am too lazy to look up myself. Do you know anything firm about the date of this wreck? People are likening the pottery to stuff in Group E (HAT's Hell.grps) which in my opinion has no stamps at least as late as the end of the 2nd century; but it is noted that there is an astrolabe with a month mentioned on it that is supposed not to occur before Augustan times. Also the Corinth jars are Early Roman.

You should be getting soon an envelope of poems from Fred. I haven't forgotten about the blocks, but I can't pay a letter from Evelyn about when the next shipment will go to Greece. What are your Christmas plans? Much love from Betty.

November 10, 1955

Dear Virginia,

I was delighted to receive your letter of October 20, and most grateful for it. I didn't tell you so at once, because for the last two weeks my poor lungs have been somewhere between bronchitis and pleurisy, and I haven't had the energy to attack anything except bibliography. Now, though, I am terribly energetic and working wildly. One of my first acts is to tell you what you know already: the British Museum rubbings are excellent, and nothing could please me more than to know about 34 additional Brindisi stamps, especially since one of them (BM 471) is one for which I have been looking for years. (I had known of it previously only through CIL). I am of course embarrassed that I didn't make a third attempt to see for myself what the BM has when I was there in September, but it seemed to me on the basis of what Mr. Higgins, Maurice Callender, and Mr. Benachi said, that I would be likely to find Roman jars only at the Guildhall. And in any case one would expect to find only Testaccios in England. I didn't think of the possibility that things from Egypt, Rome, and Rhodes would turn up there. I am somewhat comforted about my carelessness, because I am in doubt about the jar-type in the case of only three of the stamps, and because only four of the Brindisis are "new." That is quite a stroke of luck. As you suggest, I will write Mr. Ashmole about the possibility of their taking phots. of those four for me, and about proveniences of the two handles for which you couldn't get same. I suppose I should also ask him for permission to refer to the BM material in the article. If your Miss Arthur is still doing rubbings for you, could she retake BM 91 for me; that is, 1955 9-20, 91. I don't quite know how to go about ascertaining the types of the three untyped ones. Perhaps the Museum would send me a group phot., or tell me whether those objects resemble any of the others in shape.

All regards of course to Maria and Andreas.

You may be interested to have my analysis of the types represented by these stamps: Br., 34; GB, 6; Testaccio, 8; double, 2 (but don't you think BM 419 looks Greek?); SPE, 2; unidentified, 3 (of which BM 334 looks Greek).

I am enclosing a numerical list of the National Museum Latins. It seems better to send a complete list, especially since in going over the EM cards I have discovered the appalling fact that I haven't phots. for quite a number there. You sent me phots. in 1953 of EM-L 65-82, and later of 85-6, but the rest were never done, though fortunately I have phots. of quite a number of those, since they occur in other collections. I have marked an x to the left of each number for which I have no phot. Is it possible that you could arrange to take so many for me? If so, I would insist on paying for film and developing. Let me know your reaction to this new headache. Other EM data: I have given numbers 119-127 to the new objects that turned up after I left. If you give them the same numbers in a different order, let me know. 127 was not sent me by Mr. Benachi as "Latin" but as "either Greek or Latin." It looks to me as if it must be Latin. Another either/or stamp, TETE, I have no convictions about, so decided it might remain an Unknown, unless you disagree. By the way, I wonder if the next time Maria is at the EM she could take rubbings of 3 and 104 for me. As for those Latins which may not be in order in the drawers: I'm sorry to say that I don't have a record of which are in the drawer devoted to larger frags. Whole jars are 85 and the unnumbered ones. I assume the Rostovitz handles are housed separately. They are numbered 107-118.

No word either from Kallipolites or Bartoccini.

I am delighted to have the contacts of the Corinth jars. By the way, I have seen the Marseilles jar here. It is the so-called "Greek" type, and it looks very close to the Corinth jars. I will take a phot. as soon as I can What was your reaction to those jars when you were in Marseilles?

No word from Miss Sciarra yet, so I haven't the alabaster jar's meas.

P.S. I note what you say about the Latin numbers in the National Museum. I should be much obliged if you would send us a continuation list of numbers and readings there, beginning with L 83, and making a note of any that I may not find in order in the drawer of the Roman (i.e. whole jars and groups kept in another place for some other reason). Indicate which still need pho

36.01

Athens, October 20, 1955

Dear Letty,

Thank you for your post card, received just before I left for England, and your letter of October 14th, which awaited me when I got back on the 18th. I imagine I did have much the same astonished feeling in England that you did, of returning. The treasure of days contemplated on the first morning melted in spending; there was much I did not do; still, I managed to capture quite a lot, one way or another.

Here is some of what I caught, on the attached three pages. You will be thinking Mr. Benachi was along. How I wished he had been! One can waste a lot of time learning how to take these things; in general they are a lot more work than I realized when all I had to think about was there were too many of them and they came much too fast. In these you can distinguish four hands: those that look underexposed are mine, the very black ones are by Arthur Hacker, entering student at the Royal College of Art, the first lot by a friend of his, a Mr.Hurst, also an artist, and the last lot by Caroline Arthur, daughter of the people I stayed with in London. Hers I think are the best, and she could probably do retakes if you needed them. She has some to finish for me still, including about a dozen more Romans, which you will receive later. I did not manage to do any photography. If you want some done, I imagine they would do it for you. I suppose you should write to the Keeper, Mr. Ashmole, unless you know one of the assistants well enough; of these, Higgins and Corbett both came down from time to time to visit me in the basement, and should be able to find individual handles. Corbett says he has equipment which would permit the production of actual-size prints; I was not entirely convinced it would work, but he might be pleased to make a demonstration. Note you must use the museum registration numbers in publication, and also in writing inquiries, though here it may help to add my serial number (BM numbers) in parentheses. The museum registration number is the one made up of a date, which is not the date of discovery but that of the day when they sat down to start a bout of cataloguing. For convenience, I began my series of BM numbers with handles which had never been registered before, so that the registration series headed 1955 9-20 (i.e. Sept.20th) corresponds with my BM numbers through BM 253. The enclosed list of the rubbings being sent to you should make this clear. But I haven't bothered to write the complete registration numbers on the 1955 series of rubbings. The BM numbers are not written on the handl but the handles which I recorded are laid out in cases in the order of the BM series and the Museum will presently have a complete copy of the readings in that order. Note one must say 1955 in full, since where the first two digits don't appear they inquire. I did not do much further information. I see that in some cases I have no suggestion of a finding place, and it is possible that in some cases they could supply one. I wonder who has been using this typewriter while I was away. I am sorry that I did not at least put all these handles together and take a general shot, but I didn't. Really there wasn't time to think about such things.

Roll 369 has been developed, and contacts made; I enclose a duplicate strip which may help until we can get enlargements made. (Corinth [illegible])

I was delighted with the account of your travels, only sorry to hear of Fred's illness. I shall salt away all those useful local notes, the excellent Miss Sciarra, the thoroughly familiar figure of Miss Tamburello as you sm her up. . .

Your new apartment sounds fine, also Fred's students worth while. I hope you both have a fine year, "calme et féconde" in the Bon phrase. Ha! I did stop at Marseille (and still see no reason to believe in all one wreck) and the Bons took me on a splendid excursion to Ensérune (recommended by you), and I have some samples of Marseille ware (highly micaceous, in early classical jars).

Love to you both,

19.X.55

Rubbings of British Museum stamps
being Part 8 F.L.W.

Br. Mus. registration	VG no.	
1955 9-20 79	BM 79	
80	80	
81	81	
82	82	
83	83	(Gr. Br.)
84	84	
85	85	
86	86	
87	87	
88	88	
89	89	
90	90	
91	91	
129	129	double handle
165	165	
166	166	
167	167	(Gr. B.C.)
168	168	
169	169	
170	170	
171	171	
172	172	
173a	173a	
173b	173b	

From cases marked as from Naukratis.

(over)

1955	9-20	174	BM	174	(Gk. Br.)
		175		175	
		192		192	
		193		193	
		194		194	
		195		195	(Gk. Br.)
		196		196	" "
		251		251	From case of handles of unknown provenance
		252		252	
		320		334	Case marked Rhodes
57	8-13	3		385	Handles marked:
		4		386	"Monte Testaccio, Rome" AF
		5		387	
		6		388	(It is women who AF was but I have forgotten. I think it was Mrs. Higgins who found it.)
57	10-15	1		389	
		2		390	
		8		391	
54	3-9	15		398	
57	8-13	7		400	Handle marked "Monte Testaccio, Rome AF"
68	4-5	114		419	double handle
48	7-31	333		464	(big stamp, done in embossing)
		334		465	double handle
		335		466	From cases marked as from Alexandria
		336		467	
		337		468	
		338		469	
		339		470	
		340		471	
		343		472	

525 West Foster Avenue
State College, Pennsylvania
October 14, 1955

Dear Virginia,

We have been delighted to hear (guess from whom) about your trip to London, and we are very eager to have you tell us something of what you did. I wish you and we could have managed to be there at the same time. Fred and I had the most remarkably warm, almost sentimental, reaction to the place during our brief stay there early in September. We felt very alive and as if we had come home after a long absence, and things we had never seen looked strangely familiar. Part of our feeling can doubtless be accounted for by the fact that we had returned to an Anglo-Saxon environment, but whatever the explanation we are wild to get back to London as soon as possible. Are you sympathetic?

I hope you got the postal, which was all I managed to send off to you before we sailed. One I sent to Mr. Benachi at about the same time never reached him, but I hope yours arrived. On it I summarized the main events of our two weeks between Athens and London. I'm sorry I didn't find time for a letter, but I was desperately busy during our three days at Brindisi/Taranto, and Fred was flat on his back during our entire stay in Rome (bronchitis), so that I had both nursing and research to do there. I give this detailed explanation because Mr. Benachi said that you and he had been hoping for an on-the-scene report of our trip. The postal and this letter are certainly a far cry from that, and I apologize. I have been sorely tried during the past three weeks by having to combine amphoras with "getting settled." And we are managing to settle ourselves quite comfortably into our new apartment, which is much roomier than the one we had in Hanover. We are also beginning to think we will like this university and town. Fred is pleased with his students, who are no worse than the ones he had at Dartmouth and are much more eager and serious, as one would expect.

Perhaps you will be interested in a few details of our trip. I told you about our bad luck at Corfu. We got there, unfortunately, in the early afternoon, but went immediately to the museum, which we found shut tight. A small library in the same building was open, though, and the woman in charge tried to find the Kallipolites-es for us, but they were "out to lunch", no one knew where (their apartment, she said, is in the museum building). I am going to write him this sad tale and ask for photographs.

We had just the opposite luck at Brindisi. Miss Sciarra is a gem (young, attractive, and bright). Everything had been prepared for our arrival. The amphoras were all set up in tripods in the little courtyard, and both Miss S. and the guard (who was so helpless in 1951) did everything they could for us. She said I could include photographs and descriptions of all the Roman jars in the article. The photographs I took, however, are atrociously bad, not only because of my camera but also because of me, and I am going to ask her to take new phots. There are only six whole jars. At this moment, it occurs to me that you may have photographed them when you photographed the "Brindisi jar." Is there a chance of that? In any case, I will within the next few days

send you for study purposes copies of the phots. I took. There are two unstamped new types, two stamped baggy-bellied (!) SPE's (transitional between SPE and type 14? If so, you are proved right and I wrong), a beautiful intact jar of type 6, with new stamp, and the BR-jar.

Herewith I send a print of the better of two phots. I took of the alabaster jar. I will send more prints, and to scale, shortly. I think that this print is almost exactly at 1:10. It is, if the height of the jar is 0.60, but I was horrified to discover only yesterday in my "old" Brindisi notes that you had never been able to get exact measurements. I didn't take them myself, because I thought you had given them to me, but instead what you gave me were approximate ones. I will ask Miss Sciarra to take them. She seems to be a very competent archaeologist-art historian, and I'm sure her measurements would be more professional than mine. As for the phot., the only white paper we could find was wrinkled, and the jar itself was very difficult to handle. It is in two pieces, and the top one fits onto the bottom one very poorly. The bottom piece is stuck in the brass stand. It can't be budged, so in order to get a front view of the jar I had to leave the stand in a sideways position.

At Taranto, I found the material in relative disarray, in contrast to the museum as a whole, which is beautifully arranged and managed. They have very few whole jars, and they wouldn't let me take phots., but they promised to send me such phots. as I wished. Although a dozen or so stamped handles and rims are on display in a glass case, most of the amphora fragments are in the basement on top of an unsteady set of shelves. I had to study them from the top of a swaying ladder. They were arranged in piles, and all I could do was to get an impression of the contents, which seemed to be primarily Greek handles and SPE fragments. Two persons (one a Miss Tamburello, who runs the museum though she isn't the director) assured us that the amphora stamps are being published by a Professor Bartoccini, now head of the Terme and Villa Giulia museums.

As soon as we reached Rome, I tried to see Bartoccini, but learned that he was away on vacation. That was a blow not only because of the Taranto stamps but also because I needed his permission in order to photograph jars in the Terme. The Academy tried to arrange for me to take phots. anyway, but couldn't. In any case, I couldn't find in the Terme the Testaccio-type jars I wanted to phot. The place has been remodelled, and no one knew what had happened to the jars. I was told that there were no amphoras in the museum, but I looked around on my own and found hidden behind some inscriptions a large group of twenty whole jars, including the first certain whole example I have seen of Type 17 (no Testaccio jars were in this group). So you see I have quite a lot to take up with Bartoccini.

Further bad luck at Rome: Miss Squarciapino, who is publishing the Ostia stamps, was also on vacation, but that was not too serious, since I have studied the Ostia stamps, and have permission to refer to them in any way I want, providing I send them a reprint of the article (!) .

At the Academy itself, I went over the Cosa stamps very thoroughly and took rubbings of all. I was struck by how similar the fragments are to the ones at Delos. I also studied the Academy's own collection of whole jars, and their handles from Monte Testaccio, all published.

And I made a lonely expedition on my own to Testaccio itself. I

didn't do any hunting, but got a few phots.

In London, I went to the Guildhall and, dressed in a smock which they insisted I wear, looked at their several caches of Roman stamped fragments. They were mostly of Testaccio-type, as I expected, although there were a few of Type 18. Some Test.-type necks had been wittily reconstructed by being attached to Type 18 bellies, and there were some other similar misconstructions. One precious whole jar, of the long-toed type like Dressel's type 14, had just been broken in being transported to the museum's display in the Royal Exchange.

So much for our trip, but I also have news of a jar here at Penn State, of all places. A Mr. Matson, whom I think you know, and who teaches archaeology here, has told me that one of the Sestius jars from the Marseilles wreck was given to the University by an alumnus who got it from the Museum of Modern Art, which didn't want it. I haven't seen it yet, but am fascinated by the possibility of studying one of those jars slowly and carefully. Perhaps I could use a phot. of it in the article.

Mr. Benachi has written me about the new finds at the National Museum. How frustrating that I didn't see them. Only two of them, though, are "new": the ones to which the numbers L 112 and L 113 were given. The numbers given to this latest group of Latins, incidentally, (L 107-114), are wrong, since 107-118 have already been given to the Rostovitz handles. Provisionally, I will change these new numbers to 119-126, subject to your approval.

Of Mr. Benachi's finds in Rhodes, the one definite Br. stamp, ISIO ALBI[←—, is found also on a double handle (C8) in his collection.

My notes reached me from Princeton in perfect condition. I wasn't able to go by way of Princeton for them, so Evelyn sent them to me.

Fred joins me in sending you all our best wishes. He is going to send you the latest Accent as soon as some extra copies of it have come. Before I stop, I must tell you again how grateful I am to you for all the wonderful things you did for us both this summer. As I go over and try to absorb the material I collected, I am more than ever struck by how helpless I would have been without you.

For now, much love,
Lelly

Athens, August 16, 1955

Dear Evelyn,

I've taken the liberty of ordering myself two pairs of sneakers to be sent in your care from James S. Jones, Germantown, Pa., hoping you can squeeze them into the pack of some approaching traveller. I hope this is not too much nuisance. If it is, just put them in the mail, or make James S. Jones do so.

Such fun to have Letty and Fred here. I went with them for a few days to Delos, such Heaven, and now Fred has gone to Chios and Turkey, and Letty is living with me on the roof, having breakfast with the Caskeys as is the custom at this holiday season for the Loring Hall staff. She is working very hard on her Roman jars and stamps but continues to bloom. It is remarked by some formerly not entirely sympathetic that he has developed a great deal, in the way of conventional manners largely I think, and they are a popular pair. M.Daux welcomed them to the maison de l'Ecole in Delos ("I like hehr!") which does not always happen.

Too bad they couldn't have made the trip a season when you were here. Maybe another time.

Thank you so much always for all your provision for us at the supplies end.

Yours,

ELW's ms. reread, with Plates

p. 3 middle ¶, seems as if it shd be reduced to a table or pass. footnote?

p. 7 note 133 BC when Asia became a province (what effect would that have on Kindin)

If "prosperity of Delos overflowed into Athens" and it engaged a ‖ revival of trade, why all that Rhodes in Delos of that period, not in Athens

If it was chiefly Italian, why great quant. of Ku jars? or an city province of Asia?

p. 8

The data available to be counted are available by accident (e.g. frags. counted only if stamped, whereas many were unstamped)

Type 3, wid. relating to Type 7

Descr. to make clear which are clear features, which subj. to variation.

Some comparison bet. types needed. Some gathering of data

The reader must not have to work out for himself these patterns, or lack of patterns (This group is late 2nd - early 1st - feature of the period, features of the series, including stamps on handle rather than rim —

Distinction of stamped handles - how recognize which types.

Good idea to illustrate Dressel i.e. put in his chart, Diff. for readers to look up, easy and cheap to reproduce.

Common stamps bet. Types 12 and 11 (P. Arpini) deserves more ~~prominent~~ emphasis. Also if 12 and 11 have common stamps, why are they not all one type? Like the 2 shapes of 11?

Basis of dating is sometimes not clear. E.g. Type 13, of wh. 20 ex. at Agora. What is the value of contrasts? Why is this type considered a century later than Type 10?

Thinks examples should perhaps be listed

May 31, 1955 40.01

Dear Virginia,

I am very glad to have your letter of May 13. I hope you don't mind receiving all these letters from me. I am now in a frame of mind in which I loathe having unwritten letters hanging over my head. How different from my un-self.

Thank you for sending comments about the preliminary report. I know how busy you are, and I appreciate your comments all the more. It's excellent to have someone besides myself provoking thoughts in me. What you say against the preliminary report is entirely justified, but I think you are trying to apply to it standards which should be applied to a more complete publication. Since, in the typology, I was trying merely to present material, with no interpretation (though with a little about dates), I cut away all theorizing about relationships among types. I presented such types as I was able to identify at that time in as chronological an order as I could achieve. A pointing out of connections among the types could not be within the scope of what I was aiming at. And anyway, it can only be done after I know more about the places in which the types of jars originated and about the contents of the various types. It has to be done on a geographical and a "contentual," as well as a chronological, basis, but even then such theorizing about the development of types is subjective and often dangerous. It is the pastime of the Benoits and the Lamboglias and others who have few or no definite dates to work with and who must rely on such theories for their chronologies. To discover whether or not there was any evolution at all from type to type, one would have to know the most important types, their dates, where they originated, and what they contained. There must be several hundred types, dating from who knows how many centuries, coming from every area of the Roman world, and containing a wide variety of produce. Since date, provenience, and contents all influenced shape, any study of the evolution of Roman amphoras would be infinitely complex. In any case, I am not ready to fit the E. Mediterranean jars into an evolutionary system. A strictly chronological arrangement of types seems to me to be the only possible one at this time.

I don't know whether types 6 and 10 belong to the same series, as you suggest, and I can't comment on the other connections you think might be possible, except to say that type 14 is almost certainly not related to type 10, since the former was a wine-jar, whereas the latter was probably an oil-jar.

I agree with you that the distinguishing features of the types should be emphasized more strongly in the articles, though I think you would have found my discussion of types clearer if you had been able to read it with the plates at hand. The distinguishing features are all included in the discussion of each type, but I think it wouldn't hurt to have those features summarized also as a sort of "title" for each type. That is the method followed by Loeschcke in the Oberaden typology. I thought his method repetitious and a bore when I was reading his discussion, but now I feel it will do no harm for me to make the distinctions among the types crystal clear, as he did, particularly since so many of those who read my study will not be "specialists."

My chief reason for considering type 1 Roman originally was the fact that you told me you thought it was. Later, I found similar rims classed as Romen et Cosa, and Lamboglia (in the 1952 article in Studi Liguri) gives profiles of a number of such rims from Tindari in Sicily (they are dated 4th and 3rd BC). I am very glad to know about the jar at Aegina that resembles P 14180.

Many thanks for the prints of AVG 1155 and [2166] and of Thasos A. Bon 533. I am also very glad to have the lists of pictures which I have received. They check exactly with my lists, so everything has come through safely.

I checked the BAXIOY stamp in Pergamum, volume 8. I don't think it is a GB. It is much larger and different from the Alex. Mus. stamp, AVG 1133. By the way, isn't it odd that there is only one published Latin amphora stamp from Pergamum? and I know of only two from Rhodes. Asia Minor is the largest question-mark in this field.

You ask about GRE's date for the context of C-47-80. In January he wrote me that in this fill (Well xxx of the South Stoa), which he considers Mummian, he saw "no suggestion of later material except possibly your stamped handle (EEW: neck, rather) and a fragment with a Latin dipinto (there was a coin of Constantius, to be sure, but obviously intrusive). If you think your handle can be pre-Mummian, that would make the filling all the purer. I have no opinion about the dipinto."

I am delighted to hear the hose. I have bought 3 prs. of Berkshires, size 11 long. They are are 51 gauge, 30 denier. I hope that is the correct weight.

I have appointments to see Callender in London, Thevenot in Paris, and Benoit in Marseilles. We sail the 11th and are looking forward so much to seeing you in just six weeks! Love, Kelly.

Athens, May 13, 1955

Dear Letty,

I keep hoping that there is going to be enough time to write you a proper letter, but it begins to look as if it is not worth while to go into any lengthy disquisitions anyway, since you are coming so soon. You will forgive me if I don't try to answer questions, either, on points for which you will be able to find the answers yourself when you come. I am drowned in Pnyx proof at the moment, and even that is interrupting other jobs of various kinds of urgency! bad management I fear. It is going to be fine to have you here, to see you both, and talk about everything.

I've had lots of good letters from you since I last wrote in December: I see they date January 5, February 21, March 2, March 24, and May 6. The Egyptian one thoroughly censored, as coming by way of the suspicious Mr. B. With regard to Mabel: I have my own troubles with her, and I think it will be a good idea for you to have a good talk with Homer when you come, and perhaps a few words with Evelyn beforehand, as she is I believe friends with you both. You have this in common, that though you are interested in research, the thing you wouldn't give up is teaching. In order not to miss either, she sometimes seems to me to cut corners and take lifts behind a smokescreen of mystifying language, and not to take the reader to a useful place; but you and I must watch that we don't sit on our material for undue lengths of time, when we could avoid it. Here is my final protest over the abandoned Guggenheim. I do think that concentration on cleaning up your research job would serve you as a teacher, both experience and prestige of publication helping you to find the position you'd like best, wherever you might decide to live.

As to your paper on the jars: I absolutely agree with you both that it was an excellent thing to have written it, and that it is not quite ready for publication. If you like we can look at it together in detail when you come. But I imagine you yourself may be your own best critic, when you have got sufficiently outside it,; one gradually comes to realise where parts of the argument never actually got into one's text, but remained, unshared, in one's head. Homer is going to like your putting in so much about trade - I'm no good at it myself, and can learn a lot that will be useful from you there. It will be easier for me to study your types when I see your assembled plates. But I think perhaps more should be said about distinguishing-features of types, since as you rightly observe there are lots of variations that are not significant. Also perhaps something about the connection - or lack of connection - between types. For instance, Types 6 and 10 seemed to me to belong to the same series, to which might possibly be attached also Types 2, 14, and 15, even possibly 4, may be others; whereas Types 11 and 12 are entirely separate. Of course I haven't studied the clay, and I don't know anything about the stamps. But these are impressions your public will get from photos, and I'd like to see comment in your text. On distinguishing features: one need explanation for instance as to why Type 1 is considered Roman. Those mushroom rims appear on a number of different kinds of jars in the 4th cent. There is a jar in Aigina (apotheke by the temple) that looks quite a bit like P 14180; I won't send you the bad picture in the midst of your packing but we will see it together.

I do enclose some oddments: prints of the two stamps on a Roman jar in the Alexandri Museum, A VG 2166, which is marked on the back with all its other numbers, also A VG 1155 which had been left out of an order, also Thasos A. Bon 553, also two lists of pictures you have already received. I note I was to remind you to look at Pergamon vol.VIII for 8 examples of a stamp BAKXIOS (cf G.Br.). I must thank you for specially interesting discussion in your letters of March 2 and 24. And now space and time are at an end, so I must just give you both my love, wish you a KAΛO TAΞEIAI; and look forward to seeing you soon.

May 6, 1955

Dear Virginia,

I am delighted with the second group of Alex. Mus. photographs (47 in all), which arrived yesterday. As I have said already too many times, I can't tell you how much I thank you. You should become a professional photographer, you know. These photos are so well done that the objects seem to be in one's presence, and not behind the Papyrus Curtain.

We're busy, to put it mildly, with final arrangements for our trip. As I've told you, we expect to reach Athens around July 15. The exact date can't be set, because Fred's parents are going to drive us through S. France and N. Italy, on our way to Greece, and while ten days (July 3-13) are being set aside for that trip, it may take us more, or less, time. It certainly won't be wasted time from my point of view, because it will enable me to visit such amphora "hot-spots" as Marseilles and Vienne and the Italian Riviera. Our "busy-ness" at this end involves, for us both, research; and our furniture and possessions have to be got ready for storage. Also, we have to make a trip very shortly to State College, Penna. (Penn State) where Fred has an excellent job for next year (an ass't professorship!) and where we will have to find a place to live now, as nothing will be left if we wait until September.

I am at last in correspondence with Thevenot, whom I hope to see in Paris on June 28. Callender, the English amphorist, is more of a mystery than ever. Another letter has been returned to me marked "gone away." I am making every effort to get his address, in the hope of seeing him this summer.

I've just heard from Mr. West: he's having troubles with his

publisher, whoever it is, and doesn't know when his MS will appear.

Calliope Stavraki recommends to us an Athenian hotel called Ξενοδοχεῖον τῶν Ρόδων on Patission Street, so that will probably be our place of residence in Athens.

We're looking forward so much to seeing you soon. You'll let me know, won't you, if there is anything I can bring you?

Love,

Letty

Athens 5.IV.55

Dear Mrs Will

We are sending you the rest of the photographs of Roman stamps taken in Alexandria.

On the prints have been written both the Benachi numbers and our inventory numbers (A.VG).

Here is a list of pictures enclosed.

A.VG	793	A.VG	1126
	794		1130
	795		1131 (2)
	801		1133
	806		1137
	807		1139
	808		1190
	809 (2		1191
	810		1195—1196
	819		1199
	821		1204
	1113		1210
	1118		1211
	1120		1226
	1121		1227
	1124		2095
	1125		

in 2 copies

Yours sincerely

A. Demoulines

Athens 15.III.55

Dear Mrs Will

We are sending you a few photographs printed in Alexandria. Mr Benachi suggested we mail them from here because he thought it was safer.

On the prints have been written both the Benachi numbers and our inventory numbers (A VG).The latter are the ink numbers now marked on the handles; and probably should be used for reference. Here is a list of pictures enclosed. More will be sent later, when they have been printed.

A.VG 728	A.VG 1141
729	1150
735	1152
741	1154
744	1159
746	1159
747	1159
748	1162
750	1165
751	1168
752	1173
753	1175
754	1176
758	1178
756	1179
760	1179
762	1181
763	1185
765	1186
766	1187
768	1188
771	1189
773	
774	
775	
777	
777	
781	
783	
784	
788	

Yours sincerely
M.Savatianou

March 24, 1955

Dear Virginia,

I can't tell you how delighted I am with the Alex. Mus. phots. An envelope of them mailed by you ca. the 17th has just arrived. They are magnificent, and look in general as if they are going to be a great deal more useful and instructive than the rubbings, though of course the final "use" of them will be in the publication, and I shall therefore not staple them to the cards. Once more, I am more grateful to you for all this than I can possibly say. I have just received from Benachi a description of the lists which you are preparing for me. You must know how much I appreciate all the extra time and energy which you are devoting to what I ought to be doing.

Fred and I are about to leave on a two-week "vacation" in Indiana. I am looking forward to transferring the scene of my operations to the Indiana Univ. library, which is somewhat better than Dartmouth's, and where I hope to get hold of most of the bibliography which I still haven't seen. Bibliographically, I am in fine shape. I rarely, now, run across a reference to something I've never heard of. I have gotten rid of two major headaches, Gallia and Revue archéologique de l'est et du centre-est, by ordering all the numbers of both periodicals from the Yale library and going through same with a fine-toothed comb. Both are crammed with articles about amphoras and reports of amphora finds in France. As you know, the leading French amphorist, indeed the only French specialist in the subject, is Émile Thevenot, who publishes copiously on a number of other subjects, too. His attentions, amphora-wise, are almost confined to the "Testaccio-type" jars (my type 20), one of the two major types of jars found in France. In any case, much of what I have just been reading has been by him, and I feel now that I can begin to correspond with him intelligently. He is the only person to whom I should have written but haven't. (Callender, the British specialist in type 20, must be a myth. I wrote him in 1953 but never received a reply. I wrote him again last month and just received my letter back with "gone away" marked on the envelope!).

If you are wondering when you will ever have a chance to look at my preliminary report, please don't. So many things have to be read and done at this end, including the absorption of the Alex. Mus. material, that I have now almost decided that the report can't be submitted to Hesperia until the end of May, and since that is the case I might as well wait to submit it until I have seen the material in the flesh once more. Don't you agree? The importance of the report's having been written when it was is very great, even if publication is going to be delayed. It has given me a very firm foundation on which to work, and, strangely, has made me abnormally energetic, even aggressive, about my work.

I have learned so much recently about double-handled jars with Latin stamps that I am clearing my thoughts by writing up a special report on the group. It can be the basis for my discussion in the final article. I will send you a copy as soon as it is finished. In connection with Coan jars, I wonder if you know that several double-handled jars from Pompeii (C.I.L., IV, 5536ff.) bear dipinti that read COVM VET. Most of the wines named on double-handled jars there, though, are well-known Italian brands, and there is quite a bit of evidence that double-handled jars were manufactured in Italy and in S. Gaul.

But that doesn't alter the fact that several Coan-type jars at Pompeii contained Coan wine, though I suppose the Coan named might have been the Italian variety of Coan, for which Cato gives a recipe.

I just heard from Benachi that you were unable to find the Agora's P.SVLLA stamp during his recent Athenian incarnation. Believe me, it exists. It is SS 8506. It used to be read †P.SVLA.

One more "Coan" note now: the Meroe amphora of which you sent me drawings recently definitely hasn't double handles, though the drawing sent you by Dows Dunham made the handles look double. The handles are grooved down the center, like those of SS 2475. Mr. Dunham, with whom I have been carrying on a Benachi-like correspondence until recently, very kindly sent me cross sections of the handles of the two jars of this type that are in Boston. He has in addition sent me a plaster cast of the stamp, the Mauretania Caesariensis one, and several helpful phots. of Meroe objects and contexts.

I am having a very gratifying response to my pleas for photographic help in connection with the article. I think you have a copy of the very nice letter Lucy sent me, saying she would send me 1:10 copies of the phots. which weren't at that scale. The phots. I requested from the National Museum in Rome and from the Ostia Excavations are also being sent. That means I will have phots. of whole jars of types 20 and 21. And one of the excavators of Alba Fucens has promised me a phot. of their necks stamped LEV.GEN. And M. Daux very kindly sent me some fine phots. taken by Mme. Ghali of crucial jars at Delos. So I now have done as much as I can to get phots. of whole jars of all the types identified thus far. By the way, did Mme. Ghali ask your advice yet about the numbers which she provisionally gave some unnumbered jars at Delos at my request? They are TD numbers, and M. Daux said she and he weren't sure whether you approve of giving TD numbers to unstamped jars.

This brings much love for now from us both.

Letty

I sent a note from her saying

March 2, 1955

Dear Virginia,

Benachi's latest letters imply that you planned to leave Alexandria on March 1, so I imagine this will find you back in Athens. I'm very glad to know about your impressive accomplishments in Egypt. I gather you now have fairly clear ideas about just what is in Alex., and what remains to be done, and that you have detailed information about Caidians, Coans, etc. Can there be 24,180 Rhodians in Benachi's collection alone? And are there as many again in the museum?

I am writing you now because Benachi says you would like to know my views about the identities of the men named on the Brindisi-type jars (Type II). The deeper I go into the subject, the less certain I become about who they are. All that is certain is that one handle on each jar bears an Italian nomen (often preceded by a praenomen and sometimes followed by a cognomen in the genitive, and the other handle bears a Greek name in Latin letters (I don't know whether the Greek-Brindisi stamps, the ones with Greek letters, were interchangeable with the ones with Latin letters or not. B. has probably told you that the same names sometimes occur on different handles in both Greek and Latin forms). The Greek name is sometimes in the nominative, sometimes in the genitive, and sometimes abbreviated so that case is uncertain. I know about 30 different Italian names and about 90 different Greek names. The same Italian name apparently often occurred with different Greek names; for example, VEHILI occurs with APOLONI, MENOPILVS, GORGIA, and PILIPPVS. If more necks with both handles were preserved, I would know just what Greek names occur with just what Italian names. But the importance of knowing that one Italian nomen can occur on the same jar with various Greek names is this: the Greek names must belong to slaves or freedmen of the person with the Italian name. A further proof of that can be seen in the "Betilieni" stamps, which specifically identify each possessor of a Greek name as "M.S." There are, incidentally, eleven different Greek names identified as slaves of Marcus Betilienus. He, Vehilius, and Viselius were by far the chief producers of these jars.

I say "producers of these jars" to hide the fact that I simply don't know whether these Italians with Greek slaves were growers,

potters, or grower-potters. I rather think they were grower-potters, but my reasons are not very impressive. I think I have localized the chief Italian nomina in oil-producing regions of southern Italy; and there is evidence that the Italians named belonged to prominent families — families agriculturally (?) therefore, rather than (?) ceramically inclined, though the existence of tegulae naming some of the same Italians indicates that these men may have had their own potteries. I think there is evidence in Cato or Varro that the Republican estates regularly did make their own tiles, pots, etc. The Greek name on one handle of these jars might, then, belong to the potter-slave, or one of the potter-slaves, of the Italian grower named on the other handle. But there is at least one complication: at Brindisi (see introduction to C.I.L., IX, 6079) have been found kilns with walls around them made out of masses of these Type 11 handles, with masses of different names stamped on them. I think an explanation might be that the oil was transported to Brindisi in some sort of light container and then transferred at Brindisi to heavy export jars made there by potter-slaves of the various growers and fired in community kilns of the sort that apparently were used by Arretine potters (Comfort, in E.S.A.R., V, p. 191). I can't think of any other explanation than community kilns for the fact that so many different names were found on handles from the same kiln. And I make the elaborate guess about possible transportation of oil to Brindisi, since it seems to be unlikely though not impossible that the contents of the jars originated in the neighborhood of Brindisi. Since these jars seem to have been the chief type exported to the East, I would rather think they contained Venafran, or some similar and well-known oil.*

Maybe, after all, though, these names belonged to thirty different Italian potters resident in Brindisi, potters who used community kilns. You may remember that two Type 11 handles (one at Corinth and one at the Agora) name a certain C. Iulius Brundisinus. Whether grower or potter, he must have lived in that area. [But there is no inscriptional evidence localizing any of the other nomina in Brindisi].

In short, I know almost nothing about who these men were. And I am similarly uncertain about the persons named in stamps on most of the other types of jars I have studied, though the evidence varies from type to type. For type 20, at least, there is good evidence that the stamps named the potters, but that type originated in Spain in the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD, so may not throw much light on early Italian types. There is, however, one early Italian type (at Delos) the stamps of which always give a name followed by "FAB." And I have sent you the evidence about Type 18 (letter of Feb. 21).

Of the many "museum" letters I have written recently, the only one to which I have received an answer is the one sent to Brindisi. That was the one from which I expected to hear last, since I didn't know the director's name. The person in charge turns out to be a woman, Dr. Benita Sciarra, who very graciously gives consent to my publishing a phot. of the GORGIA-VEHILI jar. (She is not the "director" but is obviously "in charge"). For now, much love from Letty.

* I feel the Type 11 jars contained oil not only because of the inscriptional evidence which localizes the nomina in oil regions but also because there is evidence that roundish jars regularly contained oil, while slim jars contained wine. It is fairly certain that the Spe-jars, too, contained oil.

cc V.G. 47.01

March 1, 1955

Dear Letty:

Thank you very much for your excellent letter. We were delighted to hear that you are really coming this summer, and that this is no mere rumor. Homer was also particularly pleased to know how far you have got with your "Preliminary Report".

The question of scale in photographs is one that causes us all the most acute suffering; it is not only a matter of shrinkage, it is more - I believe - a matter of optics. Anyhow your list is now in the works, the enlargements to be made by actual measurement, not by the scale, and we shall see how they come out.

Your question about the height of P 19380 revealed that the error went back to the notebook, and had never been noticed till now. The height is 0.86 m.

Following is a list of the contexts about which you ask. I am not sure if you know that we have abandoned the section letters and section grids for an all-over grid; see pl. 49 in Eve Harrison's Portrait Sculpture for the general idea. It was high time we did this, for we had no less than 56 sections, and a large proportion of our location-references were completely incomprehensible to anyone outside the Agora. To translate the old references into the new requires a good deal of machinery, and can only be done here; but once done it is a great comfort. All the large groups have been translated; and we will plot the others for you when you are here, unless you would like them sooner. Perhaps it would be best anyway to get a start on them, and I expect Virginia can give me a list of the pieces that are in your territory.

Another item with respect to locations(and contexts): in general it has been decided to omit any reference to location and context where this is perfectly irrelevant; i.e. 'late mixed fill' or the like. A note at the beginning of any given study can state this fact. This saves time and money, and seems to suit most people; it serves also to emphasize the contexts that are good. If, however, someone wanted to say in such cases "context without value" (Henry Robinson's phrase), I suppose there would be no great objection.

The above will explain why the contexts noted below look and sound rather different from what you have.

SS 11228 From a well-filling (R 10:1) of Augustan date

SS 11575 omit context, or cite as Context without value

[from plundered foundation trench of south wall of Southeast Fountain house: as late as the fourth century after Christ, though with much earlier material]

SS 11620 From filling over east colonnade of Square Building (R 8); context of late first century B.C.

SS 11643 omit context

[from filling in rock-cut pits west of Stoa of Attalos (P 8): filling of the fourth century B.C. with some Roman disturbance]

SS 12705 From the Hellenistic filling over the water-basin set against the north wall of the Heliaia (I 14); cf. Hesperia XXIII, 1954, pp. 37-38; filling contemporary with the building of the Middle Stoa, mid-second century B.C., but with some disturbance from drains in use until early Roman times.

SS 13617 omit context [mixed fill]

I have written out, in brackets, what is said about the contexts which appear to be no good, so that you can see for yourself. Only SS 11228 (well-filling dated by H.S.R.) and SS 11620 (context dated by H.A.T.) seem to be any real good; but SS 12705 is worth citing for the sake of the next-comer. In its particular vicinity the evidence for disturbance was slight, but pervasive.

I should have said above that whereas a reference such as P 8 refers simply to the grid-square in which the object was found, and not to a group, the reliable groups have been numbered under the squares, so that R 10:1 indicates a group in square R 10. One could write this out in many more words, in this case: 'From the filling of a well found to the east of Room 11 of the Stoa of Attalos: R 10: 1'; but the gain would not be great. The important thing is to give the new grid-group reference, which will be used also by all other people publishing other material from the same group.

As to the mysterious difference in count on the jars from the construction filling of the well formerly X, 65/N, now

M 18: 1, I shall see what I can do, with Missy's help, to explain the discrepancy. But if no explanation is forthcoming, then by all means use your own count. Still another slightly different version appears in Missy's annual summary for 1937:

> "132 whole amphoras were found. Of them 63 had stamps in Latin on ~~shoulder~~ shoulder or rim, and 26 more stamped rims were catalogued. Of the legible ones there are twenty-two varieties, the most common being 'SPE' placed on the shoulder."

But by no means worry about this; if we can find anything out, we will let you know.

About the capacities of the jars you cite, there is nothing noted in the catalogue, but I am not sure that Virginia may not have some figures. We are expecting her back from Egypt tonight. Meanwhile I note that at present SS 7235 and SS 7317 are in pieces and not measurable; also, as you say, SS 7367 still has its lid on.

SS 7295 crushed

SS 7303, lid

SS 7321 crushed

This letter is much too long, and contains far too little information, but it will assure you any way that we are thinking about you. You will have the new pictures in a week or so, I should think.

It is particularly good that you are coming this summer, for Henry Robinson will be here from June 4 to August 28, working on the over-all Roman publication, and being here together on the spot with the material will I think be very interesting for both of you.

With best thanks for your letter, and many greetings from us all to you and to Fred,

Yours,

Lucy Talcott

Mrs. Frederick Will
2 North Park Street
Hanover, New Hampshire

PS: I am sending you a copy of the Agora Guide, 1st Ed.; it will probably arrive in a month or so. . . LT

cc: VRG

extracts from letter of ELW E AB 48.01
given me by " 24.II.55

M. TUCCI L F TRO
GALEONIS.

Marcus Tuccius Lucii filius Tro(mentina) Galeo

Tromentina tribe

= Marcus Tuccius Galeo - mentioned by Cicero in his 47 Bt Letters.

M TUCCI L. F. TRO
CALEONIS

M. Tuccius Trocaleo - Tombstone found at Cales in Campania.

Cales source of Calabrian wine - one of Italy's most famous brands

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Le C. I. L. Volume 6 Rome -

I found last summer the odd coincidences where inscriptions named persons whose nomina and cognomina occur on BR - type handles -

Annius Menophilus
L. Visellius Nicepor.
C. Fannius Alexander
Fannius Mena
M. Claudius Attalus
M. Claudius Philippus
Lucius Archelaus
L. Publilius Serapio

Br pots may have a nomen on one handle and cognomen on the other -

I have given these examples here to show that the Br type Greek names in Latin letters regularly belonged to Italian freedmen of Greek background.

—

Inscription reading

L. VISELLIUS MERCATOR VINARIUS.

—

Abbreviations on Betilieni Stamps -

M.S stands for Marci servus

—

That the head offices of the various persons named on the jars were in Italy - I have little doubt - as the inscriptional evidence proves that these names Vehilius - Betilienus and the rest originated in or at any rate were native to certain definite Italian localities. that these names belonged to families of importance whose members seldom strayed from S. Italy and that since these families were important in grape or oil districts their wealth was probably derived from grape or olive growing. I feel that each grower made his own jars putting his own name in the genitive case on one handle and the name of his Greek estate managers on the other handle.

49-9

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9-57

Monday, February 21 50.01

Dear Virginia,

It's very good to be back in direct communication with you. I have felt for the last six weeks that we have been sending signals to each other by means of very indirect mirror-flashes or something of the sort, every flash being relayed by a combination of the Egyptian censor and Mr. Benachi. But there was no way to avoid that situation, and I shouldn't imply that I feel anything but gratitude to Mr. Benachi for his selfless devotion to my cause (I have received ca. twenty Alex. Mss. letters from him, most of them very much to the point and crammed with helpful information). What I feel toward you is very much more than gratitude, and I simply don't know how to begin to tell you about it. I'm sure all the thanks you want is the knowledge that this new material is of importance to my work. That a very large percentage of it is completely new you will have observed — and now I have brought up a subject which has caused me worry ever since I began to realize, with amazement, the amount of new material at the Museum. That subject is the time, effort, and money which you have expended on photographs for me. I insist upon repaying the last item, the only one I can repay, and I must ask you to send me an estimation of what my photographs have cost.

According to the latest word from Mr. Benachi, you expected to return to Athens yesterday. I hope the return trip was a pleasant one. I won't say that I hope you enjoyed your Egyptian incarceration, but I'm sure you must feel gratified and informed, if not refreshed, at having eaten the equivalent of a Monte Testaccio.

I have a Monte Testaccio of things to tell you now. I don't know how much I'll get into this letter. I have first to send a bona fide answer to your letter of Dec. 7, but even before that I want to say something about the Mabel-problem, which was worrying me so much when I wrote you last. Shortly after I wrote you, I received from Hill a copy of her study of the Spe-type jars. I wonder if you have read it. If not, my reaction won't mean much to you. My reaction was almost purely negative, though part of that "negativity," I'm sure, resulted from resentment at the slight to me which her handling of the material implied. I tried to be as objective as I could, though, and found myself in complete disagreement with her major conclusions and with most of the minor ones as well. I think she never intended the study she sent me to be her final words on the subject, nor do I think she takes the study very seriously (I gather it is just a part of a larger work on weights and

measures), but, whatever it is, she has written it, and I have read it, and it is a mass of superficial, unfounded observations which, if published, will be in direct disagreement with what I hope to publish on the same subject. I can let you know more about this if you are interested. I have written to Mabel voicing my objections, and I judge from her reply that she realizes they are valid ones. I just wonder, though, if they would occur to someone not immersed in the subject as I am.

The new material from Alex., of course, will necessitate major "plastic surgery," as you call it, on my preliminary report, though the general percentages cited for Alex. remain about the same. Obviously, though, the Alex. material is now far more important than the Delian collection, and I am now hard put to it to glamourize the latter, which has just lost its main distinction, that of being the largest mass of material in the eastern Mediterranean. Fortunately, the Agora material does it suffer at all from these new additions.

I am nearing the end in my collection of material for the footnotes. For them, I am trying to cover only the chief bibliography, most of which unfortunately has to be obtained through interlibrary loans, a time-consuming procedure.

To come finally to your letter of Dec. 7: I thank you so much for all information and photographs of material from the E. M., Corinth, Delos, Abdera, and of course the four new Agora items. I am delighted to have the copy of the Meroë drawings. Perhaps I should tell you first about Meroë developments. I wrote, as you suggested, to Dr. Dows Dunham at the M.F.A. I got an immediate and interested reply from him, because as I told him and as Bapchi may have told you, the stamp on the jar is Latin, and the jar is somewhat datable. I knew nothing about all this until I got the copy of the drawings from you. The stamp reads

EX PROV
MAVR CAES
TVBVS

— or, "Ex provincia Mauretania Caesariensi Tubusuctu," the exact spelling of the last word being something of a problem. But there is no doubt that the stamp refers to the town of Tubusuctus or Tubusuptus or Tupusuctu (the inscriptions and ancient writers give several spellings) in the province of Mauretania Caesariensis which became a province in 40 A.D., a date which thus becomes a terminus post quem for the jar-type. I know of seven different forms of this stamp and of fifteen occurrences of it in its various forms, all from Rome and

vicinity or from Alex., where there are three. See C.I.L. XV, 2634-35, for the Roman ones. There is quite a bibliography on the stamps, most of which I have covered. One of the stamps names a man, Julius Honoratus, the owner of the officina, and it may be possible to date him late 2nd A.D. In any case, the date for this type of jar (as you observed, it seems to be the type of SS 2475, and is therefore my Type 18) should now be: late 1st to middle or late 2nd A.D. Other than the terminus p.q., the only really reliable date is given by SS2475 (1st and early 2nd A.D.), but MaDunham says the Meroë jar was found in the burial chamber of a pyramid which had in its chapel an inscribed offering-table naming the king, Teqerideamani, and which should be dated 150-160 A.D. I don't know whether he gave you all of those details. That date seems acceptable, but I am wondering (and I've written him again to ask) about the other similar jar to which a date of AD 20-40 was given, as he told you. Disregarding the second jar, the date I have suggested for the type seems to be safe for the present.

The stamp on SS 2475, T.V.P, should I think be interpreted as an abbreviation for Tupusuctus or whatever. Interpunctation in the Latin stamps is often meaningless. That this neck belongs to the type of the Meroë jar seems to be confirmed by the shapes and dimensions, the grooved handles (or are the Meroë handles more like Coan? I have asked Dunham about that), the red lines painted on the shoulders, and the T.V.P stamp of SS 2475.

To revert to the E.M. material: many thanks for the new stamps and for the phot. of the whole jar and neck, also for the phots. of the double Latins. (Since K-h-70 looks illegible, why is it considered Latin?). I wonder if the new Latins in the Miscellaneous Drawer (discovered in July and reported to me then by Benachi) have been given numbers. That goes for the Rostovtzeff Latins, too, but in neither case is the problem a pressing one, since I can give numbers to them next summer if you haven't had a chance to do so by then. According to what Benachi wrote me, 6 Latins + 1 "G.B." were discovered in the Miscellaneous Drawer, and 12 Latins in the Rostovtzeff Collection. Do those figures accord with yours? A final note on the E.M.: I have written Karouzos at last.

Corinth: I am really flabbergasted to get the phots. of the two jars of Type 14. That type is datable, and these are the only whole jars I know of from Corinth, so they are very important. Are numbers known for them? What about provenience, etc.? Are they stamped? How did I miss them when I was at Corinth? Is there a possibility that other jars have been found there?

50.04

Alsdera: I'm very glad to know about the three Latins there. I have written Lazarides for further information. Two of the frags. belong to an important type for which I haven't yet got a satisfactory date, since the type occurs at Delos and Corinth.

While on the subject of Corinth, I might mention a very important deck there, C-47-80, the chief example of Type 3. The type to which this deck belongs almost certainly predates 146 B.C. I have consulted both Broneer and GRE about it (OB referred me to Roger, who compiled the notes on the S. Stoa wells), and Roger says that the well fill in which the deck was found contained no suggestion of post-Mummian material, except for one intrusive coin. Therefore it seems likely that this deck is mid-2nd B.C., and that it is ~~therefore~~ the earliest stamped remnant of a Roman amphora identified so far in the eastern Med. I'm telling you all this, because it seems to strengthen the date-with-question-mark which I gave the type in the preliminary report. Also, I want to ask if you possess a 1:10 print of the object. I have three prints, at 1:4, 1:7, and 1:13, but I have nothing at 1:10.

Many thanks for the photos. of new Agora material. In a letter which I have written to Lucy to ask her about jar photos. which are not at 1:10, I have added a query about ~~possibility~~ whether any of these new frags. have dates.

I appreciate your sending me the data for SS 11107. What do you mean when you say its grid (sic) reference is N 20:5 ?

I have written the director of the Brindisi museum for permission to publish the phot. you took of the "Brindisi jar." I couldn't find the director's name anywhere, so went ahead and sent the letter to "Il Direttore." Should I, in a footnote, refer to your publication of the phot. in the Tarsus volume? No

I am awaiting replies from several other persons to whom I have written to ask amphora-favors. One of them is Pietro Romanelli in Rome, who has in the museums under his control whole jars of Types 20 and 21. I here seem bold enough to ask him if he would be willing to send me photos. of them. Such photos. would greatly enrich the prelim. report. I have also written twice one Frere De Ruyt, Louvain, Belgium, who says in an article on Alba Fucens that necks of my Type 19 (which you remember as a very tantalizing type) have been discovered there. If I could only find out from him what those necks look like, and perhaps get photos. from him.

Can you sometime send me a description of the clay of SS 6814? Also, what is the shape of SS 9264 in section?

I'll send in duplicate a list of the dates I give the Agora material as soon as I have dug out the dates. material. Greetings and love from us both. Kelly.

2 North Park Street 51-a
Hanover, New Hampshire
January 5, 1955

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I trust you received before you left Greece.
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desperate for classical contacts, I was unusually stimulated by seeing
old friends, making new ones, and listening to papers. I was also a
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that she is working on the amphora-dipinti and that she has also
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of jars. In a second conversation, I asked Mabel quite directly what
was up, repeating my surprise about the Spa-jars and also about the
dipinti, which I had thought were "mine." I remember she answered
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Miss Virginia Grace
% Mr. L.A. Benachi
P.O.B. 268
Alexandria
EGYPT

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VIA AIR MAIL
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52-a

2 North Park Street
Hanover, New Hampshire
January 5, 1953

Dear Virginia,

I intended to write this letter two weeks or more ago, when I sent off to you the MS of the preliminary report, which I trust you received before you left Greece. The purpose of my writing you now is the same as it would have been, had I been able to write you two weeks ago. I think some aspects of the report need explanation, and even though I realize that you will have no time to devote to my MS for several weeks, I want to send these comments to you now while they are still fresh in my mind. I should mention here too that I received your letter of December 7, and for it and all enclosures I am extremely grateful. I have numerous comments to make in reply, but will save them for a letter which I'll send you when you have returned to Greece.

We have just come back from ten days spent in more tropical areas: Philadelphia, where we spent Christmas with Fred's aunt, and Boston, where I attended the meetings (Fred decided to go to the M.L.A. meetings in New York, as he wants to find a job in comparative literature). My preoccupation with "being away" made it difficult for me to collect enough thoughts to write you, though I wanted very much to do so from Boston. The meetings, as you may have heard by now, were pleasant and well-attended. There was the (by now) usual emphasis on Mycenae, Pylos, and Linear B, but efforts were made to glamorize other areas of interest. As for me, since Hanover's isolation is beginning to make me desperate for classical contacts, I was unusually stimulated by seeing old friends, making new ones, and listening to papers. I was also a little bit disturbed by a conversation I had with Mabel, who announced that she is working on the amphora-dipinti and that she has also written up a study or report or something on the Spe-type jars. When I asked her if she planned to publish it she said she didn't think so, but Machteld tells me (in confidence) that Mabel does have photographs of amphoras, and I must say I am a little worried about the possibility of having the carpet pulled out from under my choicest group of jars. In a second conversation, I asked Mabel quite directly what was up, repeating my surprise about the Spe-jars and also about the dipinti, which I had thought were "mine." I remember she answered that I would be coming out before she did anyway, and she implied there

would be no difficulties, but I must say I am surprised by all this. I don't see how she could possibly have gathered as much material on the Spr-type as I have, but if she should publish anything on amphoras before my final article comes out, it would certainly detract from what I am going to say. But I intended to devote only a word or two to Mabel, and forgot myself. [51-6]

To revert to the preliminary report: I explained to you in a previous letter that the footnotes are not yet ready. There will be a lot of them, including customary expressions of gratitude, information about scale of photographs, etc., but most of them will be concerned with past studies of amphoras, and with my sources for what I call the "accepted history of commerce in the eastern Mediterranean" and for other historical pronouncements. Also, most of the bibliographical material now in the catalogue will be put in footnotes. The text of the catalogue is just too much weighed down by titles. The awkwardness of the discussion of Type 4, especially, is obvious to me now.

I'm not pleased with the telegraphic style I use in the catalogue, but I notice that it isn't too unlike catalogue - styles in general. Neophyte that I am, archaeologically, I went through a number of recent catalogues to try to capture their spirit for my own uses. The catalogue was a surprisingly tough job. I didn't know, for example, what order to put the material in but finally decided on date, plate number, number of known examples, κτλ. I tried to keep to that order for each type but am still finding small aberrations. I am still uncertain about some rather minor things, such as the desirability of capitalizing all nouns in giving Agora contexts.

Such gaps as have been left in the catalogue will be filled when and if M. Daux can get answers to certain questions which I have sent him about some jars at Delos. I note you say he will be back in Athens before March.

Whether or not this article is suitable for publication, I have obviously made an enormous step forward in writing it. It has clarified my thoughts magnificently, and it gives me something firm on which to base future work. I just wonder, though, if it might not be better for me to bypass a preliminary report and publish everything at once. I wonder if the chronological section wouldn't fit better into a final article, and if it wouldn't be more useful to have the stamps and shapes in one article rather than in two. But if I submit this preliminary report, I wonder if I shouldn't omit the plates of stamps altogether, since they (the stamps) seem to serve no purpose unless they are treated fully.

As for the Guggenheim: no, they didn't say that I had to be teaching or earning a living in order to apply for a grant. That was my feeling, and I think a valid one. In any case, I can't commit myself for next year until I am sure I won't be able to teach.

Whereas we are next year, I want desperately to give at least part of my time to teaching. Concentrated work in that this summer should enable me to solve my remaining amphora-problems. All good wishes for a fine stay in Alexandria. With love, Lutty



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CORREO AEREO

Miss Virginia Grace
c/o Mr. L.A. Benachi
P.O. B. 268
Alexandria
EGYPT

REGISTERED
NO. 1939

PAR
AVION

52-b





VIA AIR MAIL

Athens, December 7, 1954

Dear Letty,

I've had in mind to write to you for a long time, many little items having accumulated, and now comes your letter of November 30. I'm delighted to see how much you have done, but bothered by some things you tell me, and



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duplicate); of TD 6019 (in duplicate);
86, stamps at actual size, jar and fragment
.M., two double handle (Coan)?) with
Abdera AB 324, 325 and 326, with a profile
Demetrios Lazarides in Abdera in 1952(Mr. L.
cedonia and Thrace, address ΥΑΡΡΩΝ 1,
whose pictures I happened apon in the Corinth
picture book when looking fr something else.

As to queries in your recent letter:

53.01

Athens, December 7, 1954

Dear Letty,

I've had in mind to write to you for a long time, many little items having accumulated, and now comes your letter of November 30. I'm delighted to see how much you have done, but bothered by some things you tell me, and first of all about the Guggenheim business. What is all that about the "funds to replace your teaching income"? Did they phrase it that way to you? Because I told them you were at present only doing parttime teaching, and that you needed to travel to finish this job. What we need is for it not to be necessary for you to be teaching next year, but to have the winter following the summer you plan to be here, so that the passage money will have been invested in a longer stay, and you won't keep losing headway. Anyway, that is how it impresses me! I would rather you used a Guggenheim to make actual, and available to others, and in a reliable way to yourself, what is now boiling in your head, than to save it to use on more beginnings.

Well, for the accumulation. I fear I never acknowledged your nice letter of May 4, for which many thanks. Some of the enclosed items are in response to requests in that letter. I enclose photographs of SS 11620, 11643, 13188, and 13617 (the last in duplicate); of TD 6019 (in duplicate); of National Museum (EM) Latin 85 and 86, stamps at actual size, jar and fragment at a tenth, all in duplicate; also E.M., two double handle (Coan)?) with Latin stamps, KΩ EM 69 and 70; also Abdera AB 324, 325 and 326, with a profile also of the handle 325, excavated by Demetrios Lazarides in Abdera in 1952(Mr. L. is Ephor of Antiquities of Eastern Macedonia and Thrace, address ΥΑΡΡΩΝ 1, Kavala); also two pigs from Corinth, whose pictures I happened apon in the Corinth picture book when looking fr something else.

As to queries in your recent letter:

Yes, write Lucy for photographs of Agora material.

M. Daux is in Paris for ~~his~~ Christmas. He left in November, and will probably be back before March.

Jar in Brindisi: for all of me you can publish it, I just wish the picture were better. I think you should try to get authorization. If you don't know to whom to write (and I don't) perhaps your correspondent Lambroglia would tell you. Actually I have published the picture myself but on a very small scale, see Tarsus I, fig.118, bottom right.

Sudan: The jar that apparently resembles SS 2475 is Meroe 21-3-375 (excavator's number), from N. 28 (seems to be a tomb number), AD 150-160 ("date range indicated from internal evidence on the site" - but for another jar of which he gives no picture, but says it is the same shape, the date range is stated to be AD 20-40, so I don't know how much you can rely on either). I have drawings, of which I will get a copy made on our beautiful new copier, and enclose. These were sent me in 1947 by Mr. Dows Dunham of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Department of Egyptian Art. It may be that the object has since been published, so write to him - certainly, of course, before mentioning the object in print. I'd be interested to see what you make of the stamp, now that you are more knowledgeable than you were when I must have shown you all this in my files. The shape of the jar seemed to me to have a fascinating preHellenistic flavor, except for the narrowness of the neck and the heaviness of the walls. I think they sometimes went in for archaism in jars, too, of this period.

Totals at Agora and Corinth: we have at present a little over 14000 SS, and I think you have the Latinika up to date; my Corinth numbers go to 444. The relatively small per cent of the non-Latin in Corinth of course must be laid to the fact that the bulk of Knidian are datable between about 150 and 88 BC, and that's what we have in enormous numbers in Athens.

53.03

Rostovitch collection: do ask Karouzos for permission to publish the Latin stamps, which I perceive were 13 and have not been photographed. Can you tell which ones need photos? Perhaps they are not all new. (There were other things in this collection, the handles being mostly Rhodian, as perhaps Mr. B. wrote you.)

We'd all be delighted to have a list of the dates you give to objects at the Agora. If you are typing it, it would be useful to have two copies here, one for the Cat., one for the SAH dep't.

If we get to Egypt, which depends partly on a Philosophical Society grant, one of the agenda already mapped out is to sort out the Latin as soon as possible, sick Mr. Benachi on them, and hope you will get the rubbings and descriptions fast enough to write back and tell us which ones need photographs, so we can take them within our month. Mr. B. I know thinks he can make us stay longer than a month, but if he manages to do it, it will be murder for me, because I really haven't time for this expedition this year anyway. So please don't encourage him.

Of course I'll be greatly interested to see your manuscript. I wonder if its careful perusal and comments could be postponed until February? There is so much to do at exactly this season, especially if we go to Egypt, and if, as I expect, my Pnyx proof arrives this month - this article has an enormous quantity of numbers to be checked, as well as other time-consuming services to be rendered to it in the way of emendations by plastic surgery.

Maria and I have been in Thasos and Kavala ~~and Thasos~~ (!) this fall, gathering in a big mess of new Thasian from Thasos itself and from Abdera. Note a couple of Abdera items among photos here enclosed; I believe there are a couple also from Thasos, but we haven't got all the photos yet. Not the season for this expedition, rain, short days, general darkness, and the hotels in Kavala full of KAMNEMIOPOI, but M. Bon needed certain of the pictures for his book now going to print (one supposes). In the midst of all other persecutions, my past week has been harried by a deadline in knitting, a tiny garment promised for the Christmas bazaar of your church (and Mr. Duncan remembers your wedding, and was delighted to have news of the Wills.

As I am.

Love to you both,


COR 465

2 North Park Street 55-d
Hanover, New Hampshire
November 30, 1954

Dear Virginia,

I want you to know that I have at last succeeded in finishing a first draft of the preliminary report on which I've been working for so many months, and which I seem to have finished about five months later than I expected would be the case when we discussed plans last Christmas. A month's delay was caused by my having to go to California in September, but other than that I have worked steadily and can only blame my slowness on the extreme deliberateness with which I approach any task, great or small, an unfortunate tendency which has been aggravated, in this case by my lack of training in archaeology and my having to solve for myself numerous unanticipated problems. But what is important now is the fact that I have written down as much as I can, at least for publication until I see and study the material again, and do several more months' work on bibliography. I hope you will be willing to read the MS before I send it to Hesperia. The article is in two parts: ① a chronological survey, noting the numbers of Roman amphoras at each site during each period, followed by a comparison of the probable history of Roman amphoras in the East with the accepted history of Western commercial activity in the area; ② a catalogue of the twenty-two jar types which I have been able to distinguish so far. For a preliminary report, the article is long: about thirty handwritten pages, and six plates or so. It's been a devilish task to know what to include and exclude. You may feel that I've done too much of one or the other, but I can only repeat that I've put down all I can at present; namely, a tentative summary of dates and types. By the strictest standards, I really ought not to be putting down anything until I've gone over the jars and fragments again in person, but that would delay any publication for another year, and I feel I know enough now to justify by most standards the publication of a preliminary report. I have included almost no stamps, because they

are perhaps the major gap in my knowledge. I have only begun to scratch the surface of the stamp-bibliography, and I have only as a result begun to form ideas about the chief types of jars, the chief producers of the jars, the areas in which the jars were produced, the contents of the jars, ETC. The amount of material I have to cover is staggering. But at least I think I know its extent now. I'll spend the next two or three months on it, then write the final article, which won't be publishable until I've seen the actual objects again, next summer (definitely), and come to final conclusions about shapes and dates. In other words, the final article should be in Hesperia's hands a year from now. What I have just produced should be in their hands very shortly. I have to do a little revision, and then the typing, but I hope to send it (the first draft) off to you, sans footnotes, which I haven't finished, by the end of this week. I really feel you should examine it before it is exposed to possibly hostile eyes, and I hope you'll be able to do so.

Before this preliminary report can be published, I have got to get from the Agora and Delos certain measurements, descriptions, and even photos which I don't have. For example, several crucial photos of jars and necks are not ready. Do you suggest that I write Lucy about my Agora problems? You see, I really know almost nothing about Agora customs except that they exist and are important. I am writing M. Brun about the Delian material I need (some measurements, etc., of jars which are found only at Delos, in the East). I hope he will be able to commission to do my little jobs the next French School member who goes to Delos. And I have also several questions which only you can answer. I'll forward a few now, and more later, if you are willing: ① Can I publish the phot. of the jar at Brindisi? ② Is there anything in your Sudan file about a "twin-handled" jar which may be like SS 2475? ③ What percentage of the total amphora and fragments at the Agora and at Corinth are the Roman ones (which number 260 and 55 respectively)? ④ What about the Rostovitz Collection? Am I free to ask Karouzos about publishing it? ⑤ Do you want a list of the dates, definite and probable, which I have given to each object at the Agora? ⑥ Is there a date in your deposit-file for the context of SS 11107, Section A: Well at 74/I; container #34; fill #6? I hate to bother you with my problems, but you see the necessity. [pencil: for my final article]

Benachi writes that you will be in Egypt in January. I'm delighted about that, for your sake and because if B. is able to study for me the Latin-stamped fragments in the museum, my final study will be infinitely enriched. If there are 200 more Latins in the museum, Alexandria will surpass Delos in total fragments and in those dated late 2nd-early 1st B.C.

I received application blanks from the Guggenheim Foundation, and I thank you for suggesting me to them. Since I have no job this year, I can't ask them at this time for funds to replace my teaching income. If, as I hope, I am teaching next year and have published at least one article, I ought to be in a position to apply for a

[pencil: we have our passages, both ways.]

fellowship. That is, if I decide to pursue this subject beyond the "final" article. It could, of course, be pursued indefinitely. I hope you are feeling wonderful. This brings many regards and love from us both. Kathy

2 North Park Street
Hanover, New Hampshire
May 4, 1954

56-a

Dear Virginia,

I'm sure you are shuddering at receiving another amphora-letter. Today's letter from Benachi says he has just completed 487 new rubbings for you. My deepest sympathy. Much as I am indebted to him for his incredibly kind, detailed answers to my questions, and, not least, for hundreds of rubbings and photographs, I can only agree with you: "He really does write too many letters." Our relationship recently has been complicated by the fact that two letters I wrote him in March never got by the Egyptian censors (though copies of same subsequently did). When I returned here from spring vacation (we had to go to Indiana, to help Fred's mother recover from phlebitis), ten letters from Alix awaited me, and to Indiana he sent a cable (about the missing letters) and one letter. I am thinking of having my collection of Egyptian stamps appraised.

I should have said first that I was delighted to learn, from your letter of mid-March, that your operation involved nothing serious. How frustrating to go through something of that sort for no real reason. I hope so much that all your energies have returned to you by now.

My purposes and confidence were very much strengthened by your comments on the Marseilles wreck; also by the photos. you sent of P 8106, P 8108, and P 16394. Of the first two, I definitely have no copies, but I think I have somewhere a contact of P 16394, now that my memory is refreshed by your phot. A thorough search, however, has not disclosed it. I am going to kep these phots. for a while longer but will return them to you eventually. Many thanks also for the contacts of the jar and stopper recently dug up on Delos (House of @ 88 B.C.). The jar certainly looks like the type of P 8105 ff. or like a similar type with handles curving in at lower attachment (cf. "PAX," TD 4835).

Lamboglia (I didn't know he knew of my existence) has very kindly sent me a copy of his and Benoit's "Scavi Sottomarini."

56-b

Isn't that the Studi Liguri which Bianchi gave you last summer? It just arrived, and I haven't as yet tackled Lamboglia's Italian, but I am momentarily shaken to notice his chronology of six-profiles from ca. 320 to 50 B.C. (pp. 162-3). It is not so much an anticipation of me as it is a revelation to me, for not only have I not even encountered several of the types, but I would have no way of giving such exact dates to most of my material. I hope his chronology turns out to be fairly accurate, for it will be useful in dating sites (especially Delian ones) for which I do have parallels. It will also give me a sorely needed background in the very early Italian amphoras, of which I have seen so few examples.

On January 14, 1952, you sent me copies made by Maria Savvatianou of some lists of Latin stamps at Delos found in the notes of J. Paris (I think I mentioned this to you in New York). You said that, although most Paris lists correspond fairly closely with your case lists, Maria had been able to identify very few stamps, on the lists you enclosed, with items found by us. (The lists in question are XIII ⊗ I, XIII X, XII Σ, XIII Θ). Months ago, I checked through my files and found parallels to all but one of the stamps, and in several cases I had on my cat. cards numbers identical with those on the lists in question. I think the trouble stems partly from misreadings by Paris et al. (i.e., XIII ⊗ I 24 is not ELICON, but EPIGON ⟵). Do you want me to send fuller details? Apologies for my having forgotten to bring this up sooner.

Maria's list of Dec. 17, 1953 (suggested revisions of my E.M. readings) is much appreciated. When she is there again sometime, could she check L 66 and see if it shouldn't be Q. POP[AIDI] { Q. SS 7961.

You have never sent me the SS number of T 2502, SS 13188 Q·HERENN CHRYSANTI[. Is there anything else I should know about it? Could I have a phot. of it?

I am too much "in the midst of things" to make at the moment a report of progress for you. I can say definitely, though, that we will not be in Greece this summer. A four-week trip to California is obligatory, and for financial reasons that can't be combined with Europe. In the long run, I will accomplish much more on the present article by staying here, simply because I will know less.

Much love and all good wishes from us both, Lettie

7.V.54

Roman stamped jars, Agora

SS 5945 } 1st AD pkg
SS 6179 }

SS 6814 narrow pkg (fr.)

SS 9396 early pkg - PASI

SS 9468

See also p. 2 of typed list of SS jars:

SS 7228 – 7300 (with gaps) }
SS 7304 – 7389 " " } pkg

Athens, December 13, 1953

Dear Letty,

This is just a covering letter, as I am now in "those final hectic hours" as you describe them. Enclosures: (1) Dr.(?) Åstrom's letter, which as you see has been lying about for some time, and which has Thevenot's address, and a very nice one. It does look as if all you Latinists were trying to come out after each other. (2) phot. of SS 12705. This is supposed to come from the Middle Stoa building fill, to which HAT is giving a final date of about 160 I think, but most of the stamps look more like first quarter of the century. Is it possible that this object is as early as first half of 2nd? 1st quarter? Do not be too troubled if not, because there are a certain number of too-late objects in this fill, which apparently is not quite tight. But certainly if early second is reasonable for this Latin, the fill is good enough to give a strong confirmation. (3) Message from Maria Savvatianou about the Latin (We have observed that there is another SS with this reading but not ident.) in the Nat.Mus. where we have been wasting a great deal of youth in the past year. (I should imagine there would be no trouble about your publishing things from there, but write to Christos Karousos, the Director.) We have more or less in mind (?) to get you pictures of those double Latin. (4) A picture - do you 221.5 recognize the place? - to bring my Christmas greetings: I have sent otherwise about 5 Chridtmas greetings.

Thanks very much for the notes on National Museum items. I have looked at SS 7281 and 7298, but could not arrive at a conviction about their identity, non-identity, of type. They are terribly heavy! As to Marseilles: I have some hope of getting to see the stuff on my way back. I hope Mr.Benachi has written to you about it. He brought me that Studi Liguri - which I am thinking of reading on the plane. Thank you very much for the fine photo of the jar in Dartmouth. Fancy Cesnola giving them a present of it. It looks a lot like one published from Tsambres, Cyprus (tomb group supposed to be 3rd BC) and since lost; yours confirms the otherwise unsupported statement in the records that the jar had double handles. We are getting busy on these jars, hence very glad for news. (There actually are unbroken ones, as I have since found out; but this variation is not common, and interestingly hard to fit into the series.)

I do hope I get into the New Yorker, but I have mislaid my mailing card, so G.K. But I will register as soon as I get there, and hope to find your names there.

Nice to have Ted here this year.

I see I have said nothing about the AAUW, for I hope that you did not really hanker to apply, and feel frustrated by my lack of response. Anyhow, you know how I feel about your publishing as soon as possible and that I am even troubled by the interruption caused by the teaching; though one needs some interruption, possibly. If I were the AAUW, I should be more eager to give you a fellowship if the application were supported by a publication in which you showed briefly what the field is, and that you knew what you did a lot more in that time.

2 North Park Street
Hanover, New Hampshire
November 29, 1953

Dear Virginia,

I have been planning this letter for days, and its primary purpose was to have been to ask you to write a testimonial for me to the A.A.U.W. For two weeks or so, I have been toying with the idea of applying for a fellowship for 1954-55 (to complete the amphora study). I have decided against applying, because I believe a fellowship or the hope thereof might induce me to postpone the final, serious effort, which I believe I am able to make this year, and "time is of the essence;" because a trip to Italy and Greece (to check the frag's at Tarentum and recheck many things at Athens & Delos), which a fellowship would have made possible, may be possible for both of us next summer anyway, if we save as much as we hope to; and because I don't want to destroy the chance of my teaching here, or wherever we are, next year. Unless you let me know that you think I am making a mistake, I will persevere in my decision not to apply (deadline is Dec. 15).

I assume you are still in Athens, and I imagine you are wildly busy with pre-trip plans. We expect to arrive in NYC, for the meetings, on Dec. 27, and unless you let me know that you aren't going to attend, I will immediately start searching for you. We expect to stay at the New Yorker, but haven't yet received a confirmation. Fred is going to give a paper, and I would have one ready, too, if this sudden teaching load hadn't been shifted onto me. The time I can devote to amphoras has to be spent on things directly related to the article.

The enclosed jar is a lovely, unstamped Coan, found in Cyprus, and given to the college, with much other Cypriote stuff, by Cesnola. This phot. is 3 mm. over $\frac{1}{10}$. Jar is 39.18 inches in ht. In your 1949 article ("Standard Pottery Containers"), you say something which I (perhaps incorrectly) have interpreted to mean that no unbroken Coan jars are known. If Dartmouth had Maiuri's study, which you mention, I could check to see what he found at Cos, but alas. It seems simplest to send you this phot., which may or may not interest you. This jar has a much longer neck than the restored one from the Agora in your article, but the general lines are similar and the handles are double. Best wishes from both of us. We hope to see you very soon.

Love, Letty

2 North Park Street
Hanover, New Hampshire
September 16, 1953

Dear Virginia,

I am delighted to have your letter of August 26, with its welcome news and enclosures. I am sorry about the Fulbright but glad to know that remaining in Athens is a better arrangement for you. I am looking forward wildly to seeing you at Christmas time, possibly at the meetings and here in Hanover, if you can arrange a visit.

I am very grateful for the phots. of the 18 "new" fragments from the National Museum, and for the very good phot. of TD 780. I am enclosing a numerical list of the 64 Latins which I read and numbered in those final hectic hours, and I have added to the list the new objects in the order in which they were photographed. As you probably noticed, the new stamps are mostly duplicates of ones at the Agora or Delos or Corinth, though there are several which I have never seen. Before I forget it, let me ask you this: what use if any can I make of the E.M. material in the article? As I say, most of the stamps occur elsewhere, so the problem is not too vital a one, but I would like to be able to mention all examples I know of each stamp. In any case, I am fairly sure that the list of Latin stamps from Athens in CIL III is made up in ~~good~~ part of the Latins now at the E.M., and I can certainly refer to the CIL examples in the article.

Your postal experiment didn't work, I regret to report. The duplicate set sent for 4400 drs. arrived the day before the set sent for 22000 drs. How Greek. Perhaps the Theseion post-office sends everything by air mail to America. In any case, both of your latest envelopes clearly came by air.

Another addendum about the E.M. fragments: I have checked in red on the list stamps which look as if one could get more out of them by squinting, standing on one's head, etc. Also, somewhere I found a reference of yours to two double Latins at the E.M. (one stamped PIO.CA. SVD and the other not clear). If you run across them again, they ought to be added to the list.

Two weeks or so ago, I wrote several pages of the article, not in final form, but it is a good start. I have since that time been continuing the process of tracing the Vehili- and Spe-types to their birthplaces. I cannot write anything definite until I am sure I have covered the inscriptional evidence. I wouldn't have the energy to pursue that tedious process if I weren't continuing to uncover fresh information every day. I can now localize in a fairly limited region every nomen that occurs on those two types of jars. That is essential if I am to show that they are S. Italian. What the jars contained is a problem still unsolved. I have spent much more time than I ought to have on ancient oleo- and viticulture, so as to be able to say, for example, that the Visellii lived in the center of the oil-producing region, but the information is incredibly diffuse, in the absence of a detailed study of Italian agriculture. I also need a prosopography of the Republic (magistrates aren't very helpful).

I have just finished giving a thorough check to the Ephemeris Epig. and I've discovered there a long list of stamps from Tarentum which are duplicates of stamps at Delos and the Agora, and especially of Spe-type stamps. This is the first evidence I've had of Spe-types other than at Athens and Delos, and it is an important indication of origin. (Oddly, there are very few Vehili-types at Tarentum, though this is the dominant type at Brindisi, where there are no Spe-types). There is no question that I need to spend several weeks in the heel of Italy, seeing these jars for myself. I wrote a long letter to the director of the museum at Tarentum, as Broughton suggested, asking where or how I might obtain some material about shapes, etc., but I haven't heard from him.

Will I be able to publish the phot. of the Brindisi jar? In that regard, I hope you don't mind my sending several weeks ago a copy to Benachi. I want him to be as aware as possible of the shape, if and when he can do anything in the Alex. Museum for me. And what should I do about his insistence that many of the Vehili-type handles are "pure Rhodian"? I suppose it is possible that the S. Italian grower-potters might have a branch office at Rhodes and others elsewhere in the E. Med. Can so much be deduced from clay alone?

I have regrettably one further question. Sometime when you are down in the Jar Shed, would you mind looking to see if the stamps on SS 7281 and 7298 aren't identical? As I look at the phots. now with "fresh" eyes, the stamps seem very much the same.

For your Delos records: TD 1512 should now read C.ANINI.

I am relieved to know that you agree with me about the Marseilles jar. I will be much interested to hear your reaction to Casson's material. I too wrote Doris Taylor in August, stating my continued disbelief that stamped jars of that shape could be as early as 200. In the July National Geographic, I ran across a phot. of some additional jars taken from the same boat. One looked very archaic, like the earliest Italian jars at the Agora, and the other seemed to be identical with the jars found off Ventimiglia. (I think I wrote you that after I had seen better phots. of those jars than the one in the newspaper clipping you gave me, I realized that the SES-type Marseilles jar wasn't like them). But this Nat. Geog. jar is like them and further it is Dressel's Type I (CIL XV), 1st A.D. This medley of dates makes more and more likely the possibility that several wrecks are involved. Have you had a chance to see the article which Benoit has (DMT says) recently published in Studi Liguri? (A postcard from Doris announces her arrival at Smith and promises a letter soon).

I wrote Callender a long letter in mid-July but have had no answer. I delayed writing Thevenot because of the strikes and have not yet gotten around to sending him a post-strike letter. Although I do not have his address, I will write him in care of the periodical in which he announced his intentions. (You haven't yet heard, have you, from the Swedish archaeologist who was going to send his address?).

I am going to be teaching three courses at Dartmouth, for the first semester and quite possibly for the second semester. The classics dept. last week found itself short-handed and asked me to fill the gap. This ought not to make too much difference in the amount of time I spend on amphoras, as I will have just seven students and will teach a total of seven hours.

I am getting together, as you suggested, general comments and figures on the collections at the Agora, Delos, etc. I did quite a bit on that last summer. Isn't this an incredible letter?

Love, Letty

Don't bother about Latin stamps at the Pinnacles. I thought if you already knew something I might like to have it. They wouldn't let me see them when I went down there.

Athens, August 26, 1953

Here is the duplicate set of prints to match those sent you airmail today. I'm curious to know how much longer they take to come.

62.01

Postage amount 26,800 (90 cents)

Athens, August 26, 1953

Dear Letty,

I was delighted to hear, in your letter of July 7, of your progress and the good arrangements for your work at Dartmouth. I ought to have written you that hurried note about my summer plans, after your nice invitation to visit. The trouble was, they could not really take shape until I had the decision about the Egyptian Fulbright. The rejection notice about this did not reach me until the end of July. I know Mr. Benachi was certain it would be awarded to me, and it did look likely for a time, but in the end the State Department preferred another candidate. Such a preference is naturally a disappointment! But a continued research fellowship here had been secured for me in the budget of the School just in case, and it is actually better for my work at this point to be here than to be in Egypt. (I had applied for Egypt this year because for various reasons I thought I stood a better chance for a Fulbright now than I would later - and who knows how long they will go on?). I shall hope to cover all the mass of Rhodian there at some later time, when I shall have produced, d.v., the Knidian book. In the meanwhile I wish very much that we could get the Alexandria collection sorted, the 15 per cent of non-Rhodian isolated, for you and the Bons and me. I have been thinking whether I could not manage to do it somehow in a week or so this winter.

The summer having been rather shot by the end of July, and various other circumstances pushing the same way, I decided to put off my trip to the U.S. till about Christmas time, when I hope to see you both.

I am returning the picture of the jar from Marseilles, having had it rephotographed. I do agree with you that it seems very close to P 8105 etc. And that IIΘ cistern at 6/NE for me is one of our more closely and firmly dated deposits, being earlier by a small but demonstrable lapse of time than the Sulla-destruction deposits: these latter, taken as a whole, cover the whole of the period when duoviri are named on Knidian jars, whereas 6/NE reaches just to the beginning of it, which must have been near the end of the 2nd century. The deposit did certainly contain small fragments of earlier (Rhodian) jars, but not nearly complete jars known to be of an earlier period. I am waiting for some photographs which Lionel Casson promises to send me of the Rhodian from the Marseilles wreck: he says in a postcard: "Got the whole dope on the amphorae out of the Marseilles wreck. Even got pictures of the Rhodian ones for you. Will send on as soon as French strike and circumstances let up. A Mme. Gill Faure [or possibly Fauve?!] is assisting Benoit in the work. She knows everything. She may come to Athens in Oct and we told her by all means to look you up." He is rather refreshing. I had a letter from D.Taylor asking mainly for comment on this year's Rhodian from Cosa, which I sent her August 8, remarking on the Marseilles finds that you and I think there must have been more than one wreck. I seem to have no pictures of Ventimiglia jars. By the way, Cousteau has been here: HAT met him at the Daux.

111

More pictures: you asked one time for one of TD 780, and I did not get at it because it was in a case under dozens of others' cases. In the 2nd half of July we installed the collection in the cabinets extracted from M. Daux, and now pretty much everything is accessible. Not quite as loose as I should have liked because I had forgotten that are three or four times as many Latin as in the Agora and most of them are at least somewhat oversize. However, the situation is pretty good. It was on the whole a pleasant two weeks. The Marcadés were there en famille, also the Courbins, and eventually the Tréheux. The north wind blew with little drop the whole time, which kept us cool but using a lot of paperweights and unable to bathe in the north bay. So, here is TD 780.

Further, in proceeding through the National Museum collection, including what had been in the inner apothekes, we found some more Latin stamps. So here are pictures of them, 18 fragments. We have numbered the fragments in the order in which they were photographed, and you will see the film numbers on the back, Roll 222 no.s 5 through 23, one object taken twice. We took the number following the last one we found of yours, but I haven't a list with me here, and perhaps we have missed one, and continued wrongly. So please let me know what these should be numbered - keeping please the order of the film.

For what is in the Peiraeus Museum, I have not yet got down to see it.

You knocked me for a loop over Mr.West's plans. "Next year"! when he had assured you it would take 20 years for anybody. I don't see how his publication is going to get in your way at all, especially if he doesn't expect you to wait until he comes out. I'm afraid I don't expect much of it: the book he and Alan Johnson did together recently - on Roman coins wasn't it - got dismal reviews.

Ellen Kohler is here for a few days between Gordipn and Penn. Today she and Eve Harrison have gone to Mycenae, to see the results of this year's excavation, and the Greek excavations, where George Mylonas is digging, which are still going on. It is a lovely day, fresh, and the hills covered with cloud shadows. Ellen is eager to hear from you. She is thinking of trying prelims this winter or spring, but feels there is an awful lot to go over, and little free time from her job.

Mr. Benachi gave up Vichy for his liver this year because of the strikes. He is spending a good deal of time in Mykonos, and will take later a trip to Italy and Switzerland I think. Judith Perlzweig, new in 1952-53, is his latest archaeologist; she is going to publish on the Roman lamps of the Agora - if she ever has time to do anything but catalogue dep't work. (Lucy Talcott is still in the U.S.)

I look forward to hearing how your publication is coming on. On further contemplation, I hope that in addition to the treatise on SPE and VEHILI, and the frame of orientation, you will manage to give us also something of a report on the collections at the Agora, Delos, Corinth, that is, figures, plus whatever general comments can be made - as for instance you tell me that the Benachi collection of Latin is 70 per cent VEHILI type, but Delos has the large fragments of this class, and the Agora the dates. It seems to me that the administration of the American and the French Schools might properly like to see a descriptive statement in print, together with notice of your plans for the fuller presentation of their stuff; lots of other people would of course also be interested.

I hope,it's being a wonderful summer in Hanover.

63.01

Parker Apartments
North Park Street
Hanover, New Hampshire
July 7, 1953

Dear Virginia,

I'm sorry to have to begin with the usual apology — this time, for two months or more of silence. I have been terrifically busy, first with the closing weeks at Farmington, then with packing and traveling, and most recently with settling in Hanover. As the weeks have passed, I've accumulated masses of lists of things to say to you. This letter will have to be merely an outline of same. Anyway, I hope to see you soon. The news that you may soon be here delights me, and please know that I will travel to any lengths to see you (if you have time for me), unless, of course, you could come here for a visit with us. I will look forward to a hurried note about your plans.

I received your letters of April 16 and June 8 and will comment in detail on the former below, but want to thank you now for the rubbing (is it really HERENN in the first line?) and for the phot. of the little Florida pig, both of which are most interesting. I received also with greatest pleasure the BCH offprint, the KAΘHMEPINH article, and Åström's article on Monte Testaccio. For all, I send deepest thanks. I appreciate the value of the publicity you have given my work, all the more now that I see it in print.

I will follow your suggestion about including both VEHILI and SPE types in the article, in a general framework. I am going to start writing within a week. I have first to finish my work on CIL; get off some letters to museums at Brindisi, Bari, and Lecce (to see if they have any further information about the Vehili-type); and finish studying and organizing the drifts of material and photos. sent me by Mr. Benachi. It turns out that about 70 to 80 of his @200 Latin stamps are Vehili-type. They add many new names to my list of that type of stamp. In mass, they completely overshadow the Delos and Agora examples,

though there are larger fragments at Delos (whole necks, etc.), and the 13 little Agora frags. have the distinction of giving definite dates to the entire group. Each of the three collections, then, has its own importance. (I begin to sound like Emerson). Mr. Benachi has said that I may publish everything he has sent, including dozens of phots. I think I have really a sound basis for presenting the VEHILI-type. Benachi suggests that there may be hundreds more of them in the Alexandria Museum, and he is supported by the fact that 12 of the 18 Alex. stamps you gave me are of this type. Benachi said you would be coming to Egypt in the fall, on a Fulbright. How wonderful. He also said that he would, while you are working on the Greeks in the Museum, try to do something simultaneously for me on the Romans. Wouldn't that be excellent?

I have not written either Thevenot or Callender, because I don't consider them much of a threat, though they might be of great help. I will get around to writing them soon. I have good reason to think that Callender is interested in the LR, "Monte Testaccio type" — to judge from his article on the Corbridge amphora stamps. That overlaps almost not at all with me. I don't see how Thevenot could publish a Corpus without the Delos – Alexandria – Athens group, which, I trust, he doesn't have. Unless there are unpublished thousands in S. Italian museums, it is the only sizable collection of early Latin stamps. {IE – he, too, must be interested in the later ones.

I have given up re Marseilles, but I am sending you the phot. which Benoit sent me in January. To me, the jar seems startlingly close to P 8105, et al., in shape and dimensions. Doris Taylor says there are two different types of amphoras stamped at Marseilles 8ES, but I don't know what the other type is. She is now dating them both early 2nd B.C., on the basis of Nino Lamboglia's dating of the other pottery in the boat. She seems to consider his dates definite (is it likely that they are?), on the basis of his Per una Classificazione Preliminare delle Ceramica Campana (cf. Atti del 1° Congresso Internazionale di Studi Liguri (1950). If they are, what happens to my chronology? Don't you agree that P8105 is too close to Benoit's jar to be a descendant of it?

Please return

As you say, it is startling to imagine Latin stamps datable as early as 200, especially a stamp with such regular, un-archaic letters, and such a variety of "motifs." Up to this time, the earliest stamp I know of is TR · LOISIO, found at Carthage, Sicily, + S. Italy. It is dated @162 B.C., on the basis of a mention of one Τρέβιος Λοίσιος in a Delian insc. of that date. I am reasonably sure that Latin stamps do not appear in numbers until the late 2nd. Nothing I know about Benoit or the boat gives me confidence that the thing is being handled well or that all their finds are from the same cargo. Considering the amount of blockade-running that went on near Marseilles just during the Civil War of 49-8 and probably at several other times, I think it possible that several wrecks could be superimposed. In any case, Benoit has apparently given up the idea that the boat belonged to Sestius of Delos.

Doris Taylor wrote me that both she and Lamboglia are sure the Marseilles jars are unlike the ones found off the N. Italian coast in 1951. I agree, as I have acquired (from H. Comfort) a reprint of an article by Lamboglia on the find. The Italian jars look like early 1st A.D. Doris added, about Lamboglia, that "he is now concerned with amphorae forms and has accumulated a fair collection of profiles." [I am now keeping a list of people who are working on amphorae].

No ink - so I will have to conclude this in pencil. I have not yet told you about my trip in March to NYC and BMC, to see West and Broughton. Both were full of helpful comments and suggestions. West shocked me with the news that he is going to publish his stamps himself - probably next year. He has found a foundation or something of the sort to finance him. He will let me use them freely until they are published. He and I are quite good friends by now, despite his changes of mind.

When I can, I will send you a chronological list of the Agora Latin, so that they can be better arranged.

I mentioned the Piraeus stamps, because I wondered if any Latins had yet been found there. I went down there once, but they wouldn't let me examine the boxes.

You should see the magnificent office I have in the Dartmouth library.

Please consider coming here to see us.

Love from us both — Letty.

64.01

Agora. April 16, 1953

Dear Letty,

First I want to thank you very much for the wonderfully prompt note on ZIRA, which I was delighted to have to put into my Pnyx article, one of my few comforts in the preparation of that article, which finally was shipped off by some illicit means near the end of March. I don't dare reread it yet, and I doubt if I ever really recover from having had to write it so fast. However, apparently they needed it now chiefly for budgetting, and it won't be set up before autumn, so some patchwork can be done. It is to be in the second Pnyx Supplement of Hesperia, Suppl.X, along with Figured Pottery by L.T. and Barbara Philippaki, and the Hell. pottery by G.Roger Edwards.

Because of so much being pushed aside in March, as well as some enormous hauls of stamped handles in the current excavations - mostly early second B.C. stuff from the filling of the Middle Stoa, from which E.Vanderpool catalogued 100 handles one day - I've only just got round to sending offprints of B.C.H. Delos article, which I received March 9th. Yours was mailed last night, ordinary letter mail. I hope you will find it a little nostalgic, though I fear it is rather humdrum - banausic, as William Wallace would say.

I have been toiling lately also on Addenda and Corrigenda for an article for Hesperia 1953, second number, with a revised list of eponyms named on Rhodian stamps.

All this recent experience with publication emboldens me to offer a few suggestions for you. I think a study of the VEHILI and SPE types, which you propose in your letter of the 2nd February, would be a very good thing. I would hope very much that you would frame this study in an orientation account of Latin stamps in general, with selected bibliography, illustrations perhaps to show the big divisions of the subject. Not all you know, but a good sketch for the non-specialist in this field, without the sticking out of the neck on ideas you are still developing. To have a thing like this out would I think draw to you a lot more data from people all over who find a few of these things and don't know what to do with them; also it is salutary to oneself to have to become "an exact man" in the elementary part of one's field; also publications help to get one funds for further investigations in the field. I don't know whether you are expecting to work in New Hampshire. But at the beginning of the first possible fairly lengthy free period for research, I would suggest - again from recent difficult experience - that you start right away outlining the article from what you already know, and vigorously refrain from making any further investigations until it is finished, except all those ad hoc investigations one has to make every time one sets out to make a definite statement. These last take much longer than one expects; and finishing an article, especially an illustrated article full of archaeological detail, takes as long as writing it. I can't tell of course how much all this fits your situation and temperament. But I am pretty sure it would be of real benefit, both to you and to the rest of us, for you to get out soon a solid piece deliberately limited in immediate intention, but in which the subject is seen in perspective. And I am afraid of your not being able to wrench yourself away from the fascinating pursuit of.

Interval while I go in to tea, and find a Swedish party headed by Gjerstad and including a young man interested in Latin stamps, to whom Homer Thompson passed on the word about Mrs.Will.

With regard to the Marseilles wreck: you certainly have got into a topical subject! I have just got a letter from Lionel Casson of NYU, from Rome, following conversations with Doris Taylor. Casson as I imagine you know is working on ancient commerce. He says a couple of Rhodian jars were found in the cargo, and that Doris has been urging Benoit to send me photographs. As a matter of fact I did see pictures of one or two jars one very hurried day last fall, when Daux asked me to comment so he could answer Benoit, and of course I referred him to you. But I had to give them back - he even kept the photograph of a parallel what seemed to be a parallel which I left with him. This latter was one of a group of jars found recently in Rhodes, of which Maria Savvatianou had taken photographs for me last spring. It is possible that he assumed that they were Rhodian because of the finding-place of my parallel, and that there were no real Rhodians in the cargo. I hope he sends me pictures.

As to the date: I do wish I had pictures. I think you can rely all right on the Agora cistern contexts. But when it is a matter of comparing not stamps but shapes of jars, you have to watch out for the fact that the series keep certain identifying features over quite long periods, during which a develppement can be followed in the jars themselves - for instance they tend to get longer, while all the time they continue to have a characteristic rim, toe, etc. I must get prints made for you of those jars from Rhodes (Kalythies district, 1952 finds by a farmer digging in his fields, as reported). With them when they were brought to the museum were a couple of Rhodian jars of not much after 200 BC, apparently found with them. I am not really sure whether Benoit's jar of which I saw a picture is of the same type as is the one he sent you what you are talking about; but what I saw, I thought (as I recollect) might be a forbear of P 8108, etc. Doesn't Cosa help at all to date the stamp? I must say I should be startled to find a Latin stamp datable as early as near 200 - or do you have others that you believe to be of that date? Do you feel convinced that all their stuff is from a single cargo? There are of course places where there have been wrecks again and again - off Marathon, for instance - so that the jars are of many dates. Do you gather that these jars were all hand-picked from among the ship's timbers?

Next morning.

The young Swede came in to see me, and to have a look at our Latin stamps. He gave me an offprint of a short article he had written on a few stamps from Monte Testaccio - in English, as is the helpful habit of Swedes. I am sending it to you, particularly for the references to work being done by others. The youth's name is Paul Åström - pronounced Awström, the umlaut working like in German schön. I think he haslittle intention of doing much in your field. But he told me about an Englishman named Callender who has prepared an appendix to the Latin stamps published in C.I.L., to be published when funds are available. I don't know what material he covers, but apparently he has published a note about it in the Antiquarians' Journal (? - Åström was not very sure of the title of this periodical, which he has abbreviated severely in his article!) 1948, pp.185 ff. And Åström told me - what is more important - of a French scholar named E. Thevenot, who is preparing to publish a corpus of Latin stamps. It seems that Th. has published a notice of his plans, as well as a lot of articles on Latin stamps found I believe in France, but all in journals unheard of beyond the boundaries of Gaul. The reference for the notice of his project is: E. Thevenot, Revue arch. de l'Est et du Centre-Est I ff. (1950). I give it as I received it. There seems to be no page reference, and the journal seems to have just started. Åström said he would send me the address of this man, which I will pass on to you. I also gave him your Hartford address. (He goes on with Gjerstad to Beirut, Cyprus, etc. this p.m.). I said, "You are not going on yourself with this subject?" And he said, Oh no, he

wouldn't be able to do it without excavating all the rest of Monte Testaccio, which would be too awful. He thinks that the Frenchman on the other hand is not that type, and that his corpus is meant to cover everything except Rome itself as a findspot. However that may be, obviously you and he should get in touch. And if he is serious and competent and well advanced in his corpus, I suppose that puts a bit of pressure on you. Perhaps you could do a collaborative book.

Perhaps you knew all about this already, in which case, mes excuses.

in your letter of Feb.2

Thank you very much for the notes on recent Agora Latin, which will be entered on the SS cards. I wish we had our Latin stamped frags. in a chronological or some other reasonable order. Could you tell us how to do it by correspondence? I think it would be a fine idea for you to give a paper at the Meetings, and believe you could get at least some colored slides of Agora stuff if you asked not too much at the last moment. What is it about Latin stamps at Piraeus? Was I supposed to see some there? Do not spend an un-useful amount of time corresponding with Mr.Benachi, because he really writes too many letters. I have now received 51 since he was here Oct.8 last. He numbers them. At that, I think he forgot to number one, so it is 52.

I hope you can work out a connection with "our Sestius", whatever happens to the wreck: all that stuff out of Cicero's letters is fascinating. As is also, very definitely, the tombstone of L.VISELLIUS MERCATOR.VINAR. With the Greek stamps, one refers in a cagey way to "fabricants," which might then also have been wine-producers rather than pottery manufacturers; perhaps it varied, at any rate at various periods. A few Thasian and Knidian stamps, not contemporary with each other, describe the fabricant as a ΚΕΡΑΜΕΥΣ or a ΚΕΡΑΜΑΡ[ΧΟΣ]. Study of the Pnyx early Thasian convinced me that in the early period - late fifth, early fourth - the stamps themselves were made in some central place, or very exactly prescribed: since close similarity is between stamps naming the same eponym - i.e. of the same year - and not between stamps naming the same fabricant. (Quite the opposite is on the whole the case with Rhodian and Knidian.)

I enclose for your enjoyment a little pig now in Sarasota, Florida, in the John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, the basement; bought from the Metropolitan Museum in the Great Sale of 1928, hence probably from the Cesnola Collection, and probably from Cyprus; if you hunt, you may find it in the Cesnola Atlas of that collection. Ht. 0.61; diam.0.283; capacity 3 gallons plus 1850 cc, i.e. 13,338 cc - something less than 13 and a half liters. Now get out your powerful lens and look just above the iron circle in the middle, and you will see the beginning of an abecedarium: A B C D E Φ Unfortunately I was in an awful hurry by the time I noticed this, and I didn't make a decent copy - didn't realize what it was. I have no idea how common such things are in Latin, but it does surely look like a Greek attempt, doesn't it? And if the jar can be dated. . . It has alas no stamp.

Dartmouth sounds fine, and I hope you both like winter sports.

65.01

March 28, 1953

Dear Virginia,

I am sure you know considerably more than I do about the ancient boat found by Cousteau and Co. off the coast of Marseilles. In my last letter, I told you that M. Daux had written me (acting on your advice, I suspect) about the Latin SES stamps found on a number of the jars. I wrote him that I had seen several very similar stamps in the Cosa material. My answer to him was in turn answered by Prof. Fernand Benoit, the archaeologist in charge of the operation. He sent me some details about the boat and asked for further information about the Cosa material. Inasmuch as I sent Benoit a long letter full of data and opinions, I have become somewhat involved in the proceedings. Though your information is certainly fuller than mine, I want to let you know what I know and what opinions I have, especially since those opinions are based in part on Agora material.

Both Daux and Benoit wrote me that a great many amphoras were found on the boat and that they (all?) bear the stamps SES↓ and SES⊓. Benoit also kindly sent me an almost 1/10 phot. of one of the jars, and said that the boat was sunk ca. 200 B.C., to judge from the forms of Campanian pottery found in it. He said that the boat also contained Greek amphoras and Hellenistic relief vases. He concluded that it had picked up two cargoes, one in Greece and the other in Campania. He felt that there was a "possibility" of identifying SES with one ΣΕΣΤΙΟC (ΣΕΣΤΙΟC) of Delos.

The newspapers here have been full of additional information, particularly since Cousteau's book, The Silent World, is now a best-seller. The enclosed article is typical, dating the sinking about 230 B.C. and identifying the ship's owner as Marcus Sestius of Delos. The AP adds: "One ancient historian said he was a powerful politician who was sent to prepare Greece for a Roman conquest."

I wrote Daux that I had seen in the Cosa material five fragments stamped SES device, but not the same devices as on the Marseilles jars. After I had seen a phot. of one of the latter, I felt sure that the Cosa fragments belonged to the same type of jar. Furthermore, the Marseilles jars seem to be identical with five jars at the Agora: SS 6814, P 8105, 8106, 8107, 8108. SS6814 comes, like our beloved VISELLI handle, from X Cistern at 75/OA: middle fill. My notes tell me that GRE dates this ca. 2nd quarter 1st cent./ Sullan, and that you date the Greek handles in 1st quarter of 1st BC. P8105-8 are from ΠΘ Cistern at 6/NE, dated by you as - to late 2nd, though most of the SS are before the end of the century.

I wrote Benoit, then, that the neck fragments at Cosa seemed to be from jars identical with his and that he should write Doris Taylor in Rome for further information (she is publishing them). I added that there are at the Agora closely similar jars found in contexts dated late 2nd and early 1st BC. At Delos, I recall, several unstamped, unnumbered examples of this jar are standing against the wall in the southernmost room of the museum. Some fairly similar jars were standing outside in 1951 against the front wall (cf. the PAX neck: TD 4835). A date earlier than mid-2nd seems unlikely, but

not impossible, for Italian jars at Delos. Before it became a free port in 166 and before Corinth was destroyed, there was not much incentive to trade there in this period.

I am getting too involved in detail, but the general idea should be clear. If I had no other information, I would not hesitate to date the Marseilles jars in the late 2nd or early 1st BC. There arises here the question of the certainty of dates of "certainly-dated" cisterns, etc. In that regard, I would appreciate so much from you some advice or encouragement.

As to the identity of Sestius: I discover that a M. Sestius of Fregellae in Latium was indeed made a proxenos at Delos. The Telemnestos who proposed the honor is mentioned, according to Durrbach, in inscriptions of the 190's; ergo, I don't understand the 240 date given by Cousteau. I have so far not been able to find mention of this Sestius in any other sources. In any case, I see at present no reason to identify him with these jars or to assume that he was a merchant. And why would someone on Delos be exporting Italian jars to Marseilles and Cosa? What was he putting in those jars, if Delos had nothing to export? Why are no SES stamps found at Delos?

the SES stamp is found at 3 other sites in Gaul, along the Rhone. Nowhere else.

There are numerous other Sestii. I found a list of them mentioned in inscriptions from S. Italy and various parts of Gaul. An M. Sestius Philemo seems to have been a 1st BC merchant in Caria. Various vascula from S. Italy and Gaul are stamped A.SESTIUS, HILAR SEST, A.SES, etc. Tegulae stamped L. SESTIUS QUIRINALIS have been found. I am much interested in P. Sestius, the father of this L. Sestius. He is the famous "Sestius noster", Cicero's good friend, defended by him in 56 (pro Sestio). I combed that oration and Cicero's letters for information about him, and I found that not only did he own "excellent boats" (ad Att. 16.4.4), but he also had an estate at Cosa (ad Att. 15. 27.1). Furthermore, he was in the habit of going to Marseilles to visit his father-in-law, L. Scipio (cos.83), in exile there (pro Sest. 3.7). All of this sounds too good to be true. Could this P.Sestius be the owner of the Marseilles boat? I haven't yet suggested it to Benoit. But don't you think it sounds as likely as his Sestius, especially on the basis of the Agora dates? Of course, I have no information about the other pottery on the boat. Perhaps that couldn't possibly be dated in the early 1st or late 2nd.

SES is the commonest stamp at Cosa

I wrote Mr. West that I felt the Marseilles jars were A) South Italian; and B) late 2nd BC or later. I sent him the photograph sent me by Benoit, as well as phots of SS 6814 and P 8105. He answered that he thinks I am "entirely correct."

Do you remember the Greek newspaper clipping you gave me - about jars found on an ancient boat in the Gulf of Genoa in 1950? Those jars are apparently identical with the Marseilles jars, to judge from the photograph.

I wrote Doris Taylor that the Cosa stamps might be identical with the Marseilles examples. My letter and one from Benoit reached her just as she was setting out for N. Italy, S. France, and N. Spain. She said she planned to stop at Marseilles (she ought to be there now) and make a thorough investigation, armed, apparently, with phots., etc.

I am in the midst of spring vacation, and I hope to go South next week, to see Mr. West in New York and Mr. Broughton in Bryn Mawr. I have many questions to ask both.

My correspondence with Benachi continues to flourish. I am currently trying to persuade him that the VEHILI-VISELLI jars are S. Italian. He thinks they are Rhodian. I was delighted to find this week in CIL a tombstone from near Salerno reading: L.VISELLIUS MERCATOR. VINAR. As far as I am concerned, this is the Visellius of the stamps. It also strengthens the possibility that, in these jars, the stamps give the names of the merchants rather than of the potters. If only I had known in 1951 what I know now. We would have spent the summer in Brindisi and Lecce, exploring ancient kilns and certifying information in CIL. You would not by any chance, would you, have material on the Lecce museum?

I have discovered a 1912 German dissertation, de amphorarum inscriptionibus Latinis quaestiones selectae, by P. Remark. It is very superficial, but gives some helpful information on types of Italian wine.

Fred has taken a job in classics and comp. lit. at Dartmouth for the coming year, and we plan to spend the summer in New Hampshire. As there is little likelihood of my finding a teaching job there, I will be able to devote all my time to scholarship. More of that later. I am more than sorry to have to leave Farmington.

This brings very best regards to you from us both.

With love,
Letty

Fred hopes to give a paper at the next philological meetings. Do you still approve of my giving an archaeological paper? Would there be a chance of my having colored slides?

66

Anything new about Latin stamps at Piraeus?

34 Frederick Street
Hartford, Connecticut
February 2, 1953

Dear Virginia,

Thank you very much indeed for your letter of the 27th. It inspires me to write you another sem paper, though I mustn't take the time for that. But I will try to send an outline of what I'd like to say.

First, about Pnyx AH 66. It is definitely Latin. The reading is ZIRA. The same stamp occurs on TD 1937, which is in much better condition, and from which I was able to reconstruct the third letter on the Pnyx fragment, and simultaneously to prove its Latinity. The measurements of the two stamps are identical, as are the (vertical) positions on the rims. There is another ZIRA stamp at Delos (TD 4883), but it is a larger, differently shaped stamp, set horizontally. I regret that I have nothing definite to say about date or place of manufacture, though the shape of the rim has led me to give the fragment a tentative 1st century A.D. date. Very few rim-stamps are set vertically. There may be some undiscovered chronological implications there.

Many thanks for the photographs of the new Agora finds. SS11549 (M.E. EVRO) is the same as SS 2613. It is a very common example of the "Monte Testaccio type," probably as late as 2nd century A.D. SS11558 (PHI□) has the same measurements as SS 7138, 7139 (PHILOGEN), and is probably 1st A.D. SS11575 (RVFIO□) may be the same as C-48- 216 (RVFIO.LVC). SS11620 (NIC←) is new. The Thasos stamp (TIMO) is the same as two at Delos and one at the Agora and is probably 1st B.C.

I am grateful for your advice about my work next summer. You have put your finger on the difficulty. I am just floundering in too much material. The only way I could publish all of what I have soon would be by presenting a catalogue of probable chronological groups, with bare comments. I could soon get together, though, quite a thorough study of the VEHILI- and SPE- types, the earliest groups I have. The others could come later. I considered the idea last summer and may have mentioned it to you in October. I will have the summer completely free. Fred and I will be alone in Bloomington, as his family leaves for France in June.

Our plans for next year are unformed. Fred passed his orals in October and has written 44 pages of his dissertation. There is a chance that he will get his degree in June; but, in any case, he is looking for a job. My freedom for research next year will depend on whether I can find a job in the same place. (VERY confidentially, as I have not yet told the school), I shall probably not return to Farmington next year, unless Fred finds a job in this vicinity. So far, his strongest feeler has been from Stanford, which I would love.

you will be amused and relieved to know that I am carrying on a frantic correspondence with Benachi. I have also written M. Daux, who wrote me in Dec. for advice about some stamps found in an ancient boat off Marseilles. I like very much the Delos cabinets. How I would love to go there with you in the spring. This brings love and all good wishes from us both.

Letty

Athens, January 27, 1952

Dear Letty,

Thank you so much for your veryy attractive Christmas card, and also for your letter of October 19, which I did indeed receive, but have been too swamped to answer, as there seemed nothing pressing about it.

What is pressing at the moment, I will say right away, hoping you will find a moment to answer about this point alone by return mail, as I need the information for an article which ought already to be written. To wit: what can you tell me about the date, or place of manufacture, or anything else of interest, on the Latin stamp from the Pnyx, AH 66? How should it be read? Perhaps you don't think it is i Latin? I think you must have a picture of this, since I do not find the usual secon print among my Pnyx photographs, but I attach a small picture to remind you which stamp it is. I will quote you practically verbatim, if you like.

I enclose a few more items for your files, with finding-place indications on th back of one copy of each: SS 11549, 11558, 11620 (sorry there is only one copy, wil order another), and Thasos A.B. 1585 or 1587 - there seems to be some uncertainty. (I have only one print of this.)

I am much interested of course in your account of your summer's work, and your view of the state of your research. As I see it, there are two opposite dangers int which scholarly production can fall: one is that the investigator does not see all there is in a subject, and prints without really having done anything, which is a waste of library space, to say nothing of printer's time; the other is that he sees more than he can ever manage to do, and allows this to prevent what he sees from eve having external existence, - what I have to struggle with myself. I imagine you need to take a good look at what you want to do with this article. No reason it should be the end of your work in this field, if your interest holds. I am inclined to suggest that, if you can have next summer for research, you direct it from the beginning toward bringing something into existence.

It is delightful to hear of your enjoyment of life. Miss Porter's does sound a good place. Are you staying on next year? What about Fred's plans? Have you seen Mr. West and Mr.Broughton? But do not try to write all this now, because I do need the word about the Pnyx handle.

Here we have had rather suddenly a lot of rain, so the reservoir at Marathon is in an unusua prosperous condition (E.Vanderpool keeps a chart of it in the dining-room down here, ever since last year when we had a pool as to what would be its contents by June). A couple of really nippy days too, but now it is mild again. The Caskeys got back from the U.S. a couple of days ago, since when he has been down with flu. The Thomps are expected next Sunday, both of them, which is nice if you ask me. I've not been ba to Delos, but must go in the spring, to install the stamped fragments in the "cabinets Daux was persuaded to provide out of the Fr.Sch. budget - I enclose photo to show the sort of thing - it will be nice to be able to get at everything. I have hardly been out of Athens because of being pushed so. Fortunately the group at the School is nice this year, better company as a whole than last years.

34 Frederick Street
Hartford, Connecticut
October 19, 1952

Dear Virginia,

This may be my longest silence since our epistolography first began over a year ago. I am not sure. It is again, however, a silence based on the best intentions; and it is a reflection of my poor management of time (chronic) in the face of many duties. I was ἀκροπαγής not to write you before we left Bloomington last month. I had a letter to you all outlined ("this Summer's Progress"), put it off until I should arrive here, and a month has gone by here without my finding time for anything extra-curricular.

Where are we and why? I have a delightful job in Latin at Miss Porter's School, Farmington. I could not find a college job in this section of the country; but I should add in the same breath that this is the most enjoyable teaching work I have ever undertaken and that I'm enormously grateful to fate for throwing me in Miss Porter's path, and vice versa. My students are almost uniformly enthusiastic, bright, widely traveled, K.T.d., and the school has the highest standards, as you may know: facts which make even a heavy teaching schedule enjoyable. We have a very nice apt. in Hartford, and Fred is able to get to New Haven easily every week or two. He is frantically at work on his orals, tentatively scheduled for October 30, and if they are completed successfully, he will begin work on his dissertation at once. In short, we are madly busy, but very happy.

Your two letters of ~~early~~ early September reached me about a week before we left Bloomington. I have so many things to say and to comment on that I know I can't hope to include all in this letter, which must just be a sort of outline of WHAT IS TO COME. I should thank you first for your kind BCH references to me, and second for the several fine prints of the Delos stamps I asked you for. Niko's, especially, are excellent, and the crucial pot in one of the stamps is now as clear as I could desire. (Don't worry about not getting another phot of TD780, as the one I have is clear enough, though it could be much clearer). While I'm discussing individual stamps, I want to thank you also for the three new Agora items, SS11311, 11458, 11463.

This gives me a definite reading: L·LENTV·P·F } SS11311 = SS9471, which comes from a "well of 1st A.D."
HERENNA } SS11458 = SS3640 + 2 others and one at Corinth + one at the C.M.
ON← ?) SS11463 = probably TD4919

At the time I received your letter, I was tremendously disturbed about your mentioning Mr. Berachi's being a little cross at me; for, as I think I wrote you, I sent him in March or April an adequate acknowledgement of all of his rubbings. If he didn't receive it, only the hazards of air mail can be blamed. I am in the process of composing an enormously long letter to him, but heaven knows when I will get it done. It contains what the last letter promised him: a review and interpretation of his stamps (I spent a week on them this summer and they are a great help. If only I could see them!

As for this summer's progress. I have not stopped to think about what I actually accomplished, as I was frantically gathering material in the Indiana library up to the evening before we left; and I haven't had time to do more than unpack the notes since then. I haven't time to think clearly now, but I know that the following things were accomplished, plus others I will forget: material gotten into order; everything is now on cards and filed, alphabetically, in files or folders (I almost need a file for folders!); alphabetical and numerical lists of everything; objects (and their duplicates) with definite dates are filed separately (at the moment, this group includes @ ⅓ of the whole), in stamp or type; bibliography is being conquered. I didn't get started on it again (after Greece) until late August, and soon realized it would be both my biggest problem and my biggest help. I have combed the stamps in CIL again; have made lists of all. I have begun to go through the inscriptions of Southern Italy, for I now know that only there can I prove the VISELLI - VETILI type to be from there. I seem to have ample evidence that the commonest names on the Brindisi-type jar are frequently mentioned in S. Italian inscriptions, and nowhere else in general. I have been much helped by all volumes of Frank's E.S.A.R. as well as by several French studies on Delos and its Italians. But the summer was over before I had even begun; and what am I to do now? I won't be able to devote more than a day a week to this work. I wrote Miss Shoe that I wouldn't make the September deadline. On the one hand, I'm appalled at having this hanging over me for more months, and on the other I'm so interested in it that I don't want it to end. What I want least is for you to lose faith in me. If I could just show you the state of things, you would be encouraged, despite what remains to be done (every object to be typed and dated as nearly as possible; CIL inscriptions to be cased completely — the biggest job of all; several books and articles to be read or checked — I will have to go to New Haven for that; Mr. West, and Mr. Broughton to be seen soon, as I haven't begun on his notes yet and have lists of questions to ask him). Once these things are done and plates prepared, I think I will have some valuable comments — and new ones — on Italian trade in the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C. And the article will then be ready.

I am delighted to discover that Lucy Talcott is an alumna of Miss Porter's, and a very much revered one. I am going to write her soon. I have met her aunt, Miss Churchill. Sally Macheson, of the history of art dept., is also perhaps known to you.

This is by far the worst letter I have written you, but it brings many regards and much love from both of us. Kitty.

Athens, September 3, 1952

Dear Letty,

I have not forgotten you in these months, and have been hoping that they have turned out happy and profitable for you - calme et feconde, as Mme.Bon would say. One doesn't usually manage to get as much done as one hopes. It will be splendid if you are approaching a state of being druckfertig, so as to get into 1953.

I photographed in April TD 854 and 5398, and enclose herewith one enlargement of each. These are Emil anlargements; the Agora is doing more which I hope will turn out sharper. On TD 5398, M.Bon evidently photographed the less sharp of two impressions of the same stamp which exist on that fragment. The other one you asked for (TD 780) I didn't manage to do: I was there a short time, and 780 turned out to be in a case near the bottom of a column of cases, and we just didn't get it out. I had the idea that it was the least important to you. If you still want another try at it, let me know, because I'll certainly be going back before terribly long.

I enclose also 3 Agora 1952 items; SS 11511, 11458, 11463. This seems all that has come through to us as yet. The catalogue department is behind with the current work, probably partly because Homer Thompson stayed a month linger than usual this summer (simmer is what it does this year)(and yet linger is what many are glad to do). These SS are in two copies, on the back of one of which I have written what dope there was on context.

This is going to be another of those licks and promises, because I am bothered about your not having had those TD in all this time, and perhaps you are making up plates. The Agora prints of them ought to follow soon. Also I am eager to hear your news. And to thank you for the batteries, which did arrive, and with almost no trouble certainly to me; it was ever so nice of you to find time to shop for them and to send them, with all the formalities that involves.

I have been pretty ppessed all summer, a) writing - finishing - Delos report, which of course took much longer than I counted on (this may be repeated for all that follows), and b) compiling a more or less authentic list of Rhodian eponyms, i.e. weeding out the right items, more trouble than one might suppose, and c) preparing text on the wine jars to go into a publication of a mid-fifth century well-group by Cedric Boulter (very nice, do you know him?) and, rather last-strawish, going through Delos all over again in the French version as improved By M.Daux. Had I realised how radical were going to be the improvements, possibly I might not have agreed! but I think on the whole it was a good idea, and educational for me. Only yesterday the more or less final session with M.Daux. I enclose copy of my text on your handling of the Latin material as a whole; in another place I say ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ " A general view of the fragments with Latin stamps may be seen to the right in Fig. 1. Mrs. Will has decided not to make a statement about these at the moment; they form more than half the material of her article, which, as remarked above, may be expected shortly." Both of these passages have come out more or less as they were, in the French. I enclose a print of Fig. 1 (but Daux is using an untrimmed print).

Mr.Benachi will be back shortly from Vichy, where he has been taking baths for his liver. He was here in July. Did you get his rubbings etc.etc.? 5 letters with all his Roman stamps? He was a little cross at not having had an acknowledgement. Cross at me too of course, but I had managed to get off a note to him before he left Egypt.

HAT found this: Notizie degli scavi, 1932, p.185,fig.21. Roman jars, some stamped [T.H.B. etc., upside down assembled together. Is this a novelty? Must stop now and mail this. Do let me hear of your further progress and experiences. I loved your description of Bryn Mawr at Miss Taylor's celebration. My love to you both.

May 7, 1952 70.01

Dear Virginia,

Your description of our letters as "seminar papers" is exactly right. I think I have never been inspired to write as much to anyone as I do to you. The great gaps between letters, of course, make them longer; but I think I would write at length even if I wrote you weekly. I just like to talk with you.

For the last few days, I've been devoting what spare time I've had to the Delos material: the first concert until work be done on it since I received the photos in the winter. I see now (I knew it all along, but my memory was dimmed by my distance from the material) that any conclusions I draw from it will largely depend upon a comparison of it with the Agora material; and since I intend to spend the summer on that comparison, conclusive findings must await its completion. Descriptive information is all I am ready to give now; and, other than listing a few arbitrarily-chosen items, I have at the moment no means of presenting the descriptions. There is no space for an alphabetical list of the unwieldy mass, and the chronological approach is not ready. I feel justified in asking you simply to refer to my work in a sentence or two in your report, and I hope you will agree that that solution is better than the presentation of a dozen or so items, especially since the Hesperia article will come out next year.

I have not written you since my second trip to Princeton to see Mr. West. He was perfectly charming. He offered me his notes entire, to use as I wish. We agreed that it will be better for me not to use them until I have done as much as I can with the material I have. Whenever I let him know, he will send me the notes. They look as if they will be helpful only for the later stuff, as most of his material is 1st c. A.D. (Testaccio type).

He told me that he had recently seen (but he did not remember where) an advertisement in an archaeological publication, stating that someone in England (he did not remember who) would publish in two years a definitive work on Roman amphoras. All he could tell me was that the person is the same one who published an article in Archaeologia Aeliana (1949) on amphora stamps at Corbridge. I found that article in the library here, and the author's name is M. H. Callender. I have scanned several recent journals but can find no advertisement such as Mr. West saw. What is significant is that I seem to have a competitor. The Corbridge article describes very late items, though, and most of the stamps I have never seen.

If Callender is interested only in the later material, I will not worry. But West said several times that he wants me to "beat that British fellow."

West now revises upward his estimate of the length of time required to study Roman amphoras completely. He says a minimum of twenty years is necessary, but that the soundest of professional reputations would result from a job well-done.

He advised me against putting anything in BCH before the Hesperia article comes out. He said it was better to present all the material at once. That advice, plus the fact that I had not heard from you, led me to devote spring vacation to enjambement. Howard Porter at Yale read my dissertation and reawakened my suppressed interest in the subject. Next week I am to give a talk to his Homer seminar; but I promise to put Homer off, after that, until the amphoras are completely finished.

We will leave here about June 10 for Indiana, though we may have to move out of this apt. on June 1. Address in Indiana is: 721 Ballantine Road, Bloomington. I think I wrote you about the fine arrangement Fred's parents have made for us: a house completely to ourselves out in the country. While I am amphorizing, Fred will prepare for September orals. Our plans for next year are still nebulous: though they may be settled any day. I have several job-irons in the fire.

Last Saturday, May 3, I went to Bryn Mawr, to the celebration in honor of Miss Taylor's retirement. It was splendidly arranged and most enjoyable; and I perished inwardly to have to leave after just five hours, because I was seeing so many old friends, and because Bryn Mawr was so completely beautiful. Spring is at its height there (it has scarcely arrived here), and the dogwood seemed wastefully abundant. I had lunch in the Deanery garden. Then one heard excellent tributes to Miss Taylor by Miss McBride and Arthur Darby Nock, the latter of whom then proceeded to give a typically "hearty" discussion of ancient law. Then a medieval Latin play was presented in the Cloisters (costumes designed by Claireve), while the chorus chanted Latin from the Cloister roof. Everyone was there: Miss Swindler flew from Michigan. Mrs. Holland came from Miami. I saw Hadzsits and Mabel, of course. Saw also Hupa and Ruth Fiesel and Miss Goldman. The entire Sweet Briar Classics Dept. came. I have never tried to talk to so many people at once. Miss Taylor was radiant. She is magnificent.

Jess and Ted came to visit us early in March. I think I didn't write you about that. It was fine to see them.

Thank you so very much for the Delos enlargements.

Will you give my greetings to all? Love especially to Evelyn, who ought to be appearing about now.

And love from us both to you. Betty.

I hope the batteries arrived!

Athens, May 5, 1952

Dear Letty,

Your batteries have arrived (and been fished out by Sakkas), for which many many thanks. I am already planning to go on some lovely remote excursion to enjoy them. It is so much trouble to tend to those kindnesses, and it was very nice of you to find the time to do it.

This is another detachment of the letter I owe you, chiefly to say that, actually, M.Daux would like us to appear in French. I had no intention of even asking him, but he happened to mention that somehow he had assembled a formidable amount of English material for current numbers (Mabel Lang on an inscription about measures in Thasos - which is chiefly in Arithmetic, as a matter of fact, also something of Peter Fraser's). He seemed relieved at my proposal that the Delos report should be in French. He said the translation could be done at their School, since the whole thing would be short. But it occurred to me that as you have facilities in the home, you might prefer to produce your own Will translation.

Great pressure of events in this place, to keep us feeling busy. This afternoon, Ginouves is coming to inquire about his potsherds from a special hole in Delphi, what date are they; and later in the afternoon, we are to hear Deshayes at the French School on some remarkable finds in excavations he shared in in Crete, last summer after he escaped from Delos. Too bad you and Fred ne peuvent pas assister. In two days we look forward to Evelyn.

More later!

BM party – Calliope St. address.

clay that may be from Corinth, if it is not another local specimen.

No new material is available for the dating of this unglazed variety. No. L 856 703 was found with many scraps of Arretine ware, and No. L 2385 705 accompanied bits of lamps as early as those of Type XVIII. We can do no better than adhere to the Corinthian chronology, and place these Athenian lamps that were obviously inspired by the cheap Corinthian successes in the second half of the first century, B. C., and on into the new era.

73-a

12. IV. 52

Latin

Corinth 36

Delos ca 500

Agora ca 150?

Nat'l Mus. 56

Kerameikos 11

(counted for Annual Report)

⊗ 217

Athens

⊗ about 220 including about 150 from the Agora

73-b

-φάνης

Ἀριστο- ?

Δεξι-

Ἐπι-

θεο-

April 5, 1952

Dear Letty:

I've had your letter for a month, always waiting for leisure to write one of those seminar papers we exchange, when, wanting to refer to it (to see what new photographs you need, for me to take in Delos during my Easter vacation), I discover with horror that your Easter holiday is over, and I never let you know confirmation about the BCH report. It was partly that I wanted to refer once more to M. Daux, who was long in returning to Greece, but also that Easter still seemed far ahead, and the material will not actually be needed till May.

I've forgotten what I said about the nature of the report. What he wants is not more than 8 plates - they come in batches of four, if you know what I mean, that is, the total for the number should be a multiple of four - and not much more than about 20 pages of text. This is for our whole joint product. Do you think you could do what you wanted in one or two plates, and two or three pages of print? as the Latin are slightly under a tenth of the total in quantity. If this is going to cramp your style unduly, please say so frankly. It takes much longer to make a thing shorter, I know, and your stuff is important.

I do hope that despite my remissness you will be able to make your contribution. It would do if I could have it say the second week in May, then of there were any changed needed I could still refer to you about them. It should go to Daux the end of May, the whole amalgamation.

Here are enlargements as requested of TD 3940, 4931, and 5957-8.

Missy is about to go now, so goodbye for the moment. I hope to write soon again. I was delighted with your letter.

75.01

119 Carmel Street
New Haven, Connecticut
February 26, 1952

Dear Virginia,

I am so deeply sorry about my failure to keep you informed of the state of my work. As weeks have gone by, a letter to you (an adequate letter, that is) has involved such ever-increasing problems of organization and composition that it has assumed the proportions (in my imagination, at least) of a seminar paper, or so. And, with growing misgivings, I have kept putting it off until I should find three or four hours of leisure. I will never find them, of course, so am in desperation sending you tonight what will perhaps, for lack of time, turn out to be a jumble; but it will also let you know of my continued existence and of my hopes that you will forgive my negligence.

I think I have never had so much to say to anyone as I have to you. I should begin by acknowledging your two most recent letters, with the photos which both contained, as well as the information you sent in January about the J. Paris notes on the Delos stamps. For all, I am unspeakably grateful. All of the new Agora and Delos material I have added to my three over-flowing files. More about that below. I want first to comment on your suggestion that I write a piece on the Delos stamps for BCH. When I received your letter in late November, it was unthinkable that I should have spare time for such an undertaking. But since then I have gone over the Delos material (in preparation for seeing Mr. West: wooon alsbald), and I have it well enough in mind so that I ought easily to be able to produce a report during spring vacation, which begins on March 28 and lasts for ten days. If I get the report to you by mid-April, could it appear in the BCH number you mention? If not, is a later number possible? I sincerely hope that I have not disappointed you by failing to produce the report at once. If you tell me to go ahead, I will use the suggestions you gave me. Is French or English the preferred tongue?

Re your letter of January 11, I am grateful for all the contacts. I'd be delighted to have enlargements of the following:

TD 3940 (181.41)
4931 (187.14)
5957 (188.39)
5958 (188.40)

Now that I have gone over M. Bon's photographs in detail (and I am just most pleased with the results), I have some more definite comments. The only necessary object which remains unphotographed is TD 854, a rim frag. stamped with ACBOR · HERMI. A note on the list of photos

says that this object "manque." I can't imagine what can have happened to it, but I think it's desirable to get a phot of it or of one of its brothers. And if you could manage to photograph an example of this stamp when you are next on Delos, I would be very happy. There are four other objects with this stamp: TD 4419, 4422, 4929, and 5397. Of these, my notes indicate that 5397 is perhaps the clearest example, next to 854.

Only two stamps, of the ones M. Bon photographed, turned out disappointingly. TD 5398 (ONE and jar) is very dim. The jar or pitcher at the right of the stamp is a blur; and this stamp is important because it helped me reconstruct a similar one at the Agora. TD 780 is also poor: (HE·B and ≶ to the right). This also is important because of its slight difference from a stamp at the Agora. If you have the time and film when you visit Delos, I would appreciate new phots of these.

Isn't it amazing that the group as a whole turned out so well, since M. Bon was quite unacquainted with the stamps and with their readings? Almost all of them are excellent.

Mr. West, whom, I'm happy to report, I saw finally ca. a month ago, was full of praise of the photographs from the Agora and from Delos. I saw him in New York, in the presidential office of the Numismatic Society, and we discussed my plans and the material I had brought to show him, for about an hour and a half. I hope to go to Princeton this Saturday, to see his collection. He was very kind, seemed intensely interested in everything I had to say, and was impressed by the amount of material I have and by the photographs. He began the interview with a rather formulaic denunciation of photographs of stamps and coins (I was prepared for that, for you had warned me), but as soon as he had seen the clear and striking examples I had brought along, he seemed amazed. I outlined for him the scope of my study, showing him the jar-types, etc.; and he, for his part, told me everything which he had told you last year, in addition to bits of literary and historical information which I eagerly noted down. His estimate of the years needed to do a good study of the subject has decidedly increased since last year. He now says the subject demands a minimum of 20 years. But he thinks I am justified in producing a study of the Athens-Delos material in considerably less time. He told me that he is "trying to sell, but not in the monetary sense," his collection of 6000 stamps to some young

graduate student who wants to build a sound professional reputation. He says that this is the most promising new field in Roman studies. I am not sure that he means to offer the collection to me; or that I would be willing to devote my next 20 years to the subject. I am going down to see the collection and to talk with him, as I said above, this Saturday, I hope. I will let you know the result of that interview. Since his collection is mainly of much later types than the Athens-Delos group, I expect few rewards for my present study.

I had a delightful talk with Lucy Shoe at Princeton (just after I saw O West in NYC). She seems very much interested in my work, and she says that if I can have the article ready by September, she can give me as much space as I need in the third number of 1953. That indeed is good news. Our plans for the summer are so idyllic that I ought to have three full months to devote to the article. Fred's parents have bought a farm near Bloomington, for use on week-ends, etc., and they have offered it to us for the summer, complete with a Willys Jeep which we can use for driving into town to visit them. The surroundings are perfect for concentration, and we both hope to accomplish mammoth amounts.

Several weeks ago, I sent you via regular mail two radio "B" batteries, of the type that will fit your radio. Apologies again for my tardiness in sending them. I mailed them, rather than giving them to Evelyn to bring, because I thought you would get them sooner — and (this is important) the batteries I received last year by mail I paid no duty on. But this type of battery is not the only one you will need. A smaller kind is obtainable (very cheap) in Athens at the kiosk ~~[illegible]~~ on the corner nearest the door of the British Military Mission on University Street. Its (length) size is indicated in the margin. The battery has a red and black cover, decorated with lion's head. These two batteries, then, will run the set. If you need help in fitting the batteries in, consult Calliope Stavraki, who owns Ellen's former radio.

I am again on good terms with Mr. Benachi, having written him shortly before I received your last letter, and having acknowledged receipt of most of the excellent rubbings, plus letters, which I receive from him weekly. The stamps are startlingly like the Athens-Delos group. Almost all duplicate stamps I already know of. And, as a consequence, several of them have helped to clarify or to reconstruct the stamps from Greece.

I was glad to hear that you got away to Cyprus and Egypt during December. Mr. B. wrote me that he expects you in Alexandria next fall.

Will you give my warmest greetings to Maria Savvatianou? I hope to write her soon. She sent me a lovely Christmas card. I wonder if she will go to Egypt with you. How I wish we could. Incidentally, we are consumed with a desire to return to Greece; Fred as much as I. We reminisce constantly, mostly about Delos and Corinth, but Athens would be delightful too. We are far enough removed now from last year to realize how much it meant to us. I am sorry that I had to leave Athens with such feelings of hostility toward academic administrators. I hope my wounds will be healed if I am ever fortunate enough to return.

Plans for next year are nebulous. I am determinedly looking for a college post in the northeast: with one lead, which may or may not work out. Fred will spend next year on his dissertation, and he hopes to receive a grant from Yale which would necessitate his appearing in New Haven only for conferences on his dissertation. That would leave me free to accept a position almost wherever it appears in the East.

We are expecting visits from Jess and Ted on March 8. How excellent it will be to see them. Ted seems to be well started at Harvard.

I had a good long visit with Evelyn at Princeton. And I also saw Mrs. Thompson, Mrs. Shear, and Barbara Philippaki, in addition to Lucy Shoe. I saw them all at Evelyn's apt., for I didn't have time to go out to the Institute. If I go to Princeton this Saturday, I'll take along some Greek records (Fred and I have a sizeable collection of same), and Evelyn and I will round up all Hellenophiles for some Greek dancing at the Institute on Saturday afternoon (I am assured that the mathematicians, etc., will have left by that time).

How disorganized can a letter be? But such a feeling of relief is settling over me, now that I can again think of you with a clear conscience.

Will you give my best to Mr. Thompson, Lucy, the Lattimores, the Caskeys, Henry Robinson, Eleftheria, Miss Kokoni, and all others to whom I should send greetings?

For now, many greetings and much love from

Letty

(and Fred sends love, too!).

January 11, 1952

Dear Letty,

Here are a couple of bits of information on your stamps.

1.) See attached chit on Prof. I.A.Richmond, Kings College, Newcastle-on-Tyne, who is supposed to know about Latin stamps, I suppose those found in England. I cannot really remember who gave it to me, but it was during the last couple of months, and perhaps it was David Rowe, who has been working in Alexandria on Mr. Benachi's lamps.

2.) I have come across a reference to what may be the kind of jar from which Kerameikos VG 489 was broken, the toe of a jar on which is stamped DIADV/MENVS. The reference is: B. Habachi, Bull.Soc.Roy.Arch.Alexandria, No.30, 1936, p.279 and fig.7 on that page. My notes say,"Double handled amphora, H .99, stamped on the tip FE.CTI , "red pottery".The phot. shows the position of the stamp . . . . . Finding place a chamber tomb with loculi . . . ." I consulted this article in the Widener library at Harvard, where its number was Arc 584.100 - i.e. that is the number of the journal. Present curator of the Alexandria Museum is Dr. A. Adriani.

It would be nice to hear news of you and Fred, which nobody here seems to have. I expect you are both very busy. I was away most of December - the 3rd to the 24th - in Egypt and Cyprus. Mr.Benachi spoke several times of his Latin stamps. He would like to know if you want rubbings of them. I meant to send you a Christmas card, but travelling was too much for this impulse. The School goes on very well, but we all miss last year's members, it being I believe almost an official view that you included better Scholars.

Love to you both,

P.S. I find I have some pictures saved up for you:

I. Kerameikos. Another try at printing Film 166.18, side views, at one tenth, which looks to me just as phlou as before.

II. Delos. All contacts - you say if you want enlargements.

A. 4 taken by the Bons in 1938. Regret to say, forgot finally to get them identified before packed the Latin, but probably you can tell.

B. Views of 2 ΜΕΝΕΛΑΟΣ handles (Roman type jar?), as I saw you hadn't any.

C. TD 4931, improved by washing. D. TD 3940, a "miscellaneous" which turned out to say ALEXAN . E. TD 5957 and 5958, picked up by M.Marcadé in the house full of amphoras east of the Sacred Lake. (Amphoras embedded in rows round the walls.)

When ordering please mention both object and film numbers.

77.01

answer finished 21 Nov. 51

119 Carmel Street
New Haven, Conn.
October 21, 1951

Dear Virginia,

I have received with the greatest pleasure your letters of September 20 and October 4. I wish my frantic days had allowed me to answer both of them sooner and that I were able now to answer them in detail. More in a moment about why I am frantic. I want to say first how very grateful I am for your letters; and, with regard to practical matters, let me add at once that the Delos pictures transported by Barbara have arrived here safely from Princeton, sent by Evelyn. I received the second set of enlargements as recently as yesterday. Everything in perfect condition. I have not yet been able to staple the photos onto the 4x6 cards or to check them against the list you sent. Both jobs I hope to have done by the end of the week. I wish I had been able to do all before your trip to Delos, in case some checking there might be necessary, but for the present I can only hope confidently that there will be no confusions.

I am very much pleased with M. Bon's photographs, critically and sentimentally. The stamps are clear and the background (a pot of dirt?) not too striking. Sentimentally, I feel as if I am seeing old friends after a long absence. I will comment in more detail in my next letter. My pleasure at having the pictures is tempered by a feeling of regret, almost approaching shame, that I have caused so many people so much work. Your own part in the effort has certainly been the greatest. I can only express my gratitude to you by assuring you that I shall proceed with my share as well and as quickly as possible. When you see Madame Bon (I assume M. Bon is in France by now), will you express my deepest thanks to her? Unless you think it unnecessary, I shall write M. Daux that I have received the photos and am most pleased with them. May I ask you also to thank for me any one else who helped in preparing photos or list.

The time I can spare for my own interests has been limited during the past weeks, though I hope soon to be able to spend several evenings a week on stamps and shapes. You may have heard by now from someone (though I have written no one, except for a note to Evelyn) that I have a full time teaching position at the Gateway School here. Classes are mostly in ancient history, but there is just enough U.S. history and English composition involved so that I have been unusually busy in trying to combine class-preparation and paper-grading with domestic duties (mostly settling). Unpacking, and cleaning out previous tenants' dirt have still not been completed, and we have been in our apt. for three weeks now. But within days we ought to be settling into a normal

routine. I am delighted with my work at the school, despite restrictions on my free time; but, mentally and financially, it is better for me to be teaching than spending my time at home, though the latter arrangement would have meant speedier finishing of the article. I am more than pleased with the responsiveness and enthusiasm of pre-college minds. I am certain that the arousing of classical interests in very young students is just as important a contribution to culture as teaching at the college level. I'm most grateful to be having the opportunity to discover that, as well as to find out about prep-schools from the inside.

With regard to the Bryn Mawr job: it upset me tremendously to have to turn it down, but it was not definitely offered me until after we had made commitments re jobs and apt. here. We might not have made the commitments here if we had known the BMC job was to be for a full year, but we didn't know that until too late. The present arrangement turns out to be most satisfactory, however, and it is certainly the best arrangement for Fred. He is hard at work on four seminars: two Greek, one French, one English. We are more than happy. I wish I could hope to describe our happiness to you, but such things are not in the realm of harried prose.

We stumbled on my job and our fine apt. here with no trouble and almost no searching. You remember that both seemed hopeless problems when we left Greece; and they continued to be so until we came here. Both problems were solved on our second or third day here, to the amazement of all New Havenites informed. The apt. is huge: two bedrooms and plenty of space for working.

When I wrote you from Rome, did I say that we weren't planning to go to Spain after all? Once we were in Italy, we knew we would have to spend all six of our weeks there. We stayed in Rome over a month, spent a week in Florence, and a total of a week in Naples. The whole experience was incredibly fine, from first to last. Our final two days, at Paestum and Cumae, were perhaps most enjoyed. Re jars: I wrote you of excavations at Brindisi and Herculaneum. Later, I had wonderful luck at Rome. Doris Taylor and Mr. Brown were most helpful in letting me see everything (not) at Cosa. Several remarkable resemblances there to Delos and Agora material. I made cards for all the stamps, and Mr. Brown said I could make use of any of the Cosa material in my article. At the Academy, I also studied the Monte Testaccio material. No interesting stamps there, except for LEV·GEN, but I discovered there is a definite "Monte Testaccio", 1st A.D. shape, duplicated in 3 or so [redacted] at the Agora. In the courtyard of the National Museum in Rome, I found eight whole jars which showed me just what the shape was. Some jars in the court of the Academy are similar. Some new finds were made at Monte Testaccio this summer, but, despite Mr. Brown's help, I could not contact the person who could have discussed the finds with me.

↖ Pietrangeli

I had wonderful luck at Ostia. By means of an introduction from Mr. Brown and Fred's fluent Italian, I established a rapport with Pietro Romanelli, who let me loose in a large room filled with unnumbered handles and other fragments, all neatly cleaned and attached with steel bands to the wall or piled on shelves or planted in boxes of sand. Numerous examples there of LEV.GEN and other "GEN" stamps of same type. I think one of the whole jars there is similar to the whole jar from which LEV.GEN et al. came. The readings of two Agora stamps were completed or confirmed for me at Ostia. I will send you complete information as soon as I can, and you can add it to the Agora file.

Other Italian notes:

1. In the museum at Fiesole, I found several whole jars of the thin-bellied, 2nd c. B.C. type, as well as several stamps, unfamiliar ones which I could hardly make out on their dark shelves. There were at least three good examples of Greek stamps there.

2. Thank you so much for the note about the Thasos stamp. Miss Savvatianou brought it to me, very kindly. (I wish we could have seen more of her. I'm glad to hear her summer was a success. Saw her briefly in Florence just before we left Italy).

3. I found two "Monte Testaccio" handles (and a nice lid) on the Palatine, in a dump. Very good stamps. There were others, but they were too heavy to bring to America. Fred found a fine stamp on Monte Testaccio. Most of the surface fragments there seem to be unstamped. What a grim place it is, except for the views. But we were delighted to find Keats' and Shelley's graves nearby.

We thank you immeasurably for the "wedding trip pictures." We are delighted to have them. Will you accept my apologies for not yet having sent you the July 13th pictures? The negatives are with Fred's family in Bloomington at the moment.

Please give our love to Ted, to whom we will write ὡς τάχιστα, and remember us to the Reismaths, Caskeys, ktl. From me, special greetings to all at Agora. Also to Eleftheria.

I may not get to Princeton until Thanksgiving. Fred's aunt in Phila. has invited us (with Evelyn) down for that holiday. I shall hope to arrange to see Mr. West, Mr. Thompson, and Lucy Shoe at that time, if not before.

For now, love and many greetings from us both.

Lelly.

Pensione Giglesi 78
Via di Porta Pinciana 6
Rome, Italy
July 25, 1951

Dear Virginia,

We have heard that the mail strike in Greece is temporarily over. I hope this note succeeds in reaching you before walk-outs begin again.

We are most comfortably settled in our pensione. We have a large, airy, pink room, excellent breakfasts and lunches, and we are within walking distance of almost everything in the city.

I am entranced and excited by Rome and wishing so much now that we could be here for months instead of for the few days left to us. Now that we are in Italy, we feel strongly that we ought to spend our time in this country rather than both here and in Spain. We have almost decided to board the Independence at Naples rather than at Gibraltar. If we change our plans to that extent, I will miss seeing the Spanish museums; but certainly there is enough material in Italy to compensate in part for that.

Doris Taylor invited Fred and me to the Academy for dinner on Monday night. It was good to see several old friends again, including Miss Marti, who was delighted with your ouzo. Doris gave Ruth, Charles, Fred, and me a pre-dinner talk on Cosa. Ruth and Charles planned to go there yesterday, on their way to Florence. Doris had arranged for me a display of the Roman amphora fragments found this year at Cosa. There were only ten or so, mostly stamps I had never seen, but there was one neck of the VEHILI-type, with the stamp PTOLEMÆ, like the Delos example. Doris was amazed to know it might be 1st B.C. I'm going to return to the Academy to study the stamps from this year and the previous years; also to look at the two hundred from Testaccio which Charlotte Perry Ludlum published.

Fred and I are planning to visit Testaccio this morning. Sight-seeing is a joy these days, because the weather is marvellously cool. We are seeing things at a leisurely pace and are interspersing visits to antiquities with the opera, cioccolata con panna, and shopping.

Our trip on the Kykladez was interesting, but we were not the only inhabitants of our room. What can one expect, if the same company owns Kostakis? We spent a morning in the museum at Brindisi. I'm so sorry to have to report that the alabaster jar is still inaccessible. The guard told us that the key to the case is in Milan, with the director of the museum. But what a lovely jar it is! I was fascinated by the VEHILI-GORGIA jar. I studied the five or six other amphoras leaning against the wall. There is apparently no collection of smaller fragments. We looked in all the drawers.

Was fascinated to see the wine-shops in Herculaneum. I poked into dark corners there and at Pompeii but found no stamped jars (many unstamped, of course).

We have seen Miss Savvatianou, had dinner with her on Sunday night, and hope to see her again soon. She seemed very grateful to be taken to dinner and said it was the first meal she had eaten "out" and with wine since her arrival! She seems pleased with her courses here and is working hard, with classes occupying the morning and studying taking the afternoon. She received the cable from her sister - the one giving our address, and we have given her the money.

Love and many greetings from us both. Letty.

GREETINGS TO MABEL - IF SHE IS THERE.

17. VII. 51 —

Letty

Wanted from her

complete list of all Agora items she is including
"replaced by later list. Ed."

Replaced by Latin list - EL

LATIN STAMPS

SS		SS		SS	
	256		5717		8238
	1164		5720		8480
	1207		5762		8506
	1450		5763		8580
	1742		5811		8606
	1793		5885		8607
	1985		6248		8623
	2029		6307		8801
	2613		6308		8842
	2841		6642		9257
	2919		6781		9264
	3434		6807		9305
	3576		6817		9391
			6907		
	3613		7004		9608
	3640		7139		9861
	3823		7145		9881
	3829		7146		10093
	4089		7288		10094
	4358		7356		10179
	4452		7530		10211
	4458		7930		10233
					10235
	4590		7961		10335
	4660		8002		10358
					10969
	5400		8209		10972
					11021

IN BOTTOM DRAWER

P 3004
2381
5331
5447
7138
8041 a
8041 b
8603
8800
9459
10034
10489
10496
10717
10896

NECKS ON SHELVES

(γ' ράφι) SS 10074
16258
10718
10072
(δ' ράφι) P 892
SS 207
5541
8981
9207
9439
9460
9471
9478
(α' ράφι) SS 7217 - X380
P3189 - Γ188
Κάτω 10981
10993

SS 1865
2475
P 3473
SS 6104
7954
8786

SS 8458

Written by Andreas Andreades,
checked by VG

26.VII.51 82.01

This list was taken from SS cards left by E.L. Will for making up index of lun stamps

Jars & Fragments with Latin Stamps

Note it does not include items already in old index, only basis of new cards.

SS 1695	SS 7217	SS 7298
1742	7228	7299
1865	7229	7300
1890	7233	7303
1891	7235	7304
2381	7236	7305
3203	7279	7306
3424	7281	7307
3576	7282	7308
4089	7283	7309
4452	7284	7310
5331	7286	7315
5541	7288	7316
5945		
6307	7289	7317
6781	7290	7318
6807	7291	7319
6817	7292	7320
6907	7293	7321
7004	7294	7356
7138	7295	7365
7139	7296	7367
7146	7297	7370

(2.)

SS	7371	SS	8002	SS	9269
	7378		8028		9305
	7379		8041		9391
	7380		8209		9396
	7381		8238		9439
	7382		8257		9459 9460
	7383		8458		9468
	7384		8480		9471
	7387		8506		9478
	7388		8580		9608
	7389		8605		9638
	7441		8606		9861
	7442		8607		9978
	7443		8623		10,034
	7446		8733		10,072
	7447		8800		10,074
	7530		8801		10,093
	7718		8842		10,094
	7921		8981		10,096
	7930		9207		10,179
	7954		9257		10,211
	7961		9264		10,233

82.03

SS	10,235	SS	11101	P	499
	10335		11102		892
	10358		11103		1129
	10,489		11104		1515
	10496		11105		3004
	10,666		11106		3189
	10,713		11125		3473
	10717		11132		7211
	10718		11152		
	10896				
	10969				
	10,972				
	10,993				
?	11107				
	11012				
	11021				
	11094				
	11095				
	11096				
	11097				
	11098				
	11099				
	11100				

14.Feb.51

Keramikos Latin Stamps

				Pictures
✓ Ker. VG.	374	VEHILI	case 17	162, 27
✓	450	BARNA ←	" 23	.29
✓	463	LICAS	" 24	.28
✓	481	C-CARMINI	" 26	
✓	489	(on toe - not yet read) D.. DV MËNVS	" 27	.30,31

Keramikos (old nos.)

✓	211	(sack 29)	ZARA ← (more prob. S)	162.22
✓	238	" "	C·EVI	.23
	278		O!EI	165.35
✓	334	case 23	FEROCIS	162.24
✓	338	" "	APELLA-TREBEL	.25
✓	345	" "	ART.	.26

E. Lyding please copy from objects on our little cards, and put descr. Better check through the lists again, see if any missed.

GEORGE W. ELDERKIN 11 HASLET AVE. PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

February 23,1950

Dear Virginia:

I came upon a reference to inscriptions on amphora handles which I thought you might not have. It is in E.de Gandia,Origenes prearios del Pueblo Vasco p.129: "Las inscripciones en cerámica,tanto las colocadas en las asas como en el cuerpo de las ánforas etc.[3]" The note to the passage cites Heinrich Dressel,Tituli picti in amphoris in Monte Testaceo et in emporio repertis.The author adds "No.4181 y numerosas variantes". A second citation is F.Ceraria,Caerara,Caerar(numero 2584). Gandia published his book in Buenos Aires in 1943(Editorial Vasca Ekin). He does not underscore Caerara,Caerar as he does other titles but this may be a slip. Perhaps you have these references.Here's hoping that you have all the needed amphoras well in hand.

Greetings from Denny and myself

George W.E.

Is the inscription"Monumenta virorum priorum"still in place in the library of the school as it was 40 years ago?

18. I. 50

Roman jars

See note by S. Gagnière, published in Cahiers d'histoire et d'archéologie (Nimes) t. XI, 1948 pp. 113 ff.

Offprint (?) given me by A. Bon, and filed under STOPPERS, PLASTER



PALMER SQUARE PRINCETON, N. J.

postmarked Princeton
Sept. 19, 1949

Dear Miss Grace

After too long delay for which I apologize I am returning your list with some suggestions. As I believe I have said before it is hard to do anything with photographs. In my opinion squeezes or rubbings are far better - as an illustration there is the question about PIL or PM which I have noted -

Some of them are exasperating such as THE F and some others which I thought I could find but so far cannot

If squeezes are possible I believe I could do better

With all good wishes

Sincerely
Louis D West

Box 571
Princeton

87.01

from Photo is this PM or is PM (Tarentum) misread

2 Aug. 49

Stamps on jars and fragments from
Agora Section X, well at 65/N

Copy of notebook (M. Crosby) summary pp. 785-6
(section numbers omitted, and stamps numbered, for reference)

1. SPE incuse on shoulder: SS 7004, 7318, 7319, 7367
plus 29 uncatalogued ones stacked on dig and two shoulder pieces in Tin 88. Tarentum Athens
cf. C.I.L. III, 2, p. 1060, #6545
C.I.L. IX, p. 615, #6080, no. 1

2. ·PIL SS 7317, 7378 (phot. incl.), 7380, 7382, 7388, 7442 PILIP PILIF Rome Gaul

3. THEF SS 7320, 7381, 7387 (phot. incl.), 7447

4. ~~TE~~·E SS 7443

5. HE·H SS 7441

6. EPIGON SS 7288, 7300, 7371 Pola

7. ΛΝΙΥ SS 7283, 7305, 7306, 7308, 7316

8. OIOPOR SS 7229, 7235, 7279, 7307, 7310 ?DIODO---

9. DIOO SS 7296 as this DIOC---

10 SALV SS 7379, 7383, 7384 L Salvi & variations Tarentum Corinth Italy Africa

11. DACVZ SS 7290, 7293 Tarentum Delos

Same stamp from Delos: C.I.L. III, add. 1, p. 1319, #7309, no. 39

12. BARN SS 7446 (phot. incl.), SS 7298 Delos Tarentum
Same stamp from Delos: " " " " " #7309 no. 35

13. APOLLO SS 7286
cf C.I.L. IX, p. 612, #6079, no. 5-6 APOLONI, APOLLONI
apoll apollone apolo Apollonides

87.02

14. ʾOLLE SS 7284, 7236, 7304

15. ONESI SS 7228 Ones at Rome

16. AIH ⁞⁞ SS 7289, 7292

17. OAḶẠ SS 7281

18. LIΓA SS 7295

19. COEF SS 7389

20. Ç.E‘‘M SS 7315, 7365

21. AR̄L, ⸗ SS 7217

22. ⸗ SS 7233, 7282, 7299, 7303, 7309, 7387, 7443 with other stamps

Illegible SS 7280, 7291, 7294, 7297, 7321, 7370

Better readings of many of these will be possible w. comparative study.

Roman jars / X cell at 65/N

2 Aug. 49

88.01

Stamps on jars and fragments from

Agora Section X, well at 65/N

Copy of notebook (M. Crosby) summary pp. 785-6
(section numbers omitted, and stamps numbered for reference)

1. SPE incuse on shoulder: SS 7004, 7318, 7319, 7367
   29,955 29,910
   plus 29 uncatalogued ones stacked on dig and
   two shoulder pieces in Tin 88.
   Cf. C.I.L. III, 2, p. 1060, #6545
   C.I.L. IX, p. 615, #6080, no. 1

2. ·PIL· SS 7317, 7378, 7380, 7382, 7388, 7442

3. THEF SS 7320, 7381, 7387, 7447

4. ~~TE~~·E SS 7443

5. HE·H SS 7441

6. EPIGON SS 7288, 7300, 7371

7. /\HJV SS 7283, 7305, 7306, 7308, 7316

8. OIOPOR SS 7229, 7235, 7279, 7307, 7310

9. DIOC SS 7296

10. SALV SS 7379, 7383, 7384

11. DACV2 SS 7290, 7293

Same stamp from Delos: C.I.L. III, add. 1, p. 1319, #7309, no 39

12. BARN SS 7446, SS 7298

Same stamp from Delos: " " " " #7309, no. 35-

13. APOLLO SS 7286

Cf C.I.L. IX, p. 612, #6079, no. 5-6 APOLONI, APOLLONI

88.02

14. ʾOLLE SS 7284, 7236, 7304.

15. ONESI SS 7228

16. AIH [illegible] SS 7289, 7292

17. OAL[illegible] SS 7281

18. LIΓA SS 7295

19. COEF SS 7389

20. C.E''M SS 7315, 7365

21. ARL, [illegible] SS 7217

22. [illegible] SS 7233, 7282, 7299, 7303, 7309

Illegible SS {7280, {7291, {7294, {7297, {7321, {7370
(1951, EL: {Illeg. {DACV2 {ΛOИ [illegible] {DAZ10 {]010)

Better readings of many of these will be possible w. comparative study.

August 4, 1949

Dear Mr.West:

It has occurred to me that you might be interested in a sort of hoard of Roman stamped jars found at the Agora a little before the war. I enclose a summary of the stamps made by the excavator, who is also an epigraphist, and copied by me from the excavation notebook; also a list in numerical order of the jars,and fragments of such,which were catalogued, with dimensions of most of the approximately whole jars (PH means preserved height - in most cases it is just part of the tip that is gone). Beside the jars catalogued from this deposit, there were 29 more marked SPE, and 69 unstamped. I enclose a few photographs to show jar shape, etc.

These jars had served as packing behind the tiles of a well which had apparently been sunk in too soft a part of the bedrock, so that the tiles would not hold up without packing. According to pottery and coins found inside the well, it went out of use and was filled up in the 2nd century AD. With the Roman jars were several more-fragmentary Knidian stamped jars datable about x 100 BC.

Can you tell us the place of manufacture of the Roman jars, and whether they are to be dated in the 1st century BC or AD, or anything more precise? Even if the precise place is unknown, I should be interested to know whether for instance the type of jar is definitely Italian, or might perhaps have originated in the Roman colony at Corinth.

In the course of reorganizing the storage of wine jars at the Agora, we are sorting them as well as possible by kind and date. As there are several hundred, covering a pretty wide range, we ought to have a useful set-up when it is done, and I think it will be desirable to publish a summary of the result.

If you would like more photos, let me know. And do let us know your opinion.

I understand you had a lovely spring in Princeton. I thought of it often. Have you the parking problem well u der control by now?

Please give my regards to mutual friends, at the Numismatic society as well as in Princeton. I owe a letter to George Miles.

Yours very sincerely,

Virginia Grace

90.01

STAMPED JARS AND FRAGMENTS FROM X WELL AT 65/N

SS 7004 fragment. SPE +

SS 7217 top of neck

SS 7228 jar, diam. 0.37; PH 0.805; capacity ONESI

SS7229 jar, diam. 0.395; PH 0.83; capacity

SS 7233 neck

SS 7235 jar, diam. 0.42; PH 0.81, (fragmentary)

SS 7236 jar, diam. 0.39; H 0.89; capacity

SS 7279 jar, diam. 0.375; H 0.90 capacity

SS 7280 jar, diam. 0.396; PH 0.78; capacity SPE

SS 7281 jar, diam. 0.391; H 0.905 capacity SPE

SS 7282 jar, diam. 0.356; PH 0.706; capacity

SS 7283 jar, diam. 0.363; H 0.85; capacity

SS 7284 jar, diam. 0.375; PH 0.795; capacity

SS 7286 jar, diam. 0.375; PH 0.785; capacity SPE

SS 7288 fragment, stamped on rim + (upstairs)

SS 7289 ~~top of~~ neck

SS 7290 ~~top of~~ neck

SS 7291 top of ~~neck~~ jar SALV

SS 7292 jar, diam. 0.37; PH 0.797; capacity

SS 7293 jar, diam. 0. 392; PH 0.79; capacity

SS 7294 jar, diam. 0.385; PH 0.82; capacity

SS 7295 jar, diam. 0.345; PH 0.785; capacity SALV

SS 7296 jar, diam. 0.40; PH 0.84; capacity SALV

SS 7297 jar, diam. 0.768; PH 0.82; capacity

SS 7298① jar, diam. 0.397; PH 0.91; capacity

SS 7299 jar, diam. 0.36; H 0.895; capacity

SS 7300 jar, diam. 0.36; H 0.86; capacity

SS 7303 jar, diam. 0.37; PH 0.775, capacity

SS 7304 jar, diam. 0.382; PH 0.845, capacity

① In plot, this jar appears complete, though measurements given as "PH".

SS 7305 jar, diam. 0.365; PH 0.81 ; capacity

SS7306 jar, diam. 0.375; PH 0.795; capacity

SS 7307 top of jar PH o.552

SS 7308 neck

SS 7309 top of jar PH 0.502

SS7310 neck

SS 7315 fragment

SS 7316 top of jar PH 0.525

SS 7317 jar, diam. o.36; PH 0.83 ; capacity

SS 7318 jar, diam. 0.36; PH 0.83 ; capacity SPE

SS 7319 jar, diam. 0.357; H 0.865 ; capacity SPE

SS 7320 jar, diam. o.39; PH 0.775 ; capacity

SS 7321 jar, diam. 0.334; PH 0.815 ; capacity

SS 7365 ~~top of neck~~ fragment

SS 7367 jar, diam. 0.35; H 0.855 ; capacity SPE

SS7370 neck

SS 7371 ~~top of~~ neck

SS 7378 neck

SS 7379 ~~neck~~ joined pair of handles and rim SALV

SS 7380 neck

SS 7381 neck

SS 7382 top of jar PH o.44

SS 7383 neck SALV

SS 7384 top of jar PH 0.445 SALV

SS 7387 jar, diam. ; P?H. ; capacity

SS 7388 jar, diam. ; PH. ; capacity

SS 7389 jar, diam. ; PH ; capacity

SS 7441 top of neck

SS 7442 neck

SS 7443 neck

SS 7446 neck

SS 7447 neck

91-9





Miss Virginia Grace
Institute for advanced study
Princeton
NJ

91-6

[Alexandri - I think I wrote on this before

C. Car is found at Brindisi & at Carthage (here time of Domitian) C Carist or C Caristani found at Carthage and Aquileia C Car Iron at Rome

Nummi found at Firmum and Tortoreto both CIL IX Bricks with N Nummi Probi found at Lanciano (same CIL I think)

C. SE cant find

There is a C Se Sa at Syracuse a C S Em in Gaul; 11 Se in Gaul; L Se in Gaul & Germany C Sex in Gaul and a lot of people like C semp. Polyc C. semp Porci, C Senti

There are the ones I promised tonight.

Latin Stamps

See

For Alexandria, Bucolic collection:

12.XII.49 Bucolic 23.IV.46, p. 3, and sheet 3, 8–18 (numbering

ROMAN 95

2. Nov. 49

On statues in Athens in the 1st cent. B.C.,

see J. Oliver, "Greek Inscriptions" Hesp. 1942 pp. 29 ff.

from G.R.E.

March 15, 1948

Dear Mr. West:

I imagine you have received a copy of the March number of the Classical Journal. In case you have forgotten why, may I remind you of an item which appears on p.356?

You were once so good as to say you might come someday to the Institute and look over the Latin stamps I have on file from various places. Would you care to suggest a date? - later on, if this is a particularly busy time for you. We have lunch in a cafeteria in this building, and it would be very pleasant if you would join us. Because of the line which quickly forms, some of us from the Humanities have been going up pretty early, usually at 11:55 or thereabout. The line is particularly bad on Wednesdays, for some reason connected with the schedule in the School of Mathematics. You might prefer to choose a different day.

I have recently come back from Sarasota, Florida, where the Ringling Museum has a lot of stuff bought in 1928 from the Metropolitan Museum, mostly from their Cesnola collection. Included are 14 Rhodian stamped jars, of which existing publications were notoriously bad.

Yours very sincerely,

Virginia Grace

V. Grace [97]
(p. 356)

MARCH 1948

THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

The "Greek Point of View" was plural . . .

Who Were the Greeks?

George Boas

"Great verse left unto a little clan . . ."

Theocritus in Hampstead

Frederika Beatty

The eccentricities of a great scholar . . .

Even Classicists Are Odd

Solomon Katz

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PROGRAM

Forty-Fourth Annual Meeting, Classical Association of the Middle West and South, Milwaukee, April 1, 2, 3, 1948. Page 375.

Volume 43 Pages 321-384 Number 6

A Magazine Interpreting to the Thoughtful Teacher and the Public the Significance of Ancient Classical Civilization in its Relation to Modern Life

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P-H

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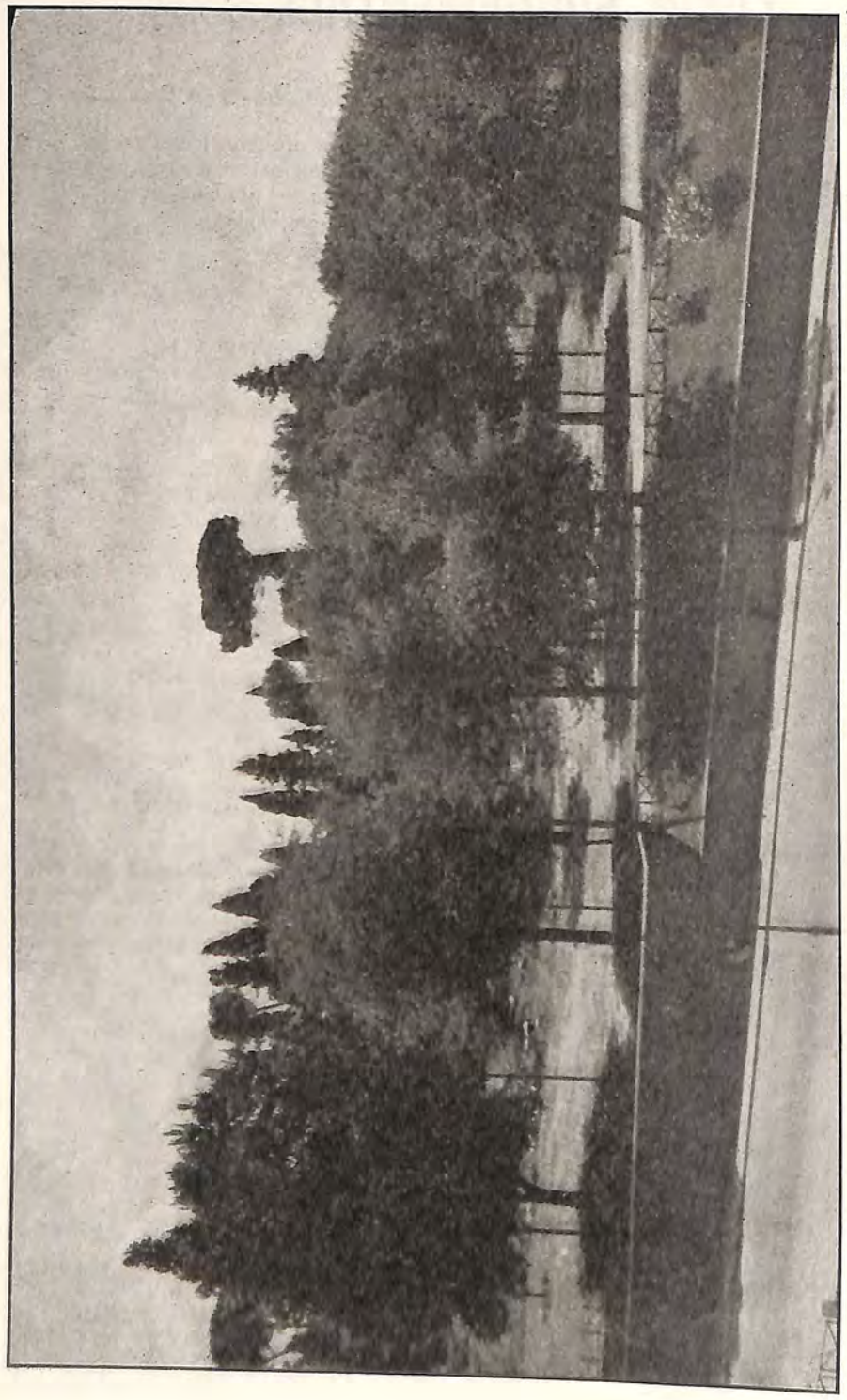

Shirley Smith

ONE OF THE "SEVEN HILLS"

STUDENTS IN AMERICA who hear of the "Seven Hills" of Rome often think of elevations of considerable height. To visitors who know Quebec, or Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, or San Francisco, these are often somewhat disappointing. Here is a view of the Caelian Hill taken from the Colosseum, showing what is now a people's park with little ruins sticking out here and there, and some not so small. Ancient sites in modern Rome are not all arches and walls and pillars!

THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

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"The Greek View of Life"—is it One or is it Many? A professor of philosophy examines "cultural monism."

Who Were the Greeks?

George Boas

IT IS THE CUSTOM for certain people who shall be left anonymous to speak wistfully or resentfully of *The Greek View of Life*, of *hellenism* as contrasted with *hebraism*, of *Greek moderation*, of the *youthful civilization of Greece*, and so on, a list of terms which could easily be extended by anyone versed in histories of philosophy, art, and literature. Just when the habit of referring ideas and ways of life to whole peoples began, I have no way of knowing. That it became commonplace only after such writers as Herder and Vico began to have influence, is probable. And by now it seems to be accepted as true. Hence commencement orators, professors of the Classics, certain *laudatores temporis acti*, spiritual descendants of Keats via Tennyson, and of Winckelmann via Alma-Tadema, as well as all practitioners of *Geistesgeschichte*, take it for granted that there was a people named *The Greeks* and that they all held in common certain aesthetic, certain political, and even certain ethical ideals. The aesthetic ideals are usually echoes of Aristotle's *Poetics* as phrased by Horace; the political are a belief in something called "freedom" and hatred of people called "tyrants"; the ethical a revulsion against "excess" coupled with a love of self-knowledge.

Happy the historian, as Anatole France once suggested, who has but one text. So long as we have but one Thucydides, we can write the history of the Peloponnesian War without fear of contradiction, and so long as we have but Pausanias, who is to refute our statements about the styles of lost artists? But we might be expected after so many centuries of recorded history to be a bit suspicious, to wake up to the fact that no single record tells the whole truth, and that in some cases the other side of the question which puzzles us once was written up and now is lost. Thus in a field in which I am less ignorant than in others, the history of philosophy, we have only negligible fragments of the colonial Greek philosophers, fragments preserved out of context and for forensic reasons; of the Sophists we have nothing except the famous "Man is the measure of all things"; of Epicurus and Zeno the Stoic, nothing systematic; of Aristippus, Antisthenes, and Pyrrho, nothing but their names and some legends. Diogenes of Sinope is a series of anecdotes. Pythagoras is so vague a figure as to make some think that he never existed. But so imperious is the demand for a history of philosophy that every Freshman learns of the doc-

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trines of these men and others, and seldom learns how shaky is the evidence on which the lectures which he hears are based.

But we do know at least one thing: that in the field of philosophy there was as much divergence of opinion as there is today. We may not know anything to speak of about the details of colonial Greek philosophy, but we do know that there were opposing currents of ideas as early as there was any philosophy at all. In fact, the best evidence that there was no Greek philosophy believed in by all Greek philosophers is the texts that survive from which such a Greek philosophy is usually extracted. For these texts, the dialogues of Plato and the Aristotelian corpus, are in part given over to refuting the views of people who did not agree with them. We cannot claim to know precisely what the various early Sophists said, but we do know that they disagreed with Socrates and Plato and we know furthermore that a great many Greeks sided with them. In other words, just as the Greek cities were always at odds with one another and just as Athenian statesmen seldom hesitated to switch allegiance, like feudal chieftains in northern Europe later on, so the Greek philosophers were in continual strife and, like their spiritual children of the American Philosophical Association, were more given to debate than to agreement.

But the same is true in every domain of human interest. The political constitutions of the various Greek cities were far from being all alike. What was common to Athens and Sparta beyond the fact that the citizens of both spoke some kind of Greek? Every document that is left emphasizes the differences rather than the similarities between these two pre-eminent states. Why talk of Greek love of freedom if Sparta is Greek? One might with equal cogency speak of the Greek love of regimentation. But for that matter the political history of each Greek state shows similar diversities. In Athens the Thirty were as Greek as their opponents; the people who refused to listen to Demosthenes when he tried to wake them up to the Macedonian peril were as Greek as the orator; Alcibiades' peculiar political conduct cannot be attributed to the presence of alien corpuscles in his arteries. Are we to explain the differences between Themistocles and Aristides by the former's foreign blood?

It would be a good exercise for cultural monists, if the term be permissible, to take the following men and derive a common set of opinions from them: Socrates, Callicles, Solon, Epaminondas, Theognis, Euripides, Anacreon, Theophrastus, Zeno the Eleatic, Critias the Elder. Even the catch-words which identify these people in the encyclopedias emphasize their differences. But all these men lived within a few generations of one another. Are they Apollinian or Faustian? Are they devotees of moderation? Have they the spontaneity of the young? Are they serene and and untroubled by the accidents of temporal life? Do their calm eyes gaze upon eternity? Are they rationalistic? Do they manifest a "love of purity of line and of vital harmony"? Such are but those generalizations about the Greeks which occur to my memory. Any undergraduate turned loose in a room with the right books could raise dozens of other equally absurd questions.

One has but to consider the undeniable fact that there were people known as Greek, calling themselves Greek, writing in some dialect of Greek, scattered in time from the age of Homer to that of Lucian, and clearly my limits are too conservative. That is a time-span of over a thousand years, three hundred years longer than the time between Karl Shapiro and Chaucer, between Paul Valéry and the *Roman de la Rose*, between Rilke and Walther von der Vogelweide. The social history of this millennium shows as many changes as does the political or artistic history. The people of Lucian's time were not facing the same problems as those of Homer's, the social structure was not the same, the religious and philosophical and political and scientific atmospheres were not the same. Does it seem even plausible that any people, however stupid, could preserve the same outlook, for want of a vaguer term, on its environment for so long and under such varying conditions without perishing of sheer paralysis? Such intellectual rigidity has never been found elsewhere and there is no *a priori* reason to believe that it could have existed in the Mediterranean Basin. Whatever else the Greeks were, they were human beings, equipped with the same organs as other human beings, facing the same problems as other human beings. When a human being lives in a homogeneous environment, cloistered so that no stranger can enter with upsetting innovations, free from attack and without lust of conquest, it is possible that his remote descendants may retain his philosophy and art and culture. But such was not the case in the Mediterranean Basin during the thousand years in question.

But similarly there were people known as Greeks scattered in space from the pillars of Hercules to the Pontus, and again I am conservative. Before the rise of the metropolitan culture of Athens, there were flourishing centers of artistic, or at any rate intellectual, activity in the colonies. The movement of culture ran from the periphery of the ancient world into the center and it was only after the fifth century that the flow ran outward again. For what could a man like Heraclitus learn from any contemporary Athenian? Can anyone doubt that the contribution of the early Stoics to Greek thought was tinged with what has been called "orientalism"? The first two Athenian philosophers, said by legend to have been called to Athens by Pericles—as Charlemagne later was to call an Englishman to Aix-la-Chapelle—came from Abdera and Clazomenae. It may or may not be true that Socrates and Euripides were "pupils" of these men, but it cannot be denied that their contemporaries were influenced by them. What they brought to Athens was different from what equally eminent philosophers from Magna Graecia might have brought. But this again is not strange, nor does it require explanation. Any cross-section of any civilization widely distributed in space will show the same sort of thing. Even in the United States we speak of the Chicago School, the Concord School, the Saint Louis School of philosophers, and we do not expect them all to have a common characteristic. It is not that spatial dispersal in itself produces differences in thought, though of course it does to a certain extent, but that people living in different environments, cultural as well as economic, face different problems and hence have different interests.

It is now admitted that in "primitive" civilizations having a highly ritualized "pattern of culture," there are always some recalcitrant individuals, people who are possessed by a centrifugal force, who sit on the edge of things, not resigning themselves to conformity. Why not then admit that this would be truer in so long-lived and so widely distributed a civilization as that of Greece? Moreover, is there not something peculiarly inspiring in a culture which admits diversity, which is able to submit itself to the fertilization of other cultures, which has enough self-confidence to be unafraid of disagreement? The study of the Classics has been impoverished by those scholars who have insisted on picking out two or three men and maintaining that they and their opinions alone were Greece. One does not have to have much learning to know that such exercises are prejudiced and indeed false. Just as seventeenth-century France was Gassendi as well as Descartes, so fifth-century Athens was Protagoras as well as Socrates. What is gained by denying this?

By a simple logical trick any group of people may be said to be homogeneous. People living on one street, in one neighborhood, in one city, in one state, and hence in one world, all have something in common. If one is not too careful about giving concrete meaning to the supposed community of their interests, one can make the most edifying speeches about them. But it is equally true that such generalizations depend upon the neglecting of real diversities. Two children of the same family have a great deal in common, but they also have a great deal not in common, in fact and obviously, everything that individualizes them. It would be in the eyes of some writers a delightful thing if everyone agreed about everything, so that each man and woman would be above all a man or a woman. Glaucon's City of Pigs would probably be the result. But of course

its proponents would not call it that. They would call it the City of Humanity, Anthropopolis. But when they came to describe in detail what life in such a city would be, their best efforts would result only in the vaguest of generalities, unless they followed the usual technique of the Utopists and located their city nowhere. Man as Man, living nowhere, by the evident force of the terms involved has no inner differences. But let a political scientist or a sociologist or an anthropologist set up shop on the basis of dealing only with Man and not with specific men and the result will consist of precisely one sentence: *All men are men.*

In actual fact, even the supposedly basic interests of nutrition and sexuality are disciplined and channeled and oriented by society, and the social controls over these fundamental drives are so various that one could spend a lifetime studying them and still not complete one's work. It has therefore seemed reasonable to some scholars to study the diversities between societies and within given societies. If that is done, a new discovery is made: that the character of a people is as much determined by the inner tensions and conflicts, with resulting frustrations and compromises, as by any over-individual *Volksgeist.* Thus the Periclean Age, for instance, is as much the enemies of Pericles as Pericles himself, as much Anytus as Socrates, and the *Clouds* becomes as important an item in fixing "the Greek mind" as the *Apology.*

But if one is willing to take this attitude towards "The" Greeks, one notes a number of conclusions that emerge at once.

1. The representative Greek simply turns into what the statisticians would call the modal Greek.

2. There will be no *Greek View of Life,* but several and possibly conflicting Greek views of life.

3. Since there were no Greek hermits records of whom have survived, Greek views of all sorts were developed in society. Hence their significance must be studied in the social context in which they were formulated and debated. Thus a good many of Plato's doctrines have relevance as criticisms of sophistry and can best be understood in that context. And Aristotle's historical comments, as Professor Cherniss has demonstrated with elegance and, one hopes, with finality, can be appreciated only as chapters in the presentation of his own philosophy.

4. The students of the Classics should at all times be specially wary of committing the sin of intellectual anachronism. This sin is usually committed in the fields of education and politics, though it frequently occurs also in the field of aesthetics.

If what has been said has any truth in it, there is still great and interesting work to be done in the Classics. The lassitude that has come over Classicists is largely attributable to preoccupations with philology, certainly highly necessary to the understanding of any text, but not of such exclusive importance as has sometimes been believed. But it is also caused by the superstitious reverence for the kind of *Geistesgeschichte* which assumes that the *Geist* is like the soul of an angel, beyond space and time, and also pure and undifferentiated. That superstition must be the first to be uprooted before any real understanding of the Greeks and their culture can be reached.

LATIN AND GREEK AT PHILLIPS EXETER

LAST YEAR considerable attention was given in the press to the lowering of requirements in Latin at Phillips Exeter Academy, one of the strongholds of the classical curriculum. "Contrary to some *fears,*" says the *Phillips Exeter Bulletin* (Autumn, 1947; Vol. XLIV, 1, p. 1), "enrollment in the Classics has not fallen off appreciably. In fact, Greek and Latin 3 and 4 have actually gained." (*Italics ours.—Ed.*) Other gains have been History 1, Physical Science 1 (but not other science courses), Art, Music, Geography, Bible. It is interesting to note that the students making these elections—i.e. the whole student body at Exeter—are drawn this year from 47 of the 48 states. Last year's seniors have gone to 45 different colleges.

" . . . in Grecian isles
By Bards who died content on pleasant sward
Leaving great verse unto a little clan . . . "

Theocritus in Hampstead

Frederika Beatty

Keats' debt to Spenser, to Homer, and to Shakespeare is well known; and no one who reads the poetry and the letters of the nineteenth-century poet can fail to catch echoes of Chaucer, Milton, and Dryden, of Dante and Boccaccio. It is the purpose of this essay to show that Keats was familiar, also, with the Idyls *of Theocritus and that the first, the seventh, and the fifteenth idyls contributed ideas and images to some of his greatest poems.*

KEATS DID NOT READ Greek but was saturated with themes Hellenic, getting his myths often from such unpoetic sources as Tooke's *Pantheon* and Lemprière's *Classical Dictionary,* as well as from Chapman's *Homer* and the marbles from the Parthenon placed by Lord Elgin in the British Museum. His enthusiasm for Homer made him eager to study the language, and he wrote to John Hamilton Reynolds from Teignmouth in April 1818:

"I have written to George for some Books—shall learn Greek, and very likely Italian—and in other ways prepare myself to ask Hazlitt in about a year's time the best metaphysical road I can take. For although I take Poetry to be Chief, yet there is something else wanting to one who passes his life among Books and thoughts on Books—I long to feast upon old Homer as we have done upon Shakespeare, and as I have lately upon Milton. If you understood Greek, and would read me passages now and then, explaining their meaning, 'twould be, from its mistiness, perhaps a greater luxury than reading the thing one's self. I shall be happy when I can do the same for you."[1]

This ambition the young poet never realized, but he did read French, Italian, and Latin, always for the literature rather than for the "foreign idiom." "In the course of a few months," he wrote to his brother in America, in September 1819,

"I shall be as good an Italian Scholar as I am a french [*sic*] one. I am reading Ariosto at present: not managing more than six or eight stanzas at a time. When I have done this language so as to be able to read it tolerably well—I shall set myself to get complete in latin [*sic*], and there my learning must stop. I do not think of venturing upon Greek."[2]

Again and again he spoke of his studies, of his need of books, his desire to be near a library: "I cannot resolve to give up my favorite Studies: so I purpose to retire into the Country and set my Mind at work once more";[3] "This day week we shall move to

(The author of this study of Keats' reading of Theocritus holds the A.B. degree from Bryn Mawr College and the M.A. and Ph.D. from Columbia University. Her thesis for the doctorate, *William Wordsworth of Rydal Mount* was published by J. M. Dent and Sons in London in 1939, and by E. P. Dutton in this country. In England it was recommended by the Book Society for July 1939, and was received warmly by English reviewers. A new book, *William Wordsworth of Dove Cottage,* is now ready for publication. More recently Miss Beatty published an article on Edwin Arlington Robinson in the *South Atlantic Quarterly* (October, 1944), several sonnets, three reviews of Wordsworth books for the New York *Times,* and last summer reviewed Gilbert Murray's *Greek Studies* for the *Herald Tribune.*

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Winchester: for I feel the want of a Library . . . I had got in a dream among my Books";[4] "It is more than a fortnight since I left Shanklin, chiefly for the purpose of being near a tolerable Library";[5] "I shall live in Westminster—from which a walk to the British Museum will be noisy and muddy—but otherwise pleasant enough."[6] And to his brother's suggestion that he move to America, he answered, "How could I employ myself? out of the reach of Libraries. . . . "[7] To Haydon, in October 1819, he wrote:

"I feel every day more and more content to read. Books are becoming more interesting and valuable to me. I may say I could not live without them. If in the course of a fortnight you could procure me a ticket to the British Museum, I will make a better use of it than I did in the first instance."[8]

How early Keats began to read Theocritus it is hard to say, or at whose suggestion. Though the 1817 volume and *Endymion* are often pastoral in tone, the actual parallels to definite idyls seem to come later. Leigh Hunt translated nine of the idyls, including VII, which he calls "the Rural Journey," and XV, which he calls "The Syracusan Gossips: or, the Feast of Adonis." Keats met Leigh Hunt in 1816 through Charles Cowden Clarke, and the seventh and fifteenth idyls, and others, were first published in 1818. Presumably Theocritus was discussed in the "little cottage" at Hampstead, along with "fair-hair'd Milton's eloquent distress" for "gentle Lycid drown'd" and "faithful Petrarch gloriously crown'd." Indeed, the dedication of the 1817 volume to Leigh Hunt is a lament that

"Glory and loveliness have pass'd away,"

that "no wreathed incense" is mounting, "no crowd of nymphs" are bringing baskets "to adorn the shrine of Flora," and that "under pleasant trees Pan is no longer sought."

Milton was another of Keats' enthusiasms, both *Paradise Lost* and the minor poems, and it is entirely possible that *Lycidas* led the young poet to the first idyl of Theocritus and then to the others.

In the fragmentary *Ode to Maia*, written on May-day 1818,

"Mother of Hermes! and still youthful Maia!"

Keats asks whether he may woo the goddess "in earlier Sicilian" or, as she once was sought,

"in Grecian isles,
By Bards who died content on pleasant sward,
Leaving great verse unto a little clan. . . ."

Most of the idyls of Theocritus, of course, are laid in Sicily or the island of Cos.

By October 1818 Keats was linking Theocritus with Homer and Milton and Shakespeare as creators of new worlds for his spirit to dwell in. "I feel more and more every day, as my imagination strengthens," he wrote to George in America,

"that I do not live in this world alone but in a thousand worlds. No sooner am I alone than shapes of epic greatness are stationed around me, and serve my Spirit the office which is equivalent to a King's body guard—then 'Tragedy with scepter'd pall, comes sweeping by.' *According to my state of mind I am with Achilles shouting in the Trenches, or with Theocritus in the Vales of Sicily.* . . ."[9]

The Eve of St. Agnes and *Lamia*, both written in 1819, seem to be indebted to the fifteenth idyl, the little mime wherein the two Syracusan women, Gorgo and Praxinoë, go to the palace to attend the Feast of Adonis. More detailed, sometimes, is Porphyro's midnight feast for the sleeping Madeline than is the similar feast for the sleeping Adonis. To Aphrodite's love are offered

"*All fruits* . . . that ripe autumn yields,
The produce of the gardens, and the fields;
All herbs and plants which *silver baskets* hold;
And *Syrian unguents* flow from *shells of gold*.[10]

Porphyro brought from the closet

"an heap
Of *candied apple, quince*, and *plum*, and *gourd*"

and placed them

"*On golden dishes* and in *baskets bright*
Of wreathed silver."

He brought forth, also,

" . . . lucent syrops, tinct with cinnamon,
Manna and dates, in argosy transferr'd
From *Fez;* and spiced dainties, every one,
From silken *Samarcand* to cedar'd *Lebanon*."

Other dainties are prepared for Adonis:

"With finest meal sweet paste the women make,
Oil, flowers and honey, mingling in the cake. . . ."

Besides ebony, gold, and ivory, Adonis had a "purple tapestry . . . more soft than sleep." Of Madeline Keats said,

"And still she slept an azure-lidded sleep
In blanched linen, smooth, and lavender'd."

Possibly even old Angela's challenge to Porphyro,

"Thou must hold water in a witch's sieve,"

is derived from Theocritus' third idyl, where the disappointed goat-herd who has serenaded Amaryllis in vain, says,

"An old witch brought sad tidings to my ears,
She who tells fortunes with the sieve. . . ."

Lamia was written cursorily from July, or earlier, until September 1819. After writing the first act of *Otho the Great*, the poet broke off and wrote the first part of *Lamia*, he told John Hamilton Reynolds on July 12.[11] A few days later he wrote to Fanny Brawne that he had "three or four stories half done."[12] On September 5 he told his publisher, John Taylor: "Since I have finished it [the play] I have finish'd Lamia: and am now occupied in revising St. Agnes' Eve and studying Italian."[13] As the *Eve of St. Agnes* had been finished before February 14,[14] perhaps Keats added, at this time, the richness of detail similar to the descriptions of the exotic snake-woman and her splendid bridal feast in *Lamia*.

The dangerously beautiful Lamia, so like Geraldine in Coleridge's *Christabel*, caused her suitor to swoon by threatening to leave him. Reviving him with a kiss, she began to whisper the story of her love, how she first saw him.

"Where 'gainst a column he lent thoughtfully
At Venus' temple porch, 'mid baskets heap'd
Of amorous herbs and flowers, newly reap'd
Late on that eve, as 'twas the night before
The Adonian feast."

Here the Feast of Adonis is definitely mentioned, and apparently also derived from the description of the feast cited above are the elaborate preparations for the bridal supper.

The last lines of the poem show the dead Lycius:

"On the high couch he lay!—his friends came round!
Supported him—no pulse or breath they found,
And in its marriage robe the heavy body wound."

This picture is strongly reminiscent of the beautiful Adonis lying on his silver couch when the two Syracusan women first came to the palace.

Gorgo and Praxinoë had been chattering so incessantly that a stranger told them to "forbear," for he was bored with their endless "Sicilian prate." Keats apparently liked the broad vowels of the Doric dialect better than the stranger, for he wrote:

"Soft went the music the soft air along,
While *fluent Greek* a *vowel'd undersong*
Kept up among the guests."

To *Lamia*, also, the seventh idyl contributed a few bits—the idyl where the synthetic goat-herd Lycidas joins the group of young men, competes in song with Simichidas, and then departs, while the others go on to the harvest feast. At the end of the idyl the harvest feast was celebrated before the altar of Demeter, or Ceres, and

"Wine flow'd abundant from capacious tuns,
Matured divinely by four summers suns,"

whereas in *Lamia* huge tables held the wealth

"Of cups and goblets, and the store thrice told
Of Ceres' horn, and, in huge vessels, wine
Come from the gloomy tun with merry shine."

The eleventh idyl, where the Cyclops Polyphemus implores the sea-nymph Galatea to leave her home in the grey sea and dwell with him in the cavern near which laurels

and cypresses grow, may have suggested Lamia's reply to her earthly lover:

"What canst thou say or do of charm enough
To dull the nice remembrance of my home?
Thou canst not ask me with thee here to roam
Over these hills and vales, where no joy is.—
Empty of immortality and bliss!
. . . . . [knowing]
That finer spirits cannot breathe below
In human climes, and live . . . ."

Keats was very hopeful of *Lamia*. From Winchester, where he finished the tale, he wrote to George about the 18th of September: "My hopes are [ever] paramount to my despair. I have been reading over a part of a short poem I have composed lately call'd 'Lamia'—and I am certain there is that sort of fire in it which must take hold of people in some way."[15]

SIX MONTHS EARLIER, on March 19, he wrote to his brother of his indolent and careless mood—a mood which he would have called languor if he had had "teeth of pearl and the breath of lillies [sic]." His brain was as relaxed as the rest of his body, he said, and he felt pleasure as little as pain: "Neither Poetry, nor Ambition, nor Love have any alertness of countenance as they pass by me: they seem rather like three figures on a greek [sic] vase—a man and two women whom no one but myself could distinguish in their disguisement. . . . "[16] The connection between this mood and the *Ode on Indolence* is obvious; that with the *Ode on a Grecian Urn* less apparent.

A month later, the poet added to his letter to George: "I am still at a stand in versifying —I cannot do it yet with any pleasure";[17] and in June he wrote to Miss Jeffrey:

"I have been very idle lately, very averse to writing; both from the overpowering idea of our dead poets and from abatement of my love of fame. . . . You will judge of my 1819 temper when I tell you that the thing I have most enjoyed this year has been writing an ode to Indolence."[18]

The first idyl of Theocritus, from which Milton borrowed so much for *Lycidas*, is in two parts: the "Song of Thyrsis," and the poetic setting of that song, where the goatherd persuades Thyrsis to sing by offering him a beautifully carved bowl of ivy-wood, fresh from the knife of the carver—and later gives him the fragrant vessel. Milton used the song, and Keats seems to have used the description of the bowl.

Like the Grecian Urn the wooden bowl has three distinct scenes. The first is of two youths contending for the favors of a maiden, who flirts gaily with both of them. The eyes of the young men are swollen with grief, "their heavy hearts despair." The *Ode on Indolence* reverses this scene: two maidens and one young man, Ambition,

"pale of cheek
And ever watchful with fatigued eye."

The scenes on the Grecian Urn are different, but Keats echoes the fruitlessness of the effort of the two young men on the wooden bowl:

"Bold Lover, never, never canst thou kiss,
Though winning near the goal. . . ."

Theocritus describes the intricate carving above the scenes,

"A deep two-handled cup, whose brim is crown'd
With ivy join'd with helichryse around;
Small tendrils with close-clasping arms uphold
The fruit rich speckled with the seeds of gold,"

and, just before the song,

"All round the soft acanthus spreads its train."

Keats asks, more briefly:

"What *leaf-fring*'d legend haunts *about thy shape*?"

Many of the short poems and *Endymion* seem to have a little tinkle now and then from the far-off vales of Sicily. The sonnet *To the Ladies Who Saw Me Crown'd*, for instance, mentions

"ripplings tenderly
Spread by the halcyon's breast upon the sea,"

and one is reminded of the "song of Lycidas" in the seventh idyl:

"May *halcyons smooth the waves*, and *calm the seas*,
And the rough south-east sink into a breeze."

Another use of the same image occurs in the first book of *Endymion:*

"O magic sleep! O *comfortable bird*,
That broodest o'er the troubled sea of the mind
Till it is hush'd & smooth!"

In the eleventh idyl Theocritus tells the *physician* Nicias that there is *no remedy for love* except *song*, illustrating his theme by the song of the Cyclops to milk-white Galatea. In the latter part of the song the Cyclops tells his love,

"Well might *that fire* to warm my breast suffice,
That kindled at the lightning of your eyes."

And Keats starts an *Ode to Fanny*:

"*Physician* Nature! let my spirit blood!
O *ease my heart of verse* and let me rest;
Throw me upon thy Tripod, till the flood
Of *stifling numbers* ebbs from my full breast."

But closest of all to Theocritus is the lovely ode *To Autumn*, written at Winchester near the end of September 1819 and sent to Richard Woodhouse on the 21st.[19] "How beautiful the season is now," Keats wrote to Reynolds on the same day.

"How fine the air. A temperate sharpness about it. Really, without joking, chaste weather —Dian skies—I never lik'd stubble-fields so much as now—Aye better than the chilly green of the Spring. Somehow a stubble-plain looks warm—in the same way that some pictures look warm. This struck me so much in my Sunday's walk that I composed upon it."[20]

The conclusion of the seventh idyl of Theocritus describes the harvest-festival in honor of Demeter at the farm of Phrasidemus. Like Keats, the earlier poet emphasizes the fecundity of the earth; like Keats, he personifies the season as a woman with sheaves of wheat and poppies. Both poets refer to the reaping and the winnowing; both mention the songs of birds and insects. Theocritus says:

"The *rich, ripe season* gratified the sense
With summer's sweets, and *autumn's redolence*
Apples and pears lay *strew'd in heaps around*,
And the *plum's loaded branches* kiss'd the ground."

The first stanza of the ode has many of the same images, and even where the details are different the flavor is the same:

"*Season of* mists and *mellow fruitfulness*,
Close bosom-friend of the *maturing* sun:
Conspiring with him how to *load* and bless
With fruit the vines that round the thatch-eves run;
To bend with apples the moss'd cottage-trees,
And *fill all fruit with ripeness* to the core. . . ."

The mythical figure of Autumn in Keats' second stanza can be no other that Demeter of the *threshing-floor*, on whose corn-heap [σωρῷ] Theocritus wishes to plant the great *winnowing* fan [μέγα πτύον]:

"O may I prove once more that happy man
In her large heaps to fix the *purging fan!*
And may the goddess smile serene and bland
While *ears of corn* and *poppies* grace her hand.'

"Who hath not seen thee oft *amid thy store*?" asks the English poet.

"Sometimes whoever seeks abroad, may find
Thee *sitting careless on a granary floor*,
Thy hair soft-lifted by the *winnowing* wind;
Or on a *half-reap*'d *furrow* sound asleep,
Drows'd *with the fume of poppies*, while thy hook
Spares the next swath and all its *twined flowers*."

Keats uses different insects and birds in his last stanza from those at the beginning of the Theocritean description. Instead of "honey-bees" humming "round the flowers" and "shrill grasshoppers" renewing "their plaintive song," he has "the small gnats" mourning "in a wailful choir . . . among the river swallows." Instead of "Sweet Philomela," the lark, the goldfinch, and the turtle dove, he has "hedge-crickets," the "red-breast," and "gathering swallows"; and both poets fill the description with onomatopoetic verbs.

The birds and insects in the Greek poem are differently translated by Leigh Hunt:

"The *hiding grasshoppers, in spite of heat,*
Kept up their chattering coil; the nightingale
Plained at a distance in the thorny bush;
The larks and linnets sung; the *stock-dove mourned.*"

And it was shortly after meeting Leigh Hunt that Keats wrote his sonnet *On the Grasshopper and Cricket*, December 30, 1816, in competition with his older friend and in Leigh Hunt's cottage in Hampstead.

"The poetry of earth is never dead,"

Keats began, and then, paraphrasing his friend's translation:

"When *all the birds* are *faint with the hot sun,*
And *hide* in cooling trees, a *voice will run*
From hedge to hedge about the new-mown mead;
That is the *Grasshopper's*—"

Even the "new-mown mead" may come from "vine-leaves *freshly cut*" and "cooling trees" from

"Above our heads a *throng of elms and poplars*
Kept stirring. . . ."

There is nothing inappropriate in Keats' use of the idyls of Theocritus, any more than in Shakespeare's breathing life into the bare statements of Holingshead or Chaucer's retelling in his inimitable way a tale of Boccaccio's. Keats apparently found in these lovely pastorals

"a draught of vintage that hath been
Cool'd a long age in the deep-delved earth,
Tasting of Flora and the country green . . . ."

and he drank freely at the well-spring. Again and again he acknowledges his debt to his predecessors:

"How many bards gild the lapses of time!
A few of them have ever been the food
Of my delighted fancy. . . . . .
. . . . . .
And often, when I sit me down to rhyme,
These will in throngs before my mind intrude. . . ."

And when the young poet "travell'd in the realms of gold," who is to say that Sicily was not one of the

"western islands . . .
Which bards in fealty to Apollo hold"?

NOTES

[1] John Keats, *Letters*, edited by Maurice Buxton Forman, Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1931, I, 148–149.
[2] *Ibid.*, II, 464–465.
[3] *Ibid.*, 376, to Miss Keats. [Postmark, 9 June 1819.]
[4] *Ibid.*, 398–399, to Miss Brawne. [Aug. 5–6, 1819.]
[5] *Ibid.*, 407, to Miss Keats. [Aug. 28, 1819].
[6] *Ibid.*, 425, to Richard Woodhouse. [Sept. 21, 1819.]
[7] *Ibid.*, 463. [Sept. 21, 1819.]
[8] *Ibid.*, 474.
[9] *Ibid.*, I, 261–262. The italics here and elsewhere are mine.
[10] After examining the translations of Leigh Hunt, M. J. Chapman (recommended by Leigh Hunt), the Rev. Richard Polwhele, and Francis Fawkes, all made early enough to be known by Keats, I have chosen Fawkes's rendering as apparently closest to the phrases used by Keats. This translation was made as early as 1767 and incorporated in volume XX of Chalmers' *English Poets*, published in 1810 and easily accessible to Keats. Both Fawkes and Chapman mistranslate "καλὰ τέμπεα" ["fair vales" or "beautiful dells"] as "Tempe," which error may have furnished the "Tempe" of the *Ode on a Grecian Urn*. In most instances, Keats seems closer to the Greek of Theocritus than to any of these translations; perhaps the imagination of the poet rekindled what had been frozen by the translators.
[11] Keats, *Letters*, II, 388.
[12] *Ibid.*, 390.
[13] *Ibid.*, 414.
[14] *Ibid.*, 322, to George Keats.
[15] *Ibid.*, 438–439.
[16] *Ibid.*, 339–340.
[17] *Ibid.*, 345.
[18] *Ibid.*, 375–376.
[19] *Ibid.*, 421–422.
[20] *Ibid.*, 418.

In our April issue—

"THE QUINTESSENCE OF COMEDY"

By Abraham Feldman

The first of a series of three articles on the great Cambridge philologists—Bentley, Porson, and Housman

Even Classicists Are Odd

Solomon Katz

WHEN THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION of the Pacific States so graciously invited me to speak at their annual banquet, I thought that I should be churlish indeed were I to recall A. E. Housman's comment:[1]

"University College, London, like many other colleges, is the abode of a Minotaur. This monster does not devour youths and maidens: it consists of them, and it preys for choice on the Professors within its reach. It is called a Literary Society, and in hopes of deserving the name it exacts a periodical tribute from those whom it supposes to be literate. Studious men who might be settling *Hoti's* business and properly basing *Oun* are expected to provide amusing discourses on subjects of which they have no official knowledge and upon which they may not be entitled even to open their mouths."

Although I am aware that I have "no official knowledge," I shall essay the difficult role of biographer. I shall appear not as a Plutarch recounting the reforms of the brothers Gracchi, nor yet the struggle between Caesar and Pompey, but rather as a minor Suetonius. The Latinists will recall that Suetonius wrote a work entitled *De Viris Illustribus* in which he depicted the foibles as well as the virtues of eminent Latin poets, orators, historians, philosophers, grammarians and rhetoricians. I too shall present some biographical sketches of illustrious men, three famous classical scholars from Cambridge University. I hope that it will not be regarded as an impertinence if, like Suetonius, I say a word or two about the apparent eccentricities of illustrious men. For my Classicists were not mere scholars cast in the conventional mold, but men possessed of unusual qualities of personality and scholarship. There are those who may admire the learning of these scholars, but be repelled by their personalities. I ask them to consider what a nineteenth-century divine said in dedicating his biography of one of my Classicists to the Lord Bishop of London:[2] "If, in the perusal of the following memoirs, any reader should remark, that great learning is not always accompanied by the graces of personal character, the mention of your Lordship's name will remind him that the defect cannot be attributed to the nature of such studies, and that similar excellence in classical pursuits should be made subservient to religious knowledge and the cultivation of all moral and Christian virtues."

My gallery includes three classical scholars, each of whom was in his time a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge: Dr. Richard Bentley, the contentious Master of Trinity College, Professor Richard Porson, the tippling philologist, and Professor A. E. Housman, poet and polemist. They are, in my opinion, the most eminent representatives of a distinguished tradition of classical scholarship, extending from the end of the seven-

(This is substantially the text of a paper presented at the Thirty-First Annual Meeting of the Classical Association of the Pacific States at the University of Oregon in Eugene, December 29, 1941. Several intervening years of military service made it impossible for the author to present it for publication until now. The celebration on June 3, 1947 of the fourth centenary of Trinity College, Cambridge, makes it perhaps not inappropriate to remind ourselves of the achievement of three of the great Classicists who added lustre to that ancient college.

Professor Katz is a native of Buffalo, N. Y., and a graduate of Cornell University (A.B., Ph.D.). In 1932–33 he was a student at the Sorbonne in Paris; and is now a member of the Department of History of the University of Washington, Seattle.

teenth century to our own times. Of each of them might it be said that he was "splendide emendax," for each performed notable work in conjectural emendation, and all three attracted the attention of the learned world by their exacting and original scholarship and the attention of the curious by their vigorous and sometimes extraordinary conduct.

Richard Bentley was born in 1662 and died in 1742. Among the outstanding classical scholars of the first half of the eighteenth century he was the greatest, towering over the others as his Digamma over the alphabet. He set a new example of sustained and methodical criticism which was designed to reconstruct and recover the true texts, and thus he helped to establish the course of classical scholarship. For more than a century the scholars of England and the continent worked on the lines indicated by Bentley, and even today we are in more than one branch of classical learning only doing what Bentley indicated as the thing that had to be done.[3] Not only did he revivify by his tremendous energy and industry the whole domain of classical scholarship, but for forty stirring years he was the most prominent figure of a great English university.

Bentley was no mere closet-scholar, no Mr. Dry-as-Dust. Everything he did or said or wrote bore the vivid impress of his vigorous personality. Housman, whose judgments were rarely conventionally polite, called Bentley "the greatest scholar that England or perhaps that Europe ever bred; a man so great that in his own province he serves for a touchstone of merit and has always been admired by all admirable scholars and despised by all despicable scholars."[4]

Let us, however, examine another judgment of Bentley by Benjamin Jowett, Master of Balliol College, Oxford, assuredly "no despicable scholar." "When I see the baneful influence which a great philologer, like a great philosopher, may have on whole generations of his followers—for how many wasted lives he may be responsible, what a false tendency he has given to the human mind, how inconsistent he is with himself, what silly and unmeaning commendation he has received from those who are incapable of appreciating him: I am tempted to make the still small voice of reason heard against him."[5] To a mild-mannered person like Jowett, who hated eccentricity of any kind, Bentley's character would not appeal. The over-bearing, sarcastic, tyrannical Bentley repels some as he attracts others by his scholarship, and balanced judgments are rendered difficult.

This is not the place to give many of the biographical details concerning Bentley, for they can be read conveniently elsewhere.[6] Bentley's first published work, which was written when he was not quite twenty-nine years old, was one of the most brilliant productions of this remarkable scholar, of whom his old employer, the Bishop Stillingfleet, remarked: "Had he but the gift of humility, he would be the most extraordinary man in Europe."[7] The *Epistola ad Millium* was published by Bentley in 1691 in the form of a long letter included as an appendix in Dr. John Mill's edition of the Byzantine chronicler, John Malelas or Malalas of Antioch. In fewer than 100 pages Bentley corrected and explained more than 60 Greek and Latin authors, and the *Epistola* alone was sufficient to place him at the head of all living English classical scholars. This magnificently brilliant work won for the author the encomia of the leading scholars on the continent. Graevius spoke of Bentley as "novum sed splendidissimum Britanniae lumen" and Spanheim referred to him as "novum idemque iam lucidum litteratae Britanniae sidus."[8] These first fruits of Bentley's already ripe scholarship bear the stamp of that vigorous polemical style which marked all his criticism. For it is not so much the sober and judicious, even ponderous, style of the writer of learned monographs as that of a debater arguing in lively and frequently sarcastic style with an opponent. This colloquial manner exposed Bentley to an undeserved rebuke from his biographer, Monk. After triumphantly showing that John Malelas had made a blunder, Bentley exclaims: "Good indeed, Johnny!" (Euge vero, *ὦ Ἰωαννίδιον*). Monk thought that this was said to Dr. John Mill, and reproved it as "an indecorum which neither the familiarity of

friendship nor the licence of a dead language can justify towards the dignified Head of a House."[9]

It was at this time that letters began to be exchanged between Bentley and Joshua Barnes, a tragicomic philologist of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Barnes affected to disdain Bentley's scholarship. A few years later Barnes invested his wife's fortune in a costly Homer which he edited. He obtained his wife's reluctant consent for this enterprise by persuading her that the real author of the Homeric poems was King Solomon. Queen Anne refused to have the work dedicated to her and the unfortunate Dr. Barnes believed that this was Bentley's doing. Bentley used to say of Barnes that he probably knew about as much Greek, and understood it about as well, as an Athenian blacksmith.[10]

The erudite will recall Bentley's greatest book, the *Dissertation on the Epistles of Phalaris* (1697; revised and greatly augmented edition, 1699), which fixed his reputation as the leading critic of the age. The controversy between Bentley and his opponent Boyle was not allayed by this publication, but rather exacerbated, and the indefatigible but hardly profound Pepys was encouraged to write: "I suspect Mr. Boyle is in the right; for our friend's learning (which I have great value for) wants a little filing, and I doubt not but a few such strokes as this will do it and him good," and Swift was pleased to attack Bentley in his *Tale of a Tub* and in his *Battle of the Books*. But scholars at home and abroad judged Bentley's dissertation more accurately as inaugurating a new epoch in criticism. By his profound scholarship, as by his mordant wit, Bentley crushed his adversary, Boyle. Years later Tyrwhitt described the opponents of Bentley as "laid low, as by a thunderbolt," and Porson pronounced it "an immortal dissertation."[11]

I leave it to you to read for yourselves the accounts of Bentley's editions of classical authors. His great edition of Horace in which the traditional text is altered in more than 700 passages appeared in 1711. In this edition we find his celebrated and characteristically arrogant dictum: "Nobis et ratio et res ipsa centum codicibus potiores sunt."[12] Yet it must be remembered that Bentley himself did not scorn the manuscripts, but on the contrary constantly referred to them and to the earliest printed texts. His *Horace* has been sharply criticized,[13] but the merits of that edition are many and great, as Laistner has recently demonstrated.[14] Bentley possessed that wide learning and knowledge of classical antiquity which he regarded as a prime necessity, and to his task he brought that "divinandi quaedam peritia et *μαντική*," which as he himself said in the preface to his *Horace* could not be acquired by labor or longevity, but was the gift of nature. In truth his critical acumen was hardly to be distinguished from inspiration. Thus he arrived at his results by a happy combination of vast reading, minute and painstaking scholarship, and a gift for conjecture which few have ever possessed.

In 1726 Bentley's brilliance in emendation was again demonstrated by his edition of Terence in which the text was corrected in about 1000 passages, chiefly on metrical grounds. Thirteen years later Bentley published his edition of Manilius to which A. E. Housman, whose own *Manilius* is now itself a classic, pays this tribute:[15]

> "*Lucida tela diei:* these are the words that come into one's mind when one has halted at some stubborn perplexity of reading or interpretation, has witnessed Scaliger and Gronovius and Huetius fumble at it one after another, and then turns to Bentley and sees Bentley strike his finger on the place and say *thou ailest here, and here* . . . . The firm strength and piercing edge and arrowy swiftness of his intellect, his matchless facility and adroitness and resources, were never so triumphant as where defeat seemed sure; and yet it is other virtues that one admires and welcomes as one turns from the smoky fire of Scaliger's genius to the sky and air of Bentley's: his lucidity, his sanity, his just and simple and straight-forward fashion of thought."

Shall I show the reverse of the medal by mentioning Bentley's strange edition of Milton's *Paradise Lost* (1732)? Bentley persuaded himself that the blind Milton was the victim of an unscrupulous editor and a careless scribe who had introduced much that the

poet never wrote and changed for the worse much that he did write. Accordingly, whenever Milton's poetry failed to satisfy Bentley's notion of what he should have written, he detected a "monster of the printer's production," or the hand of the wicked and blundering editor. Bentley therefore introduced over 800 emendations, correcting the "printer's faults" "by sagacity and happy conjecture" and showing that the "editor's interpolations" can be detected "by their own silliness and unfitness."[16]

A few examples of Bentley's tasteless and arbitrary emendations of Milton's poem may be given. Milton relates how "four speedy Cherubim" were sent out with trumpets to summon an assembly. "Four *speedy* cherubim," says Bentley. "Not much need of swiftness to be a good trumpeteer. For *speedy* I suspect the poet gave it, 'Four *sturdy* cherubim.' Sturdy, stout, robust, able to blow a strong blast."[17] "Thither came Uriel, gliding through the *even*" is emended to "Thither came Uriel, gliding through the *heav'n*," because, as Bentley observes, evening is a division of time, not of space, and one cannot come gliding through evening; one might as well say "came gliding through six o'clock."[18] When Eve says, "With thee conversing I forget all time;/All *seasons* and their change, all please alike," Bentley protests: "Our great grandmother Eve, though endow'd with all perfections of mind and body, that human nature could reach to, even before the Fall; yet in her life of one week could have no notion of *seasons*. What she had seen, was *perpetuum ver*; all modern fine seasons, spring, summer, autumn, united together? 'Tis enough for her to say,

> 'I forget all time,
> All courses and their change.'"[19]

Many of Bentley's other emendations of *Paradise Lost* are as bad or worse, and as his otherwise warm admirer, Housman, remarked of Bentley's *Manilius*, he "treats the manuscripts much as if they were fellows of Trinity."[20] It was these infelicitous corrections and Bentley's restoration of the *digamma* to Homer which prompted Pope to write these lines in the *Dunciad*.[21]

> Thy mighty Scholiast, whose unweary'd pains
> Made Horace dull, and humbled Milton's strains.
> Turn what they will to Verse, their toil is vain,
> Critics like me shall make it Prose again.
> Roman and Greek Grammarians! know your Better:
> Author of something yet more great than Letter;
> While tow'ring o'er your Alphabet, like Saul,
> Stands our Digamma, and o'er-tops them all.

Let us turn to Dr. Bentley's career as Master of Trinity College where his arrogant temper quickly involved him in contention with the Fellows. In his efforts to reform the College, the pugnacious Master rode roughshod over the Fellows, and they were unwilling to yield. To the college bursar who protested against extravagant expenditures on the repairs of the Master's lodge, Bentley said that he would "send him into the country to feed his turkeys." The other Fellows were treated in as cavalier a fashion. They bore it as long as they could and finally, after eight years, a petition of 54 counts was brought to the Bishop of Ely against the Master. I shall quote one or two of the counts filed against Bentley:[22]

> "Why have you for many years last past, wasted the college bread, ale, beer, coal, wood, turf, sedge, charcoal, linnen, pewter, corn, flower, brawn, and bran?
>
> "When by false and base practises, as by threatening to bring letters from court, visitations, and the like, and at other times, by boasting of your great interest and acquaintance, and that you were the genius of the age, and what great things you would do for the College in general, and for every member in particular . . . , why did you merely for your own vanity, require them to build a new staircase in your lodge? And when they . . . [refused], why did you of your own head pull down a good staircase in your lodge, and give orders and directions for building a new one?
>
> "Why did you use scurrilous words and language to several of the fellows, particularly by calling Mr. Eden an ass, and Mr. Rashly the college dog, and by telling Mr. Cock he would die in his shoes?"

The Master's gift for vituperation was widely known. The famous classical scholar Jakob Gronovius of Leyden had once been

lashed by Bentley and termed "homunculus eruditione mediocri, ingenio nullo." Now the quarrel with the Fellows was aggravated by a feud, scholarly in origin, between Bentley and Dr. Colbatch, Professor of Casuistry at Cambridge and a Senior Fellow of Trinity. Bentley described Colbatch as "a casuistic drudge," "a plodding pupil of Escobar," "an insect, worm, maggot, vermin, gnawing rat, snarling dog, ignorant thief, mountebank, and cabbage head" whose intellect was as dark as his countenance; his eyes, muscles, and shoulders were wrought up into the most solemn posture of gravity; he grinned horribly; he was probably mad, and his brother's beard was ludicrously long.[23] Colbatch naturally brought an action for libel against Bentley and with the other Fellows of Trinity College fought the Master. Bentley had to face lawsuit after lawsuit; he was deprived of his degrees in 1734, but through a technicality he kept his post as Master of Trinity.

The contest, which has been styled the Thirty Years' War, began in 1710 and ended in 1738. Thus it lasted, as Jebb wittily remarked, a year longer than the Peloponnesian War. Bentley's intellectual despotism had unfortunately been carried over into his official and social relationships, and his rivals at the College he tried to treat as he would corrupt readings in a text of Horace.

It was this same intellectual arrogance which, according to a probably apocryphal tale, almost caused Bentley's engagement to the "object of his affections," to use Monk's delightfully old-fashioned phrase, to be broken off. Bentley had expressed some doubt about the authenticity of the account in the Book of Daniel of the height of Nebuchadnezzar's golden image—a doubt "which made the good lady weep." I am happy to report that the lover's quarrel was resolved, and the good lady became Mrs. Bentley. Of her it is said that she used to send her snuff box rather than a written order to the College buttery when she desired beer. Was the beer for her own consumption? We cannot say. We know only that Dr. Bentley preferred port to claret, which, he said, would be port if it could. And these references to spirituous beverages bring us inevitably to their foreordained abode, Mr. Professor Porson.

(The second of Professor Katz's articles, on Richard Porson, will appear in our April issue—Ed.)

Notes

[1] A. E. Housman, Preface to Arthur Platt, *Nine Essays*, Cambridge (Cambridge University Press), 1927, p. v. Reprinted by permission of the publishers.

[2] J. H. Monk, *The Life of Richard Bentley*, 2 vols., 2d. ed., London, 1833, Dedication.

[3] For a brief appreciation see M. L. W. Laistner, "Richard Bentley: 1742–1942," *Studies in Philology*, 39 (1942), 510–523; cf. I. Bywater, *Four Centuries of Greek Learning in England*, Oxford, 1919, p. 14.

[4] A. E. Housman, *Introductory Lecture . . . University College, London . . . 1892*, Cambridge (Cambridge University Press), 1937, p. 19. Reprinted by permission of the publishers.

[5] E. Abbott and L. Campbell, *The Life and Letters of Benjamin Jowett*, London, 1897, II, 186.

[6] Monk, *op. cit.*; R. C. Jebb, *Bentley*, London, 1882. The standard bibliography is A. T. Bartholemew and J. W. Clark, *Richard Bentley, D.D.: A bibliography of his works and of all the literature called forth by his acts or his writings*, Cambridge, 1908.

[7] Monk, *op. cit.*, I, 48.

[8] *Ibid.*, I, 31.

[9] Monk's error appeared in the first edition of his work, London, 1830, was pointed out in a review by Thomas De Quincey, "Richard Bentley," [1830], reprinted in *Essays on Philosophical Writers and Other Men of Letters*, Boston, 1865, pp. 14–16, and was absent from Monk's second edition.

[10] Monk, *op. cit.*, I, 291, n. 11; cf. Jebb, *Bentley*, p. 36.

[11] J. E. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship*, Cambridge, 1908, II, 405.

[12] Bentley, ed. Horace, *Carm.*, 3. 27. 15 and Praef.

[13] See, for example, B. L. Ullman, "Horace and the Philologians," THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL, 31 (1935–36) 407–409, and H. R. Jolliffe, *The Critical Methods and Influence of Bentley's Horace*, University of Chicago dissertation: Chicago, 1939.

[14] Laistner, *op. cit.*, pp. 521–523.

[15] A. E. Housman, *Manilius*, 2nd ed., Cambridge (Cambridge University Press), 1937, I, xvi–xvii. This and other passages from *Manilius* are reprinted by permission of the publishers.

[16] R. Bentley, *Milton's Paradise Lost*, London, 1732, Preface.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 55, note to II, 516.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 126, note to IV, 555.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 130, note to IV, 640.

[20] A. E. Housman, *Manilius*, I, xviii; see also Housman, *Introductory Lecture*, pp. 20–21.

[21] Pope, *Dunciad*, IV, 211–218.

[22] Jebb, *Bentley*, pp. 105–106.

[23] Monk, *Bentley*, I, 134–136.

We See By the Papers . . . .

We urge all our readers to appoint themselves special clipping bureaus for this department, and to forward material to us suitably marked with the name of the periodical and the date of issue. If an item appears in a magazine that you do not wish to clip, send us the gist of the material on a penny postcard!—The Editors.

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IN THE JANUARY ISSUE this department referred to two comments in a British publication (HORIZON) suggesting interpretations of the character of Americans in terms of ancient peoples. The Carthaginians were seen as "the Americans of antiquity"; and at the same time, with respect to a declining European civilization, America was seen to be assuming the role that Rome played in the long decline of Greece.

From an ex-Foreign Minister of Colombia, Carlos Lozano y Lozano, comes an expression confirming the latter view. After visiting universities in the United States he gave an interview to the Colombian paper SÁBADO, which was reviewed by TIME for December 29, 1947. "The Americans are the Romans of today," he declared, and he pictured American emphasis on material and technical accomplishments, wealth, glamour, and sports as concealing "a soul essentially young and simple." He considered that our culture, retarded during our expansion westward, was at last showing some signs of growth, though far short of intellectual maturity.

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THE CHRISTMAS issue of LIFE, December 22, presented a brief but lavishly illustrated account of the excavation of a limestone tomb discovered in September 1945 at Talpiyoth, a suburb of Jerusalem on the road to Bethlehem. One of the rectangular stone ossuaries found in the tomb has crosses drawn in charcoal on its sides. The inscriptions on the ossuaries include two in Greek which contain the name Jesus: Ἰησοῦς ὁ τοῦ and Ἰησοῦς αλωθ. One in Hebrew is reconstructed to read "Simeon Barsaba." The excavator, Professor E. L. Sukenik of Jerusalem's Hebrew University, dated the tomb on the basis of first-century pottery and a coin of 42 A.D., and interpreted the finds as possibly contemporary testimony of earliest Christianity.

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"THE GRANDEUR that Was Rome—in Africa" is the title of an article in HARPER'S for January. John Douglas Pringle, assistant editor of the Manchester GUARDIAN, gives an engaging description of Greek and Roman physical remains, especially at Cyrene and Leptis Magna, with some speculation regarding the significance of a civilization which flourished for centuries, then was covered over with sand.

A resume of this article appearing in the New York TIMES January 11, for which we are indebted to Professor Harry L. Levy of Hunter College, adds the incidental information that the British general who wrested North Africa from the Germans and Italians during the recent war was saluted at Oxford as "Bernardus Montgomery Africanus."

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THE LATE JUSTICE Oliver Wendell Holmes had a personal great books list, on which he expected to be quizzed by St. Peter on Judgment Day, based on recommendations made by his friend, the late Professor Morris R. Cohen of City College, New York. He read the first volume of Spengler's *Decline of the West*, then went on to Thucydides. He wrote to Professor Cohen: "After Spengler I read Thucydides, the most important books . . . in Greek, the rest mainly in translation. It was my last Day of Judgment Book, and I can die more easily." The correspondence of twenty years between the judge and the philosopher, published at City College in *The Journal of the History of Ideas*, was described in an article in the New York HERALD TRIBUNE for January 8 clipped for *CJ* by Professor John W. Spaeth, Jr., of Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut.

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"IDES OF DECEMBER" is the first head for the column "Topics of the Times" in the New York TIMES December 14, just a day late by *CJ*'s Roman calendar. An account of the jolly customs of the Roman Saturnalia rambles on to the supposed influence of the pagan festival on Christian carnival and Christmas, with due references to Frazer's *The Golden Bough* and Ovid's *Fasti*.

PLEASE TURN TO PAGE 357

In spite of Cicero's political and social bias his program of education remains a worthy ideal

Cicero's Ideal Orator— Truth and Propaganda

Paul MacKendrick

THOUGH CICERO'S *propagandistic work* On the Orator *is, whether by accident or by design, a reactionary document, it contains an ideal of the general and special education of the expert which is full of meaning for our time. Ancient rhetoric or propaganda, democratic in origin, became the device by which the privileged class justified and defended its privilege. The analysis of the devices and attitudes of ancient propagandists can hardly fail to be fruitful in an age when democracy is suffering attacks both from the right and from the left upon its freedoms.*

WHEN, IN SEPTEMBER of the third year of the era of the atomic bomb, a million veterans descended upon American college campuses to continue the greatest experiment in mass higher education in the history of the world, they found in operation there courses in general education of prime importance to them, as to all students and all teachers, and not least the teacher and the student of the Greek and Latin Classics. For these courses, in their laudable intent to provide for the student a common core of experience of the ideas and the institutions, rooted in the past and looking to the future, which make up this world we have at last discovered to be One, direct the student's attention to the great books of Greece and Rome, to Thucydides and Plato, Cicero and Tacitus. These authors, who were the inspiration of the church fathers, the models of the Renaissance humanists, the ornaments of Augustan London, the avocation of the nineteenth century leisure class, are now to be presented to the most hard-headed, efficient, and pragmatic group of young men and women ever to sit in a lecture hall. These students have not the humility of early Christians. They lost their reverence for authority in the war. They are interested in function, not ornament. And they know they are not members of a leisure class. What have the Classics to offer them? The answer to this question is desperately urgent; various teachers will give it in various ways. I base my answer upon a study of ancient rhetoric, or propaganda, considered as basic to the understanding of Greek and Latin literature as it interprets Greek and Roman society.

I shall hope, to begin with, to persuade the student, with all possible tact, that "nescire . . . quid ante quam natus sis acciderit, id est semper esse puerum."[1] With that as a basis, I think I can show him, using Cicero *de Oratore* as my principal text, some of the hard

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nuts he is going to have to crack in this one world of which he is preparing himself to be a citizen. His teachers, the newspapers, the radio tell him that it is a world where capital is set against labor, conservative against liberal, vested interest against common man, "have" against "have-not." Perhaps Cicero can teach him something about the political use of moral terms. In the midst of the tumult and the shouting of modern publicity methods, propaganda is hard to analyze. But the future of his world depends upon his intelligent analysis: let him practice on Cicero. He will be faced, as all his predecessors in lecture rooms and laboratories have been faced, with the conflicting claims of theory and practice. Can he maintain a standard of values and still keep his feet on the ground? Let him discuss the problem with Crassus and Antonius. He is being trained to be an expert. What should his attitude be toward other experts? Toward his teachers? Toward that unfortunate group, apparently ever on the increase, to whom it is now the fashion to refer as "laymen"? Cicero's interlocutors present him with certain not necessarily salutary examples. Finally, when he has fought the good fight and finished the course, how is he to keep the faith? That is, what ideal of action and achievement will he set for himself in his profession? Cicero's *de Oratore*, read with a recreating historical imagination, will set him thinking.

Propaganda in Greece

IF OUR STUDENT thinks that rhetoric went out with McGuffey's reader, let him undeceive himself as he considers a definition from Aristotle:[2] "Rhetoric—or propaganda—is the faculty of discerning . . . in any question presented to it, that which is adapted to produce persuasion or the possible means of persuasion." Can anyone living in the age of the radio commercial, the magazine advertisement, the campaign oration, or "seminars in persuasion" in university "speech" departments believe that rhetoric is a dead issue? It has never been a dead issue since its beginning, and we must not lose our power to analyze rhetoric or propaganda in an age when its correct appraisal is quite simply and literally a matter of life and death.

What were its beginnings? There is some encouragement in the thought that they were democratic. In 466 B.C., when the veterans of Marathon were in their forties and Pericles a young man of 24, a democracy was set up in Syracuse, in Sicily. Exiles, dispossessed by tyrants, returned to find their property in the possession of the tyrants' partisans. Out of their need to justify their claims the *art* of rhetoric was born. The art grew to maturity in Sicily while the Periclean age of enlightenment was at its height in Athens; it was introduced to the eager young men of Athens, then, as always, ever ready to hear or to tell some new thing, by one Gorgias, of Leontini in Sicily, in 427 B.C., the year that Plato was born. Plato's *Gorgias* discusses the nature of propaganda, and brings out that it is an art of flattery, directed to pleasure rather than to making men good. This essentially amoral nature of propaganda is important to keep in mind, whether in an ancient or in a modern context. Is the distinction between propaganda and ethics merely a matter of practice versus theory, or does it go deeper, to the essentials of democratic freedom?

To the most successful of Gorgias' pupils, Isocrates, there was no admissible conflict. In his school were trained orators, historians and princes; Cicero calls him the Master of all rhetoricians or propagandists, "cuius e ludo, tanquam ex equo Troiano, meri principes exierunt."[3] This reference to the Trojan horse is apt, for, in Cicero's time as in ours, the Trojan horse connoted treachery, and Isocrates' teachings, if not treacherous, were at least at variance with the democratic beginnings of the art, and with the democratic practice of Athens' most eloquent democrat, and Isocrates' pupil, Demosthenes. For Isocrates held that the basis of the right to rule is birth; that the people have a vested interest in the prosperity of the aristocracy; and that they can be best governed by a sort of House of Lords, a patriarchate of the landed aristocracy called the Areopagus.[4] It is one of the ironies of literature that one of the great manifestoes of human freedom, Milton's *Areopagitica*, should be named after what is essentially a reactionary document.

The detailed study of the art of propaganda to which all subsequent handbooks, from Cicero to the Trivium of the Middle Ages and beyond are indebted, begins with Aristotle. Besides being the teacher of all succeeding ages, Aristotle was the tutor of Alexander the Great. The army, the administrators, and the successors of Alexander Hellenized the whole Eastern world; with Hellenism came its system of education and its propagandists; and it was their system which the Roman conqueror found when in the second century B.C. he came into the Greek East to be captured in turn by the Greek art of propaganda in education.

Propaganda in Rome

IN THE YEAR 168 B.C. a Greek librarian, Crates of Mallos, was in Rome on an embassy. Returning from a banquet through the ill-lighted streets late at night, he fell and broke his leg; his convalescence was spent in lecturing on Greek literature, using the art of propaganda or rhetoric.[5] Among his hearers we may imagine the brilliant young twenty-one year old aristocrat Scipio Aemilianus. Impressed, as many keen minds have been since, by the daring of the Greek imagination, he gathered about him a circle of intelligentsia, including the historian Polybius, the philosopher Panaetius, the orator Laelius, (to whose memory Cicero a century later dedicated his essay *On Friendship*), and a young comic poet named Terence. The impetus first given to Greek studies by this coterie continued; young Roman aristocrats, despite the fulminations of the elder Cato, went to study in Athens, now a sleepy university town,[6] or in Rhodes. Sometimes other motives operated than the improvement of the mind: Cicero, for example, having attacked in his *pro Roscio* a creature of the dictator Sulla, quite accurately says he retired to Asia Minor "to avoid risk to his health."[7]

The interest thus aroused in propagandistic studies continued throughout Cicero's life and became especially prominent during his periods of enforced leisure. One such period occurred in 55 B.C., when, having returned from exile, he discovered to his intense chagrin[8] that his political significance was gone. In a pique he retired to one of his many villas —the one at Tusculum—and wrote the *de Oratore*.[9]

The treatise *On the Orator*, in keeping with the convention established by Plato, is cast in the form of a conversation held in the somewhat distant past by a group of aristocrats at leisure. The time is the month of September, 91 B.C. The place is the Tusculan villa of L. Licinius Crassus, ancestor of the millionaire triumvir. The interlocutors are Crassus, who is the mouthpiece for Cicero's own views; M. Antonius, the grandfather of Shakespeare's Mark Anthony; and P. Sulpicius Rufus and C. Aurelius Cotta, both young men of impeccable pedigree. Other occasional speakers also come from the cream of Roman society.

Thus the tone of the work is set. The speakers are conservatives; the setting is a rich villa with shaded walks and lush groves, owned by a man whose family wealth was proverbial, having been acquired by traffic in slaves, the working of silver mines, and the judicious purchase of the lands and houses of proscribed citizens. It will surely be no news to our student that Cicero, too, was a conservative. The democratic origins of propaganda are forgotten, as they had been at least since Isocrates, and the discussion is carried on between men in power, interested in propaganda as a device for preserving the *status quo*.

Our student is entitled to ask what were the platform, the policy, and the institutions of this conservative party. Let Cicero himself answer. They called themselves *optimates*: "the best people." It is well to note this political use of moral terms: "Omnes optimates sunt qui neque nocentes sunt nec natura *improbi* nec furiosi nec malis domesticis impediti."[10] Their aim, like that of all who are "sani, boni, et beati," is "otium cum dignitate," and the devices by which they acquire it, and which they must be ready to defend with their lives, are "religiones, auspicia, potestates magistratuum, senatus auctoritas,

leges, mos maiorum, iudicia, iuris dictio, fides (credit), provinciae, socii, imperi laus, res militaris, aerarium."[11] They oppose the dole, the distribution of public land, citizenship for the Italian allies, reduction of personal debt, government construction of public works, and any increase in the number of elective magistrates, or thereby of the patrician class.

The origin of the distinction between patrician and plebeian in Rome is obscure, but was probably racial. At any rate in historical times every effort was exerted either to make the consulship (the holding of which automatically ennobled the holder) a hereditary, restricted privilege of the patrician clans, or to see to it that by intermarriage or other means plebeians elected to the consulship should be or become sympathetic to the hereditary ruling class. The elections to the offices at the bottom of the *cursus honorum* were crucial, since they led to high stakes of permanent power and vast wealth as consul, proconsul, and senator. Hence the bribery, corruption, coercion, and gang warfare which marked Roman elections in Cicero's time. Roman electioneering generated so much heat partly because the whole system inevitably made the political struggle also a class struggle.[12]

The *optimates* have their enemies, but for Cicero "omnis oratio est cum virtute non cum desidia, cum dignitate non cum voluptate, cum iis qui se patriae, qui suis civibus, qui laudi, qui gloriae, non qui somno et conviviis et delectationi natos arbitrantur."[13]

This is the political and social climate which the *de Oratore* reflects. In this light Crassus, in Book I, discusses the qualifications of the good orator; these include, in his opinion, a wide knowledge of the sciences and of philosophy, and especially of civil law. Antonius disagrees, narrowing the orator's requirements to the faculty of pleasing and persuading, without special knowledge. In Book II he develops in detail the methods of conciliating, instructing, and moving the jury. Julius Caesar Strabo (the degree of whose relationship to the author of the *Gallic War* is unknown) is induced to give a frigid dissertation on the use of wit and humor, of which he was regarded as a master, with many illustrations, which do not exactly whet our appetite for more. In Book III Crassus discusses styles, adornments, and delivery.

Cicero's Conservative Bias

WITH THIS necessary background sketched in, we can now try to answer some of our student's questions. First, what evidence can we adduce from the dialogue itself and related works of Cicero's use of pro-conservative propaganda? The most obvious place to look is in the introductions to the various books, where Cicero speaks *in propria persona* to his brother Quintus, to whom the work is dedicated. We find the first complaint on the first page:[14] Cicero has been cheated by the perfidy of his enemies of that *otium cum dignitate* which we have seen to be the conservative's birthright. In the introduction to Book III, Crassus is said to have been fortunate in his death: he did not live to see the national disasters of the years following 91. These are specified: they include the war which gave citizenship to Rome's Italian allies, the rise of difference of opinion in the senate, i.e., the split within the conservative party, the rule of the liberal Marius, with its proscriptions (nothing is said of the conservative proscriptions under Sulla), and the "deformation" of the state, presumably by additions to the citizen body. In sum, the disaster consists in the "improborum dominatus," and the context makes clear that by "improbi" Cicero means the party of the *populares*.[15] All this was written in 55 B.C., before Caesar's constitutional and social reforms were put into effect. By 46, when Caesar's party was in full power, Cicero's complaints have reached an unprecedented shrillness: he writes on orators to escape the ingratitude of his unappreciative age; the republic is dead; night has fallen upon the commonwealth; Cicero's public career and his practice at the bar have fallen in ruins.[16]

The body of the dialogue, too, is full of references with a bias in political matters. Indeed the whole occasion of the meeting at which the discussion of propaganda takes place was political. Furthermore, the pervasive idea in Cicero's "rhetorical" works is variations on old Cato's theme: the orator is "vir bonus, dicendi peritus," with a strong tendency on Cicero's part to interpret the word "bonus" in its political sense. To teach the art of propaganda to "improbi" is "furentibus arma dare." Besides, there is a vested interest in restricting knowledge of the science: "veteres illi, qui huic scientiae praefuerunt, obtinendae atque augendae potentiae suae causa, *pervulgari* artem suam noluerunt." The chief function of the propagandist is "populum . . . inflammare in *improbos*, aut incitatum in *bonos* mitigare." The argument that "multos saepe impetus populi non iniustos esse," and that many secessions of the plebs were in the public interest is advanced as "anceps, inauditus, lubricus, novus," and one not to be brought off without the expenditure of incredible energy and ingenuity. The Gracchi, heroes of the *populares*, "cum civitatem vel paterno consilio vel avitis armis florentissimam accepissent . . . rem publicam dissipaverunt." Their death is held to have been compassed "iure pro salute patriae." Sulpicius, who started his political career as a conservative and switched to the *populares* in disgust at his fellow aristocrats' cheating of the Italians and the poorer citizens of their fair share of political power, is charged with ingratitude. He is a traitor to his class: "quibuscum privatus coniunctissime vixerat, hos in tribunatu spoliare instituit omni dignitate." The idea that the Senate is the servant of the people is repudiated as unmanly Epicurean propaganda; the Senate should drive the people as a charioteer drives an unruly horse. Finally, the student should note the importance attached to "rhetorical" training in defending aristocratic clients charged with extortion, poisoning, murder or embezzlement.[17] Cicero by this time should be established in the student's mind as an almost doctrinaire pro-conservative propagandist.

Theory and Practice

SECONDLY, the student may ask, "How does Cicero resolve the perennial and conflicting claims of theory and practice in the professional man's life?" The special function of Antonius in the dialogue is to play the part of the hard-headed, practical Roman; but if we can find Crassus decrying theory, we have a genuine clue to Cicero's own opinion. That opinion, as a matter of fact, was confused by two conflicting kinds of pride: pride in his practical achievements as an advocate and politician (though he would prefer us to call him "statesman"), and pride in his theoretical studies under Greek teachers. The character of Crassus reflects this confusion. On the one hand he holds that if too many people devote their leisure to philosophy, the state's expediency will suffer. Some use their leisure in ball-playing, dice, or gambling, others in poetry, music, or dialectics. On the other hand, if we are preoccupied with our profession, men of more leisure will pre-empt our propaganda. Crassus also mentions, as a truth too lofty for mere mortals' comprehension, the Platonic—and humanistic—theory of the oneness of all knowledge: "omnem doctrinam harum *ingenuarum* et humanarum artium uno quodam societatis vinculo contineri: ubi enim perspecta vis est rationis eius qua causae rerum atque exitus cognoscuntur, mirus quidam omnium quasi *consensus* doctrinarum concentusque reperitur."[18] In insisting that these arts are *ingenuae*, Cicero does not mean merely that they are fit for free men; they are fit for men who have a *gens*, a family tree, a patent, as it were, of nobility. And he makes of the Platonic unity a parallel to his own conservative political ideal of the *consensus Italiae* and the *concordia ordinum*. As the philosophic unity depends on the Ideas, so, presumably, the political depends upon the benign guidance of the nobility and the Senate. (This is probably not a legitimate deduction from Plato, but it is the one which Cicero pretty clearly makes.) The philosophers may debate these subjects, in their thin and bloodless style, in their holes and corners to pass an idle hour, but for a complete and cogent treatment give Crassus the practical Roman man of affairs, the orator, the propagandist.

In both Antonius' and Crassus' list of commonplaces appropriate for the orator to treat, there occur hints of the titles of Cicero's

own works: *de natura deorum, de amicitia, de legibus, de virtute, de officiis, de re publica*; in fact, there is more than one shy hint in the work that the ideal orator we are seeking is no other than Marcus Tullius Cicero himself. Similarly Mr. T. S. Eliot, whose political, social, and religious opinions Cicero would find thoroughly congenial, in an address entitled "What is a Classic?," by maintaining that the great English classic has not yet been written, gracefully leaves the way open for his humble self.[19]

But if there is confusion in Crassus' thought, Antonius is more single-minded. Both he and Crassus compare philosophy to propaganda as the training ground to the battle, and even Crassus maintains that eloquence is not the offspring of art, but art of eloquence.[20] But Antonius goes further. He condemns Plato, as depicting in his pages an unknown sort of republic, completely in contrast with everyday life and the customs of human communities. Tested by the criteria of propaganda, fustian becomes velvet, and velvet shoddy. Thucydides was no orator; Theophrastus and Aristotle deal in "unexciting and non-controversial subjects"; the poets make more sound than sense. But Cicero reserves his highest praise for Demetrius of Phalerum, the orator of Athens' degradation.[21] What is the use of studying the devices of our ancestors? They are either obsolete or superseded. And besides, a reputation for theoretical learning can prejudice an orator before a jury. Theoreticians prick themselves with the barbs of their own ingenuity.[22] Let Cicero himself have the last word here: what if oratory is as Antonius defines it, a "res quae mendacio nixa sit, quae ad scientiam non saepe veniat, quae opiniones hominum et saepe errores aucupetur"? It may lack standards, but it is intensely practical: the orator carries off the prizes of popularity, glory, and power while the philosopher sits babbling unrecompensed in his corner. If a man is to be praised, let it be for these virtues (and note the order: it betrays Cicero's standard of values): family, wealth, connections, friendships, power, good health, good looks, physical strength, and, last of all, intelligence![23] Leave the theory to the Greeklings; Romans know there is no profit in it. Clearly our student will have to seek elsewhere his synthesis of theory and practice—perhaps in the *Republic* of Plato or in the words of Him who asked, "What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?"

Experts, Teachers, and the "Layman"

By this time our student should be conditioned not to accept Cicero's advice uncritically. What has Cicero to tell him about his relations with his fellow specialists, with his teachers, with "laymen"? The interlocutors in the dialogue, all specialists, treat each other with almost painful politeness. But does not that stem from their common membership in one political party? We have seen in the case of Sulpicius with what savagery Cicero can attack an apostate. Another who disappointed him by joining the *populares* was his friend and pupil Caelius, (who also succeeded Catullus as Lesbia's lover). "So long as he had regard for me and my counsel, in his capacity as tribune, he held out with incomparable firmness on the side of the senate and the *best men* in the state against the turbulence and madness of the most reckless demagogues. . . . He was made curule aedile with the full support of conservative men, but to my sorrow after my departure he fell away from his own past standards, and, imitating the example of men whom he himself had misled, he brought about his own fall."[24]

As for teachers, we should expect the rough and ready Antonius to despise them, but Crassus, too, believes that the trained expert has no need of an advanced teacher if his natural endowments are sound, and Cicero himself speaks elsewhere of the "indignity" of teaching, unless it can be done without wasting time, as the old Roman lawyers did it, setting aside no hour for teaching as such, but satisfying students and clients all at once. Almost certainly Crassus' banishment, during his censorship, of teachers of Latin and Creek rhetoric had a political motive, whatever the aesthetic grounds alleged. Propaganda could be worked both ways, and this was a case of the biter bit. It remained for Julius Caesar to encourage free discussion of all sides of public issues by actually granting citizenship to "liberalium artium doctores."[25] As for the Stoic teachers, Crassus dismisses them as out of keeping with his ideal of oratory, and as not holding the same (material) standard of values as other men;[26] their knowledge is too wonderful for him; he cannot attain unto it.

Antonius, of course, regards the teacher as no better than a wet nurse; teachers are unnecessary beyond the elementary stage; they are "impractical," especially the Greeks; they are full of error, dullness, and inelegance; it is to them that this man of action applies the famous dictum, since returned with interest in many a professorial *tu quoque:* "tardi ingenii est rivulos consectari, fontes rerum non videre."[27]

If our student follows Cicero's advice, he will treat the "layman" with the contempt he deserves. Even though the jurors be "sceleratti, pestiferi, supplicio digni," they must be given what they want; that is, what the ruling class wants them to have. Weak points in an argument must be slid over or evaded entirely; intervals between proofs should be concealed to keep them from being counted. The orator should adopt the "mucker pose," to avoid the appearance of being a sage among fools. His hearers are to be worked on, not instructed. Their emotions, not their judgment, are what count to the propagandist. For—and we must grant Antonius the truth of this—"plura enim multo homines iudicant odio aut amore aut cupidine aut iracundia aut dolore aut laetitia aut spe aut timore aut errore aut aliqua permotione mentis, quam veritate aut praescripto aut iuris norma aliqua aut iudicii formula aut legibus." The orator should seem to deal reluctantly and under compulsion with something he is really anxious to prove. He should avoid suggesting that his client was moved by self-interest. He must not poke fun at popular favorites. In short, the propagandist, like the actor, must work up a specious counterpart of genuine emotion and convince his audience that he feels it.[28] His job is to persuade; considerations of morality are irrelevant.

The Ideal of the Expert

Having come so far with us, our student will hardly look to Cicero to supply him with a high ideal to take with him into his profession. But Cicero is full of surprises. He was a weak man, living in an age which offered many temptations to weakness. He was vain, vacillating, and a time-server. Politically he was reactionary and doctrinaire. But Augustus, who had better cause than most men to know Cicero's shortcomings, found it in his heart to say to his grandnephew, whom he had caught reading Cicero, "An eloquent man, my son, and a lover of his country."[29] Cicero's tragedy was that of Ovid's *Medea:* "Video meliora proboque; deteriora sequor."[30] And so in his "rhetorical" works he keeps in sight that ideal of the expert which his character and the times prevented his ever achieving. It is for the sake of this ideal that the *de Oratore* remains worth reading, despite the ample evidence it offers that Cicero had feet of clay. Let our student topple the idol that is Cicero, if thereby he gain clearer vision of the ideal which Cicero saw, but could not follow.

The ideal orator, then, will be a man of wide reading in the humanities: in philosophy, especially ethics and logic. Logic is the clenched fist; rhetoric the open palm. He will need a knowledge of civil law and history. He must have a sense of humor, and psychological insight to enable him to anger or to touch the judge. He must be able to pass from the particular to the general, to see in each individual case the application of universal law. He must adapt his speeches to occasions and persons: his openings must be tactful, his statement of facts clear, his proof cogent, his rebuttals trenchant, and his perorations vehement. "For the genuine orator must have investigated and heard and read and discussed and handled and debated the whole of the contents of the life of mankind."[31]

Surely this is an ideal worth putting before the would-be lawyer, physician, scientist, business man or engineer. It is, in short, the humanistic ideal; it combines a pragmatic attack upon present problems with a classical allegiance to a heritage. And the fact that Cicero himself never achieved it makes it

only that much more of a challenge to our own time.

The great German historian Theodor Mommsen, in a famous appraisal,[32] speaks of Cicero as a statesman without insight, opinion, or purpose; a fool and a short-sighted egotist; a dabbler who never settled a serious matter; a journalist in the worst sense, abounding in words, poor beyond conception in ideas; a compiler; a stale and empty correspondent, with a thinly varnished superficiality; nothing but an advocate, and not a good one at that. Cicero shows, Mommsen says, absolute want of juristic deduction or political discernment, and so dreadful a barrenness of thought that what is wonderful is not his orations but the admiration they have excited. Mommsen in his life and works showed himself Cicero's better in consistency and courage, and at least his peer in intellectual range. But in this appraisal he throws out the baby with the bath. It somehow succeeds in being sound, up to a point, in each individual criticism, without giving a fair or an accurate synthesis of Cicero's personality as a whole. Perhaps a fairer judgment has been rendered by a man who disliked Cicero as much as Mommsen did, but who had the advantage of living 1800 years nearer to the facts. That man was Asinius Pollio, (the inventor of the *recitatio*), a pessimistic Republican and an honest man, whose independence of speech was proverbial for its ferocity. Of Cicero he had this to say:[33] "I wish he had been able to endure good fortune more moderately and hard times more bravely. For when each had come to him, he thought it could not be altered. . . . He showed more spirit in seeking his quarrels than in facing them. But since perfect virtue has fallen to the lot of no mortal man, one should make his judgments where the greater part of a man's life and talent stands." Cicero, so judged, deserves his place among the immortals.

Propaganda after Cicero: Conclusion

NOT ALL the theory and practice of propaganda in Rome was conservative in bias. A few years after the dramatic date of the *de Oratore*, an anonymous author produced in four books his *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, an undeservedly neglected work, one of the earliest examples of Latin prose, written with a strong sympathy for the *populares* and the Italians.[34] Cicero's work may well be a conservative counterblast to this document. A practical application of rhetorical principles with a liberal bias is to be found in Sallust, parts of Livy, and possibly Vergil. But in general Latin literature is as conservative in bias as it is rhetorical in tone. Under the Empire, the pointed and verbally brilliant style, compared by Macaulay to a constant diet of anchovy sauce, reaches the saturation point with Nero's tutor and prime minister Seneca, and its peak with the last of the aristocrats, the brilliant and saturnine Tacitus. Quintilian, who held a professorship under the tyrannical Domitian, has been described as either wrong or doubtful in all his fundamental educational premises. For with Quintilian rhetorical or propagandistic education reached the point where the art of expression is set above the deeper experiences from which we draw our convictions, and at that point both education and civilization are bound to decay.[35]

After Quintilian the schools put their main emphasis upon style and language. In spite of the protests of Erasmus, the Renaissance humanists like Petrarch fell into this error, and the result was worship of the form instead of critical analysis of the content of Latin. So considered, and only so, it *is* a "dead language," as dead and as beautiful as a butterfly on a pin. But as the language lives in the Romance tongues, so its ideas, with all their human imperfections, live on in our institutions, governments, and laws. It was not merely the form of Latin that the aristocratic democrats Jefferson and John Adams considered when they modelled the American constitution upon the Roman system of checks and balances. The style of Gaius and Justinian is not polished, but the content lives on for better or worse in the legal system of half Europe. And we should not forget that the European continent first knew the mixed blessings of one world government under the Roman Empire.

It would be folly to gloss over the faults of antiquity. Even if we attempted it, our keener students would penetrate the veneer. The past, they know, is not perfect merely because it is past; hence in part the high determination of many of them to improve the present and perfect the future. Cicero and his friends were human beings, with human prejudices, aspirations, and failings. If the modern student can learn from their mistakes, the Classical teacher will not have taught in vain.

NOTES

[1] Cicero, *Orator*, 120.
[2] Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, 1355 b 25.
[3] Cicero, *de Oratore*, 2.94.
[4] Isocrates, *Areopagiticus*, 31–32. On Isocrates' politics see now W. Jaeger, *Paedeia*, III, (Oxford, 1944) 113 ff.
[5] Seutonius *de Grammaticis*, 2.
[6] *de Or.*, 3.43.
[7] Cicero, *Brutus*, 314; *Orator*, 146; Plutarch, *Cicero*, 3.
[8] Cicero, *ad Familiares*, 1.9.23.
[9] Cicero, *ad Atticum*, 4.13.2.
[10] Cicero, *Pro Sestio*, 97. Italics mine.
[11] *Ibid.*, 98.
[12] *Ibid.*, 103: Suetonius, *Divus Iulius*, 38; 39; 41; 42; 44. F. Münzer, *Römische Adelsparteien und Adelsfamilien*, (Stuttgart, 1920); R. Syme, *The Roman Revolution*, (Oxford, 1939).
[13] Cicero, *pro Sestio*, 138.
[14] *de Or.*, 1.1–3.
[15] *Ibid.*, 3.8–12; 2.35.
[16] *Brutus*, 7–9; 328; 330. *Orator*, 148.
[17] *de Or.*, 3.55: cp. the political use of *furiosi* in *pro Sest.*, 97. *de Or.*, 1.186 (Italics mine); 1.202 (Italics mine); 2.124; 2.199–200; 1.38; 2.106; 2.132; 2.165. A. S. Wilkins, *De Oratore* (Oxford, 1892), Introduction, 19. *de Or.*, 3.11; 1.226; 2.105.
[18] 3.56; 3.122; 3.21. (Italics mine).
[19] 1.56; 2.67; 1.95; T. S. Eliot, *What is a Classic?* (London, 1945).
[20] *de Or.*, 1.157; 2.84; 1.146.
[21] *Ibid.*, 1.224; 2.56; *Orator* 62; 63; 68; 92.
[22] *de Or.*, 1.247; 2.156; 2.158.
[23] 2.30; 1.15; 2.45–46.
[24] *Brutus*, 273 (Loeb translation; italics mine).
[25] *de Or.*, 3.125; *Orator*, 142–144; *de Or.*, 3.93; Suet., *Iul.*, 42.
[26] *de Or.*, 3.65–66.
[27] 2.162; 2.69; 2.75; 2.133; 2.117.
[28] 1.230; *Orator*, 24; *de Or.*, 2.292–294; 2.177; 1.221–222; 2.201; 2.178; 2.182; 2.207; 2.237; 2.189; 1.128; 2.193; 3.83.
[29] Plut., *Cic*, 49.
[30] Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 7.21.
[31] *de Or.*, 1.256; 1.68; 1.128; *Orator*, 113; *de Or.*, 1.165–184; 2.36; 1.159; 1.53; *Orator*, 126; *Brutus*, 322; *de Or.*, 2.315; 2.326; 2.292; 2.129; 3.54 (Loeb trans.).
[32] T. Mommsen, *History of Rome*, Book 5, chapter 12.
[33] Seneca, *Suasoriae*, 6.24. Syme, *op. cit.*, 6; 483.
[34] Wilkins, *op. cit.*, 53.
[35] R. Ulich, *3000 Years of Educational Wisdom*. (Cambridge, Mass., 1947), 162.

Note

A FURTHER WORD ON THE ROMAN CALENDAR

I AM glad that Mr. Bernard M. Allen accepts[1] my explanation of the number of days in the ten-month calendar, noting the analogy of the ἔνη καὶ νέα. But I think that my explanation of the origin of the short intercalary month, which he rejects,[2] has much to be said for it, and that the two explanations strengthen one another. The length of this month suggests that it was first used to mark time while an untimely new moon changed to the last quarter. So it should have come close to the correct date for the last quarter. As we don't know the length of the first nameless month, we must try adding the 29 days of the January which later took its place to the 295 days of the ten-month calendar, which addition, as I have shown,[3] places the last quarter neatly on February 23. This result is equally valid if the nameless month had 29 days, or if the named month of 29 days was at first preceded by 295 days. Of course this is not proof, but it seems to me that it is too striking to be ignored when we have so little to guide us. But how often the short month was so used, if ever, and at what stage of the calendar's development, I don't know. It would seem probable that it was after the year had become too long.

JOSEPH DWIGHT
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NOTES

[1] *CJ* 43.164 (December 1947).
[2] *Loc. cit.* 167.
[3] *CJ* 41.274 (March 1946).

———*Classroom*

ROMANCE LANGUAGES IN LATIN CLASS

LATIN STUDENTS may not have the pleasure of being able to speak their foreign language like the modern language students, but they will get a real thrill if it is pointed out to them that, after only a year of Latin, they have the key to all the Romance languages. Our second-year text contains a few Italian sentences which students can translate by using their Latin. This year I added many easy French and Spanish sentences as well. All the members of the class were able to help translate them, and all were very proud of themselves when they realized that they could read four languages besides English. One boy joked, "Gee, I'm wasting my time, staying in school!"

Below are some sample sentences. It is well to explain that a two- or three-letter word containing the letter *l* usually means "the" (*ille*), and that one containing *d* usually means "of" or "of the" (*de*, "about").

ITALIAN

(From *Latin Book II* of the *Language, Literature, and Life* series by Scott, Sanford, and Gummere)

In estate la vita in Italia è (*est*) buona.

In questo (this) libro è la storia d'Italia.

Una nuova via importante in Roma è la Via dell' Impero.

Il secondo mese (*mensis*) dell' anno è febbraio.

"Madre!" disse Carlo, "non posso aprire (*aperire*) la porta!"

FRENCH

La femme et l'homme sont à la porte.

Le nom de la femme est Marie.

Tu finis tes leçons, que sont longues et difficiles.

Ma (*mea*) fille (*filia*) est dans (in) la classe. Le professeur arrive tard.

Le train vient (*venit*), et nous commençons notre (*noster*) voyage. Nous irons (future tense) à Paris pour (to) étudier le français.

SPANISH

Pedro es mi amigo bueno.

Voy (I am going) a obtener una buena nota en latín este (*is*) año. Siempre escribo bien (*bene*) mis lecciones.

Mi amiga me escribe que viene (*venit*) a visitarme el año próximo. Ella (*illa*) vive en otra parte del país (*patria*) y (and) desea ver (*videre*) este estado (omit the *e* and guess).

Ese (*is*) libro fué escrito el año pasado.

FANNYBELLE KISER

Neenah, Wisconsin

ARCHAEOLOGY

The first issue of the Archaeological Institute of America's popular quarterly magazine, Archaeology, *edited by Jotham Johnson of New York University and* CLASSICAL JOURNAL, *appeared in January. Richly illustrated, attractively printed, and bringing the latest in archaeology to the layman in non-technical language, the new magazine steps to the forefront in the current trend toward keeping the public informed of what is going on in specialized fields. The second issue is now in press and will be distributed to subscribers in May.*

The editors remind us that Annual Members of the Institute receive, in exchange for their $10.00 membership fees, either Archaeology *or the Institute's technical quarterly,* the American Journal of Archaeology; *that Sustaining Members of the Institute receive both; and that mail subscriptions to* Archaeology, *at $6.00 per annum (address "Archaeology," New York University, New York 3, N. Y.), will be accepted from non-members.*

To unlock the future—
Sleep in the skin of a freshly-slain sheep by a water-fall
And the spirits of the dead will come.

Incubation-Oracles

Leslie D. Johnston

STUDY OF THE LIFE and customs of classical antiquity can be interesting in many ways. If, moreover, parallels or similarities can be found between the customs of the Greeks and Romans and other peoples at different ages, the conclusions, or presumptions, which seem possible, are fascinating.

In the ensuing article I have collected and compared the data about incubation-oracles, and have made such conclusions as have appeared obvious. In ancient times, as well as modern, incubation-oracles were popular and widespread. The superstitions, the rites and practices, were very much alike.

Much has been said,[1] to be sure, about incubation-oracles, but the three most prominent characteristics, the use of the fresh fleece, the association with the spirits of the dead, and the location near a waterfall, or stream, have not been sufficiently demonstrated. The use of the fresh fleece appears to be common to all. It was the custom for the consultant to sleep on, or wrapped in, the fresh skin of an animal, a sheep in ancient times, which had been slain just before the devotee lay down to sleep. The generally accepted view seems to be that this constituted some sort of purification, or exerted some sanctifying and protecting influence over the person participating in the oracle, but an examination of the evidence indicates rather that the fresh skin possessed a magical power and was unmistakeably connected with the spirits of the underworld, or at least with spirits beyond the realm of the natural. There is a somewhat sinister feeling behind the incubation-oracle, because one called up the dead. It is true, however, that cures were thought to have been effected at the various sanctuaries, and a benevolence was attributed to the oracle, but this does not appear to have been the character of the original rites.

The oracle-consultant who slept upon the raw skin gained contact thereby with the spirits of the dead which were enticed to him by the bloody skin. The best literary account of the power of blood to draw the spirits of the dead is that of the *Odyssey* 11. 23 ff., the description of Odysseus' consultation with the dead seer, Tiresias. This was unquestionably a bit of magic. It was an old belief among the ancients that the dead revealed the truth, or future if the word is better chosen, in dreams and visions.[2] This then was the reason for sleeping upon the fresh fleece. The skin was an assurance of the trueness of the vision.

It is clear from Pausanias' account of the oracle to Amphiaraus near Oropus in Attica that the skin in question was not a part of the purification, for he says (Loeb translation, 1.34.5): "One who has come to consult Amphiaraus is wont first to purify himself. The mode of purification is to sacrifice to the god, and they sacrifice not only to him but also to all those whose names are on the altar. And when all these things have been first

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done, they sacrifice a ram, and, spreading the skin under them, go to sleep and await enlightenment in a dream." Porphyry, *Vita Pythagorae* 17, points to the same feeling. Pythagoras, after having been purified by the Idaean Dactyli, slept during the night beside a river[3] upon the fleece of a black ram. Here also the purification has been performed first. Moreover, the black ram is a sure indication of connection with the dead, or underworld. That appears clear, too, in Pausanias' account, since Amphiaraus is a spirit, or at least a seer who was deified after death. Undoubtedly Pythagoras expected a vision, although we are not specifically told that he did.

Association with the Dead

THE ASSOCIATION with the dead is evident in all the incubation-oracles.[4] Strabo is specific (Loeb translation, 6, p. 284): "In Daunia, on a hill by the name of Drium, are to be seen two hero-temples: one to Calchas, on the very summit where those who consult the oracle sacrifice to his shade a black ram and sleep in the hide, and the other to Podaleirius, down near the base of the hill . . . ; and from it flows a stream which is a cure-all for diseases of animals." Lycophron, *Alexandria* 1047 ff., describes the oracle to Podaleirius, "near Calchas' tomb," and remarks that "to those sleeping upon his tomb in sheepskins the seer truly prophesies by means of a dream." Here one might believe that the trueness of the dream has been emphasized. Tzetzes, in commenting on the passage, merely says that the Daunians, or Calabrians, were accustomed to sleep in sheepskins on the tomb of Podaleirius and to receive prophesies from him in their sleep.

Jerome, *In Isaiam*, Lib. XVIII Cap. LXV,[5] also refers to this custom of sleeping on skins, still done apparently in his time (*hodie*) in the shrine of Aesculapius.

Of all the incubation-oracles, the most interesting is the one described by Vergil, *Aeneid* 7. 81–95, the so-called oracle of Faunus. There is some dispute among scholars as to whether an incubation-oracle to Faunus could be old Roman custom,[6] but Wissowa has stated the case nicely in Roscher's *Lexicon* (col. 1456 *s.v.* Faunus) when he remarks that one has by no means the right to reject the Dream-oracle of Faunus as only a Graecized composition of our poets (Vergil and Ovid).

I propose to translate the passage in Vergil as follows:[7] "But the king (i.e. Latinus), disturbed by prodigies, approaches the oracle of Faunus, his fate-pronouncing father, and consults the groves beneath lofty Albunea whose great woods resound with the noise of a sacred spring (fonte)[8] and whose dark depths breathe forth a deadly vapor. From this place the Italian clans and all Oenotrian land seek answers to their perplexing questions. When the priest[9] has brought hither gifts and has reclined beneath the silent night[10] upon the outspread skins of the slaughtered sheep, and has sought sleep, he sees many shapes of wonderous kinds flitting about, he hears sounds of different voices, he enjoys conversation with the gods, and speaks to Acheron in the depths of Avernus."

The passage goes on to reveal that Latinus, on his part, sacrificed one hundred sheep (the number is not significant except to emphasize the importance of the king), and after spreading out the fresh skins, lay upon them. A voice was then heard, coming from the deep woods. But we are more concerned with the first part. The priest sleeps upon fresh skins and sees marvellous phantoms, unquestionably ghosts in any language, and we are specifically told that he speaks with Acheron, the infernal regions.[11] It is this part of the account which reveals the original oracle.

Numa and Faunus

OVID REFERS to the same oracle of Faunus in his *Fasti* 4. 649–64, in a much similar situation. Both poets indirectly emphasize the antiquity of the oracle by their choice of consultants, i.e., Latinus and Numa. The passage in Ovid may be translated as follows:[12] "There stood an age-old forest, one untouched by the axe throughout the many years, sacred to the Menalian god (Faunus), and so let alone. He was accustomed to give answers to minds quiet in the silent night. Here King Numa sacrifices twin ewes. The

first falls to Faunus, and the other to gentle Sleep. The fleece of each is spread on the hard ground. . . . He (Numa), clothed in a rough garment, places his body upon the fresh (*nova*) fleeces and prays to the god with suitable words. In the meantime, Night, her calm brow girt with poppies, comes and brings dark dreams with her. Faunus is present, and, setting his hard foot upon the skins, proclaims from the right side of the bed such words: . . . . "

Although it is idle to speculate upon the question as to who of the two poets has given us the truer or more original account,[13] W. Warde Fowler regards Ovid's description as the more genuine and Vergil's as having something more of foreign adornment, but Sir James G. Frazer, in his commentary on the *Fasti*, suggests that Ovid's account is based on Vergil's. Either of these worthy scholars may be right, but if the oracle actually existed, and there seems to be little reason to doubt that it did, more than probably both accounts are genuine and equally so. The only artificial elements would be, in Vergil the references dealing with Latinus, and in Ovid those dealing with Numa, and Somnus, and possibly the specific details described in lines 655–8, although I see no real reason to doubt the authenticity of these. The general outline of the oracle is the same: primaeval forest sacred to Faunus; responses at night through dreams; proximity of running water (Vergil's *sacro fonte* and Ovid's *fontana . . . unda*); and sleeping on fresh skins, an act that summons the god. That the skin is regarded as important by Ovid would seem evident by his statement that Faunus set his "hard foot" on the fleeces. Ovid, however, does not mention any association with the dead, or underworld, unless they are alluded to in the *somnia nigra* of line 662. The avoidance of rings on the fingers, abstinence from meat and love-making, is indication that magic is involved, however. Yet, if further speculation is in order, because of this omission of reference to the underworld, and because of the details in Ovid's account, in my opinion, Vergil's description in lines 85–91 is of the original oracle.

Summoning the Dead

THE BELIEF that the dead could be summoned by fresh blood and that true prophesies could then be obtained from them seems to be as old as the *Odyssey* (11. 23–37), if we can believe that such stories as that of Odysseus summoning Tiresias by letting the blood of a slain sheep drain into a pit reveal anything of earlier or contemporary custom. Two most interesting vase-paintings, in this connection, are described by Highbarger.[14] One shows Odysseus about to converse with Elpenor. Odysseus is seated on a rock with sword in hand. With the sword he has slain the sheep, the blood of which drains into the pit, and with the sword he will fend off Elpenor and the other ghosts until Tiresias arrives. The other vase-painting shows the meeting with Tiresias. Odysseus, seated over the pit, holds a sword to keep away the other souls. This follows closely the account in *Odyssey* 11. 23 ff. Spirits of Erebus gathered about the blood, but Odysseus kept them all away until Tiresias drew near and said (Loeb translation 95–6): "Nay, draw back from the pit, hold off your sharp sword so that I may drink of the blood and speak to you true words (*νημερτέα*)."

Just as relevant is a vase-painting described by Frazer in his note to Pausanias 1.34.5, reproduced in *Monumenti Inediti* 4, pl. xix (not available to me). The scene, according to Frazer, shows Odysseus sitting with his feet on the skin of a sacrificed ram, and therefore unquestionably a fresh skin, evoking the shade of Tiresias.

It is clear that the function of the raw skin was to entice the spirits of the dead to the consultant. It is true of all incubation-oracles, whether specific hero-deities, spirits of the dead in general, or Faunus by virtue of his chthonic aspects, are involved.

Among the Celts

IT IS POSSIBLE, however, that similar superstitions among other peoples may lend credence to the existence of such dream-oracles among the Romans. In the first place I refer to the Gaelic or Celtic *taghairm*. This most

interesting custom is described by various folklorists,[15] but most vividly by the poet-novelist, Sir Walter Scott, in his *The Lady of The Lake*, canto 4, stanzas 2–7. The passage is worth quoting at some length (4, 2, 24–26):

"Where sleeps the Chief?" the henchman cried.
"Apart, in yonder misty glade;
To his lone couch I'll be your guide."

4, 4, 1ff.:

"'Tis well advised,—the Chieftain's plan
Bespeaks the father of his clan.
But wherefore sleeps Sir Roderick Dhu
Apart from all his followers true?"

"It is because last evening-tide
Brian[16] an augury hath tried
Of that dread kind which must not be
Unless in dread extremity,
The taghairm called; by which, afar,
Our sires foresaw the events of war.
Duncraggan's milk white bull they slew."

4, 5, 1ff.:

"That bull was slain; his reeking hide
They stretched the cataract beside,
Whose waters their wild tumult toss
Adown the black and craggy boss
Of that huge cliff whose ample verge
Tradition calls the Hero's Targe.
Couched on a shelf beneath its brink,[17]
Close where the thundering torrents sink,
Rocking beneath their headlong sway
And drizzled by the ceaseless spray.
'Midst groan and rock and roar of stream,
The wizard waits prophetic dream."

The description is complete and needs no comment. One might feel, however, that there had been some borrowing from Vergil himself, but even granting that, it is an accurate description of the *taghairm*, as revealed from other sources.[18]

Brian's report is equally striking, if also equally reminiscent of the experiences of Vergil's *sacerdos*. Cf. 4, 6, 3ff.:

"Roderick! It is a fearful strife,
For man endowed with mortal life,
Whose shroud of sentient clay can still
Feel feverish pang and fainting chill,
Whose eye can stare in stony trance,
Whose hair can rouse like warrior's lance,—
'Tis hard for such to view, unfurled,
The curtain of the future world.
Yet, witness every quaking limb,
My sunken pulse, mine eyeballs dim,
My soul with harrowing anguish torn,
This for my Chieftain have I borne!
The shapes that sought my fearful couch,
A human tongue may ne'er avouch."

Another, much similar, method of consulting the *taghairm* was for a company of persons to retire to some remote spot, wrap one of their number in a fresh cowhide, with only his head left sticking out, and so leave him, alone during the night. He thus received answers to their questions and imparted them to his fellows next morning.[19] Any remote and deserted spot was suitable, although the location under a waterfall was the best.

The Germanic Parallel

THE GERMANIC *liodorsaza*[20] also has characteristics similar to the so-called Faunus-oracle, and to the *taghairm*. The earliest account of this seems to be that of Burchard (died 1045) of Worms, in his *Decreta* 19, 5,[21] in which he inveighs against various New Year's practices for determining the events of the coming year: *vel in bivio* (cross-roads) *sedisti supra taurinam cutem, ut ibi futuras tibi intelligeres?* If anyone has done such, he says, penance must be done. Undoubtedly, although Burchard does not say so, the cowhide was fresh, for the mid-winter season was a popular time for slaughtering cattle. In the same passage he speaks of persons sitting on the roof of the house, girt with a sword, in order to foresee the coming events of the new year. This calls to mind Odysseus sitting at the pit waiting for Tiresias. In this case, however, the sword was probably for protection against hostile spirits.

It is possible, as some think,[22] that an earlier reference to the *liodorsaza* is to be found in the works of the Abbot Pirmin (middle of the eighth century) in his *Dicta*:[23] *Nullus Christianus neque ad ecclesiam, neque in domibus, neque in trivio, nec in nullo loco ballationes, cantationes, saltationes, iocos et lusa diabolica facere non presumat.* There is nothing very specific, however, in Pirmin's prohibitions. One can only guess at what activity precisely took place *in domibus* or *in trivio*, which Pirmin regarded as devilish.

Closely similar to the *liodorsaza* was the Norwegian *útiseta* which has been treated in detail by Rudolf Meissner in his article entitled "Ganga til frettar."[24] In this, also, the consultant sat at the cross-roads upon a fresh skin. Meissner (p. 104) cites as a reference Jon Arnason[25] who has described a custom of divination in Iceland very much like those under discussion. The time is New Year's Eve, or Saint John's Eve, and the site is that where four roads meet, roads which lead straight to four cemeteries. This shows an unmistakeable connection with the dead, for the dead know all, and by means of the procedure will be compelled to tell you what they know. The consultant lies wrapped in a cowhide as in the *taghairm*, or in a walrus-skin, and holds an axe in his hand. The axe is to protect the diviner, and calls to mind, again, Odysseus' use of the sword to keep off the spirits of the dead. Such practices as these appear to have persisted till the nineteenth century, at least.[26]

It is possible, also, that this practice of sitting by the cross-roads, or wayside, in order to foresee the future, may be alluded to in the Edda: *opt bǫlvisar konur sitza brauta naer þaer er deyfa sverð ok sefa.*[27]

The Anglo-Saxon Parallel

IN ORDER TO ROUND out our discussion only a reference to some Anglo-Saxon practice is needed, and that is supplied by Ecbert's *Poenitential* 4, 19:[28] *Si quis sortilegia vel divinationes exerceat, vel vigilias suas ad fontem aliquem (his waeccan aet aenigum wylle*[29] *haebbe) . . . habeat. . . .* This divination beside a spring, or well (see the original meaning of well), must surely be a custom much the same as the *liodorsaza* or *taghairm*. In turn, all of these have characteristics very much like the so-called Faunus-oracle as described by Vergil and Ovid.

With such remarkably similar examples from the ancient Greek and Roman writers, from early Germanic (including Norwegian and Icelandic) and Anglo-Saxon folklore, and from what seems to be a survival of an old Celtic custom, one is tempted to assert that the same practice was common to all, namely the consultation of the dead to learn the future. One may call it incubation-oracle. In almost all, the same details appear: sleeping, or in a trance, on fresh skins, beside a stream, or spring, preferably near a cataract, in order to obtain from the spirits of the dead a true prediction of the future. The vision obviously comes from the spirits of the dead, or from deities with chthonic attributes, and the trueness of the prediction is to be emphasized.

In view of the comparisons just drawn, it might be concluded, plausibly enough, that the incubation-oracle described by Vergil and Ovid portray true old Roman custom, but that it is possible that Faunus is an interloper, associated with the oracle by reason of his wild, mysterious, and chthonic character.[30] Even so, that association must have been very early. As for the Greeks, I offer the presumptious suggestion that originally only the unnamed dead gave such oracles, but later, due to the prominence of such hero-seers as Amphiaraus, Calchas, and Podaleirius, the oracles were assigned to them.

An excellent indication of the strong hold that such practices have upon peoples is the modern manner of sleeping in sanctuaries of the Saints, or in churches, in order to be cured of a disease or an affliction, or to see a vision.[31]

Near Running Water

IT REMAINS to emphasize one other interesting common characteristic of the oracles discussed above, and that is the location near a stream of water, and probably near a cascade or waterfall. Frazer has pointed out that the temple of Amphiaraus at Oropus in Attica was situated among springs and brooks with trees all around.[32] The oracle of Calchas at Drium also seems to have been located near a stream,[33] and, as was mentioned above, according to Porphyry's *Vita Pythagorae*, Pythagoras slept on a black ram's skin beside a stream. Although there is some doubt about the Faunus-oracle, scholars are generally of the opinion that it was located near Tibur in the grove of Albunea, probably by the waterfall

of Tibur.[34] This is undoubtedly correct. Further, we have seen that the Celtic *taghairm* was most suitably observed beneath the arch of a waterfall, and Ecbert's Poenitential speaks of the Anglo-Saxon watch beside a "well" (the Latin is *fontem*). Undoubtedly the location beside the running or falling water was important, for it lent mystery and an eerie feeling in the remote woodland, most conducive to the trance, or sleep, into which the consultant must fall in order to behold his vision. The *liodorsaza* and *útiseta* appear to have been observed customarily at a crossroads.

In conclusion, I maintain that the skins upon which the consultant lay, or in which he was wrapped, as he consulted the oracle, exercised no purifying or sanctifying influence, but rather summoned up the wild spirits of the dead, possibly the devil and his minions in later times, and secured from them a true revelation of the future.[35] But to say the least, the consultation of the oracle was a hazardous undertaking if one can believe our great poets, Vergil and Scott.

Notes

[1] Mary Hamilton, *Incubation or the Cure of Diseases in Pagan Temples and Christian Churches*, London, 1906, 84–85; Ludwig Deubner, *De incubatione capita quattuor*, Leipzig, 1900, 24. Jane Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, 3d. ed., Cambridge, 1922, 27, after discussing the "Dian fleece," speaks of magical fleeces and asserts that the skin of the victim has a magical efficacy as medicine against impurities, but while this may be true of the "Dian fleece," it certainly does not fit the case of the incubation-oracle. See further, L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, Oxford, 1907, vol. III, 240; M. P. Nilsson, *Griechische Feste*, Leipzig, 1906, 5–6; J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, 3d. ed., London, 1914, vol. 3, 312 and note 3, and vol. 7, 38, and in his commentary on Pausanias 1.34.5. In the latter, Frazer asserts that the skin was believed to exercise a sanctifying and protective influence over the person who lay wrapped in it. But Wilhelm Kroll, "Alte Taufgebräuche," *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 8 (1905) 27–53, 37, does not agree with this general view, and believes that its influence is rather magical, and so it is. In the case of the *Mysti*, however, he suggests (39) that the sitting on the skins forms some sort of a bond with the god. This is true of many uses of skins in ancient rites, but not so of the incubation-oracle. W. R. Halliday, *Greek Divination, A study of its methods and principles*, London, 1913, 131–132, remarking upon the practices of the Celtic *taghairm* (discussed below) says that the act of sleeping upon the skin is a form of union with magic power. Rudolf Meissner, "Ganga til frettar," *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* 27 (1917–18) 96–105, 103, asserts that the querant transfers the magical power of the hide to himself. Kroll, Halliday, and Meissner are close to the right answer to the question, for it is in the raw and bloody skin that the magical power lies. What that power was thought to do, will be seen below.

[2] See E. L. Highbarger, *The Gates of Dreams, The Johns Hopkins Studies in Archaeology*, no. 30, Baltimore, 1940, 37–38.

[3] The significance of the location by a river or a stream of running water will be discussed below.

[4] See also Kroll, l.c., 39. Eustathius, however, in speaking of Dodona (*ad Iliadum* XVI, 233ff.) says that such prophesies came from Zeus to those who slept in skins. But Zeus is seldom a god of prophesy, and has no part with the incubation-oracle.

[5] Migne, *Patrologiae Latinae* 24, p. 657A.

[6] G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, München, 1902, 174, does not seem positive. Richard Heinze, *Vergils epische Technik*, 3d. ed., Leipzig, 1928, 176, n. 2, doubts it. Frazer does not seem to question it, *Folklore in the Old Testament*, abridged edition, New York, 1923, 228, but in his commentary on Ovid's *Fasti* 4.649, he remarks that the mode of consultation was Greek rather than Roman, but again he raises no question in commenting on Pausanias 1.34.5. W. W. Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, London, 1908, 262–263, regards Ovid's account as the more genuine and Vergil's as having something of foreign adornment. Otto, in *Pauly-Wissowa*, *s.v.* Faunus, col. 2070, maintains that the judgement on the details of the *Traumorakel* of Faunus must be withheld. But see below for further argument.

[7] The passage runs as follows, Aeneid, 7.81–95:

At rex sollicitus monstris oracula Fauni
Fatidici genitoris, adit, lucosque sub alta
consulit Albunea, nemorum quae maxima sacro
fonte sonat saevamque exhalat opaca memphitim.
Hinc Italae gentes omnisque Oenotria tellus
in dubiis responsa petunt. Huc dona sacerdos
cum tulit, et caesarum ovium sub nocte silenti
pellibus incubuit stratis, somnosque petivit,
multa modis simulacra videt volitantia miris,
et varias audit voces, fruitur deorum
conloquio, atque imis Acheronta adfatur Avernis.
Hic et tum pater ipse petens responsa Latinus
centum lanigeras mactabat rite bidentes,
atque harum effultus tergo stratisque iacebat
velleribus; subita ex alto vox reddita luco est.

[8] I should like to have *fonte* mean, with *sonat*, a cascade.

[9] Fairclough, Loeb translation, conceives of a priestess here, but I doubt if any of the feminine sex were involved in such a nerve racking ordeal. Moreover, it would be a tough job for a woman to slaughter the sheep by herself. Unquestionably Fairclough is wrong. So is Edward Ulback, "Sacred Groves of Latium," CJ 29 (1933–34) 661, who thinks of a "prophetess," and so a priestess here.

[10] Cyril Bailey, *Religion in Vergil*, Oxford, 1935, 26, speaks of a temple here, but surely there was no building of any kind in this grove. It was a wild forest with no human associations, and the priest slept *sub nocte silenti*.

[11] I do not see any contradiction in *fruitur deorum conloquio* for such gods could easily be regarded as from Acheron. In fact, *deorum conloquio* is probably an appositive with *Acheronta adfatur*. Faunus, however, can easily be associated with Acheron because of his chthonic aspects, for which see Otto, l.c., cols. 2056–2057, 2065. However, Ulback, l.c., thinks the gods of Olympus are meant, with which idea I cannot agree.

[12] The text of Ovid, *Fasti* 4.649–664:

Silva vetus nullaque diu violata securi
stabat Maenalio sacra relicta deo:
ille dabat tacitis animo responsa quieto
noctibus; hic geminas rex Numa mactat oves.
Prima cadit Fauno, leni cadit altera Somno;
sternitur in duro vellus utrumque solo;
bis caput intonsum fontana spargitur unda,
bis sua fagina tempora fronde tegit;
unus abest Veneris, nec fas animalia mensis
ponere, nec digitis anulus ullus inest;
veste rudi tectus supra nova vellera corpus
ponit adorato per sua verba deo.
Interea placidam redimita papavere frontem
Nox venit et secum somnia nigra trahit;
Faunus adest oviumque premens pede vellera duro
edidit a dextro talia verba toro.

[13] See above, note 6.

[14] *Op. cit.*, p. 8, n. 21.

[15] Halliday, *op. cit.*, 131, quoting from Dalyell, *The Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, 495; Frazer on Pausanias, 1.34.5, and references; Scott's own note on the custom; and J. Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, 4th ed., Berlin, 1876, by E. H. Meyer, vol. II, 934.

[16] Brian, the seer, "fiend-begotten monk," was a fearsome creature himself. See canto 3, 5–7.

[17] The customary place for such oracles was under the arch formed by a waterfall. See Halliday, *op. cit.*, 131.

[18] See the references cited in note 15.

[19] Halliday, *op. cit.*, 131.

[20] *Liodorsaza*, O.H.G. *hleodarsaza*, means "sitting to receive an oracle." *Taghairm*, according to Meissner, l.c., 103, means "echo" (Widerhall), but he quotes T. G. Campbell, *Superstitions of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland*, 31, as translating with "spirit-call," "the calling of the spirits back from the vasty deep."

[21] Migne, *Patrologiae Latinae* 140, 960D. See also *Vita S. Eligii* 2, 16 (Grimm, *op. cit.*, 402): *praeterea quoties aliqua infirmitas supervenerit, non quaerantur praecantatores, non divini, non sortilegi, non caragi, nec per fontes, aut arbores vel bivios diabolica phylacteria exerceantur.*

[22] E. H. Meyer, *Mythologie der Germanen*, Strassburg, 1903, 308.

[23] *Dicta Abbatis Pirmini de sigulis libris cannonicis scarapsus* 22 (Migne, *Patrologiae Latinae* 89, 1041 D; C. P. Caspari, *Kirchenhistorische Anecdota*, Christiania, 1883, vol. I, 176).

[24] Cited in note 1. See also Boehm, *s.v.* Anhang in *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, vol. I, 412; Meyer, *op. cit.*, 308. Such practices were most common during Christmastide.

[52] Jon Arnason, *Icelandic Popular Legends and Tales*, Leipzig, 1862–64, 2 vols., vol. I, 436 (in Icelandic).

[26] See also Meyer, *op. cit.*, 308, of Iceland and Germany. Frazer on Ovid, *Fasti* 4.649, of southern Italy.

[27] Karl Hildebrand, *Die Lieder der älteres Edda*, (*Saemunder Edda*), Paderborn, 1876, *Sigrdrifumal*, 27. Also quoted by Grimm, *op. cit.*, 934. "Oft evil women sit by the wayside, who deaden swords and valor."

[28] Cited and quoted by Meissner.

[29] A "well" here is surely a spring.

[30] Faunus' nature is well suited to such an oracle. He lived in the wild forests, wooded cliffs, and near the rippling spring-waters. Mysterious sounds issuing from these were attributed to him; he was the spirit of these places, wild, fearsome, sometimes good, sometimes bad. Moreover, Vergil, in the lines describing the vision of the priest, says nothing of Faunus. The spirits are vague and indefinite, like those of the Celtic *taghairm*, the Norwegian, or Icelandic, *útiseta*, and possibly those of Pythagoras' dreams beside the river.

[31] Mary Hamilton, *op. cit.*; E. Rohde, *Psyche*, Leipzig, 1894, 174, n. 4.

[32] *Folklore in the Old Testament*, 225.

[33] Jacques Perret, "Calchas et les Bergers chez les 'Metinates ex Gargano'," *Rev. Archaeol.* 10 (1937) 181–198, summarized by Hulley, C. W., 32 (1937–38) 83; Strabo 6.284, translated above.

[34] Frazer, *Folklore in the Old Testament*, 228; J. A. Hild, *Dahremberg-Saglio*, *s.v.* Faunus, col. 1023; Wissowa, *Pauley-Wissowa*, *s.v.* Albunea, col. 1337, and in *Roscher's Lexicon s.v.* Faunus, col. 1456; Otto, l.c.; and L. Preller, *Römische Mythologie*, 3d. ed. by H. Jordan, Berlin, 1881, vol. I, 383.

[35] To be sure, there are practices involving the use of skins in the religious customs and superstitions of the Greeks and Romans which do appear to have some sort of sanctifying and protective associations, but these have no part in the incubation-oracle.

ATLANTIC STATES

The Spring meeting of the Classical Association of the Atlantic States will be held at the University of Pittsburgh on April 23 and 24, 1948 (Friday–Saturday). Headquarters will be at the Hotel Schenley.

AN ANCIENT TRADEMARK



C IVLI BRVNDIS(II?)

Ed. Note—The ancients transported wine and other fluid commodities in tall clay jars of five to eight gallons capacity which, beautiful though they may appear to us, were produced as utensils of commerce, not objets d'art. Frequently the handles were marked with stamps, pressed into the soft clay before baking, to indicate who the potter was.

The photograph above shows, in actual size, the stamp on the handle of a shipping jar which was imported to Caesar's colony at Corinth. It is published here by permission of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens. Miss Virginia Grace, author of the article "Wine Jars" which appeared as *CJ*'s archaeological feature in May 1947, sent with the picture an explanatory note contributed by Mr. Louis C. West, lecturer in Classics at Princeton University. "While the name is new, it seems to belong to a group previously known, which includes such stamps as C IVL PAR (found at Rome), C IVL POLY (found at Rome and at Torre di Palma), C IVLI NICI (found at Ferrara and at Nimes), C IVLI MARCELLI (found at Giulia Nova and at Athens), C IVLI SOE . . . (found at Carthage), C IVLI SVRI (found at Bene Vagienna, Autun, and Trion). The names seem to indicate a group of workmen owned or employed by a certain Gaius Iulius rather than the names of different Roman citizens each with praenomen, nomen and cognomen. The date seems to be the first century B.C.–first century A.D.; the place of manufacture, southern Italy."

In our April issue—

"COIN TYPES AND ROMAN POLITICS"

By Laura B. Voelkel

"WE SEE BY THE PAPERS"

Continued from Page 338

Hesiod is quoted on the age of Saturn, and the piece ends: "The golden age of Saturn was as near to the vision of 'peace on earth, good-will to men' as the old Roman could get as he went about this week's celebration of the Saturnalia."

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PROFESSOR JOTHAM JOHNSON, of New York University, who clipped the above item from the TIMES, also sent in the "Topics of The Times" column for December 15. Commenting on the marked decrease in the number of students taking foreign languages in New York City schools, noted by this department in the January issue, the writer relates the phenomenon to the well-known American predilection for insisting that other peoples speak *our* language. Further it is suggested that one factor discouraging foreign language study "may be that Latin introduces many youngsters to a foreign tongue for the first time. As they grope from amo, amas, amat through the dim forest of the pluperfect subjunctive they may vow firmly, never again, thus to miss the many pleasures that come from a mastery of new languages." A special school committee in New York studying the problem declared that language study must be encouraged for the sake of improving our relations with other nations. "And if we persist in ignoring them (i.e. foreign languages)?" concludes the columnist, "Perhaps, then, *exeunt omnes!*"

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GRANTED THAT LATIN and other difficult subjects may discourage some students, there are still educators who stoutly recommend Greek. "Though the remark may sound austere, it is still true that the study of Greek offers the finest discipline that may be had in literature," says a report of the Commission on Liberal Education of the Association of American Colleges. The report, reviewed in TIME January 19, suggests that the attitude toward the Classics fostered by popular book clubs is a delusion, that literature requires study and is more than entertainment.

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OF THE classics currently popular, whether by way of study or entertainment, Thucydides has received a full share of attention, and the review of Louis E. Lord's book in the February issue of *CJ* indicates the universal and ageless character of his presentation of history. See also a note on page 378 of this issue: We recall that very early in the recent war, before the entry of the United States, the radio news commentator Elmer Davis, who later directed the Office of War Information, wrote an article pointing out parallels between the situation then and the development of the Peloponnesian War. Recently Elsa Maxwell's column reported that John Gunther claimed to be reading Thucydides "to learn all about modern politics and modern war." Perhaps Justice Holmes' inclusion of the book in his "Day of Judgment Book" list (*vide supra*) presents the ne plus ultra in projecting the wisdom of Thucydides into the future.

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PROFESSOR Catherine Torrance of Agnes Scott College, Decatur, Georgia, has sent us an article from the Atlanta CONSTITUTION (Nov. 18, 1947) which is particularly pertinent in connection with E. L. Highbarger's review of *The Singing Farmer* in our February issue. The CONSTITUTION's editor, Ralph McGill, writes that on a visit in Washington he had been talking with a member of the Department of Agriculture about the rotation of crops with leguminous plants to fortify the soil in the South. Asked how long the practice had been in use, he guessed about fifty years. Then the man read to him from Vergil's *Georgics*: " 'Let . . . the husbandman (farmer) sow his golden spelt (wheat) where before thou hadst reaped the pea with wealth of rattling pods, or the tiny vetch crop, or the brittle stalks and rustling underwood of the bitter lupine . . . .' " The editorial continues: "I didn't believe it. I got up and walked over and took the book and read it. It was there, all right. Almost 100 years before the Birth of Christ [*i.e., within the first century.—Ed.*] Virgil had been writing about blue lupine and about planting crops in fields where before had been planted the bitter, or blue lupine, vetch or Austrian peas. All last summer I had been writing about blue lupine as if it were as new as radio or television. Sue Myrick, in Macon, was the Blue Lupine Queen, and I was the King, at least in newspaper circles. And now I learned we both had been scooped by Virgil about 2,000 years ago. It was very upsetting." Editor McGill points out that the art of rotation with legumes was lost to the world after the fall of the Roman Empire, and he concludes that the fall was largely due to the decline of agriculture.

W.C.S.



William M. Seaman

VIA TRIUMPHALIS—UP MONTE ALBANO

An American teacher reports
on a six-weeks' visit to Rome and Italy

A Roman Summer

Lydian Russell Bennett

DID YOU EVER WISH you knew a magic bank with inexhaustible funds? Such a bank has been discovered by those who invested last summer in Rome. Whether one's withdrawals come under the head of information, topics for conversation, or thrilling memories, the supply is never drained.

The first post-war summer session of the American Academy in Rome was held in July and August of 1947. After overcoming many hazards, such as standing in line from 9:00 A.M. until 3:00 P.M. without any lunch, twenty fortunate pilgrims finally boarded the S. S. *Saturnia* on June 27 to sail for Naples, on a quest for adventure and knowledge.

From the time we walked up the gangplank, we were in another world. *Every* sign was in Italian, the food was *pasta*, and discomforts abounded on such a crowded ship; *itaque in tanta rerum iniquitate eventus varii sequebantur*. But fortified with Italian dictionaries and grammars, with typical American good sportsmanship, and, most important of all, with a healthy sense of humor, the thirteen days on the *Saturnia* remain an indelible memory which runs the gamut from deepest disgust to howls of laughter. Regardless of international complications, Neptune and Aeolus were on our side; the weather was perfect.

Eighteen of us women were quartered in one large *camerone* with a bath, which was an approach to luxury, as some cabins housed as many as one hundred men. By rising at 5:00 A.M. the first morning, we were successful in purchasing deck chairs. But since the ship carried only one-fifth enough chairs, a keen daily struggle ensued for the possession of one's own chair. (Was it this experience which fitted us to grapple so successfully later on with the seething crowds on the trams and buses in Rome?) A constant shuffling of name cards on the backs of the chairs took place. Disgusted by this, the writer used a lipstick to mark a huge red X on the back of her chair. A two-hundred-pound man seemed to prefer this particular chair. But after the owner pointed out the mark, he, evidently believing she could not write, very sympathetically and courteously helped to locate the chair each day.

Since only a swinging drape covered the door to our *camerone*, privacy was *nil*. Occasionally haggling with the steward resulted in a clean towel, usually for a quarter tip, and one of our group succeeded in obtaining clean sheets for her bed for the modest sum of two American dollars. The shower could be turned on or off only by the steward. He claimed to understand no English, but just as one stepped into the shower he would open the door and say, "Water on?" Just as one began to recover enough from this shock to ply the soap, the door would burst open and a solicitous voice would ask, "Water hot?" With a frantic gesture to be off, and vainly trying to think of a chilling retort in Italian, the would-be bather knew no further interruption could *possibly* come. But again the door burst open and the voice said anxiously, "Too hot?" After a few experiences like this, our ingrained habits of American cleanliness retreated like a toy army.

Lydian Russell Bennett teaches Latin at East Liverpool (Ohio) High School. Her M.A. thesis (University of Pittsburgh, 1946), a translation of an eighteenth-century Dutch medical work in Latin, on "blue babies," caused a medical sensation. In 1947 she was awarded the scholarship for the Summer Session of the American Academy in Rome, offered by the Ohio Classical Conference.



First row, left to right: Fanny C. Maggiolino, Utica, N. Y.; Marjorie Koppel, Brooklyn; Marie Cotten, Washington, D. C.; Mary Ruth Hertzman, Chicago; Lydian R. Bennett, East Liverpool, Ohio; and Elizabeth H. Ferguson, Detroit.

Second row, left to right: Dorothy Rounds, Cambridge, Mass.; Jane Perkins, Brookline, Mass.; Laura B. Voelkel, Brooklyn; Cordelia Alderson, Lincoln, Neb.; Virginia Lanning, St. Paul, Minn.; Mrs. W. W. Lanning, Canton, Ohio; and Hazel Girvin, Newport, Ky.

Third row, left to right: Richard Marshall, Baltimore; Robert A. Brooks, Cambridge, Mass.; Professor Henry J. Rowell, Director of Summer Session; Richard Payne, Berkeley, Calif.; James Lynch, Pittsburgh; and Justine Dyer, Framingham, Mass.

Not in picture: Mary FitzPatrick, Highland Park, Ill. (*Photo by William M. Seaman*)

One of the Classicists was assigned to a table with ten men, one of whom could speak English. Due to many food allergies and the language barrier, the meals did not progress very gaily for her loquacious type. So she frequently sat in dumb admiration of the talented little man across the table. Always wearing his hat, he ladled the spaghetti to his mouth with both hands, smoking a cigarette at the same time, a feat which even an accomplished grammarian would admit requires some ingenuity. One day our Classicist was served a piece of fish which she dared not eat. After many vain attempts to make the waiter understand, one of the men said something in Italian, and the steward removed the plate and returned with a piece of steak. Delighted, she took a bite and discovered the meat had not been salted. She glanced down the table for the salt dish. Sensing her need, the little man with the hat stood up, reached away down the table for the salt, dipped into it with the fork with which he had been eating, and reached across the table and sprinkled the salt on her steak. Then, tipping his hat, he sat down. Nonplussed for the second, the American murmured "Grazie!," one of the few Italian words she knew. While all eyes at the table watched to see what she would do, she ate the steak. Later, judging from the smiles and nods of approval, she was delighted to realize that a major step in international good will had been accomplished.

Winding slowly through the Azores at sunset time provided a kaleidoscope of rare beauty. The ship ran so close to the shores of the small green islands that houses, vehicles, and the terraced gardens could be seen quite clearly, highlighted here and there by a white church steeple.

Two days later the majesty of Gibraltar engrossed the attention of all. After passing the Rock, we stayed close to the Spanish shore, and then veered northward to Genoa. Here we learned that the decreased speed had been due to a defective motor. But the twenty-four hour delay in Genoa proved an unexpected delight. Two shore excursions enabled us to see the interesting points in Genoa, to become acquainted with a *cambio* and the mysteries of the current procedures of changing money, and also to enjoy a bus trip along the beautiful Italian Riviera to Santa Margherita and Rapallo.

The next day we travelled southward over the soft blue Mediterranean, revelling in the grandeur of the mountain scenery on the left. The last night on shipboard was one of white lunar beauty, lilting songs, and vows of eternal friendship.

Three men died and a baby was born during this eventful crossing. Rumor had it that the poor little thing was named Saturnia, in honor of the ship.

Having been warned beforehand of the dangers in the harbor at Naples, a "stagger" system had been arranged, which provided that four of us should guard the cabin and our luggage an hour at a time. The others were free to stay on deck and watch the famous islands, and to gaze in awe at the fearful havoc wrought by war. Rusting hulks of famous ships, some on their sides, some completely overturned, filled this once beautiful harbor. The quay was badly damaged, and now is in a doubtful state of semi-repair.

Shortly after we docked, a gladsome sight met our eyes in the person of Mr. Laurance P. Roberts, Director of the American Academy in Rome. He came aboard, welcomed us kindly, and gave practical directions about getting through Customs and finding the bus which was to take us all to Rome. With people shouting on all sides of us in a strange tongue, and after interminable questions and delays, we finally completed the Customs. Then, one at a time, preceded by our porter and luggage, we had the horrendous experience of passing for about three blocks between closely pressing lines of beggars, toothless old women, ex-soldiers exhibiting the stumps of arms or legs, and children with their almost naked bodies covered with sores. Our pity was only exceeded by our fright.

Finally we had all reached the big red bus. Then we went to the famous Santa Lucia Hotel for lunch. Here we had the usual spaghetti, wine, and fruit, eaten in a room where the pockmarks of bombing and the smell of fresh concrete were very obvious. Then we started up the highway for Rome.

The typical Italian countryside with groves of ancient olive trees, neat vineyards, and multi-colored farm houses presented a moving picture of interest and vivid color. Here and there to the left would flash a brief stretch of blue sea, while to the right rose the chartreuse-colored Appenines, dotted intermittently with the quaintly lovely hill towns of ancient Italy. It was a thrill to pass Minturnae and its famous excavations.

All along the way evidences of bombed-out villages met our eyes. Among the most memorable were Terracina and Formiae. At one village the brave sign "*Banca*" was displayed above two crates covered by a plank, where men were endeavoring to carry on the financial business of the day.

As we neared Rome in the deepening twilight, less and less signs of war damage were seen. Sometimes we were travelling on the ancient Appian Way, and then again parallel to the old on the new Appian Way, built to facilitate troop movements. Over the entire distance the road was in good condition, except for temporary bridge spans which



Seaman

PROFESSOR HENRY T. ROWELL LECTURING ON MONTE ALBANO.

brought to mind the newspaper stories of the stand the Germans made as they retreated northward from river to river.

After a memorable sunset we drove through the ancient wall of Rome, and found ourselves in a changed world. Lights were gleaming brightly. People were dancing and eating at the innumerable sidewalk cafés. Soft Italian voices rose in song. The magic of the July night was everywhere.

Crossing the Tiber via the Ponte Garibaldi, we climbed the Janiculan Hill, now called Monte Verde, to Via Angelo Masina 5, and were admitted through the grilled gateway of the American Academy by the faithful Giuseppe, who personally protected and advised everyone of us in social, economic, linguistic, and romantic interests throughout our stay in Rome.

Inside the gate we were cordially welcomed by Prof. Henry T. Rowell, the Director of the Summer Session. After walking through the garden and up the stairway through the formal entrance, we entered the *cortile*. Here a long table was set, lighted by tall white candles. We enjoyed an excellent dinner, consisting of spaghetti, veal steak, green beans, eggplant, salad, white bread, fruit, wine and coffee. Climbing the forty gleaming white marble stairs to the second floor, we were shown to our spacious rooms. Any doubts or misgivings any one may have had about the venture were soon lulled to sleep by the music of the fountain in the cortile, while we enjoyed a deserved night's rest in the palatial building we soon learned to call home.

The American Academy is situated near the summit of the highest hill in Rome, where it commands a superb view of the Eternal City. The building was erected in 1895. Interesting archaeological treasures were unearthed while excavating for the Academy, many of which are used in the decorative scheme. The floors are generally of terracotta tile, the walls are painted a soft silvery gray, and the massive furniture is upholstered in heavy white linen. The handsomely-equipped library is both a joy and a challenge. The school merits, both in setting and faculty, the commendation of the most critical, and it was always with a thrill of patriotic pride that we said to the taxi drivers, "*Accademia Americana!*"

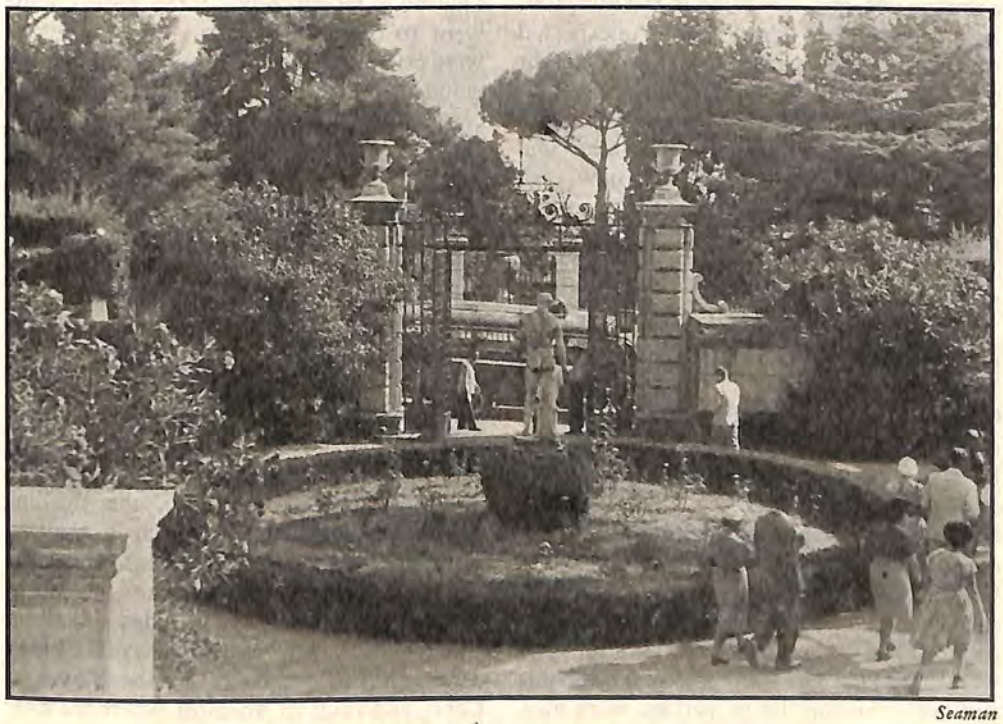
Since we were late arriving, due to the delay of the ship, classes began the next morning immediately after breakfast. The daily schedule usually followed this plan: Breakfast from eight to nine o'clock, field trips from nine until twelve o'clock, lunch at one o'clock, study or *riposa*, tea at four-thirty, lectures from five to six o'clock, dinner at eight o'clock, then study in the library in the cool of the evening. The program was slightly strenuous due to the extreme heat of an Italian summer, but so well-planned, diversified, and interesting that not one item could justifiably have been omitted. According to *sub rosa* information, Professor Rowell has arranged a better course for the summer of 1948, which complies with the suggestions and criticisms he so generously invited at

all times. There were some unorthodox folk who lovingly and loyally referred to the set-up as "Rowell's Reducing Course." In retrospect this cold, winter night, as I write these lines, with ice and snow piled in great drifts outside, one wonders how the summer of 1947 could have been more perfect.

Studying Roman history, art, and archaeology in the Roman Forum or in the Baths of Diocletian is a far cry from reading a book. Climbing over the majestic ruins of the Colosseum, one can almost hear echoes of the shouting throngs which assembled there. Hunting for the site of Cicero's home on the Palatine Hill makes him seem alive and real. Every day's trips gave fresh proof of the "grandeur that was Rome" and the actual life of the people. These trips were either preceded or amplified by pertinent class lectures.

Usually Professor Rowell gave the lectures, but a few special subjects were presented by Prof. A. W. Van Buren, Prof. Dawson, and Dr. Charles R. Morey, cultural attaché of the American Embassy in Rome. Toward the end of the course some of the students prepared and gave lectures on Roman Housing, Roman Marbles, Horace's Sabine Farm, Roman Theaters, Aqueducts and the Public Water Supply, etc.

Among the memorable all-day excursions by bus were the trips to Monte Albano, where we climbed the Via Triumphalis (did we really find the temple of Diana?) and waded in Lake Nemi, and the tour on foot of the vast, impressive excavations at Ostia, now considered the most authentic source of information regarding *mores* in nearby Rome. But most delightful of all was the day we travelled to Hadrian's Villa, examined the intriguing ruins there, which spurred one's imagination, and then rode on to Horace's Sabine Farm. Here the caretaker led us up a steep, winding path through a tangled garden to find the famous spring. After a cool drink



Seaman

CLASS LEAVING THE AMERICAN ACADEMY ON A FIELD TRIP FOR THE DAY, PROFESSOR ROWELL IN THE VAN.

we ate our lunch, seated on the ground in the shade near the site of Horace's villa. Then Professor Rowell recited his favorite sections from the amiable Horace, and suddenly we found ourselves back in another age, wishing this were an hour which would never end. On the way home we visited the Villa d'Este, with its thousand fountains, and enjoyed a plunge in the sulphur pool at Tivoli.

On week-ends, dressed in cool cottons and sturdy American shoes, we tramped all over Rome, visiting the many world-famous churches, museums, and gardens. We were also privileged to attend two canonizations in St. Peter's Cathedral, and a special audience with the Pope was held for women.

While the stores of Rome are not stocked as lavishly as in pre-war days, shopping proved a most fascinating pastime. Those interested in leather goods, pure silk, silver, and *objets d'art* had a wide choice. Wandering along the Via Nazionale or the Via Veneto, the observant shopper frequently discovered a unique gift, and, browsing in the numerous book stores, he found many unexpected treasures. But no matter how many different restaurants were tried, the consensus declared that the Academy had the best food in Rome. Since coffee, sugar, milk, meat and butter are practically unobtainable now, each one of us had been asked to bring sugar, coffee, jello, etc. With this augmented food, the culinary artists at the Academy were able to provide an excellent menu.

Open air symphony concerts in La Sapienza and in the ruins of the Theatre of Maxentius, *carrozza* rides, gay parties at Giovanni's and on the roof of the Academy, delightful impromptu musical entertainments by those attending the Summer Session in Musicology at the Academy, all combined to furnish many pleasant evenings. The open-air operas, given in the ruins of the Baths of Caracalla, presented on a vast stage with an enormous cast of well-known Italian singers, accompanied by a 125-piece orchestra, with wonderful lighting effects and real elephants and horses among the properties, were magnificent spectacles. Besides enjoying the music, one was enabled to observe the modern Roman listening to the opera he loves so well.

The six weeks passed all too rapidly, and soon it was August fifteenth, a day of general celebration throughout Italy, and graduation day for nineteen of us. Brief ceremonies were held, with Professor Rowell and Mr. Roberts giving appropriate speeches, and we were presented with our diplomas. The *Rome Daily American* carried the story. In the afternoon Mr. and Mrs. Roberts entertained with a lovely tea party in the gardens of the sumptuous Villa Aurelia, which is being redecorated for their occupancy.

But there had to be a flaw some place in this summer idyl. One day we learned that the westbound sailing most of us had planned to take had been postponed. A flurry of trips to the steamship office and to the American Consulate ensued. At the consulate we were chagrined to learn that educators are in the lowest priority, which is H. Many wisecracks resulted from this information. Of necessity we were separated; some went to England to return on one of the *Queens*, some went to Scotland to visit relatives, several were privileged to enjoy a week or two in the grandeur of the Swiss Alps, others were successful in obtaining plane reservations, and the rest returned aboard the *Saturnia*, *Vulcania*, or one of the Marine ships.

Fourteen of us spent a week in Naples with Mrs. Mary Raiola, secretary of the Vergilian School of Classical Studies at Naples. Due to her courteous planning, we were able to visit the tomb of Vergil, the vast theatre, the cave of the Cumaean Sibyl, the Phlegrean Fields, and the renowned excavations at Herculaneum and Pompeii. Then we took a bus tour which included the Greek temples at Paestum, the American Cemetery at Salerno, where we placed an enormous wreath, the thrilling Amalfi Drive and lunch at Amalfi, and an overnight stop at beautiful Sorrento. The next day we went by private launch to the Isle of Capri. This eventful day included a climb to the ruins of the villa of the Emperor Tiberius, a reception in our honor by the Mayor of Capri, and a ride to Anacapri, where we were graciously entertained in the spacious and lovely villa of Professor Maiuri. On all these trips from Naples we were accompanied and instructed by Prof. Amadeo Maiuri, President of the Vergilian Society and Director of the world-renowned National Museum of Naples, and by his able assistant, Miss Elia.

In addition to the many happy memories and sights of beautiful Italy, which shall always remain in our minds, is the poignant memory of the dark-haired, laughing children. As an English physician, a nutrition expert, pointed out one day, while we sat at a sidewalk café, greeting and admiring the sweet youngsters who passed, a very high percentage of them have rickets. Their diet of spaghetti and fruit makes them appear plump, but does not produce sturdy bones.

No more pleasant and profitable vacation could be imagined than a summer in Italy. First-hand observation and study of the relics of the past should give us keener insight to interpret the problems of the present. Everywhere we were welcomed by the bravely smiling Italians, who often sing for a supper which does not come. Knowing them, living with them, we now understand and like them better.

When the announcement about the summer session of 1948 comes, most of us will suffer from an acute attack of genuine envy. Complicating this will be the bittersweet pangs of nostalgia for the beloved friends who accompanied us and for the leader we followed daily in our quest for information regarding one of the world's great civilizations.

——*Liber Animalium*

PORCUS

BELLO PROXIMO miles Americanus, multas per gentes et multa per aequora vectus, desiderio miserabili pernae ovorumque dies noctesque affici solebat, neque falsum evasit poetae nobilissimi dictum "sunt lacrimae rerum." Ut res nunc se habet, ita antiquitus. Bene quidem poeta Anglicus quaerit "Qua carne hic noster Caesar vescitur qui vir tam magnus exstiterit?" Cui roganti, si respondendum est, porcina vesci eum confidenter dicemus, quod Romani ante omnes eam carnem malebant. Summa quidem cum veritate declarari potest illud imperium tam firmum tam diuturnum perna cum pane conditum esse. Legiones autem Caesarianae, cum porcina Gallica praestantissima haberetur, haud dubie non ventre inani sed vel perna vel lardo repleto itinera magna faciebant. Stultus quidem est sus sed caro eius nobilissima.

Mirum est quam late porcus in cultu litterisque Romanis pateat. Nullo animali deis saepius fiebat sacrificium. Mensis Aprilis, qui Veneris ad honorem praecipue celebrabatur, nomen cepit ab apro, qui est sus ferus. Aeneae, illi Veneris filio dilecto, si Vergilio poetae creditur, deus suem cum triginta fetibus in somnio praestitit; neque facile dubitari potest, quod temporibus Ciceronianis ad Lavinium oppidum in templo isti triginta porcelli viatoribus ostendebantur aqua salsa conservati. Sed non modo dei sed Romani etiam sues magni faciebant, neque pudebat viros nobiles ab iis nomen ducere: videlicet Cato, vir clarissimus, Porcius nomine erat, quod est Anglice *Hogg*. Saepe etiam puella tenera Romana Porcella nominabatur, quod est *Piggy*. Num tantam ad humanitatem sine suibus pervenissemus?

ANON.

In our April issue—

"MAN: THE MEASURE OF THE CLASSICS"

By Clyde Murley

———Classroom

FAVORITE TEACHING TECHNIQUES

Ortha L. Wilner
Milwaukee State Teachers College

Vocabulary

Vocabulary is the *sine qua non* of any foreign language. You can get the meaning fairly well without too much syntax, you can even get a good deal of the meaning without too sure a control of the inflections; but without words you are lost. A foreign language is, after all, nothing but words used in characteristic ways. In teaching a language, therefore, we are justified—rather we are obligated—to make use of any and every means to enlarge vocabulary.

Nothing can take the place of introducing words in a literary context and helping students to understand them accurately and easily when they first meet them. I read the Latin aloud by thought units and call for ensemble responses that tell the meaning of the units, calling attention to grammatical relationships in the process; and then I require a class to prepare the selection carefully at home. Thus the new words are presented and studied in a context.

Neither can anything take the place of repeated experiences with the same words. Therefore much reading of interesting stories containing the same words in their many inflected forms is essential.

But that is not enough, either. Old-fashioned word lists, memorized and drilled, help to reduce the need for thumbing the dictionary. Frequent quick vocabulary tests of new and old words, word games, flash cards, spell downs, etc. are used. And in such devices words are presented in all their varied inflectional forms, and students are taught formulae for quick translation of cases, moods, tenses, etc., and are drilled on characteristic signs by which forms are to be recognized; e.g., *ducetur*: "e" for the future, "tur" for the passive = "he will be led"; *si ducamus*: "a" for the present subjunctive = "if we should lead."

And even that is not enough; for a prime objective of Latin teaching is to increase English as well as Latin word power. Whenever a new word is met, its association with English derivatives, if there are such, helps to establish quick recall of its meaning; identification of its formative elements in Latin establishes its association with and differentiation from other Latin words, until students can multiply their known vocabulary words instead of adding to them. For instance, *discedo* is learned as "depart," and associated with English "pro*ceed*" and "re*cede*," and "*dis*appear" and "*dis*tribute," and with Latin *recedo*, *recessus*, *procedo*, *excedo*, *accedo*, etc. By the time the same procedure has been applied to *mitto*, *facio*, *fero*, *duco*, and many other words, students are able to recognize easily without specially learning them a large number of compounds and derivatives from simple words already learned. All this, done parenthetically in introducing new words, and repeated patiently over and over, meets four objectives, or maybe five: English vocabulary, Latin vocabulary, principles of language growth, the habit of learning the new by associating it with the old and known, and I hope acquaintance with much miscellaneous material from Roman history and society that may be correlated with contemporary life.

It takes patience and unlimited repetition; but after all, language *is* words, and language is the skeleton key to understanding life.

Reading

The teaching of any foreign language is necessarily the teaching of ideas expressed in the foreign tongue. The ideas prevalent in the Latin authors commonly taught in the schools are more mature and farther removed

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LANX SATURA

Quidquid agunt homines, votum timor ira voluptas gaudia discursus, nostri farrago libelli est.

Public Relations

One of the most active prejudices in professional circles generally is directed against journalism and journalists. Newspaper reporters are trained to think in terms of headlines and to look for the big story; and when the big story is presented out of context and thereby distorted, the specialist or scholar is likely to be sore annoyed. Not infrequently the misrepresentation or premature publication of a discovery may do the individual specialist and his field of research actual damage, as in the case of medical developments when further work may be hampered and false hopes aroused in the minds of the suffering public. Conversely, within professional circles themselves, the colleague who does get his name in the papers, or who gains fame or notoriety, as the case may be, is regarded with suspicion—and, one suspects, with considerable jealousy.

The matter of journalism, however, cannot be disposed of so simply. As in the case of magic, white and black, there is good journalism and bad journalism. The same statement holds good in the parallel fields of public relations, advertising, and propaganda, where it is an axiom that manipulations of opinion should not be recognized as such by the public generally or by that section of it which is to be influenced. One of the classic examples in the field of public relations is that of the Rockefeller family—transformed from robber-barons in the muck-raking period to saintly humanitarians a generation later through the ministrations of the public relations counsel, Ivy Lee.

It is unfortunate, therefore, in our own immediate field of endeavor that the terms "publicity" and "public relations" evoke all sorts of preposterous images, the counterpart of cheesecake art, flag-pole sitting, baby-kissing, and being elected honorary chief of the Grasshopper Indians. Good public relations in our field must satisfy the criteria of good public relations everywhere: they must be carefully and realistically designed to bring the public *en rapport* with our aims and activities, and the methods used must be unobtrusive and unnoticed. These standards for the conduct of public relations necessarily rule out the headline, the scoop, and the dazzling coup that are customarily associated with the art. We have been weakened in the past by a process of steady erosion; our strength in the future will depend upon pressure slowly and steadily exerted at many points.

Since Classicists, as teachers, are in constant contact with the public but have steadily been losing this contact for the past half-century and more, the possibility is worth considering that something is wrong with our public relations. High school teachers have been doing a magnificent job with the program and the materials with which they have had to work; the deficiency would seem to be on the upper level among those in the college departments whose function it must necessarily be to provide leadership on a national scale. Yet it is among scholars that the prejudice against public relations is particularly violent—unfortunately so, since the hierarchy of education is such that the scholar is in the only position from which leadership may be exercised; and if he does not choose to lead, his position still gives him almost unlimited powers of obstruction.

Journalism and Rhetoric

Curiously enough, a large part of the materials with which the Classical scholar deals is in the area of public relations, although the older term is "rhetoric"—essentially the use of words to influence the hearer or reader in a given direction, emotionally or rationally.

Surely the most curious contradiction in the Classical field today is that the scholar, who spends his life dealing with rhetorical materials, so sedulously avoids that which is the objective of rhetoric. As a scholar, to be sure, in the privacy of his study, he must maintain the attitudes of science; but in the classroom and in the lecture-hall, all the arts of rhetoric, of journalism and public relations, are in order.

One may pause to note that Plato, who, under the influence of Romanticism, has replaced Cicero as the representative Classical author, and who has done so much to confirm the concept of objective reality in scholarship, was one of the supreme rhetoricians of history. The beguiling use of the dialogue form deceives the reader into believing that he is listening to a round-table discussion, as it were, in which the truth gradually emerges through "democratic" dialectic. The reader does not stop to reflect that the script for the round-table was written in advance. One may call this art; one suspects, however, that those of other persuasion in ancient times (the Epicureans, for example) may have considered it trickery. And suppose Protagoras had been the supreme master of prose, and Plato had been somewhat awkward as a writer—how different might have been the intellectual history of Europe!

Wherein, then, lies the direction of leadership in the Classical field today? Surely in the re-establishment of the civic context, the public relation, which the Classics enjoyed in the era of the Classical Republicans in England and America—the context that makes certain sections of Polybius and Cicero as surely documents of American political history as the Declaration of Independence. Not that we can go back to the eighteenth century; but perhaps we may examine the great issues of the day, think our way through to basic premises again, and strengthen what is good and fight what is false by recourse to the great radical premises of Classical antiquity. And possibly *the* basic premise, as Ernest Barker puts it, is that Greek philosophy was written in the imperative mood.

The context in which the documents of Classical antiquity are now taught is totally lacking in imperatives; the approach is basically Romantic. On the one hand, scholarship tends to gratify the individual's personal curiosity or to advance his professional interests; on the other, our approach, as teachers in the general area of the "Humanities," is personal rather than public—an appeal "to the sentimental intimacy of the individual man," or, as George Boas puts it, descended from Keats via Tennyson.

Where are our imperatives? If we find them, we shall be the first group in the area of general or liberal education to stand on a firm basis, for at present it is only in the vocational and professional fields that one finds a *must* in the program of study. In the absence of imperatives, our teaching may have enthusiasm, but it will surely be lacking in convictions; and education without convictions is not likely to be convincing.

The Suffering Editor

THE MELANCHOLY DAYS are here again—the days when we teachers, Janus-like, look back and ahead, seeing nothing much to get excited about. September is forgotten; June is too remote for anticipation; and we have just discovered that Back-Row Benny thinks he has to use a first conjugation verb when a first declension noun is the subject. The March hare has nothing on the March school-teacher.

But it is as Editor and Business Manager that we wish principally to speak here, by way of inviting our readers to step into the office and feel sorry for us for a while. This is the slack season, so far as the business end of things is concerned—a good time to settle back and repair the nervous system. We had a pretty bad time last fall; and if you were one of those whose October and November issues of *CJ* were delayed, we should like to tell you about it now.

The trouble is that the handling of subscriptions to *CJ* (or any other magazine) is a rather complicated business, requiring, above all, filing techniques carried to the highest degree of accuracy. It calls for the best secretarial help, the kind that is both hard to get and expensive. Now our problem is that most of our subscriptions pour in during the month of October—and at that time require somewhat more than the full-time services of one highly-trained person. Yet in March there is scarcely enough to keep the same person busy two afternoons a week. And the work that has to be done, as we have indicated, is such that we can't just go out and hire a good office-helper when we need one; and assuming that one were available, it still takes quite a few weeks to break a new one in. In addition to the three-way filing system which has to be mastered along with the Addressograph and Graphotype machines, historical evolution has created in our field of classical organizations a system of fiendish complexity. The process of induction into this system is likely to cause a neophyte to break down and laugh hysterically.

You will understand what we mean, perhaps, if we reproduce a memo which our present very capable assistant wrote to herself one Monday morning last fall:

Bill Nov. ads
Send Jan. ads
Send Dec. ad proofs
Do ACL list
Do CAAS list
Do CAMWS list
Run supplementary
File back supplementary stencils
Run Dec. mailing list
Add new subs. to active list
Cancel requested Dec. subs.
File file cards
Bill Oct. reprints
Get 3¢ stamps
Answer accumulated correspond.
Mk out chks for bills in BPO file
Get back copy order fm. strm.
Phone Joan[1]
Drop dead[2]

Now this magazine is in every sense of the word a co-operative venture. It pays no cash dividends or profits to the publishers or to anyone else; only its readers profit, because all surpluses are turned back into the business. Accordingly, every economy that we can effect, every easement of the load, is to the advantage of the individual reader. And on this basis we ask all of our readers to help us to distribute our office load more evenly.

Please, if you possibly can, see that your subscription or membership dues are sent in to your regional secretary in the course of the spring and summer. Our friends in the New England states have been doing this for a number of years, and we love them for it. This year our Middle West and South readers are being asked to do the same. If we can process the bulk of our subscriptions during the late spring and the early summer, when there is no rush to get things in order for the next mailing list—and thereby reduce the peak in October, we shall be able to render much better service to our readers, and we may be able to work out a plan for keeping a good assistant on a steady part-time basis, thus transferring some funds from office expenses to printing and avoiding the atmosphere of hysteria which usually invades the premises in the autumn months.

Perbenigne feceris!

[1] Not regular office routine.
[2] Regular office routine.

AMERICAN CLASSICAL LEAGUE

A gala Latin Institute will be held under the auspices of the American Classical League at Miami University at Oxford, Ohio, on June 17, 18, 19, 1948. This will be the first national meeting of the League for some years; and the season and the place and the occasion should guarantee a gathering of exceptional interest. Further details will be published in the Classical Outlook, *and in* CJ *as available.*

"Favorite Teaching Techniques"

(*Continued from Page 366*)

from the ordinary experiences of our students than are those prevalent in modern language texts, at least in the elementary years. This in itself constitutes one eminently desirable—howbeit difficult—factor in studying Latin, since it serves to develop mental maturity and broaden mental horizons. But this in itself constitutes one of the graver risks or challenges in the teaching of Latin. It is all too easy for our students to read *words* without fully assimilating the ideas they represent.

To meet this hazard, it is useful *never* to begin or end a passage simply by reading it. Always I begin a class with some discussion of the ideas that were met in the last material read, and with some application of those ideas to the present day and if possible to the experiences of the students. And always I end a class hour with a similar discussion of the ideas they have just read. Although this procedure takes time and may reduce the amount of material read, it is, I believe, necessary, in order to attain the educational goals of the teaching of Latin or of any other foreign language; and to read much is of no value unless the much is read meaningfully: *multa legere nil est nisi bene legas.*

Participles

Participles need offer little difficulty, but they should be introduced into the reading early and naturally. The first ones should appear as adjectives—*puer currens, femina nupta*—and learned as words that agree with their nouns. Our students think concretely, not abstractly, until we have taught them the harder process.

As soon as principal parts are introduced, I teach them the formula "having been—" as the meaning of the perfect participle, with the alternative "being about to be—" associated with the characteristic sign *ur* for the future participles of intransitive verbs. I frankly drill my class on principal parts, always with the appropriate translation associated with each part.

After that there is no trouble when longer participial phrases appear with attendant modifiers. A routine set of questions is asked regularly until participles are well learned: What do you recognize in this word? Is it the fourth principal part? Has it the characteristic *nt* of the present participle? or the *ur* of the future participle? Is it, then, active or passive? What case is it? Then what word does it go with or modify? Then what does it mean? Now can you say what the passage means as *you* would be likely to say it to your friend? The fixed order and wording of the questions is always followed until students learn to make the right observations and draw the right conclusions; and the last step—saying it in natural English—is never omitted, but is often followed by a postpositive question: And what do you think about that idea?

Ablative Absolute

We are often too much afraid of grammar because we are conscious that grammar is only a means by which to get the meaning of a passage, not an end in itself. But it *is* a means to get at the meaning—in Latin, an essential means, because of the highly inflected structure of Latin. The problem is so to teach grammar as to make it function readily in understanding the ideas of the printed page or spoken sentence.

In approaching the ablative absolute, therefore, I read with the class a Latin story in which the construction appears, reading for the sake of the story. The ideas are interpreted—translated if you wish—in order as they appear. The first ablative absolute should consist of well-known words, e.g. *muro aedificato.* Since the participle is a form already learned, the new phrase readily suggests its own meaning and the story is completed. My students from the first meet many phrases to which they cannot attach grammatical nomenclature and are not afraid of them.

Immediately after the story is finished, as a result of class questions if they are asked, I call attention to the phrase and what it consists of and give the construction a name for

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NOTES

Contributions to this department in the form of brief objective notes should be sent direct to the editor, Oscar E. Nybakken, State University of Iowa, 111 Schaeffer Hall, Iowa City, Iowa.

The Use of Rue as a Spice By the Greeks and Romans

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Because of the pungent smell of its leaves, rue is distasteful to most Americans; but it is used to a limited extent by people who like bitter flavors, not only in culinary preparations, but also in beverages. But tastes, like fashions, vary according to time and place and climate. In some respects the likes and dislikes of the Greeks and the Romans with regard to foods and spices parallel ours closely; in some they are divergent. Sometimes, too, we find the Greeks and the Romans in sharp disagreement with each other. With this in mind, it may be of some interest to explore the use of rue in the classical period, for what we learn in the course of such an inquiry will shed just a little more light on the predilections of the Greeks and the Romans and will add, if only slightly, to our appreciation and understanding of them as ordinary human beings, with food preferences that sometimes match ours, sometimes conflict with them. This particular topic has received very little attention. In fact, the only article of any length on rue in the classical period is one by Stadler in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll.[1] The present article is more comprehensive, especially with regard to condimentary uses.

Common rue, *Ruta graveolens* L., also called herb of grace, grows wild in both Greece and Italy.[2] This is the plant usually denoted by Greek πήγανον[3] and Latin *ruta*,[4] although these names in a broad sense included allied species. Thus Theophrastus, describing rue as a typical undershrub[5] with thin, fleshy leaves[6] that tends to become treelike under cultivation,[7] says that there is only one kind,[8] but speaks of a wild form.[9] Dioscorides[10] similarly refers to both cultivated and wild forms of rue, calling the wild form inedible. The plant throve best when set out close to (or grafted on) fig trees.[11]

There is almost no direct evidence that rue was much used in ancient Greece. It is casually mentioned as a seasoning by Alexis of Thurii, a poet of the Middle Comedy.[12] Diocles, an eminent physician of the middle fourth century B.C., says that the best rue was grown in Myra in Lycia[13] and recommends the use of green, unground rue as a seasoning.[14] Except for technical remarks on the properties of rue by other physicians, discussed later in this article, this is the sum total of direct testimony to the use of rue as a seasoning in ancient Greece. The frequent appearance of this condiment in the recipes of Apicius, commented on below, suggests that rue was in more general use than this meagre evidence indicates, since there is marked evidence of Greek influence in his cookbook; but it is hard to believe that this seasoning, if it had been at all popular among the Greeks, could have escaped conspicuous notice in the *Deipnosophistae* of Athenaeus. It is best, therefore, to conclude that in ancient Greece rue played a very minor role as a condiment. This is equally true today in Greece, where it is only rarely raised in gardens.[15]

But in Italy rue was much cultivated in the classical period[16] and enjoyed some popularity even in the republican period, according to Pliny,[17] who says that Cornelius Cethegus at the end of the elections in the consulship of Quintus Flaminius (198 B.C.) distributed to the populace honeyed wine spiced with rue. In general, rue was used by the Romans for much the same purposes as we use parsley. Bunches of it were often pickled in brine for later use.[18] Eggs and rue were often used as a garnish for salt tunny or mackerel,[19] and Capellian sweetmeats were

deftly wrapped in a leaf of rue.[20] The herb was also used in salads[21] and as a condiment in pickling olives.[22] The acerbity of rue was so notorious that Cicero made his reaction transparently clear when he remarked of an impending visit of Lepta, "Rue is coming."[23]

In view of the pungency of rue, it is no surprise on turning to the recipes of Apicius to find caution enjoined in using it as a condiment[24] and that it was often employed in the form of a *bouquet garni* during the cooking,[25] a sprig sometimes being used merely to stir a sauce, after which it was discarded.[26] It is prudent to assume that in his recipes rue was meant to be used invariably with moderation, even when this is not specifically recommended. The herb was used in two forms, green and dried, but in either case was almost always ground or crushed; and the seeds or berries were often also employed in the same manner. In general, Apicius used the leaves or seeds either as a seasoning in the preparation of dishes or in sauces that were added to them, especially in sauces for meat,[27] fowl,[28] and fish.[29]

In the case of the Romans, accordingly, the evidence is clear and explicit that rue was a cultivated plant of some importance and that it was extensively used as a condiment, but generally with delicacy and discretion. The favor which this herb enjoyed in ancient Italy reflects a taste in sharp conflict with that of the Greeks and ours.There are many striking examples of survivals of food tastes in the classical lands, but this is not one, for rue is held in no particular esteem in Italy today.

The physicians often refer to rue, generally not too approvingly. According to Hippocrates,[30] it has a certain congealing property and passes better by urine than by stool. If it is taken beforehand in a potion, it serves as a prophylactic against poisons.[31] Aristotle avers that rue gives the perspiration a foul odor.[32] He also says that rue because of its heating property dispels flatulence when eaten before other foods.[33] Celsus[34] considered it of bad juice, sharp, diuretic, excitative, purgative, and emollient. But Pliny[35] deemed it one of the best medicinal herbs. In the late period, Simeon Seth[36] says that cultivated rue, while less heating and drying than the wild form, forms thick, viscous humours and is diuretic; and Hierophilus[37] characterizes it as heating and drying.

The effects of the opinions of prominent physicians upon the diet of the general population in ancient times were probably negligible. In the case of rue, the adverse views of such an author as Celsus did not deter the Romans from using the herb to spice all kinds of foods and drinks, although generally in moderation.

Notes

[1] *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Second Series, I, 296–300.

[2] Cf. H. O. Lenz, *Botanik der alten Griechen und Römer* (Gotha, 1859) 671; Filippo Parlatore, *Flora italiana* (Firenze, 1848–1894) v, 349. According to E. de Halácsy (*Conspectus florae graecae*, [Leipzig, 1901–1904] I, 311; cf. *Supplementum secundum* [Budapest, 1912] 25), var. *divaricata* Ten. is much more common in Greece than the basic species, and Eugenio Baroni (*Guida botanica d'Italia*, 2nd ed. [Bologna, 1932] 86) and Adriano Fiori (*Nuova flora analitica d'Italia* [Firenze, 1925–1929] II, 150) imply the same is true of Italy. Theodor von Heldreich (*Die Nutzpflanzen Griechenlands* [Athens, 1862] 63) says that *Ruta chalepensis* L. is more common on the islands (cf. Halácsy, *loc. cit.*) and var. *divaricata* on dry hills of the mainland. *Ruta chalepensis* L., which is native in the Mediterranean region (cf. M. Rikli and E. Rübel, "Über Flora und Vegetation von Kreta und Griechenland," *Vierteljahrsschrift der naturforschenden Gesellschaft in Zürich*, 68 [1923] 128) is represented in Greece by three varieties in addition to the basic species (cf. Halácsy, *loc. cit.*).

[3] This word is probably a formation based on **pag-* similar to Latin *pagina* from the same root, in the sense of "fixt fast" or "unite," and is cognate with Greek *πήγνυμι*, as Plutarch correctly observes (*quaest. conv.* 3.1.3), although he erroneously takes the allusion to be to the potency of the plant. Cf. esp. Alois Walde, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 2nd ed., (Heidelberg, 1910) 553. Note Modern Greek *pegani*, *pegania*, *peganon*, and *apeganos;* Old Russian *piganu*; and *pigano* and *pujano* in the province of Bova in Italy (cf. Gerhard Rohlfs, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der unteritalienischen Gräzität* [Halle, 1930] no. 1683). The tendency to apply the name to allied species is still evident today. Theodor von Heldreich (*Τὰ δημώδη ὀνόματα τῶν φυτῶν* [Athens, 1910] 19) calls attention to *agriopeganos* (Fraas) and *pegani* (Sibthorp) as terms for *Ruta montana* L. and *apeganos* (Sibthorp) and *pegano* (Ceryca) for *Ruta chalepensis* L., in addition to *peganos*, *apiganos* (usually), *pegani* (Sibthorp), *pegani* and *pegounia* in Cephalenia (Fraas), and *peganto* (Cestoration: in Epirus) for *Ruta graveolens* L.

'Synonymous with and probably a borrowing of the infrequent Greek *ῥυτή* (Nicand. *alex.* 306, 607) and the source of Italian *ruta*, *ruda*, and *ruga;* French *rue;* German *Raute* (OHG *ruta*); and Anglo-Saxon *rude* (cf. T. G. Tucker, *A Concise Etymological Dictionary of Latin* [Halle, 1931] 210; Otto Schrader, *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde*, 2nd ed., 1917–, II, 217). The Italian names are applied to the various species without much distinction (cf. Otto A. J. Penzig, *Flora populare italiana* [Geneva, 1924] I, 426–427).

[5] *H.P.* 1.3.1.

[6] Id. 1.10.4.

[7] Id. 1.3.4.

[8] Id. 7.4.1.

[9] Id. 7.6.1.

[10] 3.45. Daubeny (in Gunther's ed., 665) refers the wild form to *Peganum harmala* L. and the mountain form to *Ruta montana* L.

[11] Diosc. *loc. cit.* Dioscorides seems to say that the cultivated kind best suited for eating was that which grew close to fig trees, but the interpretation here is uncertain, and it is therefore impossible to put much credence in Pliny's statement (*N.H.* 19.156) that rue nowhere prospered more than under fig trees, since he may merely have garbled Dioscorides' account. Elsewhere we find specific references to grafting rue on fig trees (Theophr. *C.P.* 5.6.10; Aristot. *Probl.* 20.18) and to putting the seeds in figs before they were sowed (Theophr. *C.P.* 5.7.10).

[12] Apud Athen. 4.170.b.

[13] Id. 2.59.a.

[14] Apud Oribas. *Coll. Med.* 4.3.5.

[15] Cf. Theodor von Heldreich, *Die Nutzpflanzen Griechenlands*, (Athens, 1862) 63.

[16] Cf. Plin. *N.H.* 19.156; Colum. 11.3.16, 38; Pallad. 4.9.13; *Geopon.* 12.25.1.

[17] *N.H.* 19.156.

[18] Cf. Plin. *loc. cit.*; Colum. 12.7.5.

[19] Cf. Mart. 10.48.11; 11.52.8.

[20] Id. 11.31.17.

[21] *Moret.* 89.

[22] Cf. Cato *Agric.* 119; Pallad. 12.22.5.

[23] *Fam.* 9.23.2. In this connection, one may note the slang expression "to throw into a rue leaf" (*in rutae folium conicere*) current in the first century A.D. (cf. Petron. 38 and 58), probably roughly equivalent to our idiom "to knock into a cocked hat."

[24] Cf. 3.67; 4.132; 6.289.

[25] Cf. 6.295.

[26] Cf. 8.334.

[27] 6.281; 8.338, 339, 347, 349, 350, 351, 353, 368, 371, 376, 382, 384, 394, 395, 400, 404; 8.405, 406.

[28] 6.213, 222, 225, 234, 237, 242, 257.

[29] 4.152, 154, 157; 8.413, 414, 415, 417, 432, 435, 437, 438, 439, 440; 10.445, 455, 456, 464, 467, 468, 471, 473, 476, 478.

[30] *Diaet.* 2.54.

[31] Cf. Athen. 3.85.b; Galen. 6.610, 793; Sim. Seth p. 82.6 Langk.

[32] *Problem.* 867 b 8 and 926 b 16; cf. Theophr. *de sud.* 10.

[33] Id. 926 b 28.

[34] 2.21, 22, 31, 32; 5.5, 15.

[35] *N.H.* 21.131. Note Priap. 51.21: *salubribus rutis.*

[36] P. 81 Langk.

[37] *Nutr. meth.* 7.4 in Ideler, *Phys. et med. gr. min.*, I, 415.

"Favorite Teaching Techniques"

(*Continued from Page 370*)

convenience in referring to it. It is explained as a natural and easy type of phrase, usually a participle agreeing with a noun, put in the ablative because it has no other use in the sentence. Since understanding is greatly facilitated if students learn formulae of translation as a first step in getting the meaning, I suggest formulae beginning with "as" or "when" for perfect participles and "while" for present participles. Then I put six or eight simple illustrations on the board for immediate practice, followed by six or eight more complicated sentences. They are translated orally in chorus.

Then for several weeks material is read that contains numerous instances of the construction. Regularly when it appears in the stories, I ask a routine set of qeustions: What case is, or may be,——(the noun)? What form do you recognize in——(the participle)? What tense is it? Is it then active or passive? What case is it? What then does it agree with? What construction do you recognize? What words shall we begin with? Gradually after considerable practice the questions are omitted until only the last two are asked, although on any given occasion the whole series may be necessary. In a few weeks the construction loses all mystery and becomes a favorite friend, or to change the figure, a jet-propulsion engine speeding the story onward.

Check List of Recent Books

Compiled by Lionel Casson and George A. Yanitelli, and including books received at the Editorial Office.

1. Ancient Authors

Apuleius. The Golden Ass. 360 pages, ill. Navarre Society, London 1947 12s 6d

Aristotle. De insomniis et de divinatione per somnum. A new edition of the Greek text with the Latin translation by H. J. Drossaart Lulofs. Preface and Greek text, lxxviii+24; translations, index verborum, iv+70 pages. Brill, Leiden 1947 (Philosophia antiqua, vol. 2) 7.50 guilders

Epicurus. Fragmente. Hrg. von Jakob von Haringer. iv+96 pages. Classen, Zürich 1947 4.90 Swiss fr

Plato. H. Groot. Plato en zijn beteekenis voor onze tijd. xii+277 pages. Meulenhoff, Amsterdam 1947 5.90 guilders

3. Linguistics, Grammar, Metrics

Bizos, M. Syntaxe grecque. iv+271 pages. Vuibert, Paris 1947 650 fr

4. History, Social Studies

Burn, A. R. Alexander the Great and the Hellenistic Empire. 297 pages. Hodder and Stoughton, London 1947 5s

Elbée, Jean d'. Constantin le Grand. 232 pages. Juilliard-Sequana, Paris 1947 160 fr

Festugière, A. J. Liberté et civilisation chez les Grecs. 128 pages. La revue des jeunes, Paris 1947 80 fr

Jordan, Charles. César et Attila en Gaule. 175 pages. Aux trois Magots, Paris 1947 150 fr

Levy-Bruhl, Henri. Deux études: Addicere et Auctoritas. 44 pages. Recueil Sirey, Paris (Annales de l'Université de Lyon) 1947 30 fr

Monier, Raymond. Manuel élémentaire de droit romain, Vol. I. 550 pages. Domat-Montchrétien, Paris 1947 630 fr

Raphael, Maxwell Isaac. Prehistoric Pottery and Civilisation in Egypt. Translated by Norbert Guterman. 196 pages, ill. Pantheon, New York 1947 $7.50

Sugranyes de Franch, Ramon. Études sur le droit palestinien à l'époque évangélique. 140 pages. Librairie universitaire de France, Paris 1947 240 fr

Tièche. Festschrift für Eduard Tièche zum 70. Geburtstage am 21. März 1947. xvi+192, 1 pl. Lang, Bern 1947 (order from A. Phiebig, 545 5th Avenue, New York City Price $6.60)

Winlock, H. E. The Rise and Fall of the Middle Kingdom in Thebes. 174 pages, ill. Macmillan, London 1947 30s

5. Philosophy, Religion, Mythology

Armstrong, A. H. An Introduction to Ancient Philosophy. 241 pages. Methuen, London 1947 15s

Barrett, C. K. The Holy Spirit and the Gospel Tradition. 184 pages. Macmillan, New York 1947 $4.50

Bolkestein, H. Vier hoofdstukken over de godsdienst in het leven der Grieken gedurende hun bloeitijd. 130 pages. Tjeenk, Willink & Zoon, Haarlem 1947 4.25 guilders

Brown, Norman O. Hermes, the Thief: The Evolution of a Myth. viii+164 pages. University of Wisconsin Press, Madison 1947 $3.00

Contenau, G. La magie chez les Assyriens et les Babyloniens. Ill. Payot, Paris 1947 (Bibliothèque historique) 300 fr

Goodspeed, Edgar Johnson. Paul. 255 pages, map. Winston, Philadelphia 1947 $2.50

Jaeger, Werner. The Theology of the Early Greek Philosophers. 259 pages. Oxford University Press, London 1947 15s

Jones, Charles W. Saints' Lives and Chronicles in Early England. 245 pages, ill. Cornell University Press, Ithaca 1947 $3.00

6. Archaeology, Anthropology

Annales de l'Institut d'études orientales de la Faculté des Lettres d'Alger. 200 pages. Larose, Paris 1947 250 fr

Baur, Paul, V. C. Excavations at Dura-Europos, Final Report 4, Part 3: The Lamps. 106 pages, ill. Yale University Press, New Haven 1947 $4.00

Collart, Paul. Paul Schazmann, archéologue suisse, 14 mars 1871—5 juin 1946. 33 pages. Rouge, Lausanne 1947 (Collection des études de lettres, 9) 2.50 Swiss fr

Delcourt, Marie. Les grands sanctuaires de la Grèce. 144 pages. Presses Universitaires de France, Paris 1947 90 fr

Edwards, I. E. S. The Pyramids of Egypt. 256 pages. Penguin Books, London 1947 1s

Esperandieu, Emile. Recueil général des bas-reliefs, statues et bustes de la Gaule romaine. T. 12e, suppléments (suite) par Raymond Lantier. 48 pages, 48 pls. Presses Universitaires de France, Paris 1947 500 fr

Grabar, A. Cahiers-archéologiques, II. 180 pages, 24 figs., 28 pls. Van Oest, Paris 1947

Lapalus, E. Le fronton sculpté en Grèce. 488 pages, 38 figs., 18 pls. de Boccard, Paris 1947 (Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome) 630 fr

Loos-Dietz, E. P. de, Vroeg-christelijke ivoren. Studie over de stijlontwikkeling op den overgang van de vierde naar de vijfde eeuw. 181 pages. Assen, Van Gorcum, Leiden 1947 7.50 guilders

7. Epigraphy, Numismatics, Papyrology, Paleography

Robert, L. Hellenica, recueil d'épigraphie, de numis-

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FORTY-FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING

CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE MIDDLE WEST AND SOUTH

MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN, APRIL 1, 2, 3, 1948

Convention Center: Hotel Pfister

(All Meetings for the Reading of Papers in Assembly Hall)

PROGRAM

THURSDAY, APRIL 1

9:00 A.M., *Registration on the Seventh Floor.*

9:00 A.M., *Meeting of the Executive Committee, Secretary-Treasurer's Suite.*

Thursday, 10:00 A.M.

Edith Atchison, *Shorewood High School, Milwaukee, Presiding.*

Russel M. Geer, Tulane University, New Orleans, "A Course in Classical Civilization" (15 minutes).

E. L. Highbarger, Northwestern University, Evanston, "Athens, Delphi and Euripides' *Ion.*"

Francis D. Lazenby, University of Illinois, Urbana, "Household Pets in the Literature and Art of Ancient Greece and Rome."

Rev. Claude H. Heithaus, S. J., Marquette University, Milwaukee, "Roman Interior Decoration" (Color Photographs).

Grace L. Beede, University of South Dakota, Vermillion, "Sons of the Land."

Theodore Bedrick, University of Illinois, Urbana, "Trends in Greek Athletics as Reflected in Ancient Writers" (15 minutes).

Thursday, 2:00 P.M.

Gerald F. Else, *University of Iowa, Iowa City, Presiding.*

Mabel K. Whiteside, Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Lynchburg, Va., "Technique Used in Preparing Greek Plays (original) for the Stage."

Clarence A. Forbes, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, "Old Beer."

Walter Allen, Jr., University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, "The Importance of Cicero's Social Career."

Walter R. Agard, University of Wisconsin, Madison, "Classical Mythology in Medieval Sculpture" (Illustrated).

Thursday, 4:00 P.M.

The Committee on Educational Policies will meet in the North Colonial Room.

Thursday, 7:00 P.M.

Charlotte Ludlum, *First Vice-President CAMWS, Berea College, Berea, Kentucky, Presiding.*

Address of Welcome, John Bohn, Mayor of Milwaukee.

Welcome to Wisconsin (Centennial Celebration), John N. Callahan, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Madison.

Response for the Association, A. Pelzer Wagener, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia.

David M. Robinson, Professor of Archaeology, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md., "Classical Sites in Greece and Italy" (Illustrated in Technicolor). 1 hour.

FRIDAY, APRIL 2

7:30 A.M. *The Mirror Room. State Vice-Presidents will meet for breakfast, Secretary* William C. Korfmacher, *Presiding.*

Friday, 9:00 A.M.

Clyde Murley, *Northwestern University, Evanston, Presiding.*

Eugene S. McCartney, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, "Seafaring Superstitions."

Paul L. MacKendrick, University of Wisconsin, Madison, "Trimalchio."

JOHN M. BRIDGHAM, Grinnell College, Grinnell, Iowa, "Etruria's Legacy to Rome."

RALPH MERRIAM, Chicago, "A Layman's Plato."

ORTHA L. WILNER, Milwaukee State Teachers College, "Some Comical Scenes from Plautus and Terence."

FRIDAY, 12:00 M.

Subscription Luncheon ($1.75 *per plate*), MARS WESTINGTON, *Hanover College, Presiding. Latin songs will be sung, led by Professor Westington; Mrs. Westington at the piano.*

JOSEPH D. VEHLING, Milwaukee, "An Amateur Philologist Looks at *Linguam Coquinariam.*"

Puppet Show, SIGMA PI RHO *Chapter of Milwaukee State Teachers College.*

FRIDAY, 2:00 P.M.

B. L. ULLMAN, *University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, Presiding.*

W. C. SEYFERT, Principal, University Laboratory Schools, University of Chicago, "The Place of Latin in the High School Curriculum."

STEPHEN M. COREY, University of Chicago, "Language Students Learn What They Practice."

GERALD F. ELSE, University of Iowa: *First-year Latin;* GEORGE H. LUCAS, Bordentown Military Institute: *Vergilian Vocabulary;* DONALD G. BAKER, Ursinus College; ETHEL CHUBB, Philadelphia, Pa., *Vergilian Forms. Vergilian Forms;* CLYDE MURLEY, Northwestern University: *First-year Latin;* R. C. STONE, Wheaton College: *Vergilian Constructions;* GRAYDON REGENOS, Tulane University: *Latin Words Unchanged or Slightly Changed in English;* CAROLYN BOCK, Northwestern State College: *Prefixes and Suffixes;* LENORE GEWEKE, Illinois State Normal University: *English Derivatives.*

HAROLD B. DUNKEL, University of Chicago, "Major Emphases of a High-School Latin Curriculum."

FRIDAY, 7:30 P.M.

Fern Room: Annual Subscription Banquet ($3.00 *per plate; formal dress optional*).

B. L. ULLMAN, *University of North Carolina, Presiding.*

Toast: "To the Latin Teacher," IRENE J. CRABB, Township High School, Evanston, Ill. (5 minutes).

Toast: "To the Greek Teacher," OSCAR NYBAKKEN, University of Iowa, Iowa City. (5 minutes).

Recognitions by the Toastmaster of:

Milwaukee State Teachers College: HILARY MEINZER (2 minutes).

Mount Mary College: ELEANOR GROGAN (2 minutes).

Marquette University: SHIRLEY SHERWOOD (2 minutes).

Toast: "The Magister Operandi of a Classical Conference," REV. GEORGE E. GANSS, S.J. Marquette University (5 minutes).

Toast: "To Culture," BRUNO MEINEKE, University of Michigan (15 minutes).

Recognitions by the Toastmaster of:

American Philological Association: JOHN HELLER, University of Minnesota.

Archaeological Institute of America: DAVID M. ROBINSON, Johns Hopkins University.

American Classical League: "Classical Cooperation," WALTER AGARD, University of Wisconsin.

Eta Sigma Phi: A. PELZER WAGENER, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia.

Junior Classical League: FRANCIS D. LAZENBY, University of Illinois.

(*5 minutes each*)

Orpheus and Eurydice: A Dance Interpretation by STUDENTS OF MOUNT MARY COLLEGE, Milwaukee.

Presidential Address: DORRANCE S. WHITE, University of Iowa, "The General Education Movement and the Classics."

SATURDAY, APRIL 3

9:00 A.M.

President DORRANCE S. WHITE, University of Iowa, Presiding.

HELEN CLIFFORD GUNTER, Wilmette, Illinois, "Visual Education in the Teaching of Latin." (Illustrated. 30 minutes).

RUBY M. HICKMAN, Chicago, "The New Look" (20 minutes).

10:00 A.M.

Business Session, Forty-Fourth Annual Meeting, PRESIDENT DORRANCE S. WHITE, Presiding.

COMMITTEES

RESOLUTIONS:

William E. Gwatkin, *Chairman;* Lillian Hadley, Mark E. Hutchinson, Ben J. Narveson, Oscar E. Nybakken, Jonah W. D. Skiles.

SEMPLE SCHOLARSHIP GRANT:

John B. Titchener, *Chairman;* Charles F. Murphy, George McCracken.

GREEK SCHOLARSHIP AWARD

Clyde Pharr, *Chairman;* Russell M. Geer, Warren E. Blake, William C. Korfmacher (*ex officio*).

NOMINATIONS:

James E. Dunlap, *Chairman;* Essie Hill, Robert L. Ladd, Esther Weightman, Hubert M. Poteat, Mrs. Bessie S. Rathbun.

LOCAL ARRANGEMENTS:

Executive: Edith Atchison, Shorewood High School; Father George E. Ganss, S. J., Marquette University, *Chairman;* H. Gudwin Johnson, Washington High School; Ortha Wilner, Milwaukee State Teachers College.

Banquet: Dorothy Gardner, Rufus King High School; Mary Gaunt, Rufus King High School; Hulda Loye, Wauwatosa Senior High School; Mrs. Thomas MacKedon, North Division High School; Leone McDermott, South Division High School; Mrs. O. P. Schoofs, Bay View High School; Alfreda Stallman, Carroll College, Waukesha.

Educational Exhibits: Anna Marie Bachhuber, Nathan Hale High School, West Allis; Carolyn Hazel Handt, Washington High School; Father John Petrauskas, M.I.C.

Paraphernalia: Alice R. Riley, Bay View High School; Grace Schaefer, Pulaski High School.

Publicity: Edith Atchison, Shorewood High School; Mrs. Lawrence E. Cochran; Martha A. Cook, South Milwaukee High School; C. A. Hardt, Concordia College; Donald King, Beloit College, Beloit; Clark G. Kuebler, Ripon College, Ripon; Viola G. Strunk, Walker Junior High; Miss B. Swett, Cudahy High School; Miss Marjorie Stevenson, Milwaukee University School.

Arrangements for Priests and Brothers: Rev. George E. Ganss, S.J., Marquette University; Rev. Edmund J. Goebel, Superintendent of Milwaukee Catholic Schools; Rev. Martin L. Jautz, St. Francis Minor Seminary; Rev. John J. Jolin, S.J., Marquette University; Rev. Claude H. Heithaus, S.J., Marquette University.

Arrangements for Sisters: Sister Mary Carolyn, O.S.F., St. Mary's Academy; Sister Mary Celina, B.V.M., Holy Angels Academy; Sister Mary Chrysostom, R.S.M., Mercy High School; Sister Mary Demetria, Sor. D.S., Divine Savior High School; Sister Mary Dorothea, S.S.N.D., Mount Mary College; Sister Mary Magdaleine, O.S.F., Cardinal Stritch College; Sister Mary Matilda, S.S.N.D., Messmer High School.

Welcoming Committee: Grace Fardy, Waukesha High School; Leone Fenzl, Oshkosh High School; Miss Ruby Hardiman, Whitefish Bay High School; H. Gudwin Johnson, Washington High; Theresa Kleinheinz, West Division High School; Merton S. Lean, Riverside High School; Alma Merrick, Bradford High School, Kenosha; Helen Paulsen, Longfellow Junior High, Wauwatosa; Lorane Raup, Portage High School, Portage; Helen Reilly, West Division High School; Vera Sheffner, Oshkosh High School, Oshkosh; Elva Shields, Central High, LaCrosse; Dorothea Wagner, Central High, Sheboygan; Esther Weightman, Wisconsin High, Madison, *Chairman;* Edna Wiegand, Lawrence College, Appleton.

HOTELS

Hotel Pfister (Headquarters), 425 E. Wisconsin Ave., corner Jefferson Avenue. Rates: single, $3.50 and up; double, $6.00 and up.

Other hotels within walking distance and on the Green Bus Line:

Hotel Astor, 924 E. Juneau Ave., corner Astor Street. Rates: single, $4.00, $4.50; double, $6.50 and up.

Hotel Knickerbocker, 1028 E. Juneau near corner Astor Street. Rates: single, $5.00 and up; double, $7.50 and up.

On the Green Bus Line, a mile or so distant from Headquarters:

Abbott Crest Hotel, 1226 W. Wisconsin Ave., across from Marquette University. Rates: single, $2.00, $3.00, $4.00; double $3.00–$5.50.

Schroeder Hotel, 509 W. Wisconsin Ave., corner 5th Street. Rates: single, $3.55, $4.00 $4.50, $5.00; double, $7.70 and up.

Shorecrest Hotel, 1961 N. Summit Ave., corner Prospect and Lafayette Avenues. Rates: single, $3.50–$5.00; double $5.50–$7.50.

Within a block of the Green Bus Line and a mile or so from Headquarters:

Medford Hotel, 605 N. 3rd Street, corner Michigan Ave. Rates: single, $3.00–$3.50; with toilet but without bath, $2.50–$2.65; double, $4.00–$5.00; with toilet but without bath, $3.50–$3.65.

Plankinton Hotel, 609 N. Plankinton Ave., corner Michigan Ave. Rates: single, $3.00 and up; double, $5.50 and up.

IMPORTANT

Members are urged to make reservations early with Mrs. Thomas MacKedon, 2821 E. Belleview Pl., Milwaukee 11, Wis.

TRANSPORTATION

Milwaukee may be reached by the Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Paul and Pacific, and the Chicago and Northwestern Railroads; by the Chicago, North Shore and Milwaukee Electric Railroad; by the Badger Coach Lines, Cardinal Bus Lines, Green Bay Stages, Greyhound Lines, and Peoria-Rockford Bus Lines; and by the American, Capital, and Northwest Airlines.

The Pfister Hotel may be reached by any Green Bus on West Wisconsin Avenue headed east, or any Green Bus on Prospect or Maryland Avenues headed south or west. Streetcars and buses on Wells Street or Michigan Avenue are almost as convenient. Disembark at Jefferson Avenue. There are several taxicab companies.

——*Note*

THUCYDIDES AND RUSSIAN POWER

NOBODY can read Thucydides without constantly seeing the factors of modern political life recognized 2400 years ago. One important statement of the great historian, however, seems to have remained unnoticed. In Book 2. 97.6 he mentions the Scythians: "No people in Europe equals them in power, and even in Asia no single people has the power to resist the Scythians when all united under a common will."

If we consider that geopolitically the Russians are the successors of the Scythians and that their rulers from Ivan and Peter to Stalin have molded all the tribes of the huge "Scythian" plains under one iron rule, we find Thucydides anticipating Mackinder and Haushofer and all their disciples who either recognized or utilized the famous geopolitical *heartland* theory.

F. M. WASSERMANN
Southwestern at Memphis

BOOK REVIEWS

HORACE

SEDGWICK, HENRY DWIGHT, *Horace, A Biography*: Cambridge, Harvard University Press (1947). Pp. ix+182. $3.00.

MR. SEDGWICK'S PURPOSE in this biography is to recommend Horace to those who are unacquainted with him. He tells the story of Horace's life clearly and simply, and he portrays the poet as a "jolly good fellow," a pleasant dinner companion, a poet of "civilized" men, the kind of person one should like to know better. The book is addressed, not to school children, but to "the middle-aged and the old," to whom, Sedgwick believes, Horace chiefly appeals.

As the author's purpose is to gain new friends for Horace, he emphasizes the most attractive features of the poet's work. He loves to enumerate the poet's virtues, as in the following sentences: "But in the country he shows himself as he is, cheerful, gay, good-humored, friendly, meditative, grateful, reverent, and composed" (p. 53); and ". . . these epistles are friendly, familiar letters plentifully supplied with gaiety, kindness, good sense, wit, and unconcealed affection, and reveal most agreeably why his friends loved him" (p. 126). Sedgwick shares with his readers the many pleasant associations suggested to him by a reading of Horace: a line from Gray's *Elegy*, a mood of Heinrich Heine, an inspired phrase of Luther, the Miracle at Cana, Milton preaching, Tennyson's *Light Brigade*—the list could be extended indefinitely.

The praise of Horace, however, is tempered with criticism. Horace is sometimes "exceedingly dull"; and the second *Satire* of the first book is insipid and repellent as well. Many of the *Satires* and *Epodes*, and a few of the *Epistles*, Sedgwick advises the reader to skip, remarking that they are of interest only to the scholar, who is by definition "a man who dares not skip."

The nature and scope of the volume preclude any detailed treatment of the many controversies that center about the life and writings of Horace. Difficult problems of chronology, sources, literary theory and practice, are mentioned only briefly or not at all. Indeed, the reader sometimes detects in the book a certain antagonism toward scholarship. Yet Sedgwick seldom hesitates to take a stand on any controversial matters that may enter into his exposition, and on several occasions he defends his views at some length. The problems that interest him are those that have a bearing on the moral character of Horace and his friends. He argues, for example, that Maecenas was not a fop, that Lyde was not a trollop, and that Horace did not have a villa at Tibur. In each instance the conclusive argument is drawn from his conception of the character of Horace.

The book contains extended quotations from Horace, both in Latin and in English translation. Most of the translations (including both prose and verse) were made by the author, and they reflect the same freedom and ease that characterize the rest of the book. Often they are hardly more than paraphrases, amplifying, condensing, and altering the text at will. The name of Lucretius, for instance, is inserted into the translation of *Sat.* 1. 5; *Epist.* 2. 2 is shortened almost beyond recognition; and the final lines of *Epist.* 1. 3 are rearranged. The phrase "posset qui ferre secundas" (*Sat.* 1. 9. 46) is translated: "who could render your affairs prosperous." We must of course recognize that the author is entitled to present Horace's poems to the reader in the form which he considers most appropriate to his purpose; but to

one who believes that an accurate text is the first requisite for the study of an ancient author, unnecessary freedom appears undesirable even in a translation.

Latin teachers will no doubt welcome Sedgwick's book as a testimonial to the perennial appeal of Horace's poems, and they will enjoy its lively and lucid account of the story of Horace's life. If it achieves its broader purpose of winning new readers for Horace, it will have performed a worthwhile task that more scholarly works are too often unable to achieve.

PHILLIP DE LACY
University of Chicago

Current Events

Vergilian Society

A Report

CONCERNING ACTIVITIES of the Vergilian Society which were announced in an advertisement in the present issue of *CJ*, the editors have received communications from Mrs. Mary E. Raiola, in charge of the Classical Summer School of Cumae, and Mrs. Lily Hawkinson of Upland, California, one of our subscribers, who was with Mrs. Raiola in Naples last summer.

The report is that the Classical Summer School, which was expected to convene its first session since before the war, did not open because of the shortage of housing and transportation facilities. Furthermore the villa at Cumae which housed the school had been pillaged by occupying troops during the war, and furniture, books, and works of art were stolen or destroyed.

However, although no formal course of instruction was given, transient students appeared during the summer. In August a group from the School of Classical Studies of the American Academy in Rome was conducted on a week's tour which included Naples, Cumae, Pompeii, Herculaneum, Puteoli, Baiae, Misenum, Paestum, Amalfi, Sorrento, and Capri, with Professor Amadeo Maiuri, Director of the National Museum of Naples, and Professor Olga Elia, in charge of excavations at Pompeii, as guides and lecturers.

Mrs. Hawkinson writes enthusiastically of Cumae and other places that she visited during the summer. Of Puteoli, for example: "I saw there the temple of Serapis and the amphitheater of Diocletian. This is far more interesting than Rome's Colosseum. It is older and has the added distinction of being the training and mating place for the animals shipped in from Africa. Long corridors underground solidly built, as only Romans could build, well ventilated and well supplied with water, connected the rooms which held the leopards and tigers so necessary for Roman holidays all over Italy." Of Professor Maiuri she says: "Although he lectures in Italian, one familiar with Latin can understand him, so beautifully modulated and carefully enunciated are his words."

Next summer's activities may be expected to be unusually significant in view of the bicentenary program of which the following announcement has been received.

CELEBRATION OF THE BICENTENARY OF THE EXCAVATIONS AT POMPEII

APRIL-SEPTEMBER 1948

April. COMMEMORATION of the bicentenary of the excavations at Pompeii in the great hall of the Naples Society of Sciences, Letters, and Fine Arts in the University building.

MESSAGE to Italian and foreign universities and academies to be read by all on the same day so that they also will take part in the commemoration of the bicentenary.

INAUGURATION of a Pompeian bibliographical exhibit in the Salon of the University Library of Naples. Exhibition of publications and prints illustrating more especially the scientific side of the work and the progress of the excavations from 1748 until today. Special attention will be called to the great publications of the Herculaneum Academy and to the great Italian and foreign collections on the excavations at Pompeii and Herculaneum.

May-June. REOPENING of the Pompeian Museum, enlarged and rearranged after the war damages of 1943. Besides the Italian authorities and leading representatives of culture and art, the directors of the foreign archaeological and historical institutes and academies in Rome and Italian and foreign Pompeian scholars are expected at this inauguration.

INAUGURATION and illustrations of the buildings excavated for the occasion of the bicentenary. The villa of Julia Felice, completion of the excavations of the great gymnasium. (This part of the program will depend on the grant of the necessary funds.)

REARRANGEMENT and reopening of the Pompeian collections of the National Museum of Naples. Paintings, household goods, silverware, farm implements and trade tools.

May. WEEKLY LECTURES and visits to the excavations by qualified scholars. Groups of students and Neopolitan craftsmen should attend these lectures and visits.

June-July. CLASSICAL PERFORMANCES in the great theater of Pompeii; plays by Plautus and Terence will be selected. Classical dances and musical performances in the Odeon.

July-August. NIGHTLY ILLUMINATION of the forums at Pompeii by new and improved methods.

August-September. ATHLETIC MATCHES in the great gymnasium. (This will depend on the completion of the excavations.)

September. INAUGURATION of the works for removing the rubbish heaps from the excavations. These works will insulate the whole area of the pomerium and will assure the continuity of the excavations.

DURING THE PERIOD of the Pompeian celebrations educational excursions to the leading archaeological, artistic, and tourist resorts of the Campania will be organized, where excavations and restorations have already been carried out.

PLACES

Herculaneum. EXCURSIONS and lectures illustrating the special interest of the new excavations at Herculaneum. It is confidently hoped that it will be possible to extend the excavations of the monuments of the forum of Herculaneum.

Phlegrean Fields. SPECIAL STRESS will be laid on illustrating the Phlegrean Fields from the geophysical, scenic, and archaeological standpoints. It should be remembered that just recently the vaults of the arena of the amphitheater of Pozzuoli have been cleared, and they now afford the most complete and perfect example known of the arrangements made in the arenas for the great games.

Capri. THE EXCAVATIONS of the "Damecuta" will be completed by 1948 and the means of communication with the two largest imperial villas of the island, Villa Jovis and Damecuta, will be improved.

Naples. AT THE NATIONAL MUSEUM, reopening of the collections still closed to the public: paintings and mosaics, small bronzes, jewelry, coins, Art Gallery, Hall of the Tapestries.

Benevento. REARRANGEMENT and opening of the "Antequarium" at Benevento.

PUBLICATIONS

(1) ONE OR TWO VOLUMES will be published containing studies and inquiries illustrating not only the archaeological and historical but also the geophysical and scenic aspects of the life and the social, economic, and urbanistic conditions of Pompeii, not yet adequately studied and illustrated. Eminent scholars are already at work on these publications.

(2) A HISTORY of Pompeian studies edited by A. Maiuri.

(3) "THE POMPEIAN BICENTENARY," a collection of memoirs and prints relating to the first excavations made at Pompeii, to be published as a special number of the review *La Parola Sul Passato*, will be presented to the guests of special distinction invited to attend the Pompeian celebrations.

COMMEMORATIVE MEDAL

A COMMEMORATIVE MEDAL will be struck by the Ministry of Public Education on the occasion of the bicentenary and will be offered to those scholars and organizations who have done most to promote by their studies the progress of the Pompeian excavations.

CANE

The Classical Association of New England will hold its forty-second annual meeting at Amherst College, Amherst, Mass., on Friday and Saturday, April 2 and 3, 1948.

"CHECK LIST OF RECENT BOOKS"

(*Continued from Page 374*)

matique et d'antiquités grecques. Vol. II, 157 pages, 2 pls.; Vol. III, 175 pages, 14 pls. Maisonneuve, Paris 1947 760, 980 fr

8. HISTORY OF ART

GRABAR, A. Martyrium. Recherche sur le culte des reliques et l'art chrétien antique. Vol. I, 637 pages, ill.; vol. II, 402 pages. 70 pls. Maisonneuve, Paris 1947 2,500 fr

L'ORANGE, H. P. Apotheosis in Ancient Portraiture. Kegan Paul, London 1947 £1 12s 6d

11. TEXTBOOKS

DEPARRARI, ROY J. and SISTER FRANCIS JOSEPH. First Year Latin. 320 pages, ill., maps, diagrs. Bruce, Milwaukee 1947 (Marian Latin Series) $2.00

GOULD, H. E. and J. L. WHITELEY. Caesar's Gallic War, Book II. 126 pages. Macmillan, London 1947 3s

GOULD, H. E. and J. I. WHITELEY. Vergil's Aeneid, Book I. 161 pages. Macmillan, London 1947 3s

NAHM, MILTON C. (Editor). Selections from Early Greek Philosophy. Third, revised edition; 268 pages. Crofts, New York 1947 $1.50

ROBINSON, C. E. (Editor). Selections from the Letters of Pliny. 111 pages, ill. Macmillan, New York 1947 (Roman World Series) .90

WILLIAMSON, I. The Friday Afternoon Latin Book. 79 pages. Blackie, London 1947 2s 3d

12. MISCELLANEOUS AND UNCLASSIFIED

BAKER, GEORGE. Paris of Troy. 220 pages, maps. Ziff-Davis, Chicago 1947 $2.75.

HARVARD Studies in Classical Philology, Vol. 56–57. 265 pages. Harvard University Press, Cambridge 1947 $4.00

LEHMANN, KARL. Thomas Jefferson: American Humanist. 273 pages. Macmillan, New York 1947 $4.50

In our April issue—

"STARS IN EARTH'S FIRMAMENT"

The Latin names of flowers

By Emory Cochran

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Classics 128. PLAUTUS. Reading and discussion of two plays; study of the influence of Greek New Comedy on Plautus, and of Plautus on the subsequent development of comedy. Asst. Professor Lionel Casson. TTh, 6:00-8:30 P.M.

Classics 248. ARISTOPHANES, *ACHARNIANS*. Contents of the play; evaluation of its importance in the Aristophanic corpus; lectures on the development of Attic comedy. Advanced students will read a second play. Dr. Procope S. Costas. MW, 6:00-8:30 P.M.

Classics 290. THE ANCIENT CITY. Principal ancient city types; sites, plans, defenses, public works, markets, industries, housing, and places of worship, as illustrated by archaeological reports. Assoc. Professor Jotham Johnson. MTh, 2:30-5:00 P.M.

For Graduate School Announcements and application forms, address the Dean, Graduate School of Arts and Science, New York University, New York 3, N.Y. For other information or for personal counsel, address the departmental adviser, Professor Jotham Johnson, Department of Classics, New York University, New York 3, N.Y.

Addenda to Hutchinson's Bibliography of a Latin Teachers Course

In the last six or seven years, considerable publication has gone on in the field of the teaching of foreign languages. It seemed advisable to supplement my earlier Bibliography with significant articles and books which have appeared in this field in recent years. Most of the references do not go back further than 1940. The material has been listed under five headings:

I. Place of Latin in the Secondary Schools
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the excavations of Pompeii
and Herculaneum

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In celebration of the two hundredth anniversary of the first excavations of Pompeii, during July and August there will be classical performances in the great theatre of Pompeii; plays by Plautus and Terence will be selected. Classical dances and musical auditions in the Odeon. Nightly illuminations of the Forums of Pompeii by new and improved methods.

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Volume 43, No. 6—THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL—MARCH 1948. Pages 321-384

For correspondence with Professor DeWitt on this subject, see CLASSICAL JOURNAL folder.

LATIN STAMPS

99

17 Nov.

Dear Miss Grace

Your very nice letter postmarked the 12th finally reached my PO box this morning. I appreciate the reprint and the photo as well as the kind remark about my simple talk.

I can not agree however that CIVLIBRVNDI--- is to be read as Civitas Libera Brundisii - or what. I think that it represents a proper name C(ai) Iuli Brund---- probably from South Italy - Other somewhat similar stamps are C. Iuli Bar (with the period - which doesn't mean much)

C. Iul. Hila
C. Iul. Par
C. Iul. Paly also with Barb as a second stamp-
C. Iuli. Marcelli
C. Iuli Nici
C Iuli Soe----
C Iuli Suri

I have never noted a duplicate of your stamp - which I take it is on a long necked thin jar — not a round bellied one - One may argue whether the names above represent men with praenomen nomen & cognomen or whether they represent different markers employed by a Caius Iulius with no cognomen — like the system found on arretine pottery - Place names except on late Spanish and african jars are I believe almost unknown — and yours looks like South Italian of 1st cent BC

Very truly
Louis C West

Do you want your picture back?

100

original of this letter with West's marginal notation, to DeWitt 9.XII.47 with copy of attached text, corrected as I now correct it in pencil

December 5, 1947

Dear Mr.West:

I feel far too ignorant on Latin stamps to have my name appear as the source of any information on the subject except the copy of the stamp and its finding place. I should ask to be left out entirely, except that I have suddenly realized that permission to publish this group was given to me, and we do not wish to go through the absurd rigmarole of getting additional permission at this point. Don't you agree?

If so, please look over this piece of copy, which I will send to Professor DeWitt if it seems all right to you. On the reading: I regret to observe that the enlargement (and unfortunately the cut to be published) trims off a little of the right end of the lettering. I enclose a contact print, also a tracing of the copy I made with the handle before me. If the character at the right end is a recognizable form of the letter S, then I suppose the reading I have suggested might be right, being not the name of the city, but one of those geographical personal names. If so have I got the right form in the restoration? Or would you prefer to end with the S? - if you accept the S.

On reflection, it has occurred to me that you might be diverted to read Professor DeWitt's letter, though obviously it was not meant for your eyes! I'd like it back some time.

Many thanks for a very welcome drink of beer, during a very interesting evening.

Yours sincerely,

C IVLI BRUNDIS(II?) on the handle of a shipping jar imported to Caesar's colony at Corinth. Mr. Louis C. West, lecturer in classics, ~~numismatist and writer~~ Princeton University ~~on Roman trade~~, kindly contributes the following note on the stamp illustrated:

"While the name is new, it seems to belong to a group previously known, which includes such stamps as C IVL PAR (found at Rome), C IVL POLY (found at Rome and at Torre di Palma), C IVLI NICI (found at Ferrara and at Nimes), C IVLI MARCELLI (found at Giulia Nova and at Athens), C IVLI SOE... (found at Carthege), C IVLI SVRI (found at Bene Vagrenna, Autun, and Trion). The names seem to indicate a group of workmen owned or employed by a certain Caius Iulius rather than the names of different Roman citizens each with praenomen, nomen and cognomen. The date seems to be the first century B.C.; the place of manufacture, southern Italy." — first century A.D.

The stamp is published by permission of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens.

V. Grace

C IVLI BRUNDIS(II?) on the handle of a shipping jar imported to Caesar's colony at Corinth. Mr. Louis C. West, numismatist and writer on Roman trade, kindly contributes the following note on the stamp illustrated:

"While the name is new, it seems to belong to a group previously known, which includes such stamps as C IVL PAR (found at Rome), C IVL POLY (found at Rome and at Torre di Palma), C IVLI NICI (found at Ferrara and at Nimes), C IVLI MARCELLI (found at Giulia Nova and at Athens), C IVLI SOE... (found at Carthege), C IVLI SVRI (found at Bene Vagrenna, Autun, and Trion). The names seem to indicate a group of workmen owned or employed by a certain Caius Iulius rather than the names of different Roman citizens each with praenomen, nomen and cognomen. The date seems to be the first century B.C.; the place of manufacture, southern Italy."

The stamp is published by permission of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens.

V. Grace

103

rec'd 5 Dec. '47
(he told me he put it in the post last night)

Dear Miss Grace

It seems to me that the statement on C IVLI BRVND — should be a joint one — Perhaps something like this — after a proper heading —

"This stamp is apparently unpublished. While the name is new, it seems to belong to a group previously known and which includes such stamps as

C IVL · PAR found at Rome
C IVL POLY found at Rome and at Torre di Palma
C IVLI NICI found at Ferrara and at Nimes
C IVLI MARCELLI found at Gurlia Nova and at Athens
C IVLI SOE--- found at Carthage
C IVLI SVRI found at Beno Vagrenna, Autun and Trion

The names seem to indicate a group of workmen owned or employed by a certain Caius Iulius rather than ~~vari~~ the names of different Roman citizens each with praenomen, nomen and cognomen. The date seems to be the first century B.C.; the place of manufacture, Southern Italy."

If this seems reasonable to you would you be willing to start it and to send it in as a joint proposition I remember Norman DeWitt very well and very pleasantly —

Very truly
Louis C West

104

Postmarked Nov. 24, '47 8:30 a.m.

Dear Miss Grace

OPPIDI CALAMAN seems new - though OPPIDI occurs on an unpublished stamp at Vindonissa. The stamp does looks like a geographical name from africa but I still think Oppidi is a personal name (see index CIL IX and P.I.R.)

VEHILI is known from Brundisium and Tarentum; VEHILA from Cnidos (?)

GORGIA (both in Latin & Greek) at Brindisi Rugge & Alexandria

ALEXAND (in various forms) at Rome Narona Delos S Cesario Villanova Tortoreto (This makes a 2nd cent date not unlikely)

much to my surprise I seem to have no shapes very similar to your Brundisi no 34.

I shall be delighted to discuss these things with you after the New Year

Very truly
Louis Robert

Post Office Box 571 is better than the Library

LATIN
105

November 18, 1947

Dear Mr.West,

Thank you very much for your letter of the 17th, with its valuable information. I am glad we did not go to press in such an uninformed state. Can you direct me to a good survey on Roman jar stamps in print somewhere? If not, it seems to me much to be desired that you should publish one.

I should value your comment on the Latin stamps which I have on file from Athens, Alexandria, Antioch, and other sites. I hope that you will find it convenient to give me some time one day, after the New Year. (I am much pressed during the coming weeks, as very likely you are also.)

In the meanwhile, you might care to comment on the enclosed photographs of No.100 of a catalogue of stamped handles found at Tarsus, which I have read A]LEXANDRI. In my text, which is now at the Princeton press with the rest of Miss Goldman's Vol.II of Tarsus, I have made no comment on the reading, but have suggested that the whole jar was probably of the shape of Brindisi Museum No.34, for which see the enclosed small Leica print. The shape and measurements of the stamp handle are almost identical with those of the handles on the jar. I should like to know whether there is any reason to doubt the jars were similar; also whether the Brindisi jar has been published. (It had stamps on both handles, reading, as I recall, VEHILI and GORGIA - I have mislaid the notes by which I should like to verify.) One more query: the context of discovery of the Tarsus handle suggested - not definitively - a date still in the 2nd century B.C. Does this seem possible to you?

I had supposed that the CIVLIBRUNDIS handle came from the same shaped jar. I have a profile view of the handle, not very adequate (no loose print available at the moment).

In confirmation of your comment on place names existing on African jars, there is a stamp from Corinth which reads:

OPPIDI
CALAMAN

of which I enclose photos, top and side. I should be glad to know an approximate date, also whether the stamp is otherwise on record, and if possible I should like to have references to similar stamps.

If convenient, I should like the Tarsus photographs back for the present. The others you are very welcome to keep, if you have a file of such things.

What an excellent lecture Bellinger gave us in New York the other day!

Yours very sincerely,

106-a

Please return to VG

18. XI. 47

L. C. West writes me (17. XI)

with ref. to Latin stamps:

"Place names except on late Spanish and African jars are I believe almost unknown."

Hence revises interpret. of "Civ. Liv. Brundis." to "C. Iuli Br." (of which many parallels)

Note for OPPIDI
CALAMAN

that a Calama exists in Numidia, another in Mauretania, confirming his comment.

Note on
Place names on
Latin stamps.

107

Latin stamps

A. Allmer and P. Dissard

Musée de Lyon, Inscriptions

Antiques, Lyon, 1892

IV, 1892

pp 231 - ff

Just new book shelf

108-a

Latin stamp-date

(see Ta 27)

Cf. Heichelheim pp. 467-8

– early Italian amphorae of the 2nd, 1st cent. in Delos, Athens, and – for in Carthage

p. 467 evidences in Carthage before its destruction and even in the East, signing as early as the 2nd cent.

assigned to 200–150

Jar of Trebius Loisius at Carthage: T. Frank, Ec. Survey I p. 203 (1933)

SCP 10 214 116+

C12 I², 425

also C12 VIII – X

Heichelheim Ref. to O. Bohn "Die ältesten römischen Amphoren in Gallien". Germania 7 (1923) 8 pp.

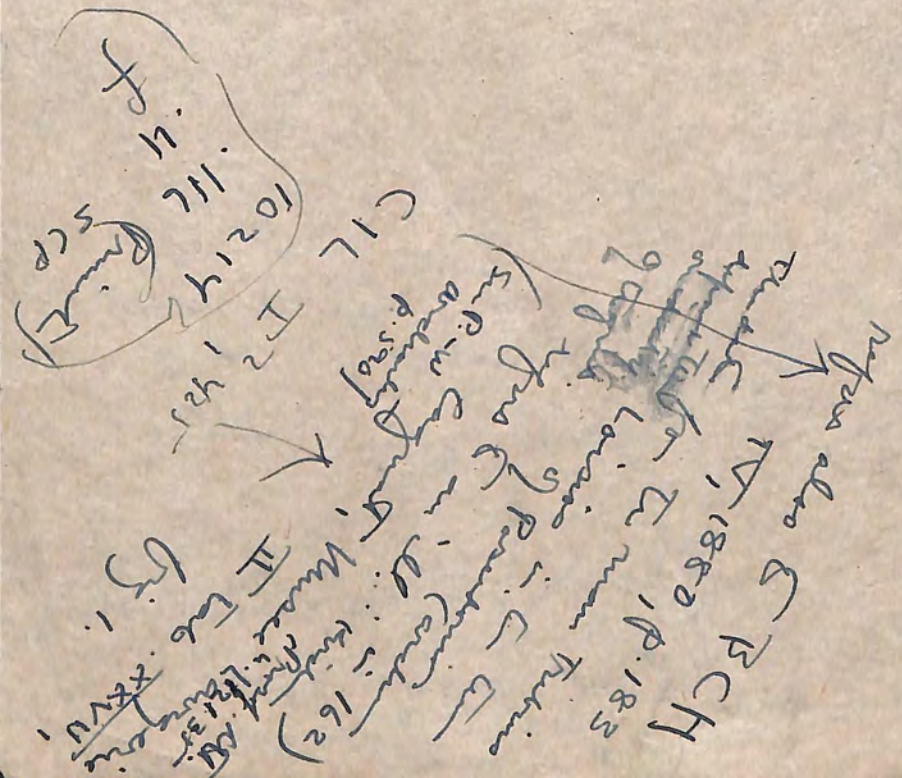
Soon N 5-850 (63) (SA)

108-6

For raste of jar:

cf Brindisi jar, handles measurements close. The word VTHILI wh. occurs on that comes also (ᵗᵗᵉⁿ) in (VG) Alex.

[illegible]



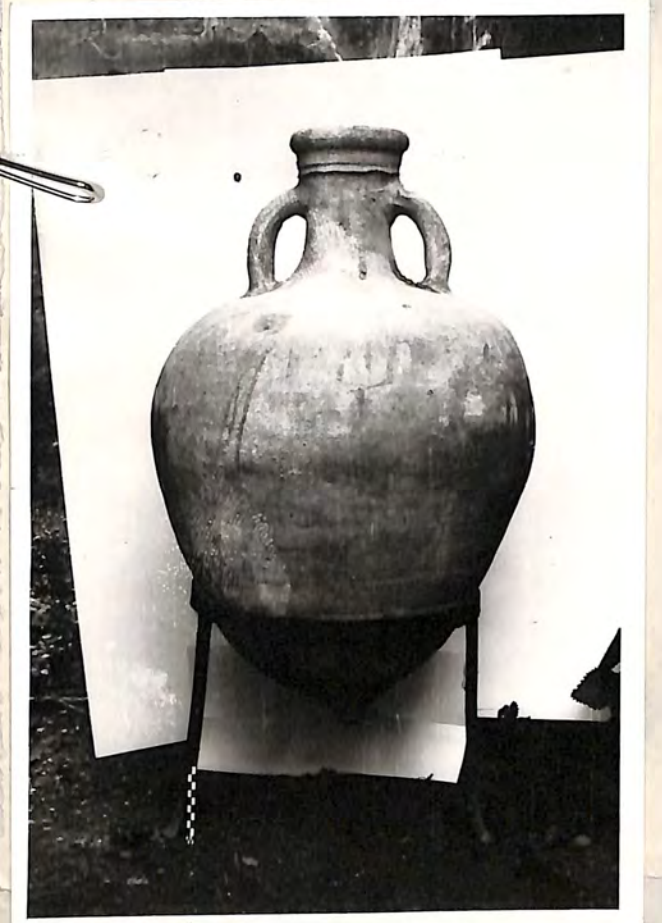
ROMAN
109

Brindisi 15. Sept 47 notes:

"... there are some good
Roman handles from London
excavations in the Guildhall Museum
and if you write to Mr. Oswald mentioning
me, he would certainly send you
copies."

111.01

GORGIA





110-6

at $\frac{1}{10}$ (ol. plus)

Roll 41, 25 or 26

(fringe print on
left handle)
(in print only)

111.01

GORGIA

VEHILI

111.02

GORGIA

VEHILI

ROMAN

Types of Ἄγνωστα - 16

(Notes for "Samples" text, winter 1938-9)

Strictly only the dated Latin examples got out

1st BC Roman (see bottom p. 8)

Comparatively broad type handles: very massive, w. heavy rim

2381 and 5298 come from Late Hell - ER fills

2381 has pottery bits and some mica; to be compared with e.g. 8041 a-b, handles with Latin stamps (no context)

add 375, and 5701 (T) C.T.P. (cf. one under Thick handles below)

5141 (Hell. + ER fill) [A/B is broad but lighter

Thick handles:

Buff clay, pink core

HT ca. 15 — 6307 (KK strosis 1st BC) L. PVBLII (retr.)

1st AD ~~finely micaceous — 5885 (dated by occurrence of name at Pompeii) HERENNA~~

4660 (ΠΘ dist. Hell. with 1st BC kind) HERAC[

11. Aug. 48 also 6807, from + cistern at 75/OA — cf. Missing's letter of 30. July 48

Associate - ?

5899 (N) CTPATO[

Lower attached pres. - very steep — 3248 (O) ΘΥƎƆƎ

Rim:

1164 (Z Hell. + ER fill) PH[illegible]

(Rim stamps seem mostly 1st AD?)

(cf. HILAR, + all those of M.C.'s)

Some more correspondence with ELW

see wrecks (underwater arch.)

ROMAN I . ca. 1939 - 1956

425