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Morgantina: Hellenistic Medicine Bottles

ERIK SJÖQVIST

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to a state of bliss.⁸ In opposition to this approach Nock argues that ancient art sought primarily "to vary and diversify, ποικίλλειν," and only secondarily, if at all, to instruct.⁹ To support the ornamental view of this art he marshals a series of arguments with evidence, among which are the following: that Neopythagoreanism in general remained an exotic movement, a thing apart; that the epitaphs seem to emphasize the fact of death, *quies aeterna*, rather than a hope for the future; that many of the reliefs seem to look backwards to the dead man's life rather than forwards to the hereafter; and that the use of stock figures and well-known scenes from myth was the result of cultural inheritance and "a unity of pathos and of values in human dignity . . . not a unity of belief."¹⁰ After studying the visual evidence and considering the opposing arguments I am persuaded that Nock's defense of the ornamental view is valid for the majority of imperial sepulchral reliefs. Nevertheless, in the case of the present urn there can be no doubt that the organization of the figures and phases is not only imaginative but also significant and communicative. In fact the symbolism here is visually immediate and is in no way contingent upon the identification of the individual figures and their mythical roles. Furthermore, though the separate phases of this work are connected visually by means of the falling body of the child and by the upraised cornucopia, the resulting series is not sequential in any of the myths. The events depicted in the first and last phases do occur in the story of Jason and Medea, but in the very reverse of the order given here; in the myth Jason first harnessed the bulls and only much later did Medea kill her children by him. The most likely explanation of such an arrangement of these stock figures of sepulchral art is that Medea in this instance represents the swiftness of death and Jason the vigor of life. At the very least it would seem, then, that the sequence of the action on this urn represents the loss and recovery of human vitality after death and entry into the earth.

One question remains concerning the interpretation of these figures: can they be identified with any particular religious or philosophic movement of the second century or later? To answer this it seems first necessary to seek a figure or school to which the three major characters on the urn can be related in cult or myth and then to see whether the general symbolism described above fits any particular dogma of that school. Both Neopythagoreanism and the Mithraic

mysteries taught belief in the descent (*κάθοδος*) and ascent (*ἀνοδος*) of the soul, and in the former school, according to Cumont, the myth of Proserpina was so interpreted.¹¹ Pluto was seen as a figure of earthly life in which man is beset by his passions and Proserpina was the soul which descended into the body for a time (*σῶμα σῆμα*) but was later freed of this captivity to return to the splendor of the upper atmosphere. It is possible then that the body of the dead child falling into the arm of Gaea on the present urn is symbolic of the soul involved in this process of descent and ascent, of death and resurrection. It seems, however, that a specifically Orphic rather than a Neopythagorean viewpoint is here expressed because of the mythological figures employed in these reliefs. The choice of Medea and Jason can be explained in the light of the fact that Orpheus is intimately connected with the story of the Argonauts in the triple role of mystic, magician, and musician.¹² Gaea, moreover, played a very prominent role in the Orphic cosmogony and anthropogony, since in the former she was the daughter of Phanes and Night and the mother of Kronos by Uranos, and in the latter she appeared in the doctrine that the dead on arrival in the underworld identified themselves as the children of Gaea and Uranos.¹³ First of the chthonians and "first in prophecy," Gaea was also the first occupant of the Delphic shrine, just as Dionysus, the one true god of later Orphism, was the last of the great gods to be received there.¹⁴ As in the Orphic eschatology of Virgil's *Aeneid 6* we can see in the present relief the note of revivification and reincarnation as the soul passes through the cycles of birth and becoming on its way to divinity.¹⁵

Finally, the problem of dating this urn must be considered. The style and quality of the reliefs, Greek in their classicism, leads me to believe that they were sculptured in the second century, probably in the Hadrianic period.¹⁶ But there is evidence that the original inscription was erased and the name *Lampadius* incised upon it at a later date. In the first instance the surface of the urn within the framework of the molding is rather flat, especially in its upper half, in contrast to the curvature of the rest of the face of the urn. This condition would seem to indicate an erasure, though it must be noted that no visible traces of an earlier inscription are to be seen. In the second instance one of the letter styles indicates that the present inscription may derive from the fourth century. Though none of the other letter forms are of particular

"The Stuccoes of the Underground Basilica near the Porta Maggiore," *JHS* 44 (1924) 77-78.

¹³ M. P. Nilsson in *OCD*, s.v. "Orphism." F. C. Grant, *Hellenistic Religions: The Age of Syncretism* (New York 1953) 108, translates an early Orphic formula to be recited by the dead upon arrival in the house of Hades.

¹⁴ Aesch. *Eum.* 2; 24-26; W. K. C. Guthrie, *op.cit.* (supra n. 12) 251.

¹⁵ W. K. C. Guthrie, *The Greeks and their Gods* (Boston 1955) 324-25, describes the eschatology of *Aeneid 6*.

¹⁶ G. Rodenwaldt in *CAH XI* (1936) 793-95 briefly describes the characteristics of Hadrianic relief sculpture.

⁸ A. D. Nock, *op.cit.* (supra n. 7) 140-48; cf. Franz Cumont, *After Life in Roman Paganism* (New Haven 1923) 91-109, and see F. R. Walton in *OCD*, s.v. "After-Life" and the references there.

⁹ A. D. Nock, *op.cit.* (supra n. 7) 148-49.

¹⁰ A. D. Nock, *op.cit.* (supra n. 7) 150-68.

¹¹ Franz Cumont, *op.cit.* (supra n. 7) 95-97; 96 n. 1.

¹² W. K. C. Guthrie, *Orpheus and Greek Religion*² (London 1952) 27-29. It is noteworthy that neither Cumont, *op.cit.* (supra n. 7) nor Eugénie Strong, *Apotheosis and the After Life* (New York 1915) anywhere treat of Medea and Jason as symbolic figures in Neopythagoreanism; but see Eugénie Strong,

significance, the first *A* with its angled cross-bar is important, for though a form similar to this appeared on Republican coins and inscriptions, this particular type was not employed until the fourth century.¹⁷ The name *Lampadius*, moreover, was a common one in the fourth century and I know of no examples of it as early as the second.¹⁸ It seems likely, therefore, that this urn with its reliefs was produced in the second century, and that some two hundred years later the name *Lampadius* was incised upon it, probably after the erasure of an original inscription. It remains only to explain the probable second use of this urn in the light of imperial funerary practices. Nock's study of these customs indicates that at Rome cremation was the norm in the first century, but that inhumation began to supplant it in the second century and had become dominant in the third, so that at the end of the fourth century the burning of the dead was a custom long out of use.¹⁹ Such being the case and in view of the well-known Christian objection to cremation, the probable re-use of this urn in the fourth century might well be the kind of act that would come out of the pagan revival associated with the names of Julian the Apostate and Libanius.

BOWDOIN COLLEGE

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MORGANTINA: HELLENISTIC
MEDICINE BOTTLES

PLATES 19-20

Among the many ceramic finds of the first season of excavations in Morgantina in 1955 were four miniature jars, one of which was fragmentary. Three carried the stamped inscription *ΛΥΚΙΟΝ* in more or less complete form. During the following season in the spring of 1956, there appeared nine more of varying types, some with inscriptions, others without. The campaign of 1957 yielded none, but in 1958 no less than twenty-seven new ones came to light, and in 1959 another fourteen were added to the collection. We have thus fifty-four specimens, to the best of my knowledge the greatest number recorded from any documented excavation, a circumstance which justifies the present discussion although the repertory may still be widened.

First, a few words on the circumstances of their finding and their date. As will be seen from the description given below, one can distinguish between four main types. Of these Types 1 and 2 occur exclusively in profane areas, such as private houses, shops and the like, while Type 3 is found in holy places, in this case in the various shrines of Demeter and Kore or their immediate vicinity. Type 4 which, as will be seen, is a somewhat heterogeneous group,

¹⁷ René Cagnat, *Cours d'épigraphie latine* (Paris 1890) 11-12.

¹⁸ O. Seeck, *RE* 23 (1924) 577-78, describes the various persons of the late Empire who bore this name.

¹⁹ A. D. Nock, *op.cit.* (supra n. 2) 323-31.

¹ Mr. Ross Holloway was in charge of the area and in the

is found in both sacred and profane environments.

We may conclude, then, that the different groups are not merely insignificant typological variations on a theme, but that the small jars were actually used on separate occasions and may have served different purposes. Types 1 and 2 were purely practical in scope and used to meet the exigencies of daily life, while Type 3, similar as it may seem to Type 2, also served another purpose: these juglets were preferred as votive gifts to the gods. Nevertheless, as I will endeavour to show, they shared an important characteristic: they were all medicine bottles, some of them for purely practical use, others also of symbolic value. The votive purpose of the latter group (Type 3) is emphasized by another observation: one of the jars of this type was, when found, filled to the edge with nine silver coins in very good condition, marking, we presume, an exceptionally high degree of gratitude felt by the donor toward the helping deity.

And here we are immediately confronted with the dating problem. The juglet with the coins (inv. no. 58:1683) was found in one of the rooms of a *οἶκος ἱερός*, a house sanctuary dedicated to the two favorite goddesses of Morgantina, Demeter and Kore (Area I, complex 54-56), excavated in 1958 under the directorship of Professor R. Stillwell.¹ The little jar was placed in the sanctuary room itself which also contained several specimens of the terracotta busts of Kore approximately of life-size, typical of Siceliote koroplastic art from the latter part of the fifth down to the end of the third century B.C.² None of the specimens here found is a particularly early example of the kind, and a dating of the latest of them to the latter half of the third century seems indicated. This is not the place for discussing the history and chronology of the sanctuary as a whole. That would widely exceed the scope of this note. Be it said only that it was under a layer of fallen roof-tiles in this room that the juglet was found. Coins found under similar conditions in the same stratum comprise ten Hieron II (275-216 B.C.), four Siculo-Punic (not later than the third century), two Syracusan democracy (288-279 B.C.), one Agrigento (279-241 B.C.), one Mamertine (288-276 B.C.), and one early Syracusan, obviously out of context (410-400 B.C.). The numismatic evidence is so far in good agreement with the rest of the material (late Gnathia and Centuripe wares) and indicates that the sanctuary room was in continuous use during the third century and was abandoned before its end. The little jar with its fresh hoard may have been among the latest offerings made in the holy room, but still its contents are surprising: four Roman *victoriatu*s pieces, dated by Sydenham to 205-195 B.C., three *quinarii*, one *denarius* and one *sestertius*, all dated by the same authority to

following I rely very much on his excellent notes. The drawings of the vases, pl. 20, are by Mr. James P. Jarrett.

² First discussed and identified by Orsi, *Una città greca a Terravecchia presso Granmichele*, *MonAnt* 7 (1897) 258ff. See also G. E. Rizzo, "Busti fittili di Agrigento," *JOAI* 13 (1910) 63-86; G. Libertini, *Centuripe* (1926) 94-99.

187-155 B.C.³ Add to this that a similar *sestertius* and a bronze *uncia* were found on the floor, the latter again dated by Sydenham to 195-187 B.C.⁴ The late chronology of these Roman silver issues, introduced by Mattingly and Robinson, and followed with minor variations by Sydenham and others,⁵ seems strangely out of context with the general picture of the stratum as given by terracottas, pottery and other coins.⁶ It is not my intention to discuss here the merits of the Mattingly chronology, but I feel convinced that if any new arguments should be drawn into the old controversy, they must come from well controlled new excavations where coins occur among other stratified material. Morgantina is such a site. The discussion among numismatists of the old Haerberlin school, the Mattingly group, and the mediators between the two is carried on with the same stock of evidence, interpreted in different ways. The evidence, being only inferential, gives untold possibilities for subjective emphasis of one interpretation or the other.

It seems therefore wise, in this case to refrain from using the early Roman silver as a criterion of absolute chronology, and to keep in mind the wide range of time separating the traditional dating of the denarius (269 B.C.), the intermediary dating of the same (Second Punic War), and the Mattingly chronology (after the Macedonian War, in 187 B.C.). For our purposes it is of no vital concern, if the miniature pots of this type should be dated exclusively within the third century B.C. or if they survived into the second quarter of the second century. The latter date seems in any case to be the latest possible time limit.

What has been said about the juglet here discussed seems to hold good also for the rest of the material. There is no evidence for any one specimen being older than the third century B.C. Although the lower time limits for the very juglet containing the coins remain uncertain, other specimens of our Types 1, 2 and 4 were found under such stratigraphical circumstances that their survival into the second century seems unquestionable. The four types of juglet, therefore, cannot be said to constitute as many stages in a supposed scheme of typological development. On the contrary, they were all in more or less contemporary use at the same place and for similar purposes during a period spanning over a century and a half.

Catalogue

TYPE I A

Heavy pear-shaped amphoriskos; raised flat base, concave neck, somewhat flaring rim, and two horizontal handles curved in toward neck. The interior cavity

³ E. A. Sydenham, *Roman Republican Coinage*, p. 8, no. 83; p. 14, nos. 140, 141; p. 15, no. 142; cf. Prof. Stillwell's report, *AJA* 63 (1959) 171, n. 1.

⁴ Sydenham, *op.cit.* p. 10, no. 108.

⁵ H. Mattingly and E. S. G. Robinson, "The date of the Roman denarius," *ProcBritAc* 14 (1932) 1-58 and pls. 1-3. For full bibliography of the controversy see R. Thomsen's sum-

mary in his work *Early Roman Coinage* 1 (1957) 230ff.

serving as actual receptacle for the contents is small in comparison with the exterior size of the vase. Pink rather coarse clay covered by a thin buff slip which flakes off easily. Generally poor finish. Eight of these specimens are provided with a stamped inscription in gross and clumsy lettering placed between the handles; one is without inscription (inv. no. 56-2804). Of the inscribed ones, five carry the stamp *ΛΥΚΙΟΝ*, stamped with the same matrix, measuring 0.035 x 0.015 m. (inv. nos. 55-680, 56-2803, 56-2867, 56-2868, 59-350) and four give the same inscription but with inverted *nu*, *ΛΥΚΙΟΜ* (inv. nos. 55-158, 56-2802, 56-2805, 56-2869). These have also a common matrix, measuring 0.028 x 0.007 m.

- 55-680 Upper part of vase missing. Preserved height 0.036 m.; upper l. corner of stamp blurred.
- 56-2803 Broken and mended; one handle missing, the other only half preserved; rim chipped. Height 0.054 (pl. 19, fig. 1; pl. 20, fig. 11:1).
- 56-2867 Upper third of vase and both handles missing. First two letters of inscription broken away. Preserved height 0.050.
- 56-2868 Neck, part of body, and handles missing. Inscription cracked and damaged. Preserved height 0.050.
- 59-350 Only fragment of vase preserved, carrying the four last letters of the inscription. Preserved height 0.034 m.; preserved diam. 0.049 m.
- 55-158 Handles missing, rim chipped. Inscription worn. Height 0.049 m.
- 56-2802 Handles missing, otherwise well preserved. Height 0.054 (pl. 19, fig. 2).
- 56-2805 Handles missing, rim chipped. Height 0.053.
- 56-2869 Neck, lip and handles missing. Inscription partly broken away leaving only the four last letters. Preserved height 0.048.
- 56-2804 Handles missing, rim somewhat chipped. No inscription. Height 0.051 (pl. 19, fig. 3).

TYPE I B

Basically similar to Type I A, but more straightly conical in shape. Greenish unclean clay covered by an easily damaged thin greenish slip.

The two specimens were both stamped with the same matrix, measuring 0.024 x 0.006 m., and carrying the word *ΛΥΚΙΟΝ* in small and tidy lettering.

- 55-559 More than half of body and entire neck and lip missing. Only the two first letters of inscription preserved. Preserved height 0.047.
- 56-2806 Handles missing; rim badly chipped. Height 0.056 (pl. 19, fig. 4; pl. 20, fig. 11:2).

⁶ This is not the only instance when archaeological evidence from our site is difficult to harmonize with the low chronology of the denarius. To gather the material and present it in a critical discussion can only be advantageously done in a separate paper.

TYPE 2 A

Miniature pear-shaped amphoriskos with raised flat base, two horizontal handles, tapering concave neck and slightly flaring rim. Like Type 1, the useful receptacle volume is considerably smaller than the exterior of the vase.

Fine silted pink clay covered by a slightly lustrous black glaze. The paint does not cover the base and the lowest section of the vase.

A stamped inscription between the handles. The inscription which was made with one and the same matrix for the two vases belonging to this class, gives in small but clear letters without ligatures ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΟΥ ΑΥΚΙΟΝ.

The size of the stamped surface is 0.023 x 0.009 m.

56-3092 One handle missing; paint worn. Stamp rather worn. Height 0.037 m. (pl. 19, fig. 5; pl. 20, fig. 11:3).

58-695 One handle missing; chip on shoulder; paint and stamp worn. Height 0.039 m.

TYPE 2 B

Miniature biconical jar on high raised base; rim turned out and flattened; two lug handles. Small interior cavity.

Grayish well silted clay covered with a black glaze of metallic luster.

Stamped inscription placed obliquely on the lower part of the vase between the handles, reading in small and clear letters ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΟΥ ΑΥΚΙΟΝ with a ligature between H and P. Same matrix, measuring 0.016 x 0.007 m., used for the two vases.

58-423 Chips on rim; otherwise well preserved. Height 0.034 m.

58-498 One chip on rim; otherwise well preserved. Height 0.039 m. (pl. 19, fig. 6; pl. 20, fig. 11:4).

TYPE 3 A

Miniature handleless jar with narrow raised base, bulging body, concave wide neck, and flat rim. Buff or pink well silted clay. Brownish, sometimes dark, slightly lustrous paint covers the upper part of the vase.

Impressed seal stamp of bearded Asklepios head, r., on lower part of body. Two different seal stones were used: one where the god is represented without radiating diadem (inv. nos. 58-323, 58-374, 58-379, 58-929, 59-270) and the other with a diadem (inv. nos. 58-322, 58-381, 59-812).

58-323 Brown red paint; seal impression somewhat worn. Height 0.029 m.

58-374 Reddish paint; seal impression uneven. Height 0.026 m.

58-379 Brown paint; seal impression worn. Height 0.025 m. (pl. 19, fig. 7; pl. 20, fig. 11:5).

58-929 Black lustrous paint. Height 0.025 m.

59-270 Brownish lustrous paint. Seal impression worn. Height 0.024 m.

58-152 Orange red paint. Height 0.029 m.

58-322 Dark brown paint; seal impression worn. Height 0.025 m.

58-381 Reddish paint. Height 0.026 m. (pl. 19, fig. 8).

59-812 Red slightly lustrous paint. Height 0.025 m.

TYPE 3 B

This type is best described as a modified imitation of 3 A. The body is more angular, the sides are often straighter, the rim more marked, and the interior cavity somewhat deeper.

Buff or grayish clay, occasionally coarse. The paint takes on various shades from black to brown and reddish.

No seal stamps or inscriptions.

55-462 Buff clay, reddish lustrous paint. Height 0.020 m.

58-223 Buff clay, reddish paint; rim chipped. Height 0.033 m.

58-372 Reddish clay, brown lustrous paint. Height 0.027 m.

58-376 Buff clay, brown lustrous paint. Height 0.028 m.

58-377 Coarse red clay, black mat paint; rim chipped. Height 0.044 m.

58-378 Reddish clay, black slightly lustrous paint. Height 0.029 m. (pl. 19, fig. 9 b).

58-382 Reddish clay, mottled red-black paint; rim chipped. Height 0.027 m.

58-412 Brownish clay, black slightly lustrous paint; rim chipped; deep interior cavity. Height 0.032 m. (pl. 20, fig. 11:6).

58-424 Reddish clay, mottled black-red lustrous paint. Height 0.034 m.

58-925 Gray clay, no paint. Height 0.027 m.

58-1683 Buff clay, light brown lustrous paint. Height 0.025 m.

58-1837 Reddish clay, good black glaze; marked rim. Height 0.031 m. (pl. 19, fig. 9 a).

59-271 Reddish clay, red lustrous paint. Height 0.025 m.

59-272 Buff clay, brownish lustrous paint. Height 0.021 m.

59-881 Buff clay, red lustrous paint. Worn. Concave wide neck and flaring rim. Height 0.020 m.

59-2061 Buff clay, black bad glaze. Height 0.027 m.

TYPE 4

This type is a mixed lot where influences from Types 2 and 3 can be clearly traced. Thus the shapes vary considerably, but the generic form is basically that of our medicine bottles.

58-373 Buff clay, reddish mat paint. A free variation of Type 3 B. Height 0.029 m.

58-375 Buff clay, brown mat paint. The shape resembles that of Type 2 B, but without lug handles. Height 0.034 m.

58-380 Similar to the above. Height 0.035 m. (pl. 20, fig. 11:7).

58-518 Red clay, black slightly lustrous paint; rim chipped and one handle missing.

The pear-shaped body and the small horizontal handles recall Type 2 A. Height 0.042 m. (pl. 19, fig. 10).

58-1102 Buff clay, red-brown paint; rim chipped. Similar in shape to above 58-375, but with a more angular outline. Height 0.033 m.

58-2048 Pink clay, no paint. The basic shape is that of Type 2 B, but with the marked flaring rim of Type 3 B. Height 0.027 m.

59-269 Buff clay, no paint. The shape resembles that of Type 2 B, but without lug handles. Height 0.027 m.

59-381 Buff clay, no paint; high base. Height 0.031 m.

59-734 Buff clay, reddish lustrous paint around upper part; high base. Height 0.030 m.

59-1243 Buff clay, no paint; high string cut base. Height 0.033 m.

59-1763 Orange clay, red mat paint; narrow tall string cut base. Height 0.027 m.

59-1764 Buff clay, no paint; biconical body, flat base; chipped. Height 0.027 m.

59-2096 Buff coarse clay; heavy fabric, pithos lip, tapering base, flat bottom. Height 0.027 m.

The lykion to which the inscriptions on the containers of Type 1 and 2 refer was a well known medicine in antiquity. It is one of the few of the widely used Greek and Roman drugs that have no ancestry in Pharaonic Egypt.⁷ Its discovery and application can be credited to the Greeks.

Dioscorides⁸ describes it as a thorny bush common in Cappadocia, Lycia and elsewhere, and stresses that the Indian variety is different from the rest (*διαφέρων τοῦ λοιποῦ*) and much more effective (*δυναμικώτερον*).⁹ Galen¹⁰ tells us of its many good qualities and says that it is common in Cappadocia and Lycia, and that the Indian lykion is the most effective species (*ισχυρότερον*). Pliny,¹¹ quoting Dioscorides, describes it among his Indian trees and bushes as a thorn-bush with bitter fruit resembling pepper, thickly clustering leaves like the cyprus tree, and branches three cubits long. Its bark is of pale color and the roots are wide spreading and woody, of the color of boxwood. He goes on to say that this bush also grows on Mount Pelion, and in Greece sometimes is called *pyxacanthum Chironis*, in reference to the subject at a Chiron's buckthorn. Returning to the subject at a later instance (24.76-77 [124-126]) he differentiates between a Greek shrub—*rhamnos appellatur a Graecis*—the root of which produces an inferior quality of

lykion, and the real lykion plant or the "Chironian buckthorn."

The botanical identity of the bush has been discussed. The illustration of the plant in the Morgan Codex of Dioscorides in New York (f. 255 v.) here reproduced (pl. 20, fig. 12) does not seem to spread much light on the question. It is now clear, however, that the Indian plant is something different from the Cappadocian and Greek one. This idea was first put forward by J. F. Royle who succeeded in identifying the Indian lykion with an ointment still used in Upper India in the 19th century and "prepared from the wood and roots of several species of Berberis, as the *Berberis lycium*, *aristata* etc." Based on the quoted passage from Pliny, he identifies the Cappadocian and Greek variety as one or several species of *Rhamnus*, buckthorn, and probably *Rhamnus infectoria* or *cathartica*.¹² Both these drugs still survive in the American pharmacopoeia.¹³

Lykion had a wide use in antiquity. An admirable summary of the ancient sources and their therapeutical indications was made more than a hundred years ago by Sir John Young Simpson, professor of midwifery in the University of Edinburgh, and obviously very well versed in the classics. As his work appeared in a publication rarely available to classical scholars—even Kaibel in *IG 14* added after the reference: *quem librum non vidi*—it may be useful to quote from it at some length, benefiting from the learned author's medical nomenclature.¹⁴

"Dioscorides recommends Lykion as an astringent for the cure of various complaints, as psoriasis, and pruritus of the eyelid, purulent ears and tonsils, ulcers of the gums, chapped lips, fissure of the anus; in coeliac and dysenteric affections, both in draughts and clysters; in haemoptysis and coughs; in female fluxes, hydrophobia, and so forth. The Indian, he states, cures inflammation of the spleen and jaundice, prevents menstruation, purges water, and is a counter-agent to deadly poisons. (*Dr. Adams' Trans. of Paulus Aegineta*, vol. III, p. 234.) So late writers as Paulus Aegineta, Aetius, etc., allude also to the superior value of the Indian variety. For instance, in Roxarius' edition of Oribasius it is stated, that the Indian Lykion 'praestat ceteris et est efficacius' (*Medicin. Collect.*, lib. XI) . . .

"Of all the uses to which the Lycium was applied in medicine, by far the most important was the employment of this drug, and particularly of the Indian variety, as a collyrium or local application to the eye, in the treatment of different varieties and forms of ophthalmic inflammation. Thus Scribonius Lar-

Linnaean Soc. 17 (1834) 83-94.

¹³ Wood, H. C. et al. (ed.), *Dispensatory of the United States of America* (22nd ed. 1940) 227, 930-31. I owe this reference to Dr. C. D. Leake.

¹⁴ J. Y. Simpson, "Notes on some ancient Greek medical vases for containing Lykion, and the modern use of the same drug in India," *Monthly Journ. of Medical Science*, Vol. 16 (Edinburgh 1853) 24-30 and pl. 1. The quotations are from pp. 27-28.

⁷ I am indebted to the pharmaceutical historian, Dr. C. D. Leake, College of Medicine, Ohio State University, for this information, checked by him in the Eber and Hearst papyri.

⁸ Dioscorides, *De materia med.* 1.100.1 (ed. Wellmann, Vol. 1, pp. 91-92).

⁹ *ibid.* 1.100.2 (ed. Wellmann, Vol. 1, p. 92).

¹⁰ Galen, *De simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis*, cap. 9.20 (ed. Kühn, Vol. 12, pp. 63-64).

¹¹ Plin. *Nat.Hist.* 12.15 (30-31).

¹² J. F. Royle, "On the Lycium of Dioscorides," *Transact.*

gus, the reputed body physician to the Emperor Claudius, and one of the most original among the ancient medical writers, declares that 'he attributes to no collyrium whatever such great efficacy as to the genuine Indian Lycium used by itself. For if,' says he, 'near the commencement of ophthalmia, any one anoints himself with this collyrium, he will immediately—that is, on the same day—be freed from present pain and future swelling. It is unnecessary (he adds) to dilate on its virtues, for a person experienced only in other collyria would scarcely credit the effects of this simple drug.' (*De Composit. Medicamentorum*, cap. 3.) Marcellus lauds its powers in nearly the same words (*De Medicam. Lib.*, cap. 8).¹⁵

So far Simpson, who goes on giving the reference to Royle's identification (see supra), and ends with a brief report on his own and his Edinburghian colleagues' clinical experience of lykion, brought for experimental purposes from India to Scotland.

The genuine Indian lykion must in antiquity have been an expensive drug, as we can gather from Pliny who tells us (12.15 [31]), that the Indians shipped it in containers of a very exclusive kind, either in uteri of camels or in rhinoceros horn. No wonder, then, that the cheaper local Rhamnus was often used as a substitute, and that the genuine stuff was not seldom faked. Here Pliny is equally clear: "adulteratur amaris succis, etiam amurca et felle bubulo" (24.77 [125]). But not only "bitter juices, lees of olive oil and ox gall" were used for this purpose, also the root of the asphodel lily, wormwood and sumach (Pliny, *Nat.Hist.* 12.15 [31]). The pharmaceutical product of the Indian berries, of the Greek buckthorn, and their many forgeries were all alike called lykion. The drug market must for the inexperienced buyer have been full of pitfalls, and some kind of marking of the product must have appeared useful even to the seller, the *pharmacopola*.

This is what we witness in our juglets of Type 1 and 2. Of these, Type 2 is the more elaborate and trustworthy version. We have to do with very neat and characteristic containers of small cubic capacity, marked not only with the name of the product, but also with that of the druggist, as a personal guaran-

¹⁵ There is not much to add to this exhaustive list. I present only a bibliographical summary in which some additional items may be found: Dioscorides, *De mat. med.* 1.100 (ed. Wellmann, Vol. 1, pp. 91-92); Galen, *De simpl. medicam. temp.*, ed. Kühn, Vol. 12, pp. 63-64; Celsus, *de med.* 5.26.30 C; 6.6.6 A; 6.6.24; 6.7.1 F; 6.7.3 B; 6.8.1 C. Scribonius Largus, *Compositiones* (ed. Helmreich), prescriptions 19, 23, 113, 115, 142. Paulus Aegineta, lib. VII.3, s.v., ed. Heiberg, *Corp.Med.Gr.* Vol. 9:2, p. 239. Pliny, *Nat.Hist.* 24.76-77 (124-127). Oribasius, *Collectiones medicarum*, lib. XI, s.v., ed. Raeder, *Corp.Med.Gr.* Vol. 6, 1-2, 12.12; 14.47; 20.28; 27.3; 5, 18; 28.3 (*Corp.Med.Lat.* Vol. 5, ed. M. Niedermann, pp. 51, 53, 54, 55, 66, 74, 98, 110, 153, 206, 207, 209, 220).

¹⁶ It is most probably the druggist's, not the doctor's name which is stamped on the containers. For general references see: Alfr. Schmidt, *Drogen und Drogenhandel in Altertum* (1924);

tee.¹⁶ This combination is not uncommon. I know of eight examples in terracotta and five in lead. One of them comes from Paestum and is now exhibited in case 49 of the Paestum Museum. I am indebted to Miss Frances F. Jones for having called it to my attention. It is basically like our Type 2 A, and carries the name of Nikias. Most of the clay specimens seem to come from South Italy and Sicily, but the provenience is seldom certain. One, now in the Louvre, is inscribed like ours with the name of Herakleios (pl. 20, fig. 13), three carry the name Iason (pl. 20, fig. 14) and two that of Nikias.¹⁷ To these should be added the seventh from the Agora of Athens. It is unpublished and gives the name of Hermophilos, son of Moschion.¹⁸ Of the lead containers four come from Athens and one is of unknown provenience. The druggists' names are Mousaios (pl. 20, fig. 15), Artemidoros, Kleantes (?) and Akestias.¹⁹

There is an entire group of medicine bottles which carry only the name of the druggist, not that of the drug, thereby limiting the guarantee quite considerably. None of this group has been found in Morgantina. It is, of course, impossible to know what their original contents were, but if it were not lykion, one can at least deduce from the shape of the containers that they must have contained some ointment similar to lykion. The ones known to me of this kind come, with two exceptions, from Priene. The exceptions are a Sicilian specimen from Eryx carrying the name Kosmos, and one vase from Egypt with the name Dionysios.²⁰ The Priene vases, published and discussed by Zahn,²¹ carry the following names: Krates, Proteos (3), Isodoros (4), Charidemos, Thrasys, Aristeos, and Straton. Some of these (nos. 88-91) are similar to our juglets of Type 3 B, while others are pointed miniature jars. One specimen, only fragmentary (p. 429, fig. 547), is of basically the same shape as our Type 1.

Containers without the druggist's name, but carrying the inscription *lykion* are, as far as present evidence goes, typical to Morgantina where they are of our Type 1. In addition to the ten examples from Morgantina, I have found one in the Paestum Museum (case 44) with the inscription *lykion* above some worn relief motifs. Another, of unknown provenience, is

M. Rostovtzeff, *Social and economic history of the Hellenistic World*, Vol. 2, p. 1089; S. Reinach's masterly art. *Medicus* in *DarSag*, Vol. 3:2, s.v. and particularly pp. 1679-1681; W. Morel's art. *Pharmacopoles* in *RE* 19, s.v.; Alfr. Schmidt's art. *Drogen* in *RE* Suppl. 5 (1939) s.v.

¹⁷ *IG* 14.2406.1, 2 a-c, 4 a-b; Simpson, *op.cit.* pp. 26-27 and pl. 1:2-6; *RA* 24 (1894) 56-59.

¹⁸ I owe this information to the courtesy of Miss Lucy Talcott and Miss Virginia Grace.

¹⁹ *CIG* 8556 B; Simpson, *op.cit.* 25 and pl. 1:1; *RA* 24 (1874) 56; *Hesperia* 17 (1948) 191 and pl. 69.4; *ArchCl* 4 (1952) 254-56. One of the Artemidoros specimens is unpublished and comes from the Agora excavations; cf. note 18.

²⁰ *CIG* 5522; *RA* 24 (1874) 57.

²¹ T. Wiegand and H. Schrader, *Priene* 424-26, 428-29 and figs. 542-43.

now in a private collection in Paris. Its inscription is, however, incised, not stamped.²² The guarantee for genuineness of the contents seems in such a case very dubious, and it should be remembered that the Morgantina jars of this class are of crude manufacture and look rather "home-made." It is futile to speculate further in this direction, but I would submit that the simple buckthorn²³ or the local asphodel root in which the hills of Morgantina abound, contributed greatly to the lykion sold in this type of container, and still more so for the contents in the uninscribed jar of Type 1 A, no. 56-2804.

There remains to discuss the question of use and contents of our Types 3 and 4. The juglets belonging to Type 4 give no clue to the problem. Their basic shape with its many variations is that of an ointment bottle, like the rest, but more than that can hardly be said.

A few comments and a conjecture may, however, be added in regard to Type 3. The vases of this class were all found in holy places and served as votive gifts. Seven of them bear the impression of a seal rendering the head of Asclepios, the god of healing. That four of these represent the deity crowned with a diadem of radiating spikes should not surprise us, as the crown of rays sometimes was used as an attribute of Asclepios. We find it on the colossal head from Melos in the British Museum,²⁴ and the issue is discussed by Wolters and Kerényi in their studies of Asclepios.²⁵ It may seem quite appropriate that a picture of the god of healing, the legendary ancestor of Asclepiades, and the protector and paragon of all physicians, was ren-

dered on any form of medicine container as a supreme vow of faith and hope. It certainly lent itself readily for use on a pious votive gift. But the fact that so many other votive medicine containers, without the image of the god, were found in Morgantina's sanctuaries, makes me believe that a particular explanation may be looked for.

The ancients knew of a specific drug, called asclepios. It was an ointment, like lykion, with a diversified therapeutical application. We find it recommended against ophthalmia, inflamed nostrils, arthritis, and even for making scars less visible.²⁶ Further we have the famous *πάνακες ἀσκληπιείου*—asclepion in Latin—a medicinal plant, probably to be identified with our sea pansnip (*Echinophora tenuifolia*, L.).²⁷ As the name indicates it produced a wonder drug, a *panacea* with an almost encyclopedic use. Like asclepios it could be prepared in the form of an ointment, a *collyrium*, and could therefore very well be packed in small jars of our type. Asclepias is a third herb associated with the divine name. It has been identified with our swallow-wort (*Vincetoxicum officinale*, L.) and a drug prepared from its roots was reputed to cure colic and to be useful against snake bite. It could either be taken in drink or applied locally,²⁸ and I presume that in the latter case it was also prepared as an ointment.

Any of these three drugs could, I submit, appropriately have been identified by the image of the god whose name they bore, thus making the supreme deity of healing the guarantee and trade mark of the product.

ERIK SJÖQVIST

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

here.

²⁶ Celsus 6.6.25 A; 6.6.32; Paulus Aegineta, lib. VII.3, s.v. ed. Heiberg, *Corp.Med.Gr.* Vol. 9:2, p. 250, and Latin transl. ed. Heiberg, 138 (p. 79) and 252 (p. 197).

²⁷ Plin. *Nat.Hist.* 25.11 (30-31); Theophr. *Hist.Plant.* 9.8.7; 9.11.1-2. For the identification see Liddell-Scott, s.v. *πάνακες* and W. H. S. Jones' edition of Pliny (Loeb Class. Libr.), vol. 7, index, p. 492, s.v. Asclepion.

²⁸ Pliny, *Nat.Hist.* 27.18 (35). For the identification, see W. H. S. Jones, *op.cit.*, index, p. 491, s.v. Asclepias. See also Paulus Aegineta, lib. VII.3, s.v., ed. Heiberg, *Corp.Med.Gr.* Vol. 9:2, p. 197.

²² *RA* 24 (1874) 58, no. 8.

²³ Buckthorn of the type here discussed (*Rhamnus cathartica*) is rather common all over Italy. See *Conosci l'Italia*, Vol. 2, *La Flora* (1958) 206 n. 1.

²⁴ A. H. Smith, *A catalogue of sculpture in . . . the Brit.Mus.* Vol. 1, 289-90, no. 550.

²⁵ P. Wolters, "Darstellungen des Asklepios," *AthMitt* 17 (1892) 1-15, see particularly pp. 8-9, with further references; K. Kerényi, *Der Göttliche Artz* (1956) 69-70. I am indebted to Prof. Kerényi for this reference. The religious and mythological significance of the crown in conjunction with Asclepios is an interesting problem which, however, cannot be discussed



FIG. 1. Inv. 56-2803. Lykion bottle of Type 1 A

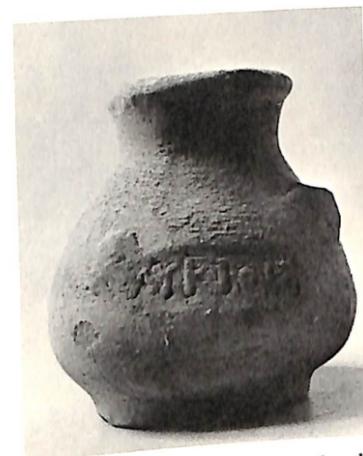


FIG. 2. Inv. 56-2802. Lykion bottle of Type 1 A, with inverted *nu*



FIG. 3. Inv. 56-2804. Lykion (?) bottle of Type 1 A without inscription



FIG. 4. Inv. 56-2806. Lykion bottle of Type 1 B



FIG. 5. Inv. 56-3092. Lykion bottle of Type 2 A, inscribed



FIG. 6. Inv. 58-498. Lykion bottle of Type 2 B, inscribed



FIG. 7. Inv. 58-379. Medicine bottle of Type 3 A, with stamped impression of head of Asclepius



FIG. 8. Inv. 58-381. Medicine bottle of Type 3 A, with stamped impression of head of Asclepius with radiating diadem



FIG. 9. Medicine bottles of Type 3 B; a (left) inv. 58-1837; b (right) inv. 58-378



FIG. 10. Inv. 58-518. Medicine bottle of Type 4

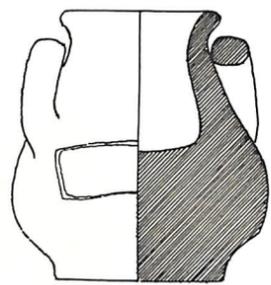


FIG. 11:1. Inv. 56-2803. Type 1 A

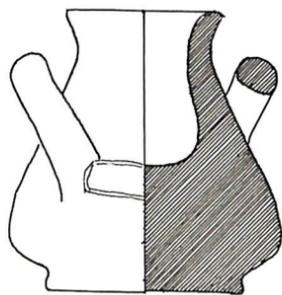


FIG. 11:2. Inv. 56-2806. Type 1 B

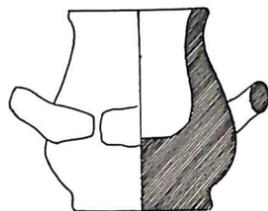


FIG. 11:3. Inv. 56-3092. Type 2 A

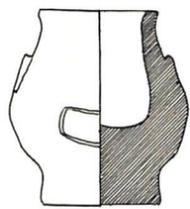


FIG. 11:4. Inv. 58-498. Type 2 B

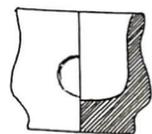


FIG. 11:5. Inv. 58-397. Type 3 A

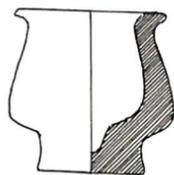


FIG. 11:6. Inv. 58-412. Type 3 B



FIG. 11:7. Inv. 58-380. Type 4

FIG. 11:1-7. Profile drawings of the four types of medicine bottles

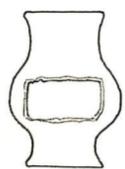


FIG. 13. Lykion bottle inscribed 'Ηρακλείου λύκιον.
Private coll., Paris (after Simpson)

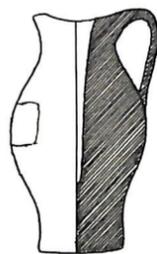


FIG. 14. Lykion bottle inscribed 'Ιάσονος λύκιον.
Private coll., Paris (after Simpson)



FIG. 15. Lykion bottle of lead, inscribed Λύκιον
παρὰ Μουσαίου and provided with emblem of tripod.
British Museum (after Simpson)



FIG. 12. The lykion plant as illustrated in ms. of
Dioscorides' *Materia Medica*, Tome II, fol. 255v.,
Morgan Library, New York

2.01a

Prints, second copy,

8) medicine bottles

2.016

Prints, second copy,
of medicine bottles.



2.026

1L

904



2.036

1L 904

201
Lg



2.046

SS 7038

Handwritten signature or scribble

with letter of 7. 20, 79 3
from Y. Delont
(with notes
CYP. - KITION)

Timbres amphoriques de Beyrouth
(collections privées)

Amphore complète - Rhodes

- ⊙ Ἀριστοκλεῦς rose
- ⊙ Ἐπὶ Σωσιπλεῦς Δαλίου rose
(sic)

comb cards
made

timbre secondaire T étoile

Amphore complète - Rhodes

- ⊙ Ἴπποκράτεος rose
- ⊙ Ἐπὶ Θεαιδήτου Θεσμοφορίου rose

Comb. cards
made

Anse - Rhodes

- Ἐπὶ Πει-
σίστου (sic)
Βαδρομίου

Anse - Rhodes

- ⊙ Ἐπὶ Ἀρχιδάμου Σμινθίου rose

Anse - Rhodes

- Ἰσχυροῦ torche enflammée

Vase miniature à engobe rouge

- Δημέας
- Λύκιος

card made

Trois bords de plats timbrés (pelves)

- ARRIAE CAESE-
- NIAE PAULLINAE

Κασσι-
άνου feuille

Δοί-
νου feuille

31.11.80

4.08

AD

4.03a 7a



st,
79
-

MEDICINE BOTTLE

Διφαιόσ
Λυκίο

1
2
3
4
5
6



Vase miniature
collection privée

waikiki of F. XII.79

from Y. Calvert, or

KITSON

Beyrouth, private collection, from Y. Calvet, ^{4.02a}
see his letter of 7.XII.79 filed under
CYPRUS -KITION

ΔΗΜΕΑΣ
ΛΥΚΙΟΣ

4.026

Beyrouth, private collection, from Y. Calvet,^{4.03a}
see his letter of 7.XII.79 filed under
CYPRUS - KITION

ΔΗΜΕΑΣ
ΛΥΚΙΟΣ

4.036

Δημέας
Λύκιος

Beyrouth, private collection, from Y. Calvet, 4.04a
see his letter of 7.XII.79 filed under
CYPRUS - KITION, w. sec. st. T*

ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΣ

rose

ΣΩΣΙΚΛΗΣ, op.

ΔΑΛ.

R



Jar

α) 'Επί Σωσικ(λ)εῦς Δαλίου β) 'Αριστοκλεῦς

rose

rose

COMBINATIONS

4.046

Beyrouth, private collection, from Y. Calvet, 4.05a
see his letter of 7.XII.79 filed under
CYPRUS - KITION

ΙΠΠΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ

rose

ΘΕΑΙΔΗΤΟΣ, ep.

ΘΕΣ.

R



Jar

α) 'Επί Θεαιδήτου Θεσμοφορίου β) 'Ιπποκράτεις

rose

rose

COMBINATIONS

4.056

Bejruth, private collection, from Y. Calvet, 4.069
see his letter of 7. XII.79 filed under
CYPRUS & KITION , w. sec. st. T *

ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΣ

rose

ΣΩΣΙΚΛΗΣ, op.

ΔΑΛ.

R



Jar

α) 'Επί Σωσικ(λ)εῦς Δαλφου

rose

β) 'Αριστοκλεῦς

rose

COMBINATIONS

4.066

Boyrouth, private Collection, from Y. Calvet, 4.07a
see his letter of 7.XII.79 filed under
CYPRUS -KITION

ΙΠΠΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ

rose

ΘΕΑΙΔΗΤΟΣ, ep.

ΘΕΣ.

R



Jar

α) 'Επί Θεαιδήτου Θεσμοφορίου
rose

β) 'Ιπποκράτειος
rose

COMBINATIONS

4.076

~~AD~~

Θόδωρος
COMB.S

2 το 2055 2

ἀμφόρως

~~π. Γ. Ω~~

Beyrouth, private
collection, from Y. Calvet,
see his letter of 7.11.79
file under CYPRUS -
KITION

Να γίψει και το

MEDICINE BOTTLE

Διφύκος
Λύκιο

Media bottles found in Thrace
 found in Salonica - 1967; recorded by us
 VII. 70

See Originals of MZ 555-565, with several
 types:

Λύκειον MZ 555-557, 564

Νικίου

Τῶν Θεῶν

Ἰσῆτου

in wreath

Ἐπιφύλαξ MZ 558-561

Ἐπιφύλαξ (- MZ 565
 Νικίου

MZ 562-3, unstamped

We have no photos.

From Οἰκὸς τοῦ Βιοτεχνῶν

Smallest stamp contained

See Besslimov, "Les Recherches nouvelles à l'étranger sur l'épigraphie céramique" Sovetskaya Arheologiya 1966, p. 338, ref. to a Dukia contained publ. by Bulgaria. He cites two or three articles about this find, correctly identified (by Ponglo, 1966).

V.9.
AGORA EXCAVATIONS
AMERICAN SCHOOL
OF CLASSICAL STUDIES
ATHENS, GREECE

2.VT.58

7.01

Lead flashes at Agora

IL 853, IL 904

Rubbings of inscriptions & devices

VIA AIR MAIL

~~Mr. L. A. Bonaschi~~

FB

(Costs are with our stamped pottery
flashes, in 75-13)

V.G.
AGORA EXCAVATIONS
AMERICAN SCHOOL
OF CLASSICAL STUDIES
ATHENS, GREECE

2-VT.58

7.01

Lead flashes at Agora

IL 853, IL 904

Rubbings of inscription & devices

VIA AIR MAIL

~~Mr. L. A. Banaschi~~

B

(Costs are with one stamped pottery
flashes, in 75-13)



7.02

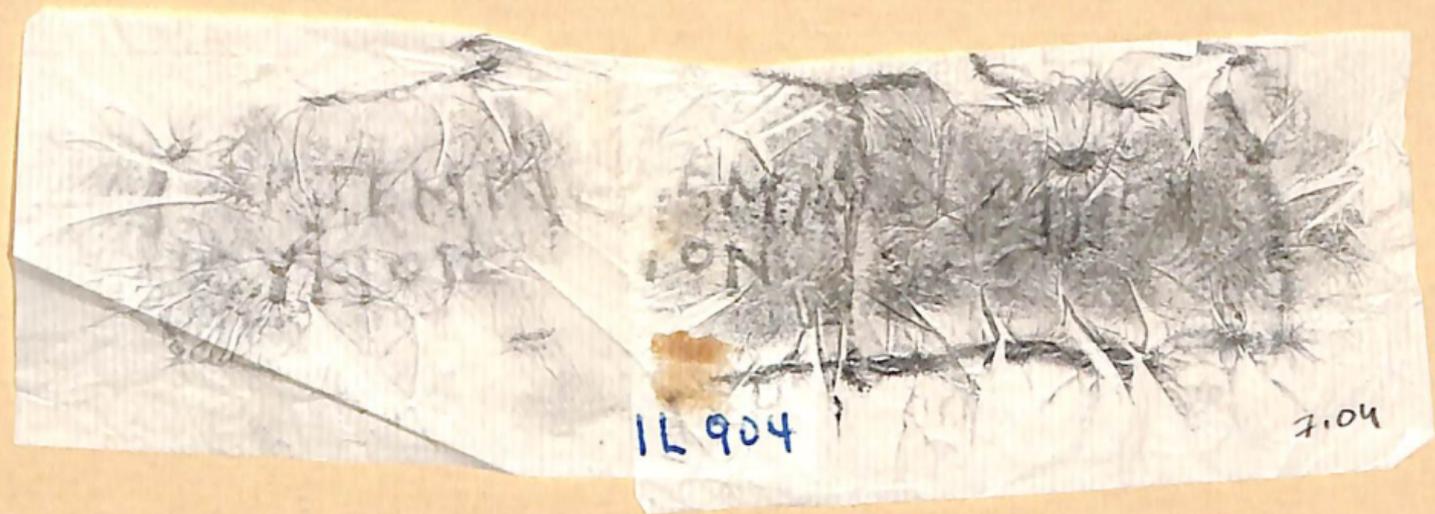
1L 853



IL 853

7.03





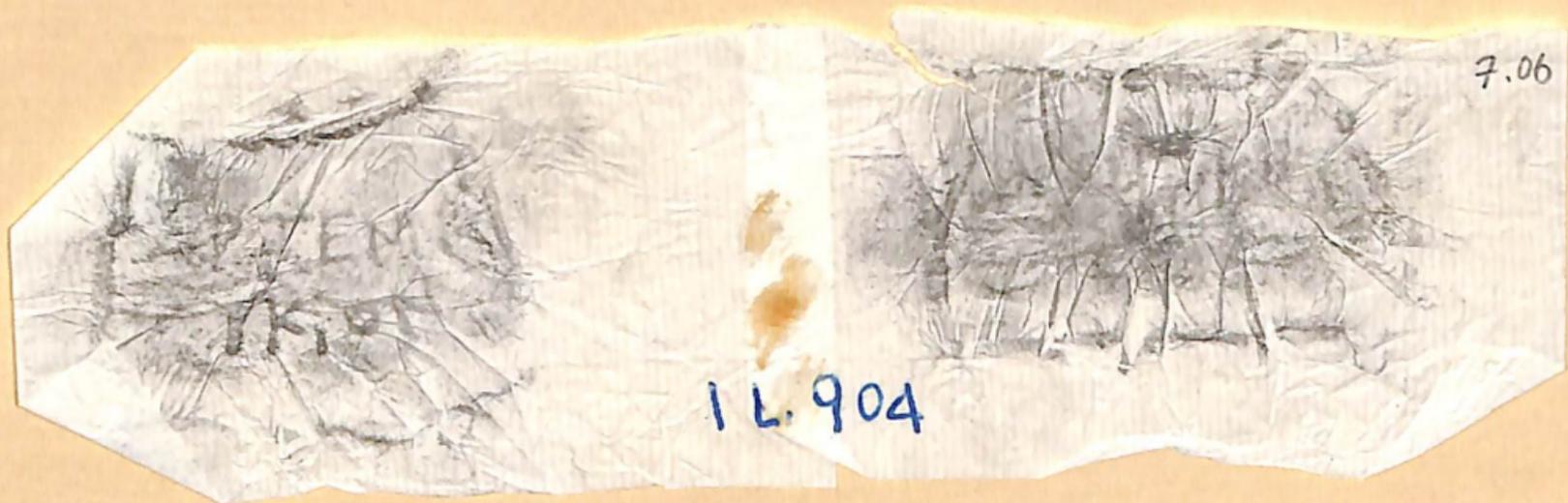
1L 904

7.04



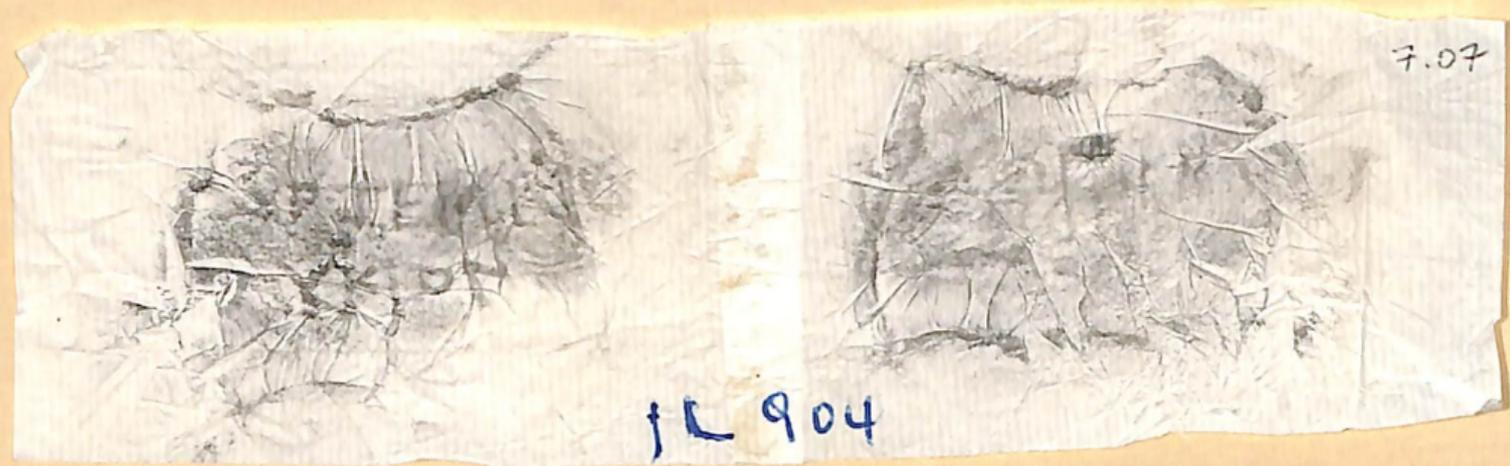
12 904

7.05



1 L. 904

7.06



7.07

904 JL

26. VII. 60

LT has the following
medicine bottles:

P 9430

10555

16501

20137

copy to Mr. Benachi

LYKION FLASKS

May 16, 1958

Dear Erik,

I was fascinated to hear of your lykion flasks from Morgantina. Do you plan to publish them shortly? I should love to have an offprint of the article.

In addition to SS 7993 and SS 7038, notes on which Lucy Talcott has already passed on to you, I know of four other unpublished stamped pottery examples, in the collection of Lucas Benachi of Alexandria (none with your name, Herakleios.) These I hope to include in our corpus volume on Koan containers (now being prepared). Such a volume ought to have something on medicine bottles, and in fact there are parallels between some stamps on these miniature pots and some on large jars of Kos. ^(x) (Only two of Mr. Benachi's bottle stamps mention lykion)

This is by no means to say that all such flasks came from there. Herakleios does not appear on amphora stamps of Kos, and I know of nobody from Kos with this name, and your idea of Sicilian manufacture is very interesting.

We much enjoyed having Professor Gjerstad here for a while this spring.

Will you and Gurli be coming out next winter?

With best wishes to you both,

Yours,

Virginia Grace

(x) Διοσκουριος in small
2 line stamp, in both
(Other small 2-line stamps
on amphoras: ΚΑΡΑΒ/ΑΚΤΟΣ
ΚΑΡ/ΗΟΣ
all rounded; Δ, and ΚΑΡ: often with ΛΔ ΛΔ stamp)

(x) Also, name ΗΣ, especially
Οϊκιδης.

Princeton University

10
copy in Serra Orlandi
file

May 12, 1958

Miss Lucy Talcott

etc.

Dear Miss Talcott:

Many thanks for your kind and helpful letter concerning our medicine bottles. After having written to you I discovered the examples published in Hesperia 1948, p.191 and pl. 69: 4, and am most grateful for your additional information. In the little spare time I have in this rather hectic period toward the end of the spring term I pursue this small problem.

The miniature pot published in Hesperia 1949, pl.97, no.98, is certainly correctly diagnosed by Corbett but is different from ours. I believe, but can for the time being not prove it, that some of our jars are local Morgantina products, and that others may come from the famous health resort and medical centre of Thermae Himeraeae on the north coast of the island.

The presence of the druggist's name was probably a guarantee of the genuineness of the stuff, particularly because, according to Pliny 12.31 and Dioscourides 1.100.2, lykion was often faked. The real lykion was substituted with the berberis shrub growing on Mount Pelion, or with the root of the asphodelos lily, ox-gall, etc. Characteristically enough most of our jars seem to have the same shape, possibly to facilitate the circulation of the faked lykion. Here I am not quite sure either, because I write on the basis of descriptions received from Dick Stillwell. I regret not being able to send you a photo of the general type, but I do not have one myself yet.

Again, many thanks and best greetings to everybody,

Very sincerely yours,

Erik Sjöqvist

May 6, 1958

Professor Erik Sjöqvist
Department of Art and Archaeology
Princeton University
Princeton, New Jersey
U. S. A.

Dear Professor Sjöqvist:

We were much interested in your enquiry of April 29 about the little pots for Lykion. We have only a few. Of lead, there are the three examples presented in Hesperia XVII, 1948, p. 191 and pl. 69, 4 and one more, found last week, inscribed Lykion Artem. This is just like the other three, except for the abbreviation of the name of the purveyor.

Of clay we have two, one (Inv. SS 7993) for the stamp of which Virginia Grace gives the reading:

info.
for
VG

	Ερραφιλο[
wreath	Μοσχίωνος	device
	Λυκίων	
	Επε. [

and a second (Inv. SS 7038) with a monogram, set sidewise, Virginia has been interested in these for some time and says she will write you further.

Other than these, we have a few roughly cylindrical little clay pots, unstamped, that appear to be for medicine; a late 5th century example is illustrated in Hesperia XVIII, 1949, pl. 97, no. 98; they are not very common, in spite of their extremely substantial fabric.

We shall look forward to seeing your story, and wish we had more to contribute to it.

With warm greetings from the Agora,

Sincerely yours,

LT/ak

Lucy Talcott

(X) IL 853 ΚΑΛΑΡΑ[
 ΔΥΚΙΟΝ
 IL 854 (no inscription)
 (PA 12) IL 904 ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΑΙΤΡΟΝ
 ΔΥΚΙΟΝ

(Darius
...
also
...)

VG Lykion

12

ΙΑΚΟΝΟC ΛΥΚΙΟΝ

Reinach, Traité d'épigraphie grecque p 457.

(ques several refs)

for R. Edwards

W. G. Miller

Drummond, Notes on Some Ancient Gr.

Medical Uses Containing Lychnis

Edinburgh 1853

~~from~~

Paul Doucens, Les Potes de Pharmacie

2nd ed. Toulouse 1923

January 31, 1951 136
Boston

Dearest Lucy,

I was delighted to hear about the beautiful files, and can hardly wait to get back to get into them. No need to tell you my reaction to the departure of Andrusch, which is going to set back the progress of civilization 500 years (your expression).

SS 7038

14a

SS 7993

Stamped small
flashes

in Small Group
Cabinet II, drawer

m.c. sled.

has cap of

any note on

them thing

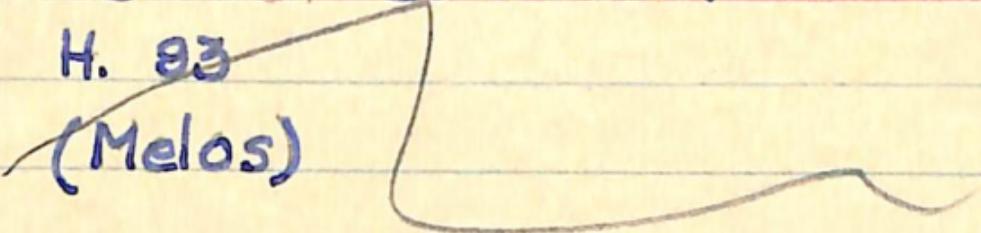
(unpublished)

British School Collection

146

H. 93

(Melos)



N 5410

R 399
(SA)

Smallest stamped container 15

Renan,

Mission in Phénicie

p. 38, 349, etc.

(for Dumont's bib.)

support for cart. of papers
there.

N 5646

P 876
(SA)

*

Substantia Præin
nos 83-85
p. 424 of.

to know on cells
kind was, support
to binding

Paguntesch, Expéd. F. von Siegen

II, 3, p. 165, Fig. 170

Pa.

N 5350

E 968

(DPA)

v. 2

Incidentally, this (with a
seen & know only through drawing)



Fig. 170

p. 165

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

Princeton, New Jersey

Department of Art and Archaeology

April 29, 1958

Miss Lucy Talcott
American School of Classical Studies
54 Souidias
Athens, Greece.

Dear Miss Talcott:

I would be very grateful if you would help me with some information in a small problem that has lately turned up in the Morgantina excavations.

We are gathering a considerable amount of small medicine jars from the houses around the agora, many of them with the inscription: Λύκιον the famous eye ointment and patent medicine of the Hellenistic and Roman world. They vary slightly in shape and some of them have as an additional inscription the name of the physician or possibly the drug store that produced them. In our case he is called Herakleios, and his stamp is also recorded in I. G. 14. 2406:1.

I have followed up all the useful bibliography quoted in I.G. and am building up a rather interesting little story. The other physicians/druggists that I have tracked down as producers of lykion are a certain Jason and another Mousaios. Their ointment jars are of different shape than ours which are small terracotta jars of very thick fabric.

I understand that you have a great number of lead jars for lykion from the Agora. Do any of these carry either of the names that we have? And have you any terracotta jars that can compare with ours, with or without physicians' names? I would be very grateful for any information you may be willing to give me.

With best regards to all common friends in the Agora,

Very sincerely yours,

(signed) Erik Sjöqvist

/ak

SMALLEST STAMPED
CONTAINERS

14 March 1949
P 10555
SS

See Hesp
XVIII, 1949,
no. 98

Peter Corbett inquires, with reference to a container
in the ^{Agon} "well" (last quarter 5th BC) he is publishing.
P 10555
He observes that ~~SS~~ resembles the objects
O.B. published from Corinth (Hesperia), and
see O.B.'s letter to me of 5 May 47, filed under
LAQYNOL).

I showed him Benacchi's Lykion containers, and
references to Wejand - Schwader Praxis, and he will
look at HAT's lead thing.

Note ~~text~~ inspection in Alexandria in Feb. '49
of ~~three~~ Benacchi's 3 examples. ^(X) Two looked Rhodian,
including the one with the rose. The third looked Coan
(the one that just says Dionysios). "Fractional Stamped
Containers" to be corrected before publication. (Filed under
STANDARDS.) Photo. of Benacchi's seal container,
see envelope file of prints, with BENACCHI variant
Note SS 7038, small seal container marked TAT

16.V.58

Note that Mr. Benacchi, ^{now} actually has a
fourth, of somewhat different shape, which M2
made:
A
Ovidios
MAYE[?]
E[?]
These names are Roman. We
have no notes on clay.

Medicine bottle

Pardrigot, Paul, Les Terracottes Grecques d'Egypte
de la Collection Fouquet, Pl. CXXVI, no. 352
 on-handled

ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙ

ΟΥΛΥΚ

for GRE

2.7.59

Not. degli Scavi, 1958, p. 285, from Heraclea
 Minoa; rect, stamp below the collar of a "piccolo
 vasetto"; ΚΛΕΟΜΕΝΗΣ. Stamp is .004 x

.036
 with

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

Department of Art and Archaeology

May 21, 1958

not answered, also

Miss Virginia Grace
American School of Classical Studies
54 Souidias
Athens, Greece.

Dear Virginia:

Many thanks for your good letter of May 16th. I am delighted to hear that you are interested in my medicine bottles from Morgantina. It is an interesting little problem, to which I, during the last month, have dedicated the free time a busy teacher can get out of a well-filled spring term. As far as publication is concerned, I confess that I have not yet given it a thought, as I was quite sure nobody would care for it. Under present circumstances I will see what I can do during my summer vacation in Sweden, but I am somewhat uncertain about the outcome, because I have promised to contribute a major article to a Palermo publication on Sicily under Timoleon, and the deadline is August 30th. It may have to wait until the fall.

Of course, I am very much interested in your information concerning the four bottles in the Benaki collection in Alexandria. One always thinks of pharaonic Egypt as the ultimate home of pharmaceutical research in antiquity, but in all Egyptian drug lists that I have been able to consult, lykion is patently lacking. A pharmaceutical historian, Dr. Leake at the State Medical School of Ohio, has confirmed this in a letter. The use of lykion is, as far as I can see, the fruit of Greek medical experience, brought to Alexandria only in Hellenistic times. This is rather surprising.

The other day I came across a peripheral article that may be interesting from a specific Alexandrian viewpoint, and you may already know it. It is George Miles' Early Arabic Glass Weights and Stamps; a Supplement, Numismatic Notes and Monogr. 120, 1951. There he reverses his earlier view, and identifies certain stamps on Arabic glass jars as druggists' marks. This may signify a continuation of the Hellenistic tradition into Moslem times.

Let me know if you are interested in further information about the Morgantina bottles and adjacent material that I have tried to gather. If it could be of any service to you when preparing the Kos volume, I would be delighted.

Yours,
Erik
Erik Sjöqvist

13 0548

Lybion contains at the Agora:

See HAT, Hesperia XVII, 1948, p. 191
(IL 853, 854, 904)

5.V.58 q. also ^{SS?} P 7038, with A 21.01

29.XI.49

5.V.58

SS 7993, Ω

is just like Bernadini's Temp. Sjöq., which
(kept in drawer with objects not stamped on handle)
is just like the other
of the name of

5.V.58
Read
corrected

Επηρα ΑΡΟΙ
Μοσχιωρος
ΑΙΚΙΝ
Επ[

... putting ones at Agora,

refsto. Hesperia 1949, pl. 97, no. 98 (late 5th B.C.)

5.V.58 q. also ^{SS?} P 7038, with ~~A~~

29.8.49

SS 7993, Ω

is just like Benacchi's things

(kept in drawer with objects not stamped on handle)

3.V.58
Read
corrected

Επιμαθητής
Μοσχιώτης
Αύγουστος
Επ[...]

13 05 48

Lybion contains at the Agora:

In HAT, Hesperis XVII, 1948, p. 191
(IL 853, 854, 904)

5. V. 58

(see no. ΠA 12)
Another lead example, now at the Agora,
of today E. Sjög. which
according to LT's letter
reads Lybion Artemis. "This is just like the other
ones, except for the abbreviation of the name of
the purveyor."
LT lists also unstamped pottery ones at Agora,

ref to Hesperis 1949, pl. 97, no. 98 (late 5th B.C.)

⊗ Société Royale d'Archéologie Albanaise

Bulletin No. 35 N.S. Vol. XI 2

Pl. XVIII Figure 16. P. 61 of text

(Ref. of) Bursini letter 27.VIII.46

21 Oct 46

The references are for investigation of some stamped fragments found by Bursini - see his letters of summer 1946 - which he states are of Rhodian clay, and points out the Rhodian rose as an example.

a date of 200 BC is given by the context of Pomi's example for the Serepian. See Bursini Aug. 27, 46. But note, also a handle w. name of ep. Timodemos, who is post-Perg. Post-Agona - prob. 2nd quarter of 2nd century, letter of June 25, 46 and July 15, 46.
 Group of ca 200 handles (see 300-250)

See attached paper on "varieties" of Cl. III, 5365

5 Nov. 47

Discussion today with H.A.T., ref. a lead example found in the Agona in the past season, reading AYKION with the name Artemidoros. I find no record of an attempt to read Bursini's examples. So:

1.) MOXXI...
AYKIOC
rose

2.) NIKIAC
AYKIOC (faint)
EPITIA

3.) NOIA
TOIYY

Nicias and Dionysios of course occur on Rhodian jars. Moschi - apparently not (only MOΣXOΣ). all 3 are Coan.

There is some connection (aside from 6 inscriptions about Coan medals) suggesting their derivation from Coa. Possibly one of the names has been identified as Coan (doctus?)
 See H.A.T. - 5365

clay looks Rhodian (Bursini)

So: Pomi's ⊗ + Serepian find

Query whether another of these small
containers is referred by
CIG III, 5365-

a stamped "vasculum" found in the
rubble of Carthage (see NORTH AFRICA
folder) and later brought to
Naples; it has the name of a
Coan.

ἰατρικόν

9 Mar 47

9 Mar 47

Rest. SEH112 p. 241.

SIG³ 1000

Coan taxes: an inscription of the 2nd cent., when Cos was under Rhod. impl. - a set of regulations respecting sale of produce, apparently (fragmentary). Their main income from sacrifices, & certain sacrifices compulsory for particular groups. a lot of dock - way workers and contractors - List of taxes unique in its amplitude, though not complete. Haphazard arr. Include (at least as preserved) no taxes payable by producers. 1.) Taxes paid by retail trader, on various foodstuffs & other things. 2.) Prop. & personal taxes, on prostitutes, vineyard slaves - - - and finally the medical tax (ἰατρικόν) which was probably a personal tax paid by the inhabitants of Cos for the maintenance of the public health service (hardly a tax paid by the doctors); "

Poinc p. 429, Fig 547 has somewhat the shape of Boudou's things, but stamp diff. from ΘΡΑΚΤΟΣ. Poinc diff. shape. This is a small handle with pt. below. Small contains for ΛΥΚΙΟΝ

(f. Weigand - Schrad, Poinc, p. 429)

leaf and clay
The stamp
The leaf
was used
in its mould.

Héron de Villiers et Thévenaz, Castels d'Antistes

Romains I, p. 29 ff.

Kaibel IG XIV p. 603 Nr. 2406, 1-4

Ιακωβος Δουκιου, Απακδου Δουκιου,
Ναικια Δουκιου, Δουκιου Ποπα Μουσταλου,
Κοσμου, Κοσμα Λατρου "zu dem
eingangend des Stempelstein mit Κοσμου
μυδουου, K. αυθυμπεου and K. ερηματιου
bill."

etc.
etc.

Pochon d'Amey, Dissertation sur l'inscription
grecque Ιακωβος Δουκιου etc
Zinjser notes on an ancient Greek medical
vases for containing Lyxion

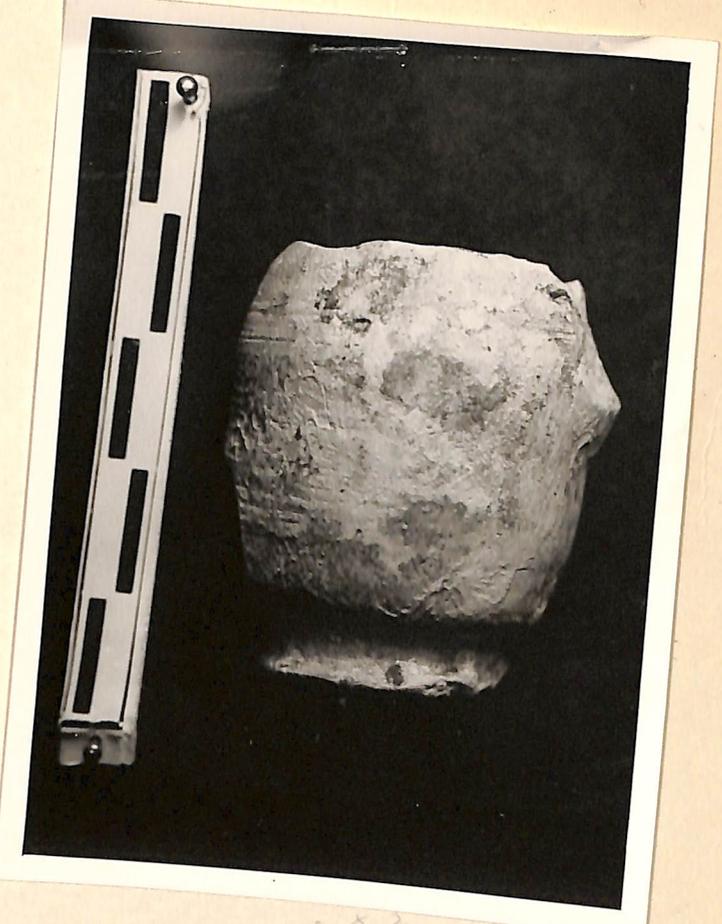
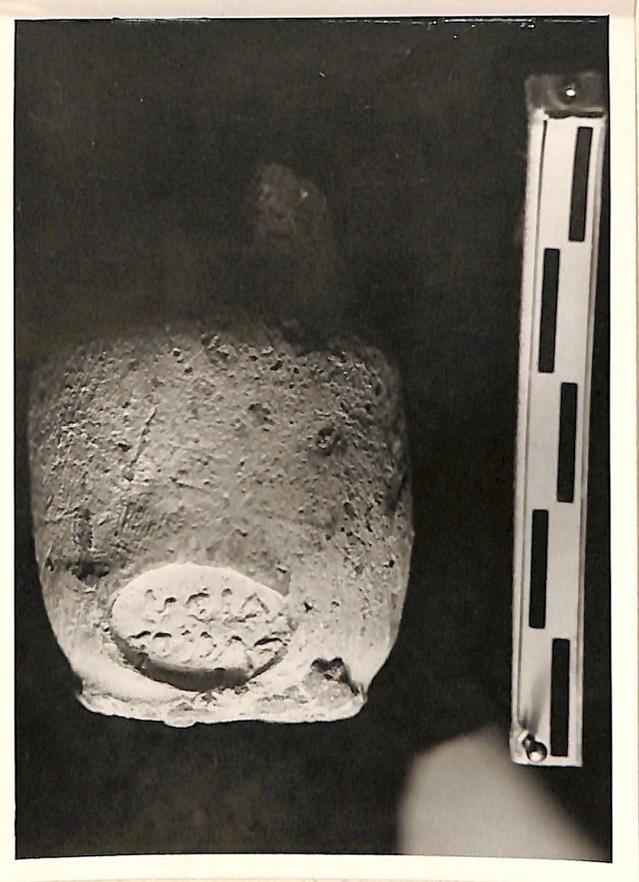
Not that the Poinc examples, which are
somewhat diff. (no ΔΟΥΚΙΟΥ ill) the stamp
seems to be impressed on an added blob of clay.
They have been found on a coin type, on a
separate blob.

Types are on file, with rubbings
(see "Medicine Bottles")

LYKION
flasks
BENACHI COLL.

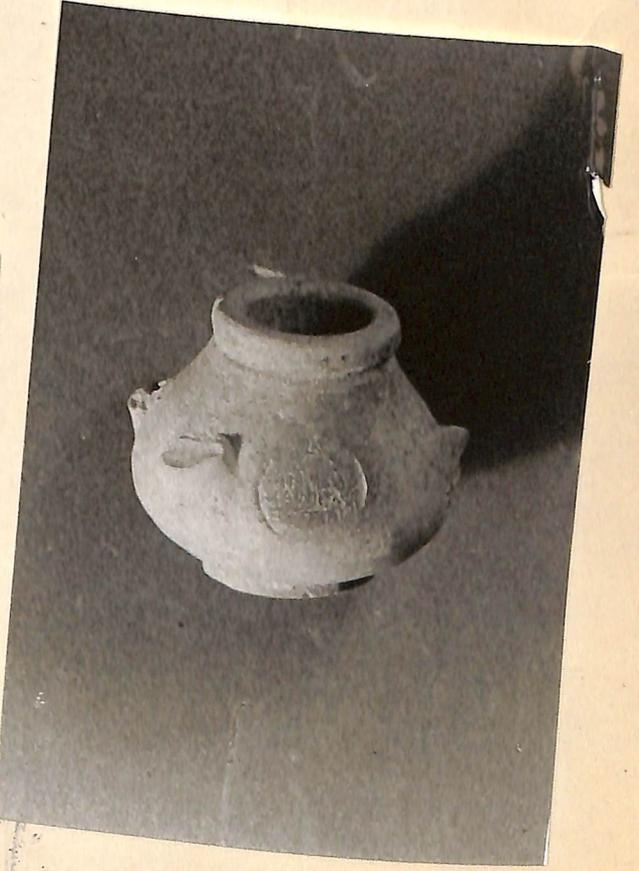
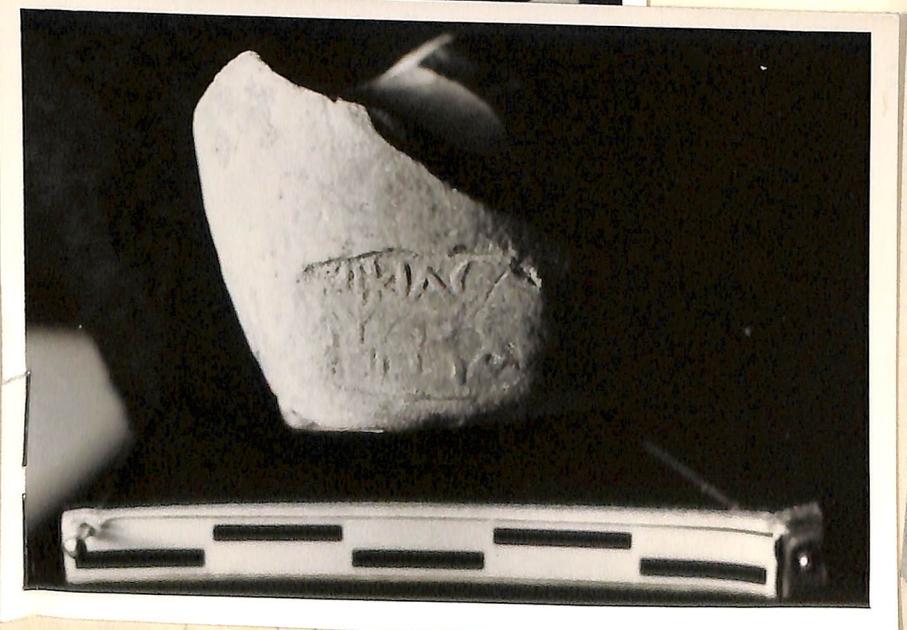
Cast: on SAH cabinet 75, 13

(marked
with
M.
number)



"M1" Δουβέρας^{x2} (clay Kora)

"M2" Μοσχίου^{x2} w. rose αγκίος



"M3" Νικίας, τεφλί^{x2} αγκίος

"M4" Οικόλης^{and sigs} Μαργε (no number of αγκίος)

Other prints of the first three, at ^{the} actual size, are attached to Kora volume plates.

OVER

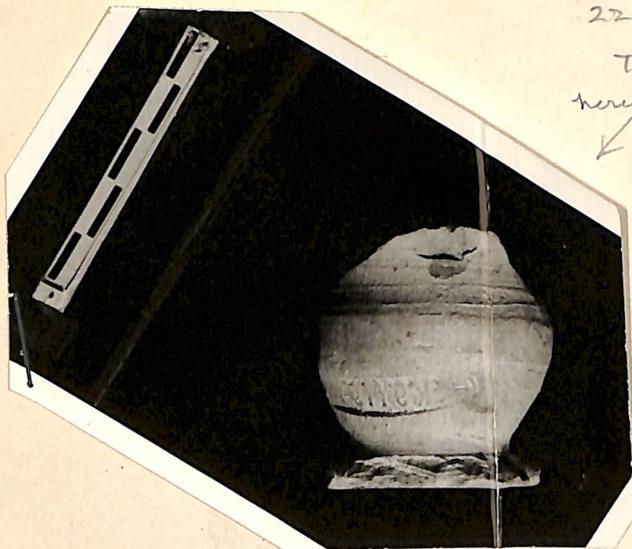
22.11.62

The Benesi stamp
here attached under

↙ see to have other records of.

Mr. Benesi, just now here, says
perhaps Elst has records, since
stamp may be Latin. Found
in clearing up a large batch
of photos, dupl.s of Benesi
collection.

Not on file in stamp file.

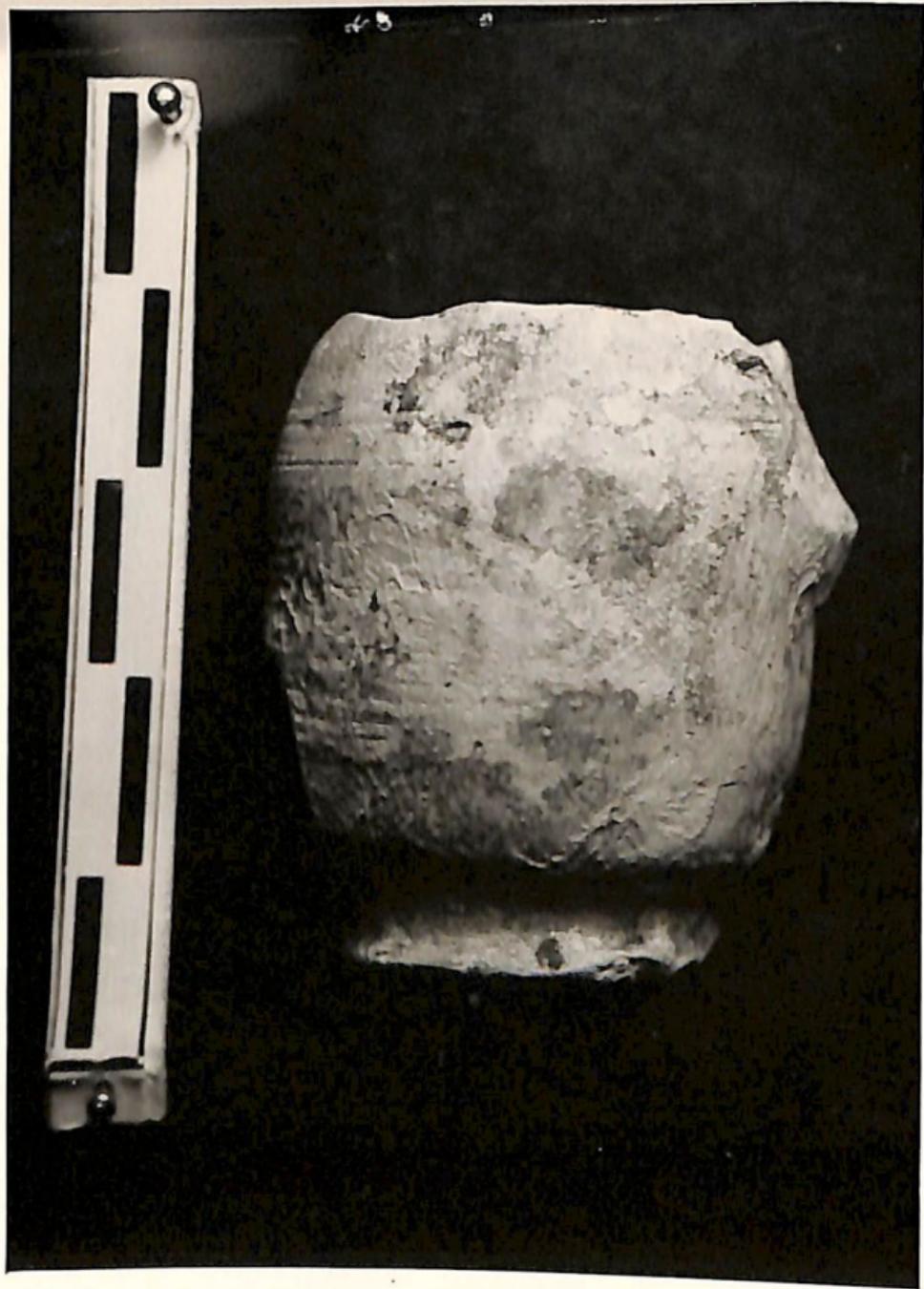




A2

acc. to rubbing
(one 15/70/45)
scale 2:1

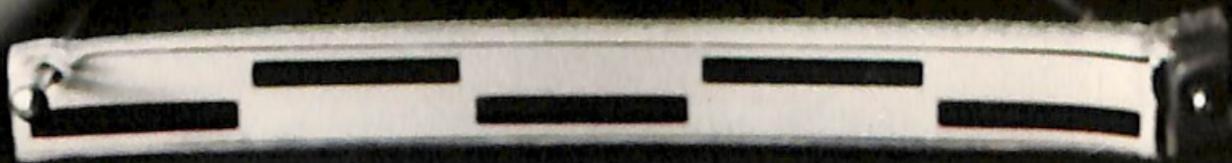
Bancroft 9 Aug 46



Parasitic 9 Aug 76

1

C



Bussoli 9 Aug 46

25,056

Acc. Bussoli (acc. 25/51/46)

ca. 2:1

2



25.066

Bensali 9 Aug 46

—

22



25.076

No 5.

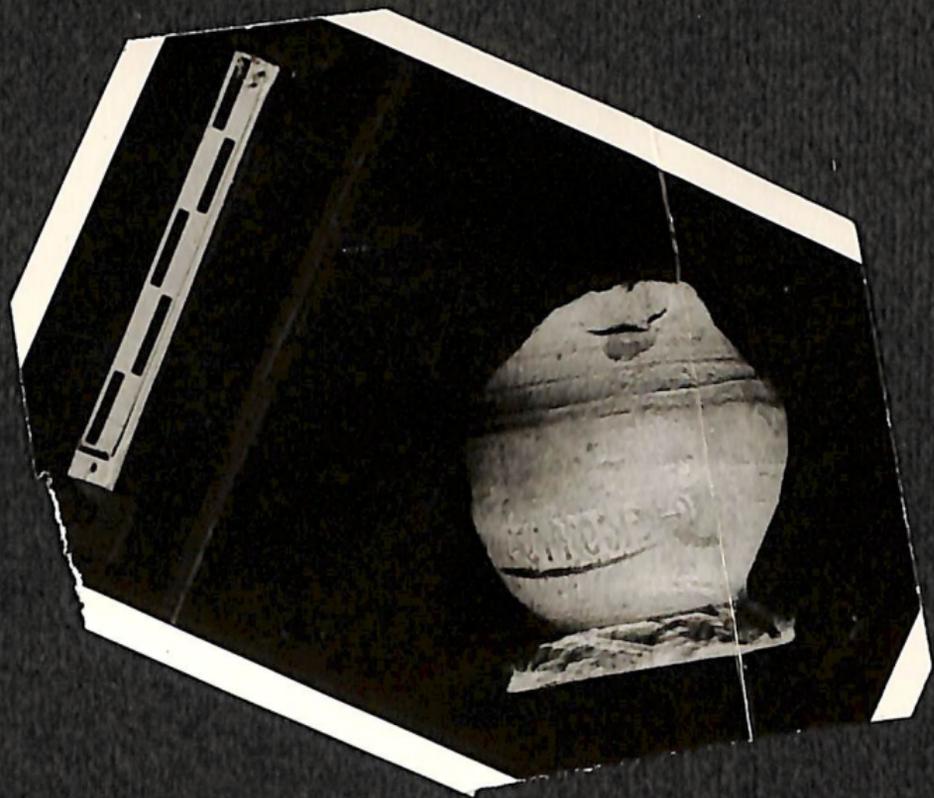
30 B

Benachi 26. XII. 49

No 5

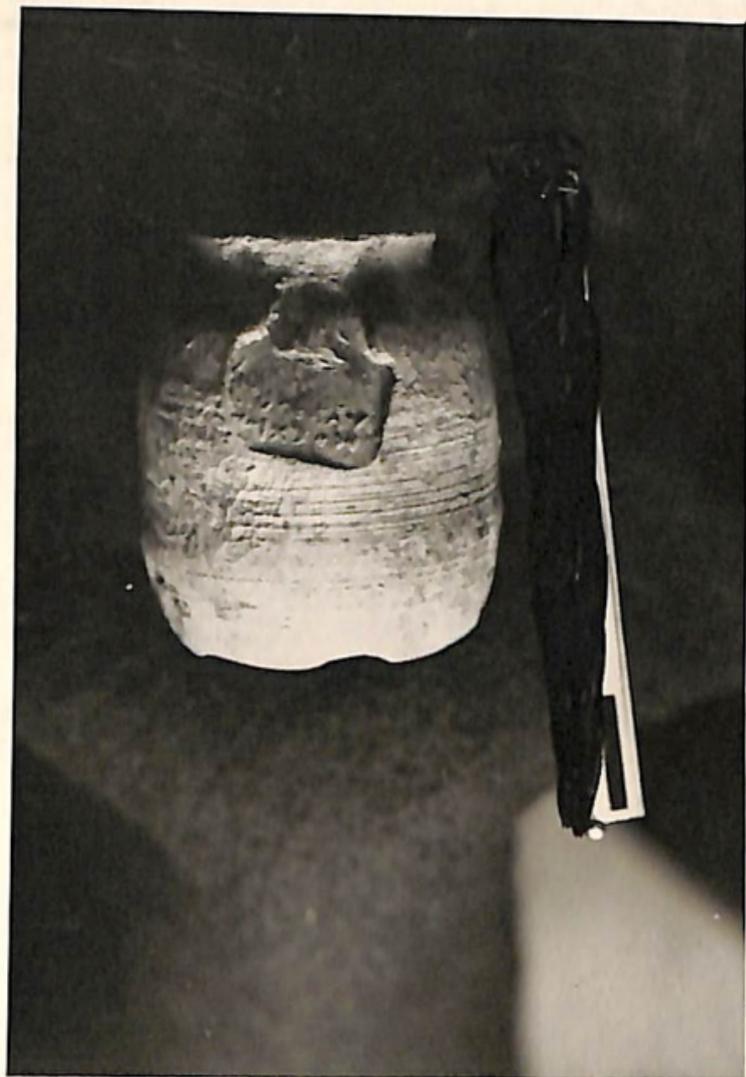
Note the
letter tries
a reading;

A
CINIADY
MAADY
[]



25.086

ABC DUPL.S
BROUGHT IV.60



Berachia 27 Aug 46

5
1



9. VII. 73

Mexico bottles of Aztec

stamped pills

SS 7038

SS 7993

→ SS (view of PP, J.C.)

stamped lead

IL 904

IL 853

unstamped pills

P 9430

10555-

16501

20137

SPICES were used in religious practices long before they became ingredients of seasoning. This earliest employment of them for embalming and for diverse sacrificial and funeral rites survives today in the burning of incense.
* * *

STAMPED MEDICINE FLASKS