

VOTIVE ARMOUR AND ARMS.

THE custom of dedicating or of specially setting apart articles of use or ornament to divine beings has been common to many peoples, and has come down from a remote antiquity to the present day. Nor is the motive which prompts the action one in any way foreign to the impulses by which men are moved. A danger escaped, a victory achieved, is not unnaturally believed to be due, at all events in some measure, to powers not of the lower world, who can control and even overrule the designs of mortal men. In the temples, therefore, of the gods, and in other places hallowed by the more immediate presence of the divinity, it has been the habit to offer various things in recognition of benefits already bestowed, or in the hope of favours to be granted in the future. The pot of manna and Aaron's rod which budded laid up in the Tabernacle,¹ are as trite as are the models which the same pious feeling still deposits in Christian churches, in remembrance of shipwrecks escaped from or of diseases cured. In no country was the custom more observed than in Hellas, where it was usual to dedicate a tenth of the spoil taken in war, and where at the great shrines so large were the offerings, that many of the states had *θησαυροί*, in which were preserved the almost innumerable votive objects dedicated to the Gods. In Greece itself there was no place, not excepting Delphi and Dodona, where more evidence of the observance of the custom was to be found than at Olympia, and in the temple where dwelt the cloud-compelling wielder of the lightning, the mighty dispenser of victory, Zeus, the King of Gods and men.

¹ In the later times of the Jewish kingdom the practice was still kept up, for we read in the account of Herod's new Temple at Jerusalem : τοῦ δὲ ἱεροῦ

παντὸς ἦν ἐν κύκλῳ πεπηγμένα σκῦλα βαρβαρικὰ καὶ ταῦτα πό·τα βασιλεὺς Ἡρώδης ἀνέθηκε, προσθεὶς ὅσα καὶ τῶν Ἀράβων ἔλαβεν.—Josephus, xv. 11.

Pausanias¹ gives an account of some of the many offerings which still remained at Olympia in his time, of which, among the most noteworthy, may be mentioned the golden buckler on the front of the temple, dedicated by the Lacedaemonians and their allies from the spoil of the Argives, Athenians, and Ionians after the battle of Tanagra. He also tells us,² and, on account of the inscription, the fact is especially valuable, that at the centre of the Altis, under the plane-trees, was the statue of an athlete, carrying halteres, having the following inscription engraved on the thigh :

Ζηνὶ θεῶν βασιλεῖ μ' ἀκροθίνιον ἐνθάδ' ἔθηκαν
Μενδαῖοι Σίπτην χερσὶ βιασσάμενοι.

Amongst the many and varied articles offered in the sacred places, not the least common were weapons both of offence and defence,³ and several of these have escaped the numerous destructive agencies to which they have been subjected, and have come down to our own time.

Before giving a description of the spear-head which forms the principal subject of the present paper, or entering on the discussion of any question connected therewith, it may be useful to bring together the scattered notices of such weapons as have been discovered, which, on account of the inscriptions upon them, have undoubtedly been dedicatory. Many of them have been found on the site of Olympia or in the immediate neighbourhood.

One of the most important of these inscribed votive weapons

¹ Lib. v. cap. 10.

² Lib. v. cap. 27.

³ The *Anthologia Graeca* contains numerous epigrams which relate to offerings of arms. The second of the *Epigrammata Anathematica*, by Simonides, is as follows :

Τόξα τάδε πολέμοιο πεπαυμένα δακρυόεντος

νηφ' Ἀθηναίης κείται ὑπορρόφια,
πολλάκι δὴ στονόεντα κατὰ κλόρον ἐν
δαί φωτῶν

Περσῶν ἵππομάχων αἵματι λουσάμενα.

No. 81 records the dedication of a

shield, breastplate, and helmet to Ares ; No. 84 of a shield to Zeus ; No. 85 and No. 86 are both dedications of armour ; No. 91 speaks of various pieces of armour taken from the enemy and dedicated by different soldiers to Ares ; No. 97 contains the dedication of a spear by one Alexandros, "the inscription on which relates that it was dedicated to Artemis after a war" ; No. 124, No. 141, and No. 264, all relate to dedications of a shield.

is the helmet, now in the British Museum by the gift of George IV.,¹ which was discovered at Olympia itself in 1817. It is inscribed on the upper part: **ΒΙΑΡΟΝ Ο ΔΕΙΝΟΜΕΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΙ ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΙ ΤΟΙ ΔΙ ΤΥΡΑΝ ΑΠΟ ΚΥΜΑΣ**; and tells its own story with sufficient plainness. Hieron and the Syracusans defeated the fleet of the Etruscans and their Carthaginian allies in a battle off Cumae, B.C. 474, and we have therefore an exact date for the dedication. The helmet itself, of markedly Etruscan shape, measures in the inside $8\frac{3}{8}$ inches from back to front, $7\frac{1}{8}$ inches in width, and is $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches in height. Though it is thin in fabric, and has no appearance of ever having had any lining, it has evidently been in use. It was possibly one of several then dedicated, or it may have formed part of a trophy, and we can scarcely doubt that it was worn in the battle by one of the Etruscan combatants. In this respect it differs from some of the dedicatory weapons which have certainly never served any other purpose than that of having been offered. Pausanias² records another offering having a near connection with this, one of three linen breastplates, made to Zeus at Olympia by Gelon, brother of Hieron, and the Syracusans from Carthaginian spoil.

Another helmet, also one which had been in use, is preserved in the British Museum, from the Payne Knight collection.³ It was found in the Alpheios near Olympia in 1795, and was procured there by Mr. Morritt of Rokeby, the friend and correspondent of Sir Walter Scott, and author of *Topography of Troy*. It is of purely Corinthian type, which accords with its having been in its present form part of the actual spoil, and not merely fabricated from weapons then taken. Though the nasal is thick, the rest of the helmet is of very thin material, and there is no indication that it had ever been lined. It measures $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches from the point of the nasal to the back, and its greatest width is $8\frac{1}{4}$ inches; whilst the width for the head is just over 7 inches; in consequence of its imperfect condition the original height cannot be ascertained. At the back of the helmet, close to

¹ Boeckh, tom. i. p. 34, No. 16 ;
Rose, *Inscript. Graecae*, p. 66, tab. viii.
1 ; *Horae Ferales*, p. 169, Pl. xii. fig. 1 ;
Palaeographical Society, Pl. vii. 77b.

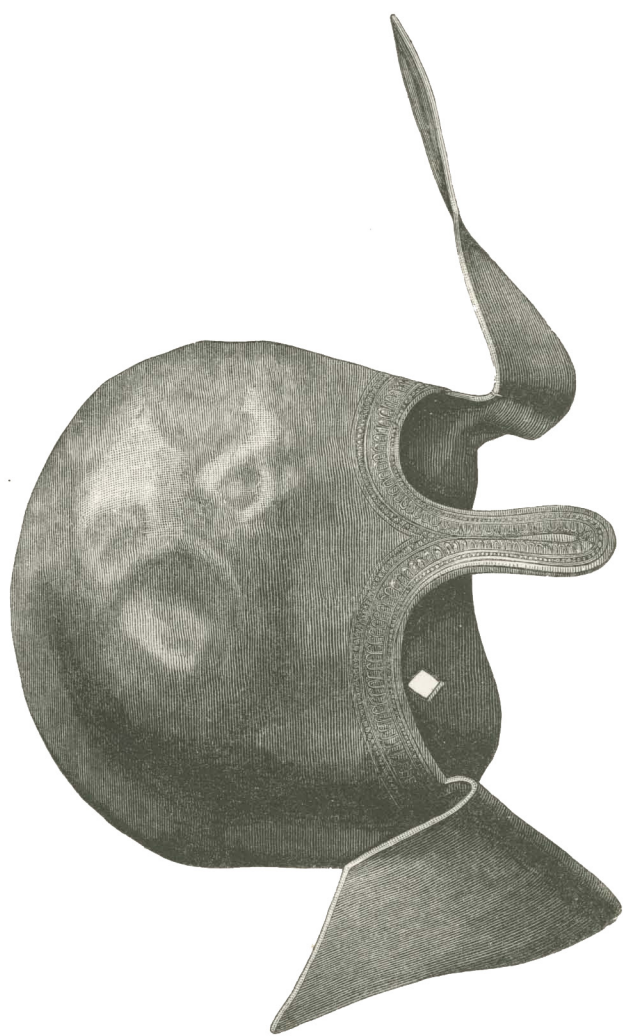
² Lib. vi. cap. 19.

³ Boeckh, tom. i. p. 47, No. 29 ;
Horae Ferales, p. 169, Pl. xii. fig. 3 ;
Rose, *Inscript. Graecae*, p. 59, tab. vii. 1.

the edge, is a round hole, a quarter of an inch in diameter, punched through, probably to affix it in the position it was intended to occupy as a votive offering. It bears the following inscription along the edge of the neck: **Τ ΑΡΓ . . ΟΙ ΑΝΕΘΕΝ ΤΟΙ ΔΙΦΙ ΤΟΝ ΨΟΡΙΝΘΕΘΕΝ.** To what particular event this refers it is perhaps impossible to ascertain. In B.C. 460 Athens, Argos, and Megara were in alliance against Corinth, and in B.C. 457 there were battles in the territory of Megara, ending in the complete defeat of the Corinthians. It is possible that in one of these engagements the helmet became a spoil to the Argives, and was then inscribed and dedicated. The character of the letters coincides perfectly with the date suggested.

A third helmet has been discovered at Olympia,¹ and like the last it was found in the bed of the Alpheios, on the right bank. It came into the possession of Mr. Bartholomew Frere, who gave it to the Bishop of Lincoln, in whose hands it still remains. The inside measurements of this helmet, which is of Corinthian form (see Plate XI.), are as follows: length about $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches, width $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches, height about $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Round the edge is engraved a very delicate pattern. It is inscribed **ΖΕΝΟΣ ΟΛΥΜΠΙΟ** in very archaic letters (see plate). As in the case of the two preceding helmets, it was therefore dedicated to Zeus, but by whom or on what occasion that took place has not been recorded upon it, though there can be little doubt it was after some success in war. There is a square hole at the back, which has evidently been made intentionally, and is not the result of decay of the metal, suggesting that it was affixed to some support by means of a nail. It may therefore have formed the upper part of a trophy, other parts of which were perhaps inscribed more fully, and may have recorded the victory in commemoration of which the arms composing it were dedicated. Near the large hole, a little to one side, is a very small hole which may have been used in fixing the crest, a corresponding one having probably been obliterated in making the larger hole. On the front part of the top of the helmet, on the oxidised surface, is an oblong mark across it, $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, and $\frac{1}{4}$ inch wide, possibly produced by solder, and which may have been connected with

¹ Boeckh, tom. i. p. 48, No. 30; Rose, *Inscript. Græcæ*, p. 58, ²tab. vi. 2.



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the fastening of the crest. It should be stated that the ends of the cheek pieces have been turned up, evidently in ancient times.¹



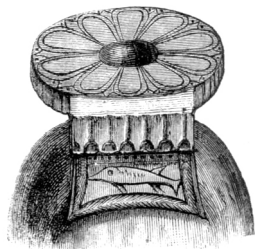
There is another bronze object which has been described as a votive helmet. It is now preserved in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, and was discovered, if not at Olympia itself, at all events in the near neighbourhood. Colonel Leake, who procured it at Pyrgo, says² that though professedly found at Khaiáffa, he believes it came from Olympia. It is a lekythos or oil vase, 2½ inches high, in the shape of a helmeted head of which the eyeballs are pierced, though they must have been filled in with silver or paste to enable the vase to be used. It has a short neck with a wide rim, on which are engraved radiating flower petals, with a short broad handle on which is a dolphin. The bottom is now wanting, but was once fixed on by solder. In general form this little vessel resembles the still more diminutive lekythoi of early painted pottery which have been found at

¹ Another helmet very similar in workmanship is in the possession of Messrs. Rollin and Feuarent. It has a large round hole at the back, and the ends of the cheek pieces have also been turned up in ancient times. Like

the Bishop of Lincoln's helmet, it has probably been votive.

² *Travels in the Morea*, vol. i. p. 47 ; Walpole, *Travels*, vol. ii. p. 597, No. 62 ; Boeckh, tom. i. p. 48, No. 31 ; Rose, *Inscript. Graecae*, p. 20, tab. iii. 1.

Cameiros, and of which several are preserved in the British Museum. In that museum may also be seen a number of bronze vessels in the form of female heads, of Etruscan workmanship, where the eyes are pierced, and the bottom, which is generally wanting, has also been soldered on. It should be mentioned that on each cheek piece a boar is very delicately engraved, in this particular reminding us of two bronze helmets in the British Museum. Over the forehead is inscribed in retrograde letters of an early character, **ΦΟΙΟΣ ΜΑΓΘΕΞΕΝ**.¹



It has been questioned whether any of the helmets, including some uninscribed ones, found at Olympia had ever been in use as defensive arms.² It is argued that they are so slight in fabric that they would practically afford little or no protection in war, and that they were *ὄπλα πομπευτήρια*, arms of ceremony rather than weapons for the battle. We know that in the games those who contended were sometimes equipped with a helmet and other armour,³ and indeed it is possible that some of these arms, of thin material and unsubstantial make, may have been used in that way, but this will not hold true of all. We cannot, for instance, regard the helmet dedicated by Hieron and the Syracusans, or that again by the Argives, as being other than actual spoil taken from an enemy after having been used in the battle where the dedicator was victorious. And further it may be remarked that though some helmets are thicker and stronger than others, the greater number being quite thin except as

¹ Under the N is a letter, possibly part of an O, which must have been there before the N was inscribed. It is not improbable that this was the commencement of an inscription, intended to read

from left to right.

² Dodwell, *Travels in Greece*, vol. ii. p. 301.

³ Pausanias, lib. vi. cap. 10.

regards the nasal, it does not follow that the weaker ones were not intended for use. Thin as they are, when further strengthened by a lining of leather and by the crest, they might be strong enough to turn the force of a blow and to serve as an effectual defence for the wearer. In Britain several shields, belonging to the age of bronze,¹ have been met with, which are so thin that it would scarcely be supposed they could have afforded any protection to the warrior, and yet in some instances they show by the cuts upon them that they have been actually in battle; and besides this no shield of that date has been discovered which is of any stronger make.

To pass from the instruments of defensive to those of offensive warfare. So far as I know, the only dedicatory weapons which have occurred are spear-heads, and all of them, with the exception of the subject of this paper, have certainly been found at Olympia, whilst in all probability that also was discovered at the same place. These, five in number, have resulted from the late excavations there, so munificently undertaken and carried out by the German Government, under the able superintendence of Dr. Gustav Hirschfeld and Herr Adolph Böttcher.

The first was found January 21, 1876, a little to the south of the south-west corner of the Temple of Zeus.² It is four-sided, and has upon one of the faces this inscription: **ΜΕΘΑΝΙΟΙ ΑΠΟ ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΝ** (see plate). Methana was situated on a promontory of the Argive peninsula adjoining to Troezen, and but little is known of its history. To what war with Sparta, a state infinitely surpassing it in power, this votive offering refers, it would be in vain to conjecture. The dedication was no doubt to Zeus, and, judging from the letters, it must have taken place at a time antecedent to the Peloponnesian War. This, like all the other dedicatory spear-heads which have been discovered, has evidently been manufactured specially for the purpose of being offered, and was never intended for a weapon of war. The form is quite unlike that of the ordinary spear-head, and without taking into consideration the fact that the

¹ *Horae Ferales*, p. 166, Pl. xi.; Evans, *Ancient Bronze Implements*, figs. 428-435. No. 3; *Ausgrabungen zu Olympia*, I. Pl. xxi. fig. 8; The Inscription, Pl. xxii.

² *Arch. Zeitung*, vol. viii. p. 181,

point is not a sharp one, but is more or less rounded, it is itself of a shape not so well calculated for offence as those which have a broader and thinner blade. At the same time it is admirably constructed for bearing upon it an inscription.

A second, in form much like the last mentioned, was found, June 7, 1879, at the northern part of the Prytaneum.¹ It is inscribed upon three of the four faces of the blade as follows: **ΣΚΥΛΑ ΑΠΟ ΘΟΥΡΙΩΝ ΤΑΡΑΝΤΙΝΟΙ ΑΝΕΘΕΚΑΝ ΔΙΙ ΟΛΥΜΠΙΟΙ ΔΕΚΑΤΑΝ**. In this case the dedication to Zeus is expressly stated. The time also when it was offered can be fixed in one direction with absolute precision, for this could not have taken place before B.C. 443, in which year Thurium was founded. It was probably dedicated not many years after that time, when Tarentum undertook a war against the Thurians on account of the endeavour of the latter state to possess itself of the district of the Siritis.

A third, imperfect at each end, was found February 9, 1878, at the north-east corner of the Byzantine wall.² Though in general form like the two just noticed, it differs from them to some extent in the socket, and also in the way in which the socket joins the blade. It is inscribed, the letters running from point to base, with **ΣΙΚΥΩΝ**, in very archaic characters, and the word is preceded by a straight line. In the opinion of Herr A. Kirchhoff the letters are of Corinthian or Achaean form, and he thinks that it was dedicated by some one who had taken it as spoil from Sicyon. The probability, however, is that it was a Sicyonic dedication, and that it records a victory of that state rather than a defeat.

Two others have been found at Olympia. One, February 4, 1879, at the south-west corner of the Prytaneum, the other, March 4, 1879, within the Prytaneum. Both are imperfect, having the remains of an inscription upon the blade in each case, and in form they are like those already described. The first³ has . . . **Σ ΟΛΥΜΠΙΟΥ** upon it, written from the point towards the socket, in letters, according to Herr A. Kirchhoff, of Corinthian form. The **Σ** is probably the last letter of *Διός*,

¹ *Arch. Zeitung*, vol. xii. p. 149, 181, Pl. 18, 4, ; *Ausgrabungen zu Olympia*, III. (1877-78), Pl. xxv. 1. No. 299.

² *Arch. Zeitung*, vol. xi. p. 140, No.

³ *Arch. Zeitung*, xii. p. 160, No. 310.

and the spear was certainly dedicated to Zeus. The other,¹ which is much oxidised, the point also being wanting, has very little left of the inscription, the letters **ΗΔΕ ΣΤΩ . . .** alone remaining. In this case also it is impossible to decide anything with regard to the people or person who dedicated it, nor can anything be gathered from the few remaining letters as to the deity to whom it was offered. From the form of the letters and the use of **Η** and **Ω** it would appear to be of a somewhat later date than the other four found at Olympia.

It has been suggested to me by Mr. A. W. Franks, that these square-sided objects are not the blades but the butt ends of spears, the iron heads of which have disappeared through the decay of the metal, and that they were not, therefore, merely votive, but had formed a portion of spears which had been actually used in war. There can be no doubt that they would serve such a purpose, and indeed they are not unlike some of the butt ends which are represented on vases,² and to some actual *ὀπίσθοι* which have been preserved down to the present day. Nor is it at all unlikely, or contrary to experience, that whilst the head of a spear should be made of iron, the other end should be made of bronze; and, in fact, spears so constructed, and belonging to the Early Iron Age, have been discovered in Ireland. It has further been suggested that as the spears would probably be suspended in the temple, and in an upright position, the butt end was the part nearest to the eye, and therefore the best fitted to bear the inscription. Plausible as these suggestions are, the probability on the whole is, I think, in favour of these bronze instruments having been the heads of spears. It does not seem likely that when a weapon was to be dedicated the less noble part of it should be selected to carry the inscription. The fact also of certainly five and probably six of these objects having been found at the same place, all made on the same model, even in their minute details, appears to be in favour of their being votive spear-heads rather than actual spear-butts. For had they been the latter they must have been parts of weapons for use, and it is not probable that fabricated, as in this case they must have been, and as the inscriptions upon some of them show, in places widely distant

¹ *Arch. Zeitung*, xii. p. 164, No. 325. *of Hellenic Studies*, has a butt of this

² A spear, engraved in the *Journal* form, vol. i. Pl. vi.

from each other, they should have been as identical as they are in form and construction. Whilst on the other hand their identity of form, which to a great extent implies their having been made at one and the same place, is quite consistent with their being the heads of spears, not, indeed, of those made for use in war, but for the purpose of being dedicated as representative and votive offerings. Their decorative features also are applied in a way which suggests that they were intended to be viewed from below and not from above, and the form, therefore, is one more suitable for the head of a spear than for the butt.

If it is granted that they are the heads of spears, the metal of which they are composed has an important bearing upon the question whether they were intended for use or were made specially for the purpose of being dedicated. It is certain that at the time to which they belong, one not earlier than the first quarter of the fifth century B.C., bronze, as a material for offensive weapons, had, to a great extent, if not altogether, passed out of use in Greece, and had been superseded by iron. The question, however, of the time when the use of bronze was discontinued, is one of much difficulty, and the evidence we possess is neither sufficiently abundant nor is it exact enough to admit of anything like a positive conclusion being arrived at. And indeed, as has been the case in all transitions from the use of one material to another, we must suppose that there was a period, and possibly a lengthened one, when the two metals, bronze and iron, overlapped each other and remained in use side by side, until at length the more serviceable, as it was also the more abundant and therefore cheaper material, displaced the other. A similar overlapping had certainly occurred in older days in the case of stone and bronze, of which there is authentic testimony in abundance.

It will not be necessary here to enter upon a discussion as to the origin of the manufacture of bronze or iron, or of the country in which either of these metals may have been first discovered and utilized. It may, however, be briefly stated that these discoveries took place somewhere in Asia, and from thence travelled westward under the influence of the civilizations which founded empires and distributed arts and manufactures at a period infinitely before that to which these dedicatory weapons belonged.

There are two questions, however, which, having an important reference to the subject of this paper, it may be advisable shortly to consider: the time, namely, when iron was introduced into the countries occupied by the Hellenic people, and that when the earlier known metal, bronze, became entirely disused by them for offensive purposes. The period represented by the Homeric poems cannot be placed later than the ninth century B.C., if, indeed, it be not somewhat earlier. At that time it is evident that iron, although in use, had not been known for very long, and we may therefore assume that epoch to have been, more or less, synchronous with the introduction of iron among the Hellenes. It is in the poems in question always spoken of as being more valuable than bronze, which appears to have been then the commoner metal, as it naturally would be in consequence of the accumulation which must have gone on during many preceding ages. Still, though of comparatively late introduction, its properties appears to have been well known, for in the *Odyssey*,¹ Homer, in relating the putting out the eye of Polyphemus, uses the following simile—

ὥς δ' ὅτ' ἀνὴρ χαλκεὺς πέλεκυν μέγαν ἢ σκέπαρνον
εἰν ὕδατι ψυχρῷ βάπτῃ μεγάλα ἱαχόντα,
φαρμάσσων τὸ γὰρ αὖτε σιδήρου γε κράτος ἐστίν.

Now in the case of a metal of which ores are so abundant and so generally diffused as are those of iron, it can scarcely be conceived that, when once people became able to smelt and manufacture it, and when its usefulness in various ways was understood, it should not have come quickly into ordinary, if not exclusive, use. Upon the ground then simply of development—and the force of this argument is not lessened when we are dealing with a people so intellectual and practical as were the Greeks—we cannot doubt that iron became the ordinary material for arms of offence at no long interval after the period represented by Homer. That in the time of Pindar (and Anacreon, an earlier poet, witnesses to the same) iron was the metal in use for weapons is clear from his employing such a term as 'iron war,' and speaking of a country being destroyed by 'fire and iron,' as we should talk of fire and sword. At the

¹ ix. 391.

same time he writes as if bronze was still in use, though possibly it may be by poetic licence, for he speaks of bronze spears and calls them brazen-cheeked, and tells of limbs wounded with bronze, and of bronze axes.

Herodotus also in his relation of the death of Cyrus, B.C. 528, by the Massagetae, says they pointed their spears and tipped their arrows with bronze, and used axes of the same metal, iron not being found in their country.¹ This seems to imply that it was in his experience an unusual occurrence, and that iron was in ordinary use for such purposes in his own country. The evidence afforded by the paintings on vases, where swords and other weapons are frequently depicted, appears to show that about B.C. 500, and even later, the bronze sword was still employed. It is, perhaps, not possible to say with certainty that the leaf-shaped sword represented in these pictures was made of bronze, but the probability is strongly in favour of that being the case. The form is not one to which iron naturally adapts itself, and though, on the first introduction of the metal, swords were fashioned for a short time on the older bronze model, that very soon passed away, and the sword assumed a shape more consistent with the metal of which it was made. It is also possible that the swords in these pictures may be somewhat conventionally represented after an earlier pattern, the scenes themselves being mythological and heroic.

It may, I think, then be confidently assumed that in the early years of the fifth century B.C. iron had become the ordinary metal for offensive weapons, though it is possible that some made of the older bronze may have continued in use. But granting this, it appears to be scarcely likely that spear-heads of bronze for purposes of war should have been so numerous at that period that five or six should have been discovered on the site of a single temple, and which themselves could only have constituted a very small part of those once dedicated there.

Having in these prefatory remarks given a brief account of other and, in some particulars, similar objects, and taken note of one or two questions connected with them, I now come to

¹ Lib. i. cap. 215.

the consideration of the spear-head which it is the purpose of the present paper to describe and illustrate. (Plate XI.)

I have been unable to trace it further than to Athens, and into the hands of a Greek whose account is that it was found in the Peloponnesus. From him it was obtained, during the summer of 1880, by Messrs. Rollin and Feuardent, the well-known and eminent dealers of Paris and London. Though I fear it is quite impossible to ascertain with any certainty the place of its finding, I have no doubt, and my reason for this opinion will appear in the sequel, that it was discovered at Olympia. If this be true, it suggests itself at once that it was found during the course of the late excavations; but I am inclined to believe, on account of its general appearance, and more especially from the nature of the patina upon it, that it has not been disinterred so lately, but that some years may have passed since it first came to light.

It is $11\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, of which what must be denominated the blade occupies $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The hollow of the socket, which is $\frac{3}{4}$ in. wide, extends to a distance of $9\frac{1}{4}$ inches into the body of the weapon. The metal of which it is composed is bronze, but the exact nature of its composition cannot be stated, as it has not been analysed. It is now coated with a thin, dark-coloured patina, having upon it, here and there, patches of oxide of a light green colour. The socket, which has no rivet holes, is round at its extremity for the space of an inch, and then becomes dodecagonal up to the base of the blade, where three raised and rounded bands, a larger between two smaller ones, encircle it and form the division between the blade and socket. The blade is four-sided, gradually tapering and terminating at one end in a blunt point, and at the other passing, after a very graceful fashion, from the square into the round by being chamfered and forming four leaves, the leaf-like appearance of the chamfer being caused by continuing the angles of the blade down as far as the surrounding bands at the base. In form it corresponds very closely with those lately discovered at Olympia, and indeed so much alike are some of them that at first sight it might be thought that they had been cast in the same mould; a closer inspection, however, shows minute differences. It is inscribed on three of the four faces of the blade, the words being written from base to point, and

before each word is a straight line the width of the face on which it is placed. The letters have not been engraved, but made by the application of a narrow-faced punch.

The inscription, *Θεόδωρος ἀνέθηκε βασιλεῖ*, easy of solution as it is in some particulars, is in other respects obscure. With regard to Theodoros, who he was, and upon what occasion he dedicated the spear, it is impossible even to offer a suggestion. The name is by no means an uncommon one, and there is nothing connected with any person of the name known in history to enable us to fix upon him as the dedicator. With reference to the occasion there is absolutely nothing to afford any clue to a solution.

It will have been observed that in all the cases of dedicatory weapons already referred to, where the inscription is sufficiently preserved to admit of its being read in its entirety, they have been dedicated by States. It may be said that Hieron dedicates the helmet from Cumae, but it is as ruler of Syracuse, and indeed in conjunction with the Syracusans, that he does so. This spear-head, however, is an offering from a private individual, made most probably in recognition of some personal success or deliverance from danger in war. Such dedications we know were sufficiently frequent, but it is interesting to have the actual offering itself handed down to us.

The word *βασιλεύς* in connection with the inscription offers a subject of inquiry which, though it is important, is one not difficult to solve. That Zeus is the *βασιλεύς* to whom the spear-head was dedicated scarcely admits of a doubt. In the first place dedications to Zeus are, on the whole, more common than are those to any other divinity, and especially of such offerings as are connected with war and victory. But there is more positive evidence. Though it occurs in connection with other deities, as for instance Apollo, Asklepios, Herakles, &c., the word is found applied to Zeus so frequently that it is certain it was an appellation as common as it is descriptive. No more natural appellation, indeed, can be conceived of the great head of the hierarchy of the Hellenic religion, *πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε*, the *ἄναξ ἀνάκτων* and *θεῶν ὑπάτος καὶ ἄριστος*, than *βασιλεύς*. And, as might be expected, the

corresponding βασιλῆς is found in connection with Hera.¹ It may be well, however, to cite some instances of the occurrence, inasmuch as it does not appear that the term has been generally recognized as one commonly applied to the ruler of Olympus.

An inscription on a slab of marble which has the word βασιλεύς, without anything, however, in addition to identify the divinity intended, has been discovered on the Akropolis at Athens. It reads Σοφοκλῆς βασιλεῖ ἀνέθηκεν, and Rangabé, no doubt correctly, attributes it to Zeus.²

Boeckh³ has an inscription from a marble found in the Island of Paros, where a priest is thus described : Σωσθένης Προσθέου ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ βασιλέως. And at Lebadeia, as we learn from Pausanias,⁴ there was a temple of Zeus, who was designated βασιλεύς. He writes, Ἀναβάσι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ μαντεῖον, καὶ αὐτόθεν ἰούσιν ἐς τὸ πρόσω τοῦ ὄρους, Κόρης ἐστὶ καλουμένη θήρα καὶ Διὸς βασιλέως ναός ; and a little further on, θύει γὰρ δὴ ὁ κατιῶν αὐτῷ τε τῷ Τροφωνίῳ . . . καὶ Διὶ ἐπὶ κλησιν βασιλεῖ. At Lebadeia itself, now Livadhia, Colonel Leake⁵ found and copied an inscription which unquestionably has reference to Zeus, though on account of the imperfect condition of the marble the name of the god is now wanting. It reads, Νέων Φάσκω(νος) ἀγωνοθετεῖ(σας) τὰ βασιλεία τὸ ἐλεοχρίσ(ιον) ἀνέθεικε τοῖ (Διὶ) τοῖ βασιλεῖ . . . πόλι. In connection with the worship of Zeus Basileus at Lebadeia Plutarch⁶ tells a melancholy story, the result of Straton of Orchomenos falling in love with a beautiful girl, Aristocleia of Haliartos, whom he saw bathing at the fountain Hercyna, ἔμελλε γὰρ τῷ Διὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ κληφορεῖν.

The appellation as distinguishing Zeus is not met with in Homer, who uses ἄναξ in this sense, with reference, however, to Apollo, but it occurs in the *Theogonia* of Hesiod :⁷

Ζεὺς δὲ θεῶν βασιλεὺς πρῶτην ἄλοχον θέτο Μῆτιν
Πλεῖστα θεῶν εἰδυῖαν ἰδὲ θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων.

¹ Boeckh, *Corp. Inscr. Graec.* No. 1603, 4004, 4367f.

² *Antiquités Helléniques*, vol. ii. p. 731, No. 1032.

³ *Corp. Inscr. Graec.* vol. ii. p. 347, No. 2385.

⁴ Lib. ix. cap. 39.

⁵ *Travels in Northern Greece*, vol. ii. p. 130.

⁶ *Anatoliae Narrationes*, Opera, Ed. Oxon. 1797, vol. iv. p. 95.

⁷ Line 886.

In the *Fragmenta* of Orpheus the same term is applied to the God:¹

Ζεὺς βασιλεὺς, Ζεὺς αὐτὸς ἀπάντων ἀρχιγένεθλος.

As, indeed, we might expect, Zeus is several times addressed as Basileus in Pindar. Thus in *Olympia*, Carmen vii.:

ἔνθα ποτὲ βρέχε θεῶν βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγας χρυσέαις
νιφάδεσσι πόλιν.

And again in *Isthmia*, Carmen vii.:

πατρὸς οὐνεκα δίδυμαι γέγοντο θύγατρεις Ἀσωπίδων
ὀπλόταται, Ζηνί τε ἄδον βασιλεῖ.

Aristophanes twice in the *Nubes* and again in the *Vespæ* apostrophizes Zeus:

ὦ Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ!

And in the *Ranae*:

ὦ Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ τὸ χρῆμα τῶν κόπων ὅσον!

Hippocrates also in his *Epistola ad Damagetum*:²

ὦ Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ, φημι, εὐκαίρως γε ἀντιγράφεις πρὸς τὴν πόλιν.

Other passages might be adduced from the *Agamemnon*³ and *Persæ*⁴ of Aeschylus, and from the *Anabasis* of Xenophon,⁵ but enough has been done to show that the term βασιλεύς as applied to Zeus was not unfrequently used by poets and other writers, and that too at an early time, earlier indeed in some instances than the probable date of the spear-head. That date cannot, I think, be placed after the middle of the fifth century B.C., taking into consideration the form of the letters, as well as the use of O and E instead of the later Ω and Η, and it may perhaps claim to be referred to the first quarter of the same century if not quite to its commencement. The letters do not emphatically point to any particular locality for the place of manufacture, and so far as they are concerned the spear-head

¹ Ed. Lipsiae, 1805, p. 457.

⁴ Line 532.

² Ed. Paris 1679, p. 20.

⁵ Liber vi. cap. 1

³ Ed. Dindorf, l. 355.

may have been inscribed in any part of the Peloponnesus or in Phokis, Argolis, or Boeotia. With regard to the place where the spear-head was offered, if the dedication to Zeus, which may perhaps be taken for granted, be admitted, the probability is very strong that it was an offering made to that deity in his world-renowned temple at Olympia. This probability becomes almost a certainty when it is compared with those which are known to have been found there, and with which in shape and style of manufacture it is so identical. From the consideration of this similarity a further question arises. Were not all these dedicatory spear-heads made at the same place and by the same school of artificers? It may, indeed, be conceived that articles intended for use might be made, as regards their general form, much alike in different places, on account of a common purpose or requirement, yet when objects, as in the case of the spear-heads, are met with almost counterparts of one another, except in the inscriptions upon them, the presumption is very strong that they come from the same workshop. Nor is it difficult to fix upon the place where they were probably manufactured. It may confidently be inferred, though there is no direct evidence to prove it, that, where offerings were frequently being made, a stock of such articles as were likely to be required should be kept in hand by the officials in connection with the temple where it was intended to dedicate them. In this way the convenience of the person dedicating and the profit of the temple would equally be consulted. We may therefore suppose that Theodoros bought the spear-head at Olympia, and had the inscription engraved upon it at the same time and place. It may be objected that the fact of one of the spear-heads having been dedicated by the Tarentines from Thurian spoil is inconsistent with this view. But to this it may be replied that some of the captured arms were brought to Olympia and there recast into a new form, and one more suitable to the votive purpose they were intended to serve. That such a process was by no means unfrequent we learn from the account given by Pausanias of many of the articles dedicated at Olympia and Delphi. Among these there was none more noteworthy, on account of the occasion on which it was offered, than the golden tripod supported on the bronze stand of twisted serpents given to Apollo by the Greeks after the victory at Plataea. The stand,

mutilated, but still retaining upon it the names of the several dedicating States, still remains in the Hippodrome at Constantinople, to which it was removed from Delphi by Constantine, the most glorious ἀνάθημα in existence.

W. GREENWELL.

On the vases of terra cotta in the form of a helmeted head of which Canon Greenwell writes (pp. 69–70), a new light is cast by a paper by M. Léon Heuzey which has just appeared in the *Gazette Archéologique* (1880, No. 5, pp. 145–164). M. Heuzey engraves a specimen from Cos which closely resembles those from Rhodes in the British Museum, and a still more interesting specimen which has reached the Louvre from Corinth. This latter is made not of terra cotta but of Egyptian porcelain, and on it is painted the cartouche of the Egyptian King called by the Greeks Apries, who ruled B.C. 599–569. It is, however, probable that the place of its manufacture was not Egypt but Phoenicia, whence it made its way to Corinth. That it should date from the beginning of the sixth century is just what we should, on grounds of style, have judged to be probable. It is at once evident that this little vase gives us very important evidence as to the origin and date of the whole class to which it belongs.

P. G.