

RHODIAN MONTHS

688

File
ASCSA

Murray

fabricant RHODIAN TYPES COMBINING FABRICANT WITH EPONYM COMPANION TYPES
(with omission of those dating before month was named)

<u>fabricant</u>	<u>device</u>	<u>eponym</u>	<u>month</u>	<u>shape etc. of stamp</u>
✓ VII AGATHOBOYXAOΣ		(many) ΠΣ(ep.)	APT.	
✓ Π AGATHOKΛHΣ		II APXOKPA(THΣ)	YAK.	
✓ II AGHΣIAΔΣ		II ΘAPΣIΠOΛIΣ		retr.
II "		II ΠAYΣA(NIΔΣ)		
✓ II ΠAIHEAΣ	rose	II APXOKPATHΣ(ep.)	(YAK.)	O, retr.
✓ III ANTIΓONOC	rose	III IEPΩN	(ΣMI.)	O
"	rose	III KPA TI ΔA Σ	(ΣMI.)	O
"	rose (above)	"	(YAK.)	O
✓ APICT[II ΠAYΣANIAΣ		
✓ II AΣKΛANIΔAΔΣ		II ΘEYΦANHΣ(ep.)		retr.
✓ II ΔOKIMOC		II APXOKPA(THΣ)		
✓ II EΠIΓONOC		II EYΦP() B	
		II EEHOΣ(
		II ΣIMY(
✓ EPMAIOΣ		✓ V AIΣXINΔΣ	ΠAN.	
"		✓ X-VI (many)		some retr.
✓ II ZHNON	monogram	II EYKΛHΣ	(MHN.)	O
✓ III IAΣON	rose	III KALLIKPATIΔAΣ	(APT.)	O
"	rose	"	(ΣMI.)	O, retr.
✓ VI-VII KΛHNΩ		VI-VII IEPOKA(HΣ)		
✓ KOTHΣ		MEΛANTAΣ		retr.
✓ AYΣANIAΣ		II ΠOΛYAPATHΣ		
✓ MEΓICTIΩN		VI KAEYΔIKOC		O?
✓ VI-VII MENANΔPOΣ		VI-VII (many)		
✓ MHNOΔEPOC		VII ΔAMATPIOC		
✓ II MOPIXOC	Helios with quadriga	(ca. 215) IEP.EYKPATIΔAΣ		O
✓ ΠAYΣANIAΣ		EINI[O, retr.

<u>fabricant</u>	<u>device</u>	<u>eponym</u>	<u>month</u>	<u>shape etc. of stamp</u>
VI, ΠΑΟΥΤΟΣ		VI ΝΙΚΟΤΙΜΟΣ	ΑΓΡ.	
II-VI. ΠΟΤΑΜΟΚΛΗΣ		IIa ΕΞΗΑΡΕΤΟΣ		
VI-III ΣΤΑΧΥΣ		ΜΗΝΟΓΕΝΗΣ (ep.)	ΑΡΤ.	
"		" ep.?	ΥΑΚ.	
VI ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΣ		(VI) ΑΡΙΣΤΟΜΑΧΟΣ		retr.
"		VI ΑΡΧΕΜΒΡΟΤΟΣ		
VI ΣΤΥΡΑΕ		VI ΛΥΚΕΝ	(no month)	
VI ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ		VI ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΤΟΣ	ΑΡΤ.	

4.IX.58

The die of a Rhodian stamp, of which impressions exist on handles in Alexandria (Benachi collection) and in the Archaeological Museum of Jerusalem, Israel (no.58.19), seems to have been revised from

(a) ΘΗΛΑΝΑΞΑΝΑΡΟΥ ΑΓΓΙΑΝΙΟΥ to (b) ΘΗΛΙΣΙΖΑΓΟΡΑ ΥΑΚΙΝΘΙΟΥ

An impression probably of the first state (a) of the die has been identified in the Benachi collection. ^{if we are right in this identification,} ~~in that case,~~ we have to do not with a correction made in the course of manufacture of the die, but alteration of the finished die.

The most likely explanation of the evidence seems to be that ΘΙΣΙΖΑΓΟΡΑΞ succeeded ΑΝΑΞΑΝΑΡΟΥΞ, and that ΥΑΚΙΝΘΙΟΥΞ, following ΑΓΓΙΑΝΙΟΥΞ as per Nilsson's Rhodian calendar (N. p.132; cf Hiller, P-W Rhodos, p.744), was the first month of the (or a) Rhodian official year. I think that the beginning of the Rhodian year has not been established, cf. Nilsson, p.134, note 1.

Benjamin
London (Israel)
Benachi
P. Fraser

and filed in
Rhodian Notes -
Israel, Jerusalem
Dies
months

31.VII.59

On order of months, see Annuario 4-5, p. 232,
various dates in term of 'Αρξίως

Sequence of moult

For Nilsson's idea, see ^{Tinberg} Linder's publ., p. 132?

Börner has made a different sequence in a rather recent article, for which I don't immediately find references.

Months in separate stamps

In the interests of isolating spongers in whose
honors months are more named, got AD to take
all the ~~same~~ month-alone types out of the file, and
then sort them as well as possible by fabricant.

Leaf-shaped stamps:

Evidently all of ΕΠΙΧΟΡΟΣ:

Ἀρκεμεύτ(

Ἀαδία(

Διοσθίου

Παυα(

3 exp., all SS (on p. Yield. of 20/MB (L. 314)

" " EM, ABC, Geger.

N. 438, 1

Geger (2 exp.)

5.01

August 15, 1978

Tel Anafa stamped amphora handles of 1978 season

1. Rubbing of this came late, was not available when Andreas Dimoulinis was making the readings of this group, and I do not at present identify it, except to say that it looks late Rhodian, late 2nd or early 1st B.C.

of a person

2. No name is preserved with this month name, ΒΑΑΡΟΜΙΟΖ, in this impression. Andreas has made the reading as though a name was missing above, but this is not sure from the rubbing. There exist a few month-alone types which were paired on an amphora with stamps combining eponym and fabricant. The lettering here looks rather late, say late 2nd.

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Months in separate stamps

In the interests of isolating spongers in whose towns months are more named, got AD to take all the ~~same~~ month-along types out of the file, and then sort them as well as possible by fabricant.

Leaf-shaped stamps:

Evidently all of Επιφανος:

Ἀρτεμεύτης

Δαδίου

Διοσδορίου

Παυλίου

Υακίου

Υακίου/Παυλίου επιφανος

3 exp., all SS (on fr. ^{Yield of 20/11/63 (LH 3rd)})

" " EM, ABC, Geger.

N. 438, 1

Geger (2 exp.)

1 SS, 1 ABC

SS 10679

Round stamps

of Ζήνων? + monogram

Μηνός [⊙] Ἀρταμισίου in O w. mon. TA?

Note there is a [⊙] type of Ζήνων in term of Φιδωρ(ι)κῶν which names ~~no~~ no month, but in this term months should be named app'ly. It is not a close match, ⊙ instead of ○. Monogram v. different. In fact, fab.-sp. type not est.

⊙ See separate list of 1.II.63 of types in which word ΜΗΝΟΣ (gen.) or ΜΗΝΕ appears. (From cards got out by AD.)

of perhaps Ἀποροκίδης (early)? + rose, but we have no type with sp.
Βαδρονίου _{ροση} — ⊙ (ABC III.61)

(Pound stamps)

of Μοίριχος, w. quadrige of Helios, in turn of
'Αγγραίου
'Αρταμυτίου } Εὐκρατίδας

of Αἰνέας with rose in turn of 'Αρροκράτης^(MSBF)_{3 ex.}
'Υακίνθιος (2 ex.) (MSBF)

(in both types of pair, legend, but not letters, retr.)

of 'Αντίγονος w. rose in turn of 'Ιέρων
Κρατίδας

'Α. in turn of Κρατίδας (SS 4018, etc.) } rose
'Υακίνθιος (SS 1979 etc.) } above

Ἐπιφάνιος
'Α. in turn of Κρατίδας (ABC ltr 64, 2.Π. 59) }
'Επιφάνιος & " " 33, 11.7.58 } rose below

'Α. in turn of 'Ιέρων (SS 10831, etc.) } rose below
'Επιφάνιος? (Co 396, etc.) } (the similarity here is less striking)

rose below, and similarly v. similar dies

(Round stamps)

of ἰάσων w. nose in term of Καδδερποτίδος

one retr. type, Horn 12, 223 etc. (ABC; nose indicated)

one forward " ABC, 30. III. 60 (Kaddepo)

Ξπίρθιος (SS 196 etc.) may go with
forward type of ἰάσων: note form of Ξ and
surface of the 2 stamps.

We have now used up nose types w. mouth down
collected by A Δ ⊗ and there is nothing left for
the retr. type above. † maybe some of the
retr. ? (Καδδερποτίδος? type, Ⓞ) which we have
no illustr. ?

⊗ Only left-overs are 2 not illustrated:

- 1.) Διοσβόου (Gyge, Macalister no. 181)
- 2.) Γακίρθιος (Horn. 34, 870)

Rectangular stamps

5.11.63

Decided no time to try & figure them out.
Some which seemed fairly clear have been
marked with names in parentheses. All early
possibilities have been saved out. For the rest,
there is to be 1.) a list of combined ep. - /ab.
types, alphabetical 2.) a separate list of
all mouth-down types together, at beginning
of MONTIUS list. (Not to be refilled with various mouthless.)

9.11.63

† I see there is one
more nose type, which is
retr. but with nose above;
ABG 1956-57, no name
but ETH KE.

Note this important
type.

So far as really early month-alone handles go, which might indicate months were named with epoungus not otherwise recorded with them, I find only ^(X) the handle for Rhodes: M E R 91, naming month ΠΕΤΑ on a broad (045 x 020)

short-topped handle of reddish clay with dark bits. (See pl. 415.15. There may be others not recognized because known only in rubbings by others. But now seems highly unlikely there is any number of early ones, or that ~~distinct~~ ^{lists of} but eps. named with month and those not so named would be much changed by better acquaintance with month-alone types.

This M E R 91 does look early, but not earlier than e.g. the Ζηρως - Σωξάρης neck at the Agora or the Δαριδίκος - Εὐκλῆς one.

Further study will be needed to see whether say ^{Ἀϊτρουδίκος?} Εὐκλῆς, ^{Μαδουκάρης} Σωξάρης, ^{Φιδουκάρης} Φιδουκάρης are the names of single early epoungus in whose terms months were sometimes named, or whether there were in each case 1) a pre-month ep. ^{plus 2)} a very early post-month ep. ^{These are all known in pairs without months.}

19.F.63 (X) See possibly ABC M 309, M 537, and Δαδῖ (Pl. 558.9 (M 309). These, or the Rhodes month handle, might go e.g. with types of Ποταμοκλῆς and in some of W. Ἰσάπαιτος

On intercalary years

I asked Colin Edmonson, just now, in effect whether one could assume any pattern in the years when such intercalary months were inserted, e.g., would it be every 4 years, like Leap Year, or at any regular interval. He said, this is at the heart of the great calendar controversy. But apparently one does not know, and cannot assume, any pattern, not even, e.g., that an 8 intercalary year would not follow another one. They might just put in such a month to make a festival come right (or soon such); that is, it might be ad hoc, and not programmed ahead.

Need to make some such statement in the Plinius article,

5.11.83

When Emperor was here, 1.11.11, he had assembled another series of names based on the assumption that intercalary years come every 4th year (I think) in Plinius. [I showed him the above]

[6.02]

INTERCALAR YEARS (ATHENIAN)

III.61
M.P. Wallace
font and
copy.

The civil year was supposed to begin as nearly as possible to the first new moon after the summer solstice; and the difference between the lunar twelve month and the solar revolution was provided for by a cycle of eight years, in the first, third, and sixth of which additional months were intercalated. The ordinary year consisted of 354, the intercalated of 384 days. Cleisthenes, taking 360 as the number of days in an official year, he was obliged to intercalate, but not so often. He adopted a cycle of five years, and once in the cycle an intercalary month of 30 days was introduced. But this month was not always inserted in the same year of the cycle. The extraordinary official month was intercalated in the first year of the official cycle that coincided with an intercalary year in the civil cycle. The new institution of C. began to work in 502-3 BC the first year of the octennial cycle. The first Cleisthenic year began on the 1st of Hecatombaion the first month of the civil calendar: it would not begin again on that day until 40 years hence.

[Bury - Meigs, *Hist. Agnes*, ca. p. 213-5] Font and copy Wallace

* These names shd be studied, and their cards filled out more completely.
 Note number of type - esp. w. P. S.
 Afterwards, mark this list with period date.

Rhodian eponyms with month. Pan. Acuzepos

Ἀγέμαχος <u>III</u>	Λαφείδης.
Ἀγέστρατος	Νικαβαχόρας.
Ἀγνείππος	Μαυβανίας (3) <u>IV</u>
Ἀθανόδοτος <u>III</u>	Μειδίετρατος.
Ἀϊννοίδαμος <u>III</u>	Πρατοφάνης.
Ἀνάξανδρος <u>IV</u> or <u>V</u>	Πυθογένης <u>IV</u>
Ἀριστογέννης. <u>V</u>	Σώδαμος <u>II</u>
Ἀριστόδαμος	Τειδαμενός <u>V</u>
Ἀριστόμαχος ?	Τιμούροδος <u>IV</u> ← Τυμοκλ ? (SS 14347)
Ἀριστομένης	Χαρμωνκλῆς.
Ἄρμιοίλας	
Ἄρχεμβροτος	
Ἄρχιβιος	
Ἄρχιλαΐδας	
Δαμιόθεμις ← Δαμων ?	
Δορκυλίδας <u>III</u>	
Εὐάνωρ	
Εὐδαμος ?	
Θαρβίπολις	
Θέρβανέρος <u>V</u>	
Ψέρων (1) <u>V</u> or <u>VI</u>	
Καλλικράτης	
Κλέαρχος	
Κλευκράτης (1), <u>III</u>	
Κλεώνυμος	
Κρατίδας	

5. I. 63

36 names certainly seems few, for the whole series, which must have extended for ca 285 BC for at least 200 years. Perhaps some homonyms are bona intercalary.

§	#	ὄνομα	
8	11	Ἀγέμαχος	sp.
19	9, 10, 11	Ἀγοραῖος	
25	16	Ἀθανόδοτος	sp.
170	14	Δαρῶν	[8'] sp.
183	8	Δορυκίδας	sp.
263	25	Καλλικράτης	sp.
282	8	Κρατίδας	sp.
283	9	Κρέων	
298	15	Μαρβύας	
315	7	Μινυδός	
352	25, 26	Παυσαίνιος	sp.

Πάρισιος Δεύτερος 7.02
 8 April 49
 Names occurring with interesting
 par. Jew.
 month in Lucian's catalogue.
 Listed by Andrieu. Note N, p. 127,
 en. note in book 14 with this month.

§	6edis	ὄνομα	
248	110	Σώδαμος	
53	4	Ἀναξάνδρος	
109	6	Ἀρχιδαΐδας	
268	13	Νικαγαγόρας	
343	17	Πυδοχένης	
652	27	Θεύδωρος	
813	32	Παυσαίνιος	
49	134	Κλευκράτης	

Επι Παυσαίνιος 2
 Επι Θέρωνος rose
 Επι Πυδοχένης rose

Dumont
 Archives des missions scientifiques
 Poitiers
 v. 9. Alexandria

Ἀγέμαχος		Ξενοκράτης	
Ἀναξάνδρος 3,		Πυδοχένης 2,	
Ἀριστόδαμος 2,			
Ἀρχιβίος			
Ἀρχιδαΐδας			
Θαρβίωδης			
Ἰέρων			
Καλλικράτης			
Κλευκράτης			
Κρατίδας			
Νικαγαγόρας 3,			

KLIO 1926
 Beiträge sur alten Geschichte
 From 4764^{ph.} handles found
 in South Russia.
 (over)

4. IV. 51

7.03

Busseli 28. VI. 50, no. 206. has

ΕΠΙΛΗ-
ΕΝΕΥ
ΠΑΝΑΜΟΥΒ

Αριστοτέλους

g. TD 2528

2541407

Blot
month

Benach 23/5/46

lists with figures
for his collection

Rhodia 3

Put in alteration in
month (y. epom. stamp
of fin of Polyarctos in
Alexander)

STUDIES MONTHS

Rose types with Flav. Δ 20.

(in connection with reading of Parg. AS 245)

Taken from month file, Mrs. Forbes turning up rose types:

Normal

Ἀγρίμαχος ① III

Ἀθανόφοτος ① III

Ἀργαίδαμος ① III

"rose above"

Ἰερ. Ἀναξάνδρος ① IV or V

Ἀριστογένης ① V

(Ἀγρίμαχος? (gym))

? → Ἰερ. Ἀστυμήδης ①

Δορκυδαίος ① IIIa

Θέρσανδρος ① V

Ἰέρων I ① V or VI

Καδικρότης ① (in stone?)

Κλερκράτης I ①, ① III

Νικαρχόρος ① (to be checked) Νικαρχόρος ① ① (2)

Παυσανίας³ ① IV

Πυθαγόρης ① IV

Σώδαμος ① II

Τεσσαμένος ① V

Τιμοκλέδης ① IIIa

Τιμοφρόδος ① IV

RHODIAN - MONTHS

American School of Classical Studies
54 Swedias St.
Athens, 140 Greece

August 27, 1982

Professor Christoph Börker
Institut für Altertumskunde
Klassische Archäologie
Kochstr. 4
D-8520 Erlangen
Germany

Dear Professor Börker,

Arriving finally at some study of your article on the Rhodian Calendar, I remember that we have records, including some good photos, of a few Rhodian stamps from reworked dies, which would perhaps have relevance to your studies, since they show sequences of months as well as eponym's names. This is material I have long intended to prepare for publication, but now I would be glad to have you do it.

Would you be interested, and would it be possible before long for you to make even a short trip to Athens? Perhaps for the epigraphical congress next October?

With very best wishes to you and your family,

Yours sincerely,

(he comes)

Virginia R. Grace

Rest of this correspondence?

See COLLECTIONS: BERLIN

VRG/ez

(when most of corresp. with Börker is)

Plutarch months expressed as monogram

In Deles 27, E 43 comment.

P. M. Fraser had remarked that he had an abbreviation Δa in a papyrus that he was ~~trying~~ explaining as $\Delta \alpha \rho \omega \sigma \iota \alpha \varsigma$; I forgot in what connection he brought this up, but I said, sometimes Δ seems to be $\Delta \alpha \delta \iota \omega \varsigma$.

Today he came to the EA and showed me the papyrus publ. (by John Date, in the J. of Eg. Arch. I think) in which there is something like $\Delta \varepsilon$ which the author renders ΔE (without interpretation) a but Prof. thought the Δa should be put together with the $\Delta \varepsilon$, purpose being to identify the person ~~named~~ whose name follows these letters (as a public slave I think he meant).

I showed him the series of ^{originals} ~~types~~ referred to under E 43. These ^{master cards} are filed some under "monogram" & some under "lithos" in the Plutarch files. Very clear is Δ for $\gamma \alpha \kappa$, ~~and~~ (under "monogram") and almost as clear is Δ for $\Delta a(\alpha \omega \sigma)$, under "lithos". Of this latter seem to be only one ex., TD 199, publ. in 452.30 as I found some prints of 452.30, I gave him one (NIKO 1961)

write the proposals to illustrate, with
Aman's permission. He was 50/50
persuaded that the papyrus referred to the
month, but I think more persuaded
that the stamps refer to the months.

For the papyrus, you would then
read Δ (days) ϵ (i.e. 5 to day), it can
more or less fit into the context — anyhow
I think better than Δ (papyrus) in this
case.

Νότιο ~~Ανατολικά~~ Ανατολικά

Μηνογραφή [?]

ε(Υακινθίου)

Απλοτο

] Η Σ Ι Ο Σ

A | Ε Ι Ο Υ

X

©

x.66
Was it in 1958, working on E
early circles, but to become clear
that early Ptolemy is ground
did not use months?

begin

Start of naming months
and omission still in later 3rd C.

See EARLY PTOLEMAN (p. 11) Some notes in
them on early circles with the device. 2.) An
alphabetical list of sp. s who apparently precede
naming of months. [Notes of 1958, list of 6. II. 65]

Efforts to distinguish circles shortly before months
are named; esp. in terms of ϕ , δ , ϵ , etc. The
types with symbol for Helios are distinguished by
various dashes, etc., obvious distinguishing marks.
15. II. 63 Also with a couple of other sp. names, e.g.
 Δ γ μ ν .

15. II. 63 (probably)
Some of earliest spongers with whose months were
named:

see Hep.
1963, p. 324
note 12
(Koussis
SAD)

- Εὐκλῆς named in side stamp with bottom type
- Καδδικράτης I "
- Πασσαρίας I "
- Τιμοκρίδας "

word month appears in one type
prob. of Ἀριστοφάνης sp. Εὐκλῆς .
(pair of types w. margin)

word month appears in one type
of Ἀριστοφάνης , prob. ref. Πασσαρίας .
(pair of types with star in O.)

19. II. 63 Ἐυάριστος see his pair

24. II. 64 Ἀγλακρίτος , contemp. of K. I and Π. I, see
Hep. 1963, p. 326, note 16-

OVER

22.VI.68

See also (see below) Delos 27, ch. 14, Rhod. introd.,
ms. pp. 13(2) ff., on start of naming month.

Somewhat later (?) change in Roman month
seems sometimes to have been omitted: 'Agrosidas.
See the top of jar Rhod. MS 459, a.) 'Agrosid (?)
and b.) 'Egnatios. As yet no photo.
of this object, and no descr. of its shape, and
the sp. type is not fully read; no prep., angle
(month card is out of place, and a substitute is
being installed.)

24.VI.71

Working on Kyren publications (for Gredes), I
realize that there are quite a few known pairs
of late 3rd in which no month:

- a.) 8 jars of Δίσκος sp. Ἐνοπέριος y. Delos 27
P. 293 v. nr 2
(These are jars of D. sp. " that do have month)
- b.) jar of Φίδων, sp. Καίσιμος (= Paphos)
- c.) pairs of lips of Αἰνίος Ἐπατυρίαξ
as guessed by similarity (with Ἐπατέριος = Θίστιος)

d.) There is a series of pairs - mostly - which
seem to belong together, but I hesitate because
of lack of month

e.g. Ἐαυρίδας - (sp.) Ἐμωδῖος

Μυρόδαρος - (sp.) Ἀστουγίτης

" " (a.) Μουτῶν
sp. sp. Ἐνοπέριος

List of types in which word marks
(MELE or MHADE) appears;
(could get out by AD)

- | | | | | |
|------|--------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------------------|--------------|
| 1.) | | IEP. ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝΑΣ | MELE ΔΑΔ | □ |
| 2.) | ΑΡΙΣΤΟ [| divi? | ΜΥΡΟΣ ΕΥΚΛ. | □ |
| 3.) | (Museum No. 53)
ΑΡΙΣΤΟΠΟΡΥΣ | star | (IEP. ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ)
B.E. 598/11 | ΜΥΡΟΣ ΑΡΤ. ○ |
| 4.) | ΖΥΓΩΣ | monogram
[A] | (ΕΥΖΩΓΗΣ?) | ΜΥΡΟΣ ΑΡΤ. ○ |
| 5.) | ΜΕΓΙΣΤΩΝ | rose (above) | | ΜΥΡΟΣ ΑΡΤ. ⊙ |
| 6.) | | IEP. ΤΥΜΟΔΙΚΟΣ, ep. | ΜΥΡΟΣ ΕΠΙ. | □ |
| 7.) | (ΤΥΜΟΔΙΚΟΣ) | rose (above) | IEP. ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΟΣ | ΜΕΙΣ ΑΡΤ. ⊙ |
| 8.) | " | " | ΠΟΛΥΔΑΡΟΣ, ep. | ΜΥΡΟΣ ΑΡΤ. ⊙ |
| 9.) | " | " | ΤΑΙΣΑΓΩΓΟΣ | ΜΕΙΣ ΕΠΙ. ⊙ |
| 10.) | " | " | " | " (ΕΥΚΛ. ⊙) |

4. II. 63

7-10 have been attributed to ΤΥΜΟΔΙΚΟΣ because he is the only fabricant known in our files who uses rose-above stamps ^{combined} with all the secondary stamps known ^{with} the examples of the sponge types of 7-10. See pencil notes, separate sheets, of 1. II. 63. (Filed in folder R140D. FABRICANTS.)

In 3, restoration of ep. ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ is a fair

OVER

15.02

guess since the types are a good match, and
T. 1 is of a probable date & by ^{close} contemp. with
other ep. s named by Ἀποροφύγος in similar
types.

For 4, I have not succeeded in finding a
likely companion type. It might be a type of
Ζήνων who was monogramms.

6.II.63

Perhaps 2. in line of Βόκλιος, now uncertain reading.

8.I.66

On no. (3) above

Our notes on medallion Tell Sandshammah No. 53

(P. E. F. for 1901) do not indicate that

we have produced the reading

Ἀποροφύγος μύρος Ἀποροφύγος (note)
except that we have omitted an ἐπί note
by the author.

File the really read ΜΗΝΟΞ ^{APTAM}, or perhaps
it shows clearly in the original (though dim
in our photostat)

Now, is this the same handle which has been read

ΜΗΝΟΞΙΑ

Ἀποροφύγος Myrofid^s apparently with
Ἰ. Π. Π. a "soleil rayonnant" (J. Paris, BCH 1914,

p. 326, q. Bliss, Macedonia, etc. Excav. in
Pal. 1898-1900, Pal. Expl. Fund, 1902, p. 178,
no. 38 ?

(2)

(8.II.66)
15.03

Do dots that represent another type,
with a different mounts?

We have no established types of this kind
with Approachings

Benschi 7 Jan 47

ΙΕΡΕΥΣ ΤΗΣ ΑΓΟΡΑΣ ΜΕΙΣ ΤΑΚΙΝΘΙΟΣ
rossi

Benschi plant's plot -
see envelope containing photo
wires

Note that Benschi's 6-12-46, VII (phot.)

may give ^{ΜΑΝΟΣ ΑΡΤΑΜΙΣ} to mouth, & make a pair with an
cousin's stamp
with money
on file
[see money] 2/1 Agias handle, Nelson 214, 3
q. his letter 19. April 47 in confirmation
and in reply to mine of 9 April

29. VI. 54 see Benschi 1. VII. 54 no. 3 (rubbing) - Agias (Bavayōpas)

ΛΙΑΓΟ
ΜΕΙΣ ΔΑΛ (rect. stamp)

over

19 Jan 47

On Kraemer's correspondence

11. VII. 54 ^{rose} Ἐπιτομή Ποδοσφαιρῶν μυθῶν Δαδίου © (ABC)

26. IV. 55 ΜΗΝΟΣ ^{divisor} ΕΥΑΚΙΝΟΥ ^(part) ΑΡΙΣΤΟ ^{part} Antiod 1934 - P 85

29. III. 56 Ἐπιτομή Τ. ^{part} Ἰσοδίου Μυθῶν ^{part} Ἐπινοθίου Handle in the Alexandria Museum, rubbing brought by Mr. Benaschi

13. III. 57 ^{rose} Μένωνος μινός Θεοῦ [petr] (US calls my attention) University of Pennsylvania Museum from Memphis: Me 30 (29-71-14; M 77) published: Samaria, Reiser, p. 19 no. 147

19. IV. 58 Ἐπιτομή Ποδοσφαιρῶν Μινός ΑΛ ^{rose}

Placid

Lahr nos. 905

ΕΥΚΛΕΙΔΕΙΟΣ ?

" sub-stamp $\begin{matrix} \lambda & \beta & \omega \\ & \bullet & \\ & \kappa & \end{matrix}$, all stamp name of
mouth in long oval"

10. XII. 54

Note handles of λ & β & ω with similar
mouth stamps, suggesting a combination,
ΕΥΚΛΕΙΔΕΙΟΣ being aponymy

6 Nov 46 RHODIAN

Photo addenda for Bunsen's letter;

24 Aug 46: rubbing no. 6 APXOKPATIUS
Heli ETL

26 Aug 46: pencil. A real stamp with
Heli hand in center

~~App~~] App -

App - Heli
App - Heli
(out)

6 Sept 46 rose alone

in stamp

12 Sept 46 TIM.
HPAKI.

10 Oct Heli (in use w stamp)
and Museum of America
and παρὰ Μόσχου

(10 025 48)

No. 11 effluvia gas water on of them

Eric Platonov

Αρσεν

— early type

when sp. - (pl. are combined)

No. 12 double impression, prob. a

COMP.

21st Nov.

? ΜΗΝΟΓΕΝΕΥΣ
ΣΤΑΧΥΣ

(rubbing)

"Luiles" with Eucnatis, Euphorasia,

and rose circulus of Aristotle,

Alexander, Timon

Outsize stamps that wd. never go full
on any Post. Bank.

26 Nov

"Luiles" sp. w. subit

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY
Princeton, New Jersey
Founded by Mr. Louis Bamberger and Mrs. Felix Fuld

B. RHODIAN MONTHS

(from Index to Pliny)
 TX.56

*Αγριάνιος, 83, 89, 105

*Αρταμίδης, 84, 86, 104

Βαθρόμιος, 85, 87

Δάλιος, p. 000, under no. 163 bis

Διδσθουος, not represented

Θεσμοφύριος, 74, 101

Θευδασιος, 99

Καρνεΐος, 88, 97

Πάναμος, 110

Πάναμος δεύτερος, 103

Πεδαγεστνυος, 75

Σμίνθιος, not represented

*Υακίνθιος, p. 000, under no. 116 bis

1 Oct 48

Plinian months with over? or split
 odd

Alexander 537 12MINOIOY

" 99 Ε.Β.Υ.Θ.Ι.Ο.Υ

SS 8883

Μικύθου
 Αρτεμισί
 δειν?

Suggest he was not a Plinian?

ΤΩΝ ΑΡΧΑΙΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ, ΠΑΡΑΒΑΛΛΟΜΕΝΟΙ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΛΛΩΝ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ ΦΙΛΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΒΑΡΒΑΡΩΝ, ΚΑΘΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΤΩΝ ΝΕΩΤΕΡΩΝ ΑΛΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΠΑΓΚΟΣΜΙΟΥ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΣ ΔΙ' ΩΝ ΑΠΟΔΕΙΚΝΥΕΤΑΙ Η ΑΔΙΑΡΡΗΚΤΟΣ ΣΥΓΓΕΝΕΙΑ ΤΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ ΜΕΤΑ ΤΩΝ ΑΛΛΩΝ ΕΛΛΗΝΩΝ

Όνομα αὐτῶν μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἑλλήνων ὑπὸ τῶν ῥωμαίων

Ε Λ Λ Η Ν Ι Κ Ο Ι Μ Η Ν Ε Σ

	Παρά τοῖς ἑλλήνων Μακεδόσι	Παρά τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἑλλήσι	Παρά τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις	Παρά τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις	Παρά τοῖς Ἀιγείοις	Παρά τοῖς Κεντρικοῖς	Παρά τοῖς Β. Συνοίς	Παρά τοῖς Μεγαλοασιατικοῖς Κυπρίοις	Παρά τοῖς (Ἑβραίοις)	Παρά τοῖς Ἀιγυπτίοις	Παρά τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις	Παρά τοῖς Ἑλλήνοις	Παρά τοῖς Γαλλοῖς τῆς Α' Δημοκρατίας
ΙΑΝΟΥΑΡΙΟΣ	ΠΕΡΙΤΙΟΣ	ΓΑΜΗΛΙΩΝ	ΑΓΝΩΣΤΟΝ ΤΟ ΟΝΟΜΑ	ΒΟΥΚΑΤΙΟΣ	ΑΛΔΑΦΟΡΙΟΣ	ΑΓΥΙΟΣ	ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΟΣ	ΚΑΙΣΑΡΙΟΣ	NIZAN, ABIB	QEB	JANUS	ΗΡΟΔΙΝΕΤΣ	PLUVIOSE
ΦΕΒΡΟΥΑΡΙΟΣ	ΔΥΣΤΡΟΣ	ΑΝΘΗΣΤΕΡΙΩΝ	ΕΛΥΣΙΝΙΟΣ	ΕΡΜΑΙΟΣ	ΠΟΙΤΡΟΠΙΟΣ	ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΟΣ	ΔΙΟΣ	ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ	KAP, ZIB	ΦΑΡΦΙ	FEBUUS	ΣΕΤΣΕΝ	VENTOSE
ΜΑΡΤΙΟΣ	ΣΑΝΤΙΚΟΣ	ΕΛΛΗΜΒΟΛΙΩΝ	ΓΕΡΑΕΤΙΟΣ	ΠΡΟΣΤΑΘΗΡΙΟΣ	ΒΥΣΙΟΣ	ΘΕΟΔΟΣΙΟΣ	ΒΕΝΔΙΔΑΙΟΣ	ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟ- ΡΙΚΟΣ	ΣΕΒΗ	ΑΘΥΣ	MARTIUS	ΣΟΥΚΗ	GERMINAL
ΑΠΡΙΛΙΟΣ	ΑΡΤΕΜΙΣΙΟΣ	ΜΟΥΝΥΧΙΩΝ	ΑΡΤΕΜΙΣΙΟΣ	ΑΓΝΩΣΤΟΣ	ΑΡΤΕΜΙΣΙΟΣ	ΠΟΝΤΟΣ	ΣΤΡΑΤΙΟΣ	ΔΗΜΑΡΧΕΥΟ- ΣΤΟΣ	ΦΑΜΟΥΣ	ΧΟΙΑΚ	APRILIS	ΜΙΕΡΕΖΟΖΟΑ	FLOREAL
ΜΑΙΟΣ	ΔΑΙΣΙΟΣ	ΦΑΡΓΗΛΙΩΝ	ΔΕΛΧΙΝΙΟΣ	ΘΕΙΛΟΥΘΙΟΣ	ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΟΣ	ΡΑΒΙΝΘΙΟΣ	ΗΕΡΙΕΠΙΟΣ	ΠΑΝΟΧΙΑΤΟΣ	ΑΒ	ΤΥΒΙ	MAIUS	ΤΡΑΥΝΗ	PRAIRIAL
ΙΟΥΝΙΟΣ	ΠΑΝΗΜΟΣ	ΣΚΙΡΟΦΟΡΙΩΝ	ΦΑΙΑΣΙΟΣ	ΑΓΝΩΣΤΟΣ	ΒΟΑΘΟΣ	ΥΠΕΡΒΕΡΕΤΟΣ	ΑΡΕΙΟΣ	ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΥΣ	ΕΛΟΥΑ	ΜΕΧΙΡ	JUNIUS	ΙΖΟΚ	MESSIDOR
ΙΟΥΛΙΟΣ	ΛΟΣ	ΕΚΑΤΟΜΒΑΙΩΝ	ΕΚΑΤΟΜΒΕΥΣ	ΑΓΝΩΣΤΟΣ	ΙΛΑΙΟΣ	ΝΕΚΥΣΙΟΣ	ΑΦΡΟΔΙΣΙΟΣ	ΕΣΘΙΟΣ	ΤΙΣΧΗ, ΑΙΛΑΝΗ	ΦΑΜΕΝΣΑ	QUINCTILIS	ΤΣΕΡΒΕΝ	THERMIDOR
ΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΟΣ	ΓΟΡΗΛΙΟΣ	ΜΕΤΑΓΕΙΤΝΙΩΝ	ΚΑΡΝΙΟΣ	ΣΙΝΙΟΔΡΟΜΙΟΣ	ΘΕΟΣΕΝΙΟΣ	ΒΑΣΙΛΙΟΣ	ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ	ΡΩΜΑΙΟΣ	ΜΑΡΚΕΣΒΑΝΙ	ΦΑΡΜΟΥΧΗ	SEXTILIS	ΖΑΡΕΦ	FRUCTIDOR
ΣΕΠΤΕΜΒΡΙΟΣ	ΥΠΕΡΒΕΡΕΤΑΙΟΣ	ΒΟΗΔΡΟΜΙΩΝ	ΠΑΝΑΜΟΣ	ΠΑΝΑΜΟΣ	ΒΟΥΚΑΤΙΟΣ	ΘΕΣΜΟΦΟΡΙΟΣ	ΗΡΑΙΟΣ	ΑΦΡΟΔΙΣΙΟΣ	ΚΑΖΑΡ	ΠΑΡΩΝ	SEPTEMBER	ΡΕΒΟΥΝ	VANDEMIATAIRE
ΟΚΤΩΒΡΙΟΣ	ΔΙΟΣ	ΗΡΑΝΕΥΙΩΝ	ΗΡΑΣΙΟΣ	ΑΓΝΩΣΤΟΣ	ΗΡΑΙΟΣ	ΕΡΜΑΙΟΣ	ΕΡΜΑΙΟΣ	ΑΠΟΓΟΝΙΚΟΣ	ΤΕΒΕΘ	ΠΑΥΝΙ	OCTOBER	ΑΙΣΤΟΠΙΑΑ	BRUMAIRE
ΝΟΕΜΒΡΙΟΣ	ΑΠΕΛΛΑΙΟΣ	ΜΕΜΑΚΤΗΡΙΩΝ	ΑΠΕΛΛΑΙΟΣ	ΔΑΜΑΤΡΙΟΣ	ΑΠΕΛΛΑΙΟΣ	ΕΙΜΑΝ	ΜΗΤΡΟΣ	ΑΙΝΙΚΟΣ	ΣΧΕΒΕΧ	ΕΠΙΦΙ	NOVEMBER	ΓΡΟΥΔΕΝ	PERIHÈRE
ΔΕΚΕΜΒΡΙΟΣ	ΑΥΔΗΝΑΙΟΣ	ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝ	ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΣ	ΑΓΝΩΣΤΟΣ	ΑΛΔΑΚΟΜΕΝΙΟΣ	ΑΓΝΩΣΤΟΣ	ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ	ΙΟΥΛΙΟΣ	ΑΔΑΡ	ΜΕΣΕΡΠΙ	DECEMBER	ΣΤΟΥΔΕΝΗ	NIVOSE

Mounts Names

(Rhodia seen 5 to
omitted)

21.01

MONTHS

THE MASTERS OF THE PERGAMON GIGANTOMACHY

357

the work of the executing sculptors. The precise limits of their sections have to be defined, and the styles of their contributions must be studied.

By using the hitherto neglected epigraphical evidence in conjunction with a new stylistic analysis of some sections of the relief, it has been shown that the frieze consisted of about forty units executed by different sculptors, who, although influenced by the leading master, retained much of their individual styles. The result of Schuchhardt's study was found to be untenable. At the same time, it became clear that Kaehler's assertion of the homogeneity of the frieze, although a valuable contribution to the understanding of the work, failed to appreciate the differences of style which are due to the individual masters. Finally, the attempt was made to discover to what extent the stylistic differences which are so marked within the frieze must be understood as the result of the participation of masters from different regions. It was possible to isolate one group of figures and to attribute it to sculptors from Rhodes. Further study should lead to the recognition of Attic work within the frieze, and, most important of all, the Pergamenian style, in which the majority of the executing sculptors were trained, should be recognized as such, and should be related to the mass of preserved Pergamenian sculpture. In order to achieve this, however, all of the individual groups of which the tremendous frieze is composed have to be defined. This is a task which can only be performed by a study of the monument itself, when it has become accessible again to students of archaeology.

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

DIETHER THIMME

K. Pritchett, "Months in
Dorian Calendars." AJA 50, 1946,
pp. 358 - 360

(Taken from a surplus copy of
AJA given away at ASCS
in 1949.)

MONTHS IN DORIAN CALENDARS

KENDRICK PRITCHETT

SINCE the sequence of months in the calendars of many Dorian city-states cannot be determined explicitly from the limited evidence, scholars have attempted to establish the order of months by resorting to the comparative method. M. P. Nilsson, whose calendar studies are probably the most extensive of those of any living scholar, has repeatedly denied the validity of this method. For example, in *Timbres Amphoriques de Lindos* (Copenhagen, 1909), p. 137, he states with regard to the calendar of Rhodes, "Il n'a fait que mettre en une plus vive clarté encore, l'absence de concordance entre les différents calendriers doriens; nous avons donc eu raison d'éviter de nous servir d'analogies tirées des calendriers étrangers." I anticipate my conclusion by stating that the evidence supports Nilsson's opinion, and dependence on the analogical method can lead to no assured results.

An effort has recently been made, employing this method, to determine the order of months at Kos and at Sparta; and the Spartan calendar so determined would permit a solution of the problem of intercalation in the Athenian calendar of 423-421 B.C. In studying the calendar of Kos, M. Giffler has argued: 1) "The position of Artamitios in the Rhodian calendar suggests a similar position for Artamitios in the Coan calendar." 2) Since Kos and Sparta share the months Artamitios and Gerastios, it is suggested that the relation of these two months was the same in both places.¹ Giffler's conclusions, in turn, have been considered by B. D. Meritt as affording independent testimony for intercalation in the Athenian calendar of the fifth century: "In a recent note on the calendar of Kos, Milton Giffler has drawn attention to the sequence of the Doric months Gerastios and Artamitios, in that order, and I believe his suggestion sound that they must be construed in the same sequence in the calendar of Sparta."²

That the position of a month in the Rhodian calendar affords no evidence for a similar position of an homonymous month in the calendar of Kos can most easily be seen from the following table which contains those months with the exception of Artamitios which were common to Rhodes and Kos.³ The first month corresponds to the fourth in the Athenian calendar and is usually equated with October/November.

NAME OF MONTH	POSITION IN RHODIAN CALENDAR	POSITION IN KOAN CALENDAR
Theudaisios	III	VIII
Pedageitnios	IV	IX
Badromios	V	V
Agrianios	VIII	I
Hyakinthios	IX	VII
Panamos	X	XI
Karneios	XI	II
Dalios	XII	X

¹ *AJA*, xliii, 1939, p. 446; and *Hermes*, lxxv, 1940, p. 226.

² *AJP*, lxii, 1941, p. 9. Similarly, E. Cavaignac (*REG*, lvii, 1944, p. 50) has arranged his comparative

table of the Spartan and Athenian calendars of 423-421 B.C. according to Giffler's conclusions.

³ The order of months is taken from the tables in E. Bickermann, *Chronologie* (Gercke-Norden, *Einleitung*

Of these eight homonymous months, only one was assigned to the same position in the two calendars.

The many different positions a month might occupy in the calendars of various Greek city-states may best be illustrated by the following table which presents the known evidence concerning Panamos, the most common of all months:⁴

April/May	Epidauros
May/June	Tauromenion, Samos
June/July	Delos, Amorgos, Macedonia
July/August	Amphissa, Akarnania, Miletos, Rhodes, Erythrai
August/September	Lamia, Boeotia, Aetolia, Kos
September/October	Thessaly, Corinth, Megara

To return to Artamitios, the month in question for the calendar of Kos, M. P. Nilsson has already written as follows: "Il en est de même d'Artamitios. Il correspond à Sparte à Elaphebolion, à Epidaure à Anthesterion, à Tauromenion à Gamelion. L'Artemision ionien correspond ou à Elaphebolion ou à Munychion."⁵ Other possibilities for this month are now given in the tables of E. F. Bischoff in *RE*, s.v. Kalendar. We cannot accept the hypothesis that "the position of Artamitios in the Rhodian calendar suggests a similar position for Artamitios in the Koan calendar."⁶

Having assigned to the month Artamitios a position immediately following Gerastios in the Koan calendar, Giffler has argued that this latter calendar, in turn, affords evidence for the disposition of these same months at Sparta: "Sparta and Cos share a rather unique calendar situation. They both have the rare months Gerastios and Artamitios. . . . Gerastios probably preceded Artamitios."⁷ This disposition is confirmed, according to Giffler,⁸ by the types of festivals which took place in Gerastios. Specifically, Giffler revives an argument of Hermann based on the evidence that a particular festival at which masters served slaves took place at Troezen in the month of Gerastios.⁹ It is suggested that a similar festival occurred at Athens in Anthesterion; therefore, Attic Anthesterion and Spartan (i.e., Dorian) Gerastios should be equated.

The statement that Artamitios was a rare month cannot be upheld. Of the 326 names of Greek months known to E. F. Bischoff in 1919,¹⁰ Artamitios was the fifth most common.¹¹ Gerastios occurs at Kalaureia, Kalymnos, Kos, Sparta, and Troezen. The calendars of Sparta and Kos shared the names of several months, including Artamitios, Agrianios, Gerastios, and Hyakinthios. We cannot conclude that the duplication of any particular Dorian

in *die Altertumswissenschaft*, iii, 5 [1933], p. 6. Bickermann's table for Rhodes is that of M. P. Nilsson as given by Hiller von Gaertringen in *RE*, Suppl. V, 744, and for Kos that of R. Herzog in *Abh. Berl. Ak.*, 1928, 6, p. 49. M. Giffler in his article in *AJA*, xliii, 1939, pp. 445-446, has followed the sequence of months for the Rhodian calendar as determined by W. R. Paton and E. L. Hicks in *Inscriptions of Cos* (Oxford, 1891). However, there have been several corrections in their calendar.

⁴ The table is based on that of A. Boethius, *Der Argivische Kalendar* (Uppsala, 1922), p. 48, note 1.

⁵ *Timbres Amphoriques de Lindos*, p. 135.

⁶ M. Giffler, *AJA*, xliii, 1939, p. 446. Herzog's

reasons for assigning Hyakinthios, transferred by Giffler to the third month, to the seventh position in the Koan calendar are given in *Abh. Berl. Ak.*, 1928, 6, p. 50. It is to be hoped that additional evidence concerning the Koan calendar may be obtained from the unpublished inscriptions from that island (see L. Robert, *REG*, liii, 1940, p. 198).

⁷ *Loc. cit.*

⁸ *Hermes*, lxxv, 1940, p. 226.

⁹ Athenaeus, xiv, 639c.

¹⁰ *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum*, 1919, 494 ff.

¹¹ Cf. E. F. Bischoff in *RE*, s.v. Kalendar, 1597-1602.

months at two places produced a "unique calendar situation," for examples may easily be offered from what limited evidence remains that many Dorian calendars shared certain more or less uncommon months, and these months occur in various relationships.¹² Indeed, Agrianios and Hyakinthios are found in fewer calendars than Artamitios; both are known to occur in direct succession at Sparta;¹³ yet at Kos they are separated by several months.

As for the correlation of the slave-festivals at Athens, Troezen and Sparta, M. P. Nilsson has already suggested that the Troezen festival cited by Giffler as celebrated in a month corresponding to Attic Anthesterion was a Saturnalia, to which the Athenian counterpart was the Kronia.¹⁴ This latter was celebrated in Hekatombaion. Nilsson shows that this festival too was observed in various places during different periods.

One final observation may be offered against the argument that homonymous festivals occur at corresponding times in Dorian calendars. One need only consider that the names of Greek months are derived from festivals,¹⁵ and note the varied time of these name-giving celebrations. Indeed, Nilsson has shown that the rites of homonymous festivals differed in many aspects in various places (e.g., for the Thargelia, see *Griechische Feste*, pp. 105 ff.). At Sparta, the Karneia was apparently related to the vintage,¹⁶ but the position of this month in other calendars renders this relationship doubtful. Furthermore, festivals which gave their names to separate months in some calendars were celebrated within the same month in others. Thus, the Apaturia at Athens was celebrated in Pyanopsion, whereas other calendars exhibit both an Apaturion and a Pyanopsion. "Prinzipiell ist festzuhalten, dass daraus die Monatsnamen in den verschieden Städten unabhängig voneinander entstanden sind."¹⁷

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¹² See the tables of E. F. Bischoff in *RE*.

¹³ E. F. Bischoff in *RE*, s.v. Kalendar, 1578.

¹⁴ *Griechische Feste*, pp. 36-37. Cf. Nilsson, *RE*, s.v. Saturnalia, 205; and Wissowa in Roscher, *Lexicon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, s.v. Saturnus, 438. The Troezen festival, although celebrated in the month Gerastios, was not necessarily a Gerastia; see L. Lerat, *RA*, xxv, 1946, 201.

¹⁵ M. P. Nilsson, *Primitive Time-Reckoning* (Lund, 1920), pp. 363-364.

¹⁶ S. Wide, *Lakonische Kulte* (Leipzig, 1893), pp. 73 ff.

¹⁷ M. P. Nilsson, *Die Entstehung und religiöse Bedeutung des griechischen Kalenders* (Lund, 1918), p. 53; cf. *Bull. Acad. Danemark*, 1909, 123.